Female bar workers in Tanzania

A matter of respect

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the lives and concerns of female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi town, the urban centre of Kilimanjaro region in northern Tanzania. In the era of AIDS, this group of women has been singled out as a 'core risk' or 'core transmitter' group in the spread of HIV infection, and has been the object of a substantial number of studies in Africa at large and in Tanzania in particular. These studies have primarily been concerned with the women's sexual behaviour and awareness of protective measures. I maintain that due to their biased research focus, they leave us with a rather skewed impression of the women and the lives they actually live; women who work in bars and guesthouses tend to be defined almost solely by how they manage, or are believed to manage their sexuality. In this work I draw a more complex picture of this group of women and their 'lived-in worlds' (Wikan 1990), where their perceptions of themselves as working women, neighbours, mothers, daughters and 'developed townswomen' is part of the picture. Inspired by Unni Wikan (1990) and Susan Whyte (2002), I focus on the women's 'concerns', in terms of what is 'at stake' for them in their daily lives both in more general terms and in particular situations.

The notion of *heshima* ('respect') is central to how a person's moral character and behaviour is evaluated in Moshi. In the dominant moral discourse about female bar and guesthouse workers they are said to have no 'respect'. I argue that the women actively and intelligently engage with this devaluation of their persons, and demonstrate how their everyday practices and discussions, including those related to their sexuality, interrelate and intersect with ways of 'producing respect' in Moshi.

In the last two chapters I explore in depth why women are thus negatively stereotyped. A main contention is that employing the concepts 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' cross-culturally can be misleading because they entail specific Western ideas of what is and what is not legitimate management of sexuality and sexual relationships.

CONTENTS

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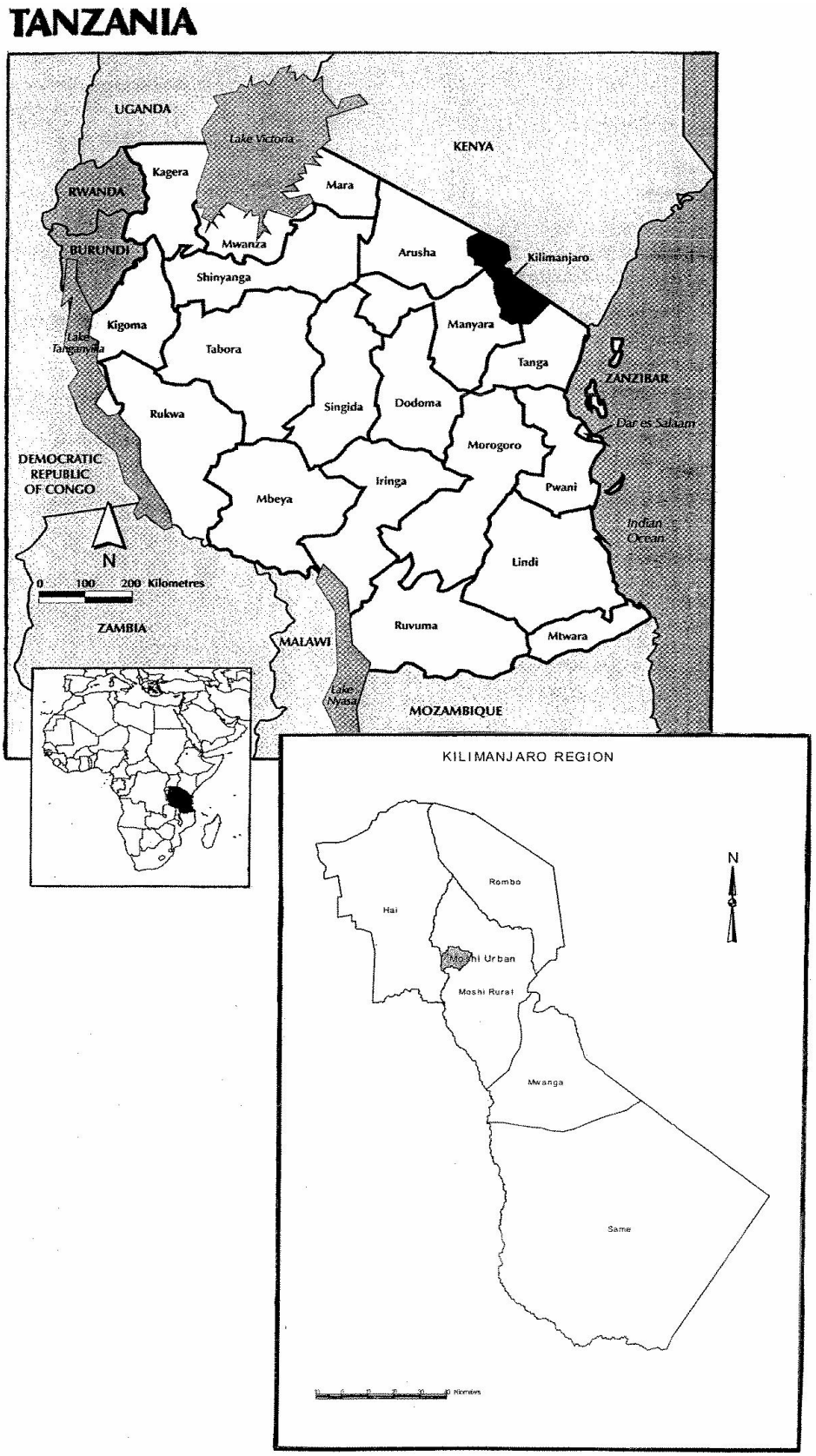

Figure 1 – Map of Tanzania and study area

Sources: National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) 2005, Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS) 2005

1. INTRODUCTION

> For a woman, to work in a bar or a guesthouse gives her a very bad reputation *(sifa)*, people say we have no respect (*heshima*). […] You can respect yourself *(-jiheshimu)*, but from the outside we all look the same, we are *malaya* (a derogatory term referring to a person who has numerous and concurrent sexual partners). But the guests who get to know us will soon learn who is a *malaya* and who is a person with respect (*mtu mwenye heshima*), who respects herself (conversation with Farida, 27).

> To work in a bar has no respect, we only do it because we have problems. But you know, also, a job is a job (*kazi ni kazi*), and because of this job, I am self-reliant (*-jitegemea*), I have achieved progress (*maendeleo*) in my life. Now, I can wear nice clothes and buy nice things for myself. Also, when I get my salary I bring money home, to my village. As you know, this is where my son lives, he lives with my parents. My parents depend on me for everything. I pay for my son's education; if someone is ill I pay for the hospital bill; I bring them clothes and it is I who provide them with money for their daily necessities (*hela ya matumizi*). […] My parents know where I work. They have to, how else would they know how to get hold of me if someone got ill or died? So do the other people in my village. And they do not say anything. In fact, they respect me (*wananiheshimu*). Because they know I earn money so I can help my parents. And they know I have a child who needs food and clothes. If I just stayed in town without a job or without helping my parents, then they could have said something (interview with Mama Jackson, 29).

This thesis is about the lives and concerns of women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi town, the urban centre of Kilimanjaro region in northern Tanzania. Farida and Mama Jackson are two of close to forty women who generously allowed me to become part of their day-to-day lives during eight months of fieldwork. Farida worked at the combined bar and guesthouse where I lived for seven months. Mama Jackson worked in one of the bars in my neighbourhood. Their words open my account, because they pinpoint a concern that I found to be of key importance to the women I did fieldwork among, and hence to greatly influence the choices and decisions they make in their daily lives. This concern can be summarised thus: How is one to be recognised as 'a woman with respect' while being engaged in employment strongly associated with immorality and non-respectability? The women's continuous struggle for respect and how this concern interrelates and not infrequently also conflicts with other concerns in their lives will be a recurrent theme in this thesis.

Aims, approaches, assumptions and argument

When I left for Tanzania my intention was to look at how women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi perceive and manage risks related to their work. More specifically, I was concerned with risks related to sexually transmitted infections and potentially violent customers. My intent was hence very much in line with the focus of the many studies conducted on and among female bar and guesthouse workers in the wake of the AIDS pandemic, both in Africa at large and in Tanzania in particular.

Studies of bar and guesthouse workers in the era of AIDS

These studies primarily revolve around the fact that this group of women seem to have a higher risk of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted infections than women in the general population. As a result, significant attention has been paid to the sexual behaviour of these women, including the number (which is assumed to be high) and kind of sexual relationships they are involved in, awareness of and attitudes towards condom use, as well as risk perception related to HIV infection. This is especially true for the numerous medical and epidemiological studies that have been conducted, which constitutes constitute the bulk of research more or less directly concerned with this group of women in East Africa (e.g. Klouman et al.1995, Pickering et al. 1997, Kapiga et al. 2002, Ao et al. 2003, Kapiga et al. 2003, Kiwelu et al. 2003, Riedner et al. 2003, Zachariah et al. 2003, Desmond et al. 2005, Ao et al. 2006, Riedner et al. 2006).[1]

However, also anthropologists writing about female bar and guesthouse workers usually make the women's sexual behaviour and management of sexuality their primary focus of inquiry

[1] Some of these studies are about women working in a broader category of bars and guesthouses/hotels than those which are the concern of this thesis, while other studies do not specify characteristics of the women's workplace. I return to a detailed description of the types of bars and guesthouses that the women work in, in chapter three.

(see Talle 1995, 1998, Mgalla and Pool 1997, Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999, Gysels et al. 2001, Gysels et al. 2002). This should perhaps come as no surprise, since these studies have either been conducted as part of multi-disciplinary research programmes concerned with the spread of HIV/AIDS (Talle 1995, 1998, Mgalla and Pool 1997, Gysels et al. 2001, Gysels et al. 2002), or have included discussions about women working in bars and guesthouses as part of a broader analysis of local perceptions and interpretations of the pandemic (Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999).

While not disputing the importance and relevance of such studies, I contend that due to their biased research focus, these studies risk leaving us with a rather skewed impression of the women and the lives they actually live; women who work in bars and guesthouses tend to be defined almost solely by how they manage, or are believed to manage their sexuality. I argue that the studies also, more or less uncritically, reproduce an image of these women as they are perceived and stereotyped by others in society. Accordingly, I find that existing research is rather scarce with reference to female bar and guesthouse workers' own view on and perceptions of themselves and their everyday practices.[2]

This argument is very much in line with the criticism that has been voiced against the early studies of 'single' African townswomen, a category to which female bar and guesthouse workers may be argued to belong (Talle 1998).[3] The disproportionate focus on the women's more or less short-term and transient relationships with men resulted in an 'essentialisation of their sex role' (Haram 2004:211, cf. also e.g. Swantz 1985, Ogden 1996, Davis 2000). More recent anthropological as well as historical studies of 'single' women in town, have included discussions about the women's economic contributions and role (e.g. Bujra 1975, White

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[2] A notable exception is Aud Talle's study on women working in bars in Namanga, a small town on the border between Kenya and Tanzania (see Talle 1995, 1998). Her work will form an important study of comparison throughout my thesis.

[3] In the literature 'single' African women are also often referred to as 'free', 'unattached' or 'independent' women (cf. e.g. Southall 1961, Little 1973, Bovin and Holtedahl 1975, Nelson 1987, Talle 1998, Haram 1999, 2004, Davis 2000, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000). 'Single' women are not only an urban phenomenon (see e.g. Bovin and Holtedahl 1975, Haram 1999, Davis 2000, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000), but it has been argued that their number is particularly high in urban areas (Talle 1998, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000).

1990), their search for freedom from 'constraining gender roles and institutional family authorities' (Talle 1998:37), and their general quest for a better life in town, including economic security (e.g. Dinan 1983, Swantz 1985, Talle 1998, Chernoff 2003, Haram 2004).

It would however seem that in the particular case of the group of women who are at the centre of this thesis, but also regarding 'single' African townswomen in general, the AIDS pandemic has led to a resurrection of studies focusing primarily on women's sexual behaviour and relationships. Moreover, in many of these studies the so-called transactional aspect of their relationships is singled out as the feature that defines them above all else (cf. also Haram 1999:15, 2004:214); this is particularly so in medical and epidemiological research. In these studies the women's relationships are referred to, although at times with some reservation, in terms such as 'informal commercial sex work' (Ao et al. 2006:163), 'sex work' (Riedner et al. 2003:382) or 'prostitution' (Zachariah et al. 2003:33). Accordingly, the women are usually identified as commercial sex workers (CSWs), sex workers or prostitutes.

On aims, argument and problems of representation

My eight months in Moshi left me with a strong wish to contribute to a more complex picture of female bar and guesthouse workers in Tanzania. I wanted to tell a story where the women's own voices are clearly heard, and where their perceptions of themselves as working women, neighbours, mothers and daughters, strongly articulated in Mama Jackson's introductory statement, is part of the picture. I wanted to show how they actually spend their days, and thus to convey that their relationships with men are but one aspect of their everyday lives. I wanted to represent them as the many-sided social persons they of course are. Secondly, I wanted to contribute to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of how the women actually manage their sexuality by probing into the many and sometimes divergent meanings they attribute to their sexuality and sexual relationships. I argue that the material aspect is just one dimension (cf. Talle 1998, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000, Smette 2001, Haram 2004). Both these aims inform my work.

I realize that my double focus might seem to be a contradiction in terms. While writing the thesis, I continuously struggled with the problem of representation. That is, will some of the cases, discussions and events I present merely add to the simplistic and stereotypical image of women who work in bars and guesthouses as 'sexually loose' and 'prostitutes'?[4] Or, will these parts of my thesis be 'misread' and dismissed as negative stereotyping?[5]

I provide discussions about how the women conceive of, value and manage their sexuality for several reasons: Firstly, I find that it is precisely the women's own voices and perspectives on their sexuality that are often lacking in many of the studies conducted in the wake of the AIDS pandemic. Secondly, relationships with men and discussions about how to handle one's sexuality are unquestionably notable parts of their everyday lives. To some extent this is because many female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi *are* involved in numerous and often concurrent sexual relationships, although the women I got to know are a very varied group in this regard. However, I argue that how the women manage and discuss their sexuality and relationships with men also interrelates with how they are stereotyped as 'sexually loose' by others in society.

This brings me to the final reason for my concern with how the women handle and conceive of their sexuality. If, which is an aim of this thesis, we are seeking to grasp the many and not always straightforward aspects and outcomes of this interrelationship, I believe that both sides of the relationship should be explored. Moreover, I maintain that a close and detailed account of how individual workers conceive of and handle their sexuality can provide valuable insights into the many and often conflicting concerns they deal with in their everyday life.

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[4] I find the term 'prostitute' generally problematic and not only in this context, precisely because of its essentialising character. In my job as a social worker at Pro Sentret (the Norwegian national resource centre on prostitution), a key approach is that prostitution is something one *does* and not what one *is*. Moreover, it is not all that one does. I am nevertheless particularly reluctant to employ the terms 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' in a Tanzanian context, and I return to the reason for this below as well as in chapter seven.

[5] Philippe Bourgois voices similar worries when he discusses the question of representation and negative stereotyping in his study of Puerto Rican crack dealers in East Harlem, New York (Bourgois 2003:11-15). Although the women I did fieldwork among are by no means as socially and culturally marginalized as are the crack dealers, I have benefited greatly from his perspective.

This is also one of the reasons for why I have chosen to explore the sexual relationships the women have and how they understand and handle these relations by means of an extended case study, inspired by Max Gluckman (1961, 1967).

As for the general reasoning behind the negative moral evaluation of female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi, this puzzled me increasingly during fieldwork and has continued to do so throughout the writing of this thesis. As Farida's statement indicates, it is precisely the association between bar and guesthouse work and 'immoral' sexual behaviour, that is given as grounds for why women working in these settings are said to be 'women without respect' (cf. Talle 1998). However, I got to know a number of women, mostly single but also married, who have other kind of jobs or sources of income, but whose sexual behaviour did not strike me as significantly different from that of the women who were at the centre of my research. Nevertheless this did not seem to result in them being subjected to the same level of negative stereotyping as the women working in bars and guesthouses (cf. also Setel 1999:124). Hence, while I take the association between bar and guesthouse work and 'immoral' sexual behaviour more or less for granted in the first six chapters of this thesis, in chapter seven and eight I explore the nature of this union in detail.

Having said this, my extensive discussion of and focus on the general stereotyping of female bar and guesthouse workers as *malaya* and 'women without respect' still leaves me with a problem of representation. To paraphrase Luise White in her study of prostitution in colonial Nairobi: How can I give an account of the workers and what I in many ways continue to see as their rather precarious moral position in Moshi, but at the same time not isolate the women in categories of deviance and subculture? (cf. White 1990:11)

This question articulates a main argument of my this thesis and is illustrated in Mama Jackson's introductory statement: that the women in general are a part of, take part in and share the moral values of 'mainstream society,' to for the time being use such an imprecise term. As Mama Jackson's account further suggests, despite the rather firm moral devaluation of this group of women in Moshi, many *are* recognized as 'proper' women, mothers and daughters (cf. Ogden 1996). This indicates then, that in contemporary Moshi also other

aspects of a woman's person and behaviour, than those purely related to how she manages her sexuality, are acknowledged and play a role when she is morally evaluated as having or not having 'respect'.

Thus, my primary aim in this work, is to contribute to a broader understanding of the complex ways in which female bar and guesthouse workers' everyday practices and discussions, including those related to their sexuality, interrelate and intersect with the different and at times paradoxical ways of 'producing respect' in Moshi.

Respect, morality and civility

I start by turning to and providing some preliminary clarifications concerning my understanding of the notion that most profoundly informs and structures this thesis: *heshima* (respectability, respect, dignity). From the very beginning of my fieldwork, I was intrigued by the frequent and often heated discussions on the matter of 'respect' that took place at the bars, guesthouses and other settings I frequented. Arguments and conversations revolving around what makes a respectable person, what it means to respect yourself as well as others, what is respectable behaviour, and what it means to be a person, and in particular a woman, *without* respect occurred regularly. Women workers were vibrant partakers in and often initiated such discussions. They debated with each other, with me, with their customers, with men they were sexually involved with, with their neighbours, relatives and friends. To rephrase White once more: While I was aware of the importance of *heshima* both through my earlier stays in Tanzania and through some of the literature I had read while preparing for fieldwork, nothing had prepared me for the place and significance of 'respect' in the everyday lives of women who work in bars and guesthouses in Moshi (cf. White 1990:23).

'Respect cultures' and civility

The notion of *heshima* is central to how a person's moral character and behaviour is evaluated in Moshi and in Kilimanjaro in general (cf. also Howard and Millard 1997, Hasu 1999b,

Pietilä 1999a, 1999b, Moland 2002). A review of relevant literature shows that 'respect' is considered an important value also in other parts of East Africa (see White 1990, Heald 1995, Larsen 1995, Talle 1995, 1998, Ogden 1996, Haram 1999, 2005a, 2005b, Whyte 2002, Dilger 2003, Blystad 2004, Saleh 2004). In fact, the notion seems to be so central in the region that Suzette Heald has suggested that 'many - if not most - East African cultures can be dubbed "respect cultures"' (Heald 1995:492). She goes on to argue that people in huge parts of East Africa 'conceive of their social order as rooted in respect […]. A good person, we are told throughout this region, is one who has "respect"' (Heald 1995:493).

Anthropologists working in other parts of the continent have also drawn attention to the concept (e.g. Jacobson-Widding 1997, Skramstad 1990, Piot 1993, Ferguson 1999, Smette 2001, Chernoff 2003). Anita Jacobson-Widding discusses the importance of 'respect' among the Shona-speaking Manyika in Zimbabwe: to be regarded as a 'good person,' one has to know how to show other people respect in the correct way (Jacobson-Widding 1997:58). The Shona word for showing respect is *tsika*. What Jacobson-Widding calls the code of *tsika* has a bearing on how the Manyika behave, or should behave towards one another in all social settings (Jacobson-Widding 1997). In the Gambia, Heidi Skramstad argues, respect is a basic value which seems to be shared and which involves respecting elders, ancestors, oneself as well as other people (Skramstad 1990:10). And similarly, in the case of the Kabre of northern Togo, Charles D. Piot suggests that the concept of 'respect' (*nyamto*) is a value that is central to Kabre culture and relates to how social relationships are ordered (Piot 1993:356).

A close relationship between 'respect' and 'morality' is taken for granted in many of the above mentioned studies, although discussed explicitly only by some. Liv Haram, who has worked among the Meru in northern Tanzania, claims that the Meru do not have a word that can be directly translated into 'morality', but that they talk a lot about 'good' and 'bad' behaviour (Haram 1999, 2005b). The notion of 'respect' as opposed to 'shame' is imperative and in everyday use in discussions about a person's behaviour (Haram 2005b:58). This resonates with Jacobson-Widding's findings from Zimbabwe. In her effort to find a word that would correspond to the English concept of 'morality' among the Manyika, she comes to

accept a semantic equivalence between 'morality' and the word *tsika* (Jacobson-Widding 1997).

Jessica A. Ogden discusses 'the process of giving and receiving respect, and self-respect no less than respect for others' (Ogden 1996: 178-179) in a poor Kampala suburb, Kifumbira. As is the case with *heshima*, the local term used by Ogden's informants, *empisa*, cannot be translated to one single English word:

> In everyday discourse, *empisa* has the sense, at its simplest, of 'conduct'. More inclusively, by association with ideas of character, personhood, self-respect (*okwewa ekitiibwa*) and respect for others (*okusamu ekitiibwa abalala*), *empisa* is a complex moral concept: being reserved, respectful, sensible (Ogden 1996:179).

Following Ogden, Päivi Hasu and Tuulikki Pietilä, who have both worked among the Chagga, the dominant ethnic group in Kilimanjaro, discuss *heshima* as alluding to morally acceptable behaviour and being closely related to notions of good moral character (*tabia*) (e.g. Hasu 1999b:389, Pietilä 1999a:119).

I similarly view the notion of *heshima*, as it was used in Moshi, as being closely related to morality: morality simply defined as what is considered 'good or evil or right and wrong' (Archetti 1997:100). To be 'a person with respect' (*mtu mwenye heshima*) essentially means to be a 'good person' (*mtu mzuri*), which implies having a 'good moral character' (*tabia nzuri*).

Tabia can however also mean 'behaviour' or 'conduct' (cf. Haram 1999:10-11). This substantiates Phillip Setel's argument in his book on AIDS, desire and risk: to people in Kilimanjaro there is a close interrelationship between a person's conduct and his or her moral character; *tabia* is revealed through action (Setel 1999:91, cf. also Moland 2002:148). Thus, by behaving 'with respect' one reveals a good moral character (cf. Ogden 1996). A slightly different but integral aspect of this interrelationship, I would add, is that moral character also is revealed through physical or bodily appearance (cf. Talle 1998). Such perspectives are instructive when trying to understand many of the everyday practices of female bar and

guesthouse workers in Moshi, not least of which are those related to how they manage their sexuality.

Lastly, I suggest that the notion of *heshima* in Moshi alludes to much of what is captured by Susan Whyte's use and discussion of the concept 'civility', in the case of the Nyole of Eastern Uganda: 'Civility is a recognition of your involvement with other social actors' (Whyte 2002:183). To be 'a person with respect' implies behaving in a manner where one acknowledges the importance of others and their opinions because one also has 'practical wisdom' about 'the way that people are interdependent in trying to perceive goals' (Whyte 2002:182). *Heshima* thus has a strong relational character.

Throughout the thesis I will demonstrate and discuss what this means in more concrete terms in the case of women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi. In light of the scholarly discussions about whether or not there it is a distinctive 'African sexuality', discussions which primarily have taken place in the wake of the AIDS pandemic, it seems relevant to begin by paying extra attention to the question of 'respect' and sexuality.

'Respect' and sexuality

In a number of articles, the Australian demographer John C. Caldwell and co-authors developed the now infamous 'African sexuality' thesis (e.g. Caldwell and Caldwell 1987, Caldwell et al. 1989). In an attempt to explain the high prevalence of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa, Caldwell et al. propose that there is 'a distinct and coherent African system embracing sexuality, marriage and much else' (Caldwell et al. 1989:187). They contrast this system with a Western or 'Eurasian' system and claim that '[th]e touchstone of the contrast between Eurasia and Africa is not male but female sexuality' (Caldwell et al. 1989:197).

One of their main arguments is that whereas in the West, sexual behaviour and in particular female sexual behaviour 'moved to center stage in morality and theology' (Caldwell et al. 1989:192), Africans have not placed 'aspects of sexual behaviour at the center of their moral

and social systems' (Caldwell et al. 1989:194). 'African sexuality' is characterized by a high degree of permissiveness, also as regards female premarital or extramarital sex. Female chastity is thus not a central moral value, and, consequently, there is no or little control with 'the morals and mobility of women' (Caldwell et al. 1989:222).

When arguing for generalizations of this magnitude, it should come as no surprise that the 'African sexuality' thesis has been met with stern criticism. Scholars, in particular anthropologists, have criticized Caldwell et al. for not paying due regard to variation or change in sub-Saharan Africa. Several have also questioned their use of anthropological sources (see Ahlberg 1994, Heald 1995, Haram 1999, 2005b, Arnfred 2004). Heald for one, proposes that in the case of East Africa and quite contrary to what is claimed by Caldwell et al., '[t]here is a preoccupation with the control of sexuality, so that the controls surrounding sex, and the self-control that one must exercise with regard to it, epitomise social and moral behaviour' (Heald 1995:492). In a similar vein, she maintains that 'respect draws its power from that accorded to sexuality' (Heald 1995:492).

In contemporary Moshi, how a woman manages her sexuality is of prime significance when it comes to how her moral character is evaluated; it is precisely because of their perceived 'immoral' sexual behaviour that female bar and guesthouse workers are negatively stereotyped by others in society. This weight put on sexual behaviour in moral evaluations in Moshi, and particularly so in the case of women, corresponds with Haram's (1999, 2005b) findings from the Meru (Haram 1999, 2005b) as well as with Hasu's (1999b) and Pietilä's (1999a, 1999b) observations from rural Kilimanjaro: female sexual behaviour is discussed in terms of 'respect' and 'shame' (*aibu)* to a much greater extent than male sexual behaviour. *Heshima* is consequently very much a gendered concept in present-day Moshi. Moreover, discussions concerning how women should manage their sexuality intersect with debates on women's spatial mobility (cf. Haram 1999:11, Hasu 1999b:389). This will become particularly evident in chapter eight, when I explore how certain characteristics and characterizations of bars and guesthouses collide with gender specific but also more general moral values, ideals and 'codes' for interaction in Kilimanjaro.

Thus, my thesis can be read as an argument against Caldwell et al.'s claim that 'African (female) sexuality' is basically free from moral values and evaluations, and against their generalizations about 'African sexuality'.[6] However,: 'certain aspects of [Caldwell et al's] picture strike a chord' (Heald 1995:490), specifically their argument concerning fertility as a basic cultural value in African societies (Caldwell et al. 1989:188),[7] and their claim that female sexuality in Africa has a transactional nature (Caldwell et al. 1989:203-205).

While many of the women at the centre of this study are involved in sexual relationships where money or gifts from men is part of the dynamic, the expectation of such gifts is not specific to the relationships of female bar and guesthouse workers. In Moshi, I shall argue, there generally is no ideological taboo against bringing money into sexual relationships (Caldwell et al. 1989, cf. also Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999).

I do nevertheless also contend that the material aspect of sexual relationships in contemporary Moshi should not be given unduly attention at the risk of ignoring other meanings people attribute to their sexual relationships and sexuality (cf. Setel 1999:141). Thus, I find the term 'transactional *dimension*' (Smette 2000: 86, original italics) more apt than the expressions 'transactional character' or 'transactional nature': expressions which are commonly used in discussions of female sexuality in Africa (cf. Setel 1999:141). But, when seeking to examine why women working in bars and guesthouses are said to 'have no respect' and how this corresponds with their everyday practices, it is important to recognize that the strategic and materially oriented use of sexuality *can* be legitimate in many African societies.

The underlying contention in this thesis is therefore that employing the concepts 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' cross-culturally can be misleading because they entail specific Western

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[6] Importantly, the 'African sexuality' thesis does by definition imply an equally problematic generalization concerning 'Western sexuality' (Helle-Valle and Talle 2000:183). However, this aspect of Caldwell et al.'s argument has been less commented on; and it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore it further.
[7] I return to this aspect in later parts of the thesis.

ideas of what is and what is not legitimate management of sexuality and sexual relationships (cf. e.g. Haram 1999:15, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000:194).

Analytical perspectives and tools

I am inspired by Unni Wikan's (1990) perspectives in her book, *Managing turbulent hearts: A Balinese formula for living*, which also resonates with Whyte's (2002) argument in the article, *Subjectivity and subjunctivity: Hoping for health in eastern Uganda*. Furthermore, I find the concepts 'stereotyping', 'moral discourses' and 'producing respect' particularly useful when attempting to understand how the women are perceived by others in society, and how this intersects with their self-perceptions and everyday practices.

Multiple concerns and their simultaneous character in everyday life

Wikan (1990) urges anthropologists to have a strong focus on people's 'compelling life concerns': what is '*at stake* for particular persons in particular situations' (Wikan 1990:280, original italics). She argues that we must 'grasp the lived significance of cultural concepts' (Wikan 1990:12), in order to understand the choices and decisions people make, and the meanings they attribute to their own and others' practices.[8] This perspective is similar to Whyte's call for scholars to pay attention to people's 'situated' concerns when trying to understand 'what particular individuals actually are trying to do' (Whyte 2002:175). Further, Wikan argues that it is the 'essence of life experiences that it cannot be compartmentalized into neat and orderly sections to be dealt with sequentially one by one' (Wikan 1990:27). On

[8] This is part of an argument against 'cultural analysis' and in particular Clifford Geertz's work from Bali, which in Wikan's words 'seeks to probe the meanings of key cultural symbols which intertwine with others in a coherent structure that can be read much as we read a text' (Wikan 1990:15). I will not elaborate on this debate, nor will I engage in a discussion for or against the concept of 'culture'. However, I am inclined to agree with Signe Howell who maintains that 'to drop culture from our vocabulary because some have used it unwisely, would be to throw the baby out with the bath-water' (Howell 1997:4). I understand Wikan to take a similar position, when she acknowledges 'the power of cultural constructs' (Wikan 1990:38) but at the same time warns against making 'our concept of culture all-explanatory' (Wikan 1990:38).

the contrary; '[c]oncerns spill over and a multiplicity of cares must be handled, several at once' (Wikan 1990:27).

As this work will show, the matters 'at stake' for women who work in bars and guesthouses in Moshi are many, multifaceted and often contradictory. They seek to ensure economic security and some degree of personal freedom for themselves; they try to meet the many and diverse expectations from their kin; they aim to do their job well and to be appreciated by their boss; they deal with matters of love and pleasure as well as deceit and trust; they try to protect themselves from getting infected by HIV or other sexually transmitted infections and, most significantly; they continuously struggle to be recognized as 'a woman with respect' by colleagues, sexual partners, other guests, customers, neighbours, friends as well as relatives.

These multiple and often simultaneous concerns might seem to face the women with unsolvable predicaments, and there are indeed times when such is the case. However, I hope my account will convey that the women have '"practical wisdom" about the intertwining of concerns' (Whyte 2002:183) in everyday life, and that they actively attempt to handle the ambiguities and dilemmas of their everyday lives with the means they have at hand.

Stereotyping, moral discourses and producing respect

Both Ogden (1996) and Paula Jean Davis (2000) discuss the continuities and discontinuities concerning how townswomen in colonial and postcolonial Kampala have been depicted as 'immoral and unworthy of respect' by scholars and others in Ugandan society (Ogden 1996:166). They discuss how urban women themselves have engaged with and attempted to renegotiate the devaluation of their persons. Many of their findings resonate with my observations from Moshi, and I return to some of their arguments in more detail as my account and analysis unfold.

Davis employs the term 'negative stereotyping' (Davis 2000:29) when examining how the term 'town women' in Kampala has come to be equated with 'prostitute.' Although

'stereotyping' is neither a novel nor unique term, I find it helpful because it captures the processual aspect of the negative moral evaluation of female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi, and reveals that the common perception of this group of women is not definite, static nor irresistible to change. Furthermore, because it alludes to evaluations of groups of people and not individuals, it allows for recognition of the fact that *individual* workers are not always regarded as 'immoral' and 'without respect'.

Lastly, I employ the concept in my analysis because it implicates the power aspect of moral evaluations in a society; some groups of people or institutions have more 'power of definition' than others. To capture this power dimension, I also draw on the term 'moral discourses.'

'Discourse' is used in many different ways in anthropological literature. I use the term in the Foucauldian sense: it refers not only to a particular way of talking about a phenomenon, but also to its relation to power structures and its reflection in norms and actions (cf. Abu-Lughod 1991:147-148, Moland 2002:18). While I do not embark on a description or analysis of power relations in Moshi, I recognize that some voices and domains are more 'dominant' and hence have more persistence and force than others, when it comes to moral evaluations in general and those of women working in bars and guesthouses in particular. This is what I mean when employing the term '*dominant* moral discourse' with reference to how the women are stereotyped as 'sexually loose'. I shall dwell some on this power aspect in what follows.

Referencing Diana Jeater's (1993) historical analysis of marriage relations and regulation of sexuality in urban Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, Ogden argues that the moral discourse which accompanied and still surrounds townswomen in Uganda is a 'combination of the strict patriarchal/patrilineal social organisation of the rural areas and the Victorian, middle-class, Christian morality introduced by the colonial project' (Ogden 1996:165). I argue that one could understand the dominant moral discourse about the women I did fieldwork among as deriving its power from similar sources and processes. This corresponds to Setel's argument regarding moral discourses on risk in Kilimanjaro: what people in general term 'traditional' moral values as regards proper management of sexuality, and Christian as well as Islamic

moral values, are usually seen as one and the same (Setel 1999:57-58, cf. also Hasu 1999b:358). In the era of AIDS, it would furthermore seem that the many education and intervention programmes contribute to a strengthening of such an alliance between 'traditional' and religious institutions in Moshi (Setel 1999, cf. Haram 2004, Ogden 1996, Davis 2000). Thus, the dominant moral discourse, centring as it does on the women's sexual behaviour, seems to reflect a complex blend of moral values and evaluations deriving from the domains of 'traditional culture', religion and the health care system (cf. Helle-Valle and Talle 2000). In chapter seven and eight I refer to this 'blend' of values, although I typically do not differentiate between its different sources nor explore how they interrelate.

A term like 'dominant' might be argued to entail ideas of self-evidence, muteness and non-negotiability (Pietilä 1999b:12). This is not how I understand the *nature* of the negative stereotyping of women working in bars and guesthouses and not how they themselves relate to such stereotyping; however, I do recognize that a 'taken-for-granted' aspect also plays a role.

In employing the term 'dominant', I am inspired by Pietilä's use of the term, when she discusses Chagga market women's debates concerning dominant ideas of gender relations in Kilimanjaro: 'the dominant ideology does not prevent social conflicts and diverse and subversive interpretations. Rather than forming a mystified model, the dominant meanings are continuously being discussed and molded' (Pietilä 1999a:132). The group of women I am concerned with in this thesis are like the market women Pietilä describes: they are far from mute. Despite being acutely aware of their precarious moral position, they actively engage with the moral devaluations of their persons both in discussions on the matter of 'respect' and in their everyday practices. How they do this will be demonstrated and analyzed thoroughly in this thesis; where I also aim to show that the women 'do not talk with one voice but also argue with each other from different perspectives and positions' (Pietilä 1999a:132).

By arguing that there is a *dominant* moral discourse about the women, I imply that there is not one but several moral discourses at play in contemporary Moshi. Recognizing this plurality is

a prerequisite to understanding how derogatory images of the women seem to be balanced and at times overruled by other more positive images of them as 'proper' women.

This brings me to Ogden's concept '"producing" respect' (Ogden 1996:165). She refers concretely to producing children and the 'respect' that townswomen in Kampala can achieve through childbearing (see also Davis 2000), but alludes also to the women's active partaking in other forms of 'respect-making' (Ogden 1996:187). Although I will discuss the role motherhood plays in how women are morally evaluated in Tanzania, I employ 'producing respect', more generally and leave out the quotation marks. I draw on the concept to understand the ways people may attain 'respect' because it captures the processual, creative and negotiable character of the notion of *heshima* in present-day Tanzania (cf. also Haram 2004). By using this term, I want to highlight how women who work in bars and guesthouses actively and intelligently engage with the moral discourses that surround them and which they are part of. Sometimes, but certainly not always, they challenge or rework dominant values and evaluations, in their continuous struggle for respect.

A short outline of the study

In this chapter I have introduced the empirical themes to be explored in the pages that follow, as well as the main perspectives and analytical tools I draw on when approaching them. Other concepts and debates will be discussed and clarified as my account proceeds. In the next chapter, I consider methodological and ethical issues and situate my thesis in a wider context by providing some background information about the women and the study area. Unlike most of the studies from Tanzania which I draw on (see Weiss 1996, Howard and Millard 1997, Haram 1999, Hasu 1999b, Pietilä 1999b, Setel 1999, Lange 2002, Moland 2002, Dilger 2003), I do not elaborate on aspects of the social organisation of any particular ethnic group.[9]

[9] Although '[t]he nation state of Tanzania relates to individuals as citizens and ethnic identity has been systematically ignored (at least officially) in an effort to create a Tanzanian nation' (Moland 2002:25), my

This is because the workers in Moshi are an ethnically diverse group (see Talle 1998 for similar observations in Namanga).[10]

In chapter three I narrow my view to the bars and guesthouses in Moshi. I give a glimpse into the everyday rhythm and the physical environment of the combined bar and guesthouse where I lived, to provide an introduction to the settings in which I conducted my research. This chapter also aims to substantiate my claim regarding the women's self-perceptions as working women.

Chapter four deals with the relationships the women have with their families and home villages. I seek to demonstrate that for the great majority of the women; maintaining a close relationship with their place and family of origin, which also means fulfilling the many expectations they meet from 'home', is a major concern in their everyday lives.

In chapter five and six I discuss the relationships the women have with men as well as the meanings they themselves attribute to these relationships. Joyce's story, which constitutes the major part of chapter five, contributes to a broader understanding of the multiplicity of concerns the women relate to and how these concerns more often than not must be handled simultaneously. This simultaneous character of the women's many concerns is nowhere more apparent than in their continuous negotiations and renegotiations of the relationships they have with men; which is why I have chosen to let Joyce's relationships with men constitute the structuring factor in my presentation of her story.

In chapter seven and eight I turn to a detailed analysis of how the women are perceived by others in society, specifically, different aspects of the dominant moral discourse about female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi. And, in the concluding chapter, I return again to the

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experience is that Tanzanians in general do self-identify as members of an ethnic group (*kabila*). In cases of mixed ethnic origin, all the women I met defined themselves as members of the ethnic group of their father.

[10] I did not find that there were striking differences regarding moral values and valuations between people from different ethnic groups, and accordingly, I do not focus on this aspect, but rather on geographical area when discussing cultural values and evaluations.

relationship between ways of 'producing respect' and the everyday practices and discussions of the women. I suggest that whether or not a woman will have some success in her struggle to be recognized as 'a woman with respect' depends on whether her practices can be understood as supporting, or at least bear resemblance to practices and values that support, long-term reproduction of the social order (Bloch and Parry 1989).

2. THE FIELDWORKER AND THE FIELD

In any kind of anthropological fieldwork, one must carefully consider the methodological and ethical challenges and dilemmas such an endeavour entails. Throughout my thesis, I explicitly discuss my involvement with female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi, how I was perceived by them and by other people in the settings I frequented, and how this inevitably impacted the kinds of information I was able to access. Furthermore, the methodological and ethical dilemmas I faced during fieldwork are closely connected to my concerns regarding how to present the data I obtained. I will elaborate on these issues in this chapter and chapter five, through considerations regarding anonymisation and use of case materials.

In the second part of the chapter I introduce Tanzania, the region of Kilimanjaro and Moshi town, mainly in terms of population dynamics. I present general social characteristics of the women I did fieldwork among, their age, marital status, number of children, level of education, religion and ethnic identity. I also comment on general possibilities for earning a living in Tanzania, as well as provide information regarding the prevalence of HIV infection in the country and among the group of women that are the focus of this study in particular. My goal is to contribute to a contextual understanding of the life conditions of female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi, and thus provide a backdrop to the account and discussions that follow.

Methodological and ethical issues

Finding the locations and getting to know the women

Having lived in Moshi for three months in 1998 as part of my training to become a social worker, I was already familiar with Moshi town. However, I took some time to ‘re-discover’ Moshi in terms of locating the kinds of settings that were to be the focus of my study.

Through a friend from my previous stay in Moshi, I made contact with a ten-cell leader (*balozi*)[11] in a street with several bars and guesthouses. The ten-cell leader agreed to introduce me to the owners as well as the women working in these kinds of establishments on his street. I later found out that the ten-cell leader is known as a notorious drunk who refuses to pay his bills at the bars, and that the women agreed to speak to me in spite of rather than because of him. They were curious about who I was and especially what a white person (*mzungu*, plural: *wazungu*) could want in an area where other white people rarely came, except for the occasional missionary. I also learned that although I introduced myself as a student wishing to speak to women about their work and lives, many thought I was sent by the authorities (*serekali*) to check whether or not official work regulations were followed. Thus, both they and their bosses were rather sceptical about my presence at first. I think the women were never ever able to completely grasp the main aims of my project. One reason for this was probably because at times I myself was rather confused in this regard. I nevertheless hope and truly believe that I came to gain their confidence and trust *and* that they were at least partly aware that I was going to use the information they provided me with in my studies.

In the beginning of January 2004, one month after my arrival in Moshi, the women working in one of the combined bar and guesthouses I visited most often in this street, invited me to come and stay at 'their' guesthouse. I moved in and lived there for the remaining time of my fieldwork. The women working in the bars and guesthouses on my street all became friends as well as my main sources of information. As they got to know me better, they introduced me to other women working in the same neighbourhood. During my first month in Moshi, when I stayed at a small hotel in the town centre, I also established contact with women working in bars located not far from this hotel. As it turned out, the neighbourhood where I ended up

[11] The ten-cell was the smallest unit in the previous one-party system in Tanzania. It was headed by an elected ten-cell leader and consisted of 10 households (Moland 2002). During my fieldwork the ten-cell structure was still in function in Moshi town. The *balozi* was a person representing one of the now several political parties in Tanzania, most often the governing party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), and elected by his or her neighbours to be their representative in issues where the government is involved as well as to serve as a mediator in conflicts in the neighbourhood. In the street where I lived there were two ten-cell leaders, both representing CCM.

living was within walking distance from these bars. I hence decided to concentrate on this extended area, and did not visit bars or guesthouses in other parts of Moshi town for the purpose of my study.

I got to know close to 40 female bar and guesthouse workers. The women worked in 14 different establishments, which were located within four administrative wards and both divisions of the town.[12] I had regular contact with all the women, but daily and closer contact with a smaller number. Which of the women I saw often varied throughout the course of my fieldwork.

As a whole I spent most of my time in Moshi with women who work in bars and guesthouses, and when I use expressions like 'the women', 'the workers', 'the women I did fieldwork among' and 'the women I knew', I am referring to these women, unless otherwise specified.

Other informants and sources of information

I also made friends with women who have other sources of income: women who lived in my neighbourhood or in the other areas of Moshi that I frequented, or who stayed for a shorter or longer period of time at the guesthouse where I lived. These women mainly earned their money by: selling second-hand clothes bought at Kiboroloni, the largest weekly market in Kilimanjaro region, or other items and clothes bought on trips to the Kenyan boarder or the capital city Dar es Salaam;[13] working in hairdressing salons, or; cooking and selling food from small booths (*mama nitilie*). I also got to know women who more or less openly told me that they made a living solely from short-time sexual encounters with men they met at the

[12] A ward (*kata*) is the lowest administrative unit in urban Tanzania. Moshi town (or Moshi urban/Moshi municipality) is one of six districts in Kilimanjaro region. It has two divisions (*tarafa*), one which comprises seven wards and one consisting of eight wards (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS] 2002). In the next chapter, I return to the total number of bars and guesthouses in the wards in my fieldwork location, as well as in Moshi town in general.

[13] Although Tanzania's capital officially was moved to Dodoma in 1973, Dar es Salaam is still the de facto capital of the country.

main disco in Moshi, Pub Alberto. These women were by others referred to as *machangudoa* (singular: *changudoa*), a term I elaborate on in chapter seven. And, I had friends who were 'housewives' (*mama wa nyumbani*), several of whom made money from selling tea, home-made juice or other food-stuff from their homes. All these women were important sources of information, particularly on issues related to sexuality as well as what it means to be 'a woman with respect' and thus also to understand how women working in bars and guesthouses are perceived in Tanzania.

A valid objection to the material on which I base my thesis is that I do not have very systematic information about men's views although men are part of many of the situations I describe and discuss. This is due to the nature of the setting in which I conducted my fieldwork, and to me being a single (white) woman. I did at a very early stage realize that gaining the confidence of the women was not compatible with having one-on-one conversations with male guests or customers. This was largely because some of the women quite obviously at first perceived me as a potential competitor for the men's attention (cf. Talle 1995). Moreover, to be curious of a man's views and thus seek his company *would* very easily result in him thinking I was showing sexual interest. Hence, and in particular during the first months of my fieldwork, my decision to not address men directly became as much a practical measure for the purpose of protecting myself from or at least reducing the number of sexual propositions as it was a conscious and well-reflected methodological choice. As will become evident in the case I present in chapter eight, I was not always successful in this approach; throughout my stay in Moshi I struggled with the dilemma of how to turn down men's propositions without appearing morally judgemental about how the women managed their sexuality.

I also actively avoided establishing close contact with the owners or managers of the bars and guesthouses I visited, although I always introduced myself the first time I visited an establishment or when the owner was around. I made this choice because of the rather strained relationship the women usually had with their bosses.

Several of the men who were guests and customers at the bars and guesthouses were regulars and got used to my presence; and as the women realised that I was not an actual threat to any of their relationships, they often introduced me to men they knew as well as invited me to join them when eating or drinking together. As I became a less exotic inhabitant of my neighbourhood, I also got to know many of my male neighbours rather well. In some establishments there were male bar workers as well as watchmen. As a result, and especially towards the end of my fieldwork, I had quite a few informal conversations with a number of different men on issues of interest to my study. I furthermore discussed my topics of interest with both men and women working in different government offices, hospitals and NGO's, several of whom I knew from my previous stay in Moshi, but also persons I met when seeking relevant background information and statistical material. And finally, as regards attitudes towards women who work in bars and guesthouses in Tanzania, I do as well draw on other studies from Kilimanjaro and neighbouring areas (especially Talle 1995, 1998, Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999).

Language and further methodological reflections

Swahili is the national language of Tanzania and a language known and used by all my acquaintances in Moshi. Because of earlier stays in Tanzania, both in my childhood and as a student of social work, I speak Swahili. Thus, I did not use an interpreter or assistant at any time. Since the women were from different ethnic groups, they spoke (with very few exceptions) Swahili together. Local languages were seldom used in town; the women mostly spoke local languages with family and friends when visiting their villages or receiving visitors from 'home'. I would then ask the women to translate for me. There were nevertheless Swahili expressions and words I did not understand, and the women at times did not see the need to explain even if I asked; they thought I was joking or just being difficult. There were also times that I thought I had understood what had been said in a certain situation, but afterwards, while writing out my notes discovered that this was not so, and that it was too late to ask. However, overall it was a huge plus to know Swahili well, and I believe that my methods would have been very different if I did not speak the language.

As Holy (1984:14) notes, 'the unique method of yielding data through long-term "participant-observation"' has been the characteristic that most clearly sets anthropology apart from other social sciences since the time of Malinowski. Hence, anthropologists have 'striven for intensive interaction, tuning into daily rhythms and [getting] involved in the practical chores of the people included in the study' (Kristvik 2002:49). I gained most of my data using 'participant-observation ethnographic techniques' (Bourgois 2003:12): a method to establish long-term relationships based on trust and thus to observe and participate in activities, discussions and events

In chapter three I describe the everyday rhythm at the guesthouse where I lived; it was in this setting and similar establishments on my street, that I most actively participated in daily activities such as making and drinking morning tea, doing the dishes, washing clothes and making or buying lunch and dinner. But I also 'hung around' observing the women do their work. When they were having breaks or simply relaxing while waiting for customers or guest to come, I joined or listened to their discussions and conversations. I also accompanied the women to the market, shops in the town centre, the disco, the clinic where many of them did health check-ups every three months,[14] on hospital visits as well as when visiting friends, colleagues and sometimes family members living in their neighbourhoods or other parts of town. I had the opportunity to join eight of the women on trips to their home villages or other rural areas where relatives and children lived, all within Kilimanjaro and the neighbouring Arusha regions. I also went to weddings, funerals, baptisms and children's birthday parties with the women working in the bars as well as with some of the other women I knew.

Thus, although I undeniably spent most of my time with the female bar and guesthouse workers *in* their working environment, I also followed Wikan's methodological advice:

> To understand what meanings people attribute to the acts of others, and what is at stake for themselves in everyday life, the total realm in which they move must be explored. We should follow people *across domains* to discover what are the meaningful connections *they* perceive and

[14] I return to this in the second part of this chapter.

> the distinctions *they* draw. Lives inevitably have some kind of unity – even when compartmentalized into roles and positions and partitioned by physical structure. It is this wholeness we need to grasp in order to understand what is at stake (Wikan 1990:17-18, original italics).

Many of the conversations and discussions I had with the women were similar to informal interviews. At times I had a specific theme in mind which I wanted to discuss with some woman or women, and prepared some tentative questions before going to see her or them. More often however, topics came up while we were busy with everyday activities.

As will become clear in the next chapter, the majority of the women seldom had any kind of private space and in their workplaces they were rarely by themselves. I was therefore seldom able to have lengthy, uninterrupted conversations with a woman on her own; private conversations usually only happened if she came to see me in my room or if I accompanied her on an errand or a visit. Thus, in most of the conversations that took place at the bars and guesthouses there were two or more women participating.

These informal group discussions and conversations gave me valuable insight and information, especially on competing norms and values regarding sexuality and the issue of 'respect' as well as on the sexual relationships they had with men. However, I soon discovered that the women were typically unwilling or uncomfortable with answering questions which they saw as being of a more personal nature in front of others, or if they did they would often tell me different versions of the stories when we were on our own. One reason for this was that there were many conflicts and a high level of competition among them; the women often complained to me as well as to each other that it was difficult to trust (*-amini*) anyone in this environment (*mazingira*).[15] However, and what seemed peculiar to me

[15] The women also told me about many of their ongoing conflicts with different colleagues, and talked both to me and each other about these women behind their backs. These conflicts and how they were discussed gave me interesting information, but I had to balance carefully when probing into them. In my experience, one of the worst characteristics one can get in these places is to be a blabbermouth (*mbeya*), and the alliances between the women changed constantly. The fact that I made it clear that I did not take sides and that they experienced that nothing they told me was revealed to other women usually gave me information from both 'parties' in a conflict and I believe that the majority of the women actually came to trust me when it came to 'safe-guarding' their

at first, the matters they were hesitant to talk about in groups were not just those I had anticipated and thus did not ask about, such as number of sexual partners or personal sexual experiences.[16] Many women were also reluctant to answer or even got visibly annoyed when being asked, either by me or by other people, about their personal background such as level of education and number of children or about matters related to economy. This did not mean that they themselves did not bring up these topics in conversations and discussions.

I slowly came to realise that the women's dislike of direct questions in front of others, relate to the important role and value of discretion, concealment and secrecy (*siri*) in Moshi and Tanzania as a whole.[17] As Pietilä states: 'In Kilimanjaro no one is expected to readily disclose his or her personal matters' (Pietilä 1999b:7). Although my sensitivity and tact improved as time went by, my account will show that I never fully grasped which kinds of questions were considered personal, and thus could be inappropriate to ask a woman in a setting where there were other people around. As a result, I more or less stopped enquiring about a woman's background or life history in such situations. This was one of the main reasons for deciding to conduct in-depth interviews with some of the women. I started to do more formalized interviews about four months into my stay in Moshi, while at the same time continuing to gain data through participant-observation including informal conversations and group discussions.

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secrets (see chapter eight). The fact that I was considered 'neutral' became more important than I had anticipated during my interviews (see below): several women told me that had I been involved in the daily conflicts at their workplace, there were some questions they would not have answered, at least not truthfully. This does not mean that I consider the information the women gave me when we were on our own as necessarily being more 'true' than what they said in other situations, and during fieldwork I was generally more interested in exploring the reason for why a woman says different things in different situations than to find '*the* truth'.

[16] As several scholars have noted, sexuality and sexual practices constitute a challenging field of research both because these matters can be sensitive and due to the fact that sexual activity occurs in private and thus is not easily observable (e.g. Nelson 1987:7, Ahlberg 1994:225, Haram 1999:20). I did nevertheless discover that the women talked rather freely about these issues if brought up by themselves, but also when I asked questions in one-on-one situations. As will become evident, some practices were actually more or less open to observation due to the lack of privacy at the guesthouses.

[17] I discuss the role and value of discretion in Moshi in detail in chapter eight.

I had diverse motivations when deciding whom to ask for an interview: I wanted to have more time to talk one-on-one with the women I knew best, to explore topics and stories we had talked about or episodes which had taken place earlier; I also wanted to get to know more about their personal background and views on themes we had already discussed in groups. At the same time this was an opportunity to engage more thoroughly with women whom I did not speak to or interact with on an everyday basis. I interviewed 24 women: a combination of women I had daily contact with and those I saw less often. The women I interviewed worked in 12 of the 14 establishments I frequented.

After four months of fieldwork I gained an idea of the social characteristics of the women working in Moshi, and I sought to make my sample representative in this sense. Based on what I learned during the first four months of fieldwork, I made a very rough interview guide. The topics included: life histories and the women's general background; description of their jobs and everyday practices; experience with negative stereotyping and issues of 'respect'; relationships with men; reflections on and experiences related to marriage, children, alcohol, sexuality and the AIDS pandemic; experience with and view on violence, and; relations to colleagues and thoughts on life in town versus village life. The interviews lasted between one and two hours, were taped, and with the exception of one, which took place in my room, they were all conducted at a rooftop restaurant in one of the tourist hotels in the town centre. The location was not optimal, but this was a place we could be fairly sure of not getting interrupted by people we knew; during the early afternoon, when I conducted the majority of the interviews, the restaurant was often empty. It also turned out that most of the women appreciated the chance to see a place they had heard of but had never or rarely visited. The majority of the women I interviewed also used this expedition as a chance to do errands in the town centre, since they seldom had the chance to go there at other times. We therefore spent more time together than the hours the interview took, and often continued to talk about the themes we had discussed after the minidisk recorder was turned off.

I also interviewed eight of my female friends who had other sources of income on the same topics and in the same location. Four of these were among the women who are said to be

machangudoa. I as well conducted formalized interviews with several other women and people I approached for background information, about their views on and perception of female bar and guesthouse workers.

Being a friend, woman, single, guest, white and a student of anthropology

Bourgois notes that 'in order to collect "accurate data", ethnographers violate the canons of positivist research: we become intimately involved with the people we study' (Bourgois 2003: 13). Carol Delaney similarly states that '[p]articipant-observation, despite its flat emotionless calculation, refers in reality to the intense experience of living in a reciprocating community' (Delaney 1988: 293). These reflections resonate with my own experiences from as well as indicate the nature of some of the dilemmas I encountered during fieldwork.

As the women and I got to know each other better the roles of 'researcher' and 'informant' became blurred; the women I met on a daily basis became my friends. In the establishment where I lived I was also a guest (*mteja*), meaning that the women cleaned my room, fetched bathing water and changed my bed sheets. Although I have sympathy for Bourgois' (2003:14) concerns about turning anthropological work into 'narcissistic' self-reflections, several aspects of my role and fieldwork raise further methodological and ethical dilemmas in need of consideration before proceeding with my account.

Firstly, the nature of fieldwork like mine raises questions regarding the ethics of 'using' one's friends to get an academic degree (cf. Smette 2001:38-39). Although many of the women participated in an epidemiological study concerned with HIV prevalence and risk factors, the concept of ethnographic field research was virtually unknown to them.[18] I was often troubled

[18] None of the women I knew were familiar with the Swahili word most often used by government offices, NGOs and other institutions for 'research': *utafiti*. An alternative term suggested to me, *uchunguzi*, proved to have rather negative connotations by alluding to investigation as in 'police investigation' or also to prying and even spying.

by the thought that had they 'known better', they may not have so easily accepted me being around or as freely invited me to join them in their daily activities. On the other hand, as I will illustrate in chapter four, many of the women quite openly told me that having a *mzungu* friend made them 'look good'. I am quite sure that my whiteness, and its association with development and progress, was at least part of the reason for why I was invited to accompany a woman on her trip to a rural area. Although I thus participated in 'the construction of social reality' (Moland 2002:24) by enhancing a woman's status in her home village, I was somehow comforted by the thought that in this sense, my 'tagging along' also benefited her.

Nevertheless, I am sure that the women I lived among and spoke to, although they knew that I was a student and had been informed that I studied women working at bars and guesthouses, were not always aware that I actually studied *them* and in particular that I took note of what they *did* in addition to what they said.

There are no easy solutions to such quandaries, and I struggled to cope with them both during my stay in Moshi and when writing my thesis. This was another main reason for deciding to conduct in-depth interviews with some of the women. It was then possible for me to explain and discuss my project and different episodes more explicitly with them, and to ask each woman permission to use her views and experiences in my thesis. I assured them that no real names would be used in my study and that I would do my best to make certain that no one could identify them from what I wrote.[19] When only the women were present, I often took out my little blue notebook and asked if I could write things down as we talked. Although it was awkward in the beginning, the women soon got used to it and even encouraged me to take notes when issues they thought I would be interested in came up.

[19] For the majority of the women this did not seem to be a big issue, perhaps because I explained that I would write my thesis in English, a language none of them mastered. They were much more preoccupied with making sure that none of their colleagues would be given information about their personal stories.

In other situations, such as when walking to and from places or travelling, taking notes was not feasible; when relatives or guests and customers were around, which was quite often, it was not appropriate. I thus wrote sketchy notes when I was able to 'hide away' somewhere and refined them later, or I wrote notes from memory when being back in my room.[20]

This takes me to a related dilemma: although the women and my other friends and neighbours, were aware of my purpose for 'hanging around' at bars and guesthouses, the guests and customers were not. As a rule, neither were the friends and relatives we visited. I usually left it to the women to introduce me, and they typically presented me as a friend (*rafiki*), a guest from their workplace (*mteja*) and/or a student (*mwanafunzi*) without additional details. If asked directly my habitual answer was that I was a student trying to learn more about the lives of women in Moshi. As a result, several of the persons are unwitting participants in the situations I describe.

To protect the identities of the women whose views and everyday practices are presented in this account, all names as well as aspects of life histories and biographies have been changed. I have not presented a 'gallery of informants' to be followed throughout, although some women are more visible than others. I have also anonymised locales, and I have chosen not to render the exact location of the area within which I did fieldwork or the name of my neighbourhood and street. Those who knew me during my stay will nevertheless know where I lived. The extended case I present in chapter five, raises some further questions: how do I use the data I got by actually living in a guesthouse and bar and at times inevitably influencing, if not constructing, some of the situations I discuss?

[20] The many quotations in this thesis are either from transcribed interviews or from conversations and discussions as they are quoted in my field notes. Since both the interviews as well as parts of my notes are in Swahili, and have been translated solely by me, I have included numerous Swahili expressions in the text. This is to allow Swahili speakers to see some of my translations. I have not made a separate glossary, but instead translate terms as they appear in the text.

I believe that if we are to comprehend the multiple and simultaneous character of the concerns the women have in their lives, and how these and their everyday practices intersect with ways of 'producing respect' in Moshi, the only way is to 'steep oneself in detailed and particular cases' (Wikan 1990:18). Such cases also render the most nuanced and comprehensive picture of how the women manage and perceive their sexuality and relationships with men. Regarding questions of anonymity, although the extended case focuses on one particular woman, it is upon writing this thesis that I have abstracted the case as one continuous story (cf. Hannerz 1980:133). During my stay in Moshi, Joyce was one of many women whom I for shorter or longer periods of time had daily contact with. Therefore, and because the situations I describe and discuss represent rather regular incidents both at the establishment where I lived as well as the other establishments I frequented, I am confident that nothing I have written reveals her identity. Moreover, because the women frequently change working places, it is not easy for people to recall who were part of which situations.

Other dilemmas are related to one of the main activities in the settings I frequented, namely, the drinking of alcohol. As Deborah F. Bryceson stresses in her introduction to the book *Alcohol in Africa: Mixing business, pleasure and politics*, the practice of drinking alcohol does not merely have a social, meaningful side which researchers can seek to understand; as a material stimulant 'alcohol has a causal force that acts on people' (Bryceson 2002:4). I return to the many meanings of drinking alcohol later in this thesis, in particular in chapter eight. It will then also become evident how I often, and not always willingly, became part of interactions I merely wished to observe (see Drage 2005 on similar experiences while doing fieldwork in Nigeria, cf. also Setel 1999:22, Moland 2002:24). For now I wish to highlight the dilemma of how to handle information provided to me with when people were visibly intoxicated. I hasten to add that the women rarely got drunk even if the majority drank quite a few bottles of beer or other kinds of alcohol during the course of a day.[21] I have tried to deal

[21] In line with Mona Drage's (2005) reflections, there is of course also the question of my own consumption of alcohol. With few exceptions I drank alcohol only when being offered (usually by men known to the women), although at some special occasions I purchased rounds of beer for myself and the women. I continuously tried to

with this by protecting people's identities in this text, and during fieldwork, by discussing the episodes and information I received when people were sober.

Finally, there is the ever returning quandary of my extremely favourable economic situation compared to the women. My privileged position was perhaps particularly poignant in this setting because of the women's low wages, the many expectations they faced from 'home' and as well as the much debated issue of how to 'lure' men into giving one money. At times I felt that some of the women also tried to 'lure' me into buying them stuff or giving them money. As time passed and we got to know each other better, most of them more or less stopped conveying their economic difficulties to me in terms of asking for assistance, and I ended up having rather opposite qualms when the women insisted that I eat with them. Since I had nowhere to cook, eating with the women was a rather practical arrangement, but I found it unreasonable that I should not contribute money or that I should contribute on an equal basis. Hence, although we did not discuss it directly, we found an arrangement where everyone present chipped in, but I usually paid the lion's share; perhaps unfair to the men, if a woman was offered food, none of us paid. Throughout my fieldwork there were nevertheless situations, often involving medicine and hospital bills either for themselves or family members, where the women and others came to me for economic assistance. Although this certainly violated the canons of positivist research (Bourgois 2003:13), in many of these situations I found it unethical not to help. After all, such issues, complicated as they may be, are an integral part of living in a reciprocating community (cf. Delaney 1988: 53).

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find the balance between drinking what was expected of me, while avoiding getting drunk and avoiding exploitation of the men's goodwill and drunkenness. This last concern is an aspect of what I later refer to as *kuchuna buzi* (literally: to skin a goat), an expression that denotes luring or fooling a man into buying you food, lots of beer and perhaps also give you money. However, there is no doubt that I rather frequently became part of this practice.

The country, the town and the women

I now turn to a discussion of significant demographic data about Tanzania as a whole and Kilimanjaro region and Moshi town in particular,[22] in addition to general social characteristics of the women. I focus in particular on issues of migration and urbanisation as well as gender differences in access to education and the labour market, which I find especially relevant for a broad contextual understanding of the life conditions, choices and concerns of female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi.

Tanzania, Kilimanjaro region and Moshi town

The United Republic of Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa, covering close to 943,000 square kilometres. Although some economic growth has taken place during recent years, Tanzania is still one of the poorest countries in the world. A considerable part of its urban population, 26 percent, lives below the national basic needs poverty line.[23] Poverty is nevertheless most severe in rural areas, where 39 percent of the population lives below the national poverty line (United Nations Development Group [UNDG] 2001, The United Republic of Tanzania 2005).

According to the 2002 population and housing census the total population of Tanzania is 34.4 million. Just over ninety-seven percent live in Tanzania mainland and 2.9 percent in Tanzania Zanzibar.[24] The population has almost tripled in the 35 years between the first census after

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[22] The official reports I refer to in this section were either gathered when visiting government offices, particularly the Library of the National Bureau of Statistics in Dar es Salaam during fieldwork, or downloaded from the Tanzania Government National Website www.tanzania.go.tz or the National Bureau of Statistics Website www.nbs.go.tz

[23] In 2000 and by December 2000 exchange rates, this was equivalent to 0.26 US $ per adult per day. If one were to employ the international poverty line the poverty incidence in Tanzanian would be significantly higher, accounting for around 57.5 percent of the total population. (The United Republic of Tanzania 2005:114). See this publication for a further discussion of these and related numbers.

[24] The United Republic of Tanzania is a union between the then mainland country of Tanganyika which became a nation independent from British rule in 1961 and the island of Zanzibar which became independent in 1964.

independence in 1967, and the census of 2002. The annual population growth for Tanzania mainland is now 2.9 percent and the average population density is 38 per square kilometre. Although Tanzania is relatively less urbanized than many of the other African countries it is comparable to, the country has experienced a rapid growth in its urban population since independence. During the period between 1967 and 2002 the number of people residing in urban areas has increased over ten times, which means that the urban population increases at a much faster rate than the country's total population. In Tanzania mainland 22.6 percent of the total population now live in urban centres, compared to 5.7 percent in 1967; this rapid urbanisation has largely been a result of migration from rural to urban areas rather than natural increase (NBS 2006).

Kilimanjaro region, covering just above13,000 square kilometres, is the second smallest region by land area in Tanzania mainland, following only Dar es Salaam. It is located in the north eastern corner of the country, and boarders Kenya to the north, Arusha and Manyara regions[25] to the west and south west, and Tanga region to the south (NBS 2002a). The region takes its name from snow-capped Mt. Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa, and is characterized by two distinct economic and cultural zones: the mountains and the plains. The altitude varies substantially within and between these zones. This has brought about diverse vegetation and climatic conditions, which is reflected in the variety of production systems within rather short distances. The slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro and neighbouring Pare Mountains support intensive agro-forestry cropping and the cultivation of coffee; while the area has historically been inhabited mainly by the Chagga and the Pare, the two dominant ethnic groups in the region, the drier lowland has traditionally been the habitat of nomadic Maasai pastoralists who herd their livestock on the savannah and who constitutes the last of the three most prominent ethnic groups within Kilimanjaro. Of the three, the Chagga are the most dominant not only numerically speaking but also in terms of political and cultural influence.

The union was formed on 26 April 1964. Since demographic characteristics differ considerably between Tanzania mainland and Tanzania Zanzibar, I will refer for the most part to data concerning the mainland.

[25] The former Arusha region was split into the current Arusha and Manyara regions in 2002 (NBS 2006).

More recently, and mainly due to land shortage, Chagga and Pare peasants have moved to and taken up farming on the savannah, hence competing with the Maasai for land (Talle et al. 1995: xviii-xxi, Moland 2002:31-33).

The population of Kilimanjaro numbers close to 1.4 million and has a population density of 103 per square kilometre. This makes it the third most densely populated region in Tanzania mainland, surpassed only by Dar es Salaam and Mwanza. Kilimanjaro further has a young age structure, in that 43 percent of the population is below 15 years of age and 51 percent is between 15 and 64 years, the so-called working age. This corresponds closely with the numbers of Tanzania as a whole. Regarding the sex ratio, there is in Kilimanjaro 93 males per 100 females, a number which differs slightly from the national average of 95 males per 100 females (NBS 2004, 2006). This difference is largely due to the extensive out-migration from the region which has continuously taken place since the Second World War, and which is usually explained by the general lack of farming land as well as of alternative means of income in Kilimanjaro. The great majority of the migrants to urban areas both within and outside the region have historically been men looking for work (Talle et al. 1995, Setel 1999, NBS 2002a). The 2002 census shows that Kilimanjaro continues to be the Tanzania mainland region with the biggest negative net lifetime migration figure, with people mainly migrating to Arusha and Dar es Salaam regions. The region nevertheless also experiences considerable in-migration, particularly from neighbouring Tanga and Arusha regions (NBS 2006, cf. also NBS 2002a, Setel 1999).

As a whole, the region has a relatively low population growth, with an annual growth rate of 1.6 percent. The regional centre Moshi, on the other hand, grows at a noticeably higher pace. Seen in relation to earlier censuses the town's population growth nevertheless seems to have slowed down considerably in recent years: from a 6.2 percent annual growth during the intercensal period between 1978 and 1988 to a 2.8 percent annual growth in the period between 1988 and 2002 (NBS 2002a, 2004, cf. Talle et al. 1995, Setel 1999).

Kilimanjaro region is nonetheless between the five most urbanized regions in Tanzania mainland in terms of the part of its populations residing in urban areas, which in 2002

constituted 20.9 percent, and it is among the three mainland regions where the percentage of urban population compared to the total population has increased most in recent years (NBS 2006). Although Kilimanjaro has other areas defined as urban by the authorities,[26] the main part of the region's urban population live in Moshi town. The town, which was founded by the then German colonialists around 1910 (Setel 1999), currently has a total population of nearly 144,000 (NBS 2004). The four wards where I did fieldwork had a total of 28,579 persons (NBS 2005), which accounts for nearly one fifth of Moshi's population.

The percentage of people living in Moshi town who are at working age is as high as 64, with the great majority of these being between 15 and 39 years of age, while those below 15 years of age constitute 34 percent of the town's population (NBS 2004, 2005). This differs significantly from similar numbers for the region as a whole and corresponds with the general trend in Tanzania in that urban areas have a relatively high proportion of the working age population compared to rural areas due to migration, and conversely, that rural areas have a larger percentage of the youngest part of the population than urban areas (NBS 2004, 2006). Further, due to the in-migration from the whole of northern Tanzania and beyond, which has taken place continuously ever since Moshi town came into being, it is relatively ethnically and religiously heterogeneous, although the predominantly Christian Chagga do dominate (Swantz 1985, Talle et al. 1995, Setel 1999).[27]

It is essential to bear in mind that 'persons who may be counted as urban residents in a national census are not only frequently highly mobile, but they also consider themselves true residents of rural areas where they actively maintain relationships' (Setel 1999:71). This is true for the women I did fieldwork among, who, despite considering themselves to be

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[26] According to the writers of the analytical report following the 2002 census, urban areas are defined as the localities that are identified as urban areas by the district authority. However, there is no clear and uniform definition of the term which is applied by the various districts in the country (NBS 2006:161).

[27] I have not been able to find reliable numbers as regards religious affiliation in Tanzania nor Kilimanjaro region. The three dominant religious denominations in the country are Catholicism, Islam and Protestantism, while a very slight percentage do not claim adherence to any religious denomination (e.g. Tanzania Commission for AIDS [TACAIDS] et al. 2005). As I was informed the Chagga are predominantly Catholics or Protestants (Lutheran), while the Pare generally are Catholics or Muslim.

townswomen, in some way or another relate to a rural 'home'. Thus, characteristics of the urban versus rural population might be much more ambiguous than such a clear-cut division implies.

Gendered demographies[28] and female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi

A significant change that has taken place in recent years relates to the sex ratio in Moshi. As noted by several scholars, men historically outnumber women in the town (Swantz 1985, Talle et al. 1995, Setel 1999). According to the census of 1967, there were 126 men per 100 women in Moshi, which made it the most male dominated town in the whole country (Swantz 1985:125). This gap was reduced markedly by 1988, when there were 100.5 men per 100 women in the town (NBS 2002a), while the 2002 census shows that women now actually outnumber men at 97 men per 100 women in Moshi (NBS 2004). With only minor variations, this tendency is noticeable in all of the four wards I did fieldwork within, and it is true for all five year age groups between 15 and 29 years, while for the groups between 30 and 64 years of age men dominate slightly (NBS 2005). Today it seems young, single women outnumber older and married women in Moshi as they have for decades (cf. Swantz 1985:124). Importantly however, while it seems Moshi is still a young people's town, it is no longer a 'young *man's* town' (Setel 1999, italics added). The census numbers hence suggest that young women migrate to urban areas to a much greater extent than previously (cf. Talle et al. 1995), although a part of this change might also be due to the fact that Moshi has become a more 'settled' town: both men and women actually live in the town over a life time *and* raise their children there; and to that Chagga men might be less likely than in earlier years to '[leave] wives and children behind to till the land' (Talle et al. 1995:xxii), but in fact bring them along when migrating.

[28] In using the term in plural I am inspired by Setel's (1999) concept 'moral demographies.' I employ the term in a wide sense by including access to education and the labour market.

The women I worked with while living in Moshi were between 18 and 36 years of age, with the majority being in their twenties. [29] While none of them lived permanently with a man during the period of my stay, most of the women had previously been married.[30] The majority also had children, the number ranging between one and six, but only a very few lived with them.

The women reflect the heterogeneous composition of the population of Moshi town due to their diverse ethnic identity as well as religious affiliation. With the striking exception of Maasai in their midst, the majority of the women belong to the ethnic groups inhabiting Kilimanjaro and its three neighbouring regions, with Chagga women as the dominant of these, numerically speaking. The not insignificant minority belong to ethnic groups residing in central and western regions: Singida, Mara, Dodoma and Mwanza. Mirroring the high migration frequency in this region, the women's ethnic identity does not necessarily correspond to their place of birth; several of the Chagga and Pare women were born and raised outside Kilimanjaro and had moved to the region at a later stage in their lives. Conversely, many of those born and brought up in Kilimanjaro belong to ethnic groups originating in other regions in Tanzania. Additionally a considerable number of the women are of mixed ethnic origin, often with one of their parents being Chagga or Pare. This means that the majority of the women have at least parts of their origins in Kilimanjaro.

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[29] The information in this section is based primarily on findings from the in-depth interviews I conducted, which provided me with the most systematic data regarding the women's background, but also on general knowledge of the larger group of female bar workers. Although my material is unquestionably too scarce numerically speaking to make generalisations about female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi town as a whole, their social characteristics do seem to concur with some general trends as regards this group of women in Moshi when evaluated against an epidemiological study where 1050 women have participated (Ao et al. 2006). Because the epidemiological study includes a wider category of bars and guesthouses/hotels than does my own (see chapter three), the findings are not entirely comparable. The social characteristics of female workers in Moshi are also to a large degree similar to those of women working in Namanga (Talle 1998) as well as to workers in north western Tanzania (Mgalla and Pool 1997).

[30] As I return to in chapter six, 'marriage' is not a clear-cut category in Moshi and when the women say they have been married they refer both to co-habitation with a man for a shorter or longer period of time, often resulting in children, and to marriage in terms of that a wedding ceremony and party (*harusi*) has taken place.

Concerning the rural- urban interface, most of the women grew up solely in the country (*kijijini*) or partly in a rural setting and partly in an urban environment. Several of the women lived the whole or parts of their childhood with family members other than their parents. Only a small minority lived their entire childhood[31] in towns or urban centres (*mjini*),[32] and just one of the women I knew was born and raised in Moshi town. And finally, concerning religious affiliation, the majority of the women were Catholics, while the rest were divided somewhat equally between Lutheranism and Islam.

In this thesis I do not aim to explore the women's path into or personal motivation behind working in bars and guesthouses. In brief however, and in line with Talle's (1998) findings from Namanga, the life histories of the women do in general testify to ambiguous and mixed incentives for engaging in salaried work in town. Further, I contend that the two most prominent aspects, which also intersect with their motivations for living in town in general, are wanting a more 'independent' as well as 'exiting' life than 'traditional' village life (*maisha ya kijijini*) can offer and economic problems (*shida*) or necessity (cf. Mgalla and Pool 1997: 410, Talle 1998:36). The two can of course be closely related and the type of motivation most strongly voiced varies between the women. Having said that, the great majority contend that they engage in bar and guesthouse work because they have few other options to earn a living, and would have preferred a more 'respectable' job. In this light, it seems relevant to consider the employment prospects generally available to women in Tanzania.

Primary education, standard one to seven years, was made universal in Tanzania in 1977 (Maro 1991 in Moland 2002). After an intermediate period where school fees were introduced, primary school is now free in principal. However, due to factors such as distance to school, a low number of schools and schools of poor quality in some areas, as well as the

[31] By 'childhood' I mean usually until the end of primary school, i.e. seven years of education. See below for a discussion of the women's level of education.
[32] This distinction is based entirely on the women's own definitions of what they regard as the country (*kijijini*) and what they consider to be an urban environment (*mjini*).

fact that parents still have to meet some of the costs of primary education through community financing, Tanzania has not reached full primary school enrolment (The United Republic of Tanzania 2005). In the younger age groups, the majority of the population have nevertheless been touched by primary education. Among persons between 20 and 29 years of age, which accounts for the majority of the women I did fieldwork among, only around 20 percent have never attended school. There are however significant gender differences: while the percentage of men who have never attended school in this age group is 15, the similar number for women is 22 (NBS 2006).

Due to an inadequate number of secondary schools, both private and public, as well as the costs, the chance of getting secondary education is still rather slim. In Kilimanjaro region, which is known to have the largest number of secondary schools in Tanzania, only one out of every fifth primary school examinee was offered a place in a public secondary school in 2000. This is nevertheless a large improvement compared to earlier years (NSB 2002a).[33] The gender imbalance continues and increases at this educational level, particularly in upper secondary school. Although the number of boys and girls *selected* for secondary education has not differed significantly for many years, statistics from 1995, a period of time which is close to when many of the women I met finished primary school, show that the ratio of female to male students *in* secondary schools was 80 percent (UNDG 2001). The gender disparity becomes even more prominent at higher levels of education, although these statistics are misleading since such a low percentage of both women and men in Tanzania enter secondary education and even fewer go to colleges and universities (UNDG 2001, NSB 2006). As for why fewer girls than boys both start and complete secondary education, surveys show that pregnancy is a main reason girls drop out of secondary school.[34] Correspondingly, but also for other reasons, many parents state that they consider education for girls a poor investment (UNDG 2001:12).

[33] There is no comparable statistics available for private schools.
[34] When a girl gets pregnant she gets expelled from secondary school. During my fieldwork, politicians discussed whether to change this rule, and there were talks of establishing special schools for young mothers.

The level of and access to education for female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi reflects such general trends. All the women I knew had attended school, and only a slight minority had not completed primary education. One third of those I interviewed had enrolled in secondary school, but half of these were expelled during the first three years because they got pregnant. Others were forced to leave school because parents or other relatives decided that they would no longer pay for their education. Two of the women finished Form IV, which was the highest level of education among this group of women. Mama Rose, a twenty-five year old woman working in a bar in my neighbourhood, explains why she had to quit secondary school after just one year:

> You know, I passed (*-faulu*) [the primary school exams] due to my own intelligence (*akili*). I started in secondary, but after Form I my [paternal] aunt (*shangazi*) told my father that 'there is no need to pay for the education of a female child (*haina haja kumsomesha mtoto wa kike*), it will only give you loss (*hasara*), she will soon get pregnant (*-beba mimba*) anyway'. And he listened to her, so after the holidays I did not go back but had to stay in the village and farm. And then I got married.

For both women and men without education beyond primary level, formal employment opportunities are very limited (Talle et al. 1995: xxiv). Apart from rural agriculture, the informal economy is the major source of livelihood, income and employment for the majority of households in Tanzania. In urban areas it is *the* main source of employment.[35] The key reason people give for engaging in the informal economy is that they cannot find other work or that farming yields too little income (NBS 2002b).

'Restaurants and hotels' constitute the type of activity which employs the highest percentage of female workers in the informal sector in Tanzania (24.2), followed by 'retail-trade in agricultural products' (20.5) and 'retail-trade in processed food' (18.9). In comparison only 4.3 percent of males working in the informal sector were employed in 'restaurants and hotels,' and the activities that employ the highest number of men are 'retail-trade in agricultural

[35] The national definition of the informal sector excludes rural agriculture, but includes urban agriculture, livestock keeping and fishing (NBS 2002b:57).

products' and 'stationary, photograph and general retail' (NBS 2002b:63). This suggests and reflects what the women told me, that to engage in the type of work they do is the main option out of rather limited options uneducated Tanzanian women have for an income outside the not very lucrative agricultural sector[36] and in town. Tellingly, when I ask Rehema, a 22 year old woman working in a bar in the own centre about what kind of employment she would like if she could choose, she says in a rather exasperated tone: 'Well, I would like to be a teacher or a nurse, or even a doctor, but what can I do; you know I have no education (*elimu*) [meaning beyond primary school].'

Many of the women have also tried their luck as 'businesswomen' (*wafanyabiashara*, singular: *mfanyabiashara*), often selling second-hand clothes or different foodstuff, before seeking the kind of work they now engage in, but gave up due to lack of surplus. And, like Joyce, the woman who is the focus of the extended case presented in chapter five, the majority of the women I got to know plan and dream of getting enough start-up capital (*mtaji*) to begin or pick up again such business activities (*bisashara*).

HIV/AIDS and women at risk

A final contextual aspect necessary for a broad understanding of the life conditions and daily concerns of female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi is the AIDS pandemic and the prevalence of HIV in Tanzania. The three first cases of AIDS in the country were diagnosed in 1983 in north western Kagera region, and Kilimanjaro reported its first case the following year. By 1986 all regions of Tanzania mainland had reported AIDS cases (Setel 1999, TACAIDS et al. 2005). Recent studies show that seven percent of Tanzanian adults between 15 and 49 years of age are infected with HIV. There are however significant differences if one looks closer at relevant social characteristics. In general HIV is higher among women (8

[36] Quite a few of the women did say that they would have liked to engage in farming, but that they did not have access to land or that it did not give enough surplus to cover their and their families' daily needs.

percent) than among men (6 percent), and among urban residents (11 percent) compared to people living in rural areas (5 percent). Women between 30 and 34 have the highest prevalence, 13 percent, and the prevalence among urban women in general is 12 percent. In comparison, 10 percent of urban men are infected with HIV. Moreover, women are more highly affected in younger ages than are men. In Kilimanjaro region as a whole, the general prevalence is in accordance with the national level, 7.3 percent, and there are no significant differences between the sexes (TACAIDS et al. 2005).

As discussed in the introduction, researchers and policy makers in Africa have paid attention to female bar and guesthouse workers as a core risk and transmitter group of HIV since early stages of the pandemic. This is also the case for Moshi. In the Tanzania-Norwegian AIDS project, MUTAN, which lasted from 1989 to 1995, bar workers were one of the target groups. The HIV prevalence among these women was in 1992 found to be 33 percent, which was considered to be significantly higher than that for urban women in general (Klouman et al. 1995).

A similar kind of project was going on during my stay in Moshi. The Kilimanjaro Reproductive Health Programme is a joint programme between Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre (KCMC), Harvard School of Public Health and Moshi Municipal council. One of the three parts of the programme involves female bar and hotel workers and aims to determine the prevalence of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections among this group of women in Moshi, as well as providing counselling and education for them.[37]

The project opened a clinic where women working in bars and hotels from seven of the wards in the municipality must go to check their health. Anyone handling food[38] in their job is

[37] The second part of the programme involves female bar and hotel workers as well as women using the family planning clinic at Mawenzi Regional Hospital. This is a preparatory project for research on microbicides. The third component concerns research on sexually transmitted diseases among pregnant women at KCMC (personal communication, Lori Miller).
[38] Alcohol is included in the definition of food (personal communication, the Municipal Health Officer).

required by Tanzanian law to check their health every six months, which includes a physical examination and testing of stool, urine and blood samples for parasitic infections and typhoid (The United Republic of Tanzania 1982 §14, 2003, Ao et al. 2006). This was mostly a sleeping law in Moshi until the clinic was established in December 2002 (personal communication, the Municipal Health Officer). The women were asked to join the research programme when they came to do their obligatory tests, which included testing for HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases every three months.

The results of this study shows that the prevalence of HIV among bar and hotel workers is 19 percent (Ao et al. 2006), which give an indication of the prevalence for the women I did fieldwork among. It further seems to indicate that the gap between HIV prevalence among urban women in general and that of women working in bars and guesthouses in particular might have lessened some during later years, although the divergence is still high. And, if comparing this study to the MUTAN study it might appear as if fewer female bar and guesthouse workers are infected with HIV today than was the case in the early nineties, although it is difficult to draw firm conclusions since there are significant differences in prevalence between wards and age groups. The fact nevertheless remains, that the women I did fieldwork among have a high risk of contracting HIV, and, as I will show, this is one of the multiple concerns they have in their lives.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have attempted to provide a background against which to understand the following account, both by describing how I obtained the data with which I build my argument and by a demographic introduction to the country, the region and the town. Tanzania's urban population is growing at a hasty pace and women, to a greater extent than previous years, move to urban areas in search of work. In the case of Moshi this means that it has changed from being the most male-dominated town in Tanzania to having a sex ratio where women outnumber men.

I introduced the women who work in bars and guesthouses in Moshi by looking at their social characteristics seen in relation to national and regional trends as regards the gendered level of and access to education as well as the labour market, where women generally are at a disadvantage compared to men. Finally, I presented studies that show that female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi are at a high risk of contracting HIV.

The women I met are far from being 'passive victims' of structural factors, rather, they try to 'make' and 'negotiate' their world as given (Ortner 1996). However, I believe it is crucial to also consider such overarching, and to some extent limiting, structures, when attempting to draw a composite picture of the women's many 'compelling concerns' (Wikan 1990) and how these concerns interrelate with the choices and decisions the women have made and make in their lives. These factors might provide a way of understanding why women in Tanzania actually choose to engage in work so heavily charged with immorality and non-respectability. I now turn my attention to their employment and how they perceive and talk about their job.

3. WORKING WOMEN

In this chapter I seek to convey the atmosphere of bars and guesthouses in Moshi town, as well as to describe some of the everyday practices of women employed at these places by looking at how they spend their days. More specifically, I wish to demonstrate that sexual involvement with men is merely one part of their daily lives.

It is a particular aim of this chapter to show that the women self-identify as working women and that they in general express great pride in doing their job well and in having a salary. I accordingly argue that their working conditions as well as the relations they have with their bosses also should be considered if seeking to understand what is really at stake for them in their lives. Consequently, I question what I see as an underlying contention in several studies concerning this group of women in sub-Saharan Africa, namely that women who work in bars and guesthouses are not 'real' or 'proper' workers but merely engage in this kind of employment to get access to an arena from where to practice 'commercial sex work' (e.g. Pickering et al. 1997, Gysels et al. 2002, Kapiga et al. 2002, Zachariah et al. 2003). I end the chapter by relating the women's way of discussing their job, in particular their regular complaints about it being physically exhausting (*-chosha*), to general moral perceptions of work in Tanzania (see Haram 1999, Setel 1999, Dilger 2003).

Bars and guesthouses in Moshi town

The women whose lives, thoughts and practices I write about in this thesis work in what people in Moshi describe as street bars (*baa ya mtaani*), ordinary bars (*baa ya kawaida*) or simply bars (*baa*), as well as in local guesthouses (*gesti*) close to or on the same premises as

such bars. To give a clearer picture of what sort of setting this is, I shall briefly compare and contrast this type of bar with the two other types of bars I identified in Moshi town.[39]

Street bars, *mbege* bars and hotel bars

There is a noticeable difference between street bars, where the kind of alcohol sold and consumed is above all bottled beer, and bars where local home-made brew is sold (*baa ya mbege*). This relates to the kind of customers they attract and the women who work there (see Mgalla and Pool 1997 and Talle 1998 on similar distinctions in Magu Town in north western Tanzania and Namanga respectively). The local brew *mbege*, made from millet and banana, is much cheaper than bottled alcohol and the customers at the *mbege* bars have visibly less purchasing power than those visiting the bars I studied. Furthermore, compared to the street bars there are more women visiting the *mbege* bars although the majority of the customers at both kinds of bars are typically men. The women working in these bars are usually older than the women I did fieldwork among, and unlike those working in street bars, women working in *mbege* bars do not normally get a monthly salary. They buy buckets of *mbege* from the owner of the bar, and sell it to customers in smaller quantities, thus making a small profit.

The street bars also differ from bars at the bigger hotels in town. Bottled beer and liquor is sold in both kinds of bars, but is markedly pricier at the hotel bars. The guests visiting these bars are often tourists or Tanzanians with more money than those frequenting street bars. As a general rule the hotel bar attendants have more education and their salary is notably higher. Furthermore, the hotel bar workers usually wear a uniform, work shifts and have at least one day off every week.

[39] This typology is based on how people in Moshi talk about different kinds of bars as well as my own observations. The differences between in particular street bars and what I below call hotel bars are not always as clear-cut as I portray them here.

I encountered diverse opinions when I asked if and why the type of bar a woman works in impinges on her respectability (*heshima*). Views on whether women working in street bars and *mbege* bars differ in this sense, were particularly ambiguous. Mama Jackson, a Chagga woman in her late twenties and whom I quoted in the introduction, states: 'A bar is a bar. Whether you work in a *mbege* bar or an ordinary bar does not matter. People will despise (-*dharau*) you anyway. Any bar is a place where there is no respect (*hakuna heshima*).' Contrary to this, Mama Jackson's sister in law, who lives in Mama Jackson's home village, feels that a woman working in a *mbege* bar has much more respect than one working in a street bar. Her reasoning is that male customers in *mbege* bars do not insult (-*tukana*) and touch (-*shikashika*) the women working there as do the men visiting street bars. Lilian, who is in her mid-forties and has previously worked in a street bar but who at the time I knew her worked in a *mbege* bar, has a different view:

> A woman who works in a bar, any kind of a bar, people say that she is a *malaya* ('promiscuous'). But a *mbege* bar is the worst, the lowest (*ni chini kabisa*).The customers who come here are dirty (-*chafu*) and they have no money.

There was more agreement regarding the moral position of the women who worked at the hotel bars. The following quotation is from an interview with Mama Itemba, the executive coordinator of Kilimanjaro Women's Group against AIDS (KIWAKKUKI) and reflects what I found to be a general view in Moshi:[40]

> I would not allow my daughters to work in these small bars or guesthouses. Women who work at such places are seen as rather junior. I think that people who ask for these kinds of jobs are ready to accept low payment and get more money by other means. A woman working in a bar or guesthouse does so with two purposes: to work and to attract men so that she can get money from them. I would be putting my daughters at risk if I let them do this kind of work. It is different at the big hotels. The women working there are educated and they are paid reasonably. They are therefore not so easily attracted by money and their level of dependence on men decreases.

The women working in hotel bars are thus on the whole regarded as having more respect than women working in the other kinds of bars. However, there is a moral ambivalence expressed

[40] The interview was conducted in English.

also towards these women. As indicated by what Mama Itemba says: because they work in a bar they too risk having their respectability questioned. Vero, a girl in her early twenties working in the bar at a tourist hotel, puts it this way:

> Compared to working in these street bars or in guesthouses, my job has more respect (*heshima*). But this job is not good either. People look down on (*-dharau*) you, even if I make more money than the doctors working at KCMC. [41] Here in Moshi people will always think bar work is less respectable than other kind of jobs.

While *mbege* bars very seldom have an adjoining guesthouse, many of the street bars I frequented were combined bars and guesthouses. In some cases the attendants are employed to work in either the bar or the guesthouse, but in reality do both, while in other establishments the division is clearer when it comes to who does which tasks. Women also fluctuate between working in the bar and the guesthouse within the same establishment. If a guesthouse does not have a bar attached, there is usually a street bar very close.

Like Mama Itemba and Vero, people in Moshi usually speak about women working in street bars and guesthouses in the same breath, often using only the term 'bar seller' (*mwuza baa*) or barmaid (*baamedi*). The reason given for this is that they all work in the same kind of environment (*mazingira*). They are therefore perceived as being exposed to the same kind of temptations (*vishahwishi*), including being tempted to sleep with many men, as well as the risk of being touched and insulted in front of other people.[42] Accordingly, women working at local guesthouses are said to be no different from women working at street bars when it comes to the question of respectability.

I have thus far tried to give a glimpse into the atmosphere of the establishments the women work in, by comparing these to other types of bars identified in Moshi. In the next sections, I shall thicken the description by portraying the guesthouses and street bars, from now on

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[41] KCMC is the largest hospital in the region and the referral hospital for northern Tanzania.
[42] I return to these aspects of the women's work and workplace and how they intersect with the negative stereotyping of the women in more detail in chapter eight.

simply referred to as bars, in more depth. I begin with some information regarding the 'bar-density' in Moshi town and specifically the area where I conducted my research. I go on to briefly describe the customers and guests frequenting bars and guesthouses in terms of social characteristics. Lastly I describe the combined bar and guesthouse where I lived, both in terms of physical surroundings and everyday rhythm. These accounts reflect the environment of and practices in these settings in Moshi in general.

Bar-density and customers

There is no way to know exactly how many bars and guesthouses there are in Moshi town, but figures from the Municipal Trade Officer give an indication. In order to run a bar or a guesthouse in Moshi, a licence is required. Such licences are issued by the Trade Officer, and are to be renewed every six months.[43] In the first half of 2004, licences were issued to 44 guesthouses and 352 bars[44] within Moshi Municipality. In the four wards where I did fieldwork, there were 34 licensed guesthouses and 155 licensed bars. Within the Municipality as a whole 21 of the guesthouses were combined bars and guesthouses; in the four wards of my study this was the case for 19 guesthouses (personal communication, the Municipal Trade Officer). This suggests then, that the area hosts around three quarters of Moshi's guesthouses and nearly half of its bars, while inhabiting only one fifth of the town's total population.

[43] The main reason for my treating these figures with some caution is that quite a few of the owners of the establishments I frequented have not renewed their license in years, some have never had a license. Moreover, several of the bars and guesthouses changed owner during my eight months in Moshi. These establishments would then not be included in the numbers referred above.

[44] This number includes both establishments registered as bars and those registered as groceries. Bottled alcohol is sold in both kinds of establishments. In theory there is a difference between the two, and it is more expensive to get a licence for a bar compared to one for a grocery. The distinction is that while a bar is required to have a counter and a toilet, this is not needed at a grocery. Also, as opposed to a bar, customers are not allowed to drink the alcohol they buy at a grocery on the spot (personal communication, the Municipal Trade Officer). In practice there is little difference between bars and groceries and people in Moshi do not in general differentiate between the two. The terms *baa* and *grosary* are used interchangeably. When I use the term bar I therefore refer to bars as well as groceries. Hotel bars and *mbege* bars are not included in this number. Other kinds of licences are required to run such kinds of establishments (personal communication, the Municipal Trade Officer).

I base my description of the guests and customers on a combination of my own observations and information from two guestbooks. At all guesthouses there is supposed to be a book for visitors to register in. This is mainly for the benefit of the tax authorities who send inspectors to check the registers from time to time. I requested and was permitted to look at the guestbook of Kipepeo and Kwa Mrema. Kipepeo is the combined bar and guesthouse where I lived, while Kwa Mrema is Mama Jackson's workplace and one of the other establishments on my street.

I examined and compared the registers for three different months in 2004: March, May and June. During this period Kipepeo had a total of 299 registered guests, while 95 persons stayed at Kwa Mrema in the same period. The majority of the guests registered in both establishments did not live in Moshi town, although a significant minority did. The two registers concurred when it came to the sex and occupation of their visitors. During the three months a total of seven women stayed at the guesthouses. This is approximately two percent of the total number of visitors, and corresponds closely with my observations. Most of the visitors at the bars and guesthouses are unquestionably men. However, it is not unusual for women who have male company to visit these settings. It is a rarer occurrence, although it takes place, to see a woman on her own in a bar or a guesthouse, in particular in the evenings.

On the issue of livelihood, roughly one third registered as businessmen (*mfanyabiashara*, plural: *wafanyabiashara*), one fourth as drivers (*dereva*, plural: *madereva*) and fifteen percent as farmers (*mkulima*, plural: *wakulima*). The rest were mainly teachers, students and craftsmen (*fundi* plural: *mafundi*).

The guestbooks have several sources of error. One is based on the fact that they are used by the tax authorities to check whether or not bar owners have paid their taxes. To conceal the exact amount of their profit and hence to pay less tax, the owners tell their employees not to ask every guest to register. This is particularly the case for guests who rent a room for only a few hours. It is also in the interest of the workers to hide from their boss precisely how many short-time rentals there are in one day. Another misleading factor is that when a couple rents a room only one is asked to sign. This will usually be the man and the registers therefore do not

show the actual number of women who have slept at the guesthouses, but rather the number of women who have stayed there alone.

Despite these shortcomings, and based on my own observations and discussions with the women, I believe the guestbooks give a fair picture of the visitors at the local guesthouses in Moshi when it comes to their sex , occupation and home district. The bars are to some extent another story, although often it is the same people visiting both the bars and the guesthouses, especially when the two are located at the same place. The biggest difference is that the customers of the bars have homes in Moshi town more often than the visitors of the guesthouses. There is also a greater variation in what kind of employment the guests in the bars have compared to those staying at the guesthouses.

Kipepeo bar and guesthouse

After a twenty minute walk on red, dusty roads from the centre of Moshi town, you reach the area known as Serengeti Street. This is the neighbourhood where I lived and where the bulk of my fieldwork was conducted. Serengeti Street is one of the areas in Moshi known for having a high density of bars and guesthouses. In the evenings and during the night you will see a large number of trucks and lorries parked in various parts of the neighbourhood, but they are mostly gone in the morning when their drivers have travelled on. In the day time the area looks like any other neighbourhood in Moshi. There are several primary schools in Serengeti Street as well as a small market, some private clinics and a church.

Enter Ngorongoro Road, my street, and you encounter a pharmacy on your left and a hair salon on your right. Several taxis are parked next to the salon, and when the taxi drivers are not working they are standing or sitting next to their cars, chatting with each other or people passing by. There are more than 20 houses in the street, the majority having a number of rooms inhabited by long-term tenants. In between the houses and several small shops you find six different bars, four of them are combined bars and guesthouses. One of these was my home in Moshi.

Kipepeo resembles many of the bars and guesthouses I visited during my fieldwork. The house itself is made of brick and is painted a pinkish colour. There is a veranda (*baraza*) at the entrance, with some benches and two tables. From late afternoon until midnight the *baraza* is crowded with people drinking beer and eating. The food is made by Mama Zainabu, a woman who cooks and sells food from her small booth (*kibanda*) on the *baraza* in the evenings. During the day there is less activity in front of the house. However, you often find the women who work at Kipepeo sitting at the veranda drinking soda or beer, and gossiping with each other. Frequently, neighbours, colleagues from neighbouring bars as well as customers join in.

Enter Kipepeo and you walk into a short corridor with three doors. The doors on your right lead to two of the rooms of the guesthouse, and the one on your left takes you to the bar. The bar is a small room of roughly 20 square meters, with one window facing the *baraza*. It has room for a maximum of ten people and is furnished with a couch, a table and five chairs. On the table there is an embroidered tablecloth, and there are matching cloths on the couch and chairs. The walls, which have a bluish, turquoise colour, are decorated with pictures of Jesus, the Virgin Mary and Indian movie stars. Beside the window, there is one other source of light: a small light bulb hanging from the ceiling in the middle of the room. The radio is on most of the time, playing Tanzanian pop music (*bongo flava*) and songs by western artists, very often Celine Dion. At the far end of the room there is a wooden counter where beverages are displayed for sale. Crates of beer and soda are stored inside the counter. The counter is locked with a big padlock, to which only the bar attendant has a key.

There are usually several brands of beer for sale in bars like Kipepeo. During my months in Moshi the most commonly available and popular brands were Castle, Kilimanjaro Pilsner Ice and Safari. These are all bottled, but Castle is also obtainable in a can. The bottles contain 500 ml, the cans a little less, and the percentage of alcohol varies between 4.2 and 5.5. The Tanzanian produced gin, Konyagi, is normally available in four different 'sizes': big bottle (*chupa kubwa*, 500 ml.), small bottle (*chupa ndogo*, 200 ml.), *kiroba* (packed in plastic, 100 ml) and *totopack* (packed in plastic, 50 ml.). Some bars, albeit not Kipepeo, have several

other brands of bottled beer for sale, as well as imported liquor such as brandy and vodka. Reds, a canned apple cider, is rather popular among women and usually available. Wine is seldom for sale in these bars, and rarely consumed. As for non-alcoholic beverages the most popular and commonly available are different brands of soda. The caffeine drink Red Bull is often also for sale, as is non-alcoholic Malt. Malt is considered very healthy and is usually mixed with soda. These two types of drinks have nearly the same price as bottled beer, which at the time of my fieldwork cost between 700 and 1,000 shillings depending on the brand. They are thus more expensive than soda, which cost between 250 and 300 shillings.[45]

After walking through the corridor, you find yourself in the courtyard (*uani*). The yard is a roofless square, with several benches and tables. It is surrounded by guesthouse rooms. Kipepeo has a total of 11 rooms for paying guests, six doubles and five singles. I occupied the only 'self-contained' room[46] number three, situated in one of the corners of the courtyard. The rooms are painted in the same turquoise colour as the bar and are decorated in a similar manner, with pictures of Christian saints or Indian movie stars on the walls. In the rooms there are one or two narrow beds, and depending on the size also a chair and a table. In addition to these 11 rooms there is a room where a relative of the owner lives, and another one for the women who work there. The workers' room is roughly four square meters, and is the place where the women store their personal belongings, make food, eat when it rains, and sometimes sleep. It has one narrow bed, and the greyish walls have clearly not been painted in a long time.

In the small corridor leading to the back of the house, there are two toilets and a bathroom in a room with a drain. At the back of the house you find the only water tap at Kipepeo as well as the fire where the guests' bathing water is heated.

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[45] At the time of my fieldwork 1,000 Tanzanian shillings was equivalent to approximately one US dollar.
[46] This means that it has an adjoined room, with a toilet and a drain. To shower and to flush the toilet you need to pour water from a big barrel which is also placed in the bathroom.

Two women are employed to run the guesthouse and one to manage the bar. In addition one person comes to clean the courtyard in the morning; at night there is a watchman (*mlinzi*) who stays until the morning. The boss (*tajiri*) of Kipepeo, Mzee Mboya, owns a number of other bars and guesthouses in Serengeti Street, and his employees are often transferred between the different establishments. During my seven months at Kipepeo, three different women were responsible for the bar and 15 different women worked at the guesthouse. Several of the women were transferred to other establishments and subsequently moved back a number of times during the time I knew them; some also fluctuated between working in the bar and working at the guesthouse.

A day at Kipepeo

The women working at Kipepeo are awakened at five in the morning by Mzee Kaale, an 'inspector' (*msimamizi*) sent by their boss. It is rare for all of the women to have spent the night in their room, but they usually make sure to be there when Mzee Kaale arrives. He checks to see if the bathroom and toilets are clean, and whether the fire at the back of the house is lit. If Mzee Kaale is not pleased with what he sees, the women have to get up and start working. If he is, they go on sleeping for a few more hours.

Between six and seven the day begins. Guests start waking up and the guesthouse workers fetch bathing water for everyone, as well as water for cleaning the rooms. They carry the water in big buckets or barrels on their heads. During the morning hours the courtyard is filled with people and buzzing with activity. The guests go to and fro their rooms getting ready for the day, the bar attendant tidies and cleans the bar, and the guesthouse workers change bed linens and clean the rooms. Some time during the morning one of the guesthouse workers takes the dirty bed linen to the house of Mzee Mboya, which is a five minutes walk away, and collects clean sheets. The woman working in the bar carries her empty bottles and the money from last night's sale to the same place, and comes back with new bottles.

When they return, it is time for morning tea. This is made either on the kerosene cooker in their room or bought from Mama Pendo who lives next door. Mama Pendo is one of the two ten-cell leaders in Ngorongoro Road, and makes her living by selling tea, 'pancakes' (*chapati*) and doughnuts (*mandazi*) in the mornings. Nearly all the bar and guesthouse workers in Ngorongoro Road, as well as several of its other residents, buy their tea from her. Morning tea, whether it is shared at Mama Pendo's or at Kipepeo, is a time for discussing episodes that took place at Kipepeo the previous night as well as the gossip the women have picked up about their colleagues working at other establishments. The discussion often centres on conflicts between colleagues and men the women are sexually involved with as well as on the women's families and children.

After the break the women continue with their chores until noon. The hours between midday and late afternoon are the quietest of the day. There are few customers and the workers spend their time at the *baraza* or in the courtyard. They make food together, braid each other's hair, look after their children, and wash their own or the guest's clothes, or sleep in their room. At some point during these quiet hours Mzee Kaale arrives to check whether the rooms and bar have been cleaned properly. Before he comes, the women agree on which rooms to show him and which rooms they will tell him are occupied and therefore not possible to check. If he is not satisfied with the women's work, he will make them clean the rooms once more while he is watching.

This is also the time of the day when the women working at Kipepeo go to the market or to the hair salon. Occasionally, they go to see their children or other family members. Their boss does not allow them to leave their workplace at any time during the day, unless they ask for permission; there is a big chance he will refuse if they ask. If a woman does not plan to stay away for a long period of time she will therefore not inform Mzee Mboya, and her colleagues will cover for her should he or Mzee Kaale turn up while she is gone.

In these afternoon hours the women are often visited by friends, colleagues and relatives, as well as by men they have or have had a sexual relationship with. During the day men usually

only come by to chat or have a drink, but at times a man 'takes a room' (*-chukua rumu*) meaning that a woman has sex with him.

During the day, the women are normally dressed in t-shirts and traditional clothes (*kanga* or *kitenge*). In the afternoon, they all shower and dress in skirts or trousers. Some put on make-up. At nightfall, the *baraza*, bar and courtyard fill up with guests and customers once more. Some of the guests have slept there the previous night and already have a room, or are regular guests familiar to the workers. Others have never stayed at Kipepeo. The guesthouse workers discuss whom they will offer a room and whom they will refuse. They make their decisions based on previous knowledge of the guest or on his appearance. The decisive factors are whether he has money and is prepared to spend it, whether he is a hygienic person so that it will not be too much work to clean his room, or whether one of the women has been or is sexually involved with the man but at that particular night is with someone else. If they decide against a person they will tell him that all the rooms are occupied and direct him to another guesthouse.

During the evening all the women normally get offers of beer from customers, and spend a lot of time sitting and drinking with a guest. They also attend to their chores. The guesthouse workers fetch bathing water, ask the guests to sign in the guestbook, collect money for the rooms and fill in the balance sheet. The bar attendant moves between the *baraza*, the courtyard and the bar, serving beer and other drinks. At some point the women eat dinner. Occasionally they cook, but more often than not, one or several of the women receives food from a guest and shares with the other women. If this does not happen, they will chip in and buy food themselves, either from Mama Zainabu or from one of the other women in Serengeti Street who makes food for sale at night.

By ten there are normally guests in all the rooms; one of the guesthouse workers, accompanied by the watchman, brings the money for the rooms together with the balance sheet to the house of Mzee Mboya. When she returns, the guesthouse workers have no more tasks. Most evenings they will stay up drinking beer with the customers. One or all of the women will normally have or make an agreement to have sex with and sleep in the room of

one of the customers buying them beer. This can be someone they have known for a long or short period of time, or a man they met that evening.

The gate to Kipepeo is locked by the watchman at midnight, but the bar does not close until there are no more guests asking for drinks. The women working in the guesthouse will usually go to bed before the bar closes, either in a guest's room or in the room of the workers. The bar attendant seldom gets to close before between one and three in the morning; around five Mzee Kaale arrives once more.

This is how the majority of the women spend their days. However, there is a slight difference between the women working at combined bars and guesthouse like Kipepeo and those working at bars with no adjoining guesthouse. At the bars with no guesthouse, and in particular in the bars close to the centre of Moshi town, the morning hours, rather than midday and afternoon, are the quiet time of the day when the workers can do their errands or visit friends and relatives. The women usually do not live at their workplace but rent their own rooms somewhere in town.

On working conditions

In all but one[47] of the establishments I frequented the women have working hours from early morning till late evening or midnight. They do not have any days off. If a woman needs to leave the workplace for some reason, she is supposed to ask her boss for permission. Most of the times she will resort to the solution of hoping that the boss will not arrive while she is away, and if he does get her colleagues to tell him that she has just gone to the market or to visit someone who is ill, and will return in a moment. In my experience the relationship the women have with their bosses are predominantly hierarchical and rather strained. Many of the

[47] This bar can be categorized as being something in-between a street bar and a hotel bar. It is not located at a hotel and has solely Tanzanian customers, but the bar attendants work shifts, and have one day off each week. They also wear a uniform.

women feel that they are treated unreasonably, but are at the same time reluctant or even scared to confront the owners of the establishments out of fear of losing their jobs.

As a rule the women do not have job contracts, and they can be fired at short notice, usually on the same day. This happened to several women during my stay, the reasons given most often being that business is low, that they were caught leaving their workplace for a long period of time or that they had quarrelled with a colleague or also the boss. A more positive side to this, from the women's perspective, is that they can choose to quit their job whenever they want, and a number of times I saw a woman leave work without giving any prior notice to her boss.

Talle found that some of the bar workers in Namanga offered to work for no salary at some of the more popular bars, expecting to gain money in other ways, mainly through 'keep-change' (i.e. tip) and entertaining customers sexually (Talle 1998:44). All of the women I knew receive or were supposed to receive monthly wages. However, like the women Talle interviewed in Namanga, and as is the case for most income earners in contemporary Tanzania, bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi are paid way below what they consider their survival minimum as well as the national minimum wage.[48] The women at Kipepeo, and their colleagues at other establishments owned by the same boss, had the lowest salary I heard of: 10,000 shillings per month. The ones with the highest salary were paid 35,000 shillings. The majority got a sum somewhere in the middle of these figures, like Mama Jackson at Kwa Mrema who was paid 25,000 shillings.[49]

I furthermore frequently heard stories about owners who delay paying their employees. In the beginning of March 2004 and Kwa Mrema gets a new owner. During the next few months

[48] The official monthly minimum wage for Tanzanian urban areas was 48,000 shillings in June 2004 (personal communication, Vicky M. Kanyoka, secretary for Women and Organisation and Child labour Coordinator in Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers Union [CHODAWU]).
[49] As was the case at Kwa Mrema, some owners pay only half the money at the end of the month while the rest is portioned out each day and is specifically said to be for food (*hela ya kula*).

Mama Jackson and her co-worker Glory regularly complain about not getting their salary. When I bump into Mama Jackson one evening towards the end of May, she tells me that she has not yet been paid and that she is furious:

> How can anyone work for free (*bure*)? I have a child, you know that, he stays with my mother in the country (*kijijini*). My mother will not understand me if I tell her that I don't have money. She will say; 'what are you doing in town if you do not earn money? You better come home and farm instead.' Yesterday she sent someone to ask me for money and I took 10,000 shillings from the counter and sent it to her. My boss got very angry when he found out this morning, I was not there but Glory told me. I don't care, if he says anything I will just tell him to pay me the money he owes me and then I will quit. The business is very bad these days anyway.

When I go to see Mama Jackson the following afternoon, she tells me that the boss had not been angry when she met him, the only mention he made of the episode was telling her to ask him the next time she needed money instead of just taking it from the counter. In June both she and Glory get their money.

Mama Jackson's outburst brings attention to the relationships the women have with their families and the expectations they are faced with as 'townswomen'. The episode she recounts also demonstrates that this concern may conflict with the concern of keeping a good or at least tolerable relationship with their bosses so as not to lose their job, and further, that such concerns in particular situations, must be handled simultaneously. In this case, Mama Jackson's way of dealing with her dilemma turned out to have no negative effects for her. In other similar stories, I was told of or partly witnessed, and depending on the strategy a woman chose: women were fired, beaten by their boss or even reported to the police accused of theft, or, conversely, more or less directly reproached by relatives for not contributing enough to the maintenance of their family.

Mama Jackson's story is also an illustration of the fact that although the women have paid jobs, they can not rely solely on this salary. Firstly, many women never know when they will actually get paid. Next, the majority seldom get their whole salary when they receive their wages. If a customer in the bar or at the guesthouse refuses to pay or runs away from the bill, the woman has to cover for the loss (*shoti*). A woman usually also has to pay for anything that gets broken in her workplace, even if it is caused by customers. Several of the women at

Kipepeo actually ended up owing their boss money. And finally, the amount they are supposed to get paid is not considered sufficient to cover their daily expenses, let alone support their relatives. Glory, in one of our conversations complains to me:

> This work we do, think about it, our salary is so low. You start the first in a month, and work until the end of the month, and then you get 25,000 shillings. Twenty-five thousand shillings, what good will it do you? Nothing, I tell you. And with this same money, you are supposed to pay for when you have been 'cheated' (*-rushwa*) [meaning the times the customers did not pay], for your loss (*shoti*). This Turid, I tell you, this is why you find that people like us, if a man asks you to have sex (*-sexi*) with him, you agree, he will give you money. This is what makes us be with many men (*-tembea na wanaume wengi*).

Work and respectability

I asked all the women I interviewed to give an account of one typical day in their lives. Glory, who is 32 year old and was born and raised in a village in Kilimanjaro region, recounts an example of her day like this:

> When I have slept at home [in a room she rents in Serengeti Street] like today, and not at work, I have to wake up at seven o'clock. I take a shower and then I go to work. I came to work at half past seven. The first thing I did was to unlock the bar, the counter (*kaunta*), when I had done that I started to clean (*-fanya usafi*) at the counter. When I had finished, I started to do my stock (*-fanya stoku*). I organized the beverage (*vinywaji*). I organized both the fridge for beer and the fridge for soda nicely. Next I checked my stock (*-piga stoku*), what is there and what has to be bought. Then, my boss (*tajiri*) came. Today I had not had the time to do the accounts (*-fanya mahesabu*), so he did them. I have usually done it before he comes, and he just checks the book. After that I went to buy tea and *maandazi* from Mama Pendo. A friend from my village came to greet me and bring news from my mother, so I bought her tea as well and we drank it at the *baraza*. When she had left I started with the cleaning (*-ingia kwenye usafi*). I first clean the toilets, then the courtyard (*uani*). When I have finished doing that I sweep around that wall close to the gate, you know. Then, I swab the floors at the guesthouse or I make the beds and wash the bed sheets. Like today for example, I made the bed and washed the bed sheets. Mama Jackson swabbed the floors and washed the glasses. Tomorrow she will make the beds and wash the sheets and I will swab the floors and wash the glasses. So we take turns. After this you will find that we take a shower and rest (*-pumzika*) a little, you know don't you? Like first I shower and sleep for some hours, and then it is Mama Jackson's turn. But one of us always has to be at the bar should there come customers. For example yesterday, Mama Jackson went to the hair dresser. Then I could not rest during the day, so I was very tired (*-choka sana*) in the evening. To clean is hard work (*kazi nzito*) you know, it is exhausting (*-chosha*). But usually I get to rest. The remaining part of the day I am at the bar, serving customers until around midnight or often even later. In the evening we watch television in the backyard. After I have closed the bar, I go to bed. If I am very tired I do not go home to my room, but sleep at work.

The most striking difference between Glory's account and the description I previously gave from Kipepeo is that Glory neither talks about customers in detail, nor about being given beer by or getting sexually involved with men. Having spent countless hours at Kwa Mrema I know that this establishment does not differ from Kipepeo in this regard. Also, during our many conversations, such as the one where she complains about her low wages, she often talks about her 'men' or 'boyfriends' (*bwana, rafiki, boifrendi*). That she leaves out this part of her life in the above account is probably very much related to wanting to present herself as being 'a woman with respect' in the interview, which as I return to, includes being discrete about ones sexual relationships (see e.g. Setel 1999, Haram 1999, 2005b). However, I suggest that the value attributed to discretion concerning 'illicit' sexual relationships in Tanzania in general, just offers one part of the answer as to why Glory does not mention issues related to how she manages her sexuality when I ask her to describe a day in her life.

In her account Glory depicts her work in great detail. Like most of the bar and guesthouse workers I met, Glory strongly identifies as a working woman who is self-reliant (*-jitegemea*) and earns her own money through 'hard' and 'heavy' work (*kazi ngumu, kazi nzito*). This self-identification does not waver even if she greatly depends on the money she gets from men she is sexually involved with when it comes to covering her daily expenses or contributing to those of her family. Another central factor is probably also that she spends much more time during the day doing the work she is employed to do, than being with men. As I hope my account of the everyday practices at Kipepeo illustrated, this is also the case for the women working in this establishment and I believe it is for the majority of female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi.

Moreover, the women I met do in general express pride in doing their job properly. Fatuma, a 36 year old woman from Tanga region and hence one of the oldest women I met, often complains about the inability and idleness of the younger 'girls' (*wasichana*) when it comes to doing 'heavy work', while at the same time emphasizing that she is very well liked by her boss because she is such a good cleaner. Also, several of the conflicts I witnessed between co-workers had their source in one or several women being displeased with the quality of a

colleague's work. Such quarrels usually originate in accusations of a room not being cleaned well or when a woman promised a guest a room for the night, but did not ask him to pay in advance; this risks a loss of money if he does not turn up or extra work for the women because they must try to 'find' another guest to take his place. It is considered particularly 'bad' if this man is someone the woman has a relationship with: she is then often accused of being 'selfish' (*mchoyo*) in that she does not show consideration for the problems she is causing her co-workers. To neglects one's job in order to be with a man either outside or at the workplace is often an indication of a 'bad moral character' (*tabia mbaya*), which the following episode illustrates.

It is nine o'clock in the evening and I am in one of the other establishments of Mzee Mboya, Beauty Bar, a five minute walk from Kipepeo. I have been there since early evening, and am now sitting in the courtyard with Bahati, who works in the bar, Doris, who has a small shop at the guesthouse and Aisha, who works in the guesthouse. Lalia, the other woman working at the guesthouse, is in one of the rooms with a guest. Lalia has been working for Mzee Mboya for one year, but was transferred to Beauty Bar only the night before. When she went into the room around two hours earlier, the three other women laughed good-humouredly at her and Aisha said: 'Already? And you have not been here one day yet.' As time goes by and Lalia does not come out of the room the three women start to get annoyed. 'It does not look good (*haipendezi*), it shows a bad moral character (*tabia mbaya*) to 'go to a room' (- *ingia rumu*)[50] this early and not come out, when there is still work to do. People will think that you are lazy (*mvivu*),' says Bahati. 'Yes,' says Aisha, 'it is not that I do not go to rooms but I wait until after I have finished my work (*kazi yangu*), until after I have provided all the guests with bathing water and delivered the money and balance sheet.' Lalia's guest comes out and locks the door to his room. The women tell him not to lock since Lalia is still inside. He answers that there is no one called Lalia in his room but unlocks the door before he leaves. The women get even more annoyed: 'It really does not look good, if you like dick (*mboo*) more

[50] This was a common expression for having sex with a guest.

than you like your work you will get trouble (*shida*),' says Doris. Bahati goes on: 'Really, you must get your 'man' (*bwana yako*) to wait until you have finished your work, he met you at your job (*kazini kwako*) so he knows that you have work to attend to.'

We have been sitting right outside the room Lalia is in all this time. The women talk in loud voices, obviously for Lalia to hear. After a short while she calls out that she will come in a minute and that they must forgive (*-samehe*) her. When she comes out she does not look at us but tries to quickly walk past us. Bahati starts to tell Lalia off, but Aisha says that she should leave her alone since she has already apologized. Lalia walks hurriedly out of the courtyard, while the three women laugh. 'She is ashamed (*-ona aibu*),' Doris says. In a short while Lalia comes back. We all laugh a little, and the other women tease her some more, and then she and Aisha starts to collect money for the rooms. I hear no more mention of this particular episode, but Lalia is one of the women who is talked about by colleagues and guests as not doing her job well, because she is too busy 'looking for men' (*-tafuta wanaume*). After having worked at Beauty Bar for some time, she is again transferred to another Mzee Mboya establishment, and a long-term guest later comments to me that it is just as well since she did not do any work anyway; the reason given for this is that she is very 'promiscuous' (*malaya sana*).

Zachariah et al.states that '[p]rostitution is illegal in Malawi and this legal restriction confines commercial sex activity to known locations (rest-houses and bars) where CSWs[51] are resident and working under cover as bar girls, waiters and cleaners' (Zachariah et al. 2003:221). This statement reflects what I see as the general underlying assumption in several studies of female bar workers in Africa: that their work and self-identity as bar attendants or cleaners is somehow subordinate to what they *really* do, namely 'prostitution' or 'commercial sex work' (cf. also e.g. Pickering et al. 1997, Gysels et al. 2002, Kapiga et al. 2002).[52]

[51] Commercial sex workers.
[52] Prostitution is illegal also in Tanzania (see chapter seven), but I never heard this mentioned in any of the settings I frequented in Moshi.

Based on my material and in particular on my observations regarding how women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi spend their days, as well as my experience with their strong self-identification as working women, I question such an assumption. I suggest that this view in many ways merely reproduces the stereotypical image of these women held by others in society, without taking into account how the women perceive themselves and their practices. Although it might vary between women with regards to how 'seriously' they take their job, and although they admittedly usually depend economically on money they get from men they have some kind of relationship with, I argue that the great majority of the women conceive of themselves as 'proper' workers; and that it is important to them that others, such as guests, co-workers as well as relatives and friends, also perceive them as such.

The fact that female bar and guesthouse workers have paid work (*kazi*) is *the* factor that most clearly distinguishes them from the *machangudoa,* both in their own and others' eyes (see chapter seven). The *machangudoa* are generally said to be even worse off as regards the question of respectability, because they 'have no other job but to be with men (*-tembea na wanaume*)' and because having sex with men is their business (*biashara*). Although management of sexuality is unquestionably of prime importance when evaluating women's moral character in Kilimanjaro, I argue that this dividing line between women who work in bars and guesthouses and *machangudoa* substantiates my contention that there *are* alternative ways of 'producing respect' in contemporary Moshi. Other aspects of a woman's behaviour and person also play a role when she is said to have or not have 'respect'. It indicates more specifically that notions regarding being 'a person with respect' also intersect with general moral perceptions of work in Tanzania. Thus, to have a job and to perform their work well might at least in some situations balance or even overrule stereotypical images of them as sexually 'loose'. For many Tanzanians there is further a close relationship between proper work and respectable sexual behaviour.

Haram argues that among the (rural) Meru, 'perhaps the highest virtue […] is to be hard-working' (Haram 1999:211) and that the Meru's notion of work (*ishora*) is strongly linked to respectable conduct. However, not all types of work are classified as *ishora*. Proper work for

the Meru is 'physically hard work, such as farming or fetching water and firewood' (Haram 1999:211), which is typically the kind of work associated with rural life. In the eyes of the Meru, this type of work contrasts starkly with the kind of work townspeople are involved in, such as business or small trading (*biashara*) and office work (*-fanya kazi offisini*), which is not considered physically exhausting and thus, according to Haram, not regarded as 'proper' work. Haram's findings and arguments correspond with those of Setel (1999) with reference to Kilimanjaro in general and Hansjörg Dilger (2003) who has worked among the rural Luo in north-western Tanzania.

'Proper' work is equated with hard, physical work because this kind of work is perceived to create a healthy body and the state of tiredness it entails prevents promiscuity since physical exhaustion results in not having energy to involve in promiscuous sexual behaviour (Haram 1999, Setel 1999).

Many of the women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi voice views which closely resemble such general perceptions of work and morality. However, they also talk about their own work as being physically exhausting (*-chosha*), by emphasizing such chores as having to carry heavy barrels of water and crates of beer.

Agnes, the only woman I met who claimed that she had no sexual affairs while I knew her, links her sexual abstinence directly to the fact that her job is very fatiguing, and she compares it to other kinds of hard work, like farming:

> You know, desire for a man (*tamaa ya mwanaume*) only comes about if you have too much time to think (*-waza*) about these things. But like us [women working in bars], like you have seen, we work all the time and the work we do is hard (*kazi zetu ni ngumu*), so you get tired (*-choka*). So, I do not have these thoughts (*mawazo*) about sex (*mapenzi*). […] And I have a friend who has never had sex, when she feels this lust (*hamu*), she also does hard work, like farming, and then it goes away (*biashara imeisha*). Like me, she does hard work to make [the lust] go away.

A few women also express the idea that there is really no 'hard work' in town, and sometimes link this to perceptions concerning a difference in level of sexual desire between 'village

women' and townswomen. This does not mean, I argue, that they do not conceive of their job as 'proper' work, but they are acutely aware that others often do not view it as such.

Thus, I argue that one could understand the women's regular complaints to guests, neighbours and others, about how 'heavy' and 'hard' their job, as being a way to actively engage with the general moral devaluation of their persons. Through such complaints they allude to more commonly accepted notions of what constitutes 'proper' work in Tanzania , thus seeking to rework the negative moral evaluation of their job and consequently also of themselves.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has largely been devoted to drawing a comprehensive and detailed picture of bars and guesthouses in Moshi and the daily lives of the women who work in such establishments. I have in particular focused on their strong self-identification as working women, which I argue is often neglected in studies concerning this group of women in Africa.

I discussed and related the women's focus on how physically exhausting their job is to general moral perceptions of work in Tanzania. I accordingly suggest that both the weight put on performing one's job well and such discussions could be understood as ways of negotiating or reworking dominant notions concerning what constitutes proper work and thus also what 'produces respect' in Moshi.

In the next chapter I look into a different part of the women's lives: the relationship they have with their family of origin and their home villages.

4. MODERN LIVING

It is early afternoon, and I am in the town centre with Glory. We have just finished our interview. It took place several hours after the original appointment, because Glory insisted on 'setting' (*-chana*) her hair at the salon in Ngorongoro Road before we could leave. She told her boss that she had an appointment with me that would take half the day, and he agreed that she did not need to return until early evening. We are now at the central bus station, on the way to some shops Glory wants to check out.

A woman stops and greets Glory as we are walking through the bus station; Glory introduces me to the woman, but since they speak a mixture of Swahili and the local language Kichagga, I understand only small parts of the conversation. While listening to them, I am struck by how different the two women are dressed. Glory wears a tailor-made skirt and blouse. She has matching high-heeled shoes and purse, she wears make-up and you can see that her hair is newly done. The other woman is dressed in a stained shirt, and has a piece of traditional cloth (*kanga*) wrapped around her waist. She wears rubber sandals, her feet are dusty, and she carries avocado and oranges in a basket on her head. Her hair is cut short. I catch that she asks Glory where she works, and that Glory tells her the name of the bar, referring to it as 'my office' (*afisi yangu*). She furthermore explains in detail how to find it. I also hear the women saying to Glory that she looks very nice (*-pendeza*), and that she feels embarrassed (*-ona aibu*) about being so dirty (*chafu*), but that she has walked on foot from her village to town, to sell fruits. Glory replies that these days life is hard (*maisha ni magumu siku hizi*), and that she also works under difficult conditions (*kwa shida*) but that she needs money to support (*-saidia*) her mother. Glory invites the woman to come to Kwa Mrema whenever she has time. After saying goodbye, I ask Glory who she is. She tells me that they grew up together and went to school in the same village, but that they have not seen each other for about ten years. Before I have a chance to comment, she goes on to say:

> Did you see how she looked? Imagine, that could have been me if I had not left the country (*kijijini*). She told me she was married and has three children, and has to walk to town nearly every

> day, to sell fruits to support her children. Men in our villages do not have jobs and cannot support their families, they depend on (*-tegemea*) their wives.

I ask her whether she could have done what the woman does for a living, selling fruits in town. 'Never,' she answers without hesitation, 'it is much too exhausting (*-chosha sana*).' She goes on to talk about how lucky she is to have escaped the village life (*maisha ya kijijini*), and how much progress (*maendeleo*) she has had in her life compared to the woman we just met: 'If I compare myself to her, I have no problems (*shida*). I just told her I do so that she should not feel so bad or get jealous (*-sikia wivu*) of me.' In our interview not moments before, Glory told me that apart from her mother and siblings, no one in her home village knows what she does for a living; when she goes home to visit she tells those who ask that she does small trading (*biashara*). I now ask her if she is worried that the woman will tell people at home that she works in a bar. Glory replies that the woman does not live in their home village anymore and also, she is not a person who gossips (*mbeya*). Besides, Glory goes on, it does not really matter:

> The people at home (*nyumbani*) know that I am not a burden to my mother, on the contrary I bring her money. I am also generous (*karimu*) to them. When I go home I always change money into small denominations, like 100 coins or 500 notes, to give to whoever asks me for help. Or even just for *mbege*. Also, they see that I come home wearing nice clothes and with a good health (*afya nzuri*), so they know I have done well for myself (*mambo yangu yamekamilika*).

Alternative images and moral discourses

This episode was one of those 'enlightening moments' during fieldwork, when previous incidents or discussions came back to the forefront. Witnessing the meeting between Glory and her childhood friend brought home to me that while female bar and guesthouse workers are unquestionably subjected to firm moral devaluation in Moshi, this negative stereotyping is neither all-embracing nor immutable, particularly not in individual cases (cf. Pietilä 1999). The episode also made me acutely aware that in such encounters positive images of the women are often communicated, both through the women's physical appearance, and discussions that depict the women as responsible and dependable mothers and daughters.

None of these were novel observations at the time. This meeting made a strong impression because it took place just a few days after an incident described in chapter seven, when Joyce for reasons closely related to her moral position as 'a woman without respect' was severely beaten by a male neighbour.

For quite some time prior to this brutal episode, I had been pondering how it could be that what I experienced as very strongly voiced moral condemnation, did not appear to have an actual bearing on the predominantly positive relationship the women seem to have with other people in their neighbourhood, as well as with friends and families. After Joyce was beaten, I had conversely been preoccupied with the very negative and also practical aspects and effects of what I then saw as *the* moral discourse concerning these women. The episode with Glory made me more aware that there are *multiple* perceptions and images of the women, and moreover, that those images that are deemed relevant do to some degree depend on the context.[53]

Accordingly, although one particular moral discourse dominates, I maintain that in present-day Tanzania there are alternative moral discourses, which might also embrace the group of women I did fieldwork among. This multiplicity seems to leave individual women, like Glory, some room for negotiation as regards how they are perceived by others in society. A factor that plays a role in this regard, albeit not in a univocal sense, is whether a woman is at her workplace or not.

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In this chapter I explore the relationships the women have with their rural relatives and home villages. In doing this, my aim and argument is twofold: Firstly, I contend that the great majority of the women actively seek to maintain a close relationship with their family. They

[53] By context I refer to physical locations, in a broad sense, and the practices and ways of thinking (discourses) these typically contain or are associated with (cf. Helle-Valle 1996, 2004, Smette 2001).

wish to be perceived as 'proper' mothers, daughters and sisters in terms of meeting what Mary Howard and Ann V. Millard (1997:66) call 'kin obligations'.[54] This was well illustrated when Mama Jackson's mother sent someone to ask her for money. Secondly, I want to show how the women in general, but particularly when visiting or receiving visitors from the country, struggle to convey an image of themselves as modern and developed women. I relate these struggles and self-presentations to what Talle (e.g. 1999) terms 'the development discourse' in Tanzania, and I contend that this discourse allows for alternative ways of 'producing respect' in Moshi, where management of sexuality is not really an issue (cf. Helle-Valle and Talle 2000).

Linking the two arguments of the chapter, I suggest that when the women visit or receive visitors from the country, they *simultaneously* comply with what is often presented as more 'traditional' ideas of hospitality and generosity (*ukarimu*) towards their kin (cf. Howard and Millard 1997, Moland 2002, Haram 2005b), and seek to frame their practices and choices in an *alternative* 'modern' and national discourse where *maendeleo* (progress, development) is the central concept. When observing encounters such as that between Glory and her childhood friend, the image of 'the modern, developed woman' is not easily distinguishable from that of 'the generous mother and daughter', and I believe this is how both the women and their relatives see it. Accordingly, and predominantly due to the many economic demands from 'home' (*nyumbani*), I claim that many women harbour ambiguous feelings towards their relatives and about visiting their villages.

[54] Howard and Millard (1997) describe how four main influences produced a plurality of ideals and moral codes among the Chagga in the 1970's: the lineage system, Christianity, socialism and capitalism. Kin obligations belong to the realm of the lineage. I do not draw on their complete model, but find that the term 'kin obligations' captures the feeling of responsibility towards and interdependence with relatives, that most women, regardless of ethnic belonging, convey (see below). The three other influences are partly overlapping with what is included in and meant by 'the development discourse'.

Relationships with 'home', family and children

The great majority of the female bar and guesthouse workers I met, including those very few who lived in urban areas their entire lives, in some way or another relate to a rural 'home'. The women retain links to their home villages by receiving visitors from the country or by going home on more or less regular visits, as well as through sending money to those relatives who are still living there (cf. White 1990, Talle 1998).

The actual frequency of visits to the country, the perceived intimacy of the relationships they have with their relatives and the concrete extent of their financial contributions to their families vary a great deal between the women. One extreme is Zaituni, a childless woman in her mid thirties who works in one of the bars in Ngorongoro road. She was born in a village in one of the western regions of Tanzania, and she had not visited the village she grew up in nor seen her parents or other relatives for seven years. On the other end of the scale are women who either live with their children or who are in touch with children and/or family of origin almost every week. These women often claim to be sole providers for their parents or children.

Zaituni's situation is very unique; she is the only woman I ever heard of who do not have any kind of contact with her natal home, and she was the only one who blatantly stated to me and others that no one depended (*-tegemea*) on her and that she thus kept all the money she earns herself. I maintain that the majority of the women, like Mama Jackson and Glory, have a strong feeling of interdependence with, and thus also of responsibility towards, their kin. This is evident in how they struggle to comply with the many expectations from home, often expressed in financial terms, but also in the importance they attach to attending events and ritual ceremonies taking place in their home villages: in particular those related to burials (*mazishi*) and sacrificial offerings (*matambiko*).

The practical wisdom of working close to home

Talle contends that women working in bars in Namanga work far from home because of the 'dubious moral valuation associated with bar occupation' (Talle 1998:41). In a similar vein Setel argues that female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi town 'often came from outside Kilimanjaro region and were far away from their families. Those who came from Kilimanjaro attempted to keep the nature of their work secret from their families' (Setel 1999:121). As shown by the description of the women's social characteristics, my material is not as clear-cut as that of these studies on the question of geographical distance between the women's workplace and their rural homes.

When I first asked, a woman would usually tell me that neither her relatives nor others from her village knows where she is working and hence what she does for a living. Others, like Glory, claim that only a few relatives know, often their mothers and siblings, and that other people think they are involved in small trading or business. The reason typically given for why a woman does not want relatives to know her workplace, is that she feels ashamed (*-ona aibu*) about it because they will think she is a *malaya*.

However, often a woman's closest kin and more distant relatives and acquaintances from home are actually fully aware of where she works, and it is usually the woman herself who has informed them. This became clear to me through being present when members of women's families came to visit or when being told about such visits at a later stage.

Rehema, whom I referred to in chapter two, told me during one of our first conversations that no one in her family knows that she works in a bar. One afternoon when I go to see her, I find her drinking beer with a woman whom, to my great surprise, she introduces as her sister. When I later 'confront' her with this inconsistency, she rather matter-of-factly tells me that:

> It is true (*ni kweli*), it does not look good (*haipendezi*) for me to work in this place, but how can I not tell my family where they can find (*-pata*) me? They have to know in case they have any difficulties (*shida*). Like now, my sister came to give me some news (*habari*) about the child of our uncle who is ill.

Rehema's statement and concerns thus resonate closely with those of Mama Jackson as quoted in the introduction: 'My parents know where I work. They have to, how else would they know how to get hold of me if someone got ill or died?'

On the other hand, the women did not talk in any detail about the nature of their work when with their relatives, and especially not during visits to their villages. I suggest that this could be understood in relation to the value and role of discretion, which I later explore in depth. Being discrete about moral transgressions to some degree allows people to 'get away' with them, since it is more often the disclosure of immorality that is considered improper and not necessarily the transgression in itself (e.g. Larsen 1995, Haram 1999, 2005b). By not talking about their work in detail, the women protect themselves from negative moral evaluations *and* their relatives and friends from having to make such judgements.

I witnessed an illuminating exception to this 'code' when I attended a burial ceremony in one of the rural district of Kilimanjaro together with several of the women working for Mzee Mboya. The deceased was a relative of one of the women. At one point we were all helping out at the place where the food was being made. Lalia starts to talk to one of her co-workers about an episode that had taken place at Beauty Bar the night before, and which involved a drunken customer who wanted her to sleep in his room. Bahati, whose home village we are in, tells her brusquely to be quiet, and that 'we are not in town now, we are at someone's home (*hatuko mjini sasa, tuko kwa watu*).'

I would argue that these examples show the unavoidable simultaneity of the many concerns women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi have (Wikan 1990), or in Jo Helle-Valle's terms, that 'contexts, however cunningly they are kept apart by the actors, tend to collide due to practical matters' (Helle-Valle 2004:204). More specifically, they are illustrations of how in their struggle to be perceived as respectable, the women try to maintain a close relationship with their family, while at the same time not revealing too much about the nature of their income. This is a particularly challenging endeavour for those whose rural homes are geographically close to their workplaces.

I further maintain that the episodes indicate the 'practical wisdom' the women workers have about how their concerns intertwine, and, in line with Whyte, that in most cases 'practical wisdom says that you should not burn bridges that you may need to use' (Whyte 2002:185). In more concrete terms, the women usually deem that although it means disclosing that they have morally questionable employment, they tell their relatives where they work in order to comply with central kin obligations such as supporting their families financially and participating in important ceremonies and events in their home villages. It is important to maintain these bonds, which women repeatedly stressed, because family and relatives are also the ones you turn to in times of need (*shida*) (cf. Haram 1999). Practical wisdom also says that while one might have to tell people where one works, one should be discrete about concrete aspect of one's job, particularly those related to immoral sexuality. Lalia accordingly demonstrates lack of such wisdom in the funeral setting.

'To have a child brings much praise'

As noted, the great majority of women who work in bars and guesthouses in Moshi have children. A few keep their children with them at their workplace. To do so is frowned upon by others, including their co-workers, since it is considered a 'bad' environment for a child to be in because it can be taught 'bad conduct' (*tabia mbaya*) such as swearing (*-tukana*) or fighting (*-pigana*). Those who have their own room sometimes have a younger relative living there to look after their children, but most women do not consider this an alternative as they claim it is best for a child to grow up in the country. Accordingly, most of the women's children live with relatives in rural areas. If a woman has been 'properly' married in the sense that bridewealth (*mahari*) has been given and a wedding ceremony has taken place, her children typically stay with the father or someone in his family.[55] Otherwise, the children stay with a

[55] With very few exceptions, the women do belong to and have children with men who belong to ethnic groups that are patrilineal and traditionally practice patrilocal residence.

woman's relatives, which was most common for the women I knew. This is often her parents or an older sister.

I would argue that it is women whose children live with members of their natal family who have the strongest feeling of responsibility, and at the same time of interrelatedness and interdependence, with their kin and home village. On our way back from a visit to her village Mama Jackson says:

> My parents, and like I have told you before, they really depend (*-tegemea*) on me for everything. And it is because I am the one with a child living at home (*mimi ndiyo mwenye mtoto pale nyumbani*). When your child lives at home, the condition (*sharti*) is that you provide money for the daily necessities (*matumizi*). If something happens at home, whether it is my mother who is ill or if it is my father who needs something, they come to me and 'complain' (*wananililia mimi*).

It is clear that Mama Jackson's relationship with her parents is somewhat ambiguous. Mostly however, she expresses great appreciation that her mother looks after her son so well. She further claims, like the majority of the women who have children outside 'proper' marriages,[56] that although her family was not happy about her pregnancy their attitude towards her changed once her son was born. 'You know,' she explains, 'here in Tanzania, for a woman to have a child brings much praise (*kwa mwanamke kupata mtoto ni sifa sana*).' To my question as to whether this is true if she is not married, she replies that it is much worse for a woman's reputation (*sifa*) to not have children, than it is for her to be without a husband: 'I am an adult (*mtu mzima*), if I did not have children by now my parents would complain that they have raised a barren woman *(mgumba*). Not all women marry these days (*siku hizi*).'

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[56] Most of the women have become mothers prior to their engagement in bar and guesthouse work. Although some become pregnant and give birth to children whose father they meet through their job, this is in general not considered desirable because such men are not deemed reliable (*waaminifu*) as regards supporting a child economically. Haram's (2004:224-225) study from the Meru shows that for a woman to rely on economic support from fathers of children born in non-formalised unions is, generally speaking, an uncertain path. This is because fathers might 'loose interest', but also because they might claim their child and thus deprive the woman of motherhood. Several of the women in Moshi voice similar worries and are thus reluctant to ask the fathers of their children directly for economic assistance. Agnes (see chapter three) tells me that she used to live with her son in town, but that she moved him to her sister in her home village after the father began talking of bringing him to his house.

Mama Jackson's statement articulates what I found to be a general sentiment among the women: while none of them believed a woman could have a 'good life' without children, they harbour ambiguous feelings towards marriage. Those who had lived with a man are particularly reluctant to get married again, but also younger and never-married women have doubts. Pamela who works in a bar in Ngorongoro Road says:

> To tell you the truth, I do not think I could be married (*siwezi kwa kweli*). Because, I have seen the consequence (*athari*) of marriage. To be married has it good sides (*raha*). But it is also a bother (*adhabu*). Like me now, because I have a job I can do what I want and I can buy what I want. It is different if you are married. Then you have to ask your husband for everything. Even to buy body lotion (*mafuta ya kujipaka*). And if that is not enough, you find that many men have other women. So you see, if you marry there are many things you must endure (*-vumilia*).

Several studies demonstrate this growing tendency amongst women to remain or turn 'single', but also the uncertain position of single mothers in Tanzania in terms of 'respect' (e.g. Haram 1999, 2004, Pietilä 1999a, 1999b). These studies further indicate that the increasing number of single mothers 'forces people to discuss, debate and rethink notions of respectability' (Pietilä 1999a:131). Howard and Millard (1997) argue that one can attain respect (*heshima*) through fulfilling kin obligations, and conversely, that one is shamed if one fails to do so. A key aspect in this regard is 'proper reproductive behaviour' (Howard and Millard 1997:65). Albeit many of the women I knew have not shown such 'proper' behaviour; statements like Mama Jackson's suggest that 'these days' *single* motherhood can also be understood in terms of complying with kin obligations.

I suggest that the weight the women put on motherhood, a common way of explaining why they need to engage in salaried work, should be understood in this light, as well as in relation to the value of female fertility in Africa in general (e.g. Caldwell et al. 1989, Ogden 1996, Davis 2000, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000). By letting children live with their natal family the women strengthen their bonds with their rural homes.

Women who do not have children living in their home villages also maintain close bonds to their villages. In what follows I present a case of one such woman, which amplifies some of the issues discussed in the chapter so far.

A townswoman's visit to the country

I meet Eva during my first days in Moshi. In the following months I visit her regularly at her workplace: a bar near one of the markets in the town centre. A recurring subject in our discussion is her relationship with her family. Eva is a thirty-two year old Chagga woman from one of the rural districts in Kilimanjaro, and a Roman Catholic. She is the last-born of five sisters, who all have the same mother and father. Her oldest sister lives in Dar es Salaam. The other three live in her home village. So does her mother, while her father passed away several years ago. She is the only one of the sisters who is unmarried, and she tells me that she has two children who live with her sister in Dar es Salaam.

Eva was born in the village, but was raised and went to school partly there and partly in Dar es Salaam, where she stayed with her older sister. When talking about 'home', she nevertheless always means the village in Kilimanjaro. She tells me that she goes to see her mother frequently, about once a month, and that if she has not been home for a while she receives messages or even letters from her mother telling her that she has no money and needs help (*msaada*).

One day when I come to see her at her workplace, Eva shows me such a letter, where the mother asks for cooking oil, sugar and soap. Eva's mother has been bedridden for the last two years, after a fall that broke her leg. Eva's three sisters in the village alternate between staying with and caring for her. Her mother does not know how to read and write, and Eva tells me that it is one of her sisters who wrote the letter on behalf of their mother. Eva regularly complains that her family expects too much financial help from her, and that she is therefore not able to go home as often as she wishes. The presents (*zawadi*) they expect to get make the journey home very costly (cf. also Talle 1998).

Our trip takes place on a Sunday, and we have arranged to meet at nine o'clock in the morning at her workplace. Eva insists on meeting this early because she wants us to reach the village around the time most villagers come from church, around midday, so that as many as possible can see that she has a *mzungu* (white) friend. She has previously told me quite

frankly, that one of the reasons she wants me to come to the village is that the villagers will think she has made even more progress (*maendeleo*) in her life than is actually the case.

Several of the women I met during my fieldwork conveyed the same message, although not always this bluntly. That it helped to strengthen their position as a 'modern', 'developed' person was clearly also a part of the motive for inviting me to events like weddings, funerals and birthday parties, as well as for wanting to accompany me or being accompanied by me when going to the market or to shops in the town centre. When Fatuma and I were walking back to Serengeti Street one afternoon after having been to the market in the town centre, we were stopped and greeted both by people one of us knew as well as by people that were unknown to both of us. Clearly a bit embarrassed Fatuma laughingly tells me: 'Let me tell you a secret (*siri*). When you are with a *mzungu*, people think very highly of you (*wanakuona una maana sana*), because they believe that you know English and therefore are educated (*msomi*). You know, that is why so many people want to be your friend.' Laura, whom I accompanied on a visit to her home village, put it this way: 'That I bring a *mzungu* home, "makes me look good" (*inaosha jina langu*, literally: to clean my name).' People will think that I have gotten a higher education and have a good job, because that is usually how one meets *wazungu*.'

When I arrive at the arranged time, Eva is not yet ready. She is doing the accounts with her co-worker, and she tells me that she must go to the hair salon before we can leave. We therefore agree to meet up again after one hour. On my return, Eva has not yet come back from the hairdresser, and I wait in the bar, chatting with Agnes who is her colleague. When Eva finally arrives, after thirty minutes or so, she has had her hair set and she has put on powder, lipstick and eye make-up (*wanja*). She is still wearing a t-shirt and *kanga* (traditional cloth), but now changes to a beige tailored suit and a white shirt. Lastly, she puts on matching high-heeled shoes. On our way to the bus-station, she stops at one of the many small booths along the road, and gets her finger and toenails painted. I remark that she looks nice (-*pendeza*). She laughs, and says: 'I cannot go home looking like a country bumpkin (*siwezi kwenda nyumbani kama mshamba*).'

At the bus stop we enter a minibus (*hais*),[57] which goes in the direction of Eva's village. The bus takes us out of Moshi town, and after having driven for a short while on the main road to Arusha, we turn right and continue the journey on bumpy, dusty roads. After forty-five minutes we get off at a crossroads. There is no public transport to Eva's village, but she insists that it is too far to walk especially in the kinds of shoes she is wearing. Together with some other passengers going the same way, she manages to hire an empty *hais*, for the price of 1,000 shillings per person. This is five times more than the trip from Moshi town has cost us so far.

After ten minutes or so we reach the centre of Eva's village. We have not brought anything with us from Moshi, since there is a small shop in the village. Before we go shopping however, Eva wants to have a beer. We go to the only bar where bottled beer is sold. Both in the bar and as we walk around in the village, I notice that Eva clearly stands out from all the other women in her fashionable clothes and hairdo. Many of the villagers are also dressed up, and it is obvious that they have just come from church. There is still a difference in fabric and cut, and none of the women wear make-up or have the same kind of hairstyle as Eva.

Several people come to greet us in the bar, and one man asks Eva what she is doing these days. She tells him that she is in Moshi, doing business (*biashara*) with second-hand clothes (*mitumba*). He then asks if she has any children, and she says that she has a son who lives with her sister in Dar es Salaam.

After having finished our beer, we go to the small shop (*duka*). Eva decides that we should buy two kilos of sugar, one kilo rice, one kilo fresh meat, one loaf of bread, a large bar of soap, two packets of tea and some salt. The total cost is 4,000 shillings.[58]

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[57] This is the kind of public transport mostly used when travelling shorter distances within the region. In Kilimanjaro the minibuses are usually referred to as *hais*, from the car model most commonly in use: Toyota Hiace. In other parts of East Africa the terms *matatu* and *daladala* are used.

[58] As is customary, I always bring a gift when visiting someone's home. Eva and I had agreed prior to this trip that I would pay for the food we were to buy for her mother. Our agreement might have influenced the items and

From the centre of the village we walk on narrow paths through fields of maize and banana plantains, passing several clusters of as well as detached mud-clad houses on our way; after ten minutes or so we reach the house of one of Eva's sisters. While we are walking, I ask Eva why she told the man that she has one child while she previously has told me that she has two children. She brushes of my question in a rather brusque manner, telling me that: 'I do not want everyone to know the truth about me (*sitaki kila mtu ajue ukweli wangu*),' and that the man is a blabbermouth (*mbeya*): 'It is none of his business (*haimhusu*).'

When we reach the house of Eva's sister, we are clearly expected, and we are given soda to drink. The sister and her teenage son go with us to Eva's mother's house, which is just a few minutes away. The house is a traditional house, made of mud with a tin roof. It has one room, with a big bed, a cupboard, some chairs and a table. The walls are decorated with newspaper cuttings. There is no electricity, and the windows do not let the sun in, so it is rather dim inside.

Eva's mother lies in the bed, dressed in a t-shirt and a *kanga*. We all sit down but for Eva's sister, who disappears to cook the meat. After a short while she returns with a glass of milk for me. Eva explains that her mother owns a cow, and I am later shown the shed where she is kept. The shed is made of mud and has a thatched roof. This is also where the food is made: on an open fire.

Eva sends her nephew to the bar to buy beer for everyone who is present. We drink and chat, and eat the meat which Eva's sister has fried. After two hours, Eva says that we should leave, because we should reach Moshi before dark. When we are bidding Eva's mother goodbye, I hear her whisper to Eva that she should give her 5,000 shillings, so that she will have money for a while. Eva looks at me, clearly embarrassed that I overheard their conversation, and tells

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quantity she bought, but she claimed this was what she normally would bring along when going home. Based on what I observed when accompanying other women to their villages and relatives, as well as what women told me concerning what kind of gifts are expected, this seems plausible.

her mother that life is hard these days. Her mother snorts and says quite loudly, 'well, after all you have a job (*eh, mbona una kazi*).' I see that Eva hands her some money.

When we walk back to Eva's sister's house, I ask how much she gave her. She says she gave her the amount she asked for: 'What can I do (*nifanyaje*)? I would be ashamed (*-ona aibu*) if I could not help my mother when she needs it.' Eva's sister joins our conversation, and says that they all depend on Eva to assist them whenever they have any problems (*shida*), like for example if anyone is ill. Laughingly, she says: 'So you see, she is like a mother and father to us (*unaona, yeye ni kama mama na baba kwetu*).' I ask her if they depend economically on her on an everyday basis, and she says that she and the two other sisters in the village also contribute some when it comes to covering the daily needs of their mother. 'However,' she goes on, 'there is really no way of making money here, like myself I just have a very small income from braiding other women's hair.'

We say goodbye to the sister when we reach her house, but the nephew wants to escort us to the village centre. We take a different path from when we came, so that we can pass by the houses of Eva's two other sisters. Eva explains to me that there is an ongoing quarrel (*ugomvi*) between the sister we just left and the two others, which is why we cannot meet them all at the same time. The two sisters go with us to the bar in the village centre, where Eva buys us all a round of beer. When we say goodbye, the nephew says that he will come to Eva's workplace the following Wednesday to greet us. I ask him if he has been there before, and both he and the two sisters say that they have visited Eva at the bar several times. One of the sisters adds: 'It is a good thing she has a job, I don't know how we would survive if she too had lived in the village.'

We get a free lift to the crossroads, where we catch a *hais* back to Moshi town. On the way back, I try to add up the costs of the trip and conclude that if Eva had paid all the expenses it would have cost her 20,000 shillings, my transport fare excluded, which is 5,000 more than

her monthly wages.[59] I remark that her complaints concerning how expensive it is to go home now really make sense to me. She replies, and contrary to what she has previously said on a general basis, that to tell me the truth (*ukweli*), she has not been to the village since some days before Christmas,[60] because she has not been able to afford it. It will now take a while before she can go back.

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This description of the visit to Eva's village bears resemblance to other trips I made with women. Many aspects of this story, like how both she and her sisters explain her relatives' economic dependence on her as well as her mother's unusually direct request for money, shows that fulfilling economic demands from home is an important aspect of contemporary kin obligations. Further, the time Eva uses to dress well and make her hair, so as not to come home as a 'country bumpkin', as well as how she rents a *hais* and buys bottled beer in the village bar pinpoint her self-identity and wish to appear as a modern (*-a kisasa*) woman who has achieved development and progress (*maendeleo*) in her life. In what follows I shall discuss and relate this last aspect to the particular discourse about 'development' that has evolved in Tanzania since independence.

The development discourse in Tanzania

As has been documented from many parts of Africa, both people living in the town as well as those living in the rural areas of Tanzania hold stereotypical images of the simple and morally superior life of rural dwellers as opposed to the immoral and corrupted life of townspeople (*watu wa mjini*) (cf. e.g. Mitchell 1987, Ogden 1996, Ferguson 1997, 1999, Setel 1999, Davis

[59] I reimbursed her the transport fare when we came to Moshi. This was not something we had agreed upon beforehand.
[60] Our trip took place in the beginning of March, which means that it is a little more than two months since her last visit.

2000, Haram 2004). In chapter seven I discuss how such general images contribute in a particular negative manner to the view people have on women living in towns. However, and as indicated, images of town life and the people living there are far from just negative. Rather, positive and negative evaluations of town life versus the life people live in the country exist in a complex mix; a mix where perceptions of modernity and development play a central role. Clyde Mitchell argues thus about the Zambian Copperbelt:

> Derogatory images of town life and townsfolk are usually balanced by contrary images in which cities are perceived as the centres of development and change. In terms of this image the countryman is the ignorant and backward yokel as against the urban and progressive townsman. The countryman is thus morally upright but unprogressive, the townsman is degenerate but an agent of change and development (Mitchell 1987:102, cf. also Ferguson 1997, 1999).

This observation mirrors the Tanzanian situation, where people living in both the towns and country express contempt for rural lifestyles and values, and describe them as 'backward' and 'old-fashioned' (*-a shamba*), while criticising the behaviour and ways of living associated with townspeople, in particular young, income-seeking people, for being immoral and destroying the 'traditional' and 'good' way of life (see also e.g. Talle 1998, 1999, Setel 1999).

However, to be perceived as a developed and progressive person is not incompatible with being regarded as 'a person with respect', which seems to be implicit in Mitchell's (1987) argument concerning the Copperbelt. This is a particular feature of the concept of development in Tanzania, and specifically related to how *maendeleo* has been defined by the nation state (Talle 1999, Moland 2002).

In Tanzania, the concept of *maendeleo* (development, progress) has been, and still is, intimately linked to the fight against what Julius Nyerere, the country's first president and its 'founding father', called the three enemies of the nation: disease, ignorance and poverty (Moland 2002:20,112). The concept is 'deeply embedded in notions and images of change, modernity and prosperity' (Talle 1999:106) and embraces more or less all that is associated with the 'modern' as opposed to the 'traditional'. The message of 'development' and 'progress' has since the 1960's been communicated in national and local political arenas; in mass media and through government documents; religious institutions, schools as well as in

the health care system. Thus, it has also reached the peripheral villages, and *maendeleo* has become a concern for rural as well as for urban dwellers and ordinary people as much as 'the elite' (Talle 1999, Moland 2002).

The development discourse then, has clear moral aspects: poverty is *maendeleo*'s antithesis, and 'is intimately linked to images of backwardness, primitivity and ignorance' (Talle 1999:106). This has further lead to a sense of moral commitment for all Tanzanians to take part in that which is considered *maendeleo* (Moland 2002:112); it is a continuous struggle and *obligation* not only for the government, but also for people in their daily lives to become 'developed' and 'modern' (Talle 1999, Moland 2002). The failure to uphold *maendeleo*, in the sense of being poor (*maskini*), is conversely '[o]ne of the most common ways to lose respect and become shamed' (Howard and Millard 1997: 67, cf. also Moland 2002:113).

Local expressions of this national discourse are evident in contemporary Moshi, and most clearly articulated in ideals and aspirations for a 'good life' in terms of having progress, as many of the women workers put it. In practical terms, being 'developed' refers to: personal hygiene such as using soap and body lotion; wear clean and fashionable clothes; going to hair salons; drinking soda and bottled beer; eating store-bought and 'fat' foods; living in brick houses with connected water, electricity, glass windows and tin roofs; getting proper medical treatment when one is ill, and; becoming educated. Consequently, and because development is expensive, the ability to earn money is a significant aspect of being a developed and modern person (cf. also Howard and Millard 1997, Talle 1999, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000, Moland 2002).

The concept of *maendeleo*, and in line with the considerations of the ambiguous perceptions of town versus village life, does not only have positive connotations to people in Tanzania (cf. also Setel 1999, Talle 2002, Dilger 2003). It is associated with the negative aspects of a 'modernized' (- *a kisasa*) lifestyle, such as the sexual promiscuity of 'single' women in towns and the spread of AIDS. AIDS is in fact often referred to as 'the disease of modernity' (*ugonjwa wa kisasa*).

However I would argue that despite such acknowledged downsides, 'development', as defined above, is seen as desirable by most Tanzanians. To successfully commit to development can thus be a way of 'producing respect' in contemporary Moshi and accordingly constitute an alternative source of positive moral evaluation for bar and guesthouse workers. Following Talle (1999), I furthermore suggest that such success, as well as failure, is communicated above all through physical appearance, which includes consumption of 'modern' goods (see Smette 2001 for a similar argument concerning Senegal).

I maintain that it is in light of the national development discourse and as part of its practical expression in people's daily lives that we should understand women like Glory and Eva's preoccupation with bodily cleanliness, tailor-made dresses and getting their hair done in salons, as well as their often preferred consumption of 'modern' food like chicken and chips (*chipsi kuku*) and bottled beer. In Kilimanjaro, a fashionably dressed woman with a modern hairstyle signifies 'urban sophistication and glamour *as well as respectability* […]. A beautiful woman is a moral woman' (Talle 1998:52, italics added).

Further, within this discourse, to have a job in town, and especially an 'office' job, seems to have more positive connotations than it does within the more 'traditional' discourse of 'proper' work discussed in the previous chapter, due to its association with education and secure monthly wages. The women worker's frequent reference to their workplace as their 'office' (*afisi*), like Glory did when running into her childhood friend, could be understood in this context.

Although their appearance and self-presentations as 'modern' and 'developed' are unquestionably most prominent during women's encounters with their rural kin, these aspects are strikingly present in their everyday lives in general. This will become more evident in the case I present in the chapter to come. I argue that such self-presentations could be interpreted as one of the women's ways of engaging with and opposing how they are stereotyped as 'sexually loose' in the dominant moral discourse.

The ambiguous character of the demands from home

Nevertheless, this seems to be an uncertain way of 'producing respect' for the women at the centre of this study as it is for members of the urban income-seeking population in general, particularly so 'single' women (cf. e.g. Haram 1999, 2004, 2005b). The reason for this is precisely the morally questionable aspect of the manner in which they have achieved their progress. I would argue that it is of prime importance for the women not to be perceived as simply committed to *individualised* development, but that they share their earnings with their kin and thus also contribute to their relative's *maendeleo*. If she were to ignore the moral principle of sharing embedded in such kin obligations, a woman risks being deemed greedy and selfish (*mchoyo*), and the way she earns her money might be subject to closer scrutiny (cf. Haram 2005b).

Although not put this explicitly, I believe this is what Mama Jackson alludes to when she claims that her mother will not 'understand' her if she tells her that she has no money (see chapter three); similarly this could be what lies behind Eva's mother's comment about her having a job and presumed ability to give her the 5,000 shillings. Additionally, while at first glance it seems as if Glory has 'the upper hand' in the encounter with the woman from her village, since she literally embodies development, her friend's comment concerning her long walk and hard work might also imply a hidden critique of Glory's chosen way of life. Thus, by referring to how she helps her mother Glory could be understood as aiming to position herself as compliant with more 'traditional' kin obligations.

In the in-depth interview, Eva expressed the delicate balancing act between achieving some of her more personal goals in life while at the same time making sure that she is perceived as a woman who contributes to the welfare of her family *and* how this intersects with the problem of 'respect', quite straightforwardly:

> I do not want the people in my village to know where I work, because then they will just say that ah! She is nothing but a *malaya*. So the only ones who know where I am working are my sisters. And my oldest sister, the one who lives in Dar [es Salaam], she did not like it at all when I started this work. She told me off and said that I should not set my foot in her house ever again. But, she came to respect me (*akaja kuniheshimu*) after my mother broke her leg. Then it was me who paid

> for her treatment, I took her to Mawenzi and KCMC.[61] When my sister came from Dar she saw that mother already had been treated and that she had everything she needed. Then she understood that I have some value (*maana*). Even if I work at a bar. I told her; 'Did you not say to me that that because I work in a bar, I am no longer your sister?' She said: 'Let us forgive each other, I have now understood the meaning of the saying "a job is a job" (*kazi ni kazi*). I will no longer look down on you (*sitakudharau tena*).' So, I am happy about working in a bar, because I have been able to help my mother. Also, I can eat good food and I can buy nice clothes, this is all because of my job.

A major concern is that all this requires money; money, which as established in the previous chapter, is not sufficiently provided by their monthly salary. As a result, the women experience the many expectations from their relatives as a stressful part of their daily lives.

Mama Rose is from Mwanza region by Lake Victoria. Due to the long and costly journey to her home village, she is not able to visit her three children as often as she wishes, and when I met her she had not been home for two years. Her children live with her maternal aunt, who also raised Mama Rose when her own mother died at a young age. At Easter she sends 30,000 shillings to her aunt through a relative going home for the holidays. She claims that she sent the same sum for the Christmas celebration, because: 'My children must have nice clothes and eat well in the holidays (*sikukuu*).' Some time after Easter she receives a letter from her aunt, who complains that after having spent all this time in town, she would have expected Mama Rose to send more money than the 30,000 shillings. When narrating this story one morning at Mama Pendo's, and showing me the letter, she sighs: 'They think that because you live in town, you have money, but alas, it is poverty all over (*wanakuona kwa vile uko mjini una hela, kumbe ni umaskini tupu*).'

Mama Jackson, who is often visited by her relatives at her workplace, quite bluntly, expresses similar exasperation. However, she never does so to her parents face, thus employing her practical wisdom about how people, and particularly kin, are interrelated in trying to pursue goals (Whyte 2002:182).

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[61] Eva here refers to the two main hospitals in Moshi: Mawenzi Regional Hospital and Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre (KCMC). KCMC is seen as the better of the two by people in Kilimanjaro when it comes to the quality of the medical treatment. It is also the more expensive and 'modern' of the two hospitals.

Concluding remarks

Negotiating an identity as a developed and modern woman, based on images embedded in a discourse that is more or less separate from discourses on sexual morality, seems more feasible when the women are not at their working place (cf. also Helle-Valle and Talle 2000).

However I contend that the distinctions between the contexts the women move between are not all that clear-cut, since they often also receive visitors from home at their workplace. Moreover, several of the women tell relatives and other acquaintances where they work more or less straightforwardly; they deem it important to keep in continuous contact with their kin. Further, the line between being perceived as a developed, modern and thus successful townswoman, and conversely, an immoral, sexually loose *malaya* seems to be a delicate one outside the women's workplace.

I accordingly suggest that which of the images of a particular woman that prevail, in addition to being dependent on context, is intimately linked to whether a woman is conceived of as being generous and hospitable or, on the other hand, as individualistic and greedy (cf. Moland 2002, Haram 2005b). I have aimed aimed to substantiate such a contention by focusing on the interrelationship between 'kin obligations' and 'the development discourse', in that if the women do not meet with the demands from home they risk having their way of earning money subjected to closer moral scrutiny.

In the next two chapters I turn to a description and analysis of the aspect of the women's lives which above all cause their insecure moral position in Moshi: namely how they (are perceived to) manage their sexuality.

5. THE STORY OF JOYCE

This and the following chapter will consider the sexual relationships women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi have with men. I maintain that if we want to fully understand what is 'at stake' for these women, this part of their lives must also be explored. It will be done by means of an extended case study, inspired by Gluckman (1961, 1967), which constitutes the major part of this chapter.

The overall aim of the chapters is to contribute to a broad and nuanced understanding of how the women themselves conceive of and value their sexuality, as well as of how they manage their sexual relationships. Further, I hope to demonstrate the complex manner in which the women's ways of managing their sexuality intersects and interrelates with how they are negatively stereotyped as *malaya* by others in society as well as with the different ways of 'producing respect' in Moshi.

A note on the usefulness of extended case studies

The method of using extended case studies in anthropological analyses was developed by members of the so-called Manchester School (Hannerz 1980, Werbner 1990, cf. Gluckman 1961, 1967). In his discussions concerning case studies as ethnographic data, Gluckman contrasts the extended-case method with two other ways of employing case material in anthropological writing (Gluckman 1961, 1967). First there is what he calls the 'method of apt illustration' (Gluckman 1961:7), where 'the apt and appropriate case [is used] to illustrate specific customs, principles of organization, social relationships, etc.' (Gluckman 1961:7), already outlined by the anthropologist. The cases often concern different groups or individuals and no effort is made to establish a connection between the diverse episodes cited. A slightly different approach is to first describe a case, usually focusing on a single event clearly demarcated in time and space, and then extract 'the general rule of custom or social relationships from it' (Gluckman 1961:8, cf. Hannerz 1980:132-133). Gluckman (1961, 1967)

cites as an example of this latter technique his own *Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand* where he uses the description of a bridge-opening ceremony as a starting point for a broad analysis of social and political life in Zululand (Gluckman 1958 [1940]). An extended case study differs from these other uses of case materials in that it portrays a series of events involving the same person or groups of persons over a long period of time.[62] By making use of this approach one stands a better chance of grasping and conveying the processual aspect of social life, rather than portraying and analysing 'the morphology of the social structure' (Gluckman 1961:8) which is typically the outcome of the two other modes of employing case studies. In this thesis I use case material in ways resembling all three modes. As noted, I find the *extended*-case method particularly useful for conveying a nuanced picture of how the women conceive of and handle their sexuality.

Individual women are involved in different types of relationships, and the character of a relationship may change over time. I argue that the meanings women attach to their sexual relations can be understood as reflecting what is 'at stake' in a particular situation.[63] What might appear to be similar practices and relationships may hence be interpreted differently by the same woman according to the situation. In this, the emotional aspect should not be ignored.

Further, practices as well as actual relationships are often interpreted differently by the different participants and onlookers involved, depending on how they are 'positioned' as guests, female workers, male workers, co-workers, neighbours and relatives (cf. e.g. Wikan 1990, Abu-Lughod 1991). I focus mainly on the meanings the women attribute to their practices and relationships, but other interpretations will emerge in the following case and the

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[62] Extended case studies resemble what both Jaap Van Velsen (1967) and Mitchell (e.g. 1987) have termed 'situational analysis' and have a clear likeness to Victor Turner's concept 'social drama' (e.g. Turner 1996 [1957], 1974). Several scholars claim that the terms are in effect used more or less synonymously for such treatment of case materials (e.g. Van Velsen 1967, Hannerz 1980, Kapferer 1987, Kuper 1996).

[63] I take 'situation' to mean an 'interactional sequence' (Mitchell 1987:10), naturally demarcated in time and space (Hannerz 1980:133). I thus employ it slightly differently from its cognate 'context' (see the previous chapter).

subsequent discussion, and other people's presence and opinions clearly influence how the women both manage and interpret their relationships. Lastly, women workers at bars and guesthouses in Moshi are a diversified group as regards how they manage and conceive of their sexuality; their practices and the meanings they attach to these practices differ.

I will now focus on a particular case in detail, to capture all these aspects, including the multiplicity of concerns that impinge on the women's actions and interpretations of relationships and events (cf. Wikan 1990:18). I describe a series of episodes involving one individual woman, Joyce, over a time-span of four months. I have abstracted Joyce's story 'as a unit from the endless flow of life' (Hannerz 1980:133) at Kipepeo.

Joyce

Background

Joyce is a 30 year old Pare woman who works for Mzee Mboya. She is a Roman Catholic and got married in church at the age of 16. Joyce has two children, a boy who is 14 years old and a girl of four years. She and her husband were farmers, selling tomatoes, cucumbers, maize and beans at a big market close to where they lived. They managed to build a big house, with five rooms. Joyce left her husband in July 2003, when she discovered that he was having an affair with another woman. She recounts what happened this way:

> When I met him he had not built a house and he had nothing at all. We stayed with his father, we built a house, we got pigs, chicken and goats. We worked together at the field (*shamba*).That man used to love (*-penda sana*[64]) me. When we had sold our tomatoes and maize we used to buy like a big bag of rice, a carton of soap, twenty litres of kerosene, you see, we had money to buy things on whole sale. So that was what I was used to, and this is how we lived for many years. Then

[64] *Kupenda* means both to love and to like, and is thus rather ambiguous. The ambiguity is sometimes removed by using phrases like *kupenda sana* (to love very much) or *kupenda kwa dhati* (to truly love) (cf. also Setel 1999:123). In my translations I vary between the two according to how I understand the phrase in its context, but acknowledge that I might have misinterpreted and thus unintentionally transformed the meaning.

> suddenly he changed. He did not buy those things even if they were available. For example, he usually gave me 10,000 shillings when I was going to the market, now he only gave me 4,000. I said to myself, that man must have another woman since he gives me so little money. After all, we both work at the field. So I started to investigate (*-chunguza*), and we stayed like that for one year. Then one day I was told that he has another woman (*mwanamke mwingine wa nje*). And that same day I caught him red-handed (*nilimfumania*), he was at a bar with a woman. I took my bag and some things, and I left him right away. And he has not dared to come after me, he knows that I am stern (*kali*). And he is ashamed, because he knows that he had nothing when I came to him, we have built together and we have bought everything together.

Joyce went to stay with her sister in Moshi town. She left her children behind because she was certain that if she took them her husband would come to get them. She has not seen the children since, but has several times sent her sisters to check on them as well as to bring them small things like sugar and notebooks for school.

After having stayed with her sister for two weeks, Joyce started to look for work by asking an acquaintance to look for her. She says that she was used to having money and also to hard work, so she could not just stay at her sister's house doing nothing and depend on her for every little thing, such as soap and oil for her body. Her acquaintance told her that Mzee Mboya was looking for new employees. At first Joyce did not want to work at a guesthouse or a bar because she was afraid of what people might think of her. The woman persuaded her to give it a try and Joyce started to work for Mzee Mboya in August 2003. At first she worked in a small shop at one of his guesthouses, but after a while she started to work at the guesthouse itself. She says that only her siblings know where she works, and that if anyone from her village asks, including her husband, they tell them that she is in Moshi doing business with second-hand clothes (*mitumba*).

I first meet Joyce when I move to Kipepeo in the beginning of January 2003. She is working at the guesthouse. Since she is transferred to one of Mzee Mboya's other establishments the day after I move in, we do not get to know each other all that well until she is transferred back to Kipepeo in April the same year. When I leave for Norway in August 2004, Joyce is still at Kipepeo. During the months we live together, I both witness and am told by Joyce or some of her co-workers of her involvement with different men. I discuss the relationships with her just about daily as well as in my interview with her, and she and the other women working at

Kipepeo talk about their men in other settings where I am present, such as during morning tea or in the courtyard in the afternoons.

Juggling men…

Joyce returns to Kipepeo a few weeks before Easter. The following episode takes place on Easter Day. I am absent during the day, but when I return to Kipepeo at night time Joyce invites me to come to the bar. She tells me a *bwana* ('man,' 'boyfriend', plural: *mabwana*) of hers has come and he is buying her beer and wants to buy me one (*kupa offa*) as well. The bar is crowded, and the three of us together with Laura, the other guesthouse worker who started to work at Kipepeo the same day, decide to sit outside in the courtyard. Joyce's *bwana* tells us all to drink whatever we want ('*kunywa mnachotaka*'). I first ask for a soda, but Laura and Joyce insist that I drink beer like them, lest the man will be offended. After a short while another man comes to the courtyard and asks to have a word with Joyce. She goes into the corridor with him but returns shortly, without the man. She says that it was a customer looking for a place to sleep but that she told him there were no rooms available. When I go to bed around one o'clock in the morning, Joyce and Laura are still up, drinking beer with Joyce's *bwana*. Esther, the bar attendant, is serving them.

During morning tea the following day Laura, Esther and Joyce all talk about how tired they are because they had too much beer yesterday and stayed up very late, just to be awakened by Mzee Kaale at five in the morning. Laura says to Joyce that it was only pure luck (*bahati*) that kept her out of trouble yesterday. Joyce laughs, and says that how could she have known that three of her *mabwana* would show up at the same time? I tell them that I don't understand; did someone come after I had gone to bed? They all laugh at me and ask if I truly had not understood that the man Joyce had told us was looking for a room really was her *bwana*? But to make matters worse, Joyce says, a third *bwana* of hers turned up after I left them. The three women talk a bit about this man and Laura says that he is a conman (*mtapeli*), and that she knows for a fact that he has been sleeping with a woman who works at a neighbouring bar and that he used to beat her. It turns out that Joyce lent him some money, and the other two scold

her for being so stupid. They say that they never have and never will give money to a man. Joyce says that she is sure he will give her the money back, and maybe even more than she gave him. Our conversation is interrupted by some guests asking for bathwater, but I get a chance to inquire further about the episode when Joyce later the same day is alone in the workers' room. She explains what happened and how she handled it this way:

> Saidi, the one who bought us beer, he is my long-time boyfriend (*mtu wangu wa siku nyingi*, literally: my long-time person). We met two months ago, he is a driver and he stayed at Happy Inn [one of Mzee Mboya's other establishments] when I worked there. I started with him there (*nilianzana naye hapo*, [i.e. started to have sex with him]). Yesterday he sent a message with someone to say he would come to celebrate Easter with me, and that I should just drink as many beers that I wanted, he would pay when he came. And so he came, and I told him that I had drunk four beers, he paid for them all, because he loves me (*ananipenda sana*). I had actually only had one, but I kept the rest so now I have money for food (*hela ya kula*). Then we started to drink, and that is when you came. Then this other *bwana* of mine came, Hassan, you remember, he is also my long-time boyfriend but he lives here in Moshi, he has his own room. But he had not told me that he was going to come yesterday. He asked me who Saidi was and whose beer I was drinking, I told him that Saidi was Laura's *bwana* and that he had bought all of us beer. Then he could not say anything because it is like I have been bought beer by my brother-in-law (*shemeji*). He wanted to buy me beer, and that we should go to his room, but it would not look good to drink his beer in front of Saidi so I tricked him (*nilimdanganya*) and said that I had to go to Mzee Mboya with the accounts (*mahesabu*) but that he should just go home and I would come to him in a short while. Next time I see him I will just tell him that there was too much work here so I was not able to get away. […] But then this third *bwana* came. Luckily I saw him before he saw me. He is very jealous, and I was afraid either he or Saidi, if he found out, would beat me so I hid in our room [the workers room]. Laura and Esther told him that I was not there, so he left. […] But, I don't care really, there is nothing they can say, it is not as if I am married to any of them.

For the next couple of weeks Joyce sleeps in Saidi's room. Saidi is away during day time, but usually returns early evening. Joyce and Saidi eat dinner together every night, and often ask Esther, Laura and me to join them. Saidi buys the food from Mama Zainabu, and he also buys Joyce beer every night. In the mornings Joyce brings him tea and doughnuts from Mama Pendo, which she tells me that she pays for. She also shines his shoes and does his laundry.

One afternoon when I come back to Kipepeo after having visited Glory and Mama Jackson at Kwa Mrema, I see Joyce sitting in the court yard with another man, holding hands. She calls out to me and tells me to come and greet the man. She introduces us, and says to me that 'this

is my boyfriend (*rafiki*) Peter, who lives in Tanga, the one I told you about when you asked me if I had a boyfriend, that first day you know.'[65] Joyce has made lunch which I eat with them, but I have to leave right after because of another appointment. When I return in the evening Peter has left. Joyce says that he took a room [i.e. they had sex], but that he could not stay the night. I ask her if he gave her any money. She says that he did not, but that he will come back the following Saturday and that he has promised that he will bring her money then. In the evening Saidi comes back and Joyce again sleeps in his room.

I never see Peter again and I ask Joyce about him after some time. She says that he did not come back as he had promised, but that that she has spoken to him on the phone and that his work has not yet allowed him to return to Moshi. But she hopes he will come someday soon. During my interview with Joyce in May, her relationship with Peter comes up when we talk about the importance of money in a relationship. She explains to me that he was the first man she had a sexual relationship[66] with after she came to Moshi and started to work for Mzee Mboya:

> Turid: So this thing to have sex with a man and then he gives you money, you did not know so much about that before you came to Moshi?
> Joyce: You know, I was married, so I could not be with other men. I would have been reported (*shtakiwa*) to the priest (*padre*) if I had been with another man. […]
> Turid: So what happened when you came here, how did you learn?
> Joyce: It was my co-workers you know, but I really waited a long time before I had sex with a man, I stayed a whole month. I worked at White House first you know. So I slept at the workers room, but none of my co-workers did, they went with someone and they came back in the morning, or maybe they were even taken to the disco. So you are the only one left behind. So in the morning they counted their money, they showed it to me. If they wanted to buy egg for breakfast, or milk, they could, and you would find yourself as the only one without money. You had to save all the time. So it continued like that, and my friends laughed at me: 'you just stay in the workers room and look after our stuff.' They laughed, I don't know what they thought of me. So after a month, this man came, Peter, he lived at White House then, and he propositioned (-*tongoza*) me because he had seen that I did not speak to other men. So he propositioned me and I agreed. I told myself, why should you go to the workers' room every night, and in the morning

[65] The first time I met Joyce I rather clumsily asked both her and her co-workers whether they had boyfriends. In my field notes I have recorded that Joyce told me that day that she had a boyfriend living in Tanga.
[66] The women use several expressions to say that they have or have had a sexual relationship with a man. Here Joyce uses the most common phrase *kutembea na* literally meaning to walk with. Another frequently used expression is *kula na*, the actual meaning being to eat with.

> your friends have money and you don't. […] So I stayed with him for many weeks. When he woke up in the morning he left me money, like 1,000 or 2,000 shillings, and then he went to work. He used to leave his clothes for me to do his laundry. When he came home from work I prepared him bathwater and then he went to buy food and we ate. And I slept in his room.

The relationship ended, or came to a temporary halt when Peter's assignment in Moshi was concluded after a month or so. Since then he has returned several times. According to Joyce he always comes to see her whenever he is in Moshi.

Joyce's relationship with Saidi also changes after she has stayed with him in his room for almost two weeks, but for a rather different reason. I have not seen him for a couple of days and ask Joyce if he has left. She says that he did not come the day before so they had to give his room to someone else. But, she tells me, she does not want him anymore anyway:

> I cannot be with a man who does not give me money. He should give me money for my daily necessities (*hela ya matumizi*) every day. A woman needs to go to the salon, she needs soap and body lotion. That man is very stingy with his money (*ni mchungu sana kutoa hela*), you know he is a Chagga, and the Chagga are so stingy. I sent Esther to tell him yesterday; all the time he has been here he has not given me any money. He has bought me beer and food, but that is not enough. He should give me at least 2,000 every day, but that man has not even given me a lotion of 1,000 shillings. There is another man who has propositioned me, I am planning to be unfaithful (*-jiiba*[67]). He lives at another guesthouse so Saidi will not know. At least then I know for sure that I will get money.

Although Saidi actually returns the same evening, Joyce does not talk to him and she does not go to his room, she sleeps in the workers' room. The following evening I see that another man is buying her beer in the bar, but when Saidi comes she hides the bottle and follows him to his room. I am told by Laura that Joyce actually has been having a relationship with the other man, John, for some time, but that he lives at another guesthouse and she has thus been able to go to see him without Saidi's knowledge.

The next day I ask Joyce about this and if the man who bought her beer the previous evening is the man she talked to me about the other day when she planned to 'steal' from Saidi. She

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[67] *Kuiba* literally means to steal but the term does as well refer to being unfaithful (see also Talle 1995, Haram 2004).

says that he is not. The man she told me about was a long-term guest at Happy Inn where she worked before she was transferred to Kipepeo. He never propositioned (*-tongoza*) her when she worked there, but the day she told me about him he sent one of her colleagues who work at Happy Inn to proposition her on his behalf. She had checked him out (*-chunguza*) when she worked at Happy Inn she tells me, and saw that he had a good moral character (*tabia nzuri*). She never saw him with a woman and he often bought both her and her co-workers beer. She therefore decided to go and had spent the night with him, so that she could at least get money for food (*hela ya kula*). When I ask her if he now is her *bwana* she laughs and says: 'No, he is just someone who is passing by (*mtu wa kupita*), he gave me my money (*cash yangu*) so it is over (*imekwisha*). It is like that, the next day he does not know you (*kesho hakujui*).' Concerning John, the man who bought her beer the previous evening, she says that she has not yet slept with him, but that he wants her (*ananitaka*) and that he has propositioned her many times both face-to-face and by sending Esther to speak to her on his behalf. Until the day before she has refused even to drink his beer, out of fear of what Saidi would say, and also, because it does not look good to be with several men at the same time. 'So,' she tells me,'when I am with a man I never show him other men (*kama niko na mwanaume, simwonyeshi wananaume wengine*).'

The next day Saidi leaves for Dar es Salaam. At morning tea Joyce tells Laura and me that before he left he gave her some clothes and 10,000 shillings. He also told her that he will bring her a cell phone next time he comes to Moshi. Joyce says that she does not understand him, but she thinks he has been checking out her character (*-chunguza tabia*) to see if she could be trusted and whether she only wants his money or if she really likes him. Laura laughs and says addressed to me: 'she really loves money that woman.' Joyce replies that this might be so, but that she actually also loves (*-penda sana*) Saidi and that if she didn't she wouldn't have stayed with him for so long.

During the following weeks John comes to Kipepeo frequently. I am not around all the time, but I see and am told by Esther that he gives all the workers offers of beer. Joyce also tells me that he told her to get a pair of jeans and a *kitenge* (a traditional cloth) from one of the women

who comes to Kipepeo to sell clothes on credit (*kwa mkopo*)[68] and that he will pay for it when he gets his salary. 'You see don't you, that he really loves me (*ananipenda sana*)?' she asks me and her colleagues one morning during morning tea. Some nights John takes a room at Kipepeo, other nights Joyce goes to him at the guesthouse where he stays. However, there are also days when they do not meet. One of these evenings I see Joyce with Hassan, the man who came to see her on Easter Day, but whom she tricked by telling him to go home and that she would come later. They are drinking beer and several times I hear Joyce telling him that she does not have money for food. When Hassan sees that I am carrying my camera, he asks me to take a picture of him and 'my girlfriend' (*mpenzi wangu*). The next day I ask Joyce about Hassan. She tells me that he has come to see her several times after Easter, but that she has refused to go with him to his room. She tells him that she has been tired, that she has her period, that she has been feeling unwell and so on, but the real reason is that she did not dare (*-dhubutu*) out of fear that Saidi and now John would find out. However, the previous day he managed to 'sweet-talk' (*-bembeleza*) her into going home with him. He bought her several beers and had also given her money to pay off money she owed to a woman from whom she bought underwear. I ask her if she is not afraid of what John will say. She tells me that he did not come yesterday so he does not know and that if someone tells him about it and he asks her, she will just deny it. He did not see it (*hajaiona*) so he cannot say anything.

…and the risk of being outmanoeuvred and exploited

Some days later Joyce is not this lucky. I am in my room when she comes to ask me what kind of food I would like, because someone is ordering (*-agiza*) for her and she wants me to join in. It turns out that Joyce had slept with a guest the day before, and that he now wants to buy her food. We agree on what to eat, and Joyce leaves to tell him. When I go out of my

[68] This is the usual way of buying and selling clothes. The women 'buy' clothes from the seller but do not pay right away. They agree on a date for the seller to come to collect the money, normally three weeks or one month later. During this period the women save money to pay their debt, but it frequently happens that the seller has to come back several times before she gets her money.

room a few minutes later I meet Laura who tells me that Joyce has been caught red-handed (*-fumaniwa*). I ask her what has happened, and she says that John came while Joyce was discussing with the other man what food he should order. Since it was obvious that she had let him buy her food, John will surely understand that Joyce has been with him. It is bad Laura says, because although the man is not her *bwana*, he might come back sometimes and now Joyce has lost her chance of getting money from him and besides it does not look good (*haipendezi*). Joyce and John are now in a room, talking. When the food arrives I ask Laura whether I should go to get Joyce. She says that Joyce will probably not want to come since she is with her *bwana*. However she tells me to ask Joyce, but to be sure not to do it in front of John. I knock on the door to the room she is in, and ask her to come outside. I tell her that the food is ready, she points at the door and laughs, and says that she does not dare (*-dhubutu*) to come. When I go to bed that evening I do not know how the story ended. The next morning I ask Joyce whether she got in trouble the night before. She says that she sweet-talked John into believing that the other man was Esther's *bwana*, but that this other man now has left without giving her the money which he had promised her. But, she says: 'It does not matter, he gave me 10,000 the first night, and he bought me food twice as well as lots of beer. He is just a *buzi*, I "skinned" him (*nilimchuna*), I "ate" him (*nilimla*).' [69]

During the next weeks Joyce continues her relationship with John, as well as with Saidi who comes to stay at Kipepeo several times during this period. He usually calls before he comes, and if Joyce knows that she will see John that evening she tells Saidi that there are no rooms. Saidi gives her money every time he leaves, normally 5,000 shillings. Joyce complains that it is too little and that it does not help her at all, but if she is not with John when he comes she gives him a room and sleeps with him.

[69] A *buzi*, according to the women, is a man who a woman lures or fools into buying her food, lots of beer and possibly giving her money. The terms 'to skin' and 'to eat' both refer to luring and fooling a man into making him spend a lot of money on you. I shall return to these expressions in more detail in the next chapter.

Joyce's relationship with John gets increasingly strained when he keeps delaying to pay his bill at the bar at Kipepeo and does not give Joyce money for the clothes he said she should get. Also, Joyce is told one morning when we are at Mzee Mboya's house that John has a sexual relationship with a woman who works at a neighbouring guesthouse. She starts to cry when a colleague tells her the news and says: 'So, the man is a *malaya*,[70] I had not expected that (*sikutegemea*), I do not want him anymore.' I do not get the chance to talk properly to Joyce until later the same day when we are alone in the workers' room, making lunch. She then tells me that the reason she got so upset when she heard of John's affair is that she has observed that many of the men who have been with John's new woman have become very skinny lately. I ask what she means by this and she explains that she thinks John's new woman might have 'the virus' (*virusi*, i.e. HIV), and that maybe he has 'left' (*-achia*) Joyce with HIV (*ukimwi*). I ask if this means that she and John did not use a condom when having sex. Joyce gets visibly annoyed and tells me that of course they did, but that who knows, some might have burst (*-pasuka*), since condoms often are of bad quality.

When Joyce confronts John with what she has heard he denies it. Joyce tries to catch him with the other woman but without luck. She keeps on seeing him, although not as frequently as before. One afternoon when we are sitting in the courtyard, Fatuma, who has come to visit, tells her that there is no point in being jealous (*kuwa na wivu*) or in being sad because of a man:

> You know how it is with the men we meet at this place, they are just passing by (*ni watu wa kupita*), they cannot be trusted (*hawaaminiki*). The only thing you can do is to make him wear a condom and to be sure to get your money. The problem is that you love him too much (*tatiso ni kuwa unampenda sana*).

Joyce says that it is true that she liked him at first, but now she does not want him, she just wants to get the money he owes her and at the bar. The following days she tries different strategies to get John to give her money: Esther, a neighbour and herself go to a traditional

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[70] Contrary to Haram's (2005a) findings from the Meru, I often heard *malaya* used with reference to men, although admittedly not with such a derogatory ring to it as when used about a woman.

doctor (*mganga*) to get help and she and Esther go to see John's boss to report (*-shtaki*) him, but with no luck. One night when Joyce knows John has received his salary, she invites him to Kipepeo and buys him food and beer. We are all sitting in the bar, and Joyce feeds him (*-lisha*) with a spoon. He leaves shortly after, without having bought her beer nor given her any money. Later that evening Esther and Lalia, who now works at the guesthouse instead of Laura, talk about the episode. They both agree that they would never go as far as Joyce, to buy a man food and beer. I ask what they mean. Esther tells me that 'Joyce was trying to seduce (*-honga*) him, but it does not look good (*haipendezi*). If a man is tired of you, you should just leave him alone.'

The problem of respectability…

A few days later five army officers arrive at Kipepeo. When I come home the same evening I see Esther and another colleague from a neighbouring guesthouse, Felicia, sitting in the bar with the men. When I go into the bar to greet them, I observe Felicia stroking one of the men on his stomach, telling him that: 'I am thirsty' (*nina kiu*). She winks at me and laughs. I am offered beer by one of the men, but I am tired and decide to go to bed.

During morning tea the next day Esther, Joyce and Lalia discuss what happened the night before. I learn that Lalia and Joyce had joined the others in the bar after I had gone to bed, and that Joyce now has moved into the room of Alex, the man Felicia asked for beer. Joyce says that she has never seen a woman wanting a man like Felicia did yesterday, and why did she not wait for him to speak to her before propositioning (*-tongoza*) him herself? The others agree and Lalia goes on to say: 'And the way she was touching him (*-shikashika*), you could think she is a *changudoa*[71] who is selling herself (*-jiuza*).' We are interrupted by some guests and I do not get the chance to inquire further about the episode until during my in-depth interview with Joyce two days later. Joyce recounts what happened this way:

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[71] See chapter two and three. I discuss the term further in chapter seven.

> When I came back after having delivered the accounts to Mzee Mboya, Alex saw me and asked me to come and have a beer. I told him that I did not feel well so I did not want to drink alcohol. Esther told me to come, and I decided to have one beer, after all I thought he was with Felicia. But, he wanted me and not her. […] He was buying me beer, but he was buying her as well because she asked him to. But she was touching him like this [Joyce puts her hand on my knee]. It is not good to touch someone in front of other people. So then he understood that she is a *malaya*. That is why he refused (*-kataa*) her. He thought that if he slept with her she would go somewhere else and look for other men (*-tafuta wanaume*) afterwards. So after a while I wanted to go to bed. Alex came after me and told me that he had studied my moral character (*-soma tabia*) the whole evening, and asked me if I would give him company (*kampani*) for the time he is staying here in Moshi. He wanted someone who would stay with him all the time, and who did not want other men. He also wants to have just one woman for the time he is here in Moshi. And he told me that he has a wife and children in Arusha. Because I could tell by the way he spoke that he is a grown-up man with respect (*mtu mzima mwenye heshima zake*) I decided to agree (*-kubali*). Alex gave me the key to his room and I moved in.

The army men came at the end of May. In the months that follow, Joyce stays in Alex's room. We talk about the relationship many times. She usually says that she is happy with him (*-ridhika naye*), although there are episodes when she gets angry with him because he comes home late. She then accuses him of having other women and declares that she will leave him. However, they always make up. When I ask Joyce about jealousy (*wivu*) she says that she is not jealous of Alex's wife because he was with her first, and if she was to come and stay at Kipepeo she would welcome her and of course move out of Alex's room before she came so that she would not know anything. This happened when she was with Peter she explains, his wife came and stayed with him one week, but Peter still gave Joyce money every day so she did not mind. But, she says:

> I will not accept that Alex has an affair with someone he met after me (*aliyekuja nyuma yangu*). Then I would get jealous (*-sikia wivu*), like I did with John. It is like if my husband (*mume*) comes, or even if he was just the father of my children, Alex cannot say anything. But like now, when he gives me household money, if he caught me with another man who is not my husband he could beat (*-piga*) me.

In the evenings Joyce and Alex as a rule eat together. Usually he orders from Mama Zainabu, but one evening she makes him maize porridge and spinach (*ugali na mchicha*). She tells me that she decided to do so because Alex has told her that he misses home made food. That evening I am sitting in the courtyard with one of Alex's colleagues. He is now having a relationship with Lalia. He remarks to me that: 'These women, they are laughable (-

chekesha). We are just people passing by (*watu wa kupita*), but they act as if they are our wives (*wake zetu*). We are soon leaving anyway.'

Joyce gets Alex bathwater morning and evening, and she does his laundry. She says that he expects her to be in the courtyard or in his room when she is not working, and not at the *baraza* or in the bar. She is frequently in the bar though, and often accepts offers of beer from other men. However, she knows approximately when he returns in the evenings, and usually manages to be where he expects her to at the time of his arrival. It does happen that her strategy fails, like the one evening when Alex finds Esther, Joyce and me in the bar drinking beer.

The beers had been bought by a guest who had gone to another bar not long before Alex arrived. When Alex asks Joyce whose beer she is drinking, she replies that Esther's *bwana* bought it but that he just left. Alex then buys us all another round. When I later get to ask her why she lied, she answers that because Esther's *bwana* is like her brother-in-law (*shemeji*) he cannot say anything, but that if she had answered truthfully he would think she was having an affair with the one who had bought her beer and maybe he would beat her. One night Joyce also refuses to go to the disco when she and Esther are invited by some guests, because Alex is not around and she is not able to ask for his permission (*ruhuksa*). Lalia and Esther tease her about this, and Lalia says that Joyce has now become 'someone's wife' (*mke wa mtu*). Joyce responds laughingly that 'you have to respect your *bwana* (*unatakiwa umheshimu bwana yako*).'

When we go to the market one day, Joyce tells me that several other men have propositioned her, but that she will not leave her beloved (*mpenzi wangu*) because he really knows how to love (*anajua kupenda*). When I ask her what that means, she says that he does not show her any other women, and he gives her money for her daily necessities (*hela ya matumizi*). I ask if he gives her money every day. She tells me:

> He did not at first. And I do not dare to ask a grown-up man (*mtu mzima*), a man with respect (*mwanaume mwenye heshima*) to give me money (*-dai cash*). He will know what a woman needs. He did not give me money the first time we slept together, but the day after when my brother had

to go to the hospital he gave me money to pay for the bill. And he gave me clothes and money to go to the salon. But now, he gives me money almost every day, 1,000 or 2,000 shillings or like last week he gave me 7,000. So I think he was checking me out (*-pima*), and now he knows that he can trust me. I have never shown him other men. When you are with a man you must respect him until he has left (*inatakiwa umheshimu mpaka ameondoka*). I might remember my other *mabwana* when he has left, like Saidi. I have never showed Saidi that I am with Alex, he even asked me one evening and I denied it. But for now I will stay with Alex. I actually manage to save some money, and I think Alex will give me a lot of money when he leaves, maybe enough to start my own 'business' (*biashara*). […] You know the other day Esther asked me why I was being so big-headed and turning other men down, when Alex is not giving me a lot of money anyway. But I do not think that 1,000 or 2,000 every day is so little, and who is she to talk? She sleeps with her *bwana* for free (*bure*), so then she has to have short-time relationships (*sha sha*) with others to get money. She has a very bad moral character (*tabia mbaya*).

During the last months of my fieldwork, Esther's moral character (*tabia*) is frequently discussed by her colleagues and other people in Serengeti Street. The discussions centre on her sexual behaviour and that she sometimes pays other women to clean the bar for her and thus is lazy and avoids 'heavy work'. One afternoon when Joyce, Fatuma, Mama Msafiri (a neighbour) and I are sitting in the courtyard, Joyce again brings up what Esther has said about Alex not giving her enough money:

Mama Msafiri: Don't mind what she says, it does not give a nice picture (*haileti picha nzuri*) to have a new man every night or to be with many men at the same time like Esther does. She is just a lazy girl (*msichana mvivu*). A woman has to respect herself (*mwanamke anatakiwa ajiheshimu*), even people in the neighbourhood has started to talk about her. She has not settled (*-tulia*), like you. When you are with a man you should stay with him.

Joyce: I know, and you get very tired when you have different men all the time. At least when you have settled with one man, you get to rest sometimes, like yesterday we did not do anything [i.e. did not have sex], and when I was with Saidi it often happened that he just wanted me to sleep next to him. But really, I don't know what it is with me. When I refuse a man, like now I do not want Saidi and John, they still want me.

Fatuma: It is because you respect yourself. You do not show a man that you have other men, like Esther does, and when you are with one man you do not have others at the same time. And you know how to work hard (*uanjua maana ya kazi ngumu*). You are just like me. It is true that Esther is attractive (*mzuri*), but if a man wanted to marry he would choose you or me and not her, because a woman's moral character (*tabia*) is more important than her looks.

…and the demands from home

During the months we live together, Joyce is frequently visited by her siblings. She always serves them beer and buys them something to eat. One evening when I return from town I find her in the courtyard, outside Alex's room, crying. She explains that her brothers and sisters

are bothering (*-sumbua*) her all the time; they constantly ask her for money. Today both her younger brother and the daughter of her sister have come to see her. Her brother came to ask her for money to pay for a bill at the hospital, which is the second time this month. Just some days ago she also gave him 7,000 shillings to be used as a bribe (*rushwa*) to get a job at a factory, which it turns out he did not get after all. Also, some weeks ago another brother who had been arrested sent his son to ask her for 10,000 shillings to bail him out (*-dhamini*). Joyce is still crying when she goes on to tell that her niece had been sent to ask for money for her school fees. Exasperated, she says:

> Everyone wants money from me, and my salary is so small. But they think that just because I live in town I have money, that because I work here I have plenty of men, who all give me money. But like I have told you before, I like to stick to just one man, it does not look good (*haipendezi*) to be with many men.

I ask her if she will ask Alex for money. She says that she does not dare to because he has already given her so much. Also, if she tells him how small her salary actually is, he will for sure think she is a *malaya* since he will understand that she cannot manage on so little, and then maybe he will leave her. Our conversation is interrupted by some guests, but the next day Joyce beamingly tells me that she decided to talk to Alex about her problem (*shida*) after all, and that he has agreed to help her.

Two days after this episode Esther is transferred to another of Mzee Mboya's guesthouses. Despite her protest, Joyce is ordered to work at the bar. Alex does not like this, because she is then obviously required to be in the bar until late at night, but at my departure just a few weeks later Joyce is still staying with him in his room at Kipepeo.

Concluding remarks: A multiplicity of concerns

This story highlights several themes discussed in the previous chapters. Joyce's path into working for Mzee Mboya resonate with many women's ambiguous experiences of married life and with the limited options uneducated women have if seeking paid employment in

Tanzania. On the other hand, her tale shows her strength and agency when 'breaking away' from 'traditional' ways of life, and her struggle to forge a new future for herself.

Her daily life at Kipepeo, her practices and discussions of them also point to her self-identity as a 'modern' woman in terms of 'needing' to go to the hair salon, using body lotion, and wanting to boy fashionable clothes, as well as to how she attempts to comply with kin obligations while also struggling to meeting her own goals in life. Joyce's story hence clearly shows shows how she relates both to 'traditional' and 'modern' moral values, as well as how her life is complicated 'by the coincidence of events and the multiplicity of concerns that impinge and require simultaneous handling' (Wikan 1990:18).

My particular concern when presenting this case has been to show how Joyce conceives of and handles her sexuality, and to demonstrate how she continuously negotiates and renegotiates sexual relationships with men. Her way of doing this conveys a slightly different aspect of the 'practical wisdom' of not burning the bridges one might need to use (Whyte 2002), in that she tries, albeit not always with success, to maintain several relationships simultaneously.

The story also reveals that women like Joyce are often engaged in different types of relationships, and that when it comes to their sexual relationships the matters at stake are many and frequently contradictory. They deal with love and pleasure, questions of deceit and trust, as well as economics and respectability (cf. Dilger 2003, Haram 2005a). Some of these issues will be discussed and analysed further in the next chapter.[72]

[72] See Misje 2005 for a discussion of how the women perceive of and handle the risk of contracting HIV.

6. RELATIONSHIPS WITH MEN

In the first part of this chapter I analyse the relationships that the women at the centre of my study have with men, with particular focus on the variety, ambiguity and fluidity by which they are characterized. I compare and contrast my material with Setel's (1999) analyses, where he classifies 'bar girl, guesthouse worker' as one distinct category of sexual relationships in contemporary Kilimanjaro. I argue that the women's relationships are better understood as forming a continuum (cf. e.g. Nelson 1987, Mgalla and Pool 1997, Davis 2000, Gysels, Pool and Nnalusiba 2002), defined by the degree of presumed mutual rights and obligations. Further, I propose that the practices embedded in the relationships I call 'pseudo-marriage' (Talle 1998) could be understood in light of the 'respect' marriage 'produces' in present-day Tanzania (e.g. Haram 1999, 2004, Hasu 1999a,1999b, Pietilä 1999a, 1999b).

In the second part of the chapter I demonstrate how women working at bars and guesthouses in Moshi, despite the seeming fluidity, clearly differentiate between types of relationships. I suggest that this is apparent in the terms they use when referring to the men they are or have been sexually involved with. I argue that although the level of financial support seems to be of importance for how the women define their sexual relationships (Mgalla and Pool 1997, Gysels, Pool and Nnalusiba 2002), and thus, that the women's sexuality has a clear transactional dimension, a one-sided preoccupation with this aspect risks disregarding other meanings the women attribute to their relations, and thus also what is at stake for them when engaging in and handling them.

Joyce's story forms the basis for the discussion, but I also draw on general knowledge of all the women I got to know during my fieldwork.

A diversified group and an array of relationships

Setel (1999) makes a classification of different forms of male-female relationships in contemporary Kilimanjaro. His categorization includes the following relationships: *malaya* (domestic prostitution), *kuuza baa, kufanya kwa gesti* (bar girl, guesthouse worker), *uhuni/uasherati/kuzurura* (promiscuity, 'streetwalker', prostitution, an adulterous liaison), *starehe* (entertainment, 'one-night stand', short-time affair), *awara* or 'sugar daddy', 'sugar mommy', '*nipe nikupe*' ('you give me so I give you'), *ndoa ya kienyeji* ('traditional marriage' – bride capture, coercive elopement/rape), *kimada, nyumba ndogo* (mistress, 'little house'), *kurithi* (levirate), *urafiki, mpenzi, mchumba* (boyfriend or girlfriend, lover, engaged to marry), *kuishi pamoja bila kufunga ndoa* (long-term cohabition), *ndoa ya serikali* (civil wedding) and *ndoa ya kanisa, kiislamu* (church or Islamic marriage) (Setel 1999: 104-108).

I have several objections to Setel's classification. Firstly, I argue that it varies greatly between individual workers with regards to the type and number of sexual relations they are engaged in. As Joyce's story is an example of, it is not unusual for a woman to have several and often different kinds of relationships during the same period of time. Quite a few also have 'short-time'[73] or one-night relations much more frequently than is the case with Joyce. On the other hand, although the women typically do not live permanently with a man, it is not uncommon to be involved with only one or perhaps two 'permanent' partners over a considerable period of time, even if it is more usual to have a varied number of more 'temporary' relations in addition (cf. also Mgalla and Pool 1997).[74]

The following extract from my interview with Pamela, illustrates this latter point.

> Turid: So, like we have talked about before, I know that you are not paid so well, and that because of this many bar workers are unable to rely (*-tegemea*) only on their salary (*mshahara*), they also have to rely on help (*msaada*) from men?

[73] See the following section for an elaboration of this term.
[74] As I will return to, by 'permanent' and 'temporary' I refer to more than just time.

Pamela: Yes, that is true, you know, like Esther, the one who works at your place, you see it for yourself don't you? She is very *malaya*, she does not 'settle' with one man (*ni malaya sana, hatulii na mwanaume mmoja*), she 'mixes' many men (*anachanganya wanume wengi* [i.e. have parallel sexual relationships]). Some of the workers at our bar used to behave like that before, but *umalaya* has been put an end to at our place (*umalaya ulipigwa vita sana kwetu*).
Turid: Yes, I remember that we talked about that the other day. But, how is it with you then, you are not paid so well either?
Pamela: You know, I rely on my salary, this thing to depend on money from men, it is not for me. That is why I decided to do this work, even if it means that I am insulted (*-tukanwa*) by these drunks (*walevi*) every day. At least I know that I will have money for food and for clothes, without having to rely on a man. […] This business to depend on going with [i.e. to have sex] men to get money, I can't do it.
Turid: So you do not have any boyfriend (*rafiki*)?
Pamela: Yes, I have a boyfriend (*rafiki*), I have one boyfriend and he is the only one I am with. I have been with him for almost four years now.
Turid: And does he help you [i.e. materially]?
Pamela: Yes, of course helps me, if I am stuck, I tell him and he will help me. So this is why, if I add my salary to that which I get from my boyfriend, I do not have to rely on this business with men. […] I am self-reliant (*najitegemea*). […]
Turid: So you never go with other men if they proposition (*-tongoza*) you?
Pamela: Very occasionally (*mara moja moja*). Let me tell you Turid. I have my boyfriend (*mpenzi*), but if I meet a person that I like (*mtu nikaelewana naye*), a person with respect (*mtu mwenye heshima zake*), I go with him.

Accordingly, and contrary to what is implied by Setel's classification which also corresponds with underlying assumptions in medical and epidemiological research (e.g. Kapiga et al. 2002, Zachariah et al. 2003, Riedner et al. 2006, Ao et al. 2006), I maintain that women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi are a diversified group when it comes to involvement in sexual relationships.

Further, the women are involved in different types of relations, several of which resemble the other categories in Setel's 'relationship matrix'. I hence question Setel's categorisation of 'bar-girl, guesthouse-worker' as *one distinct* type of sexual relationship (cf. Hasu 1999b on a similar criticism). His classification suggests that on this point he has mainly received information from men, or from women who themselves did not work at bars and guesthouses. The women I did fieldwork among clearly distinguish between the relationships they are involved in. When Joyce tells me that some men are just 'passing by' or that she has 'skinned' or 'eaten' a man, this clearly differs from how she talks about and behaves in her relationships with Peter, Saidi, Hassan and Alex.

Lastly, I question the usefulness of a classification like Setel's on a more general level, on the same grounds that he himself criticises what he calls 'a taxonomic approach' (Setel 1999:103) to sexual relationships. Taxonomies are often employed by survey researchers of AIDS, and Setel cautions against the loss of nuance such an approach entails. I suggest that his classification runs the similar risk: that it may lead to 'artificial rigidity, excessive idealization of types and oversystematization' (Setel 1999:103). I propose then, that the relationships female bar and guesthouse workers are engaged in are best understood as forming a continuum (cf. Nelson 1987, Mgalla and Pool 1997, Davis 2000, Gysels, Pool and Nnalusiba 2002). This captures better how women like Joyce manoeuvre between and also manipulate and become manipulated by different men and relationships, as well as how relationships are interpreted differently in different situations and may change over time.

In what follows, I describe and discuss what I suggest to be the two extremes on such a continuum, the continuum being defined by the degree of presumed mutual rights and obligations in a sexual relationship.

Between 'short time' and 'pseudo- marriages'

The relationships that Joyce talks of as *sha sha*[75] are at one end of the continuum. The terms *short-time* or *part-time* are also used when women talk of such liaisons. These are encounters that typically last for an hour or two and where a woman demands money (*-dai cash*), normally between 3,000 and 5,000 shillings, before the sexual act. The sexual encounter takes place at a guesthouse, usually close to or at the establishment where the woman works, and none of the involved have any responsibilities towards each other after the sexual act is over. A woman may however have *sha sha* encounters with the same man several times. *Sha sha*

[75] *Sha* is an abbreviation of the word *kwisha*, meaning already or finish. The women explained to me that *sha sha* means 'something that ends or should end quickly' or simply 'quickly'. The term is used also in other circumstances such as when telling a child to do an errand quickly, ('*Nenda sha sha*') or to say that one is just going out for a minute ('*Natoka sha sha*').

relationships resemble the 'quick services' of twenty minutes offered by beer brewing Kikuyu women in Mathare Valley in Nairobi (Nelson 1987:225), but differ from the 'short-time' relations White (1990:56) portrays from colonial Nairobi. While White describes how some women were available for 'short-time' visits during day time either for sexual relations and some small amounts of food or only food and conversation, there are normally no such domestic services involved in a *sha sha* relationship in Moshi. The following case illustrates the meanings women attribute to such affairs:

One evening I go to visit Mama Rose, who at the time works at Beauty Bar. There are only a couple of guest in the bar, and the two of us are sitting on the *baraza*, drinking soda. A man walks past the bar, and he greets us but does not stop. Mama Rose laughs and says loudly: 'Ah, just leave him be (*achana naye*).' The remark is directed at me but obviously also for the man to hear. He too laughs as he continues walking. I have not seen him before and ask Mama Rose who he is. She tells me: 'He is my *bwana* (man, boyfriend), but not really my *bwana* (*ni bwana yangu lakini sio bwana yangu kweli kweli*). I never sleep with him until the morning, it is just *sha sha*.' When she walks me home later that night I ask her more about the meaning of *sha sha*. She explains:

> Mama Rose: It is to be with a man who is horny (*nyege*) and just wants you short-time. He will ask you: 'Sister I would like us to fuck (*-tombana*) *sha sha*.'
> Turid: Will you always ask such a man for money (*-dai cash*) before having sex with him?
> Mama Rose: Yes, but normally it is not necessary, because he will himself ask you how much you want. Usually you will say 3,000 or 4,000 shillings.
> Turid: So what will happen when you meet him again?
> Mama Rose: It is like with the man who we saw earlier tonight, it is like nothing has happened. And if he had brought a woman to the bar I would not feel jealous and he could not say anything if he saw me with another man the next or even the same day.

On the other end of the continuum are relationships like the ones Joyce had with Alex and Peter. In contrast to *sha sha* relations and similar to the more permanent relationships Talle (1998) describes from Namanga, such relationships entail specific and 'mutual rights and obligations' (Talle 1998:46). Talle contends that although the majority of the relationships bar workers in Namanga are involved in are of a temporary nature, several of the women have so-called *hawara* relations which in the Namanga context refers to any relation lasting longer

than six months. A woman's partner then pays her house rent and gives her money for food and clothing, expecting in return exclusive rights to her sexuality as well as domestic services. Talle thus calls *hawara* relations a 'pseudo-marriage of sorts' (Talle 1998:46).

The relations where women move into a guest's room and live there for the time he stays in Moshi do in many aspects resemble the *hawara* relationships of Namanga. However, while such a 'pseudo-marriage' in Namanga seems to be defined by its duration, this is not the case in Moshi where the period a woman lives in a man's room may vary from a few days to several months, such as Joyce's relationship with Alex. The matter in question is rather whether a mutual understanding of the rights and obligations involved exists, as it did between Joyce and both Alex and Peter. In such a relationship the woman does the man's laundry, gets his bathwater and has most of her meals with him. She rarely cooks, as Joyce did for both Peter and Alex; the man usually buys food from women like Mama Zainabu. The woman, as repeatedly articulated by Joyce, expects to get money for her daily necessities (*hela ya matumizi*) from the man: that is money for food, clothes, the hairdresser, soap and body lotion. The man is expected to provide money regularly, although not necessarily every day, and it should ideally be given without her having to ask for it. Neither the woman nor her partner should be sexually involved with others while they are living together, or more accurately put and as was the concern several times in Joyce's story, one should not overtly show that one has other partners.

Significant characteristics of a 'proper marriage' (*ndoa*) in Kilimanjaro are said to be that both parties must be introduced (*-tambulishwa*) to each others families, and ideally that payment of bridewealth (*mahari*) and a wedding ceremony (*harusi*) should take place (cf. Hasu 1999b).[76] It is also of vital importance that a marriage results in children (cf. Haram

[76] In many African societies 'marriage' is not a clear-cut category, and an array of unions may be recognized as such either solely by the involved or by other people as well (cf. e.g. Southall and Gutkind 1957, Little 1973, Jeater 1993, Guyer 1994, Karanja 1994, Ferguson 1999, Haram 1999, 2004, Helle-Valle 1999, Davis 2000, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000, Gysels, Pool and Nnalusiba 2002, Chernoff 2003, Desmond et al. 2005). As indicated in previous chapters, this is also the case in Moshi (cf. Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999: 128-132), and the term 'marriage' is thus admittedly rather inexact. It is however not within the scope of this thesis to explore the

1999, Hasu 1999b). Moreover, within a marriage a wife should provide domestic services such as cooking and doing the laundry, and a husband must provide his wife with money for the daily necessities. Both spouses, but in particular the wife, should be faithful. Women claim that it is rather unlikely that a man will be faithful to his wife, and they acknowledge that women also have sexual partners outside the marriage (*nje ya ndoa*). What is nevertheless imperative is to be discreet about infidelity (cf. Setel 1999, Haram 1999, 2005a, 2005b). As was apparent in Joyce's account of her life as a married woman, it is equally important that a husband's involvement with other women does not result in him reducing the 'household money' he gives to his wife or even worse, and as experienced by several of the women who have previously been married, stops giving her money entirely.

There are of course striking dissimilarities between a 'proper' conjugal union and the relationships where a woman lives with a guest in his room: the most significant being the time perspective, the formalities related to entering a 'proper' marriage, and the role of children. In general neither the women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi nor their partners expect the relationship to last any longer than the time the man is in town, although it might continue in another form, like Joyce's relation with Peter. Also, a pregnancy as a result of such a relationship is with very few exceptions undesired.[77] Furthermore there is no formal involvement of relatives in such relations, although they might informally be introduced to one another if a family member happens to come to visit a woman at her workplace while she is living with a man. Despite these fundamental differences in form, I suggest that the rights and obligations existent in relationships of the kind Joyce had with Alex and Peter are modelled on those in 'proper' marriage relationships, and that the term 'pseudo-marriages' (Talle 1998) thus captures the content of these relations well.

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institution of marriage and its different forms as such. My aim here is rather to demonstrate that despite its fluidity, 'marriage' and 'to be married' has a definite meaning and specific significance in present-day Moshi (cf. Hasu 1999b, Pietilä 1999a, 1999b, Setel 1999).

[77] See chapter four. To have an abortion is illegal in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 1981: The Penal Code § 151). Nevertheless, at least five women had abortions carried out during my fieldwork.

This argument is similar to Nelson (1987) who contends that some of the relationships female beer brewers in Mathare Valley engage in are 'a mirror image' (Nelson 1987:218) of marriage, and to White (1990) who maintains that one of the prostitution forms in colonial Nairobi 'claimed the form mimicked marriage' (White 1990:16) in that the women provided domestic services such as food, bathwater and conversation.[78] The term 'mimicked marriage' as employed in White's analysis also brings attention to a closely related but slightly different feature of relationships such as that between Joyce and Peter or Alex than the mutual rights and obligations involved, namely the performative aspect. By this I refer to the importance attributed to 'ways of doing' (Virtanen 2003:12) or 'behavioural styles' (Broch-Due and Rudie 1993:38) in these relations.

When Joyce behaves like 'someone's wife' (*mke wa mtu*): doing Alex's laundry, getting him bathwater, trying not to be seen with other men and asking his permission when she wants to go somewhere special, I suggest that she 'mimics' the role of a 'proper' wife. Also, the practice of guests giving women food, alcohol, clothes and money, and expecting in turn exclusive rights to her sexuality in many respects 'mimics' proper bridewealth transactions, with the significant exception that the exchange takes place between individuals and not between families (Setel 1999:122). I accordingly maintain that these two aspects, the mutual rights and obligations or 'substance' (Virtanen 2003:12) and 'ways of doing' (Virtanen 2003:12) are equally constitutive of relationships of the kind Joyce have with both Peter and Alex, and that such relationships are modelled on 'proper' marriage relations.

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[78] Several researchers similarly argue that the more transient relationships between men and women in African towns often 'imitate marriage' (Haram 1999:15, cf. e.g. Southall and Gutkind 1957, Little 1973, Jeater 1993, Davis 2000, Chernoff 2003, Desmond et al. 2005). Significantly different from that which is the case of the relationships I discuss here however, is that locally such 'temporary relationships' are often referred to as a marriage (Haram 1999:15), and the women involved in them, as opposed to women engaged in 'pseudo-marriages' at bars and guesthouses in Moshi, generally do not consider these relations as differing much from 'proper' marriages (cf. Jeater 1993:178). Also, and in contrast to the relationships the women I knew typically are engaged in, these relations might develop into a 'real' marriage (cf. Southall and Gutkind 1957, Davis 2000).

'A woman with respect is a woman who is married'

To take the arguments one step further: one could understand the women's behaviour in and discussions of these kinds of relationships, and the way in which they usually highlight such relationships in conversations with co-workers and neighbours, compared to those being closer to the *sha sha* end of the continuum, as yet an aspect of the women's active engagement with the general moral devaluation of their persons. In contrast to the self-presentations I discussed in chapter four, these attempts at 'respect-making' (Ogden 1996) are most prominent when the women are at their workplace.

Pietilä (1999a) eloquently argues that in present-day Kilimanjaro there is an ongoing debate concerning the nature of contemporary women where 'what is "respectable" and proper motherhood and womanhood' (Pietilä 1999a:119) is constantly negotiated and redefined. Women working in bars and guesthouses are vibrant partakers in such debates, as the previous chapters bear evidence to. Esther and Lalia's exchange concerning how Joyce was trying to seduce John and that this 'does not look good', that Felicia by her co-workers is said to behave like a *changudoa* because she touches a guest in public and the fact that Esther's moral character becomes a topic for debate among both her colleagues and neighbours, all relate to discussions concerning the nature of proper womanhood.

I have also considered other ways of 'producing respect', than purely that related to proper management of sexuality. However, there can be no doubt that the most *secure* way of 'producing respect' for a woman in contemporary Tanzania is to be married. Accordingly, the typical reply to my recurring question concerning the characteristics of 'a woman with respect' was: 'a woman with respect is a woman who is married (*ambaye yuko ndani ya ndoa yake, aliyeolewa*)', or 'a woman with respect is a woman who is someone's wife (*mke wa mtu*)'.

It is against this background, and in relation to that it is through one's conduct one most clearly reveals one's moral character in Kilimanjaro (Setel 1999), that I interpret the practices involved in 'mimicked marriages' as women's ways of negotiating respectability.

Change and situational interpretations

The majority of the women's relationships are somewhere in between the two poles on the described continuum in terms of the mutual rights and obligations they entail, such as affairs like the one Joyce had with the long-time guest at Happy Inn and relations of the kind she has with Hassan, the man she tricked into leaving Easter Day but who she continues having a relationship with and who lives in Moshi. Several women are also sexually involved with male colleagues and other men living in their neighbourhoods, and most maintain some kind of contact with the fathers of their children (cf. Haram 2004).

Relationships may further change over time and then according to what is at stake at different points in time of the relationship. Consider for instance Joyce's relationships with Saidi. When I first meet him on Easter Day, Joyce introduces him as her *bwana* ('man', 'boyfriend'), and she tells me the following day that he is her long-time boyfriend and that she has known him for two months. However, in a conversation during morning tea some months later, when several of her colleagues are also present, she reveals that they actually only met and had sex once before he came to see her at Kipepeo. Although he had not said anything about wanting to have a relationship with her beyond the one night, she considered him to be a respectable man and decided not to demand money (*-dai cash*) from him and just try her luck (*-bahatisha*, [i.e. hope that he would give her money]).

He gave her money the following morning she tells us, but she had not expected to see him again. She now believes that since she did not demand money from him, he must have understood that she is not a *malaya* and has a good moral character (*tabia nzuri*), and that he therefore decided to come to see her again the next time he came to Moshi. This turned out to be Easter Day. The relationship between Joyce and Saidi thus starts out being characterised by a much lesser degree of mutual rights and obligations than becomes the case after she moves in to his room and for a period it takes the form of a 'pseudo' or 'mimicked' marriage. However, when Joyce feels that Saidi does not stick to his end of the bargain, by not giving her what she considers sufficient money to cover her daily needs, she decides to 'steal' from

him. Similar to some of the single mothers Haram (2004) writes about and who are involved in comparable relationships, Joyce sees it as her right to do so.

Eventually she also moves out of Saidi's room. She nevertheless does not terminate the relationship completely, and she first explains this with reference to her emotions: she loves him. When she is with Alex however, her concern is with the fact that he undoubtedly will leave Moshi at one point, and that it would therefore be unwise of her to cut all her relations with other men, such as with Saidi. To keep both men, she has to take great care not to overtly show any of them that she is also involved with the other. She explains her struggle in this regard with the fact that it 'does not look good' to be with several men at the same time, and she hence gets credit for her ability to 'respect herself' (*-jiheshimu*) from her co-workers and neighbours.

I would accordingly argue that Joyce's actions, and the meanings she attributes to them, are best understood if we recognise the multiplicity of concerns that she has in her life. As her relationship with Saidi continuously develops, in one direction or the other, we see how she takes economic, emotional and moral matters into consideration when making her choices and decisions.

Lastly, relationships that appear similar may be interpreted differently by a woman according to what is at stake in different situations, or in Mitchell's terminology: 'It is by no means certain at the beginning of an interactional sequence [situation] which of several alternative interpretations of the meanings will be attributed to the actions of the participants' (Mitchell 1987:10).

Recall how Joyce in Laura's words was caught 'red-handed' by John, when he came to Kipepeo, just as the guest she had slept with the previous night was going to buy her dinner. Joyce chooses to leave the guest and his food, and tries to convince John that she has not been 'stealing' from him. Had John not arrived, or had she not deemed it more important to maintain her relationship with John than to get the money the guest had promised her, it is quite possible that her affair with the guest would have developed in a different direction, in

the sense that he would come to see her again if he ever came back to Moshi. Her relationship with him started out as did many of her relationships, such as the one with Saidi. However, while she talks of Saidi as her 'long-term' boyfriend after having spent one night with him, she talks quite differently of the guest when having made a decision that negatively impacted the possibility of her ever seeing him again.

Albeit highlighting the fluidity and ambiguity that seems to characterise the relationships female bar and guesthouses workers have, I maintain that individual women differentiate between and attach specific meanings to the relations they are involved in. In what follows I explore some of these meanings. I start by considering the expressions women use when talking about men.

Two types of men

I suggest that the expressions can be divided in two groups, based on their reference to the level of 'permanence' in a relationship. On the one hand are the expressions *takeaway*, *mtu wa kupita* (a person who is passing by) and *buzi* (see below), *buzi* being the most commonly used among these. Belonging to the other group are terms like *mtu wangu wa siku nyingi* (my long-term person) or simply *mtu wangu* (my person), *permanent wangu* (my permanent), *mpenzi* (boyfriend or lover), *hawara* (boyfriend or lover who is married),[79] *boifrendi*, *rafiki* (boyfriend),[80] and *bwana* (man, boyfriend, husband).

I further propose that these expressions implicate that the women in general distinguish between two categories of men, which I refer to by the Swahili terms *buzi* (plural: *mabuzi*)

[79] The meaning and usage of this term at bars and guesthouses in Moshi seems to differ slightly from how it is used in bars in Namanga (Talle 1995, 1998). See also Hasu 1999b, Pietilä 1999b, Setel 1999 for slightly diverging perspectives on the meaning and usage of the term in Kilimanjaro in general, and Haram 1999 on its meaning among the Meru.

[80] *Rafiki* can also simply mean friend, depending on the context (cf. Setel 1999).

and *bwana* (plural: *mabwana*) and that these categories can be linked to the two poles on the continuum of sexual relationships discussed above.

Buzi – a man to 'skin'

Buzi is the augmentative form of '*mbuzi*' (goat), and thus literally means 'a big goat'. As we saw in the story of Joyce, the verb *kuchuna*, the literal meaning being 'to skin', is used by the women when talking about their relationships and behaviour with a *buzi*. The following extract from my interview with Mama Rose, sums up well the typical meaning of the expression *kuchuna buzi* in the setting I conducted my research:

> Turid: We have discussed this many times before, but do you think you could explain to me what you mean when you say that a man is a *buzi*?
> Mama Rose: Aaah! [laughs]. Turid, all your questions [laughs more]. You know *buzi*, a *buzi* is a man who comes like today, he propositions (*-tongoza*) you, and you reach an agreement with him (*-kubaliana*) that same day. Then you start to *chuna* him. If you know for sure that he has money, and if he propositions you, this is when you can *chuna* him. Then you say to your friends: 'Today man, I got myself a *buzi*! I really *chuna* him (*Ah, leo bwana nimepata buzi, nimelichuna*)!'
> Turid: So, to *chuna*, what is that then?
> Mama Rose: To *chuna* is how he buys you beer, he buys you food, you really spend his money. Maybe he takes you to the disco, maybe he takes you here and there, such a man is a *buzi*. You know that you will sleep with him today, and if he comes back tomorrow, you do not have any plans with him and he does not have any plans with you. A *buzi* is just a person for you to *chuna* (*buzi ni mtu wa kuchuna tu*), you 'eat' his money, that is the only thing you want from him.

The practice of *chuna*'ing men is not specific to the women who are at the centre of this study (cf. Lange 2002). Many of my other women friends, both single and married, regularly narrate episodes exemplifying how they had lured men into spending a lot of money on them, including giving them phone cards and cash, by agreeing to have sex with them. Contrary to Mama Rose though, they normally claim that if you actually have sex with the man, you have not really *chuna* him and he can thus not be said to be a *buzi*. Some of the bar and guesthouse workers voice the same view. Rehema explains this practice to me in the following way:

> A *buzi* is a man you have for one day. You eat, you drink, and you agree to have sex. Then, you run away from him (*-toroka*), you trick (*-danganya*) him that you have to work but that you will come to his room later, but you never do. So because he did not get you, you have *chuna* him. You have *chuna* him, and he did not get anything from you. You have not given him anything [i.e. have

not had sex with him]. If you give him something [sex], then you have not *chuna* the man. Then you got something and he got something.

This difference in meaning is mostly related to whether a woman lives at her workplace or not. To have her own home gives a woman some room to manipulate and 'play along' with the stereotypical image of her as a *malaya*; she manages to get beer, food and perhaps money from a man but does not actually have sex with him. Like Rehema, many of these women present this as a rather conscious strategy, while to 'run away' from a man usually is not an option for women who live at their work place. The customer will know where to find her and can 'reclaim' the money he spent on her in one way or the other.[81]

Haram discusses the term *buzi* and its meaning among the Meru. She claims that it refers 'to 'a man's promiscuity, virility and thus his masculinity' (Haram 2004:221). This contrasts with my findings from Moshi, where *buzi* is understood as a derogatory term (cf. also Lange 2002:244, on a similar meaning attributed to the term in Dar es Salaam). Women typically state that 'a *buzi* has no brains, it is just being pulled' (*buzi halina akili, linavutwa tu*). Because of its insulting meaning, a woman will never call a man a *buzi* to his face if she wants to keep on having a relationship with him. If she does, I was explained, she humiliates (*-dhalilisha*) him, and he will 'cut the rope' (*litakata kamba*), that is stop giving her money.

[81] It was claimed that the phrase *kuchuna buzi* came into use in Moshi sometimes during the 1990's, following the popularity of the *taarab* (traditional music from the Swahili coast) song *Kalichuna buzi* ('She skinned a "goat"'). No one I talked to in town knew the origin of the phrase; the reason for why 'to skin a big goat' has become an expression referring to how a woman fools or lures a man into spending a lot of money on her. Bi. Maryam Darweish, teacher at the Institute of Kiswahili and foreign languages (Takiluki) at Zanzibar suggested the following theory after having consulted with several of her colleagues: The phrase originates from the goat-market Vigunguti in Dar es Salaam. At Vigunguti there is a place where goats are slaughtered and skinned. The ones who skin the goats get more money for the big than the small goats, and thus prefer to skin the big goats (*kuchuna buzi*). *Kuchuna buzi* in this setting thus refers to getting a lot of money (personal communication). Bw. Makih Hassan, member of The National Kiswahili Council (Bakita) and language expert on the weekly programme *Kumepambazuka: Kiswahili on Saturday* on Radio One, was unsure of the origin of the expression (personal communication). They both agree that the phrase first was appropriated and used secretly by women on the coast. Later it became known in the general population and in other parts of Tanzania because of the above mentioned *taarab* song. In the Swahili language of today *buzi* thus refers to a man with money, and *kuchuna buzi* means that a woman gets money from a man by way of cunningness (*ujanja*), sometimes but not necessarily by having sex with him (personal communication, Bi. Maryam Daweish and Bw. Makih Hassan, cf also Lange 2002).

A conversation I overheard between two male guests at Kipepeo one evening after a loud quarrel between Joyce and John adds to the women's claim concerning that men find the term *buzi* offensive. Only the three of us are present when the following exchange takes place:

> Guest 1: The women here are very *malaya*, don't you think? [the remark is directed at me but I do not reply.]
> Guest 2: Yes, they are, and you know, they think that all men are *mabuzi* whom they can *chuna*. But, no, not me, I will not let it happen to me (*sitakubali*), I will not be treated like that man [John].

Bwana – the 'husband'

Terms referring to men the women have more 'permanent' relationships with are contrary to *buzi* also used in situations when the men talked about are present, such as when Joyce introduced me to her boyfriend (*rafiki*) Peter. These expressions are mostly used interchangeably, except for *hawara* which generally is employed when wanting to emphasize that the man in question is married. The term frequently appearing in the story of Joyce, *bwana*, is the expression most often used when talking about this category of men.

The meaning attributed to *bwana* is however not as clear-cut as is the case with *buzi*. Some, like Joyce, say that 'it is when you are married (*-olewa*), like I was, and the marriage is 'sealed' (*-funga ndoa*),[82] then you call the man your *bwana* or your *mume* (husband), those two words mean the same.' Others, such as Mama Rose, claim that:

> A *bwana* is a man who has 'placed you inside' (*amekuweka ndani*). He has married you, that is you live with him and maybe you have children but the marriage is not sealed (*amekuoa lakini hamjafunga ndoa*). So it is different from a *mume*, because you can only call someone your *mume* if the marriage is sealed, while a *bwana* is someone you are married to but the marriage is not sealed. […] A *bwana*, you have lived with him in a house for a long time, and he will help you if you have any problems (*shida*). If you are ill he will help you.

[82] 'Sealed' marriages are marriages where an official marriage ceremony has taken place, in contrast to 'unsealed 'marriages where the partners live together and often have children but where no such ceremony has taken place (cf. Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999:128-132, Haram 2004).

Yet others, like Glory, argue that you can call someone your *bwana* even if you do not live with him:

> Like me, I have a child with a man who I have not sealed a marriage with, nor has he married me (*sijafunga naye ndoa wala hajanioa*). But I call him my *bwana* because we were together for a long time and we have a child together.

None of these explanations corresponds with how the term was used by the women in their daily lives, where for instance men like Saidi, Peter, Hassan, John and Alex all are talked of as being Joyce's *mabwana*. When I ask Joyce about this in the interview, she laughs and says:

> You know, it is true, we call them *mabwana*. But none of them are a real *mabwana*, because of what I have already told you, a *bwana* is someone you have sealed a marriage with. Someone like Alex is my boyfriend (*rafiki*), but we have gotten used to using that word *bwana*. But a *bwana* is a man who has taken you to his home, and you live with him inside (*ndani*). Here [at her workplace] there are only boyfriends (*marafiki*, pl.) and *mabuzi*, there are no real *mabwana*.

In a similar manner Mama Rose, in one of our countless conversations, argues against how I use the term when I ask her if any of her *mabwana* have come to see her lately: 'Turid, you should know by now that that is just a manner of speech (*msemo*), there are no real *mabwana* here [at her workplace], so it is not possible to answer that question.' When I probe into what she means by this, she explains that a man you meet at a bar or a guesthouse can not be trusted; he will not be faithful, nor can you be really sure that he will help you financially if you are in trouble. However, when I enquire further with particular reference to specific men I know she has a sexual relationship with, her answer is slightly different:

> Turid: So what about that man from Iringa?
> Mama Rose: Well, yes, he is my *bwana*. He is my *bwana* because he always comes to see me when he is in Moshi. And he is a man with compassion (*huruma*), he will help me if I am ill or if I have some other problems (*shida*). Also, we have been together for a long time and he has given me a lot of money. It is because of him that I have been able to save some money.
> Turid: Is he your only *bwana*?
> Mama Rose: No, there are three men that I depend (*-tegemea*) upon. It is him, Maki and the teacher.

Love, sex and money

The material dimension of the women's relationship with men is apparent, and particularly in relationships close to the *sha sha* end of the continuum. To get their 'cash' is what concerns the women most. Many female bar and guesthouse workers use their sexuality strategically for material gain. However, a woman might also sleep with a man 'just because I love (-*penda*) him', as it was often put, albeit, such relationships are usually ridiculed by their colleagues since a woman's sexuality is not something to be given free of charge (*bure*).

Glory says this as regards one of her *mabwana*:

> There is this man, the way I love him, let me tell you. He gives me so much love (*mapenzi*), if he does not give me money, well, I do not complain (-*lalamika*). Sometimes when he comes, I take of my own money to rent a room. Just to be with him and to sleep with him (*ili tu niwe naye nifanye naye mapenzi*). I love him so much (*nampenda sana*). I don't care (-*jali*) if he does not have money. I do not care if others laugh at me.

Several scholars have pointed to the idea of 'romantic love' as an aspect of sexual relationships among African youth (Ahlberg 1994, Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999, Dilger 2003). I argue that this rather indefinable notion, which in Tanzania is intimately linked to ideas of being 'modern', also plays a role in how the women I did fieldwork among conceive of their relationships and sexuality (cf. Talle 1998). Their concept of 'love' *is* often closely related to money, and to be given gifts or money is often understood as signs of 'true love' (cf. Haram 1999, Smette 2001, Drage 2005). Accordingly, the lack of or decline in material support in a 'permanent' relationship is by the women typically, but not always as Glory account shows, interpreted as absence of 'love' or sincerity.

The emotional bonds interwoven in these relationships should thus also be taken into account when aiming to understand how the women value their sexuality. Khadidja, a 22 year old Pare woman working for Mzee Mboya talks thus about her *mabwana* in my interview with her:

> Turid: So, we talked about many of these things when we lived together at Kipepeo, and also when we have met later, but I was wondering if you could tell me how many *mabwana* you have now?

Khadidja: Right now, the ones I can say that I am thinking of (*wako kwenye akili yangu*, literally meaning 'the ones who are in my brain') are these [showing me two fingers]. One lives in Dar es Salaam, the other one in Mbeya. They are both businessmen.
Turid: And why are you thinking about them?
Khadidja: I truly love them (*nawapenda kwa dhati*). If I go to the room of one of these two, I will stay until the morning and he might not give me even ten shillings. But he is in my heart (*rohoni*), I love him and he loves me (*nimempenda na yeye amenipenda*). […] When he comes to Moshi I will stay with him until he leaves. And I know that if an emergency (*dharura*) turns up, he will help me, even without having sex with me. And when he is here, he gives me money without me having to ask for it, he helps me with my problems. That is a *bwana*, that is a man I love.

This clearly implicates, and in contrast to the dominant Western view, where love and money usually are seen to originate in incompatible spheres, that the two are not mutually exclusive in a relationship in Moshi, rather, money is often seen as constitutive of relationships (cf. Smette 2001:159, for a similar argument concerning relationships in Dakar).

Women also often discuss men's sexual performance, and their own sexual lust (*hamu*, *nyege*). They debate why they get orgasms (*-piss*, *-kojoa*) with some men and not with others. Some 'confess', as Mama Rose did one evening I visited her, that they might sleep with a man 'for free' (*bure*) if he is good in bed (*-fanya mapenzi*) (cf. Nelson 1987). By this she means that he should know how to 'move his waist' (*-kata kiuno*, *-katika*), and 'to do romance' (*-fanya romance*), which includes such things as to caress her body, kissing (*-busu*) as well as oral sex (*-nyonya*). Yet again, a woman who involves in sex only for pleasure will often be scorned by her co-workers, and asked how she plans to get money for food (*hela ya kula*).

Deceit, exploitation and resistance

I conclude this chapter with a case concerning Lalia, who has been part of several episodes previously described. The case amplifies some of the discussions in this and the previous chapter. It particularly shows how women risk being exploited by men they are sexually involved with, and how issues of respect, emotions and violence interrelate.

Lalia is 23 years old and from Manyara region. The events I describe take place while she works at Kipepeo. Lalia has been living in a guest's room for nearly two weeks. When I come home one evening, I see that she is in the worker's room, crying. Esther and Joyce, who are sitting in the courtyard, explain to me that two women have come to visit Lalia's *bwana*, a young man called Josefu, and that they are now with him in his room. But, says Joyce:

> Lalia is a fool (*mjinga*). I have talked to Josefu, and he told me that one of the women is his long-term partner who is also his co-parent (*mtu wake wa siku nyingi na amezaa naye*). She has come to greet her *bwana*, and she will leave soon.

Esther and a female guest who is also present partly agree with Joyce in that Lalia is a fool, but declare that it is still not nice of Josefu to bring the women to Kipepeo, he should have met them somewhere else. After a while Lalia joins us in the courtyard. She I still crying, and the other women tell her that she should not cry because of a man. She replies:

> I even did his laundry, does he think I am an idiot (*ananiona msenge*[83] *nini*)? And he even asked me to come and greet those women. I have talked to one of Josefu's colleagues, and he told me that the girl is not his long-time partner but a *changudoa* he has picked up on the way. I do not want him anymore, never again. It would have been another matter if it was his co-parent, but this trash he has picked up from the street?

Josefu now comes out of his room and Lalia yells at him: 'You *malaya*, you asshole (*msenge*).' He asks her to come, because he wants to talk to her. Both Joyce and Esther tells her that she should do as he asks her to, but she refuses and says loudly that she has work to do. She starts collecting payment for the rooms from the guests who are around. Esther goes to Josefu's room, knocks at the door and shouts that it is time for the women to leave. After a short while they do. Lalia is now in the room of another guest. Josefu yells that she is to get out of the room immediately. She shouts back that she is just doing her job, she is collecting payment from the guest. Josefu tells her to come to his room when she is done, which she agrees to. When Lalia has gone to Josefu's room, we can hear them quarrel loudly. Two

[83] *Msenge* literally means a homosexual and is an often used curse. The meaning is then not taken literally, but equals English expressions such as jerk, asshole or idiot.

young male guests have just arrived and they are sitting in the courtyard with us. They ask whether Lalia and Josefu have been together for a long time. When Esther tells them that they just met, the men say that if Josefu tries to beat Lalia they will knock down the door and beat him. Esther then hammers at Josefu's door, and tells Lalia to come out. She does, and Josefu also comes outside and says that we should not worry, he is not going to hurt Lalia. Lalia continues to collect money, and Josefu sits outside his room, watching her. He says that he wants her to come to his room again when she has delivered the accounts to Mzee Mboya, to which Lalia responds: 'I don't know, there are plenty of men around (*wanaume wako wengi*).' Josefu gets up and runs after her, but she manages to get into a room and lock the door. We all go after Josefu, and tell him to calm down. The two male guests say that he should not beat Lalia and he promises not to. When Lalia returns from Mzee Mboya's house, she goes to Josefu's room. When I the next morning ask her whether she is okay, she laughs and says that Josefu is just a fool:

> He says that he will beat me if he catches me with another man, but why should he? I was patient with him (*-vumilia*) because I knew he had not gotten his salary, but he has not given me any money so he can not beat me. I even owe Mzee Mboya money for the room because Josefu has not paid for it.

The next day Lalia and Joyce gives Josefu's room to another guest and he has to move to one of Mzee Mboya's other guesthouses. Lalia keeps his clothes though, and says that she will not give them to him until he has paid his debts to Mzee Mboya. In the following days Josefu keeps returning to Kipepeo demanding to get his clothes. Lalia talks to him but does not sleep with him. One evening when Lalia brings the accounts to Mzee Mboya, he is left alone in the workers room. When she returns she finds that he has torn some of her clothes. In the confusion that follows Josefu manages to get away. Lalia cries and says that he probably thought that she had gone to meet another man, and both guests and her co-workers are very upset on her behalf. However, several guests also remark to me that such a thing is to be expected since women like Lalia make themselves available for many men (*wanajirahisisha*), and especially when they involve themselves with young troublemakers (*vijana wahuni*) like Josefu. A colleague of Josefu who is present, says that he has told Lalia that Josefu does not have any money, but her problem is that she still loves him.

Josefu does not return to Kipepeo for the next couple of days, and Lalia is sexually involved with several other men in this period. However, one evening after I have gone to bed, I hear his voice. When Lalia is cleaning my room the following morning, I ask her about it:

> Turid: I thought I heard Josefu's voice yesterday night?
> Lalia: Yes, Josefu came and he was drunk. But he spoke to me nicely (*aliongea vizuri*), and said that he wanted to apologize. He asked me to sleep with him.
> Turid: So, did you?
> Lalia. Yes, I was afraid he would beat me if I did not, and there was an available room here. You know, he actually beat me that day we quarrelled because he had brought other women here, he said I embarrassed him in front of other people (*mbele za watu*).
> Turid: Did he hurt you?
> Lalia: No not yesterday, and that other day he just slapped (*-piga makofi*) me. Yesterday he also asked me how much it had cost to repair the clothes he had torn, and although I have no plans of fixing them because they were old anyway, I told him that I had paid 2,000 shillings. So he gave me 2,000 shillings, which I put in my trousers. But this morning they were not there, so he must have taken them. He is such a jerk (*mpumbavu*).

After this episode Josefu is not seen at Kipepeo until almost two weeks later. However, a man whose room Lalia stayed in several months earlier shows up a week after the incident while Lalia, Esther, Joyce and I are drinking morning tea. He tells us laughingly that he has met Josefu, who has told him that he will beat him because he is with Lalia. The three women also laugh. I somewhat bewildered ask what the joke is, and am explained that Lalia has not been with this man for a long time. Joyce also says that Josefu could just try coming here to bother (*-sumbua*) Lalia again: 'It would have been a different matter if he had given her money for her daily necessities (*hela ya matumizi*). But since he did not he has no right to bother her, not even if he finds her with another man.'

Some days before this Lalia has moved into the room of one of Alex's colleagues, the army officer I referred to in the story concerning Joyce. When Josefu finally turns up, demanding to speak to Lalia, she hides in the army officer's room before Josefu sees her. The army officer has not yet returned from work. Joyce tells Josefu that he should not worry that Maggy has other men, because this is not the case and that right now she is at Mzee Mboya's house. Josefu returns twice that evening, and Joyce tricks him concerning Lalia's whereabouts both times. The next day Lalia tells me that she has spoken to Baba Msafiri, a neighbour. He has

told Josefu that if he ever comes to Kipepeo again, he will beat him. To my knowledge this is the last Lalia hears of Josefu.

Lalia, like Joyce, do in addition to matters of economy struggle with concerns related to love, respectability and trust when she manages her sexuality and her relationships with men. Like her, many women 'bear over' with 'boyfriends' who do not give them money, at least for a while. The reasons for this are usually a combination of emotional bonds and wish to appear as 'a respectable woman' who receives money for her daily necessities from her 'man', without having to ask. A woman often worries that if she demands money too harshly, the man will think she is a *malaya* and thus, she might spoil her chances of a more permanent relationship which is safer in terms of both respectability as well as dependable economical support in times of need. On the other hand, if she does not ask for money she risks being left with nothing.

The case is also an example of how the women often are rather unsuccessful when attempting to manoeuvre between and manipulate sexual relationships and men, and thus end up being exploited. This was also evident in Joyce's story, in particular in her relationship with John, but in Lalia's case her failure gets more serious consequences as her *bwana* actually ends up beating her and destroying her possessions. However, the case also shows how Lalia does not merely accept how her *bwana* treats her, but takes active measures to counter him.

Concluding remarks

In this and the previous chapter I have portrayed and discussed the sexual relationships women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi are involved in. I have argued that these relationships are varied, ambiguous and fluid, and that they on an analytical level thus are better understood as forming a continuum than as distinct categories. However, I also propose that the women themselves clearly distinguish between and attach specific meanings to their different relationships. If we want to understand these meanings and hence how they handle their relationships, I have suggested that we need to look not only on the material aspects of

the relations, but also examine other concerns the women relate to and take into account when engaging in sexual relationships, such as 'love', pleasure and 'respect.'

While I this far in my account mainly have focused on the women's own perspectives on themselves and their many concerns, I now turn to a closer scrutiny of how this group of women are perceived by others in society; specifically, why they are said to have no respect. Some of the themes raised to this point will be taken further and explored from a different angle. The women's engagement with the moral devaluation of their persons will surface also in this part of the analyses, particularly so in how they differentiate themselves from the 'even more' immoral *machangudoa* (chapter seven) and in their discussions related to sex and alcohol (chapter eight).

7. WOMEN WITHOUT RESPECT

Women who work in bars and guesthouses in Moshi are generally said to 'have no respect' by others in society: to be immoral women. This is due to the close association between bar and guesthouse work and promiscuous sexual behaviour in Tanzania and much of Africa in general. While I in the previous chapters have taken this association more or less for granted, I shall in this and the following chapter explore the union in detail: Why are female bar and guesthouse workers negatively stereotyped as 'women without respect'?

As noted by Haram: 'The migration of women moving to East African towns has always generated particular moral discourses on women's life and particularly, their sexual behaviour' (Haram 2004:211, cf. also Odgen 1996, Setel 1999, Davis 2000).[84] This, she argues, is closely related to stereotypical images of 'the good "rural ways" and the bad "urban ways" of life [which] were also strongly reflected in scholarly debates and theories of urbanisation during colonial times' (Haram 2004:211, cf. also Mitchell 1987, Ferguson 1999, Setel 1999, Davis 2000).

Referring to Uganda's capital Kampala, Davis contends that in both social research and popular culture '[w]omen figure prominently in this type of contrast, such that "town women" are usually represented as corrupt, money hungry, and immoral in comparison with the hardworking and morally superior village women' (Davis 2000:30). Such negative stereotyping was and still is particularly noticeable with regards to 'single' women in town (Davis 2000, Haram 2004). Scholars have linked this to the fact that 'single' townswomen are seen by others in society to have 'broken out' of traditional institutional patterns, and thus challenge customary ways of life by, for example, choosing their own sexual partners and

[84] It has been suggested, although as a matter of gradation and not absence, that townswomen in West Africa are not faced with the same problem of respectability as are townswomen in East Africa (Southall 1961, Day 1988, Haram 1999, cf. also Cohen 1969).

having children with men of their own preference (cf. e.g. Odgen 1996, Davis 2000, Chernoff 2003, Haram 2004). In the introduction to his book *Hustling is not stealing: Stories of an African bar girl*, John M. Chernoff puts it this way: '[T]he basic problem with them is that they are free' (Chernoff 2003:75). Hence, 'single' women in East African towns are argued to be the object of a dual process of 'othering'; they are contrasted both with the morally superior village woman and the respectable, married woman (Davis 2000).

Women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi town do as noted fall within the category 'single' townswomen (cf. Talle 1998). None of the workers I met live with a man permanently, and it is commonly claimed by the women themselves and others that a Tanzanian husband would never tolerate his wife being employed in a bar or a guesthouse (cf. Talle 1998:40).[85] The line of argument briefly sketched above thus has explanatory value when attempting to understand why these women are negatively stereotyped in Moshi.[86] Perceptions of the moral superiority of village and married women compared to that of 'single' women in town are commonly voiced in statements such as 'townswomen (*wanawake wa mjini*) have a much stronger *tamaa* (desire) for money and things than women in the villages (*kijijini*), that is why they/we never settle (*-tulia*) with one man,' and, as noted, 'a woman with respect is a woman who is married'. I heard variations of these statements from women and men, from married as well as 'single' women, from townspeople and people living in villages.

However, my findings indicate that female bar and guesthouse workers are subjected to stronger negative stereotyping than 'single' women in Moshi town in general (cf. Setel 1999). What I present and discuss in this and the following chapter, is primarily the dominant moral

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[85] Nora, a woman working in a bar in the town centre, is the only one of the bar and guesthouse workers I know who has worked in a bar while being married. Nora's husband is now dead. She claims that he consented to her working in a bar because he was a friend of her boss, but that he was not happy about it and that he came to pick her up every night at closing time.

[86] My data are scarce on this point, but it seems that the existence of the kinds of bars and guesthouses that are the focus of this thesis is mainly an urban phenomenon in Kilimanjaro, while *mbege* bars are rather high in numbers in the rural areas. It further seems that female bar and guesthouse attendants working in the more rural parts of Kilimanjaro also are conceptualised as 'townswomen' (Hasu 1999b: 397-399).

discourse concerning these women. As discussed, the derogatory images they encounter are balanced in individual cases and in some situations or contexts overruled by other images such as that of the developed and successful townswoman (Talle 1998, 1999, cf. Mitchell 1987). People in Moshi town and surrounding areas actually show more tolerance than their stated values and moral evaluations imply. This means that moral positions and valuations should not be taken to be fixed and immutable but rather understood as negotiable and arguable, especially in individual cases (Pietilä 1999a). However, this negative moral evaluation seems to persist, and is thus a prime concern for the women in their everyday lives.

When investigating how female bar and guesthouse workers are generally perceived, I examine the usefulness and relevance of the concepts 'prostitution' and 'prostitute'. I furthermore explore the Swahili terms *malaya* (singular and plural) and *changudoa* (plural: *machangudoa*), terms that in slightly different ways denote women, and in the case of *malaya* also men, who are involved in sexual practices that are considered immoral.[87] In the next chapter I consider how the negative stereotyping seems to be intimately connected to the place that the women work, interpreted in light of certain moral 'codes,' values and concepts related to proper management of sexuality.

A job with no respect – women without respect

When exploring what he terms the 'the moral hierarchy' of different kinds of occupations in Kilimanjaro, Setel (1999) found that bar and guesthouse workers and small businessmen/market women were at the bottom of the list of nearly all his informants (Setel 1999:165, cf. also Hasu 1999b:398).[88] My own findings from Moshi resonate with those of

[87] Accordingly *umalaya* and *uchangudoa* are terms that denote the sexual behaviour or practices associated with the *malaya* and the *changudoa*.

[88] When investigating this issue Setel asked his informants to sort cards on which different occupational categories were written into four piles: 'the "best" jobs (defined as those that bring a good income and high status), jobs at which one could earn a living and enjoy respectability, jobs that do not pay well and do not carry much status, and jobs that bring a poor standard of living in all regards' (Setel 1999:165).

Setel in this regard, although I argue that neither men working in bars and guesthouses nor market women and small businessmen are subjected to the same degree of negative stereotyping as female bar and guesthouse workers.[89]

Extracts from interviews and conversations I had with different people in Moshi and Kilimanjaro illustrate this negative stereotyping of female bar and guesthouse workers as a group:

> Turid: Would it be okay with you if your daughters decided that they wanted to work in a bar?
> Mama Pendo: I would not like my children to work in a bar. It is work which is not respected *(haiheshimiki*). We have a saying that goes: a bar worker is a *malaya* and a *mhuni*.[90] I do not believe this to be true. I think it is a person who has difficulties (*shida* [i.e. money-wise]) and has found a job. It is a job like other jobs, but people do not see it that way. A girl who works in a bar, the community (*jamii*) look down on her. Every girl who works in a bar is seen as a *mhuni*. The way I see it, it is only some of them who are involved in this, to have sex with all men who ask them (From interview with Mama Pendo, the ten-cell leader who sells tea in the mornings).[91]

> Turid: Is working in a bar or a guesthouse a job you would consider?
> Mama Rashidi: My husband would not allow me to work in a bar.
> Turid: Why not?
> Mama Rashidi: It is not a job that has respect (*heshima*).
> Turid: Why is that?
> Mama Rashidi: Mostly it is because you can be touched and held (*-shikwashikwa*) by men in front of other people. Even in front of your husband, or your father. It does not look good (*haipendezi*). My husband would never accept me to do such work. […] You know, the women who do this kind of work do it because they have difficulties (*shida*). But it is very poorly paid. If I could earn a lot of money, I would do it and I would not care if people despised me. (From conversation with Mama Rashidi, a former nurse at KCMC and now owner of a hair dressing salon close to Mbuyuni Market).[92]

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[89] See Pietilä (1999b) for an analysis of the moral discussion on market women in Kilimanjaro, and Setel (1995, 1999) on the moral evaluation of small businessmen and business (*biashara*) in general.
[90] A *mhuni* (plural: *wahuni*) is in short 'the very opposite (*kinyume*) of a person with respect (*heshima*)', as it was explained to me by Laura in a conversation on the subject. The term has been translated by some scholars into 'a shameless person' (Hasu 1999a, 1999b), and accordingly *uhuni* has been taken to mean 'shamelessness' (Hasu 1999a, 1999b, Moland 2002). See below for an elaboration on the term and how it is related to the term *malaya*.
[91] Mama Pendo is a widow in her fifties. She rents a room in the house neighbouring Kipepeo, where she lives with her two children. The interview took place in her room and we were the only ones present.
[92] Mama Rashidi is a Muslim and the second wife of her husband. She has two children. I became acquainted with her in the beginning of my fieldwork when I visited her hair dressing salon. This conversation took place one afternoon towards the end of my fieldwork, when I had invited her for a meal at a local restaurant (*hoteli*).

Turid: Would you have liked to live in town and work like Pamela does [i.e. as a bar worker]? [93]
Mama Furaha: No (laughs). I will stay and struggle on in the village. I am 'someone's wife' (*mke wa mtu*), what would people say?
Turid: But your husband is dead?
Mama Furaha: Yes, but still, people would say that I am a *mhuni*. No, it would not be possible.
Turid: What do people in the village say about Pamela?
Mama Furaha: They say she is a *malaya* and a *mhuni*. But if I hear that I get angry. Because I know her and I know it is not true.
Turid: What about her parents?
Mama Furaha: They are not happy with her job, nor are her brothers.
Turid: But they do not tell her to quit?
Mama Furaha: No, that would not be easy. They know that everyone is looking for a living (-*tafuta riziki yake*). And they are not able to help her so that she can get soap and oil for her body, nor can they pay for her son's education.
Turid: Do you think a man from the village would marry her?
Mama Furaha: No, not here in the village. Maybe in town where they have a bit more development (*maendeleo*). But not here.
Turid: Why is that?
Mama Furaha: They think every woman who works in a bar is a *malaya* and a *mhuni*, even if it is not true. And, other men would laugh at a man who married a bar worker. (From a conversation with Mama Furaha, a widowed farmer living in the rural parts of Kilimanjaro).

Turid: How are bar and guesthouse workers regarded in Moshi?
Mr. Kitusi: In our society they are seen as *malaya*. Not all of them are, I think. But they are prone to prostitution, and are more likely to be prostitutes than the rest of the population.[94]
Turid: Why is that?
Mr. Kitusi: They deal with people who are drunk, they have a small salary and are therefore attracted to prostitution to raise their earnings. […]
Turid: Would you marry a woman who works or has worked in a bar or guesthouse?
Mr. Kitusi: I would not even think of it. It would be unthinkable. I know a businessman who married a bar worker. She was very beautiful. But it ended in divorce. Whenever he went away, she went back to her work. Barwomen will always go back to their old habits. […] If you have the guts to marry a bar worker, you should be able to face the consequences. Society will look down upon the man also. (From interview with Mr. Ignas Paul Kitusi, Resident Magistrate in the district court of Moshi).

[93] I have known Mama Furaha since 1998. By coincidence we found out that she is the sister in-law (*wifi*) of Pamela. During my fieldwork Mama Jackson and I often visited Mama Furaha who lived in the same village as Pamela's parents and other relatives, and Mama Furaha came to visit us in town several times. This particular conversation took place while we were making food at Mama Furaha's house one of the times I visited her by myself. Mama Peter, who is the sister-in-law of both Mama Furaha and Pamela, was also present during the conversation. She supported Mama Furaha's views.
[94] The interview was conducted in a mixture of English and Swahili, and both Mr. Kitusi and I used the Swahili term *malaya* and the English term 'prostitute' interchangeably (see below). The purpose of the interview was to learn more about the Tanzanian legal system, in particular related to prostitution, abortion, sexual harassment and marriage. The issue of bar and guesthouse workers came up because Mr. Kitusi wanted to know the topic of my research. The interview took place in Mr. Kitusi's office.

Turid: What is your opinion of bar and guesthouse work?
Juma: It is a job like other jobs (*ni kazi kama kazi nyingine*).
Turid: Would you marry a woman who works or has worked at a bar or guesthouse?
Juma: No, I would not be able to do that.
Turid: Why?
Juma: She has already been ruined (*ameshaharibika*), she is a woman without respect (*bila heshima*).
Turid: Why is that?
Juma: These women, people tell them off using bad words and touch and hold them in front of others (*wanawatukana matusi na wanawashikashika mbele ya watu*). (From a conversation with Juma, a taxidriver).[95]

As these quotations also show, people in Moshi and in particular other women, are sympathetic to the fact that 'the harshness of life' (*maisha magumu*), economic difficulties (*shida*) or poverty (*umaskini*) might compel women into working in bars and guesthouses. As expressed by Mama Furaha, 'everyone is looking for a living' (*kila mtu anatafuta riziki yake*).[96] Furthermore it is acknowledged that not all women working at these places are necessarily *malaya*.

Nevertheless, as the quotations and following episode shows, there is another side to the story. When a woman works at a bar or a guesthouse, her respectability and thus her moral character, is continuously questioned. She is not on par with respectable women. The episode, although it took place quite late in my fieldwork, was an eye-opener to me regarding the actual importance attached to respect (*heshima*), and especially what it means to belong to a group labelled as immoral women. The dominant moral discourse regarding female bar and guesthouse workers also manifests itself in concrete actions involving individual women, and not just in discussions and gossip concerning the women as a group.

It is a little past midday and I have spent most of the morning in my room writing field notes. I am preparing for a visit to Mama Rose at Beauty Bar, when I hear loud voices from the

[95] Juma has his car parked in Ngorongoro Road. He was one of the drivers I trusted to drive and pick me up if I had been in or wanted to go to other parts of town after dark. This conversation took place in his car one such night, when he was driving me home after having picked me up from a bar in the town centre.
[96] Another frequently used expression in this regard and which carries the same meaning is *kutafuta maisha*, literary meaning 'to look for a life'.

courtyard. As I step outside my room, I see Baba Msafiri, a neighbour, holding Joyce in her upper arm and repeatedly beating her in the head and back with a big rock. The rock is normally used to keep the door between the hallway and courtyard open and the door is now closed. Lalia, Laura and a few neighbours are watching silently, while Joyce tries to shield her head with her hands and cries loudly. Baba Msafiri goes on beating Joyce while he shouts among other things: 'You *malaya*, you *baamedi*, – where have you been with my wife? You are teaching her *umalaya*, I will not have it! A barmaid like you, how do you dare going anywhere with 'someone's wife' *(mke wa mtu)*?' At first, no one interferes, but when I run towards them and shout at Baba Msafiri to stop the beating a male neighbour who has been watching joins me in my plea. Baba Msafiri ignores us, and since he is a big, strong man and I can see him sweating and trembling with anger, I am at loss for what to do. Eventually he stops, but he keeps yelling at Joyce and then runs to look for his wife.

Joyce hides in a room and locks the door. I ask Lalia and Laura what has happened and I also demand an explanation for why they did not help Joyce. They tell me that Joyce, Esther and Mama Msafiri, Baba Msafiri's wife, went to see a traditional healer (*mganga*) early in the morning to get John to pay the money he owes (see chapter five). I recall that Esther and Joyce briefly discussed this the previous evening, but since I had taken my tea at Mama Pendo's this morning and spent the rest of the morning in my room, I had not noticed that they were both gone. Mama Msafiri went along because she was the one who recommended this particular *mganga* and also the only one who knew where he lived, Laura explains. The three women had not asked Baba Msafiri for permission (*ruhuksa*) to leave, and they had been gone for hours. Baba Msafiri had been at work when they left, but had gotten furious when he came home for lunch and found his wife not there. He became more and more angry as time went by and when the three women finally returned, Joyce had been the only one who did not manage to hide from him in time and he caught her in the courtyard. As for my persistent question regarding why they did not interfere, Laura and Lalia tell me that it would not have done any good, he would not have listened and he might have started to beat them too. When I do not let go, Lalia finally tells me in a frustrated tone: 'The only reason he somehow

listened to you is because he respects you (*anakuheshimu*). You are not a *malaya* like us and you are a *mzungu* (a white person).'

Shocked and scared by what I have seen and heard, I ask Lalia and Laura what they themselves think of Baba Msafiri's behaviour, knowing that Mama Msafiri visits the women who work at Kipepeo almost daily. They gossip, they braid each other's hair and Joyce often looks after Mama Msafiri and Baba Msafiri's youngest son. I have never heard Baba Msafiri object to that. Both the women say that they think Baba Msafiri was too harsh on Joyce, but that she and Esther really should have known better than to go somewhere with a married woman, a respectable woman (*mwanamke mwenye heshima*). According to them, Mama Msafiri is also at fault for not having asked her husband for permission to leave the house.

While we are discussing, Baba Msafiri returns, this time with a big knife (*panga*). He has not found his wife and is now looking for Esther. He is still sweating and shaking with anger. I pick up my courage and ask him why he is so furious and say that to me he seems to be overreacting; I beg him to calm down. He replies that his wife is not allowed to go anywhere with these women. They are *baamedi*, *malaya* and they have a bad moral character (*tabia mbaya*). All they want is to teach his wife to be a *malaya* like them. I am incapable of stopping him, but luckily, he is unable to locate Esther who it turns out, has hid at Mama Pendo's house. After a while he calms down and goes to look for his wife once more.[97] I then go to see Joyce. Fortunately, she is not seriously hurt; she refuses to go to the hospital.

During the rest of the day and also the following days I repeatedly discuss the episode with women working in neighbouring bars and guesthouses, with people in the neighbourhood as well as with other friends and acquaintances. Their reactions are surprisingly homogenous. Some are more critical of Baba Msafiri's behaviour than others, but the general view

[97] Mama Msafiri, when sensing her husband's anger, ran away to her sister who lives in another part of Moshi town. He goes to get her after a couple of days and when she returns she tells me that she asked for his forgiveness and that he did not beat her.

corresponds with that of Lalia and Laura. The three women are the ones at fault. Joyce and Esther should not have gone somewhere with a respectable, married woman, and Mama Msafiri should have known better than to leave her house with women of a bad moral character (*tabia mbaya)*, especially without asking her husband for permission. When I heatedly discuss the incident with Mama Pendo and Brightness, a single, young woman in her twenties who rents a room in the same house as Mama Pendo, Brightness tells me: 'Joyce and Esther did wrong (*-fanya makosa*), unmarried women like us are not allowed to go out (*-toka*) with 'someone's wife' (*mke wa mtu*), a woman with respect (*mwanamke mwenye heshima*).' I tell them that Joyce is also married, and in church too, (*ndoa ya kanisa*), but both Brightness and Mama Pendo state that it does not count since she left her husband and now works at a guesthouse. Everyone knows she is a *malaya*, they claim. Furthermore, Brightness says, and is supported in this by Mama Pendo, no one would have treated her the way Baba Msafiri treated Joyce. When I ask her why, she explains that she has 'settled down' (*-tulia*) and everyone in the street knows that she respects herself (*-jiheshimu*) and that she is not a *malaya* like the women working in bars and guesthouses: 'This is why I will never work as a *baamedi*. Even if it is not necessarily so, everyone thinks that if you work in a bar you are a *malaya*.'

Esther asked Baba Msafiri for forgiveness the same day the incident took place, after she was sure he had cooled down and with Mzee Mboya present: 'I kneeled down and asked him to forgive me, and we forgave each other,' she tells us in the evening. She says she understands that what she did was wrong. Joyce, on the other hand refuses to beg forgiveness. She is the only one who completely opposes the general opinion. She is very angry and during the next days she repeats over and over again that:

> He had no right to beat me, I did nothing wrong. I thought she had asked for his permission, how could I know that she had not? I will no longer help his wife looking after their children, in fact I will not have anything to do with her at all, it will only get me into trouble.

However, after a week or so the relationship between the women working at Kipepeo and Mama Msafiri and Baba Msafiri returned to normal. On the few occasions the episode is referred to, it is usually accompanied by laughter and a shrug of the shoulders. 'It is just one

of those things (*ni mambo ya kawaida tu*),' Joyce tells me, when I ask her about it a month later, and brushes off my question.

In everyday life in Serengeti Street women who work in bars and guesthouses and those who do not frequently sit together and gossip when they have time off, often outside of or in the courtyard of the bars and guesthouses. They also drink their morning tea together, look after each others children and go together to important events such as funerals. I would argue that this point both to the existence of several moral discourses in Moshi, which opens for alternative images of the women I did fieldwork among, as well as to people's 'practical wisdom' in Whyte's (2002) sense of the term. However, the episode rendered above demonstrates that the women's moral position is highly insecure, and that once invoked, the dominant moral discourse can have harsh practical effects for individual women

I now return to the question of why female bar and guesthouse workers are negatively stereotyped in Moshi. What follows will not be a stringent analysis accounting for all aspects of the negative stereotyping of the women, but rather an attempt to look into some possible explanatory factors and how they are entangled.

The problem of 'prostitution'

Single, African townswomen leading what seems to be similar lives to that of women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi, have often been conceptualized as 'prostitutes', and in particular their 'short-time' relationships with men as 'prostitution' (cf. e.g. Southall and Gutkind 1957, Southall 1961, Cohen 1969, Little 1973). Also in more recent studies, although usually with considerable reservations, scholars employ the concept 'prostitute' when describing and discussing African townswomen who receive money or other gifts from men they are sexually involved with, and consequently, the term 'prostitution' is used to depict their involvement in such relationships (cf. e.g. Bujra 1975, White 1990, Jeater 1993, Pickering and Wilkins 1993, Weiss 1996, Muzvidziwa 1997, Pickering et al. 1997).

Many other researchers with ethnographic evidence from Africa have seriously questioned the cross-cultural 'transferability' of these concepts, with their 'strong negative connotations deriving from the conceptual realms of Western values and morals' (Haram 1999:15), to African contexts. Consequently, an assumption of a global phenomenon considered to be the same universally has been subject to critique and discussion (cf. e.g. Little 1973, Bovin and Holtedahl 1975, Bujra 1975, Nelson 1987, Day 1988, White 1990, Haram 1999, 2004, Helle-Valle 1999, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000, Smette 2001, Woijcici 2002, Chernoff 2003, 2005).

Scholars working in other parts of the world also caution against such an assumption (cf. e.g. Skilbrei 1998, Nencel 2001, Kristvik 2002). Based on her research in Peru, Lorraine Nencel (2001) critically notes that scholars have argued and to some degree still consider the fact that a woman exchanges sex for material compensation 'sufficient to erase cultural differences' (Nencel 2001:13), and thus to have the same universal meaning. In her study of 'sex workers' in Nepal, Ellen Kristvik (2002) correspondingly argues that 'the assumption of a global phenomenon with a stable nature, significance and implication across differences in time and space, is not only problematic but directly misleading' (Kristvik 2002:9).

One of the main arguments put forward by anthropologists when questioning the 'transferability' of the concepts 'prostitution' and 'prostitute' to African contexts is that they carry specific Western ideas of what is and what is not legitimate management of sexuality and sexual relationships, ideas that are not necessarily compatible with values and mores in many African societies (e.g. Helle-Valle and Talle 2000). More specifically, in the dominant Western discourse 'prostitution' refers to the exchange of sexual services for money or other material gains (Day 1988, Skilbrei 1998, Helle-Valle 1999). Since an ideological taboo against linking sex and money exists in the West, and 'romantic love and/or personal pleasure (physical and psychological) are the "proper" motives for engaging in sex' (Helle-Valle

2004:205), such an exchange is considered morally inappropriate and those engaging in such practices are thus heavily stigmatized (Helle-Valle 1999, 2004, cf. e.g. Skilbrei 1998).[98]

Drawing on numerous studies from different parts of Africa (e.g. Little 1973, Bovin and Holtedahl 1975, Dinan 1983, Nelson 1987, Caldwell et al. 1989, Haram 1999, 2004, Helle-Valle 1999, Setel 1999, Helle- Valle and Talle 2000, Smette 2001, Woijcici 2002, Chernoff 2003, Drage 2005), I argue that such a general ideological taboo against exchanging sex for material benefits does not exist in Moshi. Money or other material gains are not always an aspect of a sexual relationship, but there is normally no taboo against bringing money into such relations. On the contrary, it is rather the *absence* of money in a sexual relationship that is questioned. This is evident in how women working in bars and guesthouses and other men and women speak about the rights and obligations in different kinds of sexual relationships ranging from marriage to more 'temporary' relations (cf. also Setel 1999). The man's role as a 'provider' (Haram 2004, Drage 2005) is often stressed and ideas that allude to the transactional dimension of female sexuality frequently emerged in my conversations with very different people on this issue. Recall for instance Joyce's story and her expectations towards her husband as well as how she repeatedly says that she cannot be with a man who does not give her money, and how she scorns Esther for having sex with her boyfriend for 'free' (*bure*). Pamela gives voice to a similar view when she contends that her boyfriend does and is supposed to help her financially. Although not always this explicitly expressed, the idea that a man must provide economically for his woman both in and outside marriage, and that a woman can and does expect sexual partners to give her money or other gifts, prevails widely.

Brightness, the young single woman referred to above, earns her living by doing business (*biashara*) with second-hand clothes (*mitumba*). She often complains about men's behaviour these days, and that it is better to stay alone because as she puts it: 'Where can you find a man who will help you (*-kusaidia* [i.e. financially])?' One morning while drinking our morning tea

[98] See Helle-Valle (1999) and Helle-Valle and Talle (2000) for a discussion of the origin of such a conceptualisation of legitimate management of sexuality.

at Mama Pendo's, we discuss a quarrel between Joyce and John that took place at Kipepeo the previous evening. We talk about the fact that he has not paid for the clothes he told her to get and Brightness says that 'women, we are really tormented (*-sumbuliwa*)' and 'that man is not a man with respect' (*mwanaume huyu sio mwanaume mwenye heshima*). I ask her whether she herself would remain in a relationship with a man who did not give her money. In an annoyed tone she replies that she does not like the question, because to say that a woman has sex with a man just to get money would be to say that she 'is selling herself' (*-jiuza*). She goes on to say that, 'this is not about selling oneself, but who would want to be with a man who refuses to help you when you have difficulties (*shida*)?'

Although men frequently complain that today's women, and especially townswomen (*wanawake wa mjini*), have too strong a desire (*tamaa*) for money and that there is no love (*upendo*) like in the past (*zamani*), they generally agree that a woman's sexuality is not and should not be given for free (cf. Haram 2004). This becomes clear in the following extracts from an interview with Mr. Mjema, a local journalist, and an informal conversation with a male guest at Soweto, one of Mr. Mboya's establishments:

> Mr. Mjema: You know, here, we have a practice (*tabia*), it is almost like our custom (*mila*), if you have been with a woman [i.e.sexually] you cannot just leave her like that (*huwezi kumwacha hivi hivi*). You know that she needs soap, oil for her body; you have to leave her some money.
> Turid: Is that the same with all women, or just those who are *malaya* or *changudoa*?
> Mr. Mjema: No, it has nothing to do with whether the woman is a *malaya* or a *changudoa*. If you have had sex (*-sexi*) with a woman you have to give her some money. Only if it is your wife (*mke*) or your long-time girlfriend (*mtu wako wa siku nyingi*), then you do not have to give her money that same day (*siku hiyo hiyo*). But you know that because you are a man, also your wife and your girlfriend depend (*-tegemea* [i.e. financially]) on you.[99]
>
> Turid: If you have sex with a woman here in Moshi, do you have to give her money?
> Male guest: I have to (*lazima*), I give it out of respect (*kwa heshima yangu*). You know, if a woman takes off her panties for you, it shows great respect (*Unajua mwanamke akivua chupi kwa ajili yako, ni heshima kubwa sana*) and you cannot just leave her like that.

[99] I interviewed Mr. Mjema because of an article he wrote in the newspaper *Mwananchi* on the compulsory health checks female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi are supposed to go through every three months. The interview took place in his office and focused on his opinions about bar and guesthouse workers and on sexual relationships in general.

Turid: Is that the same with all women, if it is someone you have just met or if you have known her for a long time, or if she is a *malaya*?
Male guest: Yes, that is how it is for me. When I leave her I have to give her some money. But it is not as if she has sold me something (*sio kama ameniuzia kitu*), I give her out of respect.
Turid: What if she asks you for money first?
Male guest: I do not like that, then it is as if it is business (*biashara*). Then, maybe I will not give her anything.[100]

Thus, I argue that in Moshi, sex can legitimately be exchanged for money or other material gains without the actions in such an exchange necessarily being morally reproachable (cf. also Setel 1999). Nevertheless, this is not to say that these exchanges are never morally questioned. What I suggest however, is that the matter at stake is *how* and *why* it is done, more than the fact *that* it is done.

'Simply because sex *can* often be transacted does not mean that it *must*' (Setel 1999:141, original italics). I agree with Setel (1999) concerning his doubts about scholars' strong emphasis on this particular axis of female-relationships in Africa: '[It] deflects attention from the fact that sex and marriage in the West are also "transacted" and distorts what sex signifies to those whose personal lives are recounted here' (Setel 1999:141).

Nevertheless, while there is undoubtedly great variation in the sexual *practices* within the vast African continent and in the West, there seems to be some similarity concerning how sexual practices are morally legitimised within each region (Helle-Valle and Talle 2000, Helle-Valle 2004). My concern here is that there does not appear to be a general ideological taboo against materially oriented uses of sexuality in Moshi in the same ways as 'forcefully embodied in our [Western] image of "the prostitute"' (Helle-Valle 2004:205-206, cf. Helle-Valle 1999). Hence, I maintain that a conceptualisation of female bar and guesthouse workers as

[100] This conversation took place one evening towards the end of my fieldwork. As I was walking past Soweto on my way home from Happy Inn where I had spent the afternoon, this man calls out for me. Laura, who now works at Soweto, encourages me to come and tells me that the man is a good friend, but not a *bwana*, of hers. It turns out that the man stayed at Kipepeo sometimes during my first months there and that he remembers me well because he has never before or since seen a *mzungu* in this area. He asks me what I am doing here and our conversation turns to questions related to his view on bar and guesthouse workers and how they and people in general handle their sexuality. Laura had to go and get her guests bathing water and was not present during the conversation. A business woman from Dar es Salaam joins us, and she supports the male guest in his views.

'prostitutes' simply because of the money or other material gains involved in these relationships, is misleading for several closely related reasons.

Firstly, such a conceptualisation does not help if we want to understand why female bar and guesthouse workers are negatively stereotyped in Moshi. To a Western reader, the negative connotations embodied in the concepts 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' are strongly related to an ideological taboo against bringing money into sexual relationships (e.g. Helle-Valle 1999, 2004, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000, Chernoff 2003). As I have argued, this ideological taboo is not generally present in Moshi. Although I do propose that the negative stereotyping of the women workers is closely linked to what is perceived as their ill-managed sexuality, I suggest that this is not primarily related to the fact that many receive money from their sexual partners.

Further, such a conceptualisation risks disregarding the many meanings sexuality and sexual relationships have for the women I did fieldwork among. Although the material aspect is an important one, romantic love can be equally constitutive of a relationship and the two do not belong to incompatible spheres, as might seem to be the case in the West. To simply term bar and guesthouse workers 'prostitutes' further means ignoring that the women are involved in an array of relationships, as well as the fact that the kinds of relationships engaged in, vary greatly between individual women. It essentialises their sex role and consequently disregards the women's own life projects, their self-perceptions as well as the many other concerns they have in their lives.

The personification of the sexually absolute immoral?

In an attempt to overcome the difficulties related to 'applying morally laden concepts [like 'prostitute' and 'prostitution'] in a new cultural setting' (Helle-Valle 1999:393), Helle-Valle (1999) suggests that instead of equating the concepts with the linkage of sex and money or looking for other common defining features, one could see 'the image of the prostitute as the personification of sexually absolute immoral' (Helle-Valle 1999:387), and 'prostitution' as

'the antithesis of legitimate sex' (Helle-Valle 1999:389, cf. also Skilbrei 1998, Nencel 2001). The meanings of the concepts 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' will thus 'mirror -negatively- certain dominant conceptions of what are considered to be legitimate sexual practices' (Helle-Valle 1999:387) in a particular cultural setting. If looked at this way, there are two possible candidates for the concept 'prostitute' in Moshi today: *malaya* and *changudoa*, and also two expressions that could be taken to mean 'prostitution': namely *umalaya* and *uchangudoa*. These Swahili terms are often translated to English as 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' by researchers and English speaking Tanzanians (cf. e.g. Weiss 1996, Talle 1998, Haram 1999, 2004, 2005a, Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999, Desmond et al. 2005).[101] Below I shall explore the terms, their meanings and their usage in contemporary Moshi, particularly in relation to the negative stereotyping of women working in bars and guesthouses.

I believe that to straightforwardly translate *malaya* and *changudoa* to English as 'prostitute' and *umalaya* and *uchangudoa* 'prostitution', even if in the sense suggested by Helle-Valle (1999), might create more confusion than clarity, and in particular with regards to why *malaya* and *changudoa* are negative words. This is in line with my contention in the previous section, and resonates with Chernoff's (2003) argument concerning the Yoruba term *ashawo,* also often translated to English as 'prostitute' (cf. e.g. Drage 2005).

Chernoff has written two books about and in cooperation with Hawa, a woman born in Ghana. Hawa travelled widely in West Africa, earning her living by being a waitress and an

[101] In the case of *malaya* and *umalaya*, translations to English also include 'a sexually promiscuous person' and 'promiscuity' (Haram 1999, 2004, 2005a, Setel 1999) which I already indicated I find more fitting with regards to how the term was in use in Moshi during my fieldwork. Haram also prefers such a translation although she claims that *malaya* among the Meru sometimes is used synonymously with 'prostitute' (Haram 2004, 2005a). Furthermore, *malaya* is a term registered in Frederick Johnson's *A standard Swahili – English dictionary* from 1939 (Johnson 1939:257), and it is in use also in Tanzania's neighbouring countries Uganda and Kenya (cf. e.g. Southall and Gutkind 1957, Nelson 1987, White 1990, Odgen 1996, Davis 2000). *Changudoa* is on the other hand a much more recent term in the sense referred to here, and when reviewing relevant literature, I have only encountered the word in Lange (2002) and Desmond et al. (2005). The meanings Siri Lange (2002) found the term to have seems to differ slightly from how it was used in Moshi (see below), as she claims that it is used as a metaphor for young, attractive female partners (Lange 2002:244). Nicola Desmond et al. translate the term as 'slang for sex worker or "prostitute"' (Desmond et al. 2005: 1743).

asha wo woman (Chernoff 2003, 2005). In the introduction to the first of these books, *Hustling is not stealing: Stories of an African bar girl*, Chernoff argues that although the most common use of the term *asha wo* in large parts of West Africa is to identify women who get money for sex, it does not have a clear-cut meaning and might also refer to other groups of people. Moreover, it seems that the negative connotations of the word 'has less to do with selling sex than with other concerns because a great many men and women in Africa think about their relationships with one another in terms of exchange' (Chernoff 2003:65). He thus proposes that Hawa and her friends, who are said to be *asha wo* women, should not be termed prostitutes. Chernoff (2003) further argues:

> The 'ashawo' life exists along a broad spectrum of behaviour and attitudes, covering a much broader range than the idea of 'prostitution' implies here [in the West].One older Ghanaian man I knew qualified the term into ironic absurdity by referring to them [the *asha wo* women] as 'demi-semi-prostitutes' (Chernoff 2003:70-71).

My exchange with Mr. Kitusi, the Resident Magistrate, might serve to exemplify how an assumption of the compatibility of the English term 'prostitution' and the Swahili term *umalaya*, without considering what the terms actually means to the person one is talking to, might similarly lead to bewilderment. The interview was conducted in a mixture of English and Swahili. At this stage of my fieldwork I had not thought much about whether or not 'prostitution' and *umalaya* can be taken to be compatible terms; both Mr. Kitusi and I use them interchangeably during the interview. At this particular point Mr. Kitusi has just explained that 'prostitution' (using the English term) is illegal in Tanzania (cf. The United Republic of Tanzania 1981: The Penal Code § 145 [regarding men] and § 146 [regarding women]). He goes on to say, still in English but including the Swahili term *umalaya*:

> Mr. Kitusi: But, it is important that you remember that prostitution, *umalaya*, is not an offence in itself, it is only illegal if one makes money from it.
> Turid: But what do you mean? Does not prostitution always involve money?
> Mr. Kitusi: No, no, prostitution means that a person has more than one sexual partner, it does not have to involve money although it is true that it often does.

This exchange substantiates the claim that even when the English term is used one should not assume that 'prostitute' or 'prostitution' has the same meaning universally (Helle-Valle 1999, Kristvik 2002). In what follows I refrain from employing these concepts altogether (cf. e.g.

Nelson 1987, Helle-Valle and Talle 2000), but rather explore and employ the Swahili terms used to denote women said to be involved in immoral sexual practices.

The *malaya* and the *changudoa*

As evident in several of the described cases, interview extracts and conversations, both the term *malaya* and the word *mhuni* is used when people refer to women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi and when explaining why they are said to be women without respect (*bila heshima*). The term *mhuni* seems to have a broader meaning than *malaya*, and denotes 'loose living, loose morals and a general lack of civilized demeanour' (Setel 1995:57).[102] The two terms were used interchangeably to describe the women workers. It was often explained to me that a female *mhuni* equals a *malaya*. *Malaya* was among the two terms I heard most often when female bar and guesthouse workers were characterized, while *mhuni* was more frequently employed when talking about young men and their immoral behaviour, which in addition to being a *malaya* includes characteristics such as stealing, having no proper job, smoking cannabis and just 'roaming around' (cf. also Desmond et. al. 2005). That a female *mhuni* is often equated to a *malaya*, while a male *mhuni* is given characteristics that testify to immorality other than purely sexual, shows the gendered nature of judgments about people's moral character and sexual behaviour in Moshi town.Although the meaning of *malaya* is not always clear-cut, it is usually said to mean a person who has numerous as well as concurrent sexual partners (cf. Haram 1999, 2004, 2005b). What this means in actual numbers is not agreed upon. To have more than two parallel sexual partners is generally said to be *umalaya*, but there is disagreement about whether or not sexual involvement with two persons during the same period of time qualifies as such. Some, usually single women, claim that because men cannot be trusted when it comes to financial support this equals having a 'spare-tire' and

[102] See Hasu 1999b: 361-364, 397-403 and Setel 1999: 165-170 for in-depth discussions on the term *mhuni*.

is thus not *umalaya*. Others, including many women working in bars and guesthouses, believe that anything beyond having one sexual partner is *umalaya*.

Malaya is also used as an adjective, like in Pamela's previously cited characterisation of Esther: 'She is very *malaya*, she does not "settle" with one man (*ni malaya sana, hatulii na mwanaume mmoja*), she "mixes" many men' (*anachanganya wanaume wengi* [i.e. have concurrent sexual relationships]). Although the term is also used about men, the typical image of a *malaya* is a woman. More specifically, the typical image of a *malaya* is a woman who works in a bar or a guesthouse and a woman who goes to bars without male company, particularly in the evenings.

The *malaya*'s sexual behaviour contrasts starkly with what is seen as morally appropriate management of sexuality, which by definition is how a 'woman with respect' (*mwanamke mwenye heshima*) handles her sexuality. The contrast between the two is summed up nicely by Mama Rashidi, in the same conversation as referred to above:

> A woman with respect is a woman who has settled down (*-tulia*). She is married and she stays at home (*nyumbani*), she does not go to bars or to the disco. She has only one man, her husband, and she does not go [i.e. have sex] with other men 'carelessly' (*ovyo ovyo*). She is not a *malaya*, because if she does *umalaya* she does it in secrecy (*kwa kisirisiri*). Nobody sees it.

Contrary to *malaya, changudoa*, sometimes shortened to *changu* or simply *CD*, is a term reserved solely for women. The word is said to have come into use in Moshi sometimes during the late 1990s. A *changudoa* is said to be a specific type of *malaya*, and in every respect worse than an 'ordinary' *malaya*. This is particularly evident in her behaviour (*mwendo*) with regards to men, and in how she dresses (*mavazi*). The following extract from my interview with Rehema, where she describes the appearance and behaviour of a *changudoa*, sums up well the typical image of a *changudoa* in Moshi:[103]

[103] *Changu* is the collective Swahili term for several species of fish, and *changu doa* is the specific term for the species *Lethrinus harak* (Issak 1999). *Doa* means 'spot', and refers to the spot this particular species of fish has

> A *malaya* and a *changudoa* are the same (*kitu kimoja*), but a *changudoa* is worse (*changudoa amezidi*), she is a *malaya* who has gone too far (*ni malaya aliyeshindikana*). A *changudoa* is a girl, or let us say a woman, because even grown-up women sell themselves (*-jiuza*). You will find that she wears strange clothes (*nguo za ajabu*), short ones where her tits (*maziwa*) show and sometimes you can even see her buttocks (*matako*). She is almost naked (*uchi*), and she makes men desire her (*anatamanisha wanaume*). She walks past men, if they call for her she comes. Such a woman is a *changudoa* who sells herself. And what is more, she demands cash (*-dai cash*), like 'if I come with you how much will you give me?' Or, 'give me this amount (*kiasi fulani*).' Also, she has no other job (*kazi*), this is her job. It is her business (*biashara*). She can have even ten men at the same day, if she gets that many, and she does not choose (*-chagua*) she accepts everyone (*kila mwanaume*). Then she will say: 'today business was good, I got many men.' And usually you will find them [the *machangudoa*] at Pub Alberto [the disco]. If they see that they don't get any men they will start touching (*-shikashika*) men and telling them that 'I like you' (*nimekupenda*). You know here in Tanzania men are the ones who should proposition (*-tongoza*) a woman, not the other way around. But a *changudoa* propositions men, at least if she sees that she gets no business. And if a *changudoa* tells a man that she like him, 'I would like us to be together' (*ningeomba tuwe wote*), and also because of the way she dresses, this gives a man temptations (*visha wishi*). So they will agree on how much money she will get and go. That is how it is.

To use Helle-Valle's terms, it would seem like the image of the *changudoa* personifies 'the sexually absolute immoral' (Helle-Valle 1999:387) in contemporary Moshi.[104] The way she dresses, the fact that she propositions men, that she asks for money directly and that she is not selective with regards to sexual partners are all practices that mirror negatively the dominant conceptions of legitimate ways of managing sexuality for a woman in Moshi town. The practice of asking for money directly (*-dai cash*), and especially to agree on a fixed price

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on each side close to its tail. The characteristics of these fish are said to be that they always swim in groups. However, because of their spots they are easily recognisable and they therefore try to mix with other groups of fish, for the purpose of hiding. The *changu doa* are said to be quite small, have a very nice (*tamu*) taste, and to be fond of eating. This term started to be used about certain women on the coast in themid-1990s. Specifically, it refers to young *malaya* who do not show their 'true self' until the evenings when they go out in groups, looking for men with whom they will have sex for money. They are said to be extremely fond of money (personal communication with Bi. Maryam Darweish, teacher at the Institute of Kiswahili and foreign languages (Takiluki) at Zanzibar, Bw. Makih Hassan member of The National Kiswahili Council (Bakita) and language expert on the weekly programme *Kumepambazuka: Kiswahili on Saturday* on Radio One, and a taxi driver who drove me to different government offices in Dar es Salaam). Living far from the coast, no one I met in Moshi had heard of the fish *changu doa* and thus did not associate the human *changudoa* with it. This is why I have chosen to render the term as one word, which I believe is how it is perceived in Moshi (cf. also Desmond et al. 2005). Furthermore, it might seem like the meaning of the term has become more wide-ranging in Moshi than on the coast because it does not necessarily refer only to young women.

[104] When reviewing the literature, it seems that the term *malaya* previously had some of the negative connotations now more associated with the new term *changudoa* (e.g. Talle 1998, Haram 1999, Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999), and thus might in a more straightforward manner than during my fieldwork have represented 'the sexual *absolute* immoral' (Helle-Valle 1999:387, my italics).

(*bei*), seems in particular to cause negative comments: to accusations of 'selling oneself' (-*jiuza*) and having sex as business (*biashara*).

This supports my claim that although the exchange of sex for money or other material benefits is not morally questioned as such in Moshi town, this is not to say that it never is. The matter at stake is *how* it is done, or in Haram's words: 'The stream of gifts and services is not a free-flowing system, but has rules and regulations which guide the exchange between the parties involved' (Haram 1999:86). What seems to distinguish a 'bad' woman from a 'good' woman or a *changudoa* from a woman with respect, seems above all to be whether or not a woman is direct in her requests for money or gifts. To demand money (*-dai cash*) is 'bad' behaviour, and indicates as a 'bad' moral character (*tabia mbaya*). A woman can however ask indirectly, or in a 'roundabout manner' (Moland 2002:247), by for example indicating that she owes money for clothes as Joyce did to several of her *mabwana*, or by explaining some other 'problem' (*shida*). Such use of 'indirect language' (Piot 1993) is an aspect of the value of secrecy, concealment and discretion to which I return in more detail in the next chapter.

Most women, both those working in bars and guesthouses and others, prefer not to ask at all, although they sometimes do. A respectable man, as Joyce puts it, 'will know what a woman needs.' This ideally goes for all relationships, also for the ones closer to the *sha sha* end of the continuum discussed in the previous chapter. However, and as Joyce did when recounting her first meeting with Saidi, the women often refer to having sex with an unknown man without asking for money first, 'to try ones luck' (*-bahatisha*), because even if a man seems to be a man with respect (*mwanaume mwenye heshima*), you cannot know for sure that he will behave as one, that is, that he will leave you money.

The practices of a *changudoa* are thus generally considered fundamentally different from the legitimate expectations of a woman being provided for by the man she is sexually involved with. That the lines are not clear-cut, which leaves individual women some space for manoeuvring, becomes evident in this extract from my interview with Mama Pendo, which is representative of many similar conversations on the subject:

If a woman has sex with a man, especially if it is her *bwana*, and he gives you money for the daily necessities (*hela ya matumizi*), this is not 'to sell oneself' (*-jiuza*). No. A man knows that a woman needs money, it is normal (*kawaida*) for a man to give his woman 'household money.' And because of the problems (*shida*) of these days, a woman might have two *mabwana*. This is not to sell oneself either. But it is different with these *machangudoa*, they sleep with maybe five or even ten men every day and they demand cash (*-dai cash*) from them. They do not wait for the man to give it to them. This is to sell oneself.

Concluding remarks

The word *changudoa* is not used to characterize female bar and guesthouse workers in Moshi town. This coincides with what Desmond et.al. (2005) found to be the case in an unidentified gold mining town in north western Tanzania. The main reason given for this in Moshi is that a *changudoa* by definition has no other job but to be with men, while women working in bars and guesthouses actually have a paid job. They are therefore perceived as being more selective than the *machangudoa* concerning which men they become involved with sexually. Because they already have an income, it is generally said that they do not have to behave as aggressively towards men as the *machangudoa* do. However, female bar and guesthouse workers are stereotyped as *malaya*, the derogatory term for a sexually 'loose' woman. In my interview with the journalist, Mr. Mjema, he describes how female bar and guesthouse workers are perceived in Moshi, how they are set apart from respectable women, but also how they are distinguished from *machangudoa*:

Mr. Mjema: I think at least 90 percent of the women who work in the bars and guesthouses have this habit (*tabia*) of *umalaya*. That is why they are despised (*-dharauliwa*). Because you know, here at ours (*hapa kwetu*), in our culture (*utamaduni*), a woman should have only one man, she should not have sex (*-tembea na*) with many different men. A woman who does that cannot be respected (*hataheshimika tena*). She is a *malaya*. […]
Turid: Would it be possible to call a woman who works in a bar or a guesthouse a *changudoa*?
Mr. Mjema: No, that is not possible. Because she is at her workplace (*kazini*), and she has her job. A *changudoa* is different, to be with men is her business (*biashara*). You will agree with her on a price (*bei*). A bar worker (*mwuza baa*), she will not tell you a price […]. A bar worker has the habit (*tabia*) of being with many men, of *umalaya*, but she relies on the man's sympathy (*huruma*). It is not her business.

Thus, the common reply to my question regarding who has the most respect (*heshima*), a *changudoa* or a bar and guesthouse worker, corresponded to that of Mama Pendo in my

interview with her: ‘None of them are respected, but a bar worker is a little bit better (*wote hawaheshimiwi, lakini mwuza baa ni afadhali kidogo*).

8. WOMEN AT DISPLAY

As my fieldwork progressed I became more and more puzzled by this almost unanimous stated moral condemnation of women who work in bars and guesthouses. Although these women were said not to be as 'bad' as the *machangudoa*, as a group they seem to epitomize immorality, and in particular sexual immorality. However, it is not uncommon for other women, in particular single but also married women, to have sexual relationships with several men at the same time (cf. also Setel 1999). This coincides with what Zaida Mgalla and Robert Pool (1997) found in Magu in north western Tanzania, and they claim that 'the sexual behaviour of many single women in other occupations is not significantly different from that of women who work in bars' (Mgalla and Pool 1997: 411, cf. also Talle 1998, Desmond et. al. 2005). And yet, other 'single' women are not subjected to the same degree of negative stereotyping.[105]

Quite a few of the bar and guesthouse workers I met were involved with a smaller number of men than some of the other women I knew, but who had other jobs. Some of them had only one *bwana*. Nevertheless, this does not seem to have a bearing on whether or not the women as a group are conceptualized as *malaya*. Therefore, the negative stereotyping of these women cannot be solely attributed to their perceived sexual behaviour. Why then, the enhanced moral condemnation of this particular group of 'single' women?

In this chapter I suggest some possible approaches to this question. They rest on an assumption that the negative moral evaluation of female bar and guesthouse workers is intimately linked to certain characteristics of the place they work, seen in relation to important moral values, ideals and 'codes' for interaction.

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[105] Individual 'single' women also do risk being called *malaya* due to the fact that they are often seen to have turned away from the traditional and 'proper' way of life. This is particularly true if they do not take sufficient care to conceal their sexual relationships, or are not selective with regards to sexual partners (cf. e.g. Haram 1999, 2004).

Yet a paradox thus appears: regardless of whether or not her behaviour sometimes parallels that of a *changudoa*, which could be argued to be the case for those women involved in relationships close to the *sha sha* end of the continuum I described, the fact that she has a paid job shields a woman who works in a bar or a guesthouse from being characterised as such. Female bar and guesthouse workers do not represent 'the sexual *absolute* immoral' (Helle-Valle 1999:387, my italics) in Moshi town. However, that same job or workplace, is the main reason for why she - and again regardless of her actual behaviour –is said to be a *malaya*, and 'a woman without respect.'

The importance of secrecy in everyday life

Let us first examine in more detail the logic behind Mama Rashidi's seemingly inconsistent statement regarding the characteristics of a 'woman with respect': 'A woman with respect 'is not a *malaya*, because if she does *umalaya* she does it in secrecy (*kwa kisiri siri*). Nobody sees it.' In my interview with Mama Pendo this same logic emerges in a slightly different version. While discussing the term *malaya*, she asks me: 'But you know, do you not, that also a *malaya* can respect herself (*-jiheshimu*), and therefore be respected (*-heshimiwa*) by others?' When I ask what she means, she explains: 'A *malaya* who respects herself does her things (*mambo yake*) in secrecy (*kwa kisiri siri*), so that people cannot see it.' The same reasoning seems to be behind Joyce's struggles to manoeuvre her sexual relationships in order that her different *mabwana* do not know of each other or at least have not actually seen that she has other men. As she puts it: 'It does not look good to be with several men at the same time, so when I am with a man I never show him other men.' Lalia, in one of our conversations regarding her relationship with the army man, says this:

> Turid: I have seen that you get angry when the army man brings other women here, even if he just buys them beer, but I also know that you have sex with (*-tembea na*) other men?
> Lalia (laughing): Yes, but I do it in secrecy so that he will not know (*nafanya kwa kisiri siri ili asijue*). I do not show it to his colleagues either.
> Turid: So, if he has sex with other women, but somewhere else, you don't mind?
> Lalia: No, but he could just try bringing other women here!

What I am suggesting is that to understand why the women *as a group* are negatively stereotyped, we should also consider the significance awarded to secrecy, concealment and discretion (*siri*)[106] with regards to proper management of sexuality in Moshi. This link between the value of secrecy and the moral evaluations of 'illicit' sexual practices and those participating in them has been noted, though not always elaborated on, in studies from different parts of Africa (e.g. Larsen 1995, Haram 1999, 2005b, Setel 1999, Arnfred 2004, Helle-Valle 1999, 2004, Smette 2001).

Piot (1993) argues that the anthropological literature on secrecy in African societies almost solely focuses on its role as an esoteric phenomenon linked to formal ritual settings such as secret societies and cults of initiation, while the importance of secrecy in people's daily lives has largely been neglected. Piot (1993) studied the role of secrecy among the Kabre of northern Togo. He argues that the meaning of secrecy, 'the intentional concealing of information' (Piot 1993:353), for the Kabre is tied to how they understand their social world: to notions of shame, hierarchy and equality. Secrecy, concealment and discretion (*siri*) also seems to be closely connected to the general moral order in Moshi town, and is thus intimately related to notions of respect (*heshima*) and shame (*aibu*) (Moland 2002:245), as well as to ideas of 'inside' (*ndani*) and 'outside' (*nje*).

Secrecy, which has both a discursive and a performative aspect (Arnfred 2004), hence plays an important role in everyday life, and as demonstrated in previous chapters not just when it comes to proper management of sexuality. To take one further example: discretion is considered to be of great significance in the handling of monetary affairs (cf. also Pietilä 1999b). This will become apparent in the following case.

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[106] In Moshi as on the Swahili coast the term *siri* denotes all these meanings, as well as secret, privacy and hidden (cf. Swartz 1988, Larsen 1995, Moland 2002). I have therefore chosen to use them interchangeably, although I acknowledge that they might have slightly different connotations.

The episode takes place at Kwa Mrema one early afternoon. Mama Jackson, Glory, some male guests and I are sitting in the courtyard, drinking beer. A woman approaches the table and asks Mama Jackson for 1,000 shillings which she owes for the panties (*chupi*) she bought one month ago. In a polite tone Mama Jackson tells her that she does not have the money right now and asks her to come back the following day. I do not think more about the episode until Mama Jackson later that evening recounts what happened to Pamela. Mama Jackson is quite agitated, and Pamela agrees with her that the woman's behaviour is reproachable. Somehow taken aback, I ask why Mama Jackson is so angry and what the woman did that I did not see. Mama Jackson, in an exasperated tone, tells me that I should know since I was there and had I not heard how she demanded (*-dai*) money from her 'in public' (*mbele ya watu*, literally: 'in front of people')? Mama Jackson goes on to say that the woman knows that if she [Mama Jackson] had the money she would have given it to her the moment she came, there was no need to ask. To my question regarding what the woman should have done if she really needed the money, Mama Jackson replies that if that was the case, the woman should have taken her aside (*pembeni*), because 'it is not polite (*ustaarabu*) to talk about a person's secret (*siri*) in front of others.' Mama Jackson ends the conversation by stating that she will never buy anything from this woman again, and that she will tell others that the woman cannot be trusted (*haaminiki*) when it comes to 'safe-guarding' (*-tunza*) one's secrets.

The incident took place just a few months into my fieldwork, and I had not paid systematic attention to how people actually talk and act with regards to monetary affairs. Following this episode, I became more aware of the 'roundabout manner' (Moland 2002:247) in which both these and other issues considered personal are approached. For example, if a person wants to borrow money, he or she will not ask directly, but use a phrase such as 'I have a problem that I would like to discuss with you' (*nina shida na wewe*) or simply 'I would like to talk to you' (*nataka kuongea na wewe*). One might then go somewhere private and discuss the matter in more detail. When returning what has been borrowed, the person will say 'I have your "package" (*mzigo*),' which just as well can refer to a gift or something one has asked the person to bring or buy. Accordingly, if people must have their money back before the one they lent it to is prepared to return it, these are the kinds of expressions they should use. Such

use of 'indirect language' (Piot 1993:355), is widespread in Moshi. By being very direct both in her approach and in her language, the woman selling clothes is criticised by Mama Jackson and Pamela for not having the ability to 'safe-guard' (*-tunza*) other people's secrets. This ability is generally, and not just in the case of economy, considered a prime virtue in Moshi (cf. also Pietilä 1999b and Moland 2002).

According to the women, to 'safeguard' other people's secrets is *the* most important quality in a true friend. Karen Marie Moland, in her study of birth and birth care in Kilimanjaro correspondingly argues that 'the handling of secrets is vital to a midwife's reputation' (Moland 2002:245), and Pietilä holds that to 'keep' the secrets of her husband and his relatives is a 'crucial characteristic of a good and loyal wife' (Pietilä 1999b:113). Importantly, the term *siri* (secret) does not just refer to 'issues that do not cohere with "how things should be"' (Pietilä 1999b:113), which corresponds to what I below refer to as transgressions of ideal moral values (Larsen 1995), although it often does. It might also be issues such as level of education, number of children and aspects of one's life history.

The ability to 'safe-guard' other people's secrets is but one aspect of the multifaceted concept of secrecy, and the role it plays in people's everyday lives. With regard to the importance of secrecy, concealment and discretion in proper management of sexuality, to which I now turn, the ability or willingness to also 'safe-guard' one's own secrets appears to be just as significant. The two are of course intimately linked, but while the 'safe-guarding' of other people's secrets seems for the most part to refer to the discursive aspect of secrecy (Arnfred 2004), to 'safe-guard' ones owns secrets, that is being discrete, seems to be closely related to not 'showing' (*-onyesha*) and thus to performativity, or 'ways of doing' (Virtanen 2003:12) and 'behavioural styles' (Broch-Due and Rudie 1993:38).

Secrecy and sexuality

I find Haram's (1999, 2005b) study of how the Meru manage their love affairs instructive when examining the relationship between secrecy and proper management of sexuality. She

maintains that although the Meru have strict norms regulating premarital and extramarital sexual behaviour, there seems to be a contradiction between ideal and actual behaviour. People have both numerous and concurrent sexual partners, and such 'illicit' sexual behaviour is much more tolerated in real life than stated ideal values would imply (Haram 1999, 2005b). Haram explains this by the existence of a 'moral prescription' which she refers to as the 'code of secrecy' (Haram 2005b:69). This 'moral prescription' is part of an alternative normative repertoire that guides and regulates 'illicit' sexual behaviour, and thus enables both sexes to manipulate a wide sexual network in a morally acceptable way.

Haram argues that the real question is not whether or not someone is involved in a premarital or extramarital relationship, or the actual number of relationships a person is involved in. The matter at stake is *how* it is done, which more specifically means handling those sexual relationships with dignity and respect. To handle 'illicit' sexual relationships with respect above all denotes the ability to keep them secret: 'Hence, as long as "illicit" sex is not boasted or talked about in the open, but carried out discreetly, it seems to be silently accepted' (Haram 2005b:66). If relationships become officially known, they become a matter of public moral debate. There is more freedom and moral space for men compared to women regarding 'illicit' sexual behaviour. Although 'the code of secrecy' is a guiding moral principle for both sexes, it is hence particularly important for women. Thus, Haram argues, to keep her respect a woman does not necessarily have to abstain from premarital, extramarital, numerous, or concurrent sexual relationships; what matters is to take great care to conceal them (Haram 2005b).

Kjersti Larsen (1995) argues similarly in her study from Zanzibar town. She provides an example of a man who divorces his wife after she tells him that she had other lovers during their marriage. According to people commenting on this case, the fact that this woman was unfaithful is tolerable. When they criticize her, it is because she was unable or not cunning enough to keep this a secret, thus making it impossible for her husband not to divorce her (Larsen 1995:215-216). Based on this case and how it was discussed Larsen argues that:

> [I]t is not sexuality as such which is precarious for women in this society but, rather, how they handle their sexuality according to values of concealment and disclosure. It seems that what is important is not necessarily to refrain from transgressing moral values and ideals but, rather, to be able to conceal these transgressions (Larsen 1995:216).

That moral evaluations of people involved in 'illicit' sexual relations are mainly related to *how* they handle these relationships, and not so much to the fact of their involvement, seems similarly to be a valid argument in the case of Moshi (cf. also Setel 1999). When examining the statements cited above, so does the contention that to manage 'illicit' sexual behaviour with respect denotes keeping them secret or concealing them. The opportunity and ability to conceal transgressions of stated moral values, is thus of prime importance when seeking to avoid negative moral evaluation by others in society (Swartz 1988). As long as sexual relationships remain private and secret, they remain 'outside the purview of cultural discourse on proper moral character' (Setel 1999:103). However, this does not necessarily mean that the transgressions are not known to other people; the main point is that they are not to be shown openly and 'carelessly' (*ovyo ovyo*) (cf. Piot 1993).

Public places and the problem of secrecy

It follows from this argument that the negative stereotyping of female bar and workers might be less linked to the fact *that* they are believed to have illicit sexual relationships than to *how* they are perceived to handle them. What I furthermore suggest is that *how* in this case is intimately connected to *where*, namely the bars and guesthouses.

I propose that the crux of matter is that bars and guesthouses are considered public places. As described in chapter four it is also the place the women who work there spend most of their time, regardless of whether they actually live there or not. Their lives are therefore 'intensively public' (Odgen 1996:169), at least in the eyes of other people. The public nature of their workplace and consequently of major parts of their daily lives, contrasts starkly with the importance attached to secrecy, discretion and concealment in morally acceptable management of 'illicit' sexual relationships, because it makes it difficult if not impossible for them to conceal their practices. This argument is as patently obvious as it is important; 'things

that occur in public […] cannot be kept secret by their very nature' (Swartz 1988:35). In other words, while women like Joyce and Lalia might struggle and somehow be successful in concealing from their *mabwana* that they have other men, in the eyes of society they lack the ability to conceal 'illicit' sexual behaviour *because* they work in a bar or a guesthouse.

All women who work at bars and guesthouse are said to have multiple and concurrent sexual partners, regardless of whether this is actually true or not. However, other women in Moshi are involved in similar practices and they are not necessarily morally reproached as a result, or at least not to the same degree. I propose therefore, that the real issue is that because these women work in a public place, they are conceived of as unable, or even unwilling, to choose a strategy where their transgressions of ideal moral values do not become public knowledge; they are not seen as capable of following the morally prescribed 'code of secrecy' (Haram 2005b). This ultimately means that they are perceived as incapable of handling their sexuality with respect (Haram 2005b).

This argument is substantiated by the fact that many people, claim that bar and guesthouse work and the women who work there have no respect because they are held and touched (-*shikwashikwa*) 'in front of people' (*mbele ya watu*): in public. In Moshi, to be touched or to touch each other[107] in public, 'like you do in the West (*Ulaya*)' as it was often put to me, is seen as an act that inflicts shame (*aibu*), in particular on the woman. It is directly associated with sexual intercourse which should take place 'inside' (*ndani*), which ideally means 'inside the marriage' (*ndani ya ndoa*) (Hasu 1999a). However, and in line with the actual tolerance shown 'illicit' sexual behaviour, *ndani* here also refers to 'inside' in the literal sense: 'inside' a room or a house, or at least somewhere out of sight of other people. To touch or be touched 'sexually' should not happen 'outside' (*nje*) and in front of people. It is also more shameful (*aibu*) for a woman to touch a man than the other way around since the man ideally is the one who should take the initiative in sexual matters.

[107] This refers to being touched or to touch each other in what is perceived as a 'sexual' manner, which mainly refers to touching breasts, buttocks or genitals, but also to holding hands or to kiss.

When I asked women about positive and negative aspects of their work, the issue of being 'touched' in front of people was frequently raised as one of the most problematic aspects of their job. According to Pamela: 'When you have a job like me, even a man you do not know can touch (*-shikashika*) you, he can touch your breasts (*maziwa*) and your buttocks (*matako*). It does not look good (*haipendezi*). It is *aibu* (shameful).' That such behaviour takes place at bars and guesthouses is thus generally considered *aibu* for the woman who is being touched, and not harassment of her, even if it is against her will. I suggest this is because it is seen as an indication of the woman's failure to handle her sexuality with respect. Firstly, her perceived sexual behaviour contrasts starkly with ideal moral values related to sexuality. Furthermore, because of the 'intensively' public nature of her everyday life she fails to manage her 'illicit' sexual relationships in accordance with the morally appropriate 'code of secrecy' (Haram 2005b).

Secrecy, 'smooth' interaction and civility

One could take this argument one step further. In addition to being important moral values, secrecy, concealment and discretion are highly valued relational qualities. It is a specific way of interacting, which allows social life to proceed 'smoothly' (Pietilä 1999b:7). Pietilä notes that 'what we [Westerners] would call lying or an indirect way of talking is […] often appreciated in Kilimanjaro for the sake of maintaining social relations and the attempt to avoid social conflicts' (Pietilä 1999b:7). I suggest that this argument is just as valid with regards to the performative aspect of secrecy: to not openly show other people one's moral transgressions.

Larsen argues that 'the art of concealment and secrecy makes it possible [for women as well as for men] to follow their own wishes and wills, as well as to escape unfavourable evaluations and judgement of behaviour which diverge from ideal expectations' (Larsen 1995:34). Her example about the unfaithful woman furthermore indicates that at least when it comes to management of 'illicit' sexual relationships, the fact that concealment and secrecy protects other people from the embarrassment and shame of actually having to recognize and

subsequently act on these transgressions, might be of equal importance. By such behaviour, one maintains social relations and avoids social conflicts (Pietilä 1999b). I suggest that such is the case in Moshi: the value of secrecy is a concern on two relational levels when it comes to female bar and guesthouse workers.

Concerning unfaithfulness in a relationship, by being discrete one is both protecting oneself from being negatively evaluated by others in society[108] as well as showing respect for one's partner by shielding him or her from public embarrassment and thus making it possible for him or her to not act on the transgressions. If one has not actually 'seen,' there is not much one can do, nor is expected to do. As shown in the case of Joyce, this does not mean that people do not accuse each other of infidelity without actually having 'seen' it for themselves. However, such accusations without solid cause are usually frowned upon. According to her colleagues and neighbours, Joyce was said to be 'too' jealous, and that she inflicts shame (*aibu*) both on herself and her *mabwana* because of her 'aggressive' jealousy (*wivu*), which often causes conflicts, as it did in her relationship with John.[109]

This two-sidedness of secrecy is apparent in Lalia and Joyce's statements above, in Joyce's story and in the story of Lalia and Josefu at the end of chapter six. In the latter case the issue of causing your partner embarrassment by showing infidelity openly is made explicit: when Josefu is criticised for his behaviour by Lalia, Esther and the female guest, it is clearly not for having affairs with other women, but rather for bringing the women to Kipepeo and causing Lalia humiliation and inducing conflict. Also, when Joyce is praised by her colleague Fatuma and her neighbour Mama Msafiri for respecting herself (*-jiheshimu*), one of the reasons is the effort she makes in hiding from her different *mabwana* that she also has other men. One way of understanding this could be that what she is actually complimented for is her ability to maintain social relations and avoid conflicts (Pietilä 1999b).

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[108] This is particularly true for women, because although men ideally should also be faithful, their infidelity is often seen as a 'tolerable expression of male character' (Setel 1999:103).
[109] On the other hand, her openly expressed jealousy mostly seemed to please her *mabwana*, as they took it to mean that she really cared about them.

As individuals, women who work in bars and guesthouses might then be recognised for their endeavour to keep their sexual relationships a secret from their different men and thus not cause these particular men embarrassment. I suggest however that on a collective level they are accused precisely of not having the ability or even willingness to take sufficient care to protect others in society from the humiliation of having to witness their moral transgressions. Concealing *umalaya* is a way of respecting yourself and thus avoiding unfavourable evaluations and judgements from others, and at the same time it is a way of respecting others by protecting them from having to make such judgements. By concealing moral transgressions you show that you care about and respect other people. Furthermore, only those who show others respect will be and are entitled to being respected in return (Howard and Millard 1997). Such a perspective might also shed light on why when Joyce was beaten by Baba Msafiri, no one tried to help her, as well as the feeling of powerlessness expressed by Laura and Lalia when I asked them why they did not interfere.

Whyte's (2002) discussion and use of the concept 'civility' is illuminating with regard to such a relational perspective on the value of secrecy and its relationship with 'respect'. Civility implies politic behaviour: having practical wisdom in a certain cultural setting, as well as recognition of the conditionality of being implicated with other people: 'It is a matter of being careful about what others will think and what consequences that might have. Others concern you' (Whyte 2002:182). Incivility on the other hand is a matter of indifference, of not recognising the relevance of others and their opinions (Whyte 2002:188). I suggest that because they have 'illicit' sexual relationships 'in public, and thus do not abide by the acknowledged 'code of secrecy' (Haram 2005b), female bar and guesthouse workers as a group are ultimately accused of incivility by others in society. They are provoking and embarrassing to others because they do not hide what should be hidden and thus do not show care and respect neither for themselves nor for others. By living 'public' lives, and not hiding their immoral behaviour, they do not behave 'smoothly'; they do not exercise civility (Werbner 2002).

Places and practices of excessive desire: Moral pollution

I now turn to another aspect of my assertion that the negative stereotyping of the women is intimately linked to *where* they work and live their everyday lives. The focus in this and the following sections will be more directly on the women's workplace.

Bars and guesthouses are inscribed with multiple meanings. In the dominant moral discourse they are intimately linked with *uhuni* (immorality, shamelessness, non-respectability), and particularly immorality related to ill-managed sexuality (*umalaya*) (cf. also Hasu 1999b, Pietilä 1999b, Setel 1999).This is in particular true if the two are combined, as they often are. Accordingly it might seem as though female bar and guesthouse workers, regardless of their own behaviour, become 'morally polluted' (Haram 1999:215) by the mere fact that they spend so much time at these places.

However, I take the perspective that meanings are not inherent in places, but rather invoked through practices and the persons participating in these practices (Helle-Valle 1996, 2004, Talle 1999). The bars and guesthouses and the women working there become 'morally polluted' and negatively stereotyped through a complex, simultaneous process: the women's behaviour and the meanings attributed to this behaviour, is seen both by themselves and others to mutually influence and be influenced by the environment (*mazingira*) they work in, an environment ultimately created by certain practices.

In the remainder of this chapter, I shall outline and discuss the main practices associated with bars and guesthouses, and how they seem to be intimately linked to the largely negatively connoted moral notions of 'desire' (*tamaa*) and 'temptation' (*kisha wishi*, plural: *visha wishi*) (cf. Haram 1999, Hasu 1999b, Setel 1999, Moland 2002). As will become evident, the moral commentaries on these practices and their meanings are gendered, since the sexual and social behaviour of men and women in Moshi tend to be evaluated differently. It is reasonable to describe bars and guesthouses in Moshi town as predominantly male places (Helle-Valle 1996, Talle 1998). This might explain why men who work in bars and guesthouses are not

subjected to the same degree of 'negative stereotyping' (Davis 2000) as their female colleagues.

Bars and guesthouses are perceived as prime locations for excesses of 'desire' (*tamaa*) (Setel 1999). *Tamaa* is a concept closely related to and used in evaluations of a person's moral character (*tabia*). It refers to different kinds of desire: sexual, material and also the desire for a good or better life (*maisha mazuri*). It is an ambiguous quality, because a certain amount is seen as necessary for a healthy life, while uncontrolled or excessive *tamaa* is interpreted as signs of a bad moral character (*tabia mbaya*) (Setel 1995, 1999, Haram 1999, Hasu 1999b, Moland 2002). The practices associated with bars and guesthouses are, I contend, practices that denote uncontrolled *tamaa*: 'illicit' sexual behaviour in general, not just that of the women who work there, and excessive consumption of alcohol (cf. also Setel 1999).

Although bars and guesthouses are usually spoken about in the same breath, and the practices associated with these places are seen to be intimately linked and interdependent, there are some fine distinctions between the two. In the following I shall first discuss bars and guesthouses separately before I conclude the chapter by examining the 'environment of temptations' (*mazingira ya vishawishi*) the different activities are seen to create.

Displaced sexual relations

Guesthouses are known to be common meeting places for couples who for various reasons want their relationships kept secret, or who have nowhere else to meet because they live with relatives or share a room with friends. At Kipepeo rooms were rented to couples for an hour or two on a daily basis.[110] Guesthouses can also be long term hiding places for couples, or on rare occasions only the women, who are in relationships not approved of by their families.

[110] This is also a welcomed addition to the workers salary. The women do not normally include all the money the guests pay for such short term rentals in the account they deliver to Mzee Mboya in the evenings, although they are supposed to and risk being fired if they get caught.

During my months at Kipepeo, older men brought younger women for a shorter or longer period of time while they claimed to be looking for a suitable place for the two of them, or just the woman, to stay. In most cases the woman returned to her family or the man found proper accommodation, usually a room in a house with several rooms for rent (*nyumba za kupanga* or *geto*), after a couple of days or some weeks.[111]

The fact that '[g]uesthouses generally [are] considered fairly secure hiding places' (Hasu 1999b:331), might seem to contradict the arguments presented in the first sections of this chapter. However, it appears that although guests and customers may be perceived to conceal their relationships by meeting at guesthouses, this same logic does not apply to the bar and guesthouse workers precisely because they live their everyday lives in these surroundings. The reasoning seems to be that the more time you spend in this environment (*mazingira*), the more it impinges on your respectability (*heshima*). I was often told that with regard to their 'respect' women who only work some hours a day or solely during day-time, are much better off than those who actually live at their work place. They are thought to be less exposed to the temptations (*visha wishi*) of the bars and guesthouses: specifically the temptations of being with many men.

Women out of place

In Moshi town, as in many parts of the world, women are traditionally closely associated with the house and the home (Haram 1999, 2004, Hasu 1999a, Pietilä 1999b). This might explain why their presence and especially their living at a guesthouse is more likely to be morally questioned than the presence of men, who virtually never seem to face the same moral reproach. This is true with regard to the female guests as well as the female workers; it is in

[111] However, on two occasions a woman was left at the guesthouse by the man who had brought her there. In both these cases the workers let the women stay in the workers' room and shared their food with until the women figured out what to do. Both Esther and Lalia told me that this was how they themselves had ended up working for Mzee Mboya: they had been left at one of his guesthouses by a man, and had been encouraged by the workers to ask Mzee Mboya for a job.

particular considered 'bad' for an unaccompanied woman to stay at a guesthouse, while a woman in the company of her husband or her *bwana* do not generally meet similar accusations.

Mama Ali, a woman in her thirties, often stay at Kipepeo with her husband. I never hear anyone questioning this or her moral character. Mama Ali and her husband have their home in Arusha, but come to Moshi to do business. Her husband often travels to the coast, to buy fish that they sell to hotels in Arusha and Moshi. Whenever he goes travelling and Mama Ali still has work to do in Moshi, she moves to her sister's home who lived in the centre of town. She explains that her husband will not allow her to stay in a guesthouse by herself. He worries that she will be propositioned (*-tongozwa*) by men and that she might give in to temptations (*visha wishi*) and be unfaithful (*-tembea nje,* literally: to walk outside). Moreover, Mama Ali herself do not want to stay unaccompanied at a guesthouse, claiming 'it is not good for a woman with respect like me, to stay alone at such a place. People will think that I am a *malaya*.'

If a woman does stay by herself, it is very likely to be interpreted as an indication of sexual availability. Nelly, a woman in her mid-twenties, stays in a room at Kipepeo for the first couple of weeks of my fieldwork. She has already stayed there for nearly a month when I first meet her, and she is the only woman I meet who lives at a local guesthouse for such a long period of time. She used to be a businesswoman, travelling between Dar es Salaam and Moshi trading used clothes (*mitumba*). She became pregnant by a married man living in the neighbouring town Arusha and he is paying for a room at Kipepeo while looking for a proper place for her to stay. He comes to visit her every other day, but she often complains that a guesthouse is not a suitable place for her to stay and that she is propositioned by men all the time, even if she tells them that she is married: 'Nobody believes that I am 'someone's wife' (*mke wa mtu*), because they say that no man would let his wife stay by herself at such a place.' Nelly goes to bed early whenever her *bwana* is not around, and to my knowledge

declines any offers of beer that is not from a *bwana* of the workers.[112] Eventually she moves in with a female relative, having decided that she can not trust the intentions of a man who will let her stay this long at a guesthouse.

My position as a long term resident of the guesthouse was more ambiguous to guests and customers than would have been for a Tanzanian woman, due to the fact that I am a *mzungu*. Firstly, it is acknowledged that *wazungu* may have other moral values, ideals and practices than Tanzanians, and it was therefore somehow accepted that I might be unaware of the sexual availability I signalled by living at a guesthouse, and that it might not be my intention to signal such availability. The strong link between female sexuality and money discussed in chapter seven, and the fact that it is usually presumed that women, including the bars and guesthouse workers, are sexually 'loose' (*malaya*) because they have financial problems (*shida*) or a strong desire (*tamaa*) for money and things,[113] added to the ambiguity of my position because it is assumed that *wazungu* are rich. Hence, there should be no reason for me to engage in *umalaya*. Tellingly, Joyce's comment one time I told her of a male guest who had propositioned (*-tongoza*) me was: '[Laughing loudly] Why, who does he think you are, does he think you need money? (*Kwani, anakuonaje, anafikiri una shida ya hela*?)'

Even so, to be propositioned sexually by male guest and customers was a daily occurrence for me, as it was for the women working at Kipepeo and the few unaccompanied women who stayed there during my fieldwork. At the beginning of my stay, when the women were still unsure of who I was and the purpose of my stay, some came to me on behalf of guests.[114] After some weeks however, they stopped conveying these propositions to me as offers, but rather talked about them in the form of jokes or funny stories.[115] Guests and customers who

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[112] See below for an elaboration of the meaning of declining offers of beer.
[113] I discuss this in more detail below.
[114] When we got to know each other better, Mama Rose told me that a guest actually promised her 50,000 shillings if I agreed to have sex with him *sha sha*.
[115] How to decline men's offers and how to convey this to and discuss it with the women I did fieldwork among, posed a dilemma throughout my stay in Moshi. Firstly, I did not want to express disapproval of their involvement with men or of their ways of living, which I worried would be the case if I too strongly stated the frustration I often felt when being, in my eyes, quite aggressively approached by men. Also, this could be men

did not know me, nevertheless kept asking both the workers and me to get involved with them sexually, in relationships ranging from *sha sha* to 'real' marriage.

For the most part, my negative responses were accepted more or less without further ado, but an incident that took place quite a while into my fieldwork gave me a very personal experience of the precarious moral position of a 'single' woman staying at a guesthouse and what she actually signals to those in her surroundings, be it a woman who works there or a woman who only stays there for a short or as in my case, long period of time. The case also shows how the women have developed 'practical wisdom' of how to handle the many dilemmas they face at their workplace, but yet again, that situations might evolve out of their control.

It is early evening, and I am sitting by myself at the *baraza* in front of Kipepeo, when two unknown men approach me. They greet me in a polite manner. After having exchanged greetings, they offer me a beer ('*unakunywa bia gani,*' literally: 'what kind of beer do you drink').[116] As is my habit when I do not know the person who offers beer, or when none of the workers have vouched for him, I decline the offer. The men are very persistent, but also very courteous, and I decide to make an exception and agree to have a soda. The men ask what I do

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some of the women were or had been having a sexual relationship with, and I was therefore both worried about disrupting relationships and offending the women by talking negatively about these men or by being too harsh in my rejections. However, the women were incredibly sensitive to my difficulties and insecurity, and many of them took upon themselves both to teach me how to refuse men in a polite but effective manner as well as to do it for me in those situations where I clearly was at a loss. As the case below is an example of, they also protected me from and warned me about men known to have 'bad' behaviour and 'bad' moral character (*tabia mbaya*). For this I am forever grateful. As to the dilemma of being viewed as judgemental when declining propositions from men that many of the women readily accepted, this was something I had to relate to all through my fieldwork and to which there was no clear-cut answer or way of avoiding. However it seemed as if the women generally approved of the fact that I did, and after a while took for granted that I would, decline men's propositions. I believe that this is mostly due to the fact that I am a *mzungu*, and the economic implications of that as discussed above. I believe this is also why many women after a while found it rather amusing (*-a kuchekesha*) when men propositioned me.

[116] It is common to have one preferred brand of beer, and many of the women claimed to get ill if they tried to drink any other brand than their usual one (*-a siku zote*). People thus found it very strange that I, in particular in the beginning of my stay, wanted to try different brands of beer. After a while 'my' beer became the Tanzanian produced 'Kilimanjaro'.

here and I explain that I am a student trying to learn about the lives of women in Moshi, including that of women working in bars and guesthouses.

After a while I realize that the men are quite drunk, and I start feeling rather uncomfortable when one of them tells me how much he likes me and that he would like me to be his girlfriend ('*nimekupenda sana, nataka uwe rafiki yangu*'). I tell him that this will not be possible ('*haitawezakana*'), and when he keeps insisting I tell them goodbye and go to the courtyard where I find Joyce and Lalia busy fetching bathing water and collecting money for the rooms. The man has followed me to the courtyard and refuses to accept my answer. I do not go to my room, because I do not want him to know where I am staying, and decide to go to Kwa Mrema to 'hide.' Both Mama Jackson and Glory are in the courtyard, but I do not get the time to tell them about the man before I notice that he has followed me there as well. However, he does not approach me, but asks to talk to Mama Jackson. I cannot hear what they are talking about, but I can see that Mama Jackson gets annoyed. The man leaves shortly after.

Mama Jackson tells me that the man showed her two 5,000 shilling notes, and told her that she would get one of them and I the other if I agreed to sleep with him *sha sha*. She told him that this would not be possible and that he should leave. Mama Jackson and Glory tell me to be cautious around this man and that I must take care never to accept any offers of beer or even soda from him. When I tell them that I already had a soda paid by him, they tell me that this was a mistake (*kosa*), because he is a thief and a conman (*mwizi na mtapeli*). He is known for threatening people with a knife if they do not do as he wishes. Glory asks me not to tell him that they have warned him, because then he might get angry with them, but says that if I ever see him again I must remember not to accept any offers from him. I stay at Kwa Mrema for some hours, and when I return to Kipepeo the men are gone. When I tell Joyce the story, she tells me not to worry, if he returns she will look after me and tell the watchman and her co-workers to do the same.

The next evening I am sitting outside my room at Kipepeo, reading a novel, when the two men return. The one who behaved most aggressively the day before approaches me, and tells

me once more that he wants me to be his girlfriend. I repeat my answer and move away from him, but he keeps following me. He gets more and more loud, and tells me that he is very rich and that he will give me everything that I want. When I do not answer him, he shouts that I am a *malaya* and that he has heard countless stories about all the men I have been fucked (-*tombwa*) by.

I am at a loss for what to do, when Joyce, who is also sitting in the courtyard, comes to my assistance. John and some friends of his have come to visit, and they have all been drinking beer. Joyce tells the man to stop bothering (-*sumbua*) me. He replies that she should shut up (-*nyamaza*), and that she is a 'bad' *malaya* (*malaya mbovu*). Joyce is holding a bottle of beer in her hand and she lifts it saying that she will hit and cut (-*pasua*) him with it. He starts shouting at her and before I know it, the situation has developed into a fight between the two men and John and his friends. The most aggressive of the men tries to get hold of Joyce, but John stops him and yells at us both to get away. Joyce refuses at first and shouts that she is not afraid, but I manage to persuade her and we lock ourselves in the workers' room. Fortunately the fight ends rather quickly, after the watchman and a male guest intervene. The two men are ordered to leave the premises and everybody calms down.

However, John demands to know what started the fight and at first he does not trust my account, even though he acknowledges having heard how the man shouted at me. John is certain that Joyce has been unfaithful to him with the aggressive man, and that I was trying to protect her. He threatens to beat Joyce, but after some persuasion he accepts my version of the story.

I am quite shaken by the incident, and discuss it with both guests and the workers that same evening. They all tell me that the problem is that since I live at a guesthouse, those who do not know me think that I am a *malaya*. The watchman says: 'It is difficult for others to understand that you have your own agenda (*shughuli yako*), and that you are not here to find men.'

I never see the more aggressive of the two men again, but towards the end of my fieldwork his friend starts coming to the bar at Kipepeo. He apologizes on behalf of the other man, and says that they had both assumed I was 'easy' (using the English term) and was looking for money (*-tafuta pesa*), since I lived at a guesthouse.

A woman's presence at a local guesthouse in Moshi town, be it as a worker or as a guest, is thus readily morally questioned. Her moral position seems to be particularly precarious if she actually lives at the guesthouse for a short or long period of time, and in the case of female guests, if she is without male company. To outsiders she clearly signals sexual availability and is thought to be involved in *umalaya* or even *uchangudoa*. If a female guest stays at the guesthouse with a man, she is not subjected to the same level of disapproval although she might be thought to be involved in an 'illicit' relationship, which in principal is also morally reproachable. Female workers who live with their *bwana*, in what I have termed a pseudo- or a mimicked marriage only partly avoid accusations of involvement in *umalaya*. Even if they temporarily live with a man, they are still conceptualized as 'single' women staying at a guesthouse and consequently as 'out of place' and as sexually 'loose' (*malaya*).

Gendered meanings of bars and beer

The case above also testifies to the role alcohol plays in relationships between women and men in the bar setting. This was an important theme in the story of Joyce, especially the close association between offers of beer and the initiation of sexual relationships. In Moshi as in Namanga, 'beer offers, in fact, constitute the initial stages of a courting procedure' (Talle 1998:44, cf. also Pietilä 2002). Furthermore, consumption of beer is in particular seen to heighten sensations of *tamaa*: for sex in the case of men and for both sex and money in the case of women. The drinking of alcohol is thus understood to be a major force in the creation of 'an environment of temptations', and adds to the association of both bars and guesthouses with *uhuni* and *umalaya*.

In my discussion of the role of alcohol in Moshi town I thus take the position that '[d]rinking almost invariably [is] a *social* activity and, as such, it will always have a creative, meaningful side to it – it produces and reproduces meanings' (Helle-Valle 1996:260, original italics, cf. also Pietilä 2002). It is nevertheless important to keep in mind that alcohol is a material stimulant: 'alcohol is a reflexive and not simply a reflective substance' (Bryceson 2002:4). In what follows I will mainly focus on the consumption of the kind of alcohol sold and consumed at the bars, namely canned and bottled beer as well as the Tanzanian produced gin Konyagi.[117]

Bryceson notes that 'few societies can be expected to generate a uniformity of attitude regarding alcohol' (Bryceson 2002:4). This is most certainly the case in Moshi town, where attitudes towards alcohol are rather ambiguous; strong variations of opinions are found both between different groups of people, but the ambiguity is also evident on an individual level. A common statement is thus that 'alcohol has both positive and negative sides' (*pombe ina uzuri wake na ubaya wake*). In particular bottled beer (*bia*) is claimed to be good for your health (*afya*) because it 'builds the body' (*-jenga mwili*). To drink alcohol is also said to have other positive effects such as to calm down both a troubled mind and the body (*-tuliza mawazo na mwili*), to make you feel happy (*raha*) and to give you good sleep (*usingizi*). And, as previously discussed: Drinking bottled beer is a way of expressing modernity and financial means. Thus, to drink this kind of alcohol has many positive connotations and is not by itself considered morally problematic by most people. It is nevertheless a much more ambiguous activity for women than for men, particularly if it takes place outside the home, such as in a bar, given the 'cultural opposition of bars with home' (Pietilä 1999b:116).

[117] As previously mentioned there are also numerous *mbege* bars in Moshi town. My data do not permit me to elaborate on the meanings associated with the consumption of this kind of alcohol, but there seems to be several differences between the two due to the fact that *mbege* is a much cheaper beverage, but also because this alcohol is used in and associated with 'traditional' rituals such as marriage and burial ceremonies (cf. e.g. Hasu 1999b, Pietilä 2002). As to the matter of getting excessively drunk, which is explored in more detail below, which kinds of alcohol cause this seem to be of little significance.

Bar visits are an important leisure activity in Moshi town (cf. Helle-Valle 1996, Talle 1998). Helle-Valle (1996) claims that bars in Lethakeng in Botswana are predominantly male places and that women visiting a bar will put their reputation at risk. This coincides with Talle's (1998) findings from Namanga, and Hasu (1999a), Pietilä (1999b, 2002) and Setel (1999) argue similarly in their studies from Kilimanjaro. Setel also maintains that in Kilimanjaro, '[b]ars were places infrequently visited by couples and even more rarely by a married man and woman together' (Setel 1999:122). My own findings from Moshi town, although supporting the same tendency, are nevertheless not this clear-cut neither as regards the prevalence of women in bars nor the moral evaluation of these women.[118] Although the majority of the guests at the bars were men, there was also a significant minority of female customers, usually in the company of men. Furthermore, that women visit bars did not seem to be morally questionable by itself. The matter in question when evaluating the moral character (*tabia*) of those involved in such practices seems again to be *how* it is done more than the fact *that* it is done; *how* relates to *with whom*, *when* and *how much*.

It is usually frowned upon if a woman arrives at a bar without male company, especially in the evenings, but the decisive factors are issues like her clothes and her behaviour.[119] The following extract from a conversation I had with Rehema, sums up well the ambiguous position of a woman visiting a bar:

> For example, if a woman or some women come to this place [a bar] during day time, and they buy their own beer, just one, drink it quickly and leave, it is not seen as bad behaviour (*tabia mbaya*).

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[118] That my findings diverge slightly from other studies from Kilimanjaro might be explained by several factors. Firstly, my study is from Moshi town, while both Hasu and Pietilä mainly did their fieldwork in rural Kilimanjaro. Views on women and alcohol may differ between people living in towns and people living in the villages. Furthermore, I acknowledge that some of my informants might not be generally representative as regards the question of alcohol and morality since I talked to many of them in a bar setting. I did however also discuss the issue with numerous people in other settings, and I talked about this topic with men as well as with women. Finally, my fieldwork took place nearly a decade after those of Hasu and Pietilä, and more than ten years later than Setel's fieldwork. There is a chance that a slight change of attitude has taken place regarding this question in Kilimanjaro.

[119] In her study of market women in rural Kilimanjaro, Pietilä (2002) did on the contrary find that it is considered particularly inappropriate for a female trader to go to a bar during day time, especially a bar close to the market. A market woman should according to her findings first return home, and only later proceed to a bar (normally a *mbege* bar) near her home.

It often happens that market women in their *kanga* (traditional cloth) do that, just to relax (-*pumzika*). But, usually, a woman comes with her husband (*mume*). To come alone does not look good (*haipendezi*). And like these *machangudoa*, they come here in the evenings. When a woman comes by herself or sometimes also with her [female] friend, and they have put on make-up (-*jiremba*) and dressed up in tight trousers and singlet, you know that they are *machangudoa*. Especially if they just by a bottle of water or a soda, and drink it very slowly, then you know that they have come to look for men. They wait for men to buy them beer.

'Why would she want to get raped?'

Both men and women are expected to control their alcohol consumption. To get excessively drunk (*-lewa*), especially in public (*mbele ya watu*) is shameful (*aibu*). A woman's ability or willingness to control her intake of alcohol is seen to be closely linked to her ability to manage her sexuality with respect. This was brought home to me very clearly one Sunday afternoon when I returned to Kipepeo after having visited Mama Rose at Beauty Bar, and even more so in the discussions following the episode.

When I come to Ngorongoro Road I see a crowd of people on both sides of the road, close to Kipepeo. I hear loud and heated voices and they are clearly watching something taking place in the middle of the street. All I can see at first is a taxi. As I get closer I see Siya, one of the women said to be *machangudoa*, lying flat on the ground. Paulina, her friend, is trying to pull her by the arm to get her to stand up. As I get even closer it becomes evident that Siya is very drunk and that Paulina is trying to get her into the taxi. Both the women are wearing tight jeans and singlet and Siya's panties are visible above her trousers' band. I hear people saying things like 'just look at her, this is not respectable (*sio heshima*),' 'it is really shameful (*ni aibu jamani*)' and 'these women, they do not respect themselves (*hawajiheshimu*)'. None of the spectators, including the taxi driver, make any attempt to help Siya and Paulina, and I ask Paulina if she needs any assistance. She nods and seems extremely relieved when we together manage to get Siya into the taxi and they can leave.

Together with Esther, Joyce and some male guests who have all been watching the episode, I go to the courtyard in Kipepeo where a heated discussion of the incident takes place. Both Esther and Joyce say that it is very shameful (*aibu kubwa sana*) for a woman to get this

drunk. When I probe further into why it is so, they ask me if I did not see that her panties (*chupi*) showed, and what if she had worn a skirt then maybe even her private parts (*sehemu za siri*) would have shown. Encouraged and supported by the male guests Esther goes on to say:

> She humiliates (*-dhalilisha*) all women with such behaviour (*tabia*). […] You know, us women, we have a lot of respect (*heshima*) because we are the ones who give birth (*-zaa*). But that means that we also have to respect ourselves (*-jiheshimu*). When men see a woman like that, it is very bad for all women. And is even worse to do it in front of people, like that. If you hide yourself at home or even here [at Kipepeo] it is better. But to get drunk for a woman really shows a very bad moral character (*tabia mbaya sana*), especially at a place like this [a bar]. You might end up not knowing what you are doing. Don't you remember Lalia the other night, and the strange things (*vituko*) she did?

The episode Esther refers to took place some days before this incident. Lalia has received beer all day from a *bwana* whom she says she has known for years. Towards the end of the evening she is visibly drunk and amongst other things, asks her *bwana* loudly and directly to give her more beer and also money. Her co-workers tease her about her behaviour the next day and say that it is a good thing that he likes her so much. If not he could have gotten angry when she asked for money in front of people. Joyce also cautions her and say that if you get this drunk you risk being fucked (*-tombwa*) without a condom or even anally (*-firwa*).[120]

A drunken woman is hence thought to easily get involved in or be exposed to transgressive and shameful sex acts, including rape. Furthermore, it is often said that if such a thing happens, the woman has herself to blame and is the one who should feel ashamed (*-ona aibu*) (cf. also Haram 1999, Hasu 1999b). Mama Pendo puts it thus when we discuss the incident above and how people reacted to it:

> It is very shameful (*ni aibu kubwa sana*) for a woman to get that drunk. If she had not worn trousers you could have seen her private parts (*sehemu za siri*), she would have been naked (*uchi*).

[120] Anal intercourse is considered by the women to be the most transgressive and shameful of sex acts (cf. also Setel 1999), it is said to be contrary to nature (*kinyume cha maumbile*). When we discussed what kinds of requests they would refuse from both their *mabwana* and *mabuzi*, the issue of anal sex always came up. Several of the women also told stories of how they had returned money to the men and shouted for help from their co-workers when it turned out that a man wanted anal sex.

> And, she could have been raped (*-bakwa*). Why would she want to get raped? Tell me, why would she agree to get raped (*niambie, kwa nini akubali kubakwa*)?

Sex and offers of alcohol

I turn now to the close association between offers of alcohol and sex, in particular 'illicit' sex, in Moshi. Metaphoric connections between sex and eating have been documented in several studies from Kilimanjaro (Emanatian 1996, Hasu 1999a, Pietilä 2002), as well as in research from other parts of Africa (cf. e.g. Masquelier 1995, Weiss 1996). As mentioned in the story of Joyce, the women commonly use the expression 'to eat with' (*kula na*) when referring to being sexually involved with someone. In Kilimanjaro, and in particular among the Chagga, in addition to 'eating', 'images of drinking also serves as sexual metaphors' (Pietilä 2002:205, cf. also Emanatian 1996). I argue however that at least in the bars and guesthouses, the *practice* of a woman eating food and drinking beer paid by a man is also seen as an indication of a sexual relationship. Recall for example how Joyce did not dare to eat food ordered for her by another man in front of John, her *bwana* at the time, and moreover how she lied to her different *mabwana* about who had bought her alcohol when she was 'caught' drinking beer paid by someone else.

Furthermore, when a man offers a woman a beer in this setting, it is usually meant – and understood – as a sexual proposition, or at least as a way of initiating discussions of a sexual relationship. The exceptions are if the man is involved with a friend or colleague of the woman, he is then understood as a 'brother-in-law' (*shemeji*) and not as a potential sexual partner, or sometimes he is a long-term guest or regular customer with whom the women have developed a non-sexual friendship. Moreover, the women claim, some men just 'give you an offer' (*-kupa offa*) to be nice, perhaps because you have given him good service (*-hudumia vizuri*). It can thus be difficult to determine a man's purpose (*lengo*) when he offers a woman a beer. The women nevertheless usually interpret such an action as a sign of sexual interest.

Hence a woman must exercise caution in accepting offers of beer or even other beverages from men. To accept such an offer is easily understood as an agreement to enter into a sexual

relationship. The women often talk of how careful they are and must be with regard to what kind of men to accept alcohol from, and whom to refuse. And they often ask each other for advice.

Since her decision relates closely to whether or not to have sex with the man, a woman must rather quickly try to determine whether or not this is a man who can be trusted: Will he actually leave her money? Will he agree to use a condom? And, will he be violent or not? However, women often also claim that most men will not 'charge' (*-dai*), [i.e. sexually] you after just one beer, or even two, which gives them some time to judge the man's character (*-soma tabia*). Many women maintain that a man has no right to 'charge' you even if he has bought you several beers, because as they put it: 'It was he who gave me the offer, I did not ask him (*sikumwomba*).' However, they say, some men have a bad moral character (*tabia mbaya*), and will 'charge you' even after one beer only. If you refuse to have sex with him, you might end up having to pay for your own beer, and if he runs from the bill, also his.

The rule of thumb is therefore to refuse offers of beer from *wahuni* and accept them from 'men with respect' (*wanaume wenye heshima*). The two types of men are distinguished by their age (a man with respect is often said to be at least over thirty), by how they dress (*wahuni* are said to wear ragged clothes), but also in how they approach you: men with respect greet you properly and do not proposition you directly. The women nevertheless acknowledge that to solely trust these factors might be rather risky. It is therefore considered essential to be a good judge of character (*kuwa na uwezo wa kusoma tabia ya mtu*). In the above case, my judgement clearly failed me, as it frequently also did the female bar and guesthouse workers.

Where 'desires meet'

The practices, people and meanings associated with bars and guesthouses accordingly lead to an image of these places as 'an environment of temptations' (*mazingira ya visahawishi*). The women working there are seen to add heavily to such an image, mostly because they are

conceived of as being easily tempted to have sex with many men, but also because they themselves are seen to tempt men into engaging in *umalaya*. Mr. Mjema, the journalist, says this in my interview with him:

> The bars workers do not sell themselves. But, they create an environment of temptations, they create an environment for being propositioned (*wanajenga mazingira ya vishawishi, wanajenga mazingira ya kutongozwa*). For example, a barworker can ask a man for a beer. When she gets the beer she must move (*-sogea*) close to the man. Also, if she asks for a beer, the two of them both know how she will pay for the beer and the beers that follow.

Many of the women agree with such a portrayal of the place they work and how this environment and the practices associated with it in fact encourages *umalaya*. Beer is in particular seen to induce 'temptations.' Joyce often talked about how much better she liked working in her previous workplace before being transferred to Kipepeo, because there was no bar attached and thus fewer temptations. In my interview with her we discussed this in more detail and she tells me:

> At Happy Inn [her previous workplace] there is no alcohol (*pombe*). You know, alcohol, more than anything it has temptations (*unajua, pombe, sanasana inakuwa na vishawishi*). If you already have had a lot of alcohol and you are drunk, if a man propositions you, then you cannot refuse. Because that alcohol, it makes you, that is it tells you, to go with him. If you have not drunk alcohol, then you can say no. Because, if you have not drunk alcohol, there are no temptations. Alcohol has temptations.

The concept of 'temptation' (*kishawishi*) is furthermore intimately linked to the notion of 'desire' (*tamaa*).[121] The two are interrelated, or even mutually constitutive, as the practices associated with excessive *tamaa* is seen as main inducers of *vishawishi*, while 'an environment of temptations,' such as a bar or a guesthouse, heightens 'the sensations of desire' (Setel 1999:122). Importantly however, both *tamaa* and *kishawishi* are gendered concepts.

[121] Hasu (1999b) discusses these concepts as parts of a Christian moral discourse. During my fieldwork the terms were employed by Christians and Muslims alike. I detected no divergence in meaning between people of different religious denominations when it came to the content and use of the terms.

Tamaa is a kind of life force, which if properly directed and controlled can be productive and valuable. Uncontrolled or excessive *tamaa* is seen as an indication of bad moral character (*tabia mbaya*) (Haram 1999, Setel 1999). Although all forms of *tamaa* should be controlled, there are some forms that are more significant from a moral perspective than others:

> The quality of tamaa, as well as a person's ability to control it is gender specific and a woman should exercise more control and show more restraint than a man. […] The gender specificity of tamaa is above all reflected in the 'tamaa for sex'. Whereas male tamaa for sex is considered almost beyond control and is linked to a 'natural' desire for sex, female tamaa for sex, however, is thought to be caused by her (uncontrolled) tamaa for money (Haram 1999:84, cf. also Hasu 1999b).

In Moshi, it is acknowledged that women also have a strong and natural sexual desire. However, while the reason for male *umalaya* is said to be men's more or less innate desire for sex, female *umalaya* is usually explained by women's inability to curb their inborn *tamaa* for money and 'nice things' (cf. also Weiss 1996, Haram 1999, Hasu 1999b).

Women's natural desire for money, the fact that alcohol heightens sensations of both sexual and material desire, that the women's salary is known to be low, and the fact that bars and guesthouses are often visited by men with *tamaa* for sex, are all factors contributing to an image of the women as subjected to a level of 'temptation' which makes *umalaya* almost inevitable. This can be illustrated by the following conversation:

Baba Tabu, a watchman at one of the guesthouses I often visited, has invited me to his home. He is married and has three children. On our way to his house, we discuss his and the general view on women who work in bars and guesthouses.

> Baba Tabu: You know, many of the women who do this kind of work get tricked (*-danganywa*) by men into having sex with them.
> Turid: How do you mean, tricked?
> Baba Tabu: They get tricked by money (*wanadanganywa na hela*).[…]
> Turid: So what would you say if your wife wanted to do this kind of work?
> Baba Tabu: I would never agree to it. It would be better that she went hungry (*-shinda na njaa*), than for her to do this kind of work.
> Turid: Why?
> Baba Tabu: Such a place has too many temptations (*vishawishi)*, and women have too strong a desire (*tamaa*).
> Turid: What do you mean, *tamaa*?
> Baba Tabu: You know, *tamaa* for money (*hela*).

Turid: What about men, do they not have *tamaa*?
Baba Tabu: Yes, but they have *tamaa* for sex (*mapenzi*). So you see, in these places, 'desires meet' (*tamaa zinakutana*).

I would thus argue that women who work in bars and guesthouses in Moshi get 'morally polluted' (Haram 1999) by the practices taking place at and associated with their workplace, but also that they are negatively stereotyped because they are perceived to be unable and moreover unwilling to control their *tamaa* for money, due to the fact that they work in an 'environment of temptations'. In the eyes of others in society, this inevitably leads to numerous and concurrent sexual relationships; they are or will become *malaya*.

Concluding remarks

In these two chapters I have examined the dominant moral discourse regarding female bar and guesthouseworkers in Moshi, and thus explored different lines of arguments that can offer some explanation as to why they are said to have no respect. I have argued that such negative stereotyping is closely related to their perceived, immoral sexual behaviour. What is considered reproachable is however rarely that they get money or other material gains from men they have sex with, which is one of several reasons for why I find the concepts 'prostitute' and 'prostitution' unsuitable in this context. The problem is rather that they are believed to have multiple and concurrent sexual relationships, that they are *malaya*. However, *umalaya* is not an uncommon practice in Moshi, and other women engaging in similar relationships are not necessarily morally reproached, or at least not to the same extent. I have therefore suggested that the negative moral evaluation of women who work in bars and guesthouses seems to be less related to the fact that they have 'illicit' sexual relationships, and more to *how* they are seen to manage them, and that *how* in this case is intimately linked to *where*.

Firstly, because bars and guesthouses are public places, the women who work there are on a general level not considered to be capable of managing their 'illicit' sexual relationships in accordance with the 'code of secrecy': a moral prescription that despite strict norms regarding

premarital and extramarital sex in actual life 'enables people to manoeuvre a wide sexual network in a morally acceptable way' (Haram 2005b:58).

Secondly, bars and guesthouses are places associated with immorality (*uhuni*), and the gendered notions of excessive desire (*tamaa*) and temptations (*visha wishi*). Because they live their everyday lives in these environments, the women seem to get 'morally polluted' (Haram 1999). This is a result of a complex process where their behaviour and the interpretation of their behaviour are understood to both influence and get influenced by the practices associated with their workplace.

9. STRUGGLES FOR RESPECT

Female bar and guesthouse workers in Africa have been singled out as a 'core risk' or 'core transmitter' group of the HIV virus, and have been the object of a substantial number of studies in the era of AIDS. Such studies mainly focus on the women's sexual behaviour and awareness of protective measures, and hence, reproduce an image of these women as they are perceived and stereotyped by others in society.

I have in this thesis aimed to draw a more complex picture of this group of women and their 'lived-in worlds' (Wikan 1990), than such a research focus allows for by seeking to represent the women as the many-sided social persons they are and the multiple and often simultaneous concerns they have in their lives. As discussed in the two last chapters, the dominant moral discourse about these women nonetheless center on them as immoral sexual beings.

In her study from Kampala, Ogden discusses how women have responded to what she contends is a colonial legacy where sexual behaviour is the basis for judging their moral reputation. They have, she claims, renegotiated and manipulated the meanings of what produces respect more towards good neighbourly behaviour but also childbearing within locally sanctioned marriages (Ogden 1996).

I have in a similar vein suggested that women working in bars and guesthouses in Moshi actively and creatively engage with the moral devaluation of their persons, both in their everyday discussions, but perhaps most profoundly, in their 'ways of doing' (Virtanen 2003:12) or 'behavioural styles' (Broch-Due and Rudie 1993:38). The weight women attribute to 'behavioural styles' can be understood in relation to how there to people in Kilimanjaro is a close interrelationship between a person's conduct and his or her moral character (*tabia*).

In chapter three I discuss the women's self-presentations as 'proper' workers and how they when stressing how physically exhausting their work is allude to 'traditional' perceptions of

'proper' work in Tanzania, hence negotiating the moral character of their job and thus also themselves. In chapter four I analyse their relationship with their kin and home villages, and how they when going to the country simultaneously relate to kin obligations in terms of supporting their family financially as well as struggling to present themselves as modern, developed women, an image belonging to an *alternative* moral discourse, the development discourse. In chapter five and six I discuss the women's relationships with men, and I suggest that one could understand the way women 'mimic' the role of a 'proper' wife as being related to the 'respect' that accrues from being married in contemporary Moshi.

Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry (1989) operate with two different transactional orders; long-term transactions that are concerned with the reproduction of the social order and short-term transactions that are concerned with individualistic accumulation. The long-term transactions are associated with the central precepts of morality in a society, while the short-time transactions can be seen as morally neutral or not subject to moral evaluation as long as they do not threaten the reproduction of the social order.

Helle-Valle and Talle (2000) have argued for the usefulness of these analytical concepts for understanding how 'single' women in Letlhakeng in Botswana and the bar workers in Namanga seek to legitimise the materialily oriented usage of their sexuality. The women of Namanga frame their practices in an alternative moral discourse, the development discourse, while the women of Letlhakeng imitate traditional sexual mores. Both categories of women present an image of themselves as persons who contribute to the reproduction of the social order.

I argue that such a perspective also sheds light on female bar and guesthouse worker's struggle for respect. If managing to frame their morally questionable way of earning money as supporting the reproduction of the social order or at least resembling practices that supports such reproduction, their chance for success in 'respect-making' is higher than if they commit only to individualistic accumulations. This is most prominent in how they struggle to balance between their own 'progress' and achievement of goals in life, and meeting the kin obligations from home.

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