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Consenting to Servitude: A Case Study of Restaurant Workers in Gauteng

Atiyyah Loonat

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Abstract

Due to high levels of globalization and outsourcing of employment an important aspect emerges which is the concept of decent work. This concept is important in that the struggle for many companies to stay afloat under global competition requires the cutting of costs. The cost which is the most easy to manipulate is that of labour. Through global competitiveness companies often increase working hours, decrease wages and decrease benefits for employees. This has caused increased attention to the idea and concept of decent work. This leads to the problem of providing and assuring decent work on a global scale.

Decent work is an objective of the International Labour Organization (ILO) which aims to provide equitable employment to people of all spheres. This goal is wide and deals with nine indicators which are quantitative in nature. However these aspects do not deal with the subjective measures which pertain to employment. These subjective measures are as important as the quantitative measures. To better attain the goal of decent work this report argues that there is a need for the incorporation of these subjective measures when determining the level of decent employment. For the purposes of this research report the subjective measures are collectively termed job satisfaction. However while this combination of objective and subjective indicators better reflects working conditions, there is a need for more comprehensive concepts in understanding vulnerable work. In order to develop this deeper understanding of vulnerable work. This research report utilizes various literature in in the sociology of work .

The restaurant industry in Gauteng is used as the site for this research report as a means of illustrating the pitfalls to the narrowly defined concepts of decent work and job satisfaction. This industry is particularly interesting as it is very different from other sectors as it is marked by interactive service work that involves high levels of emotional labour. Tips play a large role in supplementing the workers income.

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workers consenting to servitude as they actively conforming to the enterprises interests. This is not merely done through the system of tipping but also through their performance of emotional labour which is often increased in order to play these ñgames ñwhich allow for higher tips. Consenting to servitude is not only the acceptance of exploitation but also the creation of a submissive and subservient work force.

The notion of consenting to servitude is what lacks in both concepts. Exploitation plays a large role in whether a job is deemed decent or not but it is largely ignored within both the concepts of decent work and job satisfaction. Instead it is necessary to go beyond these two concepts and draw on the body of social theory on the world of work such as Burawoy and Foucault, if one wants to explain the nature of work and workers responses in the hospitality industry in Gauteng.

This illustrates that every workplace is different and requires differing sets of indicators. The concepts of job satisfaction and decent work although incomplete on their own carry various advantages and cannot merely be dismissed.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of this research report is to delve into the experiences of employees within the service sector specifically those employed within the hospitality industry. Through an analysis of the work done by service employees within restaurants, the research aims to examine the usefulness of the concepts of decent work and of job satisfaction in the study of work. Therefore this research will look at whether these two concepts are in conflict with each other or whether they are complimentary.

To begin with however a brief look at the arguments for and against minimum labour standards is required. According to Brown (2001), labour rights activists argue that there is a need for universally accepted human rights regarding working conditions that would apply internationally. On the other hand opponents of internationally established labour standards argue that the regulation of labour practices is a domestic issue and should be treated as such (Brown, 2001). The problem that arises through the establishment of labour standards is that of capital flight (Brown, 2001). The importance for governments is that of ensuring foreign investment therefore internationally established labour standards hinder this effort (Brown, 2001). However establishing international labour standards is still on the agenda. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has established core labour standards which are aimed at decent work. A critique of the ILO labour standards, as asserted by Brown (2001), points to the unfairness of attempting to establish international labour standards in all countries irrespective of the degree of economic development and cultural norms. Another critique of internationally establishing labour standards, by developing countries, is that these standards are thinly veiled protectionist policies as low labour standards can be viewed as the third worldôs comparative advantage.

Decent work is an important concept developed by the ILO in 1999 to promote improved conditions of employment (Ghai, 2003). The goal of the ILO is the ñpromotion of opportunities

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ork and productive work, in conditions of freedom, n, 2000: 120). The reach of the ILOôs goal is vast as it includes all workers in every sector not just organized workers and wage workers but also incorporates unregulated workers, the self-employed and home-workers (Sen, 2000). In a contemporary context decent work can be seen as especially important as neoliberal globalization has intensified competition between companies. The drive for competitiveness has led to job losses and precarious work (Scholte, 2005). Through an aim to increase profits companies turn to the exploitation of labour be it through decreased wage, decreased benefits or even through outsourcing. These aspects are, it can be asserted, based on the neoliberal framework. The fact that companies turn to these mechanisms of controlling the companyôs expenses leads to a decent work deficit.

But as the ex- Director ï General of the ILO, Juan Somavia, argues the Decent Work Agenda encompasses both economic and social objectives: rights, social dialogue and social protection on the one hand, and employment and enterprise efficiency on the other (ILO, 2001: 18). For Somavia, it is not a question of choosing between job creation and decent work. ñMany argue that there are trade-offs between the quality and quantity of employment, and between social expenditure and investment, and that protective regulation undermines enterprise flexibility and productivity. But on the contrary, decent work may pay for itself through improved productivity. These relationships need to be examined in more detail in order to evaluate the true costs and benefits of decent work.ò (ILO, 2001; 17).

The concept of job satisfaction, on the other hand, deals with the subjective experience of work. According to Spector (1997), job satisfaction can be measured using specific indicators namely: appreciation and recognition, relationship with co-workers, personal growth, safety, job conditions, benefits, organizations policies and procedures, nature of the work and supervision. The focus within this research is on appreciation and recognition, relationship with co-workers, nature of the work and supervision. These indicators work as an operational definition for the concept of job satisfaction as, according to de Vaus (2001), it allows for the measurement of the concept. As such appreciation and recognition can be tied to the system of tipping while the

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he power dimensions which exist between the kitchen

Job satisfaction is usually defined as "a positive pleasant emotional state resulting from an employeeôs appraisal of his or her job" (Chu, Baker & Muurman, 2011: 4). Therefore the indicators used for the operational definition are strongly tied to the notions of the body as well as power as the concept of job satisfaction is of particular relevance to restaurants as it involves, unlike production, face-to-face interaction with people. Service work entails the use of emotional labour which is defined by Hochschild (1983: 5) as labour which ñrequires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind of othersò. The task of being friendly by the waitron is a form of emotional labour as the waitron is required to be friendly and constantly smiling. Hochschild (1983: 35) goes on to distinguish between surface acting (outward display of feeling) and deep acting where the employee ñdoes not try and be happy or sad but rather expresses spontaneously a real feeling that has been self inducedò.

The relationship between employer and employee in the service sector is not a simple two ï way interaction; in service work there is a third party, the customer, and it is this relationship that evokes emotional labour (Leidner, 1996). However the power relations present are far more complex then this three way relationship as an important factor is the kitchen staff. The kitchen staff play a mediating role as the performance of the kitchen staff impacts on the relationship between the waitrons and the customers. The form of control that management exercises over labour is different in the service sector than in production. This can be seen in the form of Foucauldian power whereby there exists surveillance. However in conjunction with high levels of surveillance there is a degree of consent as workers interests are aligned with those of management. The notion of consent works through the mechanism of tipping and allows a degree of autonomy as customers are treated as individuals. Front-line workers need a degree of discretion, or autonomy, and are more difficult to control directly (Taylor, 1999).

In contrast to job satisfaction, the ILO decent work indicators include firstly employment opportunities which deal with the potential for employment. Secondly is earnings which deal

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Ghai, 2003). Thirdly is decent working hours which deals lity and security at work which deals with contracts of employment, fifthly work and family life balance which deals with the amount of time one has to participate in social life. The sixth decent work indicator is equal opportunity and treatment which deals with fair and equal treatment irrespective of gender, race or ethnicity. The seventh indicator is that of safe work environment which deals with the notion of protective clothing received by employees as well as the physical risks to being employed. The eighth indicator of decent work is social protection which deals with benefits received by employees and, lastly, is social dialogue which deals with unionization and collective voice. These indicators will be used as an operational definition of decent work (de Vaus, 2001).

Background to the Sector

The hospitality industry is broken up into two distinct sectors, namely the accommodation sector which includes hotels, bed & breakfasts, caravan parks, camping sites, inns, game lodges and time sharing of apartments at resorts (NALEDI, 2001). The second sector is that of the food and beverage sector which includes restaurants, coffee shops, tearooms, fast food outlets as well as other catering services (NALEDI, 2001). Catering and accommodation are the two most lucrative areas of tourism (NALEDI, 2001).

The hospitality industry is comprised of very small, micro and medium sized enterprises (HSRC, 2005). These small businesses make up 90% of the enterprises within the sector. This has implications with regard to wages as the sectoral determination has two amounts, namely R2084-52 monthly for enterprises comprising of ten or less employees and R2323-87 monthly for enterprises comprising of more than ten employees. However it should be taken into account that waitrons earn tips in combination with a basic salary and therefore there exists a potential to earn more. These tips are used to gain power as well as used to enforce consent and control. The amount of people employed within the food and beverage industry at the end of June 2009 was 183 103 (Lehohlia, 2009). Of those employed the majority worked within restaurants and coffee shops namely 97 167 people or 52%, followed by fast food and take away outlets which employed 44 895 people or 24%, and lastly caterers and other catering services employed 44 041 people or 21% (Lehohlia, 2009).

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oncentration of Black employees within low skilled and low paying jobs while there is a prevalence of White employees within the higher paying and skilled work (HSRC, 2005). There is also a gendered dimension to the labour force as can be seen from the fact that there is a higher prevalence of females within the sector (HSRC, 2005). According to Lehohlia (2009) 63% of the work force is women. This brings to the fore the issue of the body as form of control and through which power can be granted. There can also be seen within the industry a high level of immigrants (HSRC, 2005). Immigration is high within the industry as one restaurant owner mentions that immigrants have a ñdesperate mentalityò which enables them to work under any condition irrespective of the level of decency of the work (Interview, 29/03/2012).

The focus of this research includes but goes beyond the decent work indicators and those of job satisfaction to examine the concepts of control, the body, surveillance, tipping and consent. Following this chapter is a chapter based on literature which delves into the available information on service work as well as the emergent themes. Thereafter to be discussed is the methodology utilized for the purpose of this research which has been three-fold, namely surveys, in-depth interviews and an ethnographic study. In this way there is a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Chapter four portrays the results of the survey which deals with the ILO indicators of decent work. This chapter deals with each of the indicators of decent work in order to establish the level of decency of employment within the industry. Thereafter, in chapter five, the qualitative data is depicted through the emergent themes as well as the indicators of job satisfaction. The conclusion then follows in chapter six which focuses on the manufacturing of consent. I argue in this conclusion that workers in these restaurants consent to their own exploitation.

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Chapter 2

Working in the service sector: Emerging themes.

This survey of the literature on working in the service industry provides an insight into the themes that emerge from the literature. There are seven different themes to be discussed. The first theme is decent work which focuses on the ILO indicators of decent work. The second theme is job satisfaction, the third theme is employment within the service sector which deals with those factors which make the service industry unique. The fourth theme is Foucault and power, the fifth theme is consent and coercion, the sixth theme focuses on emotional labour as a stressor to the worker and the last theme is the body.

Decent Work

Decent work consists of 4 components; employment opportunities, social protection, workers rights and social dialogue (Ghai, 2003). However decent work does not only apply to employees within the formal economy but also to those who have unregulated wages, those that are self employed and also home-workers(.Ghai :2003) Decent work also involves other elements such as adequate opportunities for work, remuneration, safety at work, social security and income security, discrimination at work and social dialogue (Ghai, 2003). According to Webster (2011) decent work has been critiqued through the neoliberal perspective as an unnecessary intervention with regard to the market. However it is due to neoliberal policies which has given rise to the need for decent work programs as liberalization has increased the divide between the wealthy and the poor (Webster, 2011). The concept of decent work is critiqued by neoliberals as through the implementation of decent work, the price of labour increases which then leads to a ñrigid labour marketò (Webster, 2011). This causes a global shift of workers as companies relocate to regions of cheap labour or in the case of uncompetitive companies shut down completely (Brown, 2001). Although labour standards increase labour costs it also increases productivity

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001) certain labour standards have positive economic
on and an argument for core labour standards.

Job Satisfaction

The argument for job satisfaction lies in the fact that people deserve to be treated in a manner in which they are respected and treated fairly, this is a humanitarian perspective (Spector, 1997). On the other hand the utilitarian perspective suggests that job satisfaction can lead to positive effects on the company's functioning (Spector, 1997). Job satisfaction is based on emotions as well as the attitudes held by employees thus it is a psychological assessment (Spector, 1997).

There are various different definitions for job satisfaction. Firstly job satisfaction is defined as a positive and pleasant emotional state that results from an employeeôs appraisal of his/her job (Chu, Baker & Muurman, 2011). Secondly, "job satisfaction can be considered as a global feeling about the job or as the related constellation of attitudes about various aspects or facets about the job" (Spector, 1997: 2). The specific facets brought forward by Spector (1997) are; appreciation and recognition, relationship with co-workers, personal growth, safety, job conditions, benefits, organizations policies and procedures, nature of the work and supervision. Thirdly, "job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are a function of the perceived relationship between what ones job is and what one perceives it as offering or entailing" (Locke, 1969:316). According to this definition then job satisfaction is viewed as the subjective perception of the employee towards his or her job. This depends, Locke argues, on ones values (Locke, 1969). Values are determined by a person through mechanisms of socialization or personal experiences or other learnt experiences (Locke, 1969).

It can be asserted that the lack of job satisfaction may lead to negative outcomes for work such as an increase in absenteeism, labour turnover, lateness and workplace grievances (Saar & Judge, 2004). Behaviors such as staying absent or quitting are known as withdrawal behaviors (Spector, 1997). Absence can reduce organizational effectiveness and efficiency by increasing the cost of labour (Spector, 1997). Others, **(**Saar & Judge (2004: 389)**)** assert that a "happy worker is a

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osition is a contested there is research indicating a
atisfaction and productivity (Saar & Judge, 2004).

Employment within the Service Sector

There has been an increase in the growth of the service sector. Within this sector there are two types of workers, namely highly skilled workers and those involved in routine work (Kenny, 2005). A key difference between the service sector and the manufacturing industry is that workers within the service sector are harder to routinise due to the nature of their work.

There has been an influx of migrants into the hospitality industry as the jobs are low skilled and are easy to come by (Joppe, 2012). The problem that arises from migrant and immigrant workers is that they are more vulnerable to exploitation. They often suffer from poor working and living conditions, lower pay and precarious work (Joppe, 2012). However the negative impacts experienced by the migrants have positive effects on local businesses as they have cheap labour which they can exploit.

Those workers that work directly with people such as customer care providers, call centre employees and waitrons are called front-line workers (Omar, 2005). According to Omar (2005), front-line workers are an important and fundamental element of work as it is associated with customer interaction. Within the factors that affect the work of a person employed in the service industry are management, personal performance and the impact of the customer (Omar, 2005). In this way the customer becomes a third protagonist within the complex relationships that exists within the work place.

The commodity which is sold through service work is the relationship between the customer and the employee (Omar, 2005). Through the involvement of the customer in the service work setting there is a degree of unpredictability (Omar, 2005). The customer brings into the relationship a set of his/her own beliefs, ideas and expectations of what is to be received within the relationship , and the employee brings to the relationship his/her own biases. Thus management is confronted

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lirect and monitor the interactions between employees and
e relationships (Omar, 2005).

Omar (2005) asserts that high quality customer service can only be achieved by encouraging worker spontaneity, responsiveness and autonomy in interactions with the customers. It is bureaucratic means that hinders autonomy as can be seen in the instance of the assembly line where workers have no or little autonomy and what is to be done is merely dictated to them. However management cannot merely remove all forms of control and so they employ new means of control through technology such as time cards and video surveillance. This point will be further reiterated under the theme of power.

A central feature of employment within the hospitality industry is that of tipping however it is not present in all countries. For instance in many countries, such as Australia, customers are encouraged not to tip as this could lead to decreased wages. In Europe tipping too is discouraged however the customer is charged a service fee of 12% (Azar, 2004). The service fee is then paid to the employees. However this is not in the best interest of the business as all service whether good or bad receives a tip and thus employees may not offer the best possible service (Azar, 2004). The reasons that a service fee is charged to all customers rather than relying on the customer to tip is that customers may be opportunistic and will not tip, payment is less linked to the notion of performance which reflects the attitudes and values of European society and tipping results in the creation of different classes which is linked to status and power (Azar, 2012). Service charges can be seen as an alternative to tipping.

Tips are a major source of income for many especially those employed within the hospitality industry. Tipping is not legally required however it is a persistent theme which emerges within the context of the hospitality industry (Medler- Liraz, 2012). Tips provide a means through which monitoring becomes obsolete and is a form of motivation for employees to provide better services (Azar, 2004). Therefore tipping becomes a benefit for businesses as it decreases their costs of monitoring as well as ensuring the customer gets better service. Tips serve the role of motivating the employees therefore ensuring that they work harder. Tips also have a benefit for the employees in that they are able to earn a larger sum of money.

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courage customers to give a lower tip or no tip at all to e service and in this way the role of the monitoring is taken care of by the customer (Azar, 2004). Therefore better services warrant a higher tip. This however is not always the case as other factors influence tipping such as waitrons introducing themselves by name, by reflecting customers behaviour, through writing 'Thank You' on checks, by smiling at the customers, through brief physical contact and attentiveness to the customerôs needs (Jacob & Guegen, 2012). In this way then it can be seen that other factors influence the likelihood that tips will be received. Therefore the likelihood that tips are received is due to the overall interaction between the customer and the employee.

The interaction between the customer and the employee is based largely on the mood and emotion of the customer which impacts on the prevalence and size of the tip received by employees (Jacob & Guegen, 2012). Factors which impact on the size of the tip paid to service providers depends on the size of the bill, customer sensitivity towards the cost of tipping, familiarity of the service provider by the customer and food quality (Medler- Liraz, 2012).

With regard to the hospitality industry, research done on a restaurant in Stellenbosch found a degree of hierarchy amongst waitrons based on gender and the amount of time spent working at the restaurant (Crous, 2010). Therefore seniority meant more authority with regard to the other employees. What then becomes interesting is that there is no means for improving ones rank within the restaurant, as only when a senior waitron leaves can another take his or her place (Crous, 2010). This created conflict between the waitrons as the senior waitrons chose customers based on a preconceived notion as to whether or not they were likely to receive a large tip (Crous, 2010). Tips play a large role with regard to the career of a waitron as it is a substantial amount which adds to their income. Therefore tips can become a mechanism through which competition is fostered among waitrons as the female waitrons often shied away from potential conflict with their co-workers (Crous, 2010). This brings in the notion of gender. The hospitality industry has a minor difference between female and male staff such that females make up 63% of the total staff. With this in mind however there would be a high degree of male and female interaction within the industry

Foucault and Power

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anopticon (Foucault, 1977). The panopticon allows a rrences around them (Foucault, 1977). The notion of the panopticon is linked to the idea of surveillance. This could also relate to the everyday lives of people in general whereby everyone is to a degree watched by everyone else. The first mechanism of disciplinary power for Foucault is surveillance or hierarchical observation, this implies that through observation people are coerced into behaving in a particular way out of fear of being watched (Foucault, 1977). The idea of always being watched whether in the context of a prison or everyday life creates homogenous tendencies among people as they actively make an effort to conform. With the use of surveillance, each person is given a degree of power over others whereby one regulates the behaviour of those around them (Foucault, 1977). The other mechanisms of disciplinary power merely add to domination and power over people in their daily lives as well as prisoners. An instance of this power which every person wields is in a business where the manager has power over the sales clerks or those that work under the manager as he is able to make sure that they work effectively. However if the manager does not behave in an appropriate manner their will be complaints by the staff or they will take action against his behaviour, thus the staff working below that of management has power over management as well. Due to the fact that people are constantly surveilled and under the power of those around them people behave in a manner which is compliant to norms and thus the power is internalized (Foucault, 1977). This internalization of power allows people to be self regulated. Thus power is decentralized and present in every sphere of life be it economic, social or political.

The second mechanism of disciplinary power is normalizing judgment. This illustrates the notion of being judged by others based on norms and values of society and these norms and values are enforced throughout life (Foucault, 1977). For instance if a person does not conform to societal norms or expectations, such a person is then stigmatized by society. In this way it can be asserted that society holds power over the individual as well. Due to fear of stigmatization a person is forced to conform and thus the power of society is internalized. Within this mechanism, the process of conditioning is utilized whereby appropriate behaviour is rewarded and inappropriate behaviour is punished (Foucault, 1977).

The third mechanism of disciplinary power is that of examination, which involves the structure

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This mechanism combines the above mentioned and normalizing judgment (Foucault, 1977). The use of written documents such as birth certificates, driverôs license etc. serves as a means of surveillance through examination. Thus each person is treated as a case as all documentations pertaining to a person is collected and this enables a sense of surveillance over the person.

The three central elements in the service sector workplace being the management, the employee and the customer are always in a state of power struggle as the management holds power over the employee as they are of a higher ranking within the work place, the employee has a degree of power over management as they can report poorly on the performance of the management and the customer has power over the employee as they can report negatively on the relationship created between the employee and themselves within the context of the work place.

However the idea of a Foucauldian notion of power within the service sector has been critiqued as not present within the framework of the service sector as the architecture of each work place differs and the notion of the panopticon does not fit in (Omar, 2005). However power can be seen as internalized by employees within this sector as they behave in an appropriate way as to acquire higher tips or positive encounters with the customers. This could be seen as a means of positive reinforcement or it can also be viewed as normalizing judgment in terms of Foucaultôs theory. An example of control and power can be seen in the context of the McDonalds food outlets whereby management has extended control over the employees by standardizing the parts of the job which are interactive in nature and thus making them a routine and also by ensuring that the non-interactive parts of the job are ñidiot-proofò through automation (Omar, 2005). This then leads to the idea of technological enhancements which lead to greater control over employees. Another instance of greater control would be video surveillance.

Consent and Coercion

The focus of any business, as asserted by Thompson & McHugh (1990), is that of profit maximization and not of control over employees. Managers and those higher up within an organization have a dual relationship with labour in that labour is a commodity and also the co-operation of labour is required for efficient production (Thompson & McHugh, 1990). However

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ve a similar interest in that the outcomes of the enterprise hompson & McHugh, 1990).

The task of management is to act as a leader through monitoring, handling disturbance, maintaining workflows as well as controlling and directing subordinates (Thompson & McHugh, 1990). Therefore surveillance is the task of management. Management utilizes power in three different ways namely; reward, whereby workers are rewarded through money or promotions, secondly coercive, whereby workers fear punishment such as humiliation or a loss of overtime bonuses and lastly legitimacy, whereby the power is made acceptable to the workers (Thompson & McHugh, 1990). According to Thompson and McHugh (1990), these three mechanisms can be used jointly or singularly. Therefore the idea of power and surveillance coexists with the notion of consent.

Through the act of tipping by customers, workers interests are aligned with those of the business as better quality service which is prized within the industry is good for business as well as ensuring tips for the workers. The tips also serve as a reward for good service and in this way workers are conditioned into providing good service. Through tips workers consent to their own exploitation in that they aim to achieve higher tips by working harder which is the aim of the enterprise with regard to a productive and efficient work force. Further to the point of gaining consent, Burawoy (1979) asserts that consent is attained through playing ógamesô. These games are played with the purpose of increasing productivity and getting the job done (Burawoy, 1979). Burawoy (1979: 51) calls this the game of ñmaking outò and claims ñthe art of making out is to manipulate those relationships with the purpose of advancing as quickly as possible from one stage to anotherò. These relationships mentioned by Burawoy (1979) are the relationships which emerge within the workspace. According to Burawoy (1979: 81) ñthe very activity of playing the game generates consent with respect to its rulesò. Therefore one cannot participate in a game while questioning its rules. The game does not reflect harmony within the workplace rather it creates harmony (Burawoy, 1979).

Emotional Labour and Employment Stress

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hild, refers to the fact that specific feelings have to be induced or suppressed in order to display behaviour for the recipient of service to feel safe and cared for, with the implication that this may be at the cost of an individual expressing true feelings (Pienaar & Willemse, 2008). This is a central feature with regard to service work as the employee often portrays a sense of self which is always polite and happy even in the face of a difficult and impolite client. The behaviour of service employees thus have to be self monitored so as to come across in a favourable way. However emotional labour is strongly tired to high levels of perceived stress, distress and low levels of job satisfaction in the service industry (Pienaar & Willemse, 2008). Hospitality employees are particularly vulnerable to the demands of emotional labour as their jobs often require maintaining a friendly and positive disposition even in situations which would elicit negative emotional reactions (Chu, Baker & Muurmann, 2011). The performance of emotional labour is dependent on the characteristics of the individual as well as situational factors such as job autonomy (Chu, Baker & Muurmann, 2011).

Emotional labour is often seen as a stressor for employees but it does not always translate as stress as emotional labour can be seen as satisfying, enjoyable and rewarding as it could lead to financial rewards, job security, self-efficacy and self-esteem (Pienaar & Willemse, 2008). For the employee the customer too is a source of stress and sometimes a source of pleasure as well. Other typical stressors include long and unsociable working hours, low and unpredictable wage, lack of stability in the employment relationship and also shift work (Pienaar & Willemse, 2008). These stressors can lead to emotional exhaustion as well as burnout. Emotional exhaustion refers to a wearing out and over extension of the feeling of employees at work (Chu, Baker & Muurmann, 2011). Burnout on the other hand consists of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and lack of accomplishment (Pienaar & Willemse, 2008).

Rachel Sherman (2007) in her book entitled *Class Acts: Service and Inequality in Luxury Hotels* confronts the perceptions of workers employed within luxury hotels. These hotels, according to Sherman (2007), are based on a caring relationship which customers expect when visiting these establishments. In order for workers to gain autonomy within an establishment which emphasizes care these workers participate in games (Sherman, 2007). Workers who participate in

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eir jobs; they play ñgamesò (Sherman, 2007: 110). play games in order to pass their time and gain a sense of control over their work. These are strategy games based on finishing a task quickly and maximizing tips (Sherman, 2007). Tips can be seen as a reward for emotional labour as tipping is not mandatory but a customer may tip if they feel the service was adequate. Therefore increased emotional labour results in a better chance that the worker may receive a tip. Tipped workers play ñmoney gamesôwhich is aimed at increasing the tips they receive (Sherman, 2007: 112). However these money games are not only about income maximization; they are also aimed at engaging the mind of the worker so that work takes on an interesting and unique aspect from day to day (Sherman, 2007).

The Body

The body serves as an important theme with regard to the service industry as there is an element of the presentation of the body. The body is the basis through which interactions between people are established as we are in an age where the importance of aesthetics and the body has increased. According to Shilling (2003), in the current day and age we are able to exert more power over the body but at the same time there emerges questions around what bodies are and how to control them. With regard to the service sector the body is controlled by the wants and needs of the customer. The worker has to ensure that their body is conforming to societal expectations of a worker within the service sector. For instance waitrons have to wear a uniform and they have to be presentable and neat on a daily basis. Shilling (2003) asserts that the social body is constrained by the way that the physical body is perceived and experienced. Thus the body of a worker within the service sector should in some way be appealing to the customer if the worker aims to get a higher tip. It can thus be said that the personality of the waitron is important in attaining a higher tip but the appearance of the person may affect opinions and judgments made by the customer.

Within the service sector the body is the product and object of exchange and thus individual bodies are central (McDowell, 2009). The physical attributes of the body then become a part of the exchange and thus the physical shape, adornment and workers emotions matter within the

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e personal attributes of the worker come to the fore within nteractive. The exchange between client and worker then is not merely based on cash but also on the relationship that is formed between the client and the worker. In this way service work emphasizes the role of the interaction which within the hospitality industry is most of the time a face to face interaction. People behave differently with people who look different and thus the idea of a neat and pleasant waitron would be a positive portrayal of the business and thus the customer may leave the establishment with a positive review. On the other hand if the service was poor and the waitron was untidy or even perhaps dirty then the customer would behave in a different way and also may leave with a negative opinion of the establishment. The exchange is also emotional due to the fact that tastes and attitudes of both client and worker are an important aspect of what is going on within the work place. Within the service sector men and women enter the work place with their own set of behaviours, beliefs, opinions and desires and it is these aspects which influence the way they go about earning their living (McDowell, 2009). Thus the social exchanges with the customers affect and are affected by the attributes and identities of the workers (McDowell, 2009).

Power is exerted on workers through their bodies. Therefore the body is seen as a site of control. According to Lan (2001), there are four differing forms of control over the body namely the exploited body, the disciplined body, the mirroring body and the communicating body. The exploited body is that body which participates in manual labour and offers physical strength for their work (Lan, 2001). The disciplined body participates in serving a customer through bodily gestures such as smiling (Lan, 2001). This form of control portrays a sense of routinization through acts which are expected of workers such as greeting the customer and thanking customers for their patronage (Lan, 2001). The body is disciplined through customers and supervisors however Lan (2001) notes that this is not oppressive or centralized rather it is anonymous and dispersed. The mirroring body embodies images to display the product for instance dress and uniforms (Lan, 2001). Lastly the communicating body which interacts with customers with emotion and feeling (Lan, 2001). In this way the control is not only exerted over the physical body but the internal body as well (Lan, 2001). Therefore the communicating body participates in emotional labour.

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in the literature on working in the service industry I turn

ndings.

Chapter 3
Research Methodology

The methodology chosen to answer this question is three fold, namely a survey, in-depth interviews and ethnography. The use of these these three techniques are due to the sensitive nature of the variables which are to be measured, namely job satisfaction and decent work. These three methods will be used in combination to attain an insight into job satisfaction among employees within the hospitality industry. Job satisfaction is a subjective measure and as such, indicators will be used to measure the phenomenon as well as ethnographic observation. On the other hand, decent work according to the International Labour Organization (ILO) indicators can be measured using objective indicators. Indicators will be used to measure the various aspects as concepts such as decent work and job satisfaction have to be unpacked in order to attain data pertaining to these broad concepts.

With regard to job satisfaction, appreciation and recognition refers to acclaim received by employees for doing a task (Spector, 1997). The other important variables are:

- Relationships with co-workers, which refer to the type of relationship those employees have for instance friendly or purely work based relationship.
- Personal growth is linked to the idea of training and skills learnt through the work that employees do.
- Supervision which refers to the aspect of being watched or supervised when at work.
- Nature of the work which is concerned about the specific elements that are present in a job.

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can be likened to some of the indicators of decent work.
n as through benefits such as health care or pension funds.
. Job conditions can be linked to work and personal life balance as well as hours worked as these are conditions of employment. The indicator of organizations policies and procedures can be seen as related to social protection in that, company policies may give the employee a discounted rate on goods or services and in this way can be linked to social protection. The job satisfaction indicators of pay and safety are directly linked to the notions of wages and salaries and safety.

With regard to decent work the nine key indicators are:

- Employment opportunities refer to the availability of potential employment.
- Wages and salaries refer to the average earnings in selected occupations.
- Decent working hours refers to excessive working hours.
- Job security deals with the notion of whether or not there is a contract of employment as well as the idea of informal or temporary work.
- Work and family life balance which refers to the employment of people that have young children or the lack of time available due to long working hours to spend with family.
- Equal treatment refers to the notion of equal treatment to job opportunities along gender and racial lines.
- Safe work environment which has to do with occupational injury rate and the supply of protective gear for work.
- Social protection which deals with benefits such as social security or health care and lastly.
- Social dialogue which refers to unionization of employees or the voice that employees have to make their interests known (Webster, 2011: 167).

The decent work indicators were measured through a structured questionnaire implemented amongst 1050 respondents in the hospitality industry. . Decent work is measured across a continuum between 0 and 1 as such 0 denotes the lowest standards of work and 1 the highest working standards. Using this method of analysis requires quantitative measures and as such decent work was measured through the use of surveys. I have participated in this side of the research through being part of the research team based in SWOP (Society,

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CASE (Community Agency for Social Enquiry) who were
ent of Economic Development to examine vulnerable work in Gauteng. Through the use of the survey, data will be obtained pertaining to decent work. This questionnaire deals with the nine indicators of decent work which were asked over the course of the survey. The respondents of the survey were waitrons, chefs, kitchen staff, bartenders within restaurants in Gauteng as well as staff from within hotels such as cleaning staff and maintenance staff. The survey findings were then compared to the qualitative material obtained through the in-depth interviews and ethnography. The sample for the quantitative interviews was drawn up through the use of the yellow pages as there is no mandatory institution to which restaurants and hotels belong. Therefore the information regarding the exact number of restaurants and hotels in Gauteng does not exist. As per the yellow pages there are 362 hotels, including guest lodges, bed and breakfasts, and inns, and 1362 restaurants and 252 coffee shops. The use of coffee shops within this survey is due to the fact that employees within coffee shops work under the same conditions as those in restaurants with regard to serving meals. The number of hotels within the sample are 162 whereby 4 employees were interviewed per site therefore 600 employees were interviewed. The number of restaurants in the sample were 140 and 3 employees per site were interviewed giving a total of 390 employees. The number of coffee shops included in the sample were 35 and 2 employees per site were interviewed which gives a total of 60 employees.

The in-depth interviews and the ethnography serve to delve into the qualitative aspects of work job satisfaction and decent work .For the purposes of this research, 26 in-depth interviews were conducted. The duration of each interview was approximately an hour long. Interviews were conducted among waitrons, chefs, dishwashers and bartenders from different restaurants around Johannesburg. The interviews were conducted at a time when the participant was not working either on the day off or during lunch. The interviews were conducted at a public venue such as a restaurant or coffee shop. It is only through the process of interviews will adequate data be attained on the internal experiences of employees (Weiss, 1995).

The sampling procedure used to obtain relevant participants for the research was snowball sampling. Snowball sampling can be defined as a sampling method through which "the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants"

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d is particularly useful when trying to access a population & Waldorf, 1981: 147). This method was useful in trying to access employees within the hospitality industry that work as kitchen staff. A central task of the researcher is to find respondents to initiate the snowball sample (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Thus the ethnography served as the basis for creating relationships with participants through which the snowball sample was initiated.

The variables of appreciation and recognition, relationships with co-workers and personal growth are internal experiences of the employee which can only be gathered through in-depth interviews. However through the use of ethnography this information can be obtained but there is a combination of the methodologies for the purposes of validating and triangulating the data obtained. Since the interviews were informal although following a plan of items to be discussed then the task of the researcher was to direct the conversation in a direction which would yield valuable results for the research (Weiss, 1995).

The third method used for the purposes of answering the research question is ethnography. Ethnography can be divided into three stages namely data gathering, data analysis and data presentation (Adler & Adler, 2003). According to Adler & Adler (2003) the strength of the data obtained through ethnography is dependent on the relationships that are produced with the people that are studied. Therefore for the purposes of the ethnography, the researcher obtained a job position as a waitron at an Indian restaurant at a mall in the northern suburbs. In this way a relationship of trust was formed between the researcher and the research participants. This relationship of trust is vital for the depth and value of the data gathered (Adler & Adler, 2003). According to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995), it is vital that a relationship be forged with participants as this allows for a degree of inclusion with regard to activities taking place within the context. By obtaining a job as a waitron it would allow the researcher to deepen her understanding of the working conditions and the nature of the work itself and also brings the researcher into close proximity with the research participants. Getting as close as possible to the research participants is an important aspect in current thinking with regard to ethnography (Adler & Adler, 2003). The ethnography took place over two months as there were time constraints with regard to the completion of this research project. This is a limitation of doing ethnography for

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ns in a diary which I wrote up immediately after each

With regard to the job position that was taken up by the researcher, it should be noted that employees were told about the researchers presence within the enterprise as covertly doing the research may have caused undue stress to the participants, as the researcher being of Indian origin the employees may associate the researcher with the management which is from India. In addition the researcher may be seen as a threat to jobs of the employees. Also not being fully honest with the employees could be seen as unethical. However this is contested as some argue that the researcher has no obligation to disclose their identity as such and by disclosing ones identity as a researcher may alter the relationship between the researcher and those being studied (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). The ethnographic research was conducted at an up-market restaurant situated in Johannesburg. The restaurant has been in operation for two years. This establishment was set up to coincide with the anticipated influx of international visitors due to the Fifa World Cup in 2010. It is an Indian restaurant and as such specializes in Indian cuisine. This particular establishment is different from other Indian restaurants as it serves meals from the differing regions within India. For instance food originating in the South of India is often prepared using coconut milk and is less spicy as compared to the food originating in North India.

Restaurants are divided into distinct sections namely the front of house and the back of house. The front of house is that area where the customers are seated and served. The back of house is the kitchen. The front of house staff includes waitrons, bartenders and baristas. These staff are able to wander to either area as they often go to the kitchen to get the meals which they serve however the back of house staff are forbidden to enter the front of house during their shift. There are often special entrances for the staff so customers do not have to see the back of house staff. This is strongly tied to the appearance of workers as the back of house staff do not portray the specific ambience of the restaurant.

I turn now to chapter 4 and 5 where the findings of the study are discussed.

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Chapter 4

Measuring Decent Work

In this chapter I use the nine indicators identified by the ILO to measure decent work. The findings of the survey are reproduced below.

Indicator 1: Employment opportunities

Table 1 below shows that half of the employees agreed that it was difficult to get a job at hotels, restaurants and coffee shops in Gauteng. Employees at coffee shops were undecided as equal proportions agreed and disagreed with the statement.

Table 1. It is difficult to get a job as a hotel/restaurant/coffee shop worker in Gauteng

	Hotel	Restaurant	Coffee shop	Total
Agree	52%	50%	46%	51%
Unsure	6%	8%	7%	7%
Disagree	42%	42%	46%	42%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
	498	393	56	947

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urveyed agreed that it was easier to get a job at hotels, nstruction. Hotel workers (35%) were more likely than restaurant (26%) and coffee shop (25%) workers to disagree with the statement.

Table 2. It is easier to get a job as a hotel/restaurant/coffee shop worker than a job in construction

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shops	Total
Agree	49%	53%	57%	51%
Unsure	16%	21%	18%	18%
Disagree	35%	26%	25%	31%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	56	947

There were higher levels of agreement compared to previous statements, especially amongst coffee shop and restaurant workers, with the statement that it was easier to get a job as a hotel/restaurant or coffee shop worker than to start oneôs own business as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. It is easier to get a job as a hotel/restaurant/coffee shop worker than start your own business

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Agree	54%	61%	71%	58%
Unsure	14%	10%	11%	12%
Disagree	32%	28%	18%	30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	56	947

Indicator 2: Security and Stability at Work

Interviewees were asked what, if any, procedure was followed if employers wanted to dismiss workers. Table 4 shows that for the most part employees, especially those in the hotel sector,

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procedure for dismissal. Employees at coffee shops were employers did not follow a set procedure for dismissal.

The majority of those interviewed in the survey said that companies have a set procedure for dismissal but because of the liberal use of warnings, dismissal is relatively easy. This is illustrated in the interview with Lorraine where she asserts: ñThey have to first give us three warnings before they can fire us. But they give us warnings for everything. Everything wrong we do we must sign for itò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

Table 4. Procedure for dismissal

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shops	Total
Verbal or written warning	76%	64%	71%	71%
They must consult with union	2%	2%	0%	2%
No set procedure	11%	23%	16%	16%
Donôt know	10%	11%	11%	11%
Other	1%	1%	2%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	55	946

Table 5 shows that approximately one in every eight (14%) employees in the hospitality sector worked without a contract of employment. However, this was the case for approximately one in every four (23%) restaurant employees. Employees who worked in hotels (83%) were more likely than those employed in restaurants (48%) and coffee shops (59%) to have a written contract as the basis of their employment. Conversely, employees in restaurants (28%) and coffee shops (25%) to a larger extent than those in hotels (10%) had verbal agreements. There were no noteworthy gender differences in terms of possession of contracts.

Employees who were conducting housekeeping duties (81%) were more likely than kitchen staff (other than chef/cook) (58%), waitrons (65%), and chefs (71%) to have written contracts.

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Table 5. Contract of employment

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Yes-written contract	83%	48%	59%	67%
Yes-verbal contract	10%	28%	25%	19%
No	7%	23%	16%	14%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Employees at coffee shops (15%) were more likely than those employed in hotels (9%) and restaurants (9%) to work on a casual basis. Hotel employees (87%) were more likely than those employed in coffee shops (62%) and restaurants (75%) to hold permanent contracts. Seven out of 12 employees, who selected the category ôotherô, did not know the nature of their contracts.

Table 6. Shows that restaurant workers (50%) more so than hotel (44%) and coffee shop (45%) workers feared losing their jobs in the near future. Coffee shop employees (52%) felt more secure about their jobs than restaurant (39%) and hotel workers (45%).

Table 6. I fear I will lose this job in the next 12 months

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Agree	44%	50%	45%	47%
Unsure	10%	11%	4%	10%
Disagree	45%	39%	52%	43%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	56	947

Table 7 shows that employees were undecided about the prospects of their being promoted in the near future since similar proportions agreed (41%) and disagreed (43%) with the statement.

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istic than hotel and restaurant employees about the t from higher levels of disagreement with the statement.

Although many workers employed in the sector see prospects of being promoted, the promotion itself may be difficult to come by. As Mbali mentions: ñWe do apply for promotion, [but] they donôt use us in here. They take people from outside to come and be our supervisors and our managers. If you go and ask why, they say we shortlist our managersò (Interview, 21/10/2012). Another participant, Benjamin, remarked: ñThere is nowhere to go from here, this job cannot be our futureò (Interview, 05/09/2012).

Table 7. I am likely to be promoted in the next 12 months

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Agree	42%	40%	38%	41%
Unsure	19%	14%	9%	16%
Disagree	40%	46%	54%	43%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	392	56	946

Indicator 3. Earnings and Training

Table 8 shows that employees at hotel, restaurants and coffee shops earned a mean amount of R3659 excluding overtime pay and tips. The minimum recorded value for all three types of establishments was 0, all 12 of them waitrons. This is due to the fact that they were not earning a basic salary but only tips. Eight of the 12 waitrons reported that they received no basic wage but instead relied on tips.

Employees at coffee shops (R2449) earned on average less than employees at restaurants (R3768) and hotels (R3708). In terms of gender, males earned more (mean=R4286; median=R2800) than females (mean=R3144; median=R2500).

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luding overtime pay and tips

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	3659	2500	0	21021
Hotel	3708	2900	0	30800
Restaurants	3768	2300	0	21021
Coffee shops	2449	2400	0	8233

The sectoral determination (SD) for the hospitality sector specifies a minimum wage of R2084,52 for those working in establishments with less than 10 employees, and R2323,87 for those in larger establishments. Comparing reported earnings with these minimal reveals that 40% of restaurant employees and 36% of coffee shop employees had take-home pay below the minimum specified for small establishments, while 27% of hotel employees had take-home pay below the minimum specified for larger establishments. The minima are stipulated for pay before deductions, and some of the workers with take-home pay below the minimum might have pay deducted before exceeding the minimum. Nevertheless, given that tax is likely to be minimal at these rates of pay and most workers reported that they were not registered for Unemployment Insurance nor covered by pension and other funds, the percentages reported here are likely to be more or less accurate.

The mean amount earned by kitchen cleaning staff, excluding overtime and tips, was less than that earned by housekeeping staff that also performed cleaning duties as shown in Table 9. Chefs and waitrons tended to earn more than other types of workers, excluding overtime and tips.

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excluding overtime and tips by type of worker

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	3659	2500	0	21021
Chef/cook	4413	3500	1000	30800
Kitchen staff (other than chef/cook)	2596	2300	640	33000
Waiter/waitress	4166	2445	0	21021
Housekeeping	3381	2600	750	12000
Other	2907	2500	1400	7000

Table 10 shows a slight improvement from R3659 (Table 26) to R3874 (Table 27) when overtime pay is included. Consistent with the previous finding, employees at coffee shops continued to earn less than employees at hotels and restaurants even when overtime pay is included. Females earned less than males even after including overtime pay. The mean amount earned by the former was R3091 (median=R2500), and the mean amount earned by the latter was R4824 (median=R3000) including overtime.

Table 10. Usual take-home pay (from employer) including overtime

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	3874	2700	0	21021
Hotel	3971	3100	0	35000
Restaurants	3924	2500	0	21021
Coffee shops	2641	2500	0	9967

The majority of interviewees (62%) did not earn money in tips from customers on a monthly basis, hence the medians mostly came to 0 as shown in Table 11. Hotel employees earned much less than other employees through tips. Restaurant employees earned more in tips than employees at coffee shops.

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tips monthly

			Min	Max
All	501	0	0	10000
Hotel	195	0	0	9000
Restaurants	868	0	0	10000
Coffee shops	656	150	0	5000

Table 12 shows that waitrons earned more than other types of workers in terms of tips on a monthly basis. Chefs and housekeeping staff were least likely than kitchen staff to earn money through tips.

Table 12. Amount earned in tips monthly by type of worker

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	501	0	0	10000
Chef/cook	43	0	0	1000
Kitchen staff	126	0	0	4000
Waitrons	1528	600	0	10000
Housekeeping	44	0	0	900

Approximately a third of interviewees (31%), with the proportion slightly larger for employees at coffee shops (39%), had not received a wage increase during the 12 months prior to the study. Employees at coffee shops were more likely than other employees to say that they had worked less than 12 months at the establishment and this question was therefore not directly relevant for them. More than half of hotel employees (57%) had received a wage increase during the 12 months prior to the study.

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ved in past 12 months

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shops	Total
Yes	57%	44%	34%	50%
No	29%	33%	39%	31%
Not applicable-worked less than 12 months	14%	24%	27%	19%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	56	947

Table 14 shows that a larger proportion of chefs/cooks (64%) than other types of workers had received a wage increase in the 12 months preceding the study. Waitrons were more likely than other types of workers to say that they had not received a wage increase. Close on one in every three kitchen staff (29%) had worked for less than 12 months and were hence not eligible for wage increases.

Table 14. Wage increase received in past 12 months by type of worker

	Chef/cook	Kitchen staff (cleaning)	Waiter or waitress	Housekeeping	Total
Yes	64%	47%	38%	57%	50%
No	26%	24%	43%	24%	31%
Not applicable	10%	29%	19%	19%	19%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total	253	243	275	141	947

More than half of employees (59%) said their earnings remained the same and did not fluctuate at all from week to week or month to month. A total of 50 employees, close to half of them waitrons at hotels (24), said their earnings changed a lot.

Table 15 shows that half of employees interviewed (50%) had not attended work-related training since they started working at the establishment. Hotel employees were more likely than those at restaurants and coffee shops to have attended training. For employees who had previously

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ery ten (88%) said the employer paid for the training. paid for the training. Two employees who indicated responses classified under ôotherô noted that the training did not involve any costs i.e. it was free. Fourteen employees at hotels who previously attended training indicated the duration of the training as one to two years. No other workers reported training that lasted as long as this. A total of 67 employees, of whom approximately half (35) were based at restaurants, reported that the training lasted between one and three months. A total of 179 employees, of whom the majority (123) were working at hotels, specified that the training lasted between one and five days. A total of 105 employees, more than half (60) at hotels, noted that the training lasted between one and five hours.

Table 15. Most recent work-related training

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shops	Total
In last 12 months	45%	27%	38%	37%
In last 5 years	7%	8%	7%	7%
More than 5 years ago	4%	7%	0%	5%
Never	44%	58%	55%	50%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	56	947

A larger proportion of kitchen staff (64%) than waitrons (42%), housekeeping staff (45%) and chefs/cooks (49%) had never received work-related training. Waitrons were more likely than other types of workers to have received training recently i.e. in the 12 months that preceded the study, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Most recent work related training by type of worker

	Chef/cook	Kitchen staff (cleaning)	Waiter or waitress	Housekeeping	Total
In last 12 months	34%	29%	45%	43%	37%
In last 5 years	9%	3%	8%	8%	7%
More than 5 years ago	8%	4%	4%	4%	5%

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		64%	42%	45%	50%
		100%	100%	100%	100%
	253	243	275	141	947

Employees who worked at hotels were more likely than restaurant and coffee shop workers to say that they had acquired skills during training that they could use in another industry as shown in Table 17. Employees who attended training generally said that they acquired skills related to customer care (including communication), cooking and catering, occupational health and safety including handling of chemicals, housekeeping/cleaning, hygiene and personal grooming, fine dining, business and financial management.

Many of the 50% (Table 15) of employees who had participated in training said that the training focused on service work and providing the customer with quality service.

Table 17. Skills acquired in training useful in another industry

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Yes	72%	57%	56%	66%
No	28%	43%	44%	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	272	167	25	464

Indicator 4: Working hours

In terms of working hours, Table 18 shows that employees interviewed in the hospitality sector worked a mean number of 49.3 hours per week. There were not large differences in the number of hours worked per week by type of worker. However, chefs and waitrons worked slightly longer hours (mean 50 hours) than housekeeping and kitchen staff (mean 49 hours). Employees at restaurants worked slightly more hours than employees at hotels and coffee shops. However the fact that the median for restaurant workers was lower than the mean suggests clustering at the lower values, with a few larger values pulling up the mean. Despite the generally long hours reported, just over half (54%) of employees interviewed said they did not work overtime.

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's (median=0) overtime in a week, however those
nedian=0) worked fewer overtime hours per week.

With regard to working hours, although many employees work overtime there is a degree of flexibility with regard to work. This is portrayed by the comment made by Thando who states: ñWhen I started studying I wanted to work somewhere where there are flexible hours so I have enough time for my studiesò (Interview, 17/09/2012).On the other hand employees are also put under pressure by working long hours. As one participant, Ravi, a head chef reveals: ñBecause I am alone, there isn't another chef so I'm responsible. I can't take a break, I can't take lunch. I have to work a full dayò (Interview, 30/09/2012).

Close on one in every four employees (23%) said that they were allowed to refuse to work overtime. A small number of employees (43) did not know if they were allowed to refuse overtime. Although refusal to work overtime is possible many employees felt forced into it.

For example, Cynthia said: ñThey say to us now you are doing overtime Iôm not going to pay. So we donôt want to do overtime, because they say if you are doing overtime you are doing it for yourselfò (21/10/2012). Another respondent, Katherine, said ñSometimes they take our days off to come here and work, they tell us this is our overtime, then they don't want to talk about itò (Interview, 21/10/2012). Only one in every 12 employees (8%) had previously refused to work overtime.

Table 18. Hours worked in a week, excluding overtime

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	49.3	48	7	99
Hotel	48.1	48	9	99
Restaurants	51.1	48	7	99
Coffee shop	47.5	48	7	80

Indicator 5: Work and Family Life Balance

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amount of time spent on domestic chores such as child care per week. Employees spent on average 557 minutes or 9 hours on housework per week as shown in Table 19. The median was much lower at 420 minutes or 7 hours. Employees at hotels spent on average more time on housework than those at coffee shops and restaurants.

Table 19. Time spent on housework (minutes)

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	557	420	0	4200
Hotel	640	420	0	3000
Restaurants	470	360	0	4200
Coffee shops	425	300	0	1680

Analysis by gender, Table 20, as expected shows that female employees spent more time on housework than males. The average time spent on housework amounted to 10 hours for females (median 8 hours), and 8 hours for males (median 6 hours).

Table 20. Time spent on housework by gender (minutes)

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	557	420	0	4200
Male	487	360	0	4200
Female	616	480	0	2880

Employees spent less time on child care than housework. Half (50%) of the workers did not spend any time on child care, as opposed to a small proportion (9%) who indicated this in respect of housework. This resulted in clustering at lower values hence the smaller medians compared to the means as shown in Table 21. Employees spent on average 430 minutes or 7 hours on child care per week. Hotel employees spent on average more time on child care per week than other employees.

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care per week (minutes)

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	430	10	0	4320
Hotel	493	90	0	4320
Restaurants	351	0	0	3240
Coffee shops	406	60	0	4320

As expected (Table 22) females spent on average more time on child care per week than males. The average time spent on child care per week was 525 minutes or 9 hours for females, and 317 minutes or 5 hours for males.

Table 22. Time spent on child care per week by gender (minutes)

	Mean	Median	Min	Max
All	430	10	0	4320
Male	317	0	0	3360
Female	525	240	0	4320

Coffee shop employees (66%) were more likely than restaurant (43%) and hotel employees (53%) to agree that they had sufficient time to spend with their family as shown in Table 23. Restaurant employees disagreed to a larger extent with the statement than coffee shop and hotel employees.

Table 23. I get enough time to spend with my family

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Agree	53%	43%	66%	49%
Unsure	2%	1%	2%	1%
Disagree	45%	57%	32%	49%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

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With long and atypical working hours, employees within the hospitality industry have limited time to take care of their children as other chores at home take up a lot of their time. This constrained time has a negative impact on employeesô family life. As Patience mentions: ñWhen you leave the baby he's asleep and when you come home he's asleep againò (Interview, 30/09/2012). Another respondent, Itumaleng, states: ñBecause I work on weekends when everybody's at home and I don't get time to spend time with my familyò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

Indicator 6: Equal Treatment

With regard to leave, Table 24 shows that hotel employees were somewhat more knowledgeable regarding maternity leave benefits as one in every four (25%) specified ódonôt knowô as opposed to over one in every three of those who worked in restaurants (37%) and coffee shops (38%) respectively. Close on half of female employees (45%) said they did not know if female workers would be given maternity leave. A few employees (19) knew that female workers were given maternity leave, but were unable to specify if the leave was paid or unpaid. A total of 83 employees, more than half of whom were employed at restaurants (48), noted that female workers were not provided with maternity leave. Hotel employees (35%) were more likely than those at coffee shops (20%) and restaurants (25%) to indicate that female workers received maternity leave with their full wage paid during the leave.

Employees, especially those at coffee shops, had even lower levels of knowledge regarding paternity than maternity leave. Just over four in every ten (44%) did not know if male workers could access leave when their partner gave birth. One in every three males (31%) did not have knowledge regarding paternity leave benefits. Hotel employees (26%) were more likely than those at coffee shops (11%) to say that male employees were provided paid paternity leave indicating somewhat higher levels of knowledge regarding benefits amongst hotel than coffee shop employees.

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ìen are allowed maternity leave, pregnant employees ìed differently as compared to other employees. As Cynthia said: ñWhen we are pregnant they donôt even give us uniforms. They move us to the bar and out of the smoking sections. When we say we want paid maternity leave they say to us that we must ask the labour (broker)ò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

Table 24. Permission to take maternity leave

	Hotel	Restaurant	Coffee shop	Total
YES ï with full wage	35%	25%	20%	30%
YES ï with part of the wage paid by employer	25%	11%	15%	19%
YES ï with no payment	9%	12%	16%	11%
No	6%	12%	9%	9%
Not applicable ï no female workers	0%	3%	2%	1%
Donôt know	25%	37%	38%	30%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	486	387	55	928

The majority of employees (87%) agreed that employers were treating women and men equally as shown in Table 25. Employees who disagreed noted that:

- Men were mistreated i.e. they were expected to do heavy duties and to work more hours than women (26 interviewees from the survey noted this);
- Employers were intimidated by men and hence found it easier to mistreat or bully women (13 interviewees); and
- Men earned more money than women (10 interviewees)

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nen and men equally

			Coffee shops	Total
Agree	87%	89%	82%	87%
Unsure	4%	2%	2%	3%
Disagree	8%	7%	7%	7%
Not applicable	2%	3%	9%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	56	947

The majority of workers (84%), especially restaurant workers, agreed that their employers treated South Africans and non-South Africans equally as shown in Table 26. However, of those who disagreed with the statement, twenty interviewees said non-South Africans were treated better than South Africans because they were more educated and therefore occupied higher-level positions and earned better salaries. Sixteen interviewees were of the opposite view and said that South Africans were treated better than non-South Africans because the latter were expected to work longer hours and to perform heavy duties for less pay, while the former were given permanent positions.

Table 26. My employer treats South Africans and non-South Africans equally

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Agree	80%	89%	84%	84%
Unsure	4%	4%	0%	4%
Disagree	6%	5%	7%	6%
Not applicable	9%	2%	9%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The majority of employees, especially those who worked at coffee shops, agreed that their employers treated workers of different races equally as shown in Table 27. Hotel employees tended to disagree with the statement more than those employed at coffee shops and restaurants.

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te employees were given preferential treatment in

y reported that white workers:

- were often promoted and occupied managerial positions;
- were sent for training more often than workers of other races;
- worked shorter hours than other races but earned more; and
- were allowed to make mistakes without having to face negative consequences

A total of 23 interviewees felt that other races i.e. whites, Indians and coloureds received better treatment than black workers. They said that the latter worked in lowly positions and earned less.

Table 27. My employer treats workers of different races equally

	Hotel	Restaurants	Coffee shop	Total
Agree	65%	65%	75%	65%
Unsure	6%	3%	0%	4%
Disagree	20%	12%	9%	16%
Not applicable	10%	20%	16%	15%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	393	56	947

Indicator 7: Safe Work Environment

Table 28 shows that the majority of employees (77%), even more so for those who worked at coffee shops, felt safe at work. Restaurant employees to an extent felt less safe than coffee shop and hotel employees.

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			ffee shops	Total
Agree	78%	75%	88%	77%
Unsure	6%	5%	2%	5%
Disagree	16%	21%	11%	18%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Employees were asked if they had been injured at work in the 12 months prior to the study. A total of 73 employees had been injured. Close on half (30) of employees who were injured said they were paid their wage or salary during absenteeism from work as a result of the injury. Almost the same number (27 employees) noted that although they were absent from work for a few days, they were not paid their wage or salary.

Employees were asked if they had suffered a work-related health problem that resulted in absenteeism from work. More work-related health problems than injuries were reported. Thus one in every three workers (30%) reported having suffered from a health problem as opposed to 8% who sustained an injury in the 12 months prior to the study. Employees at coffee shops (20%) were less likely to report work-related illness than those at hotels (34%). Approximately seven in every ten (71%) employees were paid by the employer when they were absent from work due to illness. Hotel employees (81%) were more likely than those at restaurants (56%) to receive their wage or salary during the period that they were absent from work due to illness.

About one in every four employees (25%) had not received any protective clothing or equipment at work as shown in Table 29. Hotel employees were more likely than workers at restaurants and coffee shops to have received protective clothing or equipment.

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ment received

	otel	Restaurant	Coffee shop	Total
Yes	76%	68%	66%	72%
No	22%	29%	29%	25%
Not applicable	2%	2%	5%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	498	392	56	946

Over four in every ten employees (44%) noted that they had received a full uniform consisting of three or four clothing items as shown in the first category of Table 30. Just over one in every three (32%) employees received two items at most. Examples were gloves and masks, apron and shirt, gloves and boots, shirt and pants/dress, etc. One in every six employees (17%) received one clothing item only, for example gloves or boots only.

Table 30. Nature of protective clothing or equipment

	N	%
Uniform i.e. three to four items-apron-hat-dress-pants-jacket-gloves-boots-jersey-shirt	297	44%
Two items only	218	32%
One item only	117	17%
Fire extinguishers	12	2%
Other	37	5%
Total	681	100%

Protective clothing is not required for many employees working within the hospitality industry. The exception being kitchen staff that are equipped with gloves and aprons. However employees are required to dress in a uniform which comes at a cost to the worker. As Mbali mentions: ñWe donôt have to pay for our own uniforms but we have to send it to the company to be washed and they take it from our salaryò (Interview, 21/10/2012). Another respondent, Benjamin, states: ñWe donôt pay for our first pair but we canôt use only one pair. We have to wear it every day so we are forced to buy itò (Interview, 5/09/2012).

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More than half of all employees received paid annual leave (62%), paid sick leave (61%) and an annual bonus (58%) as shown in Table 31. However, employees were unlikely to receive housing subsidies (2%) and medical aid (9%). Employees at hotels were more likely than others to receive most of the benefits listed in Table 48. Employees at coffee shops were less likely than those at hotels and restaurants to receive benefits. A larger proportion of employees at restaurants (35%) than at coffee shops (14%) and hotels (27%) received transport allowances.

Benefits offered within the hospitality industry are different for each job. It can be seen that chefs, being more skilled receive more benefits than those categories of workers wh0 are involved with customers. This is illustrated in the comments of, Ravi, a head chef who states: ñI have a company car to get to work every dayò (Interview, 30/09/2012). The benefits offered to those employed within the hospitality industry are not merely cash benefits such as those illustrated in Table 31. Employees also receive benefits in kind as one respondent, Patience, makes mention: ñWe get two meals every day, breakfast and supper. Because we have breakfast so late only at 10 or 11 we donôt get lunch but we get supper at nightò (Interview, 30/09/2012). On the other hand, some are denied benefits, such as Lorraine, a waitress: ñWe asked for benefits but the company says itõs not on the agendaò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

Table 31. Benefits received by hospitality workers

	All	Hotels	Restaurants	Coffee shops
Annual bonus	58%	67%	51%	34%
Medical aid	9%	11%	6%	4%
Pension fund	30%	46%	13%	9%
Funeral benefits	19%	23%	16%	4%
Pain annual leave	62%	76%	47%	43%
Paid sick leave	61%	76%	45%	48%
Housing subsidy	2%	3%	2%	0%
Transport	29%	27%	35%	14%

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			100%	100%
N	947	498	393	56

Chefs and housekeeping staff were more likely than waitrons and kitchen staff to access an annual bonus, medical aid, and paid sick leave as shown in Table 32. However, kitchen staff fared better than waitrons on several of the benefits including annual bonus, paid annual and sick leave, and transport allowance. Chefs were more likely than other workers to receive a transport allowance.

Table 32. Benefits received by type of worker

	All	Chefs/cook	Kitchen staff (cleaning)	Waitrons	Housekeeping	Other
Annual bonus	58%	70%	56%	44%	69%	63%
Medical aid	9%	11%	6%	8%	10%	3%
Pension fund	30%	34%	26%	25%	44%	17%
Funeral benefits	19%	23%	16%	16%	23%	11%
Pain annual leave	62%	74%	61%	51%	68%	57%
Paid sick leave	61%	73%	57%	49%	74%	51%
Housing subsidy	2%	2%	3%	2%	2%	0%
Transport allowance	29%	40%	32%	27%	16%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	947	253	243	275	141	35

Table 33 shows that just over one in every five employees (22%) noted that their employers did not deduct any money from their wage or salary as contribution to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and a further 5% did not know whether deductions were made. UIF deductions were less common for restaurant workers (40%) than for workers in the two other types of

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ly than other workers to report that their employers did

Table 33. Deductions for UIF

	Hotel	Restaurant	Coffee shops	Total
Yes	88%	54%	62%	73%
No	8%	40%	27%	22%
Donôt know	4%	6%	11%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	497	393	55	945

Indicator 9: Social Dialogue

Only one in every seven employees (14%) interviewed were members of trade unions. An even smaller proportion of employees (7%) were members of other types of organizations or institutions that protected their interests at work. Employees at hotels were more likely than others to be members of trade unions and worker rights organizations. Workers referred mainly to Scorpion Legal Protection, Legal Wise and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU) as organizations that protected their interests at work.

Unionization levels within the hospitality industry are low and this is due to a variety of reasons. One participant, James, remarked: ñSome bosses donôt like unionsò (Interview, 17/09/2012). Another respondent, Benjamin, states: ñI didnôt join the union. This is not a real job, it is just to help me live nowò (Interview, 05/09/2012). In light of these responses there are others that have joined the union. Dipalesa is one such individual who is a union member and her reason was that ñThis Company is not fair. So many things are going to happen so SACCAWU is going to stand for meò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

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Chapter 5

Analyzing the Experience of Service Work

This chapter covers the aspects of work within the hospitality industry that does not fall under the ILOs concept of Decent Work. These are emergent themes as well as aspects of Job Satisfaction. Three themes emerged through the qualitative component of the study; the way in which the body is manipulated through interactive service work, the constraints imposed by the customer and the kitchen staff on the autonomy of the waitron, and the consent that waitrons give to their exploitation through tipping. These concepts aid in the understanding of the experience of employment within the hospitality industry, particularly those involved in service work. As can be seen in the discussion below these issues which affect service work are subjective measures and have been attained through the use of in-depth interviews and an ethnographic study.

Through qualitative research the experience of working as a waitron emerges as paradoxical. On the one hand their bodies are manipulated and they are under constant surveillance. However in spite of their work experiences, waitrons consent to their own exploitation through the system of tipping.

The Setting of the Ethnographic Research

The ethnographic research was carried out at an Indian Cuisine restaurant in the Northern Suburbs. Due to the specialist nature of the restaurant, staff training is important as customers often enquire about specific meals and a sense of cultural authenticity of the environment is necessary. Kitchen staff however require more training then those employed in the front of house. This establishment employs six kitchen staff of which is the head-chef, the assistant to the head chef, two other chefs who prepare the minor elements of the meal such as roti (flat-bread) and pappir (a maize based flat bread) and two employees who are in charge of washing the dishes. There is a particular system used at this establishment which begins with the waitron

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ers it onto the computer. A slip is printed in the kitchen d-chef who begins preparing the meal and delegating the tasks. The head-chef prepares the major components of the meals. The assistant to the head-chef then prepares the side dishes and also plates the meals. The minor components of the meals are added and then placed on a shelf ready to be picked up by the waitron. In a specialist restaurant it is important that the kitchen staff be trained are able to prepare the meal adequately. As such the head-chef has been trained in India while the other staff have substantial experience within the hospitality industry as well as in specialist restaurants. For instance the assistant to the head-chef who is a Congolese national with a working permit has been working at Indian restaurants for 15 years. Waitrons on the other hand do not need extensive training although some training is required.

Waitronsô training lasts three weeks and deals mostly with shadowing other waitrons. This establishment employs nine waitrons in total. Waitrons work shifts and therefore not all nine are present at the same time. This establishment works on a two shift system, the first of which begins at 10 a.m. and ends at 4 p.m. and the second shift begins at 4 p.m. and ends at closing times which vary between 9 p.m. and 1 a.m. as it depends on the customers. All staff have a one hour lunch break which differs as some staff are required at the restaurant.

At this particular restaurant the waitrons uniforms are exceptionally elaborate. This uniform emphasizes an oriental atmosphere as waitrons don a black tunic with gold trim and black pants. The waitrons also wear a gold turban with black trim. The décor of the restaurant as well plays a role in creating an oriental ambience as the furniture is natural earthy tones with deep red linen and embellishments and a few scattered ornaments of golden pots and vases. This is aimed at making the customer feel as though they are in a more exotic locale. This tends to the idea of eating out as a theatre whereby the performance of the waitrons and the influence of the ambient aims to transport patrons to a different time and place.

The problems encountered by the researcher in pursuing this ethnographic research was such that although workers had contact with the researcher workers did not trust the researcher fully. Discussions between workers and the researcher dealt mainly with the work although the

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sed. The workers did not however speak about the itizens or immigrants. The race of the researcher too had an impact on the customers as well as the workers as the researcher was treated differently by both categories.

The Body

Tied to the body are the concepts of control and emotional labour as they deal with the manipulation of the body. Lan (2001) makes mention of four different ways in which the body is controlled, namely the ñdisciplined bodyò, the ñcommunicating bodyò, the ñmirroring bodyò and the ñexploited bodyò.

The Disciplined Body

The disciplined body utilizes routinization as a form of control over the body as well as disciplinary mechanisms of power (Lan, 2001). In the context of an up market restaurant routinization may not seem apparent at first glance as waitrons deal with customers as individuals. However these waitrons are indeed routinized although to a minimal extent in such acts as greeting the patrons, welcoming them and thanking them for their patronage (Lan, 2001). This can be contrasted to highly routinized businesses which deal with minimal face-to-face interaction with customers. Such routinized businesses within the food and beverage sector of the hospitality industry are usually fast food restaurants and takeaways.

Those employed within the food and beverage industry irrespective of the type of establishment be it a restaurant, coffee shop or take-aways all have to wear a uniform. In some settings, such as a sports bar, uniforms are more casual where waitrons wear blue jeans and a t-shirt. On the other hand waitrons employed in specialized restaurants such as Indian or Chinese restaurants wear more elaborate uniforms often depicting an extension of the specialized cuisine served at these establishments. One waitron, Patience, makes note of the fact that "uniforms are important so that you can be recognized by the customer" (Interview, 30/09/2012). By making waitrons recognizable to the customers also allows the waitrons to be easily identified by the manager

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the part of managers to the tasks performed by waitrons. wellery to work or make up as one waitress, Liziwe, mentions "we cannot outdo the customers" (Interview, 05/09/2012). In this way then uniforms reinforces the subordinate role of the waitrons to the customers. Of utmost importance for the waitron is the customer. The use of uniforms also serves as an advertisement for restaurants, especially if the uniforms are elaborate as one participant, Patience, mentions: "Our uniforms are different, at first we used to change to our normal clothes during lunch but we got used to wearing it. When we go for lunch now many people ask us where we work. Then they come to the restaurant and its good for us also" (Interview, 30/09/2012).

The Communicating Body

The second type of body at work within the food and beverage sector is the communicating body. The communicating body, according to Lan (2001), deals with the control of not only the physical body but the emotional body as well. Therefore the communicating body would be the way that the employee participates in emotional labour.

Emotional labour is an essential tool for those employed within the service sector. Waitrons as such require the use of emotional labour in order to do their jobs adequately and also to acquire tips. Emotional labour as such can be seen as the crux of the hospitality industry as one waitron, Thabo, mentions "My job is to smile and take care of the customer" (Interview, 17/09/2012). Another respondent remarked, "We have to make sure everything is in order as the customers have to get what they want" (Interview, 17/09/2012).

Workers who participate in emotional labour often do more than their jobs; they play ñgamesò (Sherman, 2007: 110These are strategy games based on finishing a task quickly and maximizing tips (Sherman, 2007). Tips can be seen as a reward for emotional labour as tipping is not mandatory but a customer may tip if they feel the service is adequate. Therefore increased emotional labour results in a better chance that the worker may receive a tip. These games are centered around performing for the customers in order to receive more tips and therefore by attaining a higher tip the objective of the game is achieved. In the words of a waitress, Bongiwe,

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d talkative. I would say an important skill is to be 1/10/2012). Tipped workers play ñmoney gamesô which is aimed at increasing the tips they receive (Sherman, 2007: 112). However these money games are not only about income maximization; they are also aimed at engaging the mind of the worker so that work takes on an interesting and unique aspect from day to day (Sherman, 2007). ñEating outò is a bit like a theatre where hospitality workers put on a show for the customers. This is best illustrated by Itumaleng, a bartender, who tries to impress her customers by using flaring (Interview, 21/10/2012). Flaring is a technique used by bartenders to mix drinks by flinging the bottles in the air. The aim of this performance is to attain higher tips and it also gives them a sense of job satisfaction. . Therefore job satisfaction is strongly tied to job performance which in turn is dependent on the happiness of customers.

Through the ethnographic study, I found that certain behaviours tend to increase tips and also that certain groups are more open to increased emotional labour. Behaviour that increases the amount that was tipped were: remembering which person on a specific table had ordered which meal, greeting the customers with the Indian greeting in an Indian restaurant where I undertook my ethnographic study, and explaining the physical locations where the meals come from. I also tried initiating small talk with the customers in an attempt to be friendlier. However this was not always well received by customers. It is important to note that each customer is different and is looking for a different experience when dining out. As such, families are often less susceptible to socializing with the waitron while older people and people who were dining alone tended to welcome any social contact. This could be due to the social dimensions of the eating out. However all the customers did appreciate the extra effort, in differing forms, that was put in. Increased emotional labour results in increased tips as appreciation was gauged according to the tips received. In this way tips can be seen as recognition by customers of a job well done.

Through the system of tipping workers interests are aligned with those of management in that workers provide good service with the goal of attaining a higher tip and management aims to boost patronage through providing good service. Tips create an entrepreneurial spirit amongst employees. Tips play a large role in the lives of waitrons as this increases the amount they earn. According to the Decent Work survey, waitrons earn on average R1528 a month in tips which is

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wage earned by waitrons ranges at about R3768 a month. nount. This is illustrated through the comment made by Mduduzi who asserts: ñTips depend on the guests that are on the floor but I mainly deal with platinum card holders who are big money spenders. We can get R300, depending on the day sometimes even R500ò (Interview, 21/10/2012). Another Interviewee, Itumaleng, mentions: ñIt depends but if I were to save my tips till the end of the month I'd make more than my salary. I guess I'd make more tips a day, it can be R100, R200 at times. Depending on the days of the week and the months you know and shifts as wellò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

Some restaurants do not pay employees a wage and employees earn a commission on the meals they sell and tips they get. This increases competition among workers for customers. This also has adverse effects on waitronsô financial stability as one waitron, James, who asserts: "I don't earn a basic salary, I just earn a 3% commission. It's hard because every month the pay is different" (Interview, 17/09/2012). This competition for customers creates a sense of defragmentation of the work force as waitrons are not likely to help each other out. Many restaurants assign areas for which waitrons are to concentrate on. This has an impact on the amount waitrons earn in tips as Melissa, a waitress, mentions: "It (tips) depends on which area we get. Outside we get about R200 inside we get less maybe R100 sometimes only R50" (Interview, 17/09/2012).

The Mirroring Body

The mirroring body is also prevalent within the hospitality industry as this is directly linked to the appearance and dress of the employee. The presentation of the body is important with regard to face-to-face interaction as the way one looks has an impact on the way the customer responds to the worker.

Employment within the service sector deals primarily with face-to-face interaction and as such the body plays a crucial role. The body is a means of presenting oneself to the customer for those employed within the hospitality industry specifically waitrons. Waitrons therefore have to be neat and tidy as one respondent, Thando, mentions "You have to look like someone you wouldn't

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7/09/2010). Other waitrons have noted that their hair has others noted that nails have to be short and waitrons are not allowed to have manicures or wear nail polish. This underlines the notion that outward appearance is essential for waitrons.

Those employed within the food and beverage industry irrespective of the type of establishment be it a restaurant, coffee shop or take-aways all have to wear a uniform. Dress plays a major role with regard to waitrons as they are involved in face-to-face interaction with the customers. This point is highlighted in a comment made by Katherine, a waitress at a casino, who mentioned: "We must look nice; we must look attractive because we are working with the customers. We are in the front and when they (the customers) come they see us first so we have to look beautiful" (Interview, 21/10/2012). For waitrons being in the front line is associated with looking good. Although waitrons often pointed to the flaws of having a uniform and strict requirements that they have to endure, some waitrons mentioned the benefits of wearing a uniform. Sarah, a waitress, mentions that by wearing a uniform she is "presentable" and that helps her deal with customers (Interview, 21/10/2012). Another waitron, Mduduzi, mentions that "wearing a uniform helps a lot so that I don't have to worry about what to wear to work everyday" (Interview, 21/10/2012).

The Exploited body

According to Lan (2001), the exploited body is that body which participates in physical labour. This can be seen as prevalent amongst waitrons as they are constantly on their feet serving customers and taking orders. As I observed from the ethnographic study, waitrons are not permitted to sit even when there are no customers to serve they stand at the entrance awaiting customers.

The exploited body can also be seen as portrayed through working conditions prevalent within the sector identified in the previous chapter. This includes atypical working hours, the imbalances between a personal life and work life, unstable employment patterns, a lack of social protection and a low level of social dialogue. Employment within the hospitality industry is

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ours. This specifically poses a problem as workers are hours are concentrated around weekends and evenings. This is further illustrated through the response of an interviewee, Patience, who mentions: ñWhen I got to work my baby is asleep. When I come home heôs asleep againò (Interview, 30/09/2012). This illustrates the long hours that waitrons work for. Waitrons too work atypical hours. One interviewee declared: ñI donôt get to spend time with my friends and family because when they are at home I am at work and when I am at home they are at work. I work on weekends and get some Mondays offò (Bongiwe, 21/10/2012). This can be seen in the instance of a casino in Johannesburg which is open 24 hours, seven days a week. This casino has four, nine hour shifts namely: 5:00 am to 2:00 pm, 8:00 am to 5:00pm, 3:00pm to 12:00 am, and 8:00 pm to 5:00 am.

A lack of stability at work is prevalent within the hospitality industry, particularly among waitrons. This can be illustrated through a lack of employment contracts. However some workers have written contracts while most do not. Patience is one such worker who does not have a contract of employment: ñNo I do not have a contract of employment, only the kitchen staff have a contract. We on the floor don'tò (Interview, 30/09/2012). This illustrates the differentials between those that have a contract of employment and those that do not. Mduduzi, on the other hand has a contract: ñYes every year we sign a contract, basically twelve months. I can say I'm not a permanent employee; I'm a permanent casual because I sign a contract every year. It's just this year we haven't signed yet which means up until now I don't have a contractò (Interview, 21/10/2012). From these comments, it becomes clear that employment within the hospitality industry is insecure as even the incidence of a contract of employment does little in reducing the vulnerable nature of the job. As we have shown, workers within this industry are precarious in nature as they do not have job contracts and those that have contracts are ñpermanent casualò workers.

The lack of social protection within the industry can be seen through the lack of benefits. Benefits offered within the hospitality industry are different for each job. It can be seen that chefs, being more skilled receive more benefits than those categories of workers who are involved with customers. This is illustrated in the comments of, Ravi, a head chef who states: ñI

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y dayò (Interview, 30/09/2012). The benefits offered to ndustry are not merely cash benefits such as annual bonus, annual leave, sick leave medical aid, pension fund, Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and funeral benefits. However the Decent Work survey revealed that the respondents received annual leave, paid sick leave and an annual bonus. Although many workers received these benefits there is a small percentage of those who receive housing subsidies (2%) or medical aid (9%). Employees also receive benefits in kind as one respondent, Patience, makes mention: ñWe get two meals every day, breakfast and supper. Because we have breakfast so late only at 10 or 11 we donôt get lunch but we get supper at nightò (Interview, 30/09/2012). On the other hand, some are denied benefits, such as Lorraine, a waitress: ñWe asked for benefits but the company says itôs not on the agendaò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

Training plays a large role in the creation of an efficient work force. However training is not always necessary or provided by businesses within the hospitality industry. On the one hand some establishments provide training. This is illustrated by the response of Patience who states: ñYeah every restaurant is different so you need to go for training to learn their waysò (Interview, 30/09/2012). On the other hand other establishments do not provide training. This is captured through one particular experienced respondent, Pinky, who said: ñNo I didnôt go for training but the younger girls here did go. I know my work nowò (Interview, 5/09/2012). Training however can be seen as a means for personal growth as well as for the efficient function of a business.

With regard to those who attend training, the programmes are intensive and deal with a multitude of aspects which will aid employees to perform their jobs to a higher standard. However the training received is not transferable to other industries as it deals with providing a customer with quality service. As one participant, Bongiwe, said : ñI have attended training for service work, it kind of teaches you how to be a good waitress and now I have been training as a bartender where I learnt how to mix drinks and some flaring (the technique that bartenders use to mix drinks) alsoò (Interview, 21/10/2012). Another respondent, Sarah, states: ñI have been trained at a course titled South African host, first aid, health and safety, fire fighting training and hygiene trainingò (Interview, 21/10/2012).

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on of a skilled workforce however do not mean that these
n the business. The in-depth interviews illustrate the limited nature of promotions and upward mobility. However many workers employed in the sector see prospects of being promoted, the promotion itself may be difficult to come by. As Mbali mentions: ñWe do apply for promotion, [but] they donôt use us in here. They take people from outside to come and be our supervisors and our managers. If you go and ask why, they say we shortlist our managersò (Interview, 21/10/2012). Another participant, Benjamin, remarked: ñThere is nowhere to go from here, this job cannot be our futureò (Interview, 05/09/2012).

Due to the nature of the work and industry as a whole, the levels of unionization are low. According to a survey the measure of unionization within the industry is approximately 14%. This is due to a variety of reasons. One participant, James, remarked: ñSome bosses donôt like unionsò (Interview, 17/09/2012). Another respondent, Benjamin, states: ñI didnôt join the union. This is not a real job, it is just to help me live nowò (Interview, 05/09/2012). Workers often do not see their employment within the sector as work as they associate themselves with the glamorous work environment and see themselves too as glamorous. This is the notion of symbolic labour. In conjunction with symbolic labour other aspects which hinder unionization are atypical working hours, labour market flexibility and difficulty of access. Employment within the sector is flexible as can be seen in the instance of lack of contracts and the influx of casual labour. Difficulty of access exists as restaurants are tightly enclosed spaces which are heavily guarded. Access to these locations are subject to managements control.

Through the conditions of work employees are exploited under harsh conditions. Workers are unable to escape this exploitation even though they are relatively skilled workers as they skills they learn pertain to employment within the hospitality industry. A further obstacle to escaping this exploitation is through the lack of unionization. When unionization does occur it is concentrated among employees working for large multinational corporations which make up the minority of establishments within the sector. However unionization is further impacted upon by the relationship workers have with omnipresent managers and owners.

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e placed under control. This occurs through the many
mely the disciplined body, the communicating body, the mirroring body and the exploited body. These four forms are a means of control. This control however is extended through the lack of autonomy workers have with regard to their work as well as through mechanisms of surveillance and consent.

Limited Autonomy through Surveillance and Consent

Waitrons have a limited sense of autonomy. This is due to the three way relationship between the customer, the manager and the waitron. As such the waitrons control over their work is dependent on the needs of the customer as well as the power of the manager. Customerôs needs are important as it influences the way that workers behave. For instance, as seen through the ethnographic study, some customers are open to workers emotional labour while other customers are less willing to converse with waitrons. Therefore it is important for waitrons to treat each customer differently and as individuals. This is illustrated by Mbali, a waitron, who mentions ñEvery customer is different. Some are nice while others are just difficultò (Interview, 21/10/2012). Customers in a sense provide unpaid labour to the establishment as they supervise waitrons in that they acquire a service and if it is not adequate to give a lower tip or complain to management. It is in the best interests of waitrons to behave in a manner that is seen as acceptable to the patron as there is the possibility that waitrons may earn a higher tip.

The relationship between the waitron and the customer is a very stressful one as each customer is treated as an individual and comes to the establishment with their own experiences from the day. One Participant, Melissa, mentions: ñSome customers are rude because they come in here angry but we know our job is to take care of the customer. The customer is our guestò (Interview, 17/09/2012). Another participant, Cynthia, states: ñAh sometimes they donôt treat us right. They just say anything they like to us. But we do understand life is stressfulò (Interview, 21/10/2012). However irrespective of the customers behaviour towards the waitrons, each waitron recognizes their job as a care giver for patrons of the establishment. This stressful nature of the relationship between customer and employee strongly impacts on workers autonomy with regard to their work as they have to deal with the differing moods and emotions of the individual customer.

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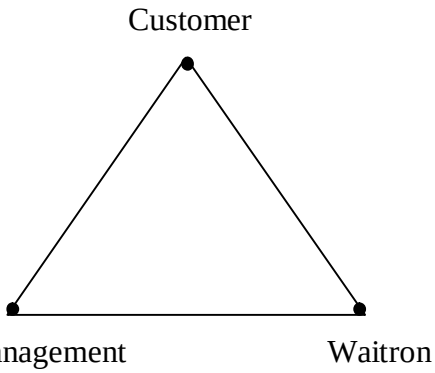
ed to relationships between the waitrons and kitchen staff. Waitrons are those that have to bear the brunt of the mistakes that the kitchen makes. Through the ethnographic study, I have noticed that if the food is not on time or if the meal is not prepared the way the customer has requested, it is the waitron that then has to deal with the unhappy and impatient customer who often yells and is rude to the customer. Therefore the happiness of the customer is not purely based on the performance of the waitron but also on the performance of the kitchen staff. In this way the waitron is dependent on the adequate functioning of the kitchen. This then causes pressure on the kitchen staff by the waitrons that constantly go to the kitchen to enquire when meals are ready and if prepared the way customers requested. In this way the waitrons autonomy is again limited as they are dependent on the kitchen staff.

Illustrated below in Diagram 1 is the three way relationship between the customer, management and the waitron. It demonstrates the power relations within the industry including the customer which is an additional factor with regard to power as opposed to the structure prevalent in non-service employment.

Diagram 1



Source: Author

The manager too constrains the autonomy of the waitron in that the manager requires adequate service. With regard to the kitchen staff as well the manager constrains their autonomy as does the waitrons. The power relation within the kitchen is that of a three way relationship between the kitchen staff, the manager and the waitron. From my observations, the organization of power

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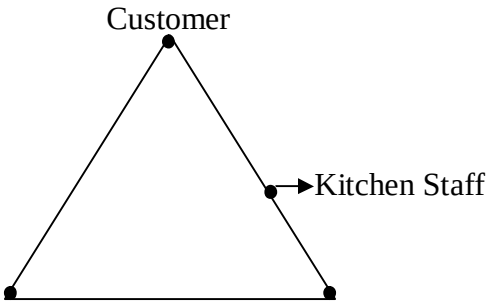
xists a hierarchy. The Head Chef is at the top of this im, namely the assistant chefs and the cleaning staff. The Head Chef delegates tasks and has the most autonomy in comparison to the other kitchen staff. However if something goes wrong it is his head which is on the ñchopping blockò. The head chef too has limited autonomy in that this three way relationship directly concerns him. For instance, from the ethnographic study, if the food is taking too long to be prepared waitrons put pressure on the Head Chef who then has to put pressure on those that work below him. In this way the Head Chef acts as a team leader to his team of kitchen staff.

The diagram below illustrates the complexities involved with regard to power relations within the restaurant industry. This diagram portrays the three way relationship between the customer, management and waitron but includes an additional factor. It should be noted that the kitchen staff do not have a direct relationship with the customer and instead the relationship between the customer and the waitron is impacted on indirectly by the performance of the kitchen staff.

Diagram 2



Source: Author

Working within the service sector makes one even more susceptible to the criticisms of customers and management in that one is always in plain view. The three way relationship between the customer, management and waitron is a means of control and surveillance of waitrons. The customer surveys the employee as does the management. Therefore there are three different means of surveillance that takes place at restaurants firstly, surveillance by customers who are the closest to the work of the waitron, secondly, the manager who surveys the behaviour

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and lastly, security cameras which records the behaviour waitrons by the customer is a crucial form of surveillance as the customer has a degree of power over the waitron. The waitron behaves in a manner that each individual customer will see fit as there are rewards attached to this form of power through the system of tips.

The second form of surveillance is through management. Management is seen as an omnipresent entity. However this form of surveillance is not always visible to the workers. One particular respondent, Patience, claimed that "Here they don't have cameras but they are always around so definitely they watch what we are doing" (Interview, 30/09/2012). Mduduzi, a waitress, mentioned that ñManagers just stand around and they tell us what to do" (Interview, 21/10/2012). Another respondent, Bongiwe, states that ñManagement is always around making sure we do our jobs but even if they are not around we know we have to do our jobs because we could make more tipsò (Interview, 21/10/2012). The omnipresence of managers serves as a means to keep waitrons under constant surveillance and to ensure that waitrons perform their jobs adequately.

The third mechanism of surveillance used at restaurants is that of cameras. Through cameras there is constant surveillance of management, waitrons and customers. These security cameras are a new and technological advanced means of surveillance as opposed to the vigilance of managers directly on the floor. The cameras also are not really seen as a means of surveillance. As one waitron, Thando mentioned ñThere are cameras and they (manager) could be watching us. I suppose they do since there are camerasò (Interview, 17/09/2012). In this way waitrons internalize the different forms of surveillance and behave in an appropriate way. Unknown to the waitrons however is whether these videos recorded by the cameras are viewed at all and the mere presence of the cameras gives waitrons a sense of being watched.

In spite of the widespread prevalence of surveillance within the hospitality industry there is a degree of consent that emerges among waitrons to the needs of management and customers. Consent, according to Gramsci (1971), is the alignment of interests of the subordinate class to the interests of the ruling class. Through the system of tipping, workers interests are aligned

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ity service which is prized within the industry is good for workers. The tips also serve as a reward for good service and in this way workers are conditioned into providing good service. Through tips workers consent to their own exploitation in that they aim to achieve higher tips by working harder and better which is the aim of the enterprise with regard to a productive and efficient work force. This is best illustrated by Patience, a waitron, who mentions ñHow long and how hard we work is up to us. If we work short hours and donôt provide a good service we wonôt be making any money and we will lose out.ò (30/09/2012).

As previously mentioned workers within the hospitality industry play games. These games are a means of enhancing workers autonomy with regard to their work as they are able to make decisions which would further their aims (Burawoy, 1979). However, these games are neither independent of nor in opposition to management (Burawoy, 1979). Therefore these games are possible only through management who sees it in the best interest of the business and therefore does not aim to stop them. According to Burawoy (1979) one cannot play a game and at the same time not follow its rules. Therefore Burawoy (1979: 81) asserts: ñThe very activity of playing a game generates consent with respect to its rulesò. In this way too workers consent to their own exploitation. The games that employees play are not a reflection of the consent that exists within the industry rather it is through the games that consent is constructed. The game becomes an all encompassing aspect for workers as it becomes their goal and aim to ñwinò the game.

In fact Burawoy (1979) further notes that all decisions which an individual makes within the capitalist system forces them to accept a degree of consent. For instance, workers take up this particular job as their imperative is to earn money to support their family. This decision of employment enforces consent in that if workers do not work hard and accept the job they could lose the job and as such be unable to participate in the consumerist capitalist world within which we find ourselves. By ñchoosingò employment in itself ironically enforces consent and the logic of capitalism is accepted.

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Chapter 6

Conclusion: Manufacturing Consent

At the beginning of this research report we posed the question: What is the relationship between the ILO indicators of decent work and job satisfaction within restaurants in Gauteng? As such the research focused mainly on the concepts of decent work as stipulated by the ILO and Job satisfaction. These two concepts are used in order to gain insight into the working conditions within the industry. It can be seen that work within restaurants is not particularly decent. This can be seen through the decent work indicators as stipulated by the ILO and can be explained through the concept of job satisfaction. The ILO indicators of decent work are employment opportunities, security and stability at work, earnings, working hours, work and family life balance, equal opportunity and treatment, safe work environment, social protection and social dialogue.

These indicators are best measured through the quantitative methodology as they can be compared with each other as well as with other industries. With regard to employment opportunities the hospitality industry has the value of 0.51 on the decent work continuum. This means that there are opportunities for employment at a moderate level. Stability and security at work has the value of 0.63 and this means that the workers feel safe with regard to their employment status. Earnings are rated 0.65 on the scale illustrating that wages are fair and are in line with the sectoral determination. Working hours is rated 0.51 which portrays that workers sometimes work 45 hours a week as stipulated by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. Work and family life balance scores 0.49 along the continuum of decent work illustrating that workers do not have much time to spend with their family and friends. The decent work indicator illustrating equal opportunity and treatment scores 0.85 which portrays that individuals are treated fairly within the workplace. Safety at work is rated 0.78 denoting that the workplace is a relatively safe place. This is due to the location of restaurants as often in shopping centers or other enclosed spaces. Workers feel that they have limited benefits and this is portrayed through

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dicator of social protections. There is a low incidence of

al dialogue scores 0.11 on the scale.

The concept on job satisfaction on the other hand is best analyzed through qualitative means and as such is a more explanatory concept. The criteria of job satisfaction are: appreciation and recognition, relationship with co-workers, personal growth, safety, job conditions, benefits, organizations policies and procedures, nature of the work and supervision. Some of these criteria are linked to the decent work indicators such as benefits to social protection as well as organizations policies and procedures to stability and security at work. These criteria are subjective in nature.

Interactive service work is a complex sphere, as this report suggests, such that it cannot be understood either through the use of quantitative surveys or even in-depth interviews. Instead there is a need for mixed research methodologies. There are many aspects that are specific within the industry such as tipping, supervision and emotional labour. With regard to the decent work indicators there exists methodological constraints as the purpose of these indicators are for the use of comparison. Such a study utilizing these indicators is the Society Work and Developmentôs (SWOP) project which deals with the hospitality industry, the farming sector and the security industry. The quantitative measures of the decent work indicators illustrate that overall the hospitality industry has more decent working conditions as compared with the security industry and farming sector. The hospitality industry scores an average of 0.56 on the decent work continuum while the security industry and farming sector score 0.49 and 0.39 respectively (Webster, 2012). This type of information is useful with regard to policy making however it does not take into account certain aspects of the work. For instance working hours for the hospitality industry scores 0.51 on the decent work scale. This merely points to the notion that employees work a relatively decent amount of hours a week. However this does not show the times which workers work: through the qualitative in-depth interviews it was discovered that working hours are atypical as some establishments are open for 24 hours a day and seven days a week. The concept of job satisfaction is also not adequate on its own although it has a larger adaptive capacity with regard to specificity of industries. This can be seen through the criteria of appreciation and recognition as it can be linked to tipping. The concepts of Decent Work or job

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quate in determining the nature and scope of employment strates the central answer to the research question which is that both concepts are required for a better understanding of an industry. On the other hand however one can argue that neither are adequate on their own if we want to understand the quality of work and that a larger and more comprehensive set of indicators are required. This can be seen through the use of social theory which enables one to further understand the circumstances of workers within the industry.

An important aspect which emerged from this research report is that of consent and as such the title of this chapter Manufacturing Consent is taken from Burawoyôs book under the same title which illustrates the power relations present within a factory. Burawoy (1979) focuses on the concept of consent as exploitation is legitimized within the context of the factory. This notion of consent can be understood as the false alignment of interests of the subordinate class with the ruling class (Burawoy, 1979). These interests are aligned when the worker is rewarded. This is best seen through the mechanism of tipping whereby through providing a better service to the customer the waitron earns the potential to receive a gratuity. This aligns the interests of the worker to that of the business. However waitrons play games in order to pass the time which involves providing the best possible service. Victory is granted when the waitron earns a tip. This game gives employees a sense of autonomy as well as the potential to increase the amount of money they are able to take home. Participating in the game itself can be seen as a means of manufacturing consent as ones participation denotes acceptance of the rules of the game. However as tiresome and demanding as the job seems to be waitrons consent to their own exploitation with the aim of attaining a higher income through tips and therefore tips serve as the central factor which manufactures consent.

Tips play a large role with regard to income as the wages earned by employees are low and often are not able to support the worker. Hospitality industry workers have various expenses such as transport to and from work and an amount which is deducted monthly from the wages known as breakages. With regard to transport, from the waitrons interviewed it can be asserted that workers pay between R450 to R850 on transport per month. This is a substantial amount of money considering that the sectoral determination allocates a wage of between R2084 to R2324.

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ies depending on the dishes that are broken by the staff if no breakages occur the waitron is still charged the fee, making this a monthly expense to the worker. Therefore tips play a large role in supplementing the workers income. In this way tips become a means of control over the workers as workers perform for customers in a manner which the customers would approve thereby granting the customer a degree of control over the worker.

This is a means of workers consenting to servitude as they actively participate in their exploitation through conforming to the enterprises interests. This is not merely done through the system of tipping but also through their performance of emotional labour which is often increased in order to play these games which allow for higher tips. Consenting to servitude is not only the acceptance of exploitation but also the creation of a submissive and subservient work force. This can be seen as the product of desperation for employment coupled with the goal of receiving a higher income. A subservient and submissive work force is favourable for the employer as productivity increases or in the case of restaurants the increase of service quality. Within restaurants consent is not only derived from the tipping game but also from commission which some waitrons earn instead of a stable wage. The mechanism of commission creates an entrepreneurial spirit among workers and as such boosts productivity as their monthly income is dependent on it. Therefore the key to the creation of a productive yet exploited workforce is through the potential to earn more. This is notion of consenting to servitude is what lacks in both concepts. Exploitation plays a large role in whether a job is deemed decent or not but it is largely ignored within both the concepts of decent work and job satisfaction. Instead it is necessary to go beyond these two concepts and draw on the body of social theory on the world of work such as Burawoy and Foucault, if one wants to explain the nature of work and workers responses in the hospitality industry in Gauteng.

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Appendix

A. Decent Work Survey
B. Interview Schedule
C. List of Interviewees

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A.

DECENT WORK QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire number				

Fieldworker code				
Supervisor code				

Name of respondent	
Physical address of workplace	
Municipality/metro of workplace	
Cell phone number of respondent	
Other contact details	

Particulars of interview

Date	Time started	Time ended	Notes

Fieldworker declaration		
I certify that this interview took place in full with the recorded respondent and that the information contained in this questionnaire is an accurate reflection of the responses provided. The interview was carried out as instructed by C A S E.		
Fieldworker name	**Signature**	**Date**

Fieldwork Control (office use only)

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		Date	Remarks
Telephonic			
Quality Checks	**Signature**	**Date**	**Remarks**
Supervisor:			
Office check:			
Data capturer:			

Hello, my name is é é é . I am a fieldworker from the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (C A S E)é We have been commissioned by the Society, Work Development Institute at Witwatersrand University and Gauteng governmentôs Department of Economic Development to do a survey to find out more about hotel and restaurant workers in Gauteng. Government hopes to use the results of the survey to explore ways of improving conditions for hotel and restaurant workers. We hope you will agree to answer the questions we have. The survey will take at most half an hour of your time. We will keep the information that you give us confidential. We will put your answers together with the answers of more than one thousand other hotel and restaurant workers in the province. We will not put your name in the report and will not reveal which answers came from you.

Do you have any questions before we start?

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ou work in?

2	Restaurant

2. What type of job do you do?

1	Chef/cook
2	Kitchen staff other than chef/cook (e.g. dish washer)
3	Waiter/waitress
4	Housekeeping (e.g. cleaning of rooms)
5	Other (describe)

3. OPTIONAL: What is the name of the hotel/restaurant where you work?

4. For how many years have you been working for this hotel/restaurant? [Write 0 if less than one year]

5. What were you doing immediately before working for this hotel/restaurant?

1	In another job that I decided to leave	4	Full-time study/school
2	In another job and I lost the job/was forced to leave		
3	Unemployed, looking for work	6	Other (describe):

6. Are you currently doing other paid work or study in addition to your work in the hotel/restaurant?

1	Yes, I am also studying
2	Yes, I do other paid work in addition to my work in the hotel/restaurant
3	Yes, I am also studying and also do other paid work in addition to the hotel/restaurant work
4	No, I am not doing other paid work or studying

7. Are you South African? If YES, what is your race? If NO, what is your nationality?

1	African	4	White
2	Coloured	5	Not South African
3	Indian/Asian	5a	Nationality:

8. Gender (DO NOT ASK – code by sight)

1	Male	2	Female

9. What is your marital status?

1	Married	4	Divorced/separated
2	In long-term relationship	5	Widowed

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in the dwelling where you live? (Do not count yourself)

Male adults		Female adults		Children	

11. How many of your own children (under 18 years of age) live with you?

12. How old are you?

1	Under 20 years	3	30-39	5	50-59
2	20-29	4	40-49	6	60 or more

13. How far did you go in your schooling/education?

1	No formal education	4	Less than secondary completed	7	Other (describe)
2	Less than primary completed	5	Secondary completed		
3	Primary completed	6	Tertiary		

14. How far is where you live from the hotel/restaurant?

1	Less than 5 km	4	20-29 km	7	50 km or more
2	5-9 km	5	30-39 km	8	I live at the hotel/restaurant [Go to q17]
3	10-19 km	6	40-49 km		

15. How much time do you spend travelling to and from work each day? (Add time for there and back)

Hours		Minutes	

16. How much do you spend on average per month on transport to and from work?

R

17. Do you have a contract of employment?

1	Yes ï written contract	2	Yes ï verbal contract	3	No. **Go to Q19**

18. If YES, what sort of contract do you have?

1	Permanent/indefinite period	2	Fixed term/temporary	3	Casual (day by day)
4	Other (describe):				

19. Have you received a wage increase in the past 12 months?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Not applicable. Worked less than 12 months

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lismiss you, what is the procedure?

	hearing		No set procedure	5	Other (describe):
2	They must consult with union	4	Donôt know		

21. How much is your usual take-home pay without overtime/take-home earnings? [Exclude money earned through tips]

R

22. Is this amount:

1	Daily	2	Weekly	3	Monthly

23. How much is your usual take-home pay, including overtime?

R

24. Is this amount:

1	Daily	2	Weekly	3	Monthly

25. How much do your earnings change from week to week/month to month? [Exclude money earned through tips]

1	Change a lot	2	Change a little	3	Stay the same

26. How much do you usually earn per month in tips from customers?

R

27. When did you last attend work-related training?

1	In last 12 months	3	More than 5 years ago
2	In last 5 years	4	Never. **Go to Q31**

28. Who paid for the last training that you attended? (Mark all applicable OR mark Don't Know)

	Yes	No
My employer	1	2
Myself/my family	1	2
Government	1	2
Other (describe):	1	2
Donôt know	3	

29. How long was the time you spent attending training?

Year		Months		Days		Hours	

30. Did you learn skills in the training that you can use in another industry?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Donôt know

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ually work in a week excluding overtime?

32. How many hours of overtime do you usually work in a week?

33. How much time do you usually spend on housework (cleaning, cooking, etc) per week?

Hours		Minutes		Donôt know	

34. How much time do you usually spend on child care per week?

Hours		Minutes		Donôt know	

35. Can you refuse to work overtime?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Donôt know

36. Have you ever refused to work overtime?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Not applicable

37. Do female workers get maternity leave?

1	YES ï with full wage paid by the employer during the leave
2	YES ï with part of the wage paid by the employer during the leave
3	YES ï with no payment from the employer during the leave
4	NO
5	Not applicable ï no female workers at hotel/restaurant
6	Donôt know

38. Do male workers get paid leave when their partner gives birth?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Donôt know

39. Have you been injured at work in the past twelve months?

1	Yes	2	No

40. Have you suffered from a health problem from work that made you miss some workdays or consult a health worker in the past twelve months?

1	Yes	2	No

41. Have you been given any clothing or equipment to protect you/keep you safe?

1	Yes	2	No. Go to Q43	3	Not applicable. Go to Q43

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equipment that you were given:

43. Do you get any of the following benefits? (Mark all applicable)

	Yes	No
Annual bonus	1	2
Medical aid/scheme	1	2
Pension fund	1	2
Funeral benefits	1	2
Paid annual leave	1	2
Paid sick leave	1	2
Housing subsidy	1	2
Transport allowance	1	2

44. Does your employer deduct money from your wages for the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF)?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Donôt know

45. Are you a member of a trade union?

1	Yes	2	No

46. Are you a member of any other organisation/institution that protects your interests at work?

1	Yes	2	No. Go to Q48

47. If YES, please name the organisations/institutions

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ith the following statements?

	strongly	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Not applicable
It is difficult to get a job as a hotel/restaurant worker in Gauteng	1	2	3	4	5	
It is easier to get a job as a hotel/restaurant worker than a job in construction	1	2	3	4	5	
It is easier to get a job as a hotel/restaurant worker than start your own business	1	2	3	4	5	
I fear I will lose this job in the next 12 months	1	2	3	4	5	
I am likely to be promoted in the next 12 months	1	2	3	4	5	
I feel safe at work	1	2	3	4	5	
I get enough time to spend with my family	1	2	3	4	5	
My employer treats women and men equally	1	2	3	4	5	6
If disagree, how is the treatment different?						
My employer treats South Africans and non-South Africans equally	1	2	3	4	5	6
If disagree, how is the treatment different?						
My employer treats workers of different races equally	1	2	3	4	5	6
If disagree, how is the treatment different?						

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B.

Interview Schedule

1) How did you hear about this job?
2) Why did you choose this job?
3) Are you employed directly by the restaurant or by a labour broker?
4) When being hired what type of application did you fill in? what type of questions were asked?
5) What type of skills do you require for your job?
6) Have you attended any training?
7) If yes, what skills have you learnt?
8) How long have you been working at this particular establishment?
9) How long have you been working within the hospitality industry?
10) How do you get to work every day?
11) How much do you spend on travel each month?
12) What challenges do you face with regard to travel?
13) What are your key tasks at work?
14) What are your general feelings with regard to your work? Explain.
15) Do you interact face to face with customers?
16) What challenges do you encounter with regard to customers or work in general?
17) Are your relationships with your co-workers on a strictly business basis or have you formed friendships with your co-workers ? Probe
18) Does management pressure you to behave in a certain manner? If so, How?
19) Is there some sort of mechanism used by management to watch or surveil your behaviour?

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ure on you with regard to your appearance? How?

21) Do you have to pay for your own uniform?

22) How do you feel about wearing a uniform?

23) Do you receive a basic salary?

24) What is your Basic Salary? Can I see your payslip?

25) What proportion of your total income are tips?

26) How do you ensure that you receive tips?

27) How many hours do you work a week?

28) Do you receive an over-time pay?

29) How long is each shift? And what are your shift times?

30) How many dependents do you have?

31) How much time do you get to spend with your family?

32) How does shift work impact on your personal life?

33) Are you a member of a union?
   A. If so, which union?

   B. If not, why are you not a member of a union?

34) What other forms of representation in the workplace do you utilize?

35) Do you have a contract of employment? Is it verbal or written?

36) What is the duration of the time that the contract is valid for?

37) What type of benefits do you receive, if any? Fixed time or indefinate

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C.

Interviews

Benjamin, Waiter, 05/09/2012

Bongani, Waiter, 21/10/2012

Bongiwe, Bartender, 21/10/2012

Caleb Mabaso, Chair of FEDHASA, 13/06/2012

Cynthia, Waitress, 21/10/2012

David, Waiter, 21/10/2012

Dipalesa, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Itumeleng, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Jacob, Waiter, 21/10/2012

James, Waiter, 17/09/2012

Katherine, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Lindiwe Mguni, Waitress and Shop Steward, 21/10/2012

Liziwe, Waitress, 05/09/2012

Lorraine, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Maryanne Sinovich, Owner of Restaurant, 18/08/2012

Mathew, Waiter, 17/09/2012

Mbali, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Mduduzi, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Melissa, Waitress, 17/09/2012

Mfamfiknle, Bartender, 21/10/2012

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Patience, Waitress, 30/09/2012

Patricia Nyman Appollis, National Gender Co-Coordinator at SACCAWU, 23/03/2012

Patricia Nyman Appollos, National Gender Co-Coordinator at SACCAWU, 12/06/2012

Patricia Nyman Appollos, National Gender Co-Coordinator at SACCAWU, 21/06/2012

Pinky, Waitress, 05/09/2012

Ravi, Head chef, 30/09/2012

Sarah, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Sharon, Waitress, 21/10/2012

Thabo, Waiter, 17/09/2012

Thando, Waiter, 17/09/2012

Tumelo, Waiter, 05/09/2012

Wendy Alberts, CEO of Restaurants Association of South Africa, 14/03/2012