Challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry: A study through an African oral tradition of storytelling

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Abstract

Female chefs experience many challenges in the male-dominated chef profession. Research shows that female chefs face challenges of promotion, low pay, work-life balance, burnout and sexual harassment (Fungai, Monica, & Zengeni, 2013; Harris & Giuffre, 2010; Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007). This research aims to investigate whether the challenges that female chefs in Kenya are similar to the experiences of female chefs elsewhere, as suggested by studies in Zimbabwe (Fungai et al., 2013), in the UK (Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007) and in the US (Harris & Giuffre, 2010). Identifying these challenges could help managers tackle issues effectively, thereby attracting more female chefs to the profession and enabling their opportunities and career prospects in the hospitality industry.

The study is grounded within an African feminist theory that highlights issues of African women. Using a qualitative research approach through the African oral tradition of storytelling, 15 chefs were interviewed. The study was conducted in Nairobi, Kenya's capital city.

The findings suggest that the lack of Kenyan female chefs may be attributed to a myriad of challenges such as patriarchal attitudes, hospitality career stereotyping, sexual harassment, gender discrimination, unhealthy work environment, hierarchical kitchen structure, inefficient and traditional methods of production, work-life balance and ill health due to overwork. The longevity of female chefs in the hospitality industry is therefore threatened as female chefs seek opportunities elsewhere, including becoming housewives.

The study further suggests that while hospitality schools train, female chefs suffer from the Kenyan hospitality industry's reluctance/refusal to absorb female chefs into the job market. Contrary to this, female chefs are viewed as creative and passionate about their work. Therefore, an environment that does not accommodate female chefs suggests the hospitality industry stands to miss out on the skills of female chefs. The country's economy also loses when qualified female chefs cannot help in building the economy.

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Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my
knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another
person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which
to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma
of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The hospitality industry plays a major role in the economy of a country. However, hospitality workers seem to face challenges that affect their careers. This study investigates the challenges that affect career progression of female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. Wherein female chefs tell stories of their challenges and experiences, male chefs tell their experiences working with female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. The perspectives of both female and male chefs constitute the outcome of this study.

1.2 Background to the problem

In a study of chefs in the United Kingdom (UK), Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons (2007) found that there are few female chefs in executive positions. The authors suggested the need to investigate the challenges female chefs face in the hospitality industry. Harris and Giuffre (2010) conducted a study of female chefs in the United States (US) and found that female chefs faced challenges that the researchers argued could be responsible for the scarcity of female chefs in the hospitality industry. Druckman (2010) also studied the scarcity of female chefs in executive positions in the US. Druckman argued that the hierarchical structure of the kitchen does not allow for consideration the interests of female chefs. A study was conducted by Fungai et al. (2013) who opined that female chefs in the Zimbabwean hospitality industry also faced challenges which resulted in their scarcity at executive positions.

The aim of this study is to establish whether female chefs in Kenya face the same challenges as female chefs in the UK (Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007), the US (Druckman, 2010; Harris & Giuffre, 2010) and in Zimbabwe (Fungai et al., 2013). In a longitudinal study of human resources in the hospitality industry between 2007 and 2015, Baum (2015) critiqued the Western-centric approach to issues affecting the hospitality workforce in jurisdictions outside the West. According to Baum's critique, it can be argued that most of the studies on female chefs cited above are Western. In addition, the studies adopted Western-centric methodologies.

Unlike the studies on female chefs above, this study employs an Afrocentric approach to provide insights into how the hospitality industry and indigenous culture may pose challenges for female chefs in Kenya. Therefore, an African feminist theory is used to

help understand the challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. African feminists discourage (for example, Mekgwe, 2008) gender binary as it encourages discrimination. In addition, the African Oral Tradition of Storytelling (AOTS) is used as the methodology for this study. Therefore, the study assumes an Afrocentric approach in theory and methodology.

Women and men have equal rights to employment opportunities, yet the reality in the Kenyan hospitality workplace seems to be different. Anecdotal evidence by the researcher indicate a lack of female chefs in executive positions in the Kenyan hospitality industry. This is based on internship visits[1] that are conducted each year. In most hotels that the researcher visited, male chefs were in the executive position. The Bill of Rights, in Article 27 of the Kenyan Constitution 2010, emphasises equal opportunities for employment in elective and appointed posts (Sihanya, 2012). The 'Two thirds gender rule' states that not more than two thirds of an elective or appointed post should consist of one gender. Therefore, the Kenyan hospitality industry may be affected once the bill is enacted in parliament. The research findings could benefit the Kenyan hospitality industry and hospitality stakeholders could utilise the findings for decision-making in the future.

The researcher acknowledges that he was raised in a society that is highly patriarchal. Despite using the African feminist theory, the researcher finds it difficult with his position as a man, as a result, some assertions in the study may sound patriarchal. This study is organised as follows.

Chapter 2 discusses the literature that has informed this study. The literature addresses the central role of the kitchen in an African culture, and discusses women's roles in the kitchen. There is also a discussion about the commercial kitchen environment, as well as the chefs' profession in terms of hierarchy and structure. In addition, entry into the culinary profession and promotional structures is highlighted. The chapter ends with a discussion about working conditions which illustrates the challenges that female chefs face.

In Chapter 3, an Afrocentric approach is discussed and the theoretical framework of the study is explained. A discussion about African feminist theory, which has been used to highlight the barriers that female chefs struggle with is also presented. Because the

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[1] The researcher is a chef / lecturer. He has been involved in planning student internships.

study is shaped by an Afrocentric approach, this chapter elaborates further on the centrality of storytelling that was used to collect and interpret data.

In Chapter 4, the use of the jealous peer motif is presented. The jealous peer motif was important as major themes of the study are derived. This chapter also discusses the storytelling techniques as commonly used within the African oral tradition of storytelling as analytical tools for the study. The techniques which feature as proverbs, metaphors, dialogue, legends and repetition are discussed.

In Chapter 5, Maya's story is presented. Through the jealous peer motif, the story will be presented in three episodes. Each episode has various scenes with Maya as the protagonist in the female chef's stories telling her story alongside discussions with other chefs in the research. In Chapter 6, the findings are discussed. The findings from the female chefs' stories highlight the challenges presented by the chefs in the stories.

In Chapter 7, findings are discussed in relation to other research in the literature. These findings indicate that female chefs are faced with challenges at personal, structural and societal levels. Chapter 8 discusses on the implications of the study. It is the aim of this research that the recommendations may help mitigate the challenges facing female chefs. Future research recommendations are also discussed in this chapter.

1.3   Research question

Following investigations of the research context, a research question was formulated that aimed to address the challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry: Do the challenges experienced by Kenyan female chefs influence their career progression in the Kenyan hospitality industry?

1.4   Objective of the study.

To investigate the career challenges experienced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

The next chapter presents previous studies discussing challenges that relate to female chefs' careers in the hospitality industry.

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, the role of a woman within the African context is reviewed, which helps to understand the social construction of an African woman in their society. Secondly, literature surrounding the central position in the African kitchen is discussed. Thirdly, there is a discussion on the chef profession, providing a background of the training for a chef in Kenya. Fourthly, the shift from the African kitchen space to the professional kitchen space is discussed. Lastly, the challenges for chefs working in the culinary profession are presented.

2.2 The central role of a woman in an African culture

Women play an important role in African society. In some communities such as the *Kikuyus* of Kenya, women led their communities in war and protected their members (Miruka, 2011). The *Kikuyu* community lived under the leadership of Mumbi, a powerful woman who could not be rivalled by another person within the Mount Kenya territory. Years later, after her death, it is still common for the *Kikuyu* community to call themselves "sons and daughters of Mumbi".

Women's roles and their position in Kenya are constructed through traditional cultural norms that have viewed women as creators and for recreation (Sifuna, 2006). In addition, serving food was related to giving life (Cusack, 2014). In her role as a wife and caregiver, it can be argued that a woman as a cook understands when to cook for the family and plans the menu, as she knows what type of food is suitable for nourishing the family. She takes control of the food stores and stock.

Historically in Africa, a woman is primarily a housewife and housekeeper (van Otterloo, 2000), which means that a woman takes charge of running the affairs of the house. She takes care of the family as well as the house, which shelters the family. She shops, plans and cooks nutritious meals for the family. Research suggests that society positions women as belonging in the kitchen, where they exercise power and control (Cusack, 2014; Odhiambo, 2011).

2.3 The commercial/professional kitchen environment

Over time, there has been a change in the perception of women's role in society influenced by the continuous modification of the culture to suit modern trends.

Frederiksen (2000) found that when looking at the family unit, there has been a paradigm shift in the current society in Africa. Today, women participate in the public space in paid work. Despite being nurturers, women are also employed, thereby contributing to the economic well-being of the family. However, women involved in paid work still face challenges and barriers.

In a study of women in rural northern Nigeria, Robson (2006) found that the kitchen is considered a site of feminine power among the Huasa. When a social event occurs, women gather in the kitchen and share stories about issues affecting their lives while milling and cooking food. Women also use the kitchen as correctional spaces where daughters admire their mothers' work, learning about the critical issues of adulthood (Eckstein & Young, 2015).

In contemporary African societies, women are required to juggle professional and private lives. Women have responsibilities in their personal lives that have to fit within the cultural role expectations of a woman (Odhiambo, 2011). Therefore, employed women do not forfeit their roles as wives and mothers (Oburu, 2011). Robson (2006) study of women and the kitchen space in Nigeria indicates that some women push themselves to cook food and snacks to sell in the streets. Later, the proceeds are used to buy necessities for home use and to pay children's school fees. This is a sign of how women contribute to the well-being of families through the kitchen, away from the traditional mother and wife roles.

2.4   The chef profession: structure and hierarchy

The kitchen profession has adopted a formal organisational structure that is credited to Escoffier, a French chef who reorganised kitchen operations during his time working for aristocrats (Fungai et al., 2013). Escoffier conceptualised the division of labour through hierarchical structures and instilled a work ethic into the profession of being a chef (see Figure 1).

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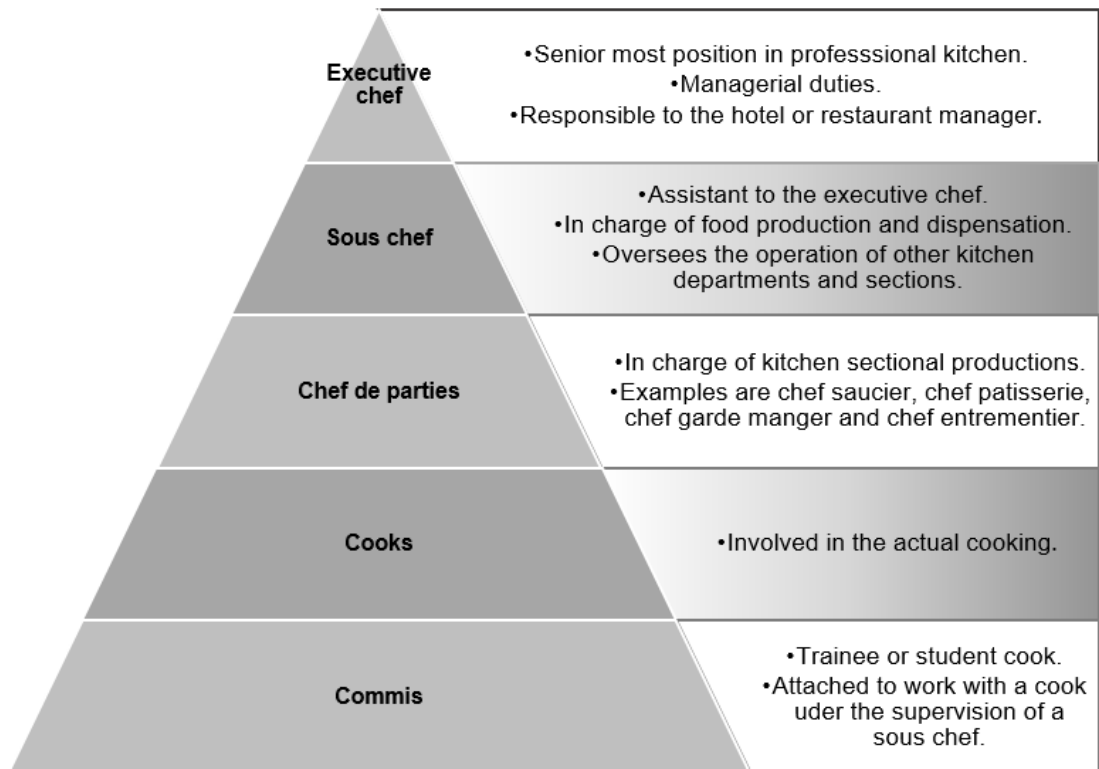
Figure 1. Hierarchical structure of the culinary profession

Female chefs appear not be considered in kitchen design. Druckman (2010) argues that not having female chefs participating in the design of professional kitchens may contribute to their challenges. The professional kitchen, in its design, structure and hierarchy, does not seem to favour female chefs. The kitchen work environment and design do not consider issues such as female chefs' health and well-being in the kitchen. In addition, the hierarchical structure also tends to discriminate against women and this may have contributed to fewer women successfully progressing to executive chef positions.

The general picture portrayed is synonymous with that of the hospitality industry as paradoxically "cool" and "not cool" (Baum, 2007a). The glamour portrayed in cookery television shows suggests that a chef's career is enjoyable and well paid, while chefs in the hospitality industry report low pay and a challenging career (Eckstein & Young, 2015).

2.5   Entry and promotional structures

Entry into the culinary profession is either as a trainee (commis) or an apprentice cook[2]. At this level, the trainees learn from the cooks who are responsible for the cooking with the guidance of the chef de parties. Chef de parties oversee production in the kitchen sections such as the Saucier[3], the Pastry[4], Entremetier[5] and the Garde manger[6]. The next level is the sous chef who helps the executive chef with the production of the menu. Sous chefs check on the quality of the cooking, while the executive chef takes care of the administrative duties of the kitchen.

It is also common for people joining the industry to start as dishwashers, then learn by observing how the kitchen works, gaining experience before joining the mainstream cooking line (Brown, 2005). However, Baum (2007a) disputes the common argument that hospitality work requires no unique skills. For instance, the culinary profession has evolved with time and the career is no longer focused solely on cooking but on managerial duties as well. Ko (2012) found that contemporary chefs perform various managerial roles including "strategic planning, product sales, food quality, safety and sanitation" (p. 1004).

Progression in a chef career is considered highly meritocratic (Harris & Giuffre, 2010). However, meritocracy in professional kitchens is characterised by a slow progression. There are many positions within the kitchen hierarchy that cook should go through to gain the requisite experience before they can become executive chefs (as detailed in Figure 1). Promotions depend on the level of commitment and the skill of an individual cook. Some take a shorter time to become chefs, while others retire with years of experience at the same position (Brown, 2005).

2.6   Qualification as a chef in Kenya

In Kenya, culinary education falls under the Technical and Vocational Education and Training Authority (TVET), a government body that is a common practice in other parts of the world (Brown, 2005). The training is both hands-on and theoretical as with any other college-level training aimed at novices, giving them the technical skills necessary

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[2] Trainee cooks are graduates of formal culinary education while apprentice cooks are trained on the job without formal culinary education (Brown, 2005).
[3] Saucier is a section in the kitchen where hot dishes and sauces are prepared.
[4] Pastry is a section in the kitchen where sweets and desserts are made.
[5] Entrementier is a section of the kitchen where soups, starches and vegetables are prepared.
[6] Gardemanger is a section where cold salads and meat cuts are prepared.

to gain employment as cooks (Baum, 2007b). After completing an 18-month Food Production Certificate course at Kenya Utalii College (KUC), a graduate is ready to join the hospitality industry as a cook (Mayaka & Prasad, 2012).

An almost equal number of male and female chefs are shown to graduate from KUC each year (see Figure 2). It would be reasonable to expect a similar representation in the workplace, with an almost equal number of male and female executive chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. Research in the US suggests that female chefs do not make it to an executive chef's position (Harris & Giuffre, 2015). However, there is no research that highlights the challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

Gender in the Kenyan chef profession 1976-2015

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Female cooks	26	25	0	12	14	0	20	11	16	16	14	16	15	17	15	15	16	16	15	16	16	15	11	16	22	22	28	28	28	22	25	25	17	27	23	26	40	50	32
Male cooks	26	27	0	10	14	7	27	16	16	13	16	13	16	15	15	15	15	16	15	13	12	16	16	26	27	24	16	20	19	22	20	22	22	22	20	22	32	37	43
Total	52	52	0	22	28	7	47	27	32	29	30	29	31	32	30	30	31	32	30	29	28	31	27	42	49	46	44	48	47	44	45	47	39	49	43	48	72	87	75

Figure 2. Gender in the Kenyan chef profession.
Source: (KUC, 2015)

The next section is a discussion of the challenges in the chef profession, as noted in the literature.

2.7 Career challenges female chefs face in the hospitality industry.

The executive position is what most chefs aspire to in order to achieve professional status. Brown (2005) argues that becoming an executive chef is a rigorous path; hence, distraction can be detrimental. In this regard, any challenges to the chefs' career are considered as distractions on the way to career advancement (Ko, 2012). The literature suggests that it takes years of experience and hard work (Brown, 2005), often in poor working conditions (Kang, Twigg, & Hertzman, 2010) with heavy workloads (Ko, 2012) to become an executive chef.

Before discussing the challenges faced by female chefs in the hospitality industry, it is important to organise the challenges into a systematic order. Mooney, Ryan and Harris (2017) claim that female hotel workers may face challenges at the societal, organisational and individual levels. The next section will discuss

1. Societal and structural level
2. Organisational level
3. Individual level

2.7.1 Career challenges at the societal and structural level

The societal level represents challenges that result from the worldview as constructed by the society. These can also include current issues in the broader hospitality industry that may affect the careers of women for example, occupation and sex stereotyping (Mooney et al., 2017).

Competing social roles expected from women in Kenya

Finding a work-life balance is a challenge for most hospitality staff. Stovall, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger (2015) view the work-life balance as finding a solution so the demands of work in both the private and public domain are balanced. It appears that many hospitality organisations prefer women who have fewer family obligations so they can maximise employee engagement (Manwa, 2014).

Parenting was found to be a hindrance for female chefs. Due to the sometimes conflicting roles, female chefs in their other roles as wives and employees, tend to forgo one role to fulfil the other (Fungai et al., 2013). Separately, a study on the lack of childcare facilities for female chefs, Zhong et al. (2013) found that childcare support was another problem that female hospitality workers face. Affording childcare facilities is difficult and in some cases, it is not available. Hospitality is a low paid industry, so the cost of childcare is an extra burden for female chefs (Fungai et al., 2013). There is need to investigate competing social roles expected from female chefs in Kenya.

Societal stereotyping of hospitality workers

In some societies, there appears to be misinterpretation about hospitality workers across different societies. For example, in many societies, hospitality work appear to have special connotations (Poulston, 2008). The public, who may not differentiate between the many hospitality organisations (legal or otherwise), perceive the hospitality industry

as being all about prostitution, drugs and alcohol. Prejudice results from the unlawful behaviours of some workers and customers. Fischer (2013) reports that female hospitality workers in bars are culturally considered inappropriate in Tanzania. They are thought to engage in prostitution; an outlawed activity due to the decay in the moral fabric and to health-related risks. It will be insightful to study the stereotypes that female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

2.7.2 Career challenges at the organisational level

Literature suggests that workers' conditions are poor across the hospitality sector (Baum, 2007b, 2015). These conditions create parallel stressors for chefs. In this study, literature suggests stress and burnout, health hazards related to chef's career, sexual harassment and discrimination based on gender as structural challenges.

Working conditions

The chef profession sometimes has unusual working conditions that can trigger stress. Kang et al. (2010) suggest that stress could emanate from a range of issues including employment terms, the work environment and the work itself. They allude to the complex nature of the simultaneity of service/product production and service. Unlike industrial production, where products can be stored for customers to use later, in the hospitality industry the food is prepared only when the customers have confirmed they are willing to buy it and it is then consumed within minutes.

Stress and burnout are interchangeably used terms in research. However, Kang et al. (2010) delineate burnout as a form of stress that results in exhaustion. This affects employee's productivity and in extreme cases, employees leave their jobs. In a related study on Zimbabwean executive chefs, Mkono (2010, p. 363) found that although chefs were stressed and faced burnout, they could not openly share their grievances as their bosses would tag them as incompetent and "pity seekers".

In another study on culinary employees' stress and burnout, Jung, Yoon and Kim (2012) found work-life balance to be the cause of burnout amongst employees. They argue that the roles as an employer and at home, coupled with mental stress, resulted in a higher level of burnout. It could be argued that female chefs suffer a higher level of burnout than men because women have greater responsibilities at home. However, it is not clear whether stress is among the challenges that female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry face, and how they cope with that stress.

Chefs additionally suffer physical strain from their demanding roles which involves extremes of heat, cold and standing for long hours. According to a study by Haukka et al. (2006), chefs suffer from muscular pains that negatively affect their general health. Chefs appear to experience long hours standing in a highly heated environment, often with poorly ventilated spaces or in badly designed kitchens (Fungai et al., 2013). There appears to be no study documenting the working conditions of chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

Low pay

Research suggests the hospitality industry offers low salaries across all sectors of the economy (Steyn & Jackson, 2015). Unfortunately, women are still the lowest paid in the hospitality industry (Baum, 2007; Mooney, 2014; Zhong et al., 2011). However, there is no empirical study on female chefs' salaries in the Kenyan hospitality industry and the effect on their career progression. This study seeks to fill the gap.

Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment occurs when someone abuses power to satisfy their sexual self-interest and ego, thereby belittling their victim. In this study, sexual harassment is an abuse perpetrated against women due to the gender roles and power imbalances in society. Female hospitality workers are predominantly the victims, especially when they are young or junior in hospitality organisations (Mkono, 2010). Sexual harassment may take different forms, such as coercion, "touching, ogling, verbal harassment, indecent exposure and sexual jokes" (Pritchard, 2014, p. 320).

The vulnerability of students on internships to sexual predators is an issue of concern for hospitality researchers (Mkono, 2010; Poulston, 2008). Although there are policies and laws safeguarding against sexual harassment, Mkono (2010) found that the older hospitality workers may not be aware of the consequences of sexual harassment due to lack of sensitisation and archaic cultural practices in Zimbabwe. Mkono argues that in some cases where the victims are not aware, the offenders take advantage of their vulnerability.

In addition, White, Jones and James (2005) noted that in the kitchen, victims of 'banter' who found sexual conversations and jokes offensive were labelled over-sensitive, creating a sense of not belonging, which is discriminatory. There appears to be lack of

studies on sexual harassment perpetrated against female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. This study wishes to investigate if female chefs in Kenya are faced with career barriers related to sexual harassment.

Discrimination based on gender

Gender discrimination is another form of sexual harassment. Baum (2013) confirms discrimination against female hospitality workers globally, blaming policies within hospitality organisations that result in gender biases. Gender discrimination appears to be widespread in the kitchen (Mkono, 2010; Poulston, 2008; Zhong, Couch, & Blum, 2011). According to literature, discrimination in the kitchen take two forms. One, Harris and Giuffre (2010) note that female chefs are presumed to be emotional and cannot therefore be good leaders. However, Robinson, Solnet and Breakey (2014) found that female chefs had reduced emotions and were less aggressive. Female chefs appear to receive fewer opportunities for employment, or they may be deliberately held back, while male chefs are promoted (Harris & Giuffre, 2010).

Second, investing in employee training may help employers. Zhong, Couch, and Blum (2011) found that gender disparity was clear in training opportunities for female hospitality managers in the US. Employee training opportunities appear to be gendered, as training opportunities are available for male workers. In the competitive and meritocratic career, this suggests that only the 'trained' progress; hence, male chefs will be privileged. Thus, female chefs who miss out due to discrimination miss out on career progression as well. In addition, a study by Hanaysha and Tahir (2016) in Malaysia found that employees felt appreciated when training opportunities were made available to them by their employers. Female chefs may not feel appreciated as the training opportunities may target male chefs.

There is lack of empirical studies on discrimination against female chefs in Kenya. This study wishes to investigate is female chefs in Kenya are discriminated when promotional opportunities are offered in Kenyan hospitality industry.

Networking barriers

Research shows that the hospitality industry commonly uses the informal form of employment to hire staff (Furunes & Mykletun, 2005; Mooney, 2007). Since the chef profession is male dominated, women are disadvantaged by informal employment due

to lack of networks. Mooney (2007) found that Australian and New Zealand female hotel managers were disadvantaged by informal employment arrangements because of lack of established 'pool' of employed female managers. Another study by Furunes and Mykletun (2005) found that chefs in Norway hired staff through informal networks where a chef would refer a friend for a position in the kitchen. However, a study on women and hospitality career advancement by Zhong, Couch and Blum (2011) in the US found that women do not benefit from informal employment methods in the same way as men. There is lack of literature on how the Kenyan hospitality industry recruit female chefs.

2.7.3   Career challenges at the individual level

Perceptions of available choices in an organization and society depend on individual female chef. There are factors at the structural and organizational that may influence female chefs' careers in Kenya. Moreover, (Mooney et al., 2017) suggest that age and gender intersections at the societal and organisational level may influence women's agency within hospitality organisations. Research is required that allows women's career progression in Kenyan professional kitchens to be explored.

2.8   Chapter summary

This chapter reviewed literature about chef careers. The literature indicated some of the challenges that female chefs may face. The chapter further illustrated the socially constructed roles of African women, and the positioning of women in the kitchen as perceived by society. The chapter also introduced the kitchen as a professional work environment, locating the profession in the context of the Kenyan hospitality industry. However, it appears that there is a research gap about chefs in Kenya, particularly concerning how women progress in their culinary career.

The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework of this study. An Afrocentric approach as used in this study is discussed. The chapter also discusses the African feminist theory as applied to this study. The chapter later introduces storytelling as an African paradigm.

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical lens through which this research was designed. Firstly, the research adopted an Afrocentric approach to the study of female chefs. It is believed that by using an Afrocentric approach this study could provide a better understanding of the challenges that female chefs face in the Kenyan hospitality industry. The first section of this chapter will discuss the Afrocentric approach as a way of gaining knowledge, and the beliefs that have shaped the worldview within an African context. In discussing the Afrocentric approach, an African oral tradition of storytelling will be explored further, since this formed the data collection method. Later, a discussion of storytelling techniques associated with the methods is presented.

Secondly, this study will adopt African feminist theory to address the challenges faced by female chefs within an Afrocentric approach. In the second section of this chapter, a discussion on African feminist theory and how it fits within this research is presented. This is followed by a discussion of the researcher's position within this study.
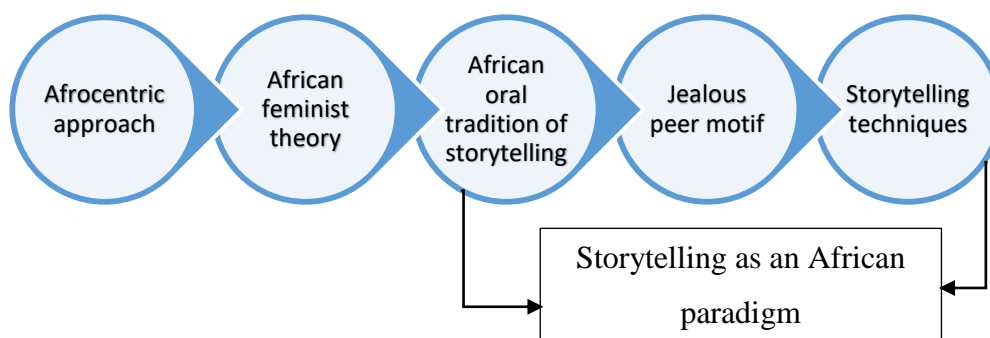
Figure 3. An Afrocentric theoretical framework model

3.2 The Afrocentric approach

Research suggests that to better understand the experiences and challenges of a certain group of people, it is best to situate them within the context of the people in the study (Beoku-Betts & Njambi, 2005; Boateng, 2016; Cruz, 2015; Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009). In view of this, this study has adopted the Afrocentric framework (see Figure 3). The Afrocentric approach is an ontology rooted in the worldview of people of African descent (Krenceyova, 2014; Mkabela, 2005; Mpofu, Mushayikwa, & Otulaja, 2014;

Naamwintome & Millar, 2015; Nwoye, 2015). Nwoye (2015) defines ontology as a branch of knowledge tasked with logic, reality, and the values of natural, social or human science. However, he refutes claims that African indigenous knowledge is a practice of the ancient Africans, stating that it is concerned with contemporary knowledge construction in Africa. In other words, the view of African knowledge as inferior or 'old fashioned' is discriminatory.

African knowledge centres on touch, sight, smell, hearing and taste (Cruz, 2015; Naamwintome & Millar, 2015). Understanding oratory in storytelling is the basis through which knowledge transitions from one generation to another (Cruz, 2015). The art of oratory is manifested in the tradition of storytelling. Through storytelling, generation after generation maintain the culture and ways of African lives (Adelowo, 2012; Krenceyova, 2014).

Owusu-Ansah and Mji (2013) argue that African indigenous research methods should be used to study issues applicable to the study of what appears to be a marginalised group in an African context, such as Kenyan female chefs. In addition, Mkabela (2005) proposes that indigenous research methods should be rooted within the cultural and social immersion of the research subject. Therefore, regarding research, an Afrocentric approach can be considered a qualitative technique (Mpofu et al., 2014). Through storytelling, the researcher sought to find meaning in female chefs' experiences in their culinary career.

Therefore, an Afrocentric approach may help to elucidate the challenges of female chefs within the Kenyan context. The African oral tradition of storytelling is central to the research methodology used in this study. Banks-Wallace (2002) notes that stories form the basis of a qualitative study, where lived experiences of female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry are shared. Mekgwe (2008) acknowledges that certain concerns are better understood in the context of where they arise.

In the next section, an African feminist theory used in this research is discussed.

3.3 African feminist theory.

Feminism is a pro-women's movement that seeks women's emancipation from oppression (Mbabuike, 2002). Most importantly, feminism is both an activist movement and a body of knowledge that highlights the need for a positive transformation of society. As a body of knowledge, feminism has evolved into various forms to address diversity among women (Beoku-Betts & Njambi, 2005; Boateng, 2016; Holvino, 2010). Other forms of feminism include Western feminism and Black American feminism. This study adopts African feminism as a way through which women are not merely viewed as marginalised, but as able people in a society (Mekgwe, 2008). Through African feminism, female chefs in this study are positioned as competent in their career. However, there is a need to investigate the challenges they face in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

Maeda (2009) claim that African feminism encourages diversity by aiming to address the societal problem of discrimination, while promoting integration and inclusiveness. African feminism is based on the philosophical underpinnings of collectivity and communitarian ways of knowing (Naamwintome & Millar, 2015). In addition, Nnaemeka (2004) elaborates that African feminism is a movement through which stakeholders listen to and understand the struggle of women. It is in view of the communitarian way of knowing that the stories told by female chefs may reach the wider Kenyan hospitality industry, with the hope that corrective measures may be instituted.

African feminists and researchers such as Mekgwe (2008) argue that Western feminism is a reactionary movement that cannot help realise the emancipation of African women. On the contrary, Maeda (2009) cautions that African feminism does not oppose Western feminism. African feminists hold the view that Western feminist ideologies are rooted within the Western culture and models of reality (for example, Ampofo, Adjei, & Brobbey, 2015; Beoku-Betts & Njambi, 2005; Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009). Therefore, such ideologies may not truly represent African women, and this argument has informed the decision to situate this study within an African context.

Holvino (2010) observes that in cultures outside the West[7], men are not positioned as 'enemies' to the discourse of women. In addition, Norwood (2013) encourages the

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[7] Cultures of the Western countries

harmonious existence of men and women. The dichotomy of male versus female as enshrined in the Western feminism accepted point of view does not fit within African feminist thought. For instance, through affirmative action, African women have made insignificant gains in Africa, as Western feminism appears to have taken a political angle that does not necessarily apply to non-western cultures (Nnaemeka, 2004).

It must be noted that African feminism does not rival Western feminism. African feminism seeks to integrate masculine and feminine in unity (Mekgwe, 2008). The inclusion of men and women in leadership roles would ensure that there is no gender politicking that has seen the push for over-emphasis of one gender while oppressing the other (Wallace, Haerpfer, & Abbott, 2008).

Most importantly, Edwards (2008) suggests that feminism is more about celebrating successes, as well as empowering women through the struggles they have in the patriarchal system of society. This is because women contribute to the economic well-being of families and by extension society; therefore, pro-feminist research is pro-humanity.

3.3.1 Researcher's position

The researcher in this study positions himself as a co-researcher researching with female chefs. Research suggests that men are viewed as keen to protect male privilege, thereby ignoring the plight of women in society (Case, 2007; Holvino, 2010; Salter, 2015). However, within African feminist theory, men are not positioned as an enemy. Secondly, the binary divisions of male and female as well as private and public are highly condemned (Mekgwe, 2008). Men must therefore be conscious of this privilege when conducting feminist research so it can benefit, not oppress women.

Building on these theoretical framings, a discussion of the African oral tradition of storytelling is presented. Storytelling processes as used within the African context and how they were used in the study are explored further.

3.4 African oral tradition of storytelling

Agan (2006) asserts that oral storytelling is the sharing of the real and abstract experiences of the teller and the audience. "For it is in stories and storytelling that the ways in which human beings lived and interacted with the changing landscapes, and mindscapes, were preserved" (p. 76).

3.4.1 Storytelling as an African paradigm

The Afrocentric approach as used in this study centres on the power of the spoken word through which people tell stories and messages (Mpofu et al., 2014). The power of story depends on the storyteller's ability to engage the audience by creating the necessary mood. An environment that enhances listening skills and engages the audience and the storyteller, is important (Onuora, 2013). The storyteller uses captivating skills such as language choice, gestures and tonal variation of the voice. Meanwhile, the audience responds figuratively by showing emotions, such as disbelief and happiness, that the storyteller must pay attention to (Chinyowa, 2011).

The research employed the AOTS as a method to collect, analyse and interpret the stories. The African oral tradition of storytelling is an art through which stories are narrated as per African traditions. While Thackwray (2014) define storytelling as the art of telling stories, Banks-Wallace (2002) assert that storytelling offers valuable insights into qualitative research. This study used storytelling as a data collection method, after which the researcher interwove the stories through writing.

Stories form the basis of qualitative research studies involving people and their life experiences. Rooted in Afrocentric philosophical underpinnings, the African oral tradition holds that knowledge is constituted through our lived experiences and shaped by culture (Adelowo, 2012). The researcher in this study used stories to interpret meaning relating to the challenges female chefs face in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

After this discussion of storytelling within the African context, it was considered important to explore what constituted a story. Therefore, in the next section there is a discussion on story content and structure and storytelling techniques. A presentation locating female chefs' stories within the philosophical underpinnings of AOTS will also be made.

3.4.2 Jealous peer motif

Harun and Jamaludin (2013) argue that the content of stories can be simplified in a way that the audience will understand using motifs. They define motif as a) components of a tale that includes actors, items and incidents b) incidents that form integral parts that give direction to the flow of the story, and c) a standalone story type. Of interest in this study is motif as a standalone story type. Within the AOTS, storytellers have used

motifs such as the *Journey Motif* in Adelowo (2012) and the *Jealous Peer Motif* in Njururi (1966: 86–9 as cited by [Finnegan, 2014, pp. 348-350]).

In this study, the stories of Kenyan female chefs are analogous to the protagonist (Wacici) in the jealous peer motif stories (Njururi 1966: 86–9 as cited by [Finnegan, 2014, pp. 348-350]). Using the jealous peer motif, there may be possibilities of developing story lines for the stories of the female chefs. Orina, Ogendo, Mageto and Ombati (2014) suggest that contemporary storytellers merge the old and new story lines to make sure that society learns and challenges the issues effectively. For instance, they explore the incorporation of old stories into new story lines while challenging societal issues such as corruption and poor governance. Similarly, in this study, stories of female chefs and the challenges they face within the Kenyan hospitality industry fit the jealous peer motif.

Wacici and the friends		*Female chefs' stories*
Wacici (protagonist)	⬌	Female chefs
Beautician	⬌	Culinary profession
Friends (peers)	⬌	Workmates
Beauty	⬌	Chef competencies
Suffering	⬌	Challenges
Rescue mission	⬌	African feminist movement
Survival	⬌	Perseverance and determination in culinary profession
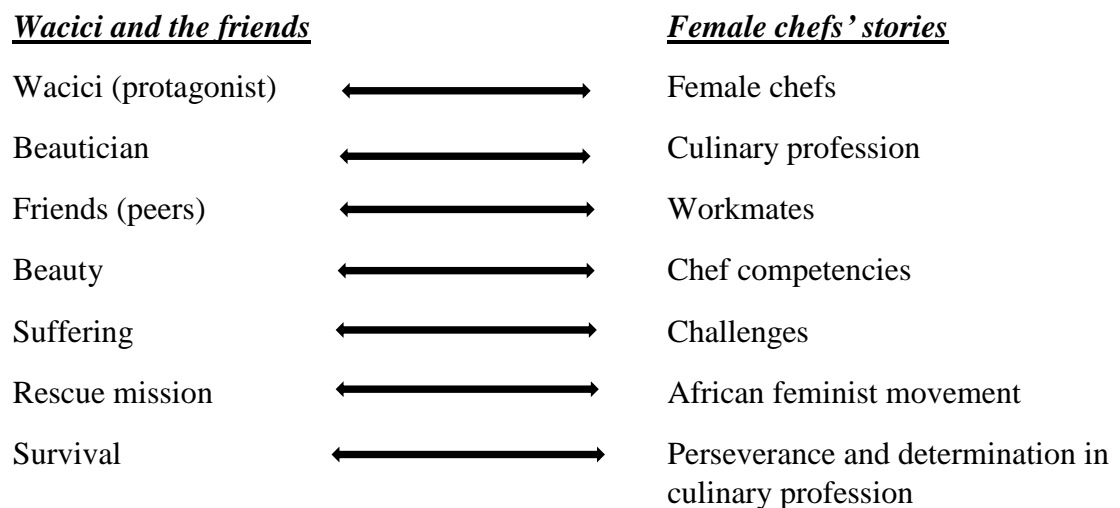
Figure 4. Situating female chefs within the jealous peer motif.

Jealous peer motif in "Wacici and friends"

> "Wacici was a very beautiful girl, admired by many people for her elegance and charm. Her girlfriends were very jealous of her and always ill-treated her. One day her friends visited a mwehanji to get their teeth filed, spaced and beautified as beautiful girls used to do. Wacici joined them. The mwehanji was a man of great fame, who was highly reputed for his skills. They all had their teeth well done and the girls looked very attractive and charming; however, no one looked as pretty as Wacici. The expert praised Wacici's teeth and beauty and added that she had the natural beauty and charm in everything. This annoyed her girlfriends very much.

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On their way home, they met and talked to young men from time to time. They laughed as they spoke to the boys, 'ah-aaa'Aha-aa! Eia! Uuuuui!' This is the most romantic laughter, which was artificially employed by Kikuyu girls, especially when speaking to boys. They continued to laugh repeatedly as they spoke to the young men and the boys who in turn would admire their teeth and sense of humour.

'You have been to the tooth expert, have you not?' the boys inquired.

'Ah-aaa'Aha-aa! Eia! Uuuuui!' The girls continued to laugh.

'Wacici is the most attractive (i.e. an expert in beautifying teeth), one boy remarked kindly, she is really gorgeous and wonderful.' And all the boys agreed and repeated this remark to Wacici. This infuriated the girls, who were very jealous of Wacici's beauty and many of them wanted her out of their company. The girls continued their journey towards their homes and on the way, they all conspired to bury Wacici alive in a porcupine hole which was somewhere in the forest near the road. It was suggested that they should all enter the forest and gather some firewood to take back home as it was the custom that girls should return to their homes with some firewood after a day's outing.

They all agreed to do this and Wacici particularly was very eager to take home some firewood. She was not only a beauty but also a very good girl who upheld the respect expected of Kikuyu girls, and her mother loved her dearly. When the girls reached the porcupine hole in the forest, they grabbed Wacici and pushed her down the hole and quickly buried her alive. She was taken by surprise and she did not have a chance to scream as she thought that they were playing with her. They did not beat her or do anything harmful to her body. They sealed the hole very carefully on top, quickly left the forest and returned to their homes; they did not speak to anybody about Wacici.

That evening Wacici did not return home. Her parents waited and waited. When she did not come, they went about asking Wacici's friends if they had been with her that day or whether they had seen her anywhere. They all denied having been with her or seeing her anywhere that day[8]. All this time Wacici was crying at the bottom of the porcupine hole in the forest while her parents were wandering all over the villages looking for her. 'Where has she gone to?' her mother asked. 'Could a young man have eloped with her?' Her disappearance caused so much concern that her father had to go to consult witch-doctors and seers and ask what had become of his daughter.

Next morning Wacici's father met somebody who had seen his daughter in the company of the other village girls going to the tooth expert. He reported this to his wife and without wasting any time he went to see

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[8] Dialogue as a storytelling technique used in this story

the dentist[9] to verify this information. The dentist confirmed that Wacici and her friends had been to see him and that he had done their teeth on the day she was reported missing. Also on his way home Wacici's father met some young men who had seen and spoken to his daughter with the other village girls. He returned home and reported to his wife and the family all the information he had gathered. Wacici's brother, who knew most of the girls who were said to have been seen with his sister, had known for some time that most of the girls had been jealous, and hated Wacici. He suspected foul play.

He left home quickly and tracked the route through which the girls had returned from the expert. He knew that if they gathered some firewood, they must have entered the forest on the way. He went into the forest to check if his sister had been killed there. When he came near the porcupine hole he noticed that it was freshly covered and that there were many foot-marks which suggested that many people had been there. He examined them very carefully. He also saw a bundle of firewood, which had been abandoned. This time Wacici could hear some noise and footsteps above her. She was crying and singing and calling her brother's name.

Cinji! Cinji! *Cinji! Cinji!*

Nondakwirire-i! Cinji, *I already told you, Cinji,*

Nothiganagwo-i! Cinji; *I have been hated and spied on, Cinji;*

Cinji! Cinji! *Cinji! Cinji!*

When he listened carefully, he heard the voice of Wacici clearly and he had no doubt that she had been buried there by her girlfriends who were jealous of her beauty. He called out, 'Wacici-i! Wacici!' Wacici heard him and she felt so happy that he had come to liberate her. She answered quickly, 'Yuu-uuu!' At once her brother started digging and removing the soil. He dug and dug until he came to where she was sitting and crying. He carried her to the surface and examined her: she was in good shape except that she had weakened because of hunger and fear. He took her home and her parents were so happy to see her again. She was given a good bath and a lamb was slaughtered[10] to offer thanksgiving to Mwene-Nyaga who had preserved her life[11]" (Njururi 1966: 86–9 as cited in (Finnegan, 2014, pp. 348–350)])

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[9] Metaphor as a storytelling technique used in this story
[10] Legend as a storytelling technique used in this story
[11] Proverb as a storytelling technique used in this story

3.4.3 Storytelling techniques as data analytical tools

Banks-Wallace (2002) argues that each story needs to be analysed based on the texts and phrases used by participants. Storytellers adeptly manipulate language using oral narrative devices such as metaphors to reinforce the meaning and impart knowledge, as well as to capture the attention of the audience (Omuteche, 2011). The texts and phrases used in this study describe the challenges that female chefs face in the Kenyan hospitality industry. Therefore, metaphors, proverbs and dialogue will be explored as special features of texts and phrases in the stories (steps 3, 4 and 5) to establish themes in the study (see Appendix H).

a) Metaphors

In stories, metaphors are useful to storytellers for engaging the audience in arguing critically. On one hand, metaphors help "create safe space" between the narrators and the audience where emotional reactions can be invoked (Banks-Wallace, 2002, p. 411). On the other hand, narrators communicate with their audience imaginatively, hence the audience is engaged as they discover the meaning (Omuteche, 2011). These phrases would normally have hidden meanings, so it is the audience's job to digest, retrieve and connect their meaning to the stories.

b) Proverbs

Proverbs are wise sayings that have concealed meanings, and are mostly used to counsel and teach. Proverbs enthuse the audience, leaving them anticipating more stories. It is essential to find the meanings that female chefs attach to proverbs when they use them in their stories.

c) Dialogue

Dialogue helps reveal the characteristics of the female chefs as well as those of their coworkers. A dialogue technique in stories applies in two ways. It is used either as a dialogue - literally meaning when two or more characters engage in a conversation - or as a monologue, when characters engage in self-reflection. Dialogue technique adds originality to the narrated stories (Miruka, 2011). Dialogue aids in authenticating stories as it captures "what was said, by whom and how they said it" (Omuteche, 2011, p. xv). A critical analysis of dialogue unearths meaning in the female chefs' stories.

In addition, Banks-Wallace (2002) suggests that when analysing stories, the function of the stories might be crucial to unearthing the meaning of the texts and phrases. It was

therefore imperative to study the story content. What was the message in the story, who was the message for, why was the message important? Stories can also take the form of a legend, as discussed below.

d) Legends

Legends are stories about important people or historical events that are believed to have made incredible contributions to society. In the contemporary literary world, legends are stories of people and events that are real. Legendary stories revolve around people we live with, just like female chefs in this study. Legendary stories transition from one generation to the other.

In a separate study with healthy volunteer workers, Fisher (2015) found that the volunteers "harbour stereotypes and fears of medical research that even insiders had difficulty rejecting" (p. 139). The volunteer workers put on brave faces, yet unknown to the people, the volunteer workers surmounted many challenges. Similarly, it is crucial to be objective about the female chefs' stories, as this may help reveal the challenges that the legendary figures undergo. Therefore, legends are literary tools that convey messages through which people can learn, and thus, they can affect behaviour change in the oppressors.

e) Repetition

Analysing the stories revealed the commonality of the risks and challenges faced by female chefs. Banks-Wallace (2002) refers to reviewing the stories for conspicuous absences and silences and establishing the probable causes. Repetition is an essential tool in examining the industry perception of female chefs. Therefore, repetition could help when analysing the challenges that appear in the metaphors, proverbs and dialogue, as well as legends when these occurred.

In the next section, the methods used to collect data, such as storytelling, as well as the data analysis process will be discussed in detail. The section details the processes of data collection using storytelling and the analysis process using the Afrocentric approach.

3.5   Data collection and analysis

This section discusses the data collection, interpretation and analysis processes used in this study. The sampling techniques, the recruitment method for the participants and the data collection methods and instruments are discussed. Next, the ethical considerations

that guided the study are introduced. Finally, the processes used to analyse the data are examined.

3.5.1 Data collection

The data collection approach used in this study was storytelling gained through interviews. Banks-Wallace (2002) argues that using data collection methods based on oral traditions appears to bridge the gap between the participants and the researcher. Based on her argument, storytelling was chosen as the essential data collection method.

Initially, it was imperative to establish the background information of the participants in the study, hence the need for demographic information (see Appendix D). To obtain data on the participants' backgrounds, they were asked to fill in forms about their ages, work experience, job title and their choice of pseudonym. The pseudonyms reflected names commonly used in Kenya.

In addition, prompt questions guided the storytelling session. Female chefs had a separate set of questions to those given to the male executive chefs (see Appendices E and F). It was essential to have the two sets of prompt questions due to the differences in the jobs held by the male and the female chefs in the workplaces. The men were at the managerial position and the women were "aspiring" to be managers. It was interesting to gain the male chefs' views about their knowledge of the structural and societal challenges that female chefs face.

Selection criteria for the recruitment of participants

Fifteen chefs were recruited for this study to tell stories about their experiences in the Kenyan hospitality industry. Kenyan chefs were the target population for this research. The following recruitment criteria were established:

Female chefs
- Must be 18 years or over.
- Must be indigenous Kenyan.
- Must have over four years' work experience.
- Must be in the position of a chef de partie or higher.
- Must be working in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

Male executive chefs

- Must be 18 years or over.

- Must be indigenous Kenyan.

- Must have been in the position of an executive chef for at least one year.

- Must be working in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

Sampling techniques

Initially, purposive sampling techniques were used in the study. Tracy (2013) defines purposive sampling as a method of selecting participants based on characteristics that enable full exploration of a phenomenon to achieve the aims of the study. In addition, Gray (2013) notes that the purposive sampling method is useful when the researcher aims to reach a "cross-section" (p.88) of a population under study. The gender of the chefs was an integral part of this study; hence, both male and female chefs were interviewed.

Since there were two sets of participants in this study, two sets of recruitment notices for both male and female participants were required (see Appendices B and C). The recruitment notices featured on the kitchen notice boards in the various hotels visited in Kenya. It was important to discuss the possibility of using the kitchen notice boards with the executive chefs, through whom permission was granted. Prospective participants were asked to communicate with the researcher, whose contact details were given in the recruitment notice. Four female and four male chefs responded. Upon expressing interest in the research, the prospective participants were sent information detailing the requirements of the research.

Recruiting female chefs was not easy. As a result, it was essential to use another sampling technique to reach the "inaccessible participants". The snowballing sampling technique was found to be appropriate. Atkinson and Flint (2001) define snowballing as a technique where willing participants consent to help in the research by providing information about possible target participants. Therefore, the participants who had already taken part in the study were asked to suggest other chefs who met the recruitment criteria.

Upon communicating with the eight participants, they proposed nine more participants. Eight female chefs and another male prospective participant were referred. All nine showed interest in taking part in the research. However, two potential participants did

not take part in the interview process. Due to time constraints, one potential female participant cited job commitments and was not able to be interviewed. The other female chef participant did not consent to audio recording, nor to her story being documented.

Ethics approval

This research was required to meet the ethical standards set by the Auckland University of Technology's Ethics Committee (AUTEC). After satisfactorily meeting the ethical requirements, AUTEC approved the research. Ethics approval was granted on the 25 February 2016, under AUTEC reference number 16/27 (see Appendix C). Thereafter, the research proceeded to the data collection stage.

The interview process

Each participant was asked to choose a venue for the interview in a Nairobi restaurant of their choice, as this provided ease of access and a public space. Each participant was allocated up to one hour. After seating a participant, the researcher offered drinking water. Participants were reminded that they were free to opt out of the study if they felt they needed to. The researcher sought consent to audio record the stories. The researcher took notes of the session to reference during the analysis of the stories. Some participants talked freely after they realised the formal session was over.

Within an African oral tradition, after storytelling sessions, a simple "thank you" is appreciated. However, Kovach (2010) postulates that researchers should strive to appreciate participants by gifting. Acceptance of gifts is not a tradition as the value in stories is considered most important (Adelowo, 2012). In view of the two stances, the researcher provided a light refreshment as a sign of sharing and appreciating the value of the stories.

Limitations of the methods

Some possible limitations of the methodology were evident in the process. During the data collection stage it was not easy to convince one participant to consent to audio recording. Even though she was willing to take part in the research, the researcher had to allow her to opt out in keeping with the ethics around consensual audio recording.

Moreover, conducting qualitative research with hospitality workers was challenging, due to their shift hours and busy schedules. Some chefs who were potential participants did not have sufficient time for the interviews. In such instances, the researcher had to forgo interviewing due to the time constraint.

In this section, data collection as applied to this study is discussed. Storytelling rooted in an African oral tradition about female chefs' experiences and challenges in the Kenyan hospitality industry was used in collecting the data. In the next section, data analysis is discussed. The stories that formed the data were analysed, as discussed below.

Being a male chef researching female and male chefs, many issues arose during the research process. For instance, my position of privilege. The researcher admits that in this research he is positioned as privileged because of his gender as male, his position as a chef, and my position as a researcher. As indicated in the study, male chefs appear to protect male privilege, ensuring the oppression of female chefs. This might cast doubt on the intentions of this research. The researcher reiterates that this research on female chefs result from working with female chefs, some of whom he owes his position as a researcher and a chef. These female chefs have played a role in his profession, both in the industry and in academia. Therefore, this research is part of an ongoing process in the journey of changing the status quo regarding oppression in the hospitality industry.

In addition, being male may be a disadvantage as the language used may not explicitly express feminist thoughts. However, the researcher put measures in place to limit his chances of overlooking issues that affect female chefs within the African feminist lens. He believes that this research, guided by consultations from an able team of female chefs and supervisors, would be articulate in addressing the challenges that female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry are faced with.

Lastly, using words and phrases in analysing stories means that the stories may pose different meanings to different audiences. Metaphors, proverbs and legends may be expressed in many ways. For instance, the cultural and professional context of the audience may influence the interpretation of the stories.

3.5.2 Data Analysis

The analysis of the stories in this study was guided by Banks-Wallace (2002, p. 143). In her proposed method for story analysis, she outlines the following sequential steps in analysing stories in qualitative research:

1) Analysing the immediate storytelling environment or context.
2) Provision of summary information about the historical settings for the study.
3) Thematic analysis and functional analysis of stories.

4) Grouping stories together according to themes and functions.

5) Comparison of story themes and functions across sessions.

6) Reviewing stories for conspicuous absences and silences.

These six steps were essential in analysing the female chefs' stories. The steps were further refined to suit the design of the study. The most critical stage before analysing the stories was managing the data sets. The data sets consisted of memos, the voice recordings and the demographic forms filled out by participants. The researcher had to make sure the three data sets were consistent.

The demographics of participants

Data on age, position, gender and time spent in the hospitality industry were tabulated and presented. As Banks-Wallace (2002) postulates, the participants' demographics significantly influence the storytelling process. It can therefore be argued that the participants' demographics influence the quality of the stories. It was essential to derive information from the demographic data to better interpret the stories.

For qualitative data, Adelowo (2012) argues that using a computer software programme to process data obtained by indigenous methods such the AOTS would cause the data lose the essence of the AOTS. Hence, to situate and authenticate data analysis within the indigenous AOTS, the stories were analysed guided by Banks-Wallace's (2002) analyses, as in the next section.

Participants' demographic information

Female chef participants had different positions in the various sectors of the hospitality industry in Kenya. Two sectors of the hospitality industry were represented in the study, hotels and hospitality training institutions. The participants had the following ranks within the hierarchical kitchen structure: Chef de Partie, Sous Chef, Chef Lecturer and Chef Entrepreneur, as well as a General Manager.

The youngest chef was 31 while the eldest was 52. The average age for the female chefs was 37. Jambo did not indicate her age on the demographic form, so the information about her age could not be used in the study. The work experience for the female chefs ranged from eight years to 30 years. According to Banks-Wallace (2002), age, experience and gender may influence story formation, as the duration of the interviews shows.

Table 1. Female chefs' demographic data.

No.	Pseudonym	Position	Age	Work experience (years)	Interview duration (minutes)
1	Shiru	Chef de partie	33	8	56.38
2	Jambo	General Manager	_	8	25.26
3	Adek	Chef de partie	37	10	48.51
4	Mambo	Pastry chef	41	10	23.32
5	Tasha	Head chef	32	10	37
6	Amanda	Chef instructor	31	10	39.13
7	Kadogo	Sous chef	34	14	34.44
8	Atieno	Chef entrepreneur	34	14	29.49
9	Maya	Senior sous chef	39	16	68.51
10	Saumu	Lecturer	52	30	46.12

The youngest male executive chefs were Simonsig and Baba, who were both 36, while Gacheru was the eldest at 51. The length of work experience ranged from 13 to 30 years. The duration of the interviews indicated how open the chefs were about sharing their stories. At some point during their stories, some male chefs appeared not to be open to the questions put to them, while others such as Gacheru appeared conversant about the female chefs' challenges.

Table 2. Male executive chefs' demographic data.

No.	Pseudonym	Position	Age	Work experience (years)	Interview duration (minutes)
1	Marto	Head of department	40	16	19.3
2	Simonsig	Executive chef	36	13	23.4
3	Archieng	Executive chef	40	20	15.12
4	Baba	Group executive chef	36	17	15.08
5	Gachuru	Director of kitchen operations	51	30	42.18

As indicated in Figures 2 and 3 above, there is evidence of male privilege, as the executive chef's position appears to be the preserve of men. Female chefs, on the other hand, occupy sous chef positions as assistants to the male chefs.

An AOTS qualitative data analysis model

The model below borrows from Banks-Wallace's (2002) six steps shown above. Therefore, the qualitative data analysis is processed in two phases, as shown in the model below. In phase one, both the male and female chefs' stories were woven together using the jealous peer motif using the character device of 'Maya' to encapsulate the experiences of the female chefs. (see Figure 5). Banks-Wallace (2002) postulates the brief historical setting of the study. This is illustrated within the jealous peer motif.
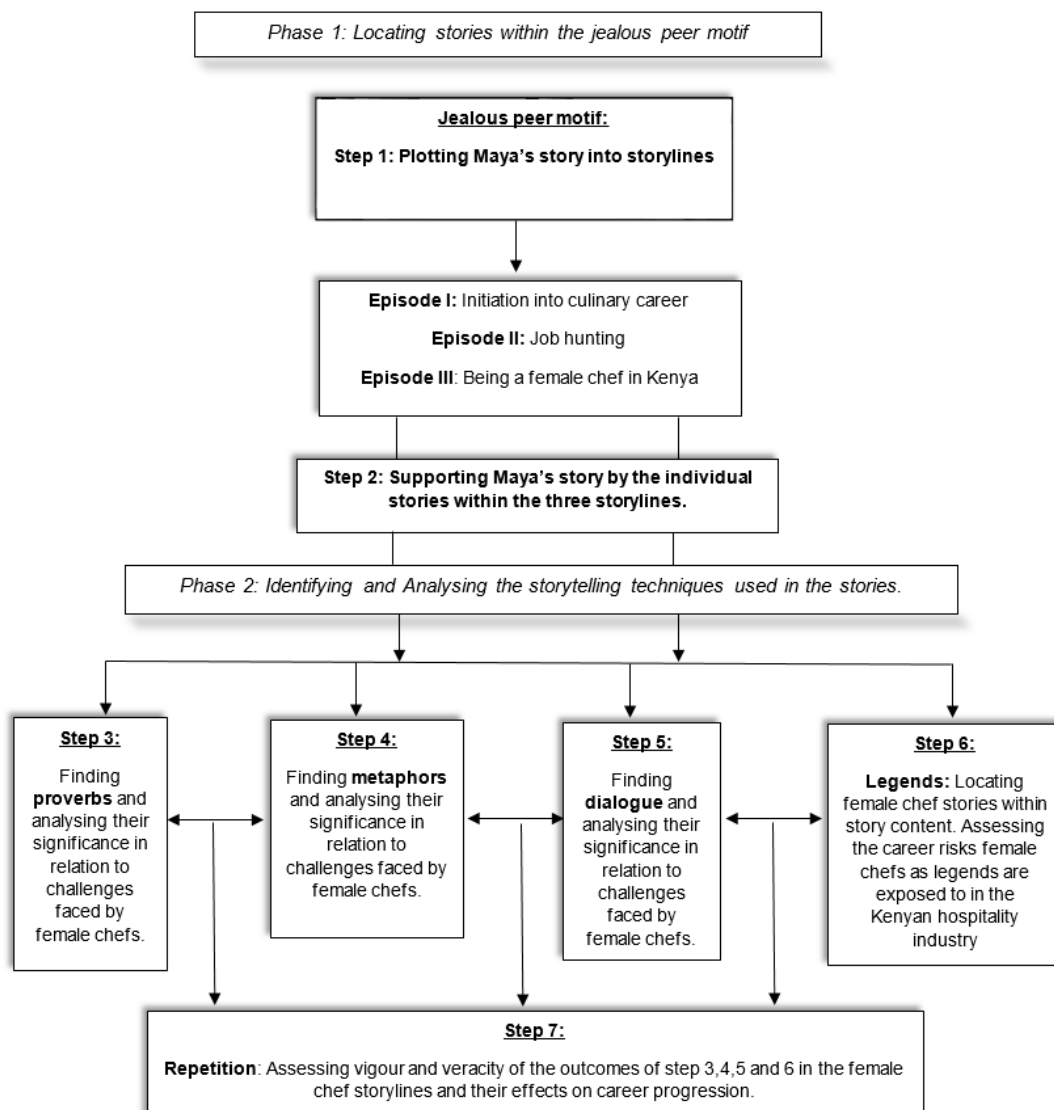
Figure 5. Model of an African oral tradition of storytelling analysis.

Locating "Maya's" story within the jealous peer motif.

The jealous peer motif was useful in establishing major themes in the female chefs' stories as follows. Firstly, female chefs are the protagonists in their stories. Secondly, the beautician is represented by the culinary profession. Thirdly, jealous peers are represented by their coworkers, both male and female, including kitchen stewards, cooks and chefs. Beauty is mirrored by their ability as chefs and suffering is represented by the challenges that female chefs face in their profession. The rescue mission is represented by the African feminist movement, which attempts to bring change in the form of equality for all. Lastly, survival is represented by perseverance and determination in their profession, as illustrated below:

Major themes from female chefs' stories using the jealous peer motif

    I.   Female chefs

   II.   Culinary profession

  III.   Workmates

  IV.   Challenges

   V.   Perseverance and determination in the culinary profession

Subthemes using the storytelling techniques

It was essential to find out how the meaning in the storytelling techniques could be applied to the stories. The process started by identifying where the techniques were used. The next procedure was to colour code the phrases that contained such techniques. Another important feature within the Afrocentric approach is sight. Sight manifest in colour display and it is part of an African culture to be colourful. Colour coding enabled the phrases to be sorted into subthemes. For instance, metaphors, proverbs and dialogue were coded yellow, green and red respectively. The next step was to find out why such phrases and texts were an essential part of the story.

Appendix H is a summary of the analysis used in this study. It indicates the texts and phrases in terms of metaphors, proverbs and dialogue, and the risks female chefs are exposed to in their careers.

3.5.3 **Maya, a female chef tells her story as the main story, supported by the other chefs' stories.**

After reviewing each story, it emerged that one of the participants [Maya] shared stories like other female chefs in Kenya and whose quest to achieve in the higher echelons of their career appears to have been suppressed. In this study, Maya's story will be extensively used along with other chefs' stories. Maya's story was singled out to form the foundation of analysis for the following reasons.

Maya had the longest work experience in the mainstream hotel industry in Kenya and this influenced the richness of her story as a female chef. Saumu, a female chef /lecturer with 30 years of working experience had taught for the past 30 years, but Maya with 16 years' experience was determined to succeed as a hotel chef. The working conditions in hotels pose different challenges compared to those in a training institution, as will be discussed later in the study. Maya provided an extensive account of her work challenges and experiences for example, running a restaurant, re-enrolling as an in-house trainee, to being a senior sous chef in a five-star hotel in Kenya.

Supporting Maya's story were the individual stories of the other 14 participants. The stories validated Maya's story as they constituted different experiences. Banks-Wallace (2002) suggests that the stories must be grouped together to form a coherent whole. The contributions from the nine female chefs were essential to support and strengthen Maya's experience. In addition, the five male executive chefs' stories were also included to offer an alternative point of view based on male chefs' experiences of working with the female chefs.

3.6 **Chapter summary**

In this chapter, the Afrocentric approach of this research was discussed. The discussion delved into African beliefs about knowledge and knowledge acquisition.
To achieve this, the AOTS as the methodology used in this research was illustrated. Storytelling was described as the most appropriate tool for data collection. The importance of acknowledging alternative ways of knowing was discussed, as it emerged that rejecting alternative ways of knowing led to further "othering", which is against the spirit of this study. In addition, African feminist theory was also discussed as it applies to this research. Later, a discussion of the researcher's position was presented. This followed with an examination of the connection between an Afrocentric approach and African feminist theory as used in this study.

The methods used to collect and analyse data in the study were also discussed. The chapter included a section on data collection methods and data analysis. A description of the sample group was made, followed by the sampling methods used in the study. This was followed by an explanation of participants' recruitment methods and processes. The process of ethical approval was highlighted. A discussion of the interview process through which the stories were told was presented. Moreover, this chapter discussed the data analysis process. To achieve this, a discussion on how female chefs' stories fitted the jealous peer motif was presented. An explanation of the storytelling devices used in the analysis of the stories was provided as well. Storytelling devices discussed included metaphors, proverbs, legends and dialogue.

The next chapter is a presentation of the female chefs' stories as they occurred during the interview sessions. The stories are presented as they would appear within the AOTS, which is central to this study. The chapter contains excerpts from the participants.

Chapter 4. RESULTS: MAYA'S STORY

Contents

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presents the approach used to analyse female chefs' stories. Interpreting oratory was key to dissecting the meaning in the stories told by the female chefs. The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the study by unearthing the challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. The story is in three episodes. Each episode has Maya as the main character, followed by contributions from the other 14 chefs in the study. In the second part, the story proper is told. Based on the AOTS, the female chefs' stories are told in parts to make a complete story.

However, this study uses the suffixes (FC) for female and (MC) for male chefs to define them. Because of the Afrocentric approach adopted in this study, the pseudonyms are Kenyan naming styles, so it could be a challenge to differentiate male from female chefs' stories for people who are not familiar with the names.

4.1.1 The storytelling process used in this story

The story is divided into three episodes: *Initiation into the culinary career*, *Job hunting* and *Being a Kenyan female chef*. In each episode, there are various scenes such as pregnancies, intimidation and parenting. All the episodes start with Maya telling her story. The transitions between each episode are characterised by interjections from waiters taking food or drink orders. In another instance, Maya excuses herself as she takes a short call. Subsequently, the other 14 chefs contribute to the episodes, informed by what Maya shared.

The first episode details the process that the female chefs undergo to qualify for a chef's position. The job hunting episode illustrates the struggle to get a job as a female chef. The third episode details the challenges that female chefs undergo in professional kitchens as they work towards becoming executive chefs.

Each episode has two parts; Maya's story, followed by reflection from other chefs. Firstly, Maya tells her story. She sets the mood and provides the direction of the story. Her rich story ignites deliberation by other chefs which contributes to the issues Maya raised. Both male and female chefs tell of their experiences in the hospitality industry, with everyone contributing at different stages, as elaborated on in the next section.

4.1.2 The story proper

A select group of chefs in Nairobi meet on the last Sunday of every month to discuss their welfare; 15 chefs are convened around the discussion table. They include executive chefs, sous chefs, chef lecturers, chef de parties and chef entrepreneurs, both male and female. All practise their trade in Nairobi.

When ten chefs have arrived, a brief introduction is made. The chefs suggest that they should each introduce the person seated next to them in a clockwise direction. A voice echoes, "Hi, allow me to introduce Adek (FC). She is a chef de partie." Next, it is Adek's turn to introduce Mambo (FC), a pastry chef in a Nairobi hotel.
Mambo introduces Saumu (FC) who was her culinary lecturer in college. Saumu seems delighted; she has seen her student grow in the profession and become successful in the industry. Saumu introduces Kadogo (FC), a female sous chef in a training institute in Nairobi.

As Kadogo speaks, one of the chefs grumbles. The chef protests the grouping of male chefs on one side and female chefs on the other. He claims the seating arrangement prevents ease of mingling. Other chefs applaud while the rest thump their feet on the floor. The seating arrangement is reorganised and he moves his seat to sit next to Kadogo. "Have the privilege of introducing me," he says. Kadogo smiles and says, "Meet Gacheru (MC), the Director of Kitchen of Operations for Maneno Group."

Gacheru sits by Kadogo on one side while on the other side is Tasha (FC), the head chef in a three-star hotel. Next to Tasha is Simonsig (MC), the executive chef of the Jadini Group of hotels. As Tasha introduces Simonsig, a woman arrives; she is dressed in green and red traditional *kitenge* regalia. She sits next to Simonsig.
However, Simonsig bypasses introducing her as she settles down. Simonsig introduces Amanda (FC) to the meeting. Amanda, like Saumu (FC), is a chef instructor at the same training institution. Amanda tells a story of a man who played a major part in her professional development. The man she introduces as Marto (MC) is Amanda's boss. Marto is the Head of the Food Production Department at the culinary training institute.

Marto is accorded special attention as he talks. He is a man of few words. "Hello fellow chefs! Meet Shiru (FC), the chef de partie for Kisian Hotel," Marto concludes. Shiru knows it is her turn to introduce Archieng (MC), the Executive chef for Jiamini Hotels.

Next Archieng (MC) introduces Atieno (FC). "A self-made or circumstance-made chef, entrepreneur and a baker," Archieng mentions on a light note.

Later, the woman in the spectacular green and red *kitenge* dress introduces herself to the group. Her seating place is strategic. She sits at the place designated for the host in a usual restaurant dining setup. "Fellow chefs, my name is Maya. I recognise some familiar faces; Adek (FC), Saumu, Simonsig," Maya says. Maya apologises for her lateness. "I am sorry for coming in late. I received a call from the Ministry of Tourism about a function that my team will be catering next week. I am glad to be here to share my thoughts with you," Maya smiles.

It is 4.00pm and darkness was settling in quickly. Most city clubs and discotheques have started beaming disco lights as the city streets became full of life. Revelers and patrons are filling the restaurants and eating outlets. Kosewe, the venue for the meeting, has a few empty seats – it is loved by diners keen to enjoy authentic Kenyan cuisine. Traditional delicacies such as *Osuga, Apoth, Aliya, Athola, Aluru, Mbuzi choma, Maini choma, Ngege mar kado, Ugali wa mahindi, ugali wa mtama* are on the menu.

The chefs unanimously settle for the table d'hôtel[12] menu; *Mbuzi choma* (grilled chevron), *Osuga* for greens and *Ugali* brown for starch. Each orders a bottle of cold *Tusker* beer to go with the dinner. The service is casual, not what one would get at the five-star restaurant across at Moi Avenue. However, the ambiance is perfect; all that the chefs want. Moreover, the chefs work in star-rated hotels, so the exquisite and serene star-rated hotel environment is a non-issue.

The melodious sounds of the *zilizovuma* are courtesy of the Maroon Commandos band entertaining their fans in the house. The band performs every Friday for the patrons of the Kosewe restaurant. The Maroon Commandos commonly play some of the best fusions of Rhumba and *Benga* songs to date. This Friday the band offers a variety of songs from different genres. A playlist for the evening includes Lingala, Rhumba and classical sundowner remixes.

Marto drafts the agenda for the meeting in liaison with the team. Meanwhile, a waiter appears, carrying a laden wooden service tray. On the tray are brown and green bottles. Liquid beads roll down the sides. The waiter wears a tag with the name Zawadi printed

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[12] A menu offered in restaurants where the menu courses are priced together.

on it. "My name is Zawadi, I will be your waiter this evening," Zawadi slides his hands into the apron pocket and reaches for a bottle opener. One by one, he pops the bottle caps open as he checks his captain orders, confirming each chef received the drink they ordered.

Marto moves that the agenda 'the challenges affecting chefs in the industry' be discussed. Saumu seconds Marto's motion. However, Atieno recalls what she learned in school. Her college tutor stressed that the discussion would be significant if the agenda had SMART goals (i.e., Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realistic and Timely). Equipped with "SMART" knowledge, Atieno remarks that female chefs face challenges that require immediate consideration.

As a result, Atieno proposes that the stories of female chefs should offer insightful experiences that could benefit the chef fraternity in Kenya. The chefs applaud and nod in approval. Therefore, the agenda "chefs telling stories about how their journey working with or as Kenyan female chefs in the industry" is reached. The chefs conclude that each should tell a story of their experiences working with other female chefs.

The sweet aroma from the grill catches the attention of the chefs. Zawadi appears ready to serve the main dish. Plates of *mbuzi choma* are prettied up with freshly prepared *kachumbari* salad infused with lemon. On the side is brown *ugali,* moulded into spheres and sitting on the creamed leafy *osuga* vegetable, grandmother style. There is no need for cutlery. The availability of hand washing stations with water and soap dispensers come in handy, while eating with hands provides the much-needed meal experience.

The Maroon Commandos band does not disappoint either. It seems all the songs on their play-list resonate well with the chefs. The next song the band play is perfect for the meeting. "Uvivu ni adui wa ujenzi wa taifa" is now playing. A sombre mood engulfs the meeting. Could the sudden mood change be blamed on the song? Or maybe the band? Being the eldest, Gacheru is nostalgic about his youthful days as the Maroon Commandos band plays a remix of the late Abel Kifoto original "*Uvivu ni adui wa ujenzi wa taifa.*" Saumu joins the conversation, as she seemed to connect with the stories told by Gacheru. The chefs cannot resist singing:

Uvivu ni adui mkubwa kwa ujenzi wa taifa,	*Laziness is the country's greatest enemy,*
Kwani hizi ndizo saa ya kuenda kazi,	*It is time to go to work,*
Ewe ndugu yangu wee	*You my brother,*
Amka kumekucha!	*Wakeup its morning already!*
Kamata jembe na panga, uende shamba,	*Pick up your slasher and hoe, go to the farm,*
Hata wewe mwanangu	*And you my child,*
Amka kumekucha!	*Wakeup its morning already!*
Kwani hizi ndizo saa ya kuenda shule.	*It is time to go to school.*

The young chefs listen in astonishment. The song is a reminder of their primary school days when it played on national radio at five o'clock in the morning. People thought the song was the anthem of the national broadcaster. After the Kenyan national anthem, next on the playlist is "*Uvivu ni adui wa ujenzi wa taifa.*" The song cuts short their world of fantasies and dreams. "*Waking up in the morning was not easy, neither was going to school,*" Maya says dejectedly.

Did the songs give the impetus to the discussion? The song ignited nostalgic moments and old memories. Maya's face showed signs of distress. "*It seems she has a story to tell,*" Marto interjects. Marto catches the attention of the chefs as the singing stops. *"We should allow Maya to tell her story,"* Marto suggests. Maya begins to share her professional culinary experiences:

4.2 Episode 1: Initiation into culinary career

Maya adjusts her seat, clenches her fist, raises her chin, and supports her chin on her fist. She clears her throat of the pungent after taste of raw onions, a key ingredient in kachumbari salad. Maya lifts her glass, and swirls the remnants of the drink, which she gulps down to wash away the awful taste, and smiles. "The story I am about to tell you may sound familiar to some of us," she says. Meanwhile, the chefs are attentive, eager to hear Maya's story.

4.2.1 Scene 1: Unpleasant start

> Therefore, the college director plus my dad were in the room when I went to report to the Machakos Technical College. Just as we sat there, they changed the course from accounting to food and beverage. Finally, he said, you will work in hotels like Hilton, *sasa* you know when they mentioned Hilton I thought I could not get there.

I would walk into a place and everybody would be surprised, you are looking for a job as a chef, you could see the reaction from the guys. I secured a small job in downtown (*uko River road*). I was the chef. At this time, they just called it a cook. I used to wake up at 4 am, leave the house, in fact, sometimes I would wake up at 3:30 because we needed to be there for breakfast. I was being paid 4,000 shillings just like a house girl. I started thinking why go to college for 3 ½ years and earn peanuts.

"Excuse me, madam! May I clear your plate?" Zawadi interrupts. "Definitely! That was so delicious a meal. Please get me a bottle of mineral water to drink," Maya places her order. "That story is probably like what all female chefs' experience," Saumu offers. Maya excuses herself to the washrooms. Instead of waiting for Maya, Marto proposes that the chefs add to the continuity of Maya's powerful story.

4.2.2 Scene 2: Where it all started

Before Maya returns, Saumu takes the opportunity to talk. "*What prompted me to take the chef course was my background. My mother loved cooking… she had learned to cook; you know European dishes… my interests, even came more because now I saw things that of course my mum*" Saumu says. Like many other aspiring chefs, Kadogo was in a profession she had not initially understood. "*Initially, when I joined college, I did not know much about the food production course. I did not know upishi (cookery) can be very hard,*" Kadogo laments. Mambo gives a wan smile. She never expected such a comment from Kadogo. "*I joined this profession as a student. In addition, I was already married and had a family. So, first, that was a challenge for me because I had young children to take care of and school work to cover,*" Mambo states.

4.2.3 Scene 3: On to the industry

All this time, the male chefs are quiet. This prompts Kadogo to question why the male chefs are 'keeping mum'. Gacheru cranes his head. "*I would say most of the time the female trainees have emerged top. They have been leading, they take the top spot because they seem to be more creative and they concentrate more on… on what they do unfortunately than the male student.*"

However, Tasha seems a little perturbed. She doubts the sincerity in what Gacheru said. "*When they [male bosses] see female ladies coming for attachment they don't take them seriously they take them as sex tools, so if you refuse to sleep with them it is an issue you don't get a job blah blah…blah,*" Tasha notes. To support her, Kadogo nods in

agreement. "*They [male bosses] tell the college you are tough headed… you don't want to listen you don't want blah… blah, but you see, you can explain that anywhere,*" Kadogo asserts.

There is a minute of silence as is observed at the time of grief due to the loss of a loved one. *"The thing is that the men themselves are part of this process and they know, they have an idea of what the problem could be,"* Gacheru is quick to make this comment. He is the eldest; he needs to cool the rising temperatures. Gacheru's comment brings some tranquility. Therefore, Marto goes back to his moderating job.

4.3   Episode 2: Job Hunting

Meanwhile, Maya adjusts her seat, eager to be told what ensued during her absence. Marto updates Maya on the proceedings of the discussion. The chefs want to hear more of Maya's story. She is not done as she has only taken a short break. The chefs are attentive again. "Yeah, so... should I continue?" Maya inquires. After a short deliberation, she is allowed to continue telling her story.

Maya's story continued…

4.3.1   Scene 1: An outsider in the kitchen

> I job hunted, and one day I saw an advert for interns at the Hilton. I thank God I passed the first interview. So, I joined the programme. The course would take 18 months and only the best would be given the job. We were only two ladies in the five-star hotel. I was happy; I landed where my dad wanted me to be. I was not earning much as I was still training, working eight hours a day. The time for employment came. That is where the challenge began.
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> There were unions, which mostly comprised men. They were everything. They give the name of people to be employed. Whatever they decide rules. My expectation was we would all be absorbed. We waited for the results for almost 3 months, no one called back. Nothing was happening. When I followed it up, four of the men in our class had been given the jobs. I don't know how.

4.3.2   Scene 2: An unusual job interview

> The chef was a *mzungu*, a white executive chef; the sous chef was Kenyan. The Human Resource (HR) was a man. When I asked the HR, he told me to bring samosas to show that I can work so that we see the way forward. I was so naïve, young, fresh, I knew nothing. I would bring samosas repeatedly waiting outside. The first day he told me that

the samosas were nice. The next day he told, "Are (you) still baking cakes? Me to bring more cakes".

The chef passed by on his way to the housekeeping department. He found me seated there. He asked "*Maya what are you doing here and I have been looking for you… to come back and work*! *What is wrong? It seems that you don't want this job!*" You know he was like… He was a good guy and a bit rough and very strict. I told him that I was surprised because I don't know what to do and the HR is the one who is supposed to take me through this.

4.3.3 Scene 3: "Something small" to secure a job

He entered the office, they argued there, they exchanged words with the HR. The chef came back, took me by the hand to where the uniforms were, he told me to dress (that was around 5 pm) and get back to sign the papers. That's how I secured the job. The guys were so annoyed; they could not talk to me. Even these *wazees* were also annoyed because I had not given something small (a bribe).

In the kitchen, it was so hard for me; I was dealing with HR who did not recognize my presence there… but still I would not read between the lines because I was innocent. That is when life became so difficult, they changed because this time I was employed permanently. It is said we would work eight hours a day, but we would extend depending on the work load. I would find myself very tired.

Maya pauses as a man approaches the table. He is dressed just like Zawadi, white shirt and black pants wrapped underneath a black waiter's apron. He is distributing promotional flyers alongside beverage lists on the tables since there is a football match starting in an hour so. "*Buy One Get One Free (BOGOF)*" is conspicuously inscribed on the flyers. The promotion prompts the chefs to buy a drink each. Buying one drink would qualify for another at the same price, after all.

4.3.4 Scene 4: Gender bias

As Atieno seeks clarity on the sales promotion, Marto suggests that the discussions continue. "Does Maya's story resonate with any of us?" Marto asks. "*Although I applied once, did an interview but I was not considered. I felt I was qualified, but I was not considered… I think I even had the extra when it came to paperwork.*" Mambo decries this. In support of Mambo's sentiments, Tasha gives an account of what she experienced in one hotel. "*They said that they cannot have a female as their chef, they need a male… So, if you are going to have a lady we also need a male chef,*" Tasha laments.

Gacheru does not hesitate. He interjects with a little bravado. "*I have no bias in terms of whom deserves what position because for me it is purely on merit. I look at people's abilities and their productivity and what they can be able to deliver and many of them the ladies as I have said they are just as good because, the kind of assessment that we do does not vary. They are very artistic, they are very committed and most importantly, they are more disciplined and you know our job requires discipline.*"

However, Saumu protests. She asks the chefs if they think female chefs have the same opportunities as male chefs in the industry. "*They do not have equal opportunity because of that perception that they will the work life balance so as much as somebody may want to have a lady chef, they will always feel like the lady chef would not be as flexible as the male chef,*" Marto decries. Some issues seem to have disturbed Kadogo for quite a while. "*It's quite hard because of the mentality of most chefs that ladies cannot make it… opportunities come always priority is given the male chefs people think that so and so can do better than, simply because he is male.*"

4.3.5 Scene 5: Gender intimidation

Having worked in the industry for 31 years in various positions as a female chef, Saumu contributes as well. *"Whenever I go to the industry, female chefs look intimidated know they get intimidated, you know, by the male chefs,"* Saumu (FC) notes. *"To be very frank you can even call it sexual harassment that makes most ladies leave this industry,"* Saumu reaffirms. The contribution from Saumu is critical; the chefs become more open. *"I experienced it myself when I went for my attachment… the men out there have a mentality that when you go out there, especially as a young lady you are there to be exploited."* Then Tasha expresses her disappointment. "*The sexual harassment challenge… the chef who was there in Mara was too much with me. I had to ask for transfer… He wanted to 'sleep' with me then he promotes me but God was with me. When I refused, he started harassing me.*"

There is consensus that harassment exists, though it is not taken seriously because such issues are not explicit in our laws and people are not aware of their rights when it comes to sexual harassment. Marto spices up the conversation. "*Sexual harassment is there only that it is taken to be the culture in the kitchen […] kitchen is like we refer to it as place as organized chaos. People will take advantage of the chaos or do things that may be looked at as harassment to females. It may be physical, it may be verbal utterances, but if you are keen to assess them and gauge you will see this harassment. It may even*

be one reason why ladies may find the kitchen very uncomfortable because they do not have that power to face up with men and culture being in favor of me."

4.3.6   Scene 6: The defense of gender intimidations

Kadogo questions why male chefs are quiet on this issue. Simonsig feels agitated. Something pops up his mind. He needs to say it. *"That issue of sexual harassment I find it, hmm, it's hard to actually know what is happening there, but I do not think. It is… I guess there are men, are guys I mean the male guys have been blamed for being suspected to be, you know, harassing the female chef,".* Simonsig fumbles for words. Soon he gains composure. *"Even if the lady refuses to comply with what the chef wants and the chef feels this lady is hardworking then she deserves the promotion regardless of what you agreed or disagreed outside,"* Simonsig adds.

Baba, for his part, seems to exonerate himself. He highlights the policy that guides their conduct as an organisation. *"But now this sexual harassment, coercion for favours, it is bound to happen. But now it depends with the company policy. Like now for KOT Group[13], we have a policy whereby, there is a code of conduct which is signed and that code of conduct has a sexual harassment code. We do not allow. For example, anybody who is in management nobody is supposed to date anybody who is below their level relationship is discouraged."*

4.4   Episode 3: Career progression in the kitchen

Zawadi and his colleague are back with trays full of drinks ready to serve. Soon Zawadi was snapping the bottle caps open. Simonsig was busy on his phone, flipping through web pages punching in digits. He must have been up to something secret, as he could be heard speaking in low tones. No one could make sense of the monologue. Maya was the last to be served. She was only drinking mineral water. Having taken the position of a host, she had to be a responsible host. Maya scanned through her phone before she continued telling her story:

4.4.1   Scene1: The [we] mentality

> I got the first promotion. It was difficult for me because we found these old men in the kitchen and they had never seen a lady, in fact, as young as I was becoming their boss. They were too old to be my father. They were just people who had been cooking for a long time. They had no new skills, us people were taught new skills. So, they were bitter, so

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[13] Pseudonym

bitter. In fact, I would come in the morning, when you say *hi*, no one would talk to you. Instead, only words would show what they felt. "*Don't tell us to help you lift this because how will I lift for you. When you think, you could work in the kitchen you thought someone would help you lift. My wife is in the house. Men should, eh, I mean… get someone to provide for you*".

In the cold kitchen section, I became the leader of the old men and some young men in the apprenticeship programme. These things you cannot report to anybody. Not even the chef. Anyway, I would come back strong. I would not take them anywhere; they were there to stay. The chef had given me a responsibility yet I could not instruct them. They can't understand why you went to school to learn how to cook. They would say, "*we have been here, we have been cooking, so what are you coming to teach us… to train us?*" Remember that all this time their wives, daughters, even their sons are at home.

In the hot kitchen, I was the first lady to be there. So, I tried, I am so tiny, but you can't find anyone else to lift things. So, you struggle. My job would just sell me. All through, it's all about my effort. I would get these good comments; I thank the white chefs. Because to them, it's a career they support. The executive sous chef then was an African. He would tell me I know nothing.

When the chef came, he promoted me the second time in three years to a chef de partie. As a chef de partie, I became a sectional supervisor. The old wazees became furious and still engaged in bad mouthing. At that time the chef had proven that we could work, he offered more young ladies internship opportunities.

Instructing someone the age of your dad… was not going to be easy, they were not ready to be instructed by a lady. Sometimes, they threatened to take you to the union. A waitress forewarned me not to taste any food that day because they had hatched a plan to poison me. I had to be quiet about it because if you dare tell anyone, you would be forced to produce evidence based on allegations. The process is tedious. You must start from the union and if they sack you risk being victimized further.

4.4.2 Scene 2: Kitchen pregnancies

At that time, we were three women plus the other two men. One was white, but lived in Africa, married to a Cameroonian. He said that women are supposed to be married by rich men, who should take care of their women, and they were not going to handle us. So, that time… I had just gotten my second baby. When he came, I was pregnant, I was transferred to work in the hot kitchen which is very hot, the way it is built; there are two salamanders behind and two food warmers, then the cooking range which is also hot. The front which has the hot plates.

I had the first baby in 2002, I was employed in 2000. In 2001 I was still a demi chef. The chef protected me, the first one. This other chef came two years after; end of 2004, now I am pregnant again. Everywhere its alarm… "she is pregnant again, now these females, you want to get babies, go for maternity leave". You are pregnant and there is no one helping you. You must work from morning to evening, you work more than eight hours. After five months, you would get a doctor's letter. Then you go to the store where you can sit.

The mzungu understood, but these other people would still talk. They would say now she is tough, she's got a promotion who is she going to the boss? Now I went for the second baby, I got that baby. So, this chef comes when I was pregnant, about to get my baby. The mistake I did, this chef stayed for two years he was still there under the contract for another two years. *I am telling you!*

Now, I am in the hot kitchen, I find again I am pregnant. The men also have a problem because they don't understand the difficulty that we have in the kitchen. My husband won't stop having babies because of my career, he said you either leave it or not. I will take care of you… and this is my career, I have built it. I don't want to stop my career. I already knew that the lady chefs don't go anywhere but I was so prepared to face the challenges that it brought. So now I have this pregnancy and after… after. That is the end of 2007 to the start of 2008, (post-election violence). I used to stay in Ayany estate where everything was happening.

I kept quite scared of this chef. He would go to leave *akirudi* he would say "*tell me who is pregnant!*" We had many ladies by this time, but they were commis…" imagine you there and the chef is asking who is pregnant! Seriously! The guys (trainees) I had trained now are becoming sous chefs. They become my bosses simply because *nazaa* (am getting babies); I get a baby, then after two years I get pregnant.

I went to the hospital. They only told me to change my career. I don't want to stand because my back was done some scan MRI[14]. I was told the back is bunched. I could not stand. I did therapies so much exercise. I asked God, I can't suffer this time. I want to finish what I had started. I had reached the level that I could prove that ladies can make it as chefs. My kids, I had to take one to a boarding school is young we only used to communicate through letters. She wrote to me "Mum, we never see you any more" sometimes I cry. Another time she wrote me a letter and told me to leave work

I got so much better until I forgot about my feet. I bought shoes that were very comfortable because of my back problem, though expensive! I obtained a letter from the doctor advising that I should not stand for long. After four hours, I should sit down. He threw it away. (Laughter).

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[14] Magnetic Resonance Imaging

That is the time my lady colleague would come and tell me Maya don't drop out. We were fighting even her; at times, she would be like she is the senior most. I thought about changing careers and I was like I can't go to school again. I am already 37, by the time finish it will be…

My husband was getting into drinking because he said I was never there. He was like you are not supporting me because you are always at the hotel. You forgot about the children, you no longer help with their homework.

4.4.3 Scene 3: Being silent

This one I didn't say I kept quiet, the fourth month I was called by my boss because I was doing a fantastic job, then I told him "chef I need to change from this section" I didn't tell him the reason. He said now "I will take you to the butchery, if you don't want to work in the hot kitchen because… you want the guests to go." He knew I was good yet he was putting people that I trained to be my bosses. I was already the trainer, even where I am today I am like a trainer.

So, me, I am there, am shocked, I don't know what to tell this chef because the executive was on leave. When he came, he asked why I wanted to change section. He shouted and talked a lot. So, I went there and decided to do my best. The same day I was taken to the butchery I also went to see the doctor. I had tolerated a lot of heat, I knew this was very bad on me, I would feel *ni kama* you are being pulled, *unaskia ni kama* you are being pulled to breath. I would be so scared, you feel dizzy, and you just hold on diarrhea, you want to fall. I wanted to start the clinical checkup because of the pregnancy though still hiding it because this guy the way he is talking I don't know what will happen next.

The first thing the doctor mentioned to me after the check was *"I am sorry, but your pregnancy is not viable"* I didn't understand, I asked what do you mean viable? He told me "this pregnancy stopped after three months, now you are four months" then he was like we must terminate it! I was there, crying, I didn't know what to tell my husband. We argued "Doc, how do you say that am not pregnant, but as you can see am still pregnant?" Then he said, "no but it stopped when it was 3 months" but I realised that what he was saying could be true because the way I was feeling […] the pregnancy was not growing. It could have happened when I felt dizziness and asked to change sections.

I went back to the chef; told him I was pregnant, that's why I had asked for change of section. He told me it's better this way than getting a baby who is abnormal… Why did I not leave this career? I have lost my baby; I am advised not to get another baby for the next two years. So, I asked this doctor, what could have caused this? I explained to the doctor the kind of job that I do. He told me, "A lot of radiation can cause it" I was surprised because the griddle is normally red, the salamander […] the infrared radiation.

4.4.4 Scene 4: Being passed over for promotion

At the butchery, all the men were passing there to see because all along it has been men who work in the butchery. This is the time you don't sleep… you think of what to do tomorrow to make a difference. I remember the General Manager coming around. He said "… *this is good; the butchery is not smelling foul. Chef, I think she is doing a good job. This lady is doing a fantastic job!*"

I started swelling in the feet […] *nimejikaza yangu yote*. Am telling you, *unajikaza*, after the job you just go home and cry. My husband could not understand. I had also grown so fast in the job, people talked […] why, why? The men are talking like you have a relationship with the bosses! To them it's for a lady to be promoted after having had a relationship with the bosses. They combine effort with the men and say "*she has something*" There is one lady who talked the other day. She said, "*Maya don't tell us it's about hard working, we know what happens!*" That time they are talking about me and the other lady sous chef. Eh "*unless you do this and this and this you can't get to that level*" some of them believe because the mentality is still there. Because someone has been there for over 16 years without being promoted. Instead of finding how, well, they combine effort with the men, they sabotage me.

Another boss came, he was white. That's why I say the whites, apart from that one from Cameroon whom we can say is an African. The skin is white, but he was African. The new boss was from Switzerland. He was impressed with my job. He once called me to the office, and told me I had been promoted to a junior sous chef.

Now again life became more difficult… now am leading this kitchen. At the sous chef level, you start assuming managerial responsibilities, they didn't want to employ so many people. It was hectic, you go everywhere, the men […] the only thing I thank God, is that the H.O. Ds during that time were mostly white. At least you get support, you not that affected. I was asked, "*With this position are you still going to get babies?*" I told them I had stopped. They told me in your position now, you should be here full time. I took it.

I had to back up my position with courses. So, that I could have papers. You would find a man being promoted yet he has no papers. I used to tell people if I go for an interview with my trainee… They would pick the man and leave the lady. Until they see if you are given an opportunity to prove yourself. Again, you would prove yourself, but not get the job. I remember going for an interview. So, I went to do it at M***a golf club. The interview was for a job in a J*** chain of restaurants, for a group chain chef. When I entered the room… outside I was seated with men. All of them were men.

A lady on the panel told me "Maya you were the best, but we need a man." That was what they told me. I proved myself for the job. But they

tell me for this position they need a man because the candidate will be traversing between different countries quite often. I had to get back to my work… do many more short courses to prove myself. I did kitchen organisation, menu planning courses. I was the employee of the month for so many months. They looked down upon me because of my size. I was tiny but I told them that in the kitchen, more so as a chef you don't carry things, it's about organising work, people and the kitchen.

4.4.5 Scene 5: Renewed hope and resilience

I had to make a presentation after learning a few courses to the managers from various sister hotels within our chain. The managers were like no… it's not you! They had no choice, after you finish the courses and excel they must promote you. That was the last promotion as a sous chef.

The Gem (a new hotel) was opening that was in 2013, I applied. During the interview, the chef asked are you so and so? I replied yes. You had applied for this position? I replied yes. Are you going to manage this? I said, why not. Then he took the papers and asked me questions. He said, I think you are the right person to do this job. But I doubt that you can take care of the kitchen in such a big position. I told him yes I will. He threatened, "if you fail me!" But I asked them "if I was a man, would you still doubt me?" He was laughing… He said "no I believe in ladies" He was American, the first chef I met who believed in a lady chef. He said I want to see ladies in the kitchen.

We went to the kitchen […] a group of many young people, almost 16 of the same level… of senior sous chef, chef de cuisine. When I applied, I knew I was going to be a chef de cuisine, but when we went there I knew the chef de cuisine would be ahead of me. We were taken to these specialty kitchens. I am still the chef there looking like weak compared with the other lady […] I was given the Italian kitchen with these expatriates who at least ended liking me so much. Praising me like […] "you the best!" They told me "we didn't know that you would do this!" Because initially he wanted to get another person, not me as the assistant. Here I was, I had to use all the energy I had in my life to prove… to get… I said in my heart this is the is the level that I have been trying to get to and it has taken me so many years, it has taken me so much energy so that I prove at least *nijue*… sometimes I think I have reached where I wanted now because I know the other one is so hard.

We worked there, the preopening… it was fantastic, eh, again now… the problem there, was time. You go there in the morning… I neglected my family for the first time. In fact, the year 2013/14 I got my family into trouble because I would simply want to prove myself. So, I worked from 7 am in the morning to 11pm in the night.

Before the opening, I had my back… a problem in the back, a serious problem. I could not stand any more. My feet were swollen, I go to the nurse, she told me Maya, unless you change your career, you are not

allowed to stand in the kitchen for long" I didn't want to lose my career. The fact that we were opening, the chef would not allow off day. Instead, he would tell you no that when you wanted the job you knew what was expected of you. The chef said you take or leave it… that we were opening and could not let the opening fail… there was no off. I got this back problem. I went to the doctor, the doctor told me I had to get a job that would allow me to be seated or I change my career because am not supposed to stand for long.

What? Now I got confused. Sometime I had written letter of resignation, in fact two. Because this other Italian chef doesn't want to see me. The chef told me "*don't tell me the doctor told you to sit, get out of this kitchen, go sit and don't come back,*" I had to take off like for one month, everybody including the Executive chef wanted me away. They were annoyed. That I should not get sick when they had climax for business. Secondly, that I had lied to them that I could manage when I could not. But this is something that has come and I knew it came because I was standing for long hours.

"Goal!!!!" There are cheers and jeers in and outside the restaurant. The football match is well on the way. Who scored? Maybe Arsenal or Man U! There is a large following of the English premier league in Kenya. "Yesssss!!!" Simonsig shouts happily. Could it be the sips of golden drink? Or did he bet on this match? He must have placed a winning bet. That explains why he was busy on his smart phone. He slides his phone in his pocket and becomes attentive to the discussion once more. Maya excuses herself to respond to nature's call.

Meanwhile, Archieng notes that the craze of supporting a foreign football club is a problem that could be related to the culinary profession. "*Upcoming hotels are importing foreign staff, including the chefs, where are our own chefs?*"

During the absence of Maya, Marto takes charge. Marto suggests that, as previously done, the chefs need to contribute to the story based on their own experiences. Marto posed the question, "*why are there fewer female chefs in the industry?*" Tasha does not hesitate. "*I was transferred to Limuru as a Sous chef […] they refused to increase my salary. They had to bring a male chef after I had worked there alone for two years as a chef […] the male chef was earning 70,000 shillings and I am earning 25,000 shillings. There is a very big gap.*"

Among the few educated in the chef cohort in Kenya is Saumu. She notes that despite having earned a professional master's degree, she still earns the same as other colleagues without such qualifications. "*Progression in my career it has been very, very*

slow[…] even after adding professional skills to her career, like I have done my Master's Degree in Culinary Arts recently in the U.K. However, I am still on the same level."

4.4.6 Scene 6: Describing conflicting roles

On her part, Shiru is strong. "*Working in the kitchen is very hard. When you are expecting a baby, there is so much happening in your body that you just need to rest, your body controls you, and the kitchen controls you as well, there is a fight, there is a wrangle in your life that is really not easy,*". Adek supports Shiur's sentiment. "*It is something we cannot avoid. Pregnancy, in as much as it's a temporary condition, but it is something that you need some help out of it.*"

The female chefs are concerned that pregnancy could take various forms, each affecting them differently. For instance, *"Cesarean delivery (C-Section) is another thing altogether. So, imagine after those 90 days, it's only three months you come back to work, you have not healed properly, you start lifting heavy things,"* Adek says. As Maya had said in her story, Tasha is also another victim of her pregnancy. She expresses her fear for pregnancy, almost equating pregnancy to a phobia. "So *unaogopa hata kuzaa kama mimi naogopa kuzaa mtoto wa pili (you get scared; I do not want to get pregnant for a second baby).*"

Another challenge is associated with raising babies. Juggling motherhood and work in the kitchen demands a lot more. "*Baby is sick; the house girl has run away. Sometimes they were leaving in the morning the house girl decides that she is not working so she cannot come to work so, and after giving you the same reasons all the time you now tend to think that they are obviously not very serious […] integrity and their sense of reliability starts now being questioned,*" Gacheru notes.

The industry shift work is found not to accommodate female chefs who are wives as well as mothers. "*You know we do not give preference so if it is a broken/ split shift, they would also be doing the split shift. The child falls sick; you are the one to be called. Nobody bothers about the father. So, you are called you go home. If you go to the chef, you ask for permission and they are like 'you've become too much'"* Marto adds. Gacheru is of the view that "*The partners would take responsibility and the moment the partners or the spouse the two people have the responsibility to bring up the baby then*

it means this lady has the time, has the ability, has the support she needs to focus on her work."

"*My experience is they do better, the only thing that is missing is the longevity in that position because they are bound to have to be out, especially the family based there are bound to be out for more than three months and I think that is why people do not want to invest in women executive chefs,*" Baba submits. In addition to Baba's point, Marto observes, "*the law requires that they are given three months to be away on maternity. Therefore, if you look at the period that a lady will be out of work i.e. Three months and then same time they are entitled to an annual leave i.e., one month that is four months in a year. So, when the employers think of paying somebody or four months that are not worked for it becomes a disadvantage.*"

"*It's just culture, it's just, maybe we need to change, but might have lived because we are trained and seeing things, but I feel things have to change anyway, give them a chance to let them prove themselves [...] no I have to go home toto (baby) crying, nini… nini, husband and I tell these guys sawa (okay) no problem chef in the kitchen he gives me two hours, who will you promote? Whom will you promote?*" Archieng notes.

"*I worked with a lady who was very good in Uganda I once stayed there yes you're right, man she was good, everything I told her everything I showed her, she did, to the point and sometimes she would even take it to a step further and say chef what do you think about this? In addition, it's beautiful put it on the menu. Therefore, she carried on like this for a couple of months and then one day I told her: "listen you know you would be a good chef one day but don't get married!" At first at that point, she asked me: "chef what do you mean do not get married?" But that was the biggest mistake I made. She changed, she withdrew.* This is told by Archieng.

4.4.7 Scene 7: Kitchen work environment

Atieno raises a pertinent issue that affects female chefs. She explains that they are required to sleep at work, something any female should approach carefully. "*Then they expected us to sleep at work like they could give you a room for accommodation so that you can come back to work [...] they can wake you up at any time of the night if there was a guest,*" Atieno says. A similar experience had happened to Tasha. However, in Tasha's case, the relatives were not happy with her. "*I was living with my sister then my sister used to see my husband, helping me out, when I am sleeping here, my husband*

cooks for the kid, then do you know what makes my sister asked me? 'Kwani huyu bwana yako ni mboch (Is your husband a domestic worker?)' Imagine!" Tasha is surprised.

Working conditions is another issue that the chefs note. Most of the kitchen work, including cooking, is performed manually. The female chefs' exhaustion levels rise and yet the domestic chores still wait. Adek decries the lack of technology that ensures clean and healthy cooking. *"We are forced to use different sources of fuel to cook, like charcoal, which is very hectic to cook for the same numbers we do not have gas is, we do not have electricity but at the end of the day, people must eat."*

Shiru cites how she developed a knee injury that almost stalled her career. *"I developed a knee problem, due to a lot of standing yeah […] this was also very hard for me because it was so painful but as chef we ignore, we think you are just tired. You go home you sleep come back tomorrow […] does not stop hurting I went for a check-up and by bad luck it was a torn ligament that needed a correction immediately,"* Shiru laments. On a lighter note, Kadogo complains about the little help that is accorded in the kitchen. She says whenever she asks for help, *"they will tell you 'Don't you go to the bank? When you go to the bank, do you go with me?'"*

4.4.8   Scene 8: Positioned as immoral

On a similar note, Kadogo says that people have preconceptions about the hospitality industry and the hoteliers. *"People look at the ladies who work in the hospitality industry to be. Number one, to be prone to drinking a lot. Number two, to be quite immoral. I do not know how to say that […] as in they are loose. That most people view hospitality industry as, I do not know […] a very open industry. Somebody asks you: 'what do you do?' You tell them I am a chef […] first they think of those guys who work in the kitchen number one you must be a drunkard; number two you must be very loose."*

Another aspect of culture is *"If a man goes home late nobody, he will not be asked by anybody why you are late? Why were you on night shift?"* Tasha notes. *"He told me you either chose whether you will stay with your daughter or will leave your daughter at home with your parents or you chose either you stay OK I do not know how I will put it. It brought issues and we had to separate. We had to separate for two years,"* Tasha exclaims. Amanda is another victim of culture and late night shifts. *"I come home at*

midnight, they just would look at me with amazement. You know. How can? One went ahead and asked how can a woman come home at midnight?".

4.4.9 Scene 9: Safety concerns

Gacheru also notes that *"the level of insecurity in the country. If they (female chefs) are working on night shifts […] you know then transport. With few steps to your house, you do not know whether somebody will be waiting around a dark corner for you and all that […] it puts unnecessary pressure because you can imagine that every day you are scared. You are trying, holding your bag as you dash to your door before somebody sees you and so if you have to do that every day and you do not see any solution to it and the next day you hear that your friend was mugged or was even injured then you get even more scared."* He is supported by Archieng who says "*You put her on night shift you are endangering her life because when she gets a bus and cannot drop her close to where she stays or residence so it is risky for them."*

Split shift, also known as the infamous broken shift, is a concern for the female chefs. "*The split shift that starts from 10.00 am to 2.00pm and then there is a break between 2.00pm to 6.00pm and from 6.00pm again to 10.00pm. Nevertheless, the split shift is not a split shift […] depending on the workload then sometimes you end not going for a break. So, you must work throughout from 10.00am to 10.00pm which is not easy as a parent,"* Shiru comments.

4.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter, female and male chefs' stories were presented. The stories feature the challenges that female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry face. The story had Maya as the protagonist supported by the other 14 chefs, female and male. The story was presented in four episodes within which various scenes emerged. The scenes reflect the challenges that female chefs face.

The next chapter is a discussion of the findings of the study. Excerpts from individual chef's stories are presented as findings of the challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

Chapter 5. FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to interpret and present the findings of this study. It also draws on the challenges the story presented in the previous chapter as female chefs shared their experiences of working in Kenyan hospitality. Finding meaning in the stories helps gain an insight into how the challenges affect the progression of female chefs' careers. Findings from the stories are presented with the jealous peer motif analogy. The main themes from the study are presented to illustrate the various challenges women face in the Kenyan hospitality industry. These themes are presented and discussed.

5.2 Female chefs as portrayed in the stories

Patriarchal attitudes

The perception of the male as a leader figure is widespread in African cultures. Maseno and Kilonzo (2011) view patriarchy as a system of male dominance of power and authority over women that manifests in the socio-political and economic structures of the social fabric. It is a system where women are considered second class in society.

The findings of this study suggest that patriarchy plays a major role in shaping women's careers. Maya told how her father influenced her to forgo her career choice in accountancy and instead join the hotel industry as a cook.

Maya: "*Therefore, the college director plus my dad was in the room when I went to report to the Machakos Technical College. Just as we sat there, they changed the course from Accounting to Food and Beverage. Finally, he said, you will work in hotels like Hilton.*"

The findings further suggest that female chefs have multiple roles as wives and mothers at the same time as keeping their positions as professionals in society. Maya's husband appears to accuse Maya of not guiding him away from alcohol. This suggests the overburdening expectations of society on females. In another instance, Maya states how her husband nearly forced her to be a career housewife.

Maya: "*My husband won't stop having babies because of my career, he said you either leave it or not [...] my husband was getting into drinking because I was never there.*"

Patriarchy further appears to impede female chefs' career in Kenya as some of the chefs' stories revealed conflicting cultural and career practices. Maya noted that entry into the male dominated career was difficult. She faced opposition from male chefs who appeared to protect their privilege as workers. A female entrant in the kitchen, Maya was branded an outsider who did not belong to the club of privileged males. Maya cited a chef who appeared to be egocentric and malevolent.

Maya: *"He said that women are supposed to be married by rich men, who should take care of their women, and they were not going to handle us."*

Another male chef said he lost the able services of a promising female chef due to a marriage debate. Findings suggests that marriage is a customary right that may pose a barrier to female chefs' career progression.

Archieng: *"… one day I told her: 'listen you know you would be a good chef one day but don't get married!' However, that was the biggest mistake I made. She changed; she withdrew. At first at that point she asked me: 'chef what do you mean do not get married?'"*

Findings also suggests the lack of the father's participation in parenting. Female chefs appear to be solely responsible for parenting roles in their families. Despite having husbands, society seems to encourage female chefs to attend to their children, including spending time with them, attending school meetings and clinic checks, and helping with homework.

Adek: *"The child falls sick; you are the one to be called. Nobody bothers about the father. Therefore, you are called you go home. If you go to the chef you ask for permission and they are like "you've become too much."*

One female chef in this study talked about her husband's opposition to her working. Tasha believed that she had to work to support the family which was struggling financially. Her husband's traditional and sexist view of a wife as domestic cook and a nurturer could not allow Tasha to pursue her career. The lack of the father's participation in childcare can also be viewed as discriminatory and overburdening, and likely indicates that a female chef's work is not as important as her husband's work.

Tasha: *"He told me you either choose to stay with your daughter or will leave your daughter at home with your parents. Or you choose either you stay ok I do not know how I will put it. It brought issues and we had to separate. We had to separate for two years."*

On probing the male executive chefs further, one was candid enough to mention that absenteeism due to parenting roles is genuine but not accommodated in the employment policies. Because of this, female chefs have been branded as not committed to the employer.

Gacheru: *"Baby is sick, the house girl has run away, sometimes they were leaving in the morning the house girl decides that she is not working so she cannot come to work so, and after giving you the same reasons all the time you now tend to think that they are obviously not very serious."*

Patriarchal views of African women as nurturers impedes female chefs' efforts in their career progression. Some establishments in the hospitality industry operate late into the night yet, according to the findings, it appears that night curfews are imposed on female chefs as they are supposed to attend to 'wifely'[15] duties in their homes. Amanda had difficulty answering a relative who questioned her coming home from work past midnight.

Amanda: *"I come home at midnight; they just would look at me with amazement. You know. How can? One went ahead and asked how can a woman come home at midnight?"*

Hospitality career stereotyping

The findings reveal stereotypes about female chefs, both in the hospitality industry and in society. It appears that the profession of female chef is not considered worthwhile. The Kenyan society appears to view female chefs as immoral. Kadogo noted that she had difficulty defending her profession at social events.

Kadogo: *"Somebody asks you: What do you do? You tell them I am a chef […] first they think of those guys who work in the kitchen number one you must be a drunkard; number two you must be very loose."*

5.3   Female chefs' perception of the culinary profession in Kenya

Lack of employment opportunities

Getting a job in the Kenyan hospitality industry for female chefs appears to be difficult. Maya alluded to her first attempt at seeking employment as a cook and how she was

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[15] The duties that the society perceive to be a wife's responsibility.

treated as a stranger. To her dismay, the hospitality industry did not accept that female chefs are as competent as male chefs.

However, after several attempts she was accepted as an apprentice in a leading hotel where she trained further to better her career prospects. Maya later felt unwelcome at the place where she trained. The human resources officer who appeared to have colluded with the kitchen staff did not give Maya the chance that she deservedly earned. The chef who had been waiting for Maya to report for duty revealed this.

Maya: *The chef asked me; "Maya what are you doing here and I have been looking for you […] to come back and work! What is wrong? It seems that you don't want this job!"*

Findings further suggest that an informal network controls employment in the kitchen. The network consists of the human resource officer and some staff in the kitchen, who apply unorthodox practices, including bribery, when dealing with staff who wish to be employed in the kitchen. "Something small", as used in the story, is indicative of a bribe as it is commonly referred to in Kenya.

The human resources officer engaged Maya in unconventional interview 'tricks', apparently trying to frustrate Maya's efforts to be employed. The human resources officer appears to have abused his powers when he directed Maya to prepare *samosas* to prove that she is worthy of the cooking job.

Maya: "When I asked the HR, he told me to bring samosas to show that I can work so that we see the way forward."

Unfavourable work environment

The kitchen environment is another challenge that was found to affect female chefs in this study. Findings suggest that a "hot kitchen" is not conducive for expectant chefs. Maya revealed her belief that working in the hot kitchen section was responsible for her miscarriage.

Maya: "you are being pulled to breathe. I would be so scared, you feel dizzy […] When I visited the doctor, he told me; 'am sorry but your pregnancy is not viable […] a lot of radiation can cause it."

Another factor that contributed to Maya's miscarriage was the fear instilled in her by the chef. Maya could not seek medical care early in her pregnancy because the chef had previously intimidated Maya about getting pregnant.

Maya: *"When he(chef) returned from leave I was pregnant, I was transferred*
to work in the hot kitchen which is very hot. I told him; 'chef I need to
change from this section' I didn't tell him the reason."

5.4 Female chefs' perceptions of their workmates

Findings suggest that male chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry treat female chefs differently to their male colleagues. All the 15 stories indicate that female chefs appear to be discriminated against. In addition, other chefs who work alongside female chefs appear not to be accepting of a team that is inclusive of women.

Gender discrimination

Maya spoke of her frustrations in the workplace due to the dominance of men in positions of staff representation, such as in staff unions. Findings suggest that female chefs' interests are not fully represented at the various staff levels. This could also mean that policies geared towards benefiting staff may not factor in the interests of female chefs.

Maya: *"There were unions, which mostly comprised men. They were*
everything. They give the name of people to be employed. Whatever
they decide rules. My expectation was we would all be absorbed. We
waited for the results for almost three months, no one called back."

In a related story, Tasha, a female chef, narrated her experience of working in the Kenyan hospitality industry. She noted that the hotel management preferred having a male chef to a female chef, even if it meant duplicating the roles of the chefs.

Tasha: *"They said they cannot have a female as their chef, they need a male…*
So, if you are going to have a lady we also need a male chef."

The executive chefs' positions appear to be reserved for men, whereas in most instances, female chefs were found to be competent enough to assume an executive chef's role. Firstly, in a job interview with a chain of restaurants in Nairobi, Maya noted that a panellist confided in her that she was the best amongst the interviewees. However, Maya missed the opportunity to become an executive chef in a restaurant chain based on what appeared to be her gender.

Maya: *"Maya you were the best, but we need a man." … I proved myself for*
the job. But they tell me for this position they need a man."

Secondly, sexism was evident in another job interview that Maya spoke about when she sought an executive chef's position. The chef appeared to doubt Maya's ability to lead the kitchen team.

Maya: *"But I really doubt that you are able to take care of the kitchen in such a big position [...] He threatened, "If you fail me!" but I asked them 'if I was a man, would you still doubt me?'"*

Maya attempted to progress despite the challenges she faced. As a female sous chef, she shared her story of the sceptics of her ability. Though she qualified for the position of a sous chef, her employers did not believe that as a female, Maya could fulfil that role.

Maya: *"You had applied for this position? [...] Are you going to manage this? [...] 'We didn't know that you would do this!' 'He wanted to get another person not me as the assistant.'"*

Kenyan female chefs reported slow progression in their careers. Discrimination against female chefs for promotional opportunities was also reported. For instance, Saumu, who has worked in the Kenyan hospitality industry for 32 years and has a postgraduate qualification in Culinary Arts, stated that she has been bypassed for promotions that were offered to male chefs.

Saumu: *"Progression in my career has been very, very slow [...] like I have graduated with Master's degree in Culinary Arts in the U.K [...] I am still on the same level."*

Poor employee relations

Chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry appear to be authoritarian and to have discretionary powers. Medical advice from doctors was not implemented. Maya noted an incident where she was relieved of heavy work in the kitchen by her doctor. However, the executive chef disregarded the doctor's advice, and consequently Maya developed a recurrent ailment.

Maya: *"The chef told me 'don't tell me the doctor told you to sit, get out of this kitchen, go sit and don't come back.' I obtained a letter from the doctor advising that I should not stand for long [...] He threw it away."*

5.5 Challenges for women associated with the industry

Low pay

Female chefs reported low pay lower than their male colleagues in the Kenyan hospitality industry. Maya compared her wages to that of a domestic helper, who are paid the minimum wage in Kenya.

Maya: *"I was paid peanuts/paid domestic helper's salary."*

Another female chef also decried low pay, even after working as a head chef, whose responsibilities demand better pay.

Tasha: *"I was transferred to Limuru as a Sous chef… They refused to increase my salary. They had to bring a male chef after I had worked there for two years alone as a chef."*

Findings indicate discriminatory pay against female chefs. To illustrate this, Tasha noted the gap between her salary and a male chef's salary, which had a similar job description. As a female chef, she was paid less than half what a male chef earned.

Tasha: *"The male chef was earning 70,000 shillings and I am earning 25,000 shillings. There is a very big gap."*

Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment was reported by female chefs to have started as early as during internship. Unfortunately, some of the perpetrators were the bosses; hence, they intimidated trainee female chefs. In addition, female chefs are also stereotyped as "sex tools". Findings suggests that female chef interns are viewed as instruments for advancing sexual pleasure. They report sexual innuendo from the hotel employees who should train ethics of the hotel industry. Tasha shared her experience of when she was an intern in a Kenyan hotel.

Kadogo: *"They see you as "sex tools". As a young lady, you are there to be exploited […] they [male bosses] tell the college you are tough headed […] you don't listen you don't want, you don't get a job blah…blah."*

In a related story, one female chef reported being frustrated by a male executive chef, who insisted that for her to be promoted she had to advance sexual favours.

Tasha: *"He wanted to sleep with me then he promotes me but, God was with me. When I refused, he started harassing me."*

The findings suggest that sexual harassment among female chefs is a common occurrence. The study indicates that Maya's colleagues believed that Maya had offered sexual advances in exchange for what appeared to them to be a rapid career progression, especially for a female chef.

Maya: *"The men are talking like you have a relationship with the bosses! [...] Maya do not tell us it is about hard working; we know what happens! Unless you do this and this and this, you cannot get to that level (Sexual advances)."*

The kitchen environment was found to be prone to sexual abuse and female chefs are the victims. A male chef described the kitchen environment as chaotic and said that harassment in the form of ogling or banter is rarely given serious attention.

Marto: *"It maybe physical, it may be verbal utterances, but if you are keen really to assess them and gauge you will see this harassment and may even be one reason why ladies may find the kitchen very uncomfortable."*

Lack of acceptance of pregnancy

According to the findings, there is an indication that female chefs who get pregnant find it difficult to work in certain areas of the kitchen. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the kitchen environment is sometimes not healthy for any expectant woman to work in. The situation is compounded by evidence that some male chefs appear to discriminate against expectant female chefs. Maya narrated an incident where a male executive chef was not happy about Maya's pregnancies.

Maya: *"This other chef came two years after; end of 2004, now I am pregnant again. Everywhere its alarm... 'she is pregnant again, now these females, you want to get babies, go for maternity leave'."*

Moreover, as Maya persistently proved her worth in the kitchen team, she was due for promotion. After meeting all the competency requirements that the management deemed necessary, she was asked if she would be expectant in the future.

Maya: *"'With this position are you still going to get babies?' I told them I had stopped."*

Similarly, a male executive chef cited absenteeism caused by maternity leave as a contentious issue about employing female chefs. The male chefs opined that female chefs on maternity leave worked fewer days and that the law requires that maternity leave be paid.

Marto: *"The law requires that they are given three months to be away on maternity [...] they are entitled to an annual leave [...] so when the employers think of paying somebody or four months that are not worked for it becomes a disadvantage."*

Work-life balance

Striking a balance between career and personal life appears to be a challenge for the female chefs. Culinary careers appear to demand more than eight hours daily output at the workstation. Findings suggest that long working hours and split shifts, in most cases conflict with the social and family life of female chefs.

Shift work is characterised by broken shifts, which means that chefs spend more than eight hours on the work premises. For female chefs who stay far from their work places, this means that the whole day is dedicated to their career.

Archieng: *"The split shift that starts from 1:.00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. and then there is a break between 2:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. and from 6:00 p.m. again to 10:00 p.m. But really the split shift is not really a split shift [...] depending on the workload then sometimes you end not going for a break."*

5.6 Perseverance and determination

Safety concerns

According to the findings, the security of female chefs is a challenge, especially in the morning or late at night. Maya spoke of her struggle when she had to report to work early to prepare breakfast. At this time of the morning, the security of female chefs is at risk.

Maya: *"I would wake up at 3:30 a.m. because we needed to be there for breakfast."*

In addition, a male executive chef noted that he would not like female chefs to work at night because of the security concerns. Even though everyone is at risk when working at night, it appears that female chefs are exposed to greater risks.

Gacheru: *"If they are working on night shifts then you know they transport [...] With few steps to your house, you do not know whether somebody will be waiting around a dark corner for you and all that... it puts unnecessary pressure because you can imagine every day you are scared."*

Health hazards in a chef's career

This study shows that the culinary profession harbours health hazards that may influence the career longevity of female chefs. Findings suggest that injuries such as swelling of the feet, backaches and knee injuries result in recurrent illnesses that hinder female chefs' productivity. The cost of treating such injuries was reported to be expensive in most cases, as the employer passes medical costs on to the employees.

Maya: *"My feet were swollen, I go to the nurse, and she told me Maya, unless you change your career, you are not allowed to stand in the kitchen for long […] I got so much better until I forgot about my feet. I bought shoes that were very comfortable because of my back problem, though expensive!"*

Findings also suggest that the culinary profession appears to be prone to injuries. When certain injuries occur, they are considered part of the hard labour that the female chefs undertake. The injuries, according to the chefs, appear normal until they become unmanageable.

Shiru: *"I developed a knee problem, due to a lot of standing yeah… this was also very hard for me because it was so painful but as chef we ignore, we think you are just tired […] does not stop hurting I went for a check-up and by bad luck it was a torn ligament that needed a correction immediately."*

5.7   Chapter summary

In this chapter, findings of the study were presented. The findings detail the challenges that female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry face. The challenges presented include; patriarchal attitudes, hospitality career stereotyping, gender discrimination, sexual harassment, low pay and lack of acceptance of pregnancy by hospitality organisations.

In the next chapter, these challenges will be discussed, and linked with the findings of other studies to illustrate the effects of the challenges on female chefs' career progression.

Chapter 6. DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction.

The aim of this study was to investigate the challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. Discourse on the challenges for female chefs in the hospitality industry elsewhere indicated that female chefs are faced with a variety of challenges, some of which compare to those faced by female chefs in Kenya. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings of this study in relation to the research question, then use the literature to analyse the findings.

In Chapter 2, the literature suggested challenges faced by female chefs were discussed under three categories, societal, organisational and at the individual levels. The next section of this chapter, follows a discussion on the challenges individually experienced by the female chef interviewees as illustrated in Figure 6 below.
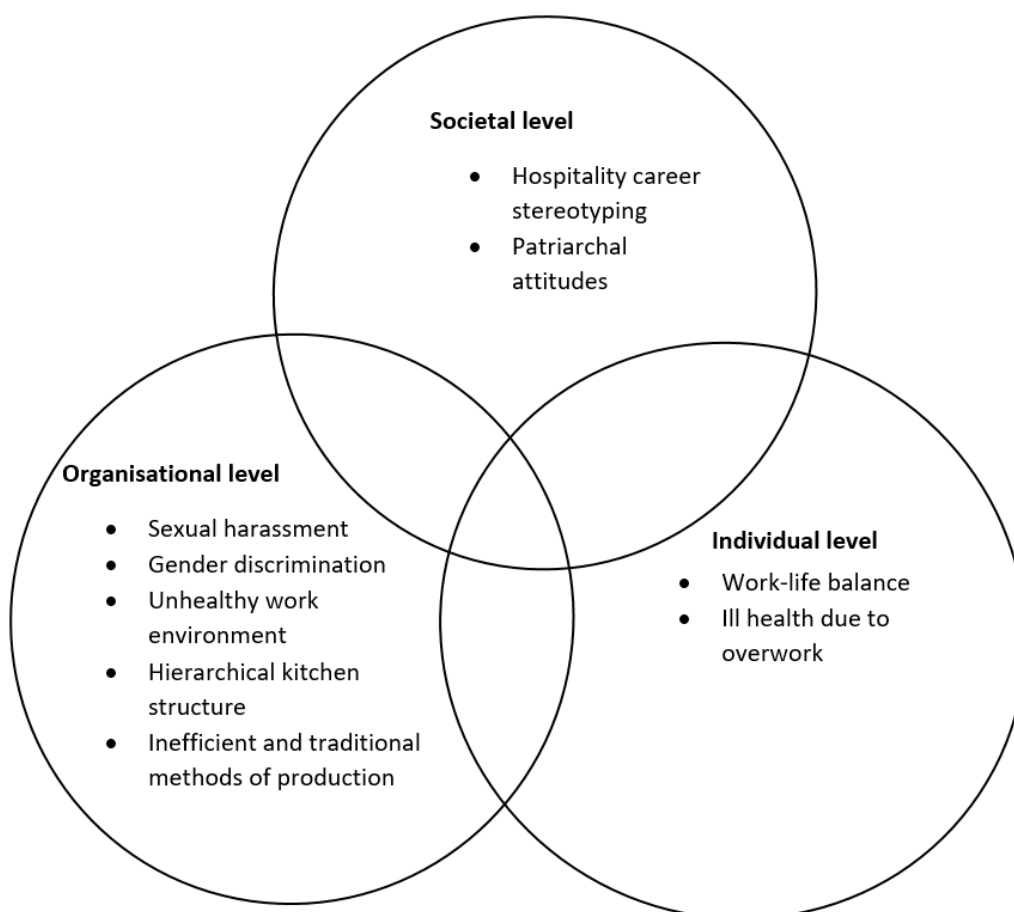

Figure 6. Major challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry.

6.1 Societal level

At the societal level, challenges appear to be caused by forces other than individual and outside hospitality organisations. In this study, at the societal level stereotyping of hospitality careers and the patriarchal attitudes were challenges faced by female chefs.

6.1.1 Hospitality career stereotyping

Female chefs face the challenges of the societal construct of the hospitality industry as well as that of being an 'ideal' woman. The literature suggests that the hospitality industry is associated with drug and substance abuse by its workers as a recreational aid to suppress stress (Pidd, Roche, & Kostadinov, 2014). Female chefs are perceived to be involved in drug and alcohol abuse even if they do not use them. Even though there are no empirical accounts about Kenya, anecdotal evidence of staff partaking in drug and substance abuse may have informed the allegations. However, literature suggests that women are expected to have certain moral standards to be acceptable in society (Oburu, 2011). Thus, women are not encouraged to pursue careers within hospitality organisations due to the perceived negative associations.

6.1.2 Patriarchal attitudes

Family-related chores appeared to be solely under the jurisdiction of the female chefs. Family is the largest form of institution that African women are entrusted to run (Oburu, 2011). Female chefs feel the pressure of societal expectations and may abandon a culinary career with the view of taking care of their families. Due to the subjective gender roles ascribed by the society, female chefs attend to duties such as domestic cooking, which becomes monotonous and tiring since the same labour is required of them in the work place. This study is consistent with Oburu's (2011) assertion that traditional culture dictates that African women should provide and nurture life by providing the right nutrition. As such, female chefs are expected to play their role as mothers.

The findings clearly indicated that whenever there were issues concerning parenting, female chefs were required to attend to their children in school and hospital. The husbands rarely helped the female chefs. In the morning, female chefs' shift started by cooking for the family and preparing the children for school. In some cases, they walked their children to school before they embarked on their work shifts. Men appear not

ready to relinquish their positions of comfort or to allow women to be leaders in the society.

This study supports findings by Robson (2006), which found that Hausa women in Nigeria partake in economic activities to boost family earnings. However, traditional attitudes still prevail, as female chefs have to seek the approval of their husbands to be employed in certain regions of Kenya (Gatwiri & Mumbi, 2016). It appears that some female chefs who cannot get approval from their husbands to work become homemakers. Hence, such women do not benefit from their investments in education and skills, and neither does the industry benefit.

Lack of partner support was another issue that might be attributed to patriarchal attitudes. Maya recounted that her husband was ready to support her if she gave birth to many babies, as he preferred Maya to remain a 'stay at home' mother. Partner support is key to female chefs' success in the hospitality industry (Karatepe, 2015). According to Maya, her husband did not understand the kind of job that she did and did not appear to give her enough support morally and socially. He anticipated that Maya would have successful pregnancies amidst the challenges that she had faced in the workplace. This may also show that the husband did not appreciate the pressure and demands of Maya's job.

The expectations of female chefs in Kenya therefore tended to result in conflict with their societal responsibilities as mother, wife and an employee (Harris & Giuffre, 2010). Maya's husband appears to blame Maya's pursuit of her career for his drinking. Her husband, though an equal partner in the home, did not support Maya and complained that Maya was not supporting the family. Maya had failed the family in his view as family obligations appear to remain the preserve of the mother in Kenyan society.

Secondly, the lack of childcare facilities in Kenya made it difficult for female chefs organising reliable care giving for their children. Due to the scarcity of childcare facilities, it is costly for female chefs with low salaries to afford such services. The option to arrange a nanny service is not reliable in most cases. The arrangement is personal and in most cases, the accountability of the nanny is an issue. Sometimes, the nannies decide to leave without notifying the parents of the whereabouts of the child they had been taking care of and the safety of the children is compromised.

Male executive chefs in this study argue that female chefs seeking permission to attend to parenting duties such as taking children for clinic visit or school meeting is sometimes unwarranted, which causes suspicion and further blurs the credibility of female chefs. Female chefs are unfairly punished by delayed progression and promotion. In the worst-case scenarios, their employment is terminated.

6.2 Organisational level

At the organisational level, the challenges that female chefs face appeared to originate from within hospitality organisations. Notable challenges at the organisational level include sexual harassment, gender discrimination, the unhealthy work environment, the hierarchical kitchen structure and inefficient and traditional cooking methods.

6.2.1 Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment in the workplace can be defined as offensive, intimidating and unwelcome sexual conduct among workers that may hinder the performance of the victims (Poulston, 2008). Sexual harassment in the hospitality industry is a barrier to female employees' career progression that needs urgent mitigating measures (Mkono, 2010). In this study, sexual harassment affected female chef's careers on two levels, as interns and as workers.

Findings reveal that sexual harassment in the Kenyan hospitality industry starts from the time that students commence internships. In a study about hospitality training, Wang, Chiang and Lee (2014) suggest that poor quality of training students receive during the internship experience influence students' career expectations of the industry. As Ogutu (2015) found in her Kenyan study, student who experienced bad internship experiences showed negative perceptions of the hospitality industry. Therefore, sexual harassment in the Kenyan hospitality industry contribute to poor training that influence the choices that female chefs make regarding committing to the industry. Findings are consistent with Robinson and Barron (2007) who observed that a culinary career attracts many recruits, most of whom do not train to conclusion or who leave once they are employed due to the challenges they face.

The findings indicate that chaotic scenes during the production of food hid sexual abuse in the professional kitchen. Palmer, Cooper and Burns (2010) report that 'banter' in the kitchen is considered a friendly form of socialising by male chefs. This study reveals that when 'banter' becomes sexually explicit, female chefs felt uncomfortable, and

reacted by withdrawing from such discussions. In situations where 'banter' is the norm, female chefs may take offence and thus appear not to be part of the kitchen team. This finding is contrary to the findings by Alexander, MacLaren, O'Gorman and Taheri (2012) who suggest that banter in the kitchen only concerns waitresses. This study clearly indicates that rather than being perceived as colleagues, female chefs are also targeted.

In addition, sexual harassment in the kitchen also appeared to be used as coercion for the advancement of favours. Similar findings were found in Zimbabwe where hospitality managers were accused of sexually harassing female chefs as a condition for career progression (Mkono, 2010). In this study, female interviewees also stated that executive male chefs solicited sexual favours from female chefs in return for career advancement opportunities. This practice suggests that female chefs are penalized with 'conditional' progression.

6.2.2 Discrimination against female chefs

The hospitality industry in Kenya presents various challenges that are discriminatory against female chefs in the workplace. There is a clear indication of male privilege and deliberate efforts to ensure the status quo is maintained. According to the frequent negative experiences recounted by the female chefs, systematic discrimination is practised in the form of informal employment procedures, low pay compared to male chefs, male chefs' attitudes towards pregnancy and occupational segregation in non-career path areas, more unpleasant areas to be specific.

Informal employment networks

Recruitment is a function of the human resources department in many organisations. Even though the process needs to be transparent, impartial and fair, the hospitality industry in Kenya appears to have "acceptable" informal systems of employment that lack transparency. Findings are similar to Furunes and Mykletun's (2005) research findings, that in the Norwegian hospitality industry, chefs invited male friends to work whenever staff shortages occurred. However, female employees in hotels rarely appear to benefit from such informal employment systems, due to their exclusion from the established networks enjoyed by their male counterparts benefit from (Mooney & Ryan, 2009).

In this study, female chefs also appeared to be excluded from informal networks. Findings suggest that female chefs did not benefit from informal employment systems for many reasons. One reason is the lack of female chefs at the decision-making level for recruitment processes. Most decisions were at the discretion of the male executive chefs. A second reason emerging from the findings, is that numerically there appear to be fewer female chefs employed in the industry, meaning they do not have a platform to address their issues. These findings are consistent with a study about examining challenges of female gender employee's and career progression in the hotel industry in Nigeria where it was found that decisions made in the hospitality industry do not favour female hospitality workers (Buba, 2016). This study revealed that female chefs were deprived of the opportunity to partake in the decision-making processes that significantly affected their individual rights as employees.

Low pay

This study revealed a gender pay gap in the Kenyan hospitality industry. Studies in other countries suggest a pay gap exists between the salaries that men and women earn in the hospitality industry (Mooney, 2007; Obadić, 2016; Zhong, Couch, & Blum, 2013). Low pay for female chefs is discriminatory and reinforces the low value placed on women's competencies and status. Moreover, it was indicative of tradition and attitudes of men as breadwinners and women as home-makers.

However, this study reveals that some of the female chefs were themselves the breadwinners, irrespective of their marital status. Due to the economic hardships in Kenya, unemployment rates are high. Therefore, it is not unusual for both spouses to work. Female chefs appealed that if they qualify for certain positions in organisations then they should be paid commensurate to the duties they perform that are the same as their male colleagues.

This study also revealed that female chefs are stereotyped as incapable of leading the kitchen team. For instance, at one point, Maya was employed on the condition that she did not fail the male executive chef, despite the executive chef being in charge. This is an indication of how male executive chefs use female chefs without recognition they deserve. The study findings suggest that the perception of many male chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry is that female chefs will fail in running a kitchen successfully. However, the accounts of the female chefs indicate that in many cases they

were competent to a high degree, both during and after their training. Therefore, the low opinion of female chefs' capability was unjustified.

Attitudes towards pregnancy

This study indicates that pronounced negative attitudes held by male chefs towards pregnant chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. There are two ways in which the attitudes affected female chefs. Findings reveal that executive chefs do not give pregnant employees all the different, working environment and "physically conducive" duties that support pregnancy. This could be due to the negative perceptions that male chefs hold against expectant female colleagues may mean female chefs are assigned duties that involve heavy lifting. It appears that many male chefs disregard these facts.

However, according to Fungai et al. (2013), female chefs may not feel able to discuss such issues with the male chefs who assigned such duties to them. The culture does not encourage female chefs to discuss issues such as pregnancies with their male bosses. Hence, either female chefs end up lifting heavy loads, thereby endangering themselves, or they avoid such tasks. The latter may attract disciplinary action from the executive chefs.

Two female chefs reported that they are bypassed by promotions due to their maternity leave. The findings support the findings of studies, which shows that female hospitality workers are not rewarded fairly for their efforts by being promoted their progression is non-linear (Karatepe, 2015). Women appear to be penalised for taking parental leave by being bypassed for promotion. In some cases, when female chefs resumed work after maternity leave, they had to, in effect "start all over again", apparently "missed" their opportunity for promotion. However, the findings of this study suggest that women did not have the same opportunities as men to be promoted regardless of whether maternity leave was requested or not. Moreover, as in other studies about women's failure to progress to senior positions (Mooney, Harris, & Ryan, 2016) in the stereotypical notion that women in the workplace would primarily fulfil their biological roles as mothers, led male chefs to brand pregnant chefs, or any chef who might one day become pregnant, as a liability to the hospitality organisations.

Job segregation

Occupational segregation in the workplace is reproduced in fixed gender roles and stereotyping practices. It can further be discussed as horizontal or vertical segregation (Manwa, 2014). Vertical segregation in the kitchen can be said to occur when only men occupy the executive chefs' positions, while women remain in the lower cadres in the hierarchical structure.

Evidence of vertical segregation is seen where due the lack of female chefs in the executive position, they are not involved in managerial duties that are reserved for the executive chef function. A myriad of habitual workplace practices support occupational segregation, for example, although trade unions are common in the work place, unfortunately women still find it difficult to join them (Kimeli & Maru, 2012). In this study, the trade unions appeared to be constituted solely of men and their decision did not favour women. The male chefs in the kitchen appeared to have stereotypical ideas that positioned female chefs as incompetent. In addition, vertical segregation in the kitchen may mean that female workers do not get opportunities to interact with top management to discuss issues that are affecting them (Obadić, 2016). The kitchen with its masculine structure modelled on the military (Mkono, 2010) is designed in such a way that there is minimal interaction with the outside world. As such, it is normally referred to as the "back of the house."

The findings suggest that horizontal segregation is evident in professional kitchens, as female chefs appeared to be allocated duties and roles that did not lead to promotion to the executive chef level. Female chefs were confined to workstations that are considered female friendly. Such sections (i.e., pastry and larder[16]) may not have a clear line of progression to the Executive chef's position. The highest position a chef in these sections can achieve is a Pastry chef and a Larder chef respectively (see Figure 2) then their career reaches a plateau. Most executive chefs appear to have extensive knowledge and experience of all kitchen sections, or at least the hot kitchen[17] sections. Therefore, this study suggests that the established practice of segregating female chefs into so-called "women friendly" sections is discriminatory. This study suggested that when women became pregnant, in most cases they were sequestered in these areas.

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[16] Section in a professional kitchen where cold foods are prepared.
[17] Section in a professional kitchen where hot foods are produced.

6.2.3 Unhealthy work environment

The working environment in professional kitchens in Kenya seems not to be a healthy one as suggested by previous literature review. This study supports the findings of research into the working lives of chefs in Zimbabwe working in unhealthy environments who suffered ailments in silence for fear of being labelled "pity seekers" (Mkono, 2011, p. 363). This study suggests despite the working conditions not being healthy or favourable, the staff were not expected to seek days off when business objectives required them to work. The findings further reveal how the female chefs in this study endured potentially life-threatening medical conditions to prove their worth in the workplace and their prioritization of organizational goals over personal concerns. Yet although female chefs worked long hours, not receiving their scheduled duty days, their commitment and loyalty appeared to remain invisible or unrecognised.

Moreover, female chefs reported cases of ignored medical conditions. In this study, male executive chefs appear to be immune to legal obligations. Female chefs' stories show the authoritarian style of leadership that executive chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry imposed on their staff. Despite a qualified Medical Doctor recommending that Maya be relieved of physically demanding tasks, the Executive chef would not allow Maya rest periods in between shifts.

6.2.4 Hierarchical structure of the kitchen

The hierarchical structure in professional kitchens tends to disadvantage female chefs. This findings on kitchen hierarchy is similar to a study by Druckman (2010) who argued that the hierarchical structure was a barrier to female chefs wishing to attain the executive chef position in the US. In addition, within the hierarchical kitchen it appears the occupational culture encourages executive chefs to consider themselves "king of chefs" like Escoffier, the self-proclaimed "Chef of kings and king of chefs" (Fungai et al., 2013, p. 71). These suggests an autocratic, gendered and discriminatory culture at the executive level in Kenya.

6.2.5 Inefficient and traditional cooking methods

Findings also indicated that kitchen work is manual and characterised by a high volume of production using simple tools such as wooden spatulas and unsophisticated equipment such as charcoal stoves. The use of simple equipment and tools may become hazardous for workers. Regrettably, technology transfer in Kenya is costly. Most of the technology is too expensive for businesses to acquire to make work more efficient. This

increases the exhaustion levels of the female chefs, bearing in mind that they are expected to do the daily household chores, also using ineffective traditional methods. The findings are consistent with Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons (2007), who found that chefs suffered from work-related injuries due to the nature of the culinary profession. The findings of this study suggest a lack of policies in Kenya to protect kitchen workers, which appear to physically disadvantage female employees. Additionally, the kitchen culture did not appear to encourage staff to seek medical assistance for work related ailment or injuries.

6.1   Personal level

In addition to the challenges faced by female chefs resulting from structural or organisational practices, female chefs also experience challenges as individuals, for example, work-life balance and ill-health.

6.1.1   Work life balance

The findings of this study are consistent with a wealth of literature on work-family balance/conflict as a major hindrance to women and career progression (Fungai et al., 2013; Harris & Giuffre, 2010; Mooney, 2007). Balancing a career and a life outside the career appears to be difficult for female chefs. The simultaneity of service and production demands that food is cooked and served to hotel clients within a short period. Female chefs frequently find themselves working at odd, prolonged, unpredictable (Meloury & Signal, 2014) and anti-social hours (Pratten, 2003).

Split or broken shifts are common in hotels Broken shifts are wasteful shifts that drain the energy of female chefs. The findings of this study indicate that employees who live far from their work places end up working a shift of more than 13 hours. This study findings show that broken shifts constitute a major barrier for female chefs due to the demands associated with maternal duties, especially in Kenya, where maternal duties appear to supersede any other form of duty.

6.1.2   Ill-health due to overwork

The findings previously detailed at societal and organisational level suggest that in Kenya female chefs work under extraneous conditions that damaged their personal health. As a result, an individual may be discouraged from pursuing career ambitions. Therefore, it can be seen that the negative career outcomes at individual level for the female chefs in this study are consistent with the results from previous studies that

found ill health formed a barrier to chefs continuing in the hospitality industry (Kang et al., 2010; Ko, 2010). Therefore, the findings of this study suggest that the culminated effects of negative societal attitudes and discriminatory organisational practices towards female chefs in Kenyan kitchens may lead to female chefs making their individual "choice" to leave a culinary career.

6.2   Chapter summary

In this chapter, the findings of the study were discussed on three levels. The first level indicates findings at the societal level, where society are the conduits through which certain challenges facing female chefs are experienced. The challenges included patriarchal attitudes, gendered roles and safety concerns. At the organisational level, the challenges presented were those under the control of the hospitality organisations. Such challenges included sexual harassment, sexism and an unhealthy work environment. Lastly, the personal challenges that female chefs face such as work-life balance and ill health due to overwork.

Findings revealed the intricate connections between the challenges at the three levels. For instance, an unhealthy work environment at the structural level may cause chronic illness that may affect a female chef at the personal level. Safety concerns, which forms a challenge at the societal level may mean that hospitality organisations discriminate against female chefs' when allocating work for example, on night shifts.

The next chapter presents the conclusion of this thesis. There will be a discussion on the thesis summary, implication of the study, recommendation for future research and the researcher's closing thoughts.

Chapter 7. CONCLUSION

7.1 Contribution of this study

Findings suggest that female chefs suffer in silence due to the challenges that threaten their career longevity in the profession. Hospitality organisations in Kenya seem to ignore laws that protect women at work. Pregnancy appears to be 'punished' by lack of assistance from the employers and neglected medical advice by the executive male chefs. The study findings revealed that factors such as sexual harassment, patriarchal attitudes, gender discrimination, career stereotyping, slow promotion, negative attitudes towards female chefs' pregnancies, unhealthy working conditions and health concerns threaten female chefs' career progression.

The contributions of this study are twofold. Firstly, this study expanded on the thematic analysis of stories by analysing the phrases and words used in the AOTS setting. The study explored the use of proverbs, metaphors, dialogue and repetition as storytelling techniques to analyse stories[18].

African feminists opine that men are not women's enemies (for example, Mekgwe, 2008). Despite the rhetoric, the study suggests that men protect male privilege and thus women are penalised. Spousal negotiations could help in dealing with the careers of both men and women in a society such as Kenya, where marriage is an important part of socialisation. As shown in the stories of female chefs in Kenya, it is important to reiterate the need to have supportive partners who understand the work that their wives do.

The study reveals that men can take part in the family chores by helping and subsequently, supporting their wives in pursuing their careers. Husbands should play a role in bringing up their children; they should help with attending to school related matters such as parents' meetings and children's homework as well as assisting their families. Therefore, change or at least a conversation for change needs to occur at a wider social level.

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[18] Proverb technique for storytelling was rarely used by participants in their stories.

7.2 Implications of the study

Starting this conversation may positively influence the Kenyan hospitality industry to create equal opportunities for female chefs as exist for their male counterparts. Women should be empowered to improve the industry and contribute to nation building. Creating awareness about the findings of this study may help the concerned parties in improving and attracting female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry. The implications of this study are of interest and relevance to hospitality managers, female chefs and male chefs, and hospitality trainers and researchers on three grounds.

Firstly, beginning this discussion may provide hope for female chefs. The study findings suggest that female chefs have been suffering in silence in the Kenyan hospitality industry. This study hopes to inform the effects of the challenges female chefs reported so that the industry can address the considerable barriers they face in the hospitality industry. The hospitality industry should act and resolve the challenges, especially by removing the organisational barriers that hinder female chefs' career progression.

Secondly, this study indicates that female chefs possess untapped skills that could help mitigate staff shortages. Hospitality managers ought to invest in training and supporting female chefs to progress in their careers. In addition, it is also important to note that as Kenya implements gender equality legislation, the poor representation of female chefs in hospitality organisations may become illegal. Therefore, the hospitality industry may assume the position of championing gender representation and equality in Kenya.

Thirdly, hospitality trainers in Kenya need to create awareness of the challenges and obstacles that female chefs face in the industry. Currently, it seems that female chef trainees are receiving training regardless of "whether or not" they will succeed in the future as chefs. Awareness on the challenges and of strategies put in place to protect them may help female chefs make informed decisions as they train. This study may make female chefs be aware of the embeddedness of patriarchy and how institutionalised, and emphatic it is.

The study stresses the need to bridge the gap between the industry and the training institutions. Female trainees who graduate from training institutions need adequate training and preparedness to face the challenges of the hospitality industry. The training should focus on industry awareness of issues, such as sexual harassment to prepare the

interns when they are faced with such challenges. Likewise, employing organisations require training on how to treat their female chefs in an equal and supportive manner.

Lastly, male chefs- as depicted in this study- are in great measure responsible for the challenges faced by female chefs. This study may help male chefs to realise adverse effects of the embedded nature of discrimination at organisational level reflected in HR policies and practices in handling issues that relate to female chefs' career progression. Male chefs should advocate for fairness and equality among the kitchen staff regardless of their gender.

7.3 Limitations of the study

The study has three main limitations. First, the small sample size used in the study suggests that the study findings may not be generalized. Second, openly talking about the challenges faced by female chefs may have an adverse impact on the Kenyan hospitality industry. As the findings suggest, male chefs are keen to protect their power and authority. Lastly, some assertions throughout the study may sound highly patriarchal. The researcher realises how difficult it is to change patriarchal perceptions and beliefs that are culturally ingrained. It would be even more difficult for fellow male chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry, who in this study were found to have patriarchal attitudes. As such, this study is still a work in progress.

7.1 Future research

According to the findings of this study, there was sparse literature on some of the barriers that limit female chefs' career progression particularly in African nations. Therefore, the research identified three potential areas for future studies. One, future studies could survey hospitality organisations and their application of labour laws in Kenya especially with regards to discrimination against female chefs. Research could also survey hospitality employees about awareness of employee/employer obligations and rights. The findings suggest employees are not informed about their rights and the rights of the employer. Female chefs seem to have fewer employment rights or entitlements that protect them against discrimination and harassment.

Two, hospitality managers' attitudes towards pregnancy and maternity leave featured prominently as a hindrance to female chefs' career progression. Future research on the Kenyan hospitality industry could investigate strategies that would ensure female chefs dealing with parenthood will be accepted rather than being penalised.

Three, it can be argued that the security of hospitality workers is critical for effective employee performance. Safety concerns featured as a barrier to female chefs' career progression in the Kenyan hospitality industry. However, there is a lack of literature on the security concerns of hospitality workers in Kenya. Future studies may investigate safety as a barrier and its effects on female chefs' career growth.

7.2 Closing thoughts

This study is not meant to dissuade aspiring female chefs. The aim is to highlight the challenges faced by female chefs undergo, so that managers and hospitality stakeholders may improve the terms of employment as well as the working conditions of female chefs. Hospitality employers ought to "provide income, economic and social empowerment and health benefits for women and their families" (Obadić, 2016, p. 804). The concerned stakeholders in the Kenyan hospitality industry should address the challenges faced by female chefs promptly. This may ensure that more women pursue a career in the chef profession. The industry stands to benefit from the skills that female chefs possess, which currently appear untapped. The country's economy also stands to gain with more female chefs being in employment.

According to the findings, the challenges addressed apply not only for the female chefs but act as a call to the hospitality industry in Kenya. In other words, why do hospitality training institutions train female chefs, yet the industry does not give them 'decent' jobs? Hospitality organisations ought to realise that training chefs is a costly investment and, as such, their most valuable resource.

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Glossary

Words	Meaning
Aliya	Traditional delicacy charcoal grilled meat dried over a period.
Aluru	Barbecued quill.
Apoth	Of a traditional vegetable commonly used in Kenya. *Conchorus trilocularis*
Athola	Grilled meat.
Benga	Benga music
Bwana	Husband
Hata	Even.
Huyu	This.
Kama.	Like.
Kwani	Because.
Luos	A community that originates from the western part of Kenya around Lake Victoria.
Maendeleo	Progress (of movement).
Maini choma:	Barbecued ox liver.
Mboch	Slang for domestic worker.
Mbuzi choma	Barbecued goat.
Mimi	I (pronoun).
Moto	Fire.
Moto moto	Sizzling hot.

Words	Meaning
Aliya	Traditional delicacy charcoal grilled meat dried over a period.
Mwene nyaga	A god of the Kikuyu community in Kenya.
Mzungu	A person of European origin.
Naogopa	Afraid.
Nazaa	Bear babies.
Ngege mar kado	Traditionally prepared tilapia stew.
Nijue	To know.
Nimejikaza	I girded.
Nini	What!
Osuga	Traditional leafy green vegetable. *Solanium nigrum*
Pili	Second (of sequence).
Sasa	Now.
Sawa	It is okay.
Sigana	The art of storytelling.
Siwandhe	A special house designated for storytelling by the Luo community in Kenya.
Toto	*A baby*.
Ugali wa mahindi:	Special traditional Kenyan meal made from maize flour.
Ugali wa mtama.	A traditional Kenyan meal made from millet flour.
Uhuru	Uhuru: Freedom.

Words	Meaning
Aliya	Traditional delicacy charcoal grilled meat dried over a period.
Uko	*Uko*
Unaogopa	You fear.
Unaskia	You feel.
Upishi	Catering.
Wa	of
Wanaume	Men.
Wazee	Elderly.
Ya	The.
Yako.	You.
Yangu	Mine (indicating ownership).
Yote	All.
Zilizovuma	Oldies (music).

Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment notice Male Executive Chefs.

AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
RECRUITMENT NOTICE

Research participants required (Male executive chefs)
Would you like to be interviewed for a study about: *"Challenges faced by female chefs in the in the Kenyan hospitality industry?"*

My name is Charles Orido. I am a chef instructor at Kenya Utalii College. Currently I am on study leave for a qualification in Master of International Hospitality Management at Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.

Would you be interested in taking part in research about female chefs' experiences in the Kenyan hospitality industry?

If you are a Kenyan male executive chef and you have worked for over two years in similar position in a hotel, I would be grateful if you would allow yourself to be interviewed. Your participation in the study is voluntary. However, your contribution to helping us find out the challenges that female chefs face in Kenya will benefit the hospitality industry, policy makers, as well as help to create awareness about gender diversity of hospitality practitioners. If you are interested in being part of this research or need any clarification about the research, please contact me at bzq3976@aut.ac.nz

I look forward to hearing from you.

Charles Orido,
Student Researcher,
School of Hospitality and Tourism,
Auckland University of Technology.
Email: bzq3976@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 25 February 2016, AUTEC Reference number 16/27

4 September 2016   page 1 of 1   This version was edited in July 2015

Appendix B: Recruitment notice Female Chefs.

AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
RECRUITMENT NOTICE

Research participants required (Female chefs)

Would you like to be interviewed for a study about: *"Challenges faced by female chefs in the in the Kenyan hospitality industry?"*

My name is Charles Orido. I am a chef instructor at Kenya Utalii College. Currently I am on study leave for a qualification in Master of International Hospitality Management at Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.

Would you be interested in taking part in research about female chefs' experiences in the Kenyan hospitality industry?

If you are a Kenyan female chef and you have worked for over five years in a hotel, I would be grateful if you would allow yourself to be interviewed. Your participation in the study is voluntary. However, your contribution to helping us find out the challenges that female chefs face in Kenya will benefit the hospitality industry, policy makers, as well as help to create awareness about gender diversity of hospitality practitioners. If you are interested in being part of this research or need any clarification about the research, please contact me at bzq3976@aut.ac.nz

I look forward to hearing from you.

Charles Orido,
Student Researcher,
School of Hospitality and Tourism,
Auckland University of Technology.
Email: bzq3976@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 25 February 2016, AUTEC Reference number 16/27

4 September 2016   page 1 of 1   This version was edited in July 2015

Appendix C: Ethics approval letter.

AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, WU406 Level 4 WU Building City Campus
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics

25 February 2016

Shelagh Mooney
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Shelagh

Re Ethics Application: **16/27 Challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry: A study through the African oral tradition of storytelling.**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 25 February 2019.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 25 February 2019;

- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 25 February 2019 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Charles Orido bzq@aut.ac.nz, Camille Nakhid

Appendix D: Demographic form.

Please fill in the spaces below:

1) Your full name………………………

2) Please confirm your age……………………

3) Please confirm your gender…………………………………….

4) How long have you been working in the hotel industry? ………………………

5) What position do you currently hold? ……………………………

Appendix E: Interview prompt questions for Male Executive Chefs.

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI
O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

<u>**Prompt Interview Questions for male executive chefs**</u>

1) What is the gender composition of your kitchen workforce?

2) Would you recommend a female chef in your kitchen for an executive chef position?

Why/why not?

3) In your opinion, what are the reasons for lack of female executive chefs in the

hospitality industry in Kenya?

4) In your opinion do male and female chefs have the same opportunities to progress to

higher positions in your workplace?

5) What would be your message to female chefs who wish to attain higher positions?

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 25 February 2016, AUTEC Reference number 16/27

Appendix F: Interview prompt questions for Female Chefs.

Prompt Interview Questions for female chefs

1) What are the challenges that you face as a female chef in your workplace?

2) Describe a situation in which you had to make a decision between career and family. How would you describe the support that you get from your family to achieve career aspirations?

3) What are the cultural issues that you feel have influenced your career? Are there any that might have had a positive or negative influence on your career?

4) When jobs in departments other than kitchen are advertised internally, are there any reasons why you would not attempt to apply?

5) What professional support services do you receive in your job? What would you prefer to have been done to better your work environment?

6) What would make your career a success? Would you consider yourself successful in your career?

7) What would be your message to female chefs who wish to attain higher positions?

Appendix G: Consent form.

Consent Form

Project title: "*Challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan culinary industry: A study through the African oral tradition of storytelling*"

Project Supervisor: Dr Shelagh Mooney

Researcher: Charles Orido

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 02/02/2016

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audiotaped and transcribed.

○ I understand that I may withdraw myself, or any information that I have provided for this project, at any time prior to completion of data collection without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information, including tapes and transcripts or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

○ I agree to take part in this research.

○ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant's signature:
....

Participant's name:
....

Participant's contact details (if appropriate):

....

....

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 25 February 2016, AUTEC Reference number 16/27

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form. |

Appendix H: Thematic analysis using storytelling techniques

Jealous peer motif	Themes	Storytelling technique used
Competency	Patriarchy	**Dialogue:** "Finally, you will work in hotels like Hilton"
Challenges	Low pay	**Metaphor:** "Peanuts/paid domestic helper's salary"
Perseverance and determination	Safety concern	**Legend/risk**: "I would wake up at 3:30 because we needed to be there for breakfast"
Challenges	Sexual harassment	**Metaphor:** "sex tools"
Workmates	Patriarchy	**Dialogue:** "*They [male bosses] tell the college you are tough headed… you don't listen you don't want, you don't get a job blah…blah*"
Workmates	Discrimination	**Metaphor:** "they (the union) were everything"
Workmates	Discrimination	**Dialogue:** " When I asked the HR, he told me to bring samosas to show that I can work so that we see the way forward"
		Metaphor: "fresh"
Challenges	Discrimination	**Dialogue:** "*Maya what are you doing here and I have been looking for you…to come back and work*! *What is wrong? It seems that you don't want this job!*"

Challenges	Corruption within informal employment	**Metaphor:** "something small"
Culinary profession	Discrimination	**Dialogue:** "*They said they cannot have a female as their chef, they need a male… So if you are going to have a lady we also need a male chef*"
Competencies	Competencies	**Legend:** " *They are artistic, committed and most importantly more disciplined and you know our job requires discipline*"
Workmates	Sexual harassment	**Metaphor:** "*as a young lady you are there to be exploited.*"
Culinary profession	Sexual harassment	**Metaphor:** " *organized chaos*"
Perseverance	Sexual harassment	**Legend:** "*It maybe physical, it may be verbal utterances, but if you are keen really to assess them and gauge you will see this harassment and may even be one reason why ladies may find the kitchen very uncomfortable*"
Workmates	Patriarchy	**Metaphor:** "old enough to be my father"
Workmates	Patriarchy	**Dialogue:** "*Don't tell us to help you lift this because how will I lift for you… My wife is in the house. Men should, eh, I mean… get someone to provide for you*"
Workmates	Patriarchy	**Dialogue:** "*we have been here, we have been cooking, so what are you coming to teach us*"

Competencies	Competency	**Metaphor:** "My job would just sell me"
Workmates	Patriarchy	**Dialogue:** "He said that women are supposed to be married by rich men, who should take care of their women, and they were not going to handle us"
Culinary profession	Kitchen work environment	**Metaphor**: "hot kitchen"
Workmates	Negative attitudes towards pregnancy	**Dialogue**: " she is pregnant again, now these females, you want to get babies, go for maternity leave"
Challenges	Patriarchy	**Dialogue**: " My husband won't stop having babies because of my career, he said you either leave it or not "
Workmates	Negative attitudes towards pregnancy	**Dialogue**: "*tell me who is pregnant!*"
Perseverance	Unhealthy work environment	**Metaphor***: "you are being pulled to breathe. I would be so scared, you feel dizzy"*
Culinary profession	Work-related illnesses	**Dialogue/Legend**: " he told me, "*A lot of radiation can cause it*"
Perseverance	Work-related illnesses	**Legend**: "I started swelling in the feet… Am telling you… after the job you just go home and cry."
Workmates	Sexual harassment	**Dialogue**: "The men are talking like you have a relationship with the bosses!"
		Metaphor: "*Maya don't tell us it's about hard working; we know what happens!...*

		unless you do this and this and this you can't get to that level' *(sexual advances)*
Workmates	Negative attitudes towards pregnancy	**Dialogue**: "*With this position are you still going to get babies?*" I told them I had stopped"
Perseverance and determination	Discrimination	**Dialogue**: "Maya you were the best, but we need a man." … I proved myself for the job. But they tell me for this position they need a man"
Perseverance and determination	Discrimination	**Dialogue**: "You had applied for this position? I replied yes. Are you going to manage this? I said, why not."
Workmates	Discrimination	**Dialogue**: "But I really doubt that you are able to take care of the kitchen in such a big position. I told him yes I would. He threatened, 'if you fail me!" but I asked them "if I was a man, would you still doubt me?'"
Perseverance and determination	Discrimination	**Dialogue/Legend**: "'we didn't know that you would do this!'… He wanted to get another person not me as the assistant."
Perseverance and determination	Work-related illnesses	**Dialogue**: " My feet were swollen, I go to the nurse, she told me Maya, unless you change your career, you are not allowed to stand in the kitchen for long"
Workmates	Negative attitudes towards pregnancy	**Dialogue**: " The chef told me '*don't tell me the doctor told you to sit, get out of this kitchen, go sit and don't come back,*'"

Perseverance and determination	Negative attitudes towards pregnancy	**Dialogue**: "I obtained a letter from the doctor advising that I should not stand for long. After four hours, I should sit down. He threw it away"
Perseverance and determination	Kitchen work environment	**Legend**: "*I got so much better until I forgot about my feet. I bought shoes that were very comfortable because of my back problem, though expensive!*"
Challenges	Patriarchy	**Metaphor**: "*My husband was getting into drinking because I was never there*"
Challenges	Discrimination	**Dialogue:** "*I was transferred to Limuru as a Sous chef... They refused to increase my salary. They had to bring a male chef after I had worked there for two years alone as a chef ...*"
Perseverance and determination	Low pay	**Dialogue:** "*The male chef was earning 70,000 shillings and I am earning 25,000 shillings. There is a very big gap,*"
Perseverance and determination	Slowed progression	**Dialogue:** "*Progression in my career it has been very, very slow*" even after adding professional skills to her career, as if I have done my Master's degree in Culinary Arts recently in the U.K... I am still on the same level,"
Perseverance and determination	Kitchen work environment	**Metaphor**: "*Working in the kitchen is very hard... there is a wrangle in your life that is really not easy*"
Challenge	Patriarchy	**Legend**: "*Baby is sick, the house girl has run away, sometimes they were living in the morning the house girl decides that she*

		is not working so she cannot come to work so, and after giving you the same reasons all the time you now tend to think that they are obviously not very serious"
Culinary profession	Work life balance	**Metaphor:** *"You know we do not give preference so if it is a split/broken shift, they would also be doing the split shift."*
Challenges	Patriarchy	**Legend:** *"The child falls sick; you are the one to be called. Nobody bothers about the father. So you are called you go home. If you go to the chef you ask for permission and they are like "you've become too much"*
Female chefs	Negative attitudes towards pregnancy	**Legend:** *"the law requires that they are given three months to be away on maternity"* *I.e. three months and then same time they are entitled to an annual leave… So when the employers think of paying somebody or four months that are not worked for it becomes a disadvantage"*
Challenges	Work life balance	**Legend:** *" they expected us to sleep at work like they could give you a room for accommodation so that you can come back to work… they can wake you up at any time of the night if there was a guest"*
Culinary profession	Kitchen work environment	**Legend:** *"We are forced to use different sources of fuel to cook, like charcoal, which is very hectic to cook for the same numbers we do not have gas is, we do not*

		have electricity but at the end of the day, people will have to eat"
Perseverance and determination	Ill health due overwork	**Legend:** "*I developed a knee problem, due to a lot of standing yeah… this was also very hard for me because it was so painful but as chef we ignore, we think you are just tired, you go home you sleep come back tomorrow… does not stop hurting I went for a check-up and by bad luck it was a torn ligament that needed a correction immediately*"
Female chefs	Patriarchy	**Dialogue:** "*… one day I told her: 'listen you know you would be a good chef one day but don't get married!' However, that was the biggest mistake I made. She changed; she withdrew. At first at that point she asked me: "chef what do you mean do not get married?""*
Female chefs	Stereotyping hospitality workers	**Dialogue:** "*Somebody asks you: What do you do? You tell them I am a chef… first they think of those guys who work in the kitchen number one you must be a drunkard; number two you must be very loose*"
Perseverance and determination	Patriarchy	**Dialogue:** "*He told me you either choose whether you will stay with your daughter or will leave your daughter at home with your parents or you choose either you stay ok I do not know how I will put it. It brought issues and we had to separate. We had to separate for two years*"

Perseverance and determination	Patriarchy	**Dialogue**: "*I come home at midnight; they just would look at me with amazement. You know. How can? One went ahead and asked how can a woman come home at midnight?*"
Challenges	Safety concerns	**Legend:** "*If they are working on night shifts then you know they transport… With few steps to your house, you do not know whether somebody will be waiting around a dark corner for you and all that… it puts unnecessary pressure because you can imagine every day you are scared.*"
Perseverance and determination	Work life balance	**Metaphor**: "*The split shift that starts from 10.00 am to 2.00pm and then there is a break between 2.00pm to 6.00pm and from 6.00pm again to 10.00pm. But really the split shift is not really a split shift… depending on the workload then sometimes you end not going for a break.*"