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READING AT HOME IS LIKE DANCING
IN CHURCH: A COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL
OPPORTUNITIES IN TWO TANZANIAN REGIONS

by

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Abstract: The failure of Tanzania's socialist education reforms to redress regional (ethnic), class, and gender inequality is examined from the viewpoint of family strategies of educational investment. A comparison of the two regions, Tabora and Kilimanjaro, reveals a contrast in the historical and material conditions which influence values and behavior concerning education for male and female children. Differential patterns in household budget allocations by men and women for the education of children are seen to vary as a result of the regionally situated class position of the household. Directing the focus of family educational strategies to investment in persons enables us to identify a female pattern of surplus allocation formerly submerged in the study of male-headed households.

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READING AT HOME IS LIKE DANCING IN CHURCH:
A COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN TWO TANZANIAN REGIONS

Introduction¹

Since 1968 Tanzania's attempt to accomplish a socialist transformation through education has provided comparative educationists with one of the most suggestive Third World cases for examining the revolutionary potential of educational institutions. Schools figured strongly in former President Julius Nyerere's broad plan for rural development, popularly known as ujamaa (extended familyhood) socialism. In the social charter "Education for Self-Reliance," which set into motion a sweep of educational reforms, the school is singled out as the key institution responsible for the inculcation of egalitarian values, and the transmission of vocational skills necessary for rural development. The school was expected to act as a regulatory mechanism for the elimination of inequalities based on class, ethnicity, and gender.

The specific formulae by which schools were empowered to generate this transformation have evolved piecemeal over the past 17 years. The reforms central to my discussion were heavily focused on providing equal access to education through selective examination, rather than guaranteeing that all children regardless of background would receive an education beyond the primary school level. This point is key, for despite its laudable success in providing universal free primary education, raising adult literacy skills, and establishing a basic fluency in Swahili as the lingua franca for some 120 different ethnic groups, the Tanzanian government and its friends in the external donor community now consider the program of Education for Self-Reliance to be a failure (ILO/JASPA 1982; United Republic of Tanzania 1984).

Educational institutions have been unable to: (1) redress regional (which coincided with ethnic) inequalities by providing education to formerly disadvantaged groups, (2) significantly change the economic and political position of women, and (3) stem the process of elite social reproduction. The reasons cited for this failure are numerous. Policy evaluation teams point to economic inefficiency and poor management of educational programs from the selective examination system on down. Local educators tend to cite ideological explanations for uneven educational development by labeling regions with strong Islamic influence as backward and traditional, and regions associated with Christian conversion as forward-looking and progressive.

In my view both sets of explanations miss the point. On the one hand, policy impact analyses tend to ignore the unintended ways that actors transform formal institutions to suit their needs. On the other hand, analyses which focus on cultural values to explain why some actors artfully manipulate formal institutional rules while others seem woefully ignorant of how the game is played, or choose to exit from it altogether, underestimate the fact that these values have a practical and strategic base in the concrete conditions of everyday life.

The entry point for my comparison of unequal educational opportunity in two Tanzanian regions is a consideration of the ideological stereotypes which support unequal gender and class relations as they are shaped by the historical and ecologically-based material limits operating within a region. Access to scarce educational resources is not determined only by institutional rules but by conscious and unconscious strategies employed by families, which themselves are loci of competing individual interests. These strategies are shaped by: (1) the ratio of land to labor and how it differentially affects women's class status within the family and participation in economic decision-making, (2) the labor and cash requirements of peasant and elite households and how they influence decisions regarding education for sons and daughters, and (3) the historical role of church and state in the spheres of domestic organization and production which has profoundly shaped the way individuals use or ignore the availability of educational resources.

The argument presented here centers on how such strategies unfold in Tabora, a region in western, central Tanzania which is comparatively underdeveloped, predominantly Muslim, and inhabited by the Nyamwezi and Sukuma, as compared with the northeastern, highly stratified, Christian region of Kilimanjaro, inhabited by the Chagga people. In this comparison the critical nexus of land and labor in the process of production is viewed in terms of how it shapes male and female strategies of investment in children and their education, and how these decision patterns are reinforced by the historical interaction of church and state intervention in peasant household social reproduction.

The first and second sections of this paper discuss the historical development of peasant social reproduction strategies among two patrilineal ethnic groups: the Nyamwezi of Tabora and the Chagga of Kilimanjaro.² The third section of the paper employs the regional contrast between Tabora and Kilimanjaro to illustrate how the expansion of educational opportunities for women has the potential of transforming their rights and obligations within the extended family. Such a transformative process is dialectically related to the degree of economic decision-making leverage which a woman commands within the household and her direction of surplus toward an investment in persons.

Women, Class, and Household in Tabora³

The title for this paper poses an implicit metaphor of education as blasphemy. The assistant headmistress of the famous Tabora Girls School who proposed the startling analogy that "for girls in this region, reading at home is like dancing in church" suggested that it is critical to understand Nyamwezi values of women's education within the nexus of values concerning women's role in the domestic mode of production. Until this point in my research I was somewhat easily persuaded that in Tanzania, as elsewhere, education was a scarce resource like power that everyone coveted and actively pursued. Those who choose not to pursue it or who do not maximize their chance to become educated are often viewed as irrational or, at best, traditional or conservative. This view, of course, ignores the fact that strategies directed toward educational attainment may compete against

strategies designed for alternative ends. For Tabora women, the act of bringing reading -- or more broadly, intellectual pursuits -- into the domestic sphere is as morally inappropriate as introducing the performance of the dance act (formerly pagan and implicitly sexual) into the sacred sphere of the church. What does this metaphor suggest about the social role of women and the strategies directed toward education for girls?

Tabora's geographic location, directly between the coast and the formerly important trading center of Ujiji, placed it squarely in the middle of slave and ivory trading activities in the nineteenth century. During that period many of its residents converted to Islam, often in self-defense, for it was widely believed that Muslim traders could not enslave anyone who had already converted to Islam. Many Nyamwezi men made successful careers as porters during this period; this, combined with periodic internecine warfare from Ngoni invaders from the south, severely undercut the horticultural base of the region (Abrahams 1967; Roberts 1970).

Catholic and Moravian missionaries who settled in Tabora in the nineteenth century saw their responsibility as "battling the devil of Islam" for the conversion of pagan souls (Conferences Ordinaries of the Tanganyika Territories 1928-38). They concentrated their efforts on those who had not already been converted to Islam; a minority who did not occupy the most influential roles. Mission activity in the arena of education mainly served children whose families had little to lose by converting to Christianity and children of chiefly families or children of chiefs from other regions.

The British administration in Tabora focused its educational efforts on the development of a model public school for training the sons of chiefs (and later their future wives), to serve as functionaries under the system of Indirect Rule. This school, once referred to by Julian Huxley as the "Eton of Tanganyika" (1931) represents, then and now, a sort of educational mirage for average Tabora residents who saw the institution as reserved for children of the elite from other areas.

In the sphere of production, the colonial government initiated a number of projects such as the unsuccessful groundnut scheme and later one in tobacco in order to develop the Nyamwezi and Sukuma into small-holder peasants and rural wage laborers. The expansion of tobacco production, still the region's major cash crop, was limited for native producers who were allowed to work no more than ten acres of land. The government concentrated instead on mass production by settler farmers (Boesen and Mohele 1979).

Patrilineages lost their control over use rights to land during the 1970s as a result of the Tanzanian government's village resettlement scheme, which forced many Tabora peasants into consolidated village sites where land was allocated by the newly established cooperative villages. In the past, Nyamwezi lineages practiced extensive horticulture, hunting, and gathering. Lineages held use rights to arable land and hunting territory in dispersed village settlements. Upon marriage a young man could establish his own household as an adjunct to the larger homestead of his father, brothers, and

uncles and receive use-rights to the land held by his patrikin. Fathers were responsible for paying the bridewealth for the first marriages of their sons and received the bridewealth of their daughters. Sons equally inherited the house property of the father on his death, while a man's junior brothers inherited his wives. Traditionally, the exchange of bridewealth coincided with the obligation of the groom to perform brideservice (hunting) for his father-in-law until the birth of the first child.

Abrahams has argued (1981) that the main distinguishing feature of Nyamwezi kinship is not its corporate character but rather the differential rights in production and reproduction held by men and women. While each wife in a polygynous union maintained her own household within the compound of her husband and his patrikin, she would not inherit any property upon his death, including property from her natal lineage. Adultery was considered a divorcable offense for women but not for men, who had only to pay an adultery fine if they infringed upon the rights of another man. Bridewealth exchange established the ideal marriage arrangement for Nyamwezi men, for it brought with it the right to a woman's domestic and productive labor, sexual relations, and the right to filiate all her children regardless of whether the husband was the biological genitor. Liaisons established without the exchange of bridewealth could be transformed into full marriages at any stage of the domestic cycle, or separate redemption payments for each child could legitimate the descent rights of the father. Only sons who were legitimized through bridewealth or related payments could hope to inherit from the father and his patrikin.

Today the majority of Tabora residents live in rural areas and are small-holder peasants with less than five acres of land on which they cultivate tobacco as a cash crop and a variety of food crops for subsistence and sale. Each peasant household works its own fields, with men doing the bulk of the bush clearing and tobacco processing and women, if they are not secluded, doing weeding and harvesting, and performing the majority of domestic chores. Marketing is the exclusive domain of men. Farming and processing technologies remain largely unmechanized. Land, although plentiful, is generally of poor quality. Rainfall is variable and scarce and irrigation uncommon. Thus labor in Tabora, in expanding the amount of land under cultivation and meeting production targets, may be the critical variable for the small peasant household. One effect of the massive village resettlement scheme has been the rupture of closely knit networks of kin and neighbors who provided aid in times of labor shortage and a consequent loss of the sense of corporate autonomy which formerly provided an incentive to invest in the continuity of lineage and land.

Given this scenario, from a male point of view, school-age girls fulfill two important roles: they are a critical part of the domestic labor force and their reproductive capacity represents a source of future income in bridewealth or adultery fines. Within the household young girls are continuously engaged in child care and domestic chores. Idleness is morally unthinkable and excused only in the case of illness. Here, intellectual labor for women is defined as leisure, because manual labor provides the

only visible contribution to the domestic economy. Female child labor has strategic value for an adult woman, who acts as manager of key production and reproduction tasks within the household. Thus, mothers may provide even stronger negative sanctions against intellectual labor than fathers. Parents regard their children as a form of old age investment, and hence primarily view their daughters as potential wives and mothers. In crude economic terms, the payoff from raising a daughter comes at the point of her marriage or pregnancy. Pregnancy rates for girls in primary school in this region were disproportionately high, as many parents encouraged their daughters into premarital liaisons in order to incur bridewealth payments and adultery fines.

When a portion of the household budget is allocated for educational expenses, sons are heavily favored over daughters. While school-age boys also contribute to the labor needs of the peasant household, an investment in their education is viewed in terms of their potential earning capability as salaried workers whose remittances will supplement the household income. While land is no longer strictly partible by male lineage heirs (and is now subject to allocation by the State), businesses and livestock may be inherited by sons. Since they form the future patrilineal descent group, sons are expected to provide future aid in terms of educational and job opportunities for their younger agnates. Clearly such strategies benefit the male head of the household and his patrilineage. What remains obscure is the motivation of the mother in such cases. Daughters will not inherit any of the patrilineal wealth and when they marry they usually move away and become subject to the constraints of the husband's agnates. In some cases the motivation of the mother derives from a desire to establish a stable marriage for her daughter, as the male ideal of polygyny and ease of divorce under Koranic law contribute to the fragility of marriages in Tabora. In other cases, a mother's lack of direct influence over household budgetary decisions prevents her from overtly directing her daughter into educational or career alternatives.

Evidence from female teachers and entrepreneurs who headed their own households⁴ suggests that where women have direct control over their income they tend to invest more heavily in the educational expenses of their children regardless of sex. The more affluent peasant households are headed by men, who tend to invest surplus in marrying an extra wife and who thereby add to the domestic labor pool. In contrast, female household heads encouraged their children to study and prepare for entrance examinations and saved their income to pay school fees and expenses. This lends support to the tentative conclusion that given an option, men in Tabora will tend to invest in women as labor, while women will tend to invest in children, who will possibly attain a salaried position and provide future aid in the form of remittances directly to the woman herself. In Tabora these strategies are reserved for women who are widowed or divorced and who have managed, through education or alternative means, to extricate themselves from the peasant household mode of production.

Sons and daughters of the urban-based elite in this region fare better in gaining access to post-primary education than do their rural

counterparts. In town, secondary day schools eliminate the heavy expenses of a boarding education, there are fewer domestic labor requirements of the household, and primary school preparation for entrance examinations is more thorough, given the fact that supplies are more readily available and that good teachers are rewarded by placement in urban areas. Entrance examination crash courses are available for children whose parents can afford them. The bureaucratic and business elite in urban centers have the position and leverage to insure that their children will win a secondary school place. For Christian parents these strategies include the possibility of paying private secondary school fees in the few institutions run by the Moravian or Catholic missions. Few Muslim parents would choose this option since historically mission education has been closely connected to conversion.⁵

It should be emphasized, however, that this urban-based elite is extremely small and many of its members are government employees whose extended families reside in other regions. Wealth in Tabora tends to flow outside rather than to be invested within. A common axiom among residents is that to become successful in Tabora means that you must leave it. The ideological rationalization which supports this outflow of capital is a familiar one to anthropologists: fear of witchcraft. A wealthy person is said to be one who is wealthy at the expense of his neighbors and kin. He is either already a witch, or he lives in fear of incurring the hostility of others and becoming bewitched.⁶ Such beliefs function as important wealth leveling sanctions. It is not only fear of witchcraft but, more significantly, the critical lack of infrastructure (characterizing the severe underdevelopment of Tabora) and which makes the region an unlikely site for capital investment.

WOMEN, CLASS, AND HOUSEHOLD IN KILIMANJARO

If home and church represent separate moral spheres in Tabora, they constitute a single bounded entity in Tanzania's Northeastern region, Kilimanjaro. Here arable land and temperate climate attracted the earliest Lutheran and Catholic missions, which introduced coffee, the lucrative cash crop. The Christian conversion largely fostered by mission schools was associated from an early period with economic opportunity (Shann 1956). By contrast with Tabora, Kilimanjaro was chosen for the unique experiment of encouraging native cash crop production and developing a native planters' cooperative to supervise the marketing of the coffee.

While the ultimate goals of state and church were not always aligned in Kilimanjaro under colonial rule, the institution of education may be seen as one arena where they complemented each other. The Leipzig Lutheran mission which was particularly vigorous throughout Kilimanjaro, set as its task the conversion of its pagan flock into industrious modern Christian households. Literacy and basic educational skills promoted through bush schools and taught in the Chagga vernacular were viewed as essential in developing an understanding of the Bible and an enlightened Christian temperament.

The promotion of educational opportunities for women was a critical

factor in the transformation of pagan girls into proper Christian wives for converted catechists and in the development of model Christian families whose good works would provide an example to the community (Lawuo n.d.; Lema 1981). Although the Catholic mission in Kilimanjaro may have been less ideologically committed to providing basic literacy and Bible training on a mass scale, it nonetheless was forced into opening numerous schools in the province in order to compete against the Lutherans in the soul-saving enterprise. Access to educational institutions emerged early as a key issue with which rival chiefdoms sought to play off the missions against each other; for the attainment of formal education was clearly perceived as essential to obtaining salaried positions in the political and economic infrastructure established under indirect rule (Rogers 1972).

Co-existing church and colonial state policies also served to reinforce a shift in the organization of domestic relations. The ideal of monogamy today is strictly sanctioned by threat of excommunication (even in the Lutheran church) so that even though a man may have an "outside" wife, only the children of the first wife stand to inherit his property. Pregnancy outside of marriage is also negatively sanctioned by the church; it is a source of intense shame for the family in its role as the guardian of Christian virtue. Divorce is impossible within a church union.⁷

In the past, property within Chagga patrilineages was individually held and inherited. The Chagga practiced irrigation agriculture on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro in intensively cultivated family plots. Each homestead (consisting of parents and their unmarried children) worked its own plot of land (kihamba; pl. vihamba) adjacent to the house in the higher altitudes, where coffee and bananas were cultivated and staff-fed cattle were raised. Separate plots of land on the plains surrounding the mountain were held by individual families for the cultivation of cereal crops, beans, and fodder. The scarcity of vihamba necessitated a system of inheritance among the Chagga in which a portion of the father's land was inherited by the eldest son, while the house property (excluding that owned by the mother) and its surrounding plot was inherited by the youngest son. Middle male children had to fend for themselves in a variety of arrangements such as: the rental or borrowing of land from relatives with more extensive land-holdings, the use of bush land, and occupations in trade. Female children held no inheritance rights in the patrilineage. Upon marriage, a Chagga man favored by the inheritance system would establish his own domestic unit which became the minimal lineage unit de facto. Such segments most often bordered others in his patrilineage.

The extent to which inheritance patterns and bridewealth exchanges were negotiated from the minimal lineage unit suggest an interpretation that lineages among the Chagga were not corporate groups (Moore 1975). It should be noted, however, that patrilineages controlled the distribution of water through complicated irrigation rights, regulated the performance of key rituals in seasonal and life cycles, and worked as cooperative units in activities such as housebuilding, irrigation cleaning, and the weeding and harvesting of cereal crops. The customary post-mortem meeting of the

maximal lineage (matanga), which determines the manner in which inherited property should be distributed, is indicative of an ongoing tension between the interests of a wider group of kin and the individual concerns of primary domestic groupings.

Today men retain control over cattle and land through partilineal inheritance as well as economic control over the production and sale of coffee. Women are primarily responsible for the production of food crops for subsistence and sale, small livestock, and the local production of beer. Proceeds from the sale of beer, small livestock, eggs, milk, and bananas, provide discretionary income for married women and give them more leverage in household budget allocations than their counterparts in Tabora. With their recognized role in church and market, they are not secluded in the domestic sphere.

As a result, educational opportunities for girls in the Kilimanjaro region are nearly equal to those for boys. Parents indicate no hesitancy to educate children of both sexes to the best of their ability and express equivalent career expectations for their children of both sexes. Whereas a church marriage and the acquisition of a house and mountain coffee farm is still considered the ultimate rite of passage into adult life, tremendous land pressure in this region eliminates direct inheritance of land for all but the eldest and youngest son. To acquire land through purchase, young men⁸ must spend a considerable period of time accumulating money outside the region. By the time they have accumulated enough to acquire land and have built a house, men have reached their thirties or forties and have generally been involved in business or professional enterprises for 15 to 20 years. Their choice of a marriage partner is dictated in part by their level of education and their desire for a wife who will aid them both at work and in the home.

Girls who can anticipate more security and stability in a conjugal relationship as well as more decision-making leverage than their Tabora cohort are as eager to succeed in school as their brothers. They are aided in their efforts by parents who are willing to pay private secondary school fees for daughters as well as sons in the numerous church-sponsored secondary institutions, to send them for private tutoring for entrance examinations, to free them in the evenings for study time, and to foster them to relatives in towns or to other regions where lower passmarks insure easier entrance to secondary schools.

Whereas (ideologically) the lineage future still resides in young men, the parental orientation towards children as old age investment operates for children of both sexes. Young men working in the towns carry the burden of providing school fees and job patronage for their sisters as well as their brothers. Young women in urban areas have equal responsibilities toward their siblings; in fact, peasant families report that salaried remittances from daughters exceed those from sons. Remittances from the daughter often come to the mother whose income directly contributed to her educational expenses.

The rural class structure is noticeably more differentiated in Kilimanjaro than in Tabora. In Kilimanjaro a rural-based business elite straddles a business and bureaucratic elite operating in urban centers.⁹ Children from elite families have a better than average chance of continuing their studies after the primary level through the numerous church-sponsored private secondary schools. But children from poor peasant households are generally able to claim clientage ties to the more wealthy lineage relations who will pay their school fees. The historical legacy of infrastructural development in Kilimanjaro -- in the areas of transport, communications, rural electrification, and medical services by state, church, and currently, external aid donors -- has also had its impact on incentives for educational expansion at the grass roots level. Every sub-district on the mountain, desiring its own secondary school, places a tax on coffee and beer sales to raise the funds, and coordinates sponsorship by a church organization when the government fails to provide a school.

Conclusion

This paper has only superficially touched on the very significant ideological constraints which shape access to educational institutions for Tanzanian women and their performance once they are accepted into school. The moral valence of women's intellectual labor is affected more broadly by the precarious condition of the Tanzanian economy, and by the more widespread patriarchal values¹⁰ (regarding the position of women) which have a critical impact on the structure and content of education and, one might argue, all other social institutions.

This very small piece of the puzzle concerning why unequal opportunity persists, despite legislation designed to eradicate it, has focused on the strategic value of children for different classes and how this class structure is shaped by the differential historical and material circumstances which affect regional development. Thus I am suggesting that unequal access to education must be explained not by focusing on bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption, or conspiracy alone, but by widening the consideration to include research aimed at discovering how actors respond to, creatively interpret, and manipulate educational resources.

I have focused my attention here on education as a critical resource in family social reproduction and mobility. I have used the term "investment" to suggest the manipulation of surplus which will generate future income and/or benefits through increased access to important goods and services. While investment in this regard has a rather particularistic definition, I believe it has the potential to shift our perspective on decision-making within the household. Education, in the African context, is almost always discussed in the literature only as a matter of household expense. This perhaps reflects the recent shift in African kinship studies from concern with lineage to the study of households. The formalist static approach to African families, embedded in corporate groups holding rights in persons, has thus given way to an interest in the dynamic composition of residential firms whose activities are loosely coordinated around issues of production

and consumption. Guyer (1981) has argued for an integration of these two approaches, an approach which considers how the organization of the household dynamically interacts with the ideology of lineage interests. One way to pursue such an integrated approach is to turn our attention to educational investment, or more broadly conceived, to turn the direction of resources toward an investment in persons whose real and symbolic capital stands to benefit both the household and the network of extended kin.

A shift in focus from an analysis based on rights in persons to one on investment in persons effectively enables us to view how the obligations which underlie these rights differentially accrue for men and women within a patrilineal scenario. In the past, rights in the labor of junior males held by a lineage formed a redistributive nexus of exchange. Senior males granted or withheld use rights to land and bridewealth in exchange for the labor and loyalty of younger male members who will eventually succeed their position. Rights in women held by the lineage are determined by both their labor value and the exchange value of their reproductive capacity. Once the reproductive value of a female lineage member is exchanged for bridewealth, the lineage has no further rights in her or obligations to her, other than the moral injunction to see that she is well provided for in her new home. Thus traditionally, an investment in male lineage members in the form of land and livestock was an investment in members who would remain and whose birthright accorded them benefits in exchange for their cooperation, whereas an investment in female members was one in terms of their potential exchange value.

Educational investment, however, radically reorders the nature of rights in persons, for it represents an investment in an individual's potential income and economic capacity. As such it is a proposition much riskier than one based on rights and carries a threat of intergenerational conflict. An educated salaried male worker, usually moving away from the realm of the lineage, will be subject to a wider sphere of influences that make competing claims on his income, patronage, and loyalty. For an extended network of kin to make an educational investment in a young man, they must have sufficient evidence that he views it as a gift of confidence (with a delayed exchange value). Investment decisions regarding the education of young men thus broaden traditional conceptualizations of rights and obligations, since elders lack the direct means to coerce junior educated males into cooperative endeavors. Currently such decisions necessitate a concern with individualistic assessments of character and earning capacity. Educational investment, as one byproduct of the modernization process, has shifted the stake of the lineage away from concrete forms of property, such as land and livestock, toward a more abstract and individual venture in a person's career and familial sentiment.

Education investment for women, on the other hand, transforms the very nature of lineal claims to her exchange value. The direction of resources toward her future value for the lineage shifts as her value in the sphere of reproductive exchange changes to her value as a productive worker whose income and position can be tapped by lineage members. Initially, at least,

investments in women's education continue to be mystified by male lineage members in terms of exchange value; educated daughters command higher bridewealth payments and are more likely to contract marriages to educated salaried employees who may provide economic assistance to father and brothers-in-law. As women increasingly receive education and become effective income-earners in their own right, it is possible to detect a subtle change in which the extended family network of kin now begins to view investment in male and female education as similar projects.

It has been pointed out elsewhere (Bledsoe 1980; Etienne 1977; Goody 1976; Meillassoux 1981; Ogubu 1978; Parkin 1980) that male and female economic interests cannot be viewed as unitary either within lineal or household relations and that the alignment of these interests will vary according to the class position of the household. While it would be difficult to argue that Tanzanian women have a single class interest, it is possible to suggest from the brief regional comparison presented here, that women tend to view and practice strategies of educational investment in children differently than men. This is a pattern which has been obscured by a unitary analysis of male interests within the conjugal household. From all indications, where women have total or relatively equal control over discretionary household income, opportunities for the daughter's education substantially increase.

The Chagga represent an unusual case in Tanzania in that the early introduction of cash crop production served to intensify land pressures and to individualize property holdings. These effects, combined with the intervention of church/state policies, eroded the ideology of corporate patrilineal power and strengthened the complementarity of conjugal interests. By contrast, the effective control over land exercised by Nyamwezi lineages has only recently been eliminated by state land reform policies in Tabora; yet the effect of labor scarcity, ease of divorce, and practice of polygyny continue to support the exercise of male interests in a conjugal household. The Tabora case, which is by far the more typical in Tanzania, is one in which the education of women continues to challenge the state policies which are designed to rectify women's subordinate status.

NOTES

1. The field research for this paper, conducted between 1982-84, was supported by funding from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York under a Graduate Research Assistantship and the Andrew Silk Dissertation Fellowship. During my stay in Tanzania I was affiliated with the Tanzanian National Scientific Research Council and the University of Dar es Salaam as Research Associate, Department of Education. I gratefully acknowledge the support and cooperation of these institutions. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 84th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C. (December 1985). I am grateful to James Brain, Elizabeth Brusco, Vincent Crapanzano, Marcia Wright, and the WID reviewer for helpful comments on the original version.
2. The Nyamwezi of Tabora and the Chagga of Kilimanjaro practice patrilineal descent, which results in the formation of groups of kin related by descent to a common male ancestor (the lineage). Traditionally, marriages created a connection between families of unrelated lineages and were cemented through the exchange of bridewealth (a payment in cattle, other livestock, beer, and a variety of household items given by the family of the groom to the family of the bride). Bridewealth exchanges were the result of negotiations between the elder male members of both families, were sequenced to coincide with key points in the creation of the new domestic group (e.g., engagement, wedding, birth of the first child) and conducted within the context of ritual performance. The postmarital residence pattern in both groups was patrilocal (the newly married couple resided with the husband's lineage). Rituals accompanying the exchange of bridewealth emphasized a range of themes including: the transfer of labor and loyalty of the bride from her natal family to that of her husband, the new rights and obligations of the bride and groom toward each other and their new in-laws, and the foundation of a new unit of biological and social reproduction centered in the husband's lineage.
3. This paper reflects an area of concern incorporated within a broader research project on the social uses of knowledge in contemporary Tanzania. During 1982-84 fieldwork was conducted in two Tanzanian regions, Tabora and Kilimanjaro, selected for their contrasting patterns of historical development. Research was carried out in the two regional capitols (Tabora Town and Moshi), selected secondary schools, and one village in each region located in a central cash crop production zone. Information on productive relations, household budget allocations, and educational investment was obtained from detailed household and educational census interviews conducted with 45 peasant families selected from small, middle, and large income-producing households. These interviews were structured to provide descriptive background material to complement open-ended and life history interviews and observations conducted within the wider village populations. (The total number of families residing in the Tabora and Kilimanjaro villages were 700 and 830 respectively). Information concerning the family background

of students (occupation, education level of household members, size of household, etc.) and educational strategies, is derived from questionnaire responses of 280 secondary school students and complemented by open-ended interviews with students, teachers, educational administrators, and parents located in the two regions.

4. For example, in the Tabora village where research was conducted in 1983, out of 700 households: ten female primary school teachers headed their own households or were the main salaried breadwinner in a conjugal household, the eight managers of the village cooperative shops were all women who headed their own households, and six of the major village beer brewers who operated private establishments were single household heads. The concept "female-headed household" must be modified in the Tabora context to the extent that it does not always imply a separate and discrete residence from a patrilineally related extended kin network. The case of a woman I will call Bi Fatuma illustrates the complexity of this issue.

Bi Fatuma is a 24 year old cooperative shop manager. Cooperative shops are run by village elected boards and act as the main channels whereby nationally-produced goods (e.g., clothing, household utensils) and commodities (e.g., sugar, cooking oil, kerosine) are made available to the peasantry. Proceeds from sales are reinvested in the shop and other village projects. Bi Fatuma's job consists of weekly trips to purchase shop supplies from the District Trading Corporation, to keep the shop's accounts, and to act as saleswoman. She draws half the minimum wage (325 shillings or about \$32 per month) for her labor since the job is regarded as part-time work. Bi Fatuma was married in a religious and tribal ceremony five years ago which involved the exchange of considerable bridewealth, for she was judged by local standards to be of exceptional beauty. She has one son by this marriage and is now divorced. She claims to have initiated the divorce because her husband took a second wife whom she accused of practicing witchcraft against her. In the meantime she established several other liaisons with village men and gave birth to a second child. She lives in a separate apartment with her two children, within a larger family compound (her mother, three brothers, and their wives and children). Her salary mainly pays the living expenses of herself and her children and occasional contributions to the larger household budget. Since she is divorced and the bridewealth was returned to her husband's kin, Bi Fatuma's family formally retains control over her and her children. Due to her age and appearance she is still considered a likely candidate for marriage and receives numerous proposals. She claims that she has no further plans to marry and prefers to remain single while bearing children from whose fathers she can extract child support. Her family does not seem inclined to pressure her towards marriage as she is self-supporting and able to help out with major cash purchases. At the conclusion of the research she was pregnant with her third child.

5. Primary school education is universal and free, although parents must provide basic school supplies (including uniforms), contribute a minimum fee to the maintenance fund of the school, and supply labor for building

and maintaining the school. Until 1984 education within the government secondary schools was free, with recruitment by competitive examination. Students sit for these entrance examinations at the end of seven years of primary school, and in 1984 only 1.2% of the primary school graduates in the country were selected to continue for secondary education in the government schools. By 1984 the government resolved to begin charging a minimum fee to students selected for government boarding school. One alternative for students not selected is to apply to a private secondary day or boarding institution run by one of the voluntary agencies; such schools carry not only an annual fee but also require additional expenses in the form of on-going building funds.

6. The realm of the supernatural in Tabora is differentially controlled by men and women. Men act primarily as witches and sorcerers and control divination, although women may occasionally act as diviners (Abrahams 1981). Women retain control of love magic, using herbs, charms, and spells to draw desirable men to them and to cause harm to other women who are deemed to be in competition with them.
7. The current transformation of the relationship of lineage to household among the Nyamwezi and Chagga are related to a series of historical developments, some of which are discussed in this paper. It should be added that since 1971 the Tanzanian government has recognized four distinct (but frequently overlapping) forms of marriage: legal (government performed) marriages, religious marriages, customary (tribally performed) marriages, and common-law unions. Each of these unions is governed by a different set of rights, obligations, exchanges, inheritance principles, and divorce customs, which significantly complicate the traditional arrangements described elsewhere in this paper.
8. Given the predominant ideology that women cannot inherit property in their natal lineage, it is interesting to note that there appears to be an increasing trend in certain parts of the region for single women (particularly those with illegitimate children) to acquire land through purchase or pre-mortem inheritance and to establish their own farms. Whether this represents a recent trend or a more enduring pattern is open to speculation. Such patterns are not mentioned in earlier ethnographic studies of the Chagga.
9. For example, a sample of 30 households (among a village population of 830 families) reveals members engaged in a range of activities such as: commercial enterprises (private shops, bars, and restaurants), business concerns (mining, transport, construction), executive positions in the state bureaucracy (regional trading corporations, Air Tanzania, Tanzanian National Bank, the Tanzanian Insurance Company, the Coffee Authority), and professional occupations (medicine, law, accounting, teaching). Such activities may contribute to the household income in one or more ways: (1) directly, in the case of a household member who commutes daily to work in one of the nearby regional centers, operates business enterprises, or works in a professional job or parastatal

business in the surrounding district; (2) indirectly, in the case of a family member who has migrated to the national capital (Dar es Salaam) or other regions and who submits regular remittances and/or has made major property investments in the village which are maintained by the family. Elite and middle income rural families have at least one member engaged in such activities, but at least half of the village sample fell into the small peasant producer category. For small peasant households supplementary sources of cash income (aside from the sale of farm products) include: artisanal trade work, the production of local beer, and the hiring out of labor.

10. Such patriarchal values are a product of both indigenous kinship arrangements and the legacy of colonial penetration. Institutions such as formal education, land tenure reform, taxation policies, agricultural extension, credit schemes, and the salaried employment structure were embedded in a Western system of values which changed the parameters of the sexual division of labor and the organization of gender relations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many of these policies endure in the present. As one example, despite reforms designed to increase women's access to education, girls admitted to secondary school are often tracked into terminal vocational programs such as domestic science. By comparison, boys have many more opportunities to pursue academic streams leading to further studies.

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