

Tanzania

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AN APPRAISAL OF RURAL WOMEN IN TANZANIA

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I. ORGANIZATION AND SCOPE OF REPORT

This report is concerned with the situation of women in Tanzania and its implications for agricultural development planning. The presentation is divided into several sections.

First there is an introduction which discusses the importance of appreciating the place of women in rural society from planning and policy points of view, and also draws attention to the simplistic way in which women are often perceived.

Next is a discussion of the roles women play in East Africa generally. Certain effects of the colonial experience and their persistence in the post-independence era are noted. The influence of the Tanzanian Ujamaa village program on the sexual division of labor is commented upon. Also discussed is the role of women as decision-makers.

There follows a section in which access and equity in relation to women in Tanzania is considered. Specific attention is given to the legal system, education, employment, extension services, technology, agricultural loans, cooperative societies and marketing.

The last two sections provide a summary and a set of recommendations pertaining to agricultural development assistance and Tanzanian women.

The discussion in this paper is mostly of a very general, summary nature. This weakness stems partly from the fact that there is a paucity of literature providing detailed regional and district level information on women in present-day Tanzania. It is also in part a result of administrative problems encountered by the evaluator which delayed the initiation of field investigations and made it difficult to arrange interviews with TanGov officials, representatives of women's organizations local women themselves, and other relevant personnel. Field investigation would have been considerably facilitated had it not been necessary to devote inordinate amounts of time to obtaining proper credentials to carry out investigations.

There does exist a substantial body of literature related to women in pre-colonial and colonial East African society, and the situation of women in these eras is easily generalizable. In the post-independence

period also, women in the different parts of East African countries to a large extent share common circumstances. However, the post-independence experience varies between the different countries in significant ways, and there is a real need to obtain intensive knowledge of particular regions if analyses are to fully comprehend the contemporary situation of East African women.

II. INTRODUCTION

Taking Women Into Account

The relationship between women and rural development in Eastern Africa is complex, but an understanding of this relationship is crucial to well-planned, significant, and positive input by donor agencies. Past experience has underlined the importance of identifying the contributions of women to subsistence and economic activity and determining their motivations, priorities and goals. Clearly, the failure to consider such factors has contributed to lack of success in agricultural programs in both the pre- and post-independence eras. For example:

1. In Nyanza Province of Kenya, poor planning on the part of the British colonial government resulted in the failure of a cotton scheme. The low yields had been blamed initially on farmers' inability to use new techniques and inputs properly, but it was subsequently determined that the planners had an inadequate understanding of the priorities of women farmers in the area. Cotton had been a poor choice as a cash crop since it required labor inputs during the same periods of the agricultural cycle as the local food crops. Women gave precedence to their families' subsistence needs by caring for the food crops at the expense of the cotton. (Fearn 1961)

2. Recently, the Government of Kenya attempted to increase pyrethrum production in Central Kenya. Prior to government intervention, women had been growing the pyrethrum and selling it to the Marketing Board. However, as a part of the Million Acre Settlement Scheme in the area, men were given official title to the land and by right of land ownership became members of the local cooperative society. Unlike the Marketing Board, the cooperative took a percentage of all of the proceeds from produce sales. In addition, the cooperative turned over the balance of the proceeds to their members- i.e. the men. The women reacted to their total financial exclusion by decreasing their production of pyrethrum. This decrease was the direct result of Government failure to take previous incentives for women into account in agricultural planning. (UN/ECA 1974)

The importance of women to the development of a country such as Tanzania with a large rural population and an economy based on agriculture should be obvious. It has been noted that in 53% of the societies in Sub-Saharan Africa, women do the majority of the agricultural work.¹ Throughout Eastern and Central Africa, there are few societies where the contribution of male labor to agriculture equals that of females, much less exceeds it.

As of 1975, 90% of Tanzania's estimated 14.3 million people depend directly on agriculture for a livelihood. Agriculture accounts for about 40% of the gross domestic product and forms 65% of the country's total exports. Tanzania's population is estimated to be rising at a rate of 3.3% a year. From 1966-1972, agricultural production rose at 2.7%. This means a decline in per capita food production. With these facts in mind, it seems imperative to identify the ways in which Tanzanian women - 90% of whom live in rural areas - contribute to rural development particularly in regard to their role in the production and distribution of agricultural products.

Women in Development: Policy

Government policy, both in the United States and Tanzania, now gives additional urgency to the task of collecting and analyzing data related to women. Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 (the "Percy Amendment") has called formal attention to the importance of integrating women into development. The Percy Amendment suggests that policy planners and implementors, working within the frameworks set by cooperating governments, should design programs more relevant to women.

In working with the TanGov, there is the advantage of an official policy of support for the full integration of women into the national economy. According to the Arusha Declaration of 1967, Tanzania is to be modelled essentially on the 'traditional African family' pattern with its emphasis on communal labor and the redistribution of goods. Correcting the inadequacies of the traditional system- e.g. low per capita output, poverty,

¹In 26% of the societies the labor is equal, in 13% men do the majority of the work, and in 3% no agriculture is done. (Goody and Buckley 1973:208)

African women traditionally are wives and mothers; equally, they are farm managers and laborers, traders, artisans, teachers, and so on. While it was commonly the case that women were treated as jural minors and had to depend on male kinsmen to represent them in any interactions with individuals outside of the homestead, women often had considerable religious and political power. In this way and in less formalized ways, women exerted considerable influence over their lives and the lives of their families.

and inequality between the sexes - is the recognized goal of development. In regard to sexual inequality, the President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, has written in his essay "Socialism and Rural Development" (1967):

Although we try to hide the fact, and despite the exaggeration which our critics have frequently indulged in, it is true that the women in traditional society were regarded as having a place which was not only different but was also to some extent inferior. It is impossible to deny that the women did, and still do, more than their fair share of the work in the field and in the homes. This is certainly inconsistent with our socialist conception of the equality of all human beings and the right of all to live in such security and freedom as is consistent with equal security and freedom for all others. If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live in terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men.

The 'Role of Women'

It is important to note that while one often hears about the 'role of women' one seldom hears of the 'role of men'. This discrepancy appears to be the result of conceiving women to be restricted in narrowly defined traditional niches whereas men are thought of as the embodiment of potential. There is a definite need to move from simplistic and stereotypic characterizations of women which reduce them to merely 'mothers', 'housewives', or 'beasts of burden'. Like men, women assume a variety of roles in social interaction. This is true within any particular social setting as well as cross-culturally, although most societies consider cultural definitions of maleness and femaleness to be basic and in the nature of things. Not only are the roles themselves variable but the particular status relationships with other roles vary as well - i.e. the patterns are not necessarily consistent. In some situations women may be of lower status than males, in some equal, and in others superior. Therefore, to understand various role relationships, one must consider the context.²

²As an aside; one should not generally assume that whether a society is labelled 'patrilineal' or 'matrilineal' is an indication of the position of women vis-a-vis men. Patrilineal refers to a society which traces descent through males and matrilineal to one which traces it through females. Matrilineal does not mean a society ruled by women. In either case structural factors may play a more important role than just genealogy.

III. WOMEN IN EAST AFRICAN SOCIETY

This section deals with the sexual division of labor and its modification over time within East Africa. The part women play as decision-makers is also discussed. These matters are necessarily dealt with at a general level, and although the account is broadly representative of the East African experience, naturally one can expect variation in detail between different contexts.

Pre-Colonial Period

In the common Eastern African subsistence system of shifting cultivation, efficiency is created and maintained through a sexual division of labor. Children are brought up to perform tasks appropriate to their sex and age. Brown (1970) suggests that the major element which contributes to traditional division of labor is the responsibility for child care. She argues that nowhere is the rearing of children the primary responsibility of males. In addition, in only a few societies are women exempted from participation in subsistence activities. Consequently, to maximize the economic role of women, their responsibility in child care must be reduced or the economic activity must be compatible with concurrent child care. The former seems to be the tendency with industrialized societies and the latter with non-industrialized societies. Brown proposes the following characteristics of work as appropriate to those who must also care for children:

1. the participant is not obliged to be far from home.
2. tasks are relatively monotonous and do not require rapt attention.
3. work is not dangerous
4. work can be performed in spite of interruptions and is easily resumed once interrupted.

Considerations such as these no doubt contributed to the relative uniformity in sexual division of labor among pre-colonial societies in Eastern Africa. For example, annual heavy tasks (e.g., tree felling) or those requiring great concentration and considerable travel (e.g., hunting) as well as dangerous occupations (e.g., warfare) were considered male prerogatives. Routine, year-round jobs requiring little concentration such as weeding, processing of grains, and scaring of birds and jobs which kept one close to home were the province of women. Within this framework, each

sex specialised in the particular types of work so that there was complementarity across sexual lines. Within each sex, adults supervised children in the performance of appropriate tasks. Thus, both sexes served as apprentices in their youth and as supervisors in their adult years.

One of the primary duties of any married adult female in traditional society was to produce children and to properly socialize them to be a positive contribution to both family and community. Children were desired to extend and maintain the lineage, to support the parents in their old age, to serve as an economic asset by providing labor, and in the case of men to prove their virility. Women took the major responsibility for child care and supervision. Women also provided the household labor which included husking, grinding and pounding grains, fetching water and fuel, cooking meals, preparing butter, cheese, and soap, and making necessary household utensils. One should keep in mind that such tasks were arduous and time-consuming, being performed with few labor-saving devices. For example, it has been estimated that in Tanzania women spent three hours a day simply preparing food since the preparation of the grain itself could take an hour or more before actual cooking could begin. (Eoserup 1970:165)

In addition, women frequently walk over two miles a day to fill a water pot which may weigh as much as twenty kilos on the return trip. During her labors, a woman is often pregnant, or has a baby on her back, or both.

In addition to household responsibilities, which have been estimated to take between twenty and thirty hours a week (ibid), women have also agricultural responsibilities. While men bear the main responsibility for animal husbandry, fishing and hunting, women are invested with primary responsibility for most crops. Women generally dig the ground, plant, weed, scare birds, harvest, process, store, and market the crops. They must also safeguard the next season's seed and ration the food so that it lasts until the next harvest. In pastoral societies, even though men own the cattle, women hold them in trust for their children. They may have use of the milk but must care for sheep and goats, milk the cows, and clean the stables. Girls and boys often share the herding of the animals.

Women also have heavy social responsibilities as they are expected to maintain fairly elaborate reciprocal exchanges of gifts, visits, etc. with kin and neighbors. By doing so, they care for elderly kinfolk and the sick,

and contribute gifts and labor at funerals, weddings, births, and other important events. The social, economic, and religious utility of these activities in an inter-dependent subsistence economy is immense.

One should not assume from the amount of labor required from women that they were simply household slaves or beasts of burden. Their lives were difficult and certain kinds of power were primarily in the hands of the male heads of households who had control of the land and who represented the family in many of its interactions with the outside community. However, in many respects, women were self-sufficient and exercised considerable control over the production and distribution of resources. This control was the result of the interaction of ritual, family, and community sanctions which protected the interests of women and provided them with a measure of security.

Although etiquette often required women to adopt a subservient posture vis-a-vis men, women were always recognized as essential parts of the community. This recognition took various forms ranging from ritual recognition to more active support. An example of the latter can be found among the pastoral Barabaig of Tanzania. Among the Barabaig, Klima (1964) describes a woman's court which is held when any woman claims to have been insulted or mistreated by males. Male offenders may be fined cattle which are paid to the women. If the convicted party does not pay his fine, the women retaliate by destroying his property. At such times the male community, while decrying the taking of cattle by women, recognizes the rights of women and will not support the accused in any way. As a result of such sanctions and the widely acknowledged necessity of women to the efficient running of the farming system, we find a system in which women may be generally subservient, but are also capable of emphatic self-assertion upon occasion.

Colonial Period

After the arrival of various colonial powers in Eastern Africa, substantial changes occurred in pre-contact patterns. While the interactions between particular colonial powers and specific cultures varies, it is still possible to identify some major trends.

Of initial import were the attitudes and values through which Europeans filtered their understanding of African social behavior. Europeans had little respect for the intelligence or economic capabilities of women. Coming from

The colonialists' economic requirements, other than cash farming, also tended to integrate men into the modern sector at a faster rate than women. There was a need for two primary kinds of workers unskilled for the plantations or portering, etc., and semi-literate to serve as clerks, tax collectors, and other low-level bureaucrats. In both categories, males were considered more suitable and were given priority in both hiring and training.

Clearly, during the colonial era women were not sought as an important resource for the modern sector. Rather, they were confined to the subsistence sector with little access to cash or modern inputs. At the same time their labor demands increased. Not only did they become responsible for the labor on cash crops but in addition were forced to undertake many tasks previously allotted to males who had migrated in search of salaried jobs. Many women found themselves confined to the rural areas producing food for absent wage-earners and bearing and raising male children until they too could depart for plantations and cities and female children to replace themselves in the system. As the colonial style of dormitory living and low salaries precluded most women from joining their husbands, they saw their men seldom until they returned sick, injured, or dying. As Boserup writes:

The burden African women take on is their contribution to African export - only in a superficial sense can it be said that this export effort is based solely on men. (1970:79)

The colonial system which encouraged the growing of cash crops and the migration of men to areas of wage labor was totally dependent on women staying behind on the farms and providing food for the workers and social security for those unable to find work or unlucky enough to lose it.

In addition to losing status in the economic sector, women also suffered from changes in the religious and social spheres. As the influence of Christian missionaries increased, women lost the support and safeguards of indigenous religious practices. Their status was further eroded by the weakening of community solidarity resulting from the loss of men to the urban areas and plantations.

a system of male farming in which women were relegated almost exclusively to the home sphere, they looked upon African men as lazy and exploitative of female labor. The African division of labor was not regarded as 'natural' by the Europeans. As a result of European assumptions regarding proper male and female roles, the pre-contact economy was profoundly changed.

Two major impacts of the Europeans were the introduction of export oriented cash crops and the introduction of wage labor. The European demand for cash crops led to institutionalized pressures to grow them. These were manifested in coercive extension services, marketing controls, forced cultivation, taxation, and the provision of more sophisticated inputs and equipment. A dual economy was created in which the subsistence sector coexisted with a market oriented agricultural sector. Cash crop production was intended to be a male-controlled enterprise; women were left to perform the subsistence tasks which were not valued by the export-oriented colonialists.

From the standpoint of rural women, the growing of cash crops and food crops are two fundamentally different propositions. In subsistence cultivation, the woman's primary task is to feed her family - a task which is important, personally satisfying, and crucial to the household economy. She is also free to sell or trade produce to acquire other necessities. With the introduction of cash crops, however, the woman finds that her labor increases while her control over the household economy diminishes. Women are often expected to provide the labor for both cash and food crops but men generally reap the financial returns from the sale of the former. This leaves women in a difficult position since they are expected to fulfill their customary duties- laboring on the farm and stocking the household with necessities - while males gain access to cash in the absence of responsibility for the household. Consequently, it is not uncommon for men to spend the returns on luxuries for themselves, or to reinvest in cash crop production in the form of employment of casual labor and provision of fertilizer, improved seed, and mechanical equipment. As a result of this application of modern farm practices to men's crops, the new inputs become identified as exclusively male tools of production. This monopoly frequently results in increased productivity for males, while the productivity of females remains static or declines.

11

The Present

The present situation in East Africa is characterized by the persistence of the dual economy, and the concomitant trend of increasing employment of women in economically unrewarding tasks while men shift to cash crop farming or migrate elsewhere to undertake non-agricultural work. The early entry of men into the colonial economy is evident in the male monopoly of certain skills, the gap between education levels of males and females, and the positive value placed on cash oriented endeavors. Within this framework it is not surprising that men's work is considered 'modern' because it leads to cash while women's work is considered 'traditional' and of less importance.

Increasing labor demands on women is indicative of changes in traditional patterns. Within peasant agricultural systems, male and female labor units are not readily interchangeable. Therefore if there is a surplus of male labor there might at the same time be a scarcity of female labor. The breakdown of this dichotomy in recent times seems to be unilateral only: female labor can often be substituted for male labor but not vice versa. Certain developments may occasionally contribute to a decrease in the amount of labor required of women - e.g. farm mechanization, piped water systems, land consolidation, or the availability of wage labor. But the reverse is frequently the case. Women may find themselves doing extra jobs which were previously within the male domain in a context where there are fewer polygamous households (i.e., less opportunity to share work), increases in school attendance (i.e., fewer children available who can help with chores), new concepts of health (i.e., more cleaning and increased water needs), and growing demands by husbands (i.e., as they affect new standards of comfort and status).

In essence, the course of events initiated during the colonial era and carried over to the present has affected the relationship of women to the productive processes in such a way as to eclipse their formerly high status. At the same time, the potential of women for participating in the development process has been severely limited.

The Tanzanian Context: Ujamaa Villages

Within Tanzanian Ujamaa villages, the attempt is being made to promote work load equity. For example, all members of the community who are physically capable must labor on the communal plots in order to reap a benefit from them. However, even if men may labor longer in the fields than previously this can be attributed more readily to their monopolization of mechanical equipment rather than to basic changes in the sexual division of labor. Women still fetch the water, bring the fuel, tend the babies, cook, weed, etc. New infrastructure is decreasing some of this labor, but men are not adopting 'women's' work as their own responsibility. Further, it has been noted that the present government policy has shifted from an emphasis on collective work to block farms with primarily individual plots (Coulson 1974:45). With this system, there is an even greater tendency for households to function with a sexual division of labor which is disadvantageous: to women.

There is thus no guarantee that movement to Ujamaa villages will help reduce the workload for women. Indeed, it is conceivable that the workload may even increase. While the villages are supposed to be equipped with mechanisms which could be used to correct imbalances in the distribution of labor responsibility between the sexes - i.e. the executive council and village meetings - indications are that these opportunities are not being fully exploited. Most villages have few women on the council and the councils do not seem to be functioning as effective decision-making forums with respect to workload equity. Moreover, participation in village meetings can be quite low (i.e., Sender 1974:36).

Decision-making

Most decisions regarding agriculture are seasonal and recurring - e.g. when to plant, when to harvest, etc. The people involved tend to feel that no specific decision is made. These activities just occur 'when things are right'. Decisions regarding change and choices should be more obvious and yet the process is usually a long-term and subtle one resulting from many different inputs. These aspects of decision-making make it extremely difficult to effectively study the process.

Experience indicates that women have a major impact on agricultural decisions. This is most apparent where women successfully assert themselves against the best interests of men. For both the colonial and independence eras, one can find several documented cases of women refusing to change from subsistence to cash crops or to reduce the acreage devoted to the former in favor of the latter. This behaviour results from the vested interest that women have in subsistence farming and their lack of incentives to grow cash crops, as noted previously. Since men clearly gain if their women cultivate cash crops, a woman's successful refusal to do so indicates a certain power to make decisions regarding the allocation of her labor, the choice of crops grown, etc. (DeWilde 1967; Pala 1975; UN/ECA 1974).

Recent works which do concern themselves to some extent with the issue indicate that East African women play a highly active role as agricultural decision-makers (e.g., of Bond 1974; DAI 1974; Staudt 1975). While decisions are commonly arrived at by mutual consent between husband and wife, certain areas seem to be more the prerogative of one sex than the other.

Women frequently take the initiative in deciding on:

1. kinds of crops grown
2. seed selection
3. planting and harvesting
4. weeding
5. allocation of their labor and the labor of their children
6. disposal of produce

Men generally make a stronger contribution in the following areas:

1. land transactions - e.g., decisions to buy, sell, or rent
2. sale or purchase of livestock and their allocation among wives
3. use of mechanical farming equipment such as tractors
4. fencing
5. relocation of family

These categories of greater or lesser influence by sex must be understood as relative. The extent to which husbands or wives contribute to decisions varies according to personal idiosyncracies - e.g. who has the strongest personality - as well as local cultural pattern. Other readily identifiable determinates of the decision-making process include:

1. Location of household. Does the married couple reside near

the husband's or wife's kin group, or on land allocated by one partner's kin? These factors may give one or the other of the marriage partners greater bargaining power within the household.

2. Age and sex of the family members. The age of the wife can greatly affect her decision-making status. Young wives are subject to more direction from their husbands and in-laws, while middle-aged wives have greater independence (cf Stuart 1975:21)
3. Presence of husband. The degree to which women assume farm management duties will also depend on whether or not the husband is a permanent resident in the household as well as the extent of his interest in farming. The husband may be present on the farm or absent due to outside employment. He may have a strong interest in all aspects of farming activity, in cash crops only, or little interest in farming at all. Whether present or absent, he may let his wife carry the burden of day-to-day responsibility and only concern himself with particularly significant plans (e.g., tractor hire), purchases (e.g. fencing), etc.
4. Women's access to cash. A husband's labor presumably can be replaced by hired labor. It is through the husband's control of cash that he has his greatest impact on the farm. Women may gain some access to cash through the sale of produce, beer, labor or handicrafts and the possession of such cash obviously enhances their position as decision makers.

IV. WOMEN IN TANZANIAN SOCIETY: ACCESS AND EQUITY

Constraints on women's participation in development in several critical areas of Tanzanian society are now examined in some detail. Discussion will focus upon the representation and protection of women's welfare in the legal system, and women's access to resources in the form of education, employment, extension services, technical innovations, agricultural credit, and their participation in co-operatives and marketing activities.

The legal system and women

Here we shall restrict our concern to those aspects of law - both customary and statutory - which directly affect the ability of women to participate actively in agricultural development. The areas of prime import are laws relating to land use and ownership, property rights and inheritance, marriage and divorce, and laws which affect wage employment - e.g. maternity leave. We shall begin with a discussion of traditional or customary law in each area since in many parts of Tanzania legislated national laws co-function with customary law.

Women and land. Rights of occupation, allocation and transmission of land in pre-colonial society were usually in the hands of males while females gained access to land for use and transmission through their relationship with males. Although women in most societies did not have the final right of disposition of land, they had always used land for crop production by virtue of being a wife or daughter of a particular man. In addition, they had control over the proceeds of the land so that they could maintain their husband and family.

Some scholars have argued that the woman's role in the indigenous tenure system was not very significant because she did not have the power to allocate land. This position is based on two assumptions: first, that the right of allocation is the same as the Western concept of ownership; and secondly, that women's access to land is precarious. Both of these represent a fundamental misunderstanding of the indigenous tenure system (cf Okoth-Ogendo 1975). The question of ownership is the crucial issue here. In the first place, land is held on a corporate kinship or local group basis. The use claims that particular families have to land are part of a wider network

of claims of clan or local group. Thus, individual claims are qualified by membership in a broader grouping. Within such a system, ownership is not the critical aspect of property. Rather the role land plays in maintaining social relationships is predominant. Women had clearly defined rights of access to land through this traditional pattern, and the resulting security provided them with an incentive to participate fully in the economy. However, as the woman's access was through males, her rights were contingent upon her association with her own father and brothers or her husband.

The colonialists, equating the power to allocate land with its ownership, assumed that all land possessed by Africans was owned by males. Thus, in areas of land registration, the power to allocate was interpreted as the registrable interest. Therefore, more males than females became official title-holders. With the development of individual ownership in male hands, women lost the guarantees of corporate ownership and the accompanying sanctions against male usurpation of their rights. The title-holder theoretically was free to deal with his land as he saw fit - even to sell it outside the family. The individual registration of land negated indigenous property rights without replacing them with functionally equivalent institutions. It was at this point that women's access to land became precarious.

The Tanzanian situation has changed rapidly since the Arusha Declaration of 1967. Land is now the property of the State and may not be privately owned. The ultimate goal is to settle all of the rural people in Ujamaa villages which, as multi-purpose cooperatives, would hold their lands as corporate bodies. It is hoped that through this system women may benefit in several ways. First, women will have access to land in their own right as workers and members of the cooperative society. They should no longer need to rely on their relationship to men to secure land use rights. Secondly, cooperative farm land cannot be sold or rented by men, leaving women landless. Finally, the work which women expend upon the land will be for their more direct benefit.

Little information is available on the actual workings of this system on the ground as it affects women. It seems likely in the non-ujamaa areas and in those villages which are not fully multi-purpose cooperatives, that although women are spared the risk of their men selling the land, they must still gain use rights by virtue of their ties with husband or other kin.

In the organization of Ujamaa villages, there are indications that women without male connections are still discriminated against (Mbiliyi 1974:12-13).

Rights to property and inheritance. Under customary law, both the possession and inheritance of major pieces of property - e.g. cattle and houses - is through males. Even in matrilineal societies - i.e. those in which kinship is traced through females - property is transmitted through males. In the latter case, a man's property goes to his sister's son or his mother's brother rather than to his own son. The division between what property within a household belongs to the male and what property belongs to the female is most apparent at the husband's death. In this event, his family commonly gets the farm produce, the children, the house, the land, and the cattle. The widow has absolute rights over the property which she has brought to the marriage and the gifts that her husband gave her. She has no rights to any other household items with the exception of possessions which are clearly defined as hers - e.g. her personal clothing, cooking pots, and jewelry. Within a matrilineal society, widows are occasionally a bit better off because women frequently have control over lands which were her family's and not the property of her husband. In addition, she retains her children whose primary male influence is the mother's brother rather than their own father. In a patrilineal system, widows are forced either to return to their parents' family where they may no longer have any real status, or to be dependent on their husband's kin. In some societies the latter situation is formalized by a kind of inheritance of responsibility for the widow by her husband's brother - i.e. the levirate. When a woman chooses to return to her own family she often must do so without any tangible product from her life as wife, mother, and cultivator.

Customary property law is defined not so much as the rights of persons over things as it is in Western tradition but more as obligations which are created between persons with respect to things. In societies with few tangible properties, the rights and obligations become of greater import than control over the property itself. Women often exert strong influence and control within this context. For example, there is a system known as the 'house-property complex' in which husbands assign specific property - e.g. land, cattle, houses, etc. - to their wives to hold in trust for their sons. Thus, even though inheritance is through males, women serve as the agents of transmission for the property which they hold in trust for their children.

Within matrilineal societies, a similar linkage occurs except the men parcel out the property to their sisters to administer for their children. The same kind of system obtains in both agricultural and pastoral societies. In pastoral systems, the animals are allocated among women who care for them and transmit them to their own children. Within such systems, widows with surviving but juvenile male children often have considerable authority to accumulate wealth through the management of their children's estates. With the house-property complex, a woman does not own the means of production but she and her children can benefit from the property which they used.

In present-day Tanzania, there are laws which prohibit any discrimination against women in the ownership of property. Women and men have the same rights to acquire, hold, and dispose of property whether movable or immovable and the same right to contract, to be sued in contract or tort. In the case of polygamy, all wives have equal rights and liabilities before the law in regard to property. Marriage per se does not prevent either spouse from acquiring, holding, or disposing of property. Any property which a woman brings to her marriage remains hers unless there is a written contract to the contrary. After marriage, no part of the matrimonial home can be sold, mortgaged, or otherwise alienated without the consent of both spouses.

While such laws give women equal rights with men and provide protection for widows and divorced women, once again little is known on the implementation and degree of acceptance at the local level. There is a need to determine the extent to which:

- women are aware of their legal rights
- the authorities in rural areas will assist women should they wish to assert their rights
- court procedures are within the financial means of women

One must recognize that regardless of the laws on the books, a woman whose husband dies unexpectedly is in a vulnerable position when his relatives arrive and begin to take what they feel is rightfully theirs.

Marriage and divorce. Customs regarding marriage and divorce are quite variable. In general, marriages were contracted between two families rather than between two individuals. This is not to suggest that the system forced individuals to marry against their wills, though no doubt such cases did occur at times. The contract between the two families - represented by

and formalized through exchanges of gifts, visits, labor, etc. - was an important tie between sections of the community. One acquired relationships with people who could be called upon to aid in times of trouble. In addition, families took considerable interest in the possessions, probable fertility, and ability and willingness to work of their child's prospective spouse. Such things were vital to the successful continuation of the lineage and also to the ability of the new couple to provide for parents in their old age. Marriage termination was informal. While women could not actually 'divorce' their husbands, they could only run away. Such behaviour could bring physical retribution from husbands, and also from fathers and brothers, if the latter viewed it as unwarranted. However, a determined run away could usually succeed in her desire to leave her husband but often found herself without property and with few prospects as a worker in the home of her parents. Men could more successfully send their wives away.

Prior to the Marriage Act of 1971 (effective on the mainland), there were four types of recognized marriage: those performed (a) under the Marriage Ordinance Cap 109 which were solemnized by ministers of religion or in registrars' offices; (b) under Marriage, Divorce, and Succession (Non-Christian Asians) Ord. Cap. 112; (c) under Islamic law; and (d) under customary law. Of these forms, only the first two were recognized by national law. The Marriage Act of 1971 was an attempt to unify the different marriage types under one law and to lessen some of the inequalities for women within the system. In general, this act provided for:

1. a minimum age of consent: 13 for boys and 15 for girls (but girls under 13 need the consent of their parents, guardians, or the courts).
2. free consent by both parties to the marriage.
3. either monogamous or polygamous marriages with changes possible if both parties give written consent in court.
4. the validity of marriage to be unaffected by non-payment of dowry or giving of gifts.
5. inheritance for widows.
6. the wife's rights to ownership of all property she has acquired before or during her marriage.
7. regularized divorce procedures, including the requirement that all such proposals pass through a conciliatory board

8. provision for maintenance of divorced wives.
9. child custody to be based on the court's decision regarding the welfare of the child. (Usually children stay with their mother until they are seven years of age.)

As with any such massive document there are weaknesses which are increasingly coming to light. Mbilinyi (1972b:376) has isolated the following problems:

1. a wife's ownership extends only to the material goods or 'products' she has acquired, yet because of the semi-subsistence nature of most women's work, household and otherwise, she is left with very little tangible product.
2. the law does not state to what extent a widow or divorced wife is to be provided for.
3. the wife's consent for the acquisition of an additional wife disregards the fact that economically she is the weaker party and has no alternative but to consent.
4. when a husband and wife come from the same locality and were married either in a church or in a traditional ceremony, customary law will be used in cases of divorce and inheritance. This protects the interests of the husband and his extended family in regards to the children and the inheritance of property.

Additional Tanzanian laws of benefit to women include the Employment ordinance Act 1975 which entitles women employees to 84 days maternity leave once every three years. It is hoped that this Act will help women and at the same time serve as an incentive to the spacing of children. At this time it is too early to evaluate its effectiveness or its possible detrimental effects - e.g. refusal to hire women since they can take off 84 days every three years. Tanzania also has the Affiliation Ordinance Cap 278 which was passed in 1949. Under this law, if a woman can prove that a particular man is the father of her child, he must maintain the child until the age of sixteen. While this ordinance provides some help for women raising children alone, the monthly payments are inadequate since they may not exceed TShs. 100/= per month.

Women's access to education

Some pre-colonial societies institutionalized learning situations through age-set systems and initiation ceremonies in which children were given formal instruction in critical areas prior to their assumption of new responsibilities within the society. But traditional education generally tended to be informal. Instruction was indirect and pragmatic: the child learned through 'participant observation' in everyday events.

The colonial education system, on the other hand, emphasized formal education and the development of skills which could be used to service the new European establishment. The missionaries came to convert people to new religious beliefs. Missions needed people with enough education to spread Christian influence by serving as teachers and ministers. Government schools were established to provide selected African with enough training so that they might serve the colonial administration as low level functionaries - e.g. tax collectors, clerks, primary school teachers, etc. The emphasis on formal education introduced a strong Western bias into the Tanzanian educational system and resulted in a general change of direction. First, it under-cut the universality of the pre-colonial system. With the introduction of formal schooling, education became a scarce commodity only offered to a select few, who were almost exclusively male. Secondly, the emphasis shifted from the practical day-to-day problems of existence to a concern with 'bookish' skills which were more relevant to urban areas and wage-earning jobs - situations in which most Tanzanians rarely found themselves. Thirdly, it resulted in the perception of formal education as the key to wage-earning jobs and therefore to wealth, prestige, and a successful life away from the farm. As the traditional teachings were not longer sufficient to attain the 'good life', they became devalued.

The bias against women which was inherent in the colonial system has not been overcome by the present Tanzanian system. Even though the percentages of girls going to primary school has shown some increase between 1961 and 1971, between the same years the percentage of girls going to secondary school has decreased.³ The percentage of men and women between the ages of

³In 1961, 35% of Standard I pupils were girls. By 1971, 39.5% of those children who began primary school were girls. Between 1961 and 1971, the percentage of girls in secondary school dropped from 27.9% to 25.7% (Miaru 1975:4). In 1969, women comprised 27% of Form I students and 18% of Form IV. By 1971, it had become 27% and 14% respectively. The percentage of female students at the university has also dropped from 16% in 70-71 to 11% in 74-75 (Mbilinyi 1975:8).

15 and 34 with no formal education is as follows:

	<u>Age Group</u>		
	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>30-34</u>
<u>Men:</u>	38%	46%	58%
<u>Women:</u>	6%	79%	90%

(Source: Mbilinyi 1972b:375)

In order to be free of sexual bias, the educational system must exhibit certain characteristics (cf Chaubaud 1970):

1. Females must have the same opportunity as males to begin primary school.
2. Both sexes must be given the same opportunity to complete school.
3. Women should not be prevented by any regulation, prejudice or tradition from freely choosing their course of studies.

Clearly, these characteristics do not obtain at present. The obstacles which women must overcome in obtaining a formal education are derivative of social attitudes and expectation concerning the proper role for women. Some of these are manifested in the unwillingness of the family to consider educating girls, others in the woman's own perspective of acceptable alternatives, and some in the institutional structuring of opportunity itself.

A girl's family is generally less convinced of the advantages of schooling for her in comparison with her brothers. In the first place, girls are primarily perceived as potential wives. Schooling seems less relevant to that status than to others because the skills of a good wife can be learned at home from working with their mothers. From a material point of view, the early marriage of a girl means that the family receives bridewealth and is spared much further expense on her behalf. In addition, while sons may be expected to use their education in support of their parents old age, daughters usually go to live elsewhere and any expenditure on education is largely to the advantage of the husband's family. There is a widespread view that if women need any education at all, they should be allowed to complete up to standard IV or so. At this stage, they can read and write and are close to marriageable age. A second consideration is that since girls usually have more obligation to work in the household, their absence at school is more of a loss to the family's labor force than the absence of a boy. Thirdly, there is the concern that school attendance and separation from the family will

'spoil' daughters - i.e. they will become disobedient, rude, and perhaps pregnant. Finally, it is commonly believed that boys are inherently more capable and intelligent than girls and thus more deserving of the sacrifices that formal education requires of the family.

As a result of socialization processes, the girls themselves often share the attitudes of the family. They are further handicapped by a lack of awareness of educational possibilities or an ignorance of the potential value of more formal education.

For girls who actually go to school, the barriers to their progress result in a higher drop-out rate than for boys. Girls in school are burdened by a double workload. Not only must they go to school and study but they are also expected to do more extensive chores at home. The end result is less time for study and greater fatigue than boys. Sometimes this manifests itself in better academic performance by boys and a reinforcement of the position that boys are more capable students. There is less incentive for women in the rural areas to finish formal schooling since there are few paying jobs which require an education. The higher drop-out rate for girls is particularly noticeable between secondary and higher education. This can be attributed partly to financial difficulties arising out of the attitudes described above.⁴ Parents tend to make financial sacrifices for boys first. Girls are frequently withdrawn from school when costs become too great or in order to make way for the education of a brother. Government and university authorities also discriminate against girls. They more frequently provide support and cheap housing for male students than for female students.

Social expectations and possibilities constrain women in very different ways than they do men. For example, women tend to choose careers which do not require competition with men. While this may be the result of a negative self-image, it may also be the case that the realities of the system make women the losers when they compete with men in certain spheres. Working women must choose not to marry or have children or they must compromise in order to coordinate marriage and a career. Women often respond

⁴ Although those girls who attend school tend to come from families with higher socio-economic status, according to one study (Mbilinyi 1969).

to this by choosing careers with high geographical mobility so that they will be free to follow the needs of their husband's career. Over time, there develops a well-established pattern of the sacrifice of women's potential - first for their brothers and then for their husbands.

Vocational and technical training. Traditionally, any specialized training was done within the family and productivity between the sexes was relatively equal. However, this situation changed rapidly with unequal access to and participation in vocational and technical training. It has been argued that school and the availability of vocational training stimulate boys into subjects which are useful in the labor market while girls are directed towards subjects of little or no vocational relevance (Boserup 1970:214). This has definite repercussions in the differential productivity of men and women.

While women, in general, have increased their participation in formal education (even though their drop-out rate remains high), this is not the case in vocational and technical training. There are no accurate statistics of female participation in non-formal education in Tanzania but it has been estimated that more than 50% of the non-formal courses offered to women are courses in 'feminine' fields oriented to home improvement - e.g. cooking, sewing, and child care. (UN/ECA L972:368). These often have a high drop-out rate and are seldom useful on the wage labor market. The high drop-out rate is the result of several factors. First, frequently the type of instruction given is not suited to the possibilities of rural women. For example, learning to cook with a European style stove and cooking implements which are beyond the ability of most rural women to afford is not useful. Learning to budget can be useful but only if one has the skills to obtain money to budget. Also, the instruction is often not coordinated with necessary inputs. Women may be taught that their children will be healthier if they are bathed once a day, but if no provisions are made for piped water or for water transport, women in many areas would not be able to increase the amount of water they are already providing. Again, learning about obtaining higher yields from hybrid maize and the proper techniques for growing it serves little purpose in the eyes of students unless it is possible to gain access to seed, fertilizer, etc. Finally, women may drop-out because most such classes are oriented towards them as wife and mother only and do not address their roles as agricultural producer, trader, etc. Women also need

25

the opportunity to improve their existing skills in productive activities through courses in cooperative development and management, the improvement of produce marketing, the development of small-scale industry, and the like. Such courses do attract women, providing there is adequate publicity and proper arrangements (e.g. child care) are made for women to attend.

Women and Wage-earning.

In the rural areas, women's access to cash tends to be through informal employment. They produce handicrafts and brew beer, sell their labor on local farms, market garden surpluses, etc. Many of these tasks are done as part of organized women's groups. Most bring in low, uncertain incomes.

The wage-earning sector has continued to give women only limited representation even though there are no legal barriers to their employment. Whereas women comprise about 50% of the agricultural wage earners in Tanzania, they make up only 10% of the wage-earners in other areas. Women hold only 2% of the managerial posts, 4% of industrial jobs, and 24% of the professional positions - mostly as primary school teachers and nurses (Mbilinyi 1972a:65)⁵.

The pattern of women's participation in wage-earning is heavily affected by their home and family responsibilities, their lack of training and formal education, and customary behavioral expectations. When married women obtain wage employment they must still carry out their domestic responsibilities.⁶ Consequently, there is the need for day care centers, maternity leave, and job schedule flexibility. The lack of formal education and vocational training is a severe handicap. Apprenticeships and training programs are scarce

At the national level, Tanzania has made some strides towards integrating women into the higher levels of government and administration. Tanzania has one Judge, six State Attorneys, one First Secretary, and two Third Secretaries who are women. In the Ministry of Health there are six medical officers, four assistant medical officers, and fifty medical assistants who are female. In the Ministry of Education, there is one Senior Education Officer, one Education Officer, six principals of colleges, and nineteen head mistresses. The police force employs three female superintendents, two assistant superintendants, and ten women as sub-inspectors. There are also three female TANU District Secretaries and nineteen immigration officers.

⁶In newly urbanized families, the attitude of husbands towards their wives employment can be ambiguous. On the one hand, wage employment for women may be perceived as incompatible with their role as mothers. Husbands may fear that their wives will have less time for work at home, will refuse to bear children, or will become too independent. On the other hand, they may feel that wives should remain economically active and contribute to the support of the family just as they do in the rural setting (Westergaard 1970; cf Byangwa 1967).

and often one must have a primary or post-primary education to qualify for any training at all. In addition to such training, there is frequently a language requirement - i.e. English or Swahili - which women are often not equipped to meet.

When women do engage in wage labor, they tend to be channelled into fields identified as 'feminine' through the extension of established sex role definitions. For example, women often work in food processing, agriculture, or teaching children; but they do not drive tractors, become engineers, or work as chemists. There is a strong association between areas of female employment and low wages. Low wages may be a function of the fact that jobs in these areas are primarily held by women, or it may be that women have greater access to certain low-paying jobs because men are less interested in them. At all events, women in Tanzania either remain largely unemployed in the wage sector or confined to the most tedious and least interesting jobs with little prospect for advancement.

Women and Extension Services.

From the previous discussion it should be obvious that women's participation in agricultural production and decision-making is significant. The impact of extension services in Tanzania is clearly limited if they are not readily available and responsive to the particular needs and goals of women. Women may successfully resist proposed changes. In some cases this resistance is the result of a realistic appraisal of the situation and a recognition of its lack of consideration for them. At other times, it is the result of a lack of information regarding the possible advantages of new methods. The final outcome is the same - viz., retarded agricultural productivity for women and thus for the nation.

Women are not effectively mobilized by the extension service because the service itself institutionalizes European misconceptions regarding the participation of women in the rural economy. The extension services are based on the 'U.S. model' which provides male extension agents to contact the farmers (who are assumed to be male) and female extension agents to provide home economics training for the farmer's wife (cf Smithells 1972:5). The primary assumption is that men are the farmers and if they are not, they should be. Yet clearly, in most of East Africa women have been the primary farmers. Even if this is given tacit recognition, the extension service itself is biased toward the provision of services to males at the expense of

females. This is particularly striking since there is no evidence that men are more progressive or better risks as farm managers than women. In fact, there are indications to the contrary (e.g., of Mook 1973; Staudt 1975).

In order for the extension services to reach more women, there must be the realization that male and female communication networks are different, and that the present system tends to plug into the male network and to disregard the female. It is mainly in the indirect nature of their information exchange that women's networks differ from men. While men tend to get news directly from primary sources such as government officials, the reading of pamphlets and newspapers, etc., women tend to learn from secondary sources, e.g. from neighbors, the local shops, markets, or women's groups.

These factors coupled with the heavy workload which women bear are directly relevant to any evaluation of the impact of extension services on rural women. There are five general methods employed by the extension service to disseminate information - i.e. large group meetings, farmer's training centres, demonstration plots, individual farm visits, and group visits. Each must be seen in terms of its potential impact on women.

1. Extension personnel often attend 'baraza' - i.e. large group meetings of the people in a particular area or neighborhood. While baraza seem to provide the opportunity to convey information to a large group of people efficiently, the audiences are primarily male. In many areas, women do not attend baraza unless they are specially invited because the meeting is felt not to be particularly relevant to women. Generally women do not attend for two main reasons. First, they are unable to be away from their duties at their farms for the several hours that these meetings last. Secondly, customarily males attended such meetings and women were excluded. When they could attend, they were generally not permitted to speak out or participate in active ways. Such gatherings are looked upon more as men's business.
2. Farmer's Training Centres and Rural Training Centres have been developed as further methods of educating people. In Tanzania these organizations accept both men and women. However the total number of people served by them is low. Women are generally at a disadvantage with this type of communication as well.

Attendance at FTCs and RTCs require knowledge of their existence as well as the requirements and course offerings. In addition, women must arrange for someone to care for both her household and agricultural chores for an extended period of time. Finally, her husband must be convinced that the courses are important enough to warrant her absence. As a result, it is usually the childless, progressive, or elderly women who can arrange to attend. Because of the expense involved in running and staffing these centres, the low number of people they serve, and the difficulties women face in attendance, the centres do not seem to be the most efficient way to reach large numbers of women.

3. Demonstration plots are often set up to allow farmers a chance to compare the results of varying farm practices. In most cases women are at a disadvantage in viewing such plots. This is the result of their non-participation in the communication circuit which would carry information about the presence of demonstration plots and also the fact that one must usually travel to the plot and leave the farm - something women cannot do as readily as men.
4. ~~EXTENSION~~ agents commonly make individual farm visits. With this method, however, only a few farms can be visited in a year and many people do not benefit. Further, social sanctions are such that in many communities strange males would not be allowed to visit women alone. This, plus biases in favor of male farmers in general, results in ~~male~~ extension agents primarily visiting farms with resident male farmers.
5. The arrangement of visits to mixed-sex neighborhood groups by teams of male and female extension people would seem to be the most economical and effective way to reach large numbers of both sexes. With this method it is possible to gain direct feedback from the farmers as well as to encourage them to discuss suggestions among themselves. In this way the extension service can more readily fulfill its function as a two-way channel for information. Suggestions made by either extension agents or farmers can be evaluated and reinforced by group discussion.

Further, it is a particularly appropriate method for reaching ujamaa or development villages. In areas with few formal villages, a similar group approach can be made through baraza for men and organized women's groups for women.

The Tanzanian government has long recognized the problems of reaching women farmers. Ten years ago a training officer from Tanzania speaking at an FAO seminar reported that:

The 1965 Training Division Conference, realizing that the Tanzanian woman was the family's breadwinner and that she does three or four times more agricultural work than the man, considered that women training in agriculture was necessary. Male advisers have been unable to contact the women directly, the proper approach to the woman being through the husband. Although the men owned the land, they are conservative and scorn at agricultural work so that advice given did not often reach the woman worker. Conceivably, a more direct approach by farm women advisors to women farm workers, would lead to greater productivity. (Mongi (1967) quoted in Smithells 1972:12)

Although Tanzania offers certificate level training for agricultural extension agents to both men and women, the recruitment of women has been a problem. There seems to be a tendency for those women interested in an extension career to select home economics as their field rather than agriculture. In addition, due to a lack of educational opportunities, there is a weakness in the supply of trained female personnel. This is doubly unfortunate since it precludes widespread mixed-sex teams and also decreases the access of women farmers to information via the still frequent individual farm visit method.

The recognition of the difficulties involved in effectively providing extension services to women has resulted in an attempt to reach rural women in other ways. One such method is through the training of women's groups leaders so that they may pass on their knowledge to their peers. Women's groups have been a widespread phenomenon in Tanzania from pre-colonial times to the present. Although they vary in primary purpose, bases of affiliation etc., the groups tend to maintain a continuity over time which serves as an excellent base for disseminating information of use and interest to women. The groups themselves are most commonly begun as informal gatherings of relatives or neighbors who assist one another in agricultural and household tasks in a reciprocal fashion. Some groups involve themselves more formally in commercial enterprises - e.g. poultry keeping or dressmaking - while other engage in social welfare pursuits such as improving the roofs of their houses, building a local clinic, etc. In several countries in East Africa -

particularly Kenya and Tanzania - such groups have successfully formed the basis of adult literacy classes, community development projects, and forums for the exchange of information about local conditions and aspirations (cf Pala, et al. 1975).

By 1968 in Tanzania, 50% of the Rural Development Division staff of about 1,100 were women who were teaching homecraft and simple economic projects to women's groups. However, about half of these women had been employed with absolutely no training. In 1971, the government instituted a crash training program with the development of one year courses at the Home Economics Training Centre at Musoma and at two centers managed by voluntary agencies at Mdadia in Lindi Region and at Bigwa in Morogoro Region. By 1973, approximately ninety women's leaders had been trained and 117 were enrolled for 1973-74 (hiard 1975). Unfortunately, these training programs were primarily directed toward homecrafts and were not fulfilling the other educational needs of women as effectively as they might.

One of the more ambitious government programs for training women leaders from Ujamaa villages is occurring at Ruingemba Training Centre in Iringa. At this centre, women are selected in groups of fifty to sixty to attend a three month course which will be extended to five months at the beginning of 1976. Women are chosen either by the executive council of the village or by the female members of the village with the aid of a TANU advisor. All expenses are paid for by the government except pocket money for the students. The latter is usually provided by the student's village or may at other times be drawn from a fund at the centre which is maintained by voluntary agencies. Women are encouraged to come with their children for whom a day care center and teachers are provided. Subjects taught to women, include: home economics, home improvement, and sewing. With the proposed five month course, women will also be trained in the management of cooperatives. In addition to the classroom work, the students gain practical experience with the centre's own farm, handicrafts shop, and poultry operation. The centre suffers from a lack of funds and therefore cannot adequately monitor the extent to which their students are sharing new information with other women once they return to their villages. In addition, again there has been a greater emphasis placed on home-orientated skills rather than those skills associated with agriculture and trading.

The drawbacks to group leadership training seem to be the lack of area or region specificity resulting from the teaching of general topics to women.

from very different areas. There has also been an inability to follow-up the training to evaluate its success or to determine whether it is being used to the benefit of others. Some also criticize it because they feel that for real community solidarity to develop, training must be situational and arise from within the local community itself and not be imposed by people greatly removed from the community in space, experience, and perceptions.

Village Technology.

While policy implementors may have a clear idea regarding the potential value of changes in the labor patterns from their standpoint, they must also accurately assess the perspective of the members of the community affected. In particular, there needs to be greater awareness of the effects of technological innovations on the labor of women.

Because of women's lack of cash resources they are often restricted to labor intensive innovations - e.g., extra weeding, more careful spacing, etc. - which do not require the rental or purchase of hardware. Even when new devices are made available to farm households or to a village as a whole, women frequently do not benefit from their use. When mechanical equipment, such as a tractor, is brought in, the results may be detrimental both to a woman's leisure time and to her status within the community. In regard to the former, a tractor may plow considerably larger land areas in less time than local tools but it cannot weed. Thus, the use of tractors may create more work than the women are capable of handling even with longer and harder working hours. Such equipment may also have a negative effect on women's status as laborers. One might think that as agriculture became less dependent on muscular strength, the production gap between men and women would lessen and the sexual division of labor would become less rigid with regard to some tasks. This is not the case, however. With agricultural mechanization, men take over the new types of equipment and women continue to work with hand tools like the hoe.⁷ Thus the sexual production gap increases and women's productivity may be of marginal significance when compared with males.

⁷This kind of pattern is widespread historically and geographically - e.g., milling was a woman's job as long as it was necessary to turn a heavy millstone. As soon as the stone was turned by wind or water power, rather than human muscle power, milling was taken over by men (Chaubaud 1970:62).

Many relatively simple labor saving measures can be introduced to decrease the workload of women. Among other things, the introduction of piped water, storage facilities, power driven mills for cereals, reforestation of fast growing trees near villages, sun-dryers, smoking drums for fish and meats, solar water heaters, improved stoves, maize shellers, cassava grinders, clothes lines, sewing machines, could decrease women's work in the household and at the same time increase the quality of that work. For aid in agricultural and livestock pursuits, women may well benefit from irrigation schemes, water troughs, hand-operated inter-row cultivators, planters and winnowers, seed cleaning sieves, chicken feeders and waterers, etc. The more extensive use of draft animals and the provision of access roads to help in transporting goods to markets or water and fuel to households would also be welcome.

Tanzania has encouraged the development of middle-level technology through such establishments as the Ruingemba Training Centre (Iringa). Here instruction is given in the construction of useful objects from cheap, readily available local materials - e.g., smokeless mud stoves, chicken waterers, mattresses, windows, etc. There is an attempt to build on local skills rather than depending on limited numbers of specialists to work with complicated, expensive, and imported machinery for which there are problems of maintenance and the unavailability of parts.

Credit and Cooperatives.

In both the colonial and post-independence eras, it has been difficult for women farmers to obtain credit on their own. This circumstance derives from the fact that agricultural development efforts have been primarily focused on men. Also, credit transactions generally require land or livestock as security, and women usually do not possess these assets. Women have been at an additional disadvantage in that their husbands, as holders of land titles, have been in a position to secure loans without their knowledge or consent. Should a husband default, the whole family could conceivably be left with neither home nor means of subsistence. In any event, the male has been free to benefit himself (i.e., his cash crops) rather than the household as a whole.

The TanGov is trying to restructure this situation by making credit available only to registered cooperatives rather than to individuals. It is felt that such an approach will not only increase the participation in

cooperative endeavors such as Ujamaa villages, but it will also decrease the risk to the small farmer and permit women to have equal access to credit with men.³

The development of formal cooperative activity among the indigenous population in East Africa was not vigorous during the British colonial rule. In Kenya and Tanzania, the most significant cooperative organizations were those established to serve the interests of large-scale expatriate farmers. Since independence, Tanzania has tried to develop and utilize cooperative ventures as a means of increasing marketing efficiency and channeling development assistance to large groups of citizens. In general, the attempts have been hampered by the lack of training and expertise in the various aspects of cooperative management. In addition, little progress has been made in facilitating the participation and integration of females in cooperative undertakings. On the ground, most cooperatives seem to be functioning as male-dominated organizations both in terms of sheer number of male participants and their role in decision-making.

The government's primary effort to integrate women into cooperatives has been through encouraging their participation in the Ujamaa village structure. It may be too early to pass judgement on the effectiveness of this approach, but so far it seems that no basic improvement in the situation of women has been produced. Some cooperative societies are attempting to use family memberships in an effort to provide cooperative resources to both sexes. While this increases the number of female members on paper, the male head of the household generally still retains the dominate role in deciding on questions of cash or voting. The International Cooperative Alliance in Moshi is beginning to encourage women to form and register cooperative societies which serve their own interests. However, this is a slow process since the groups must prove their viability by functioning for approximately two years prior to applying for registration.

Marketing

The involvement of African women in trade has been vigorous and obvious, ranging from petty barter to international cartels. While women in East

³In furtherance of this policy, the government permits the Tanzanian Rural Development Bank to provide loans only to Ujamaa villages that are registered as multi-purpose cooperatives (i.e., Stage III Ujamaa villages). (Msambichaka and Mabele 1974:13)

Africa do not participate in trade to the extent of their West African counterparts, they do participate actively in marketing and other non-agricultural rural enterprises. In Tanzania, the marketing emphasis has been on food crops, processed foods such as ghee and sour milk, local beer, and handicrafts.

Although the distinction between cash crops and food crops is often quite arbitrary - e.g., crops such as millet, maize, and sorghum can fall into both categories simultaneously - the pragmatic aspects of such divisions are of some importance to women's marketing incentives and rewards. The relationship which women have to the marketing of cash crops - i.e., those which have been raised primarily to sell or which are subject to some kind of industrial processing before they can be used domestically - is different than that which they have with food crops.

Women may often be involved in the cultivation and harvesting of cash crops, and even in their transport and sale after harvest. But the proceeds from cash crops usually go to the husband. However, when a woman markets food crops which she has produced exclusively on her own, she generally retains control of the proceeds and can dispose of them without her husband's permission. It is through their control of their own labor and food surpluses that rural women gain a degree of financial autonomy from their husbands.

In addition to providing a source of cash income for women, marketing activity serves other functions. Some women devote considerable time to trading activities and may travel long distances between markets, bringing goods from areas of surpluses to areas of deficit. This increases local product variety and in the case of farm produce, there may be a pay-off in terms of up-grading nutrition within a district. Markets also serve as

⁹Goods which a woman takes to market are not always surplus - i.e., the amount which remains after the subsistence needs of the family are met. Women have considerable responsibility to provide household goods - e.g., kerosene, soap, matches - from their own resources. These responsibilities or sudden demands for cash - e.g., hospital fees - may result in a decision to sell produce which, strictly speaking, ought to be retained for subsistence purposes. The likelihood of a family selling needed produce cannot necessarily be determined on the basis of the husband's financial situation whether he is resident in the household or not. While in Western middle-class families, the man is typically the major provider; in the rural Tanzanian family the woman is often the primary breadwinner. The husband may feel no particular obligation to provision the household.

important nodes in the female communication network and it is because of this that marketing transactions are not always undertaken for financial maximization. Frequently, women will travel quite a distance with only very small amounts of produce or condiments to sell. Sometimes transport to the market costs more than can be realized through the sale of the goods. The market women are not acting irrationally in such cases. They are clearly gaining something in the way of social interaction - new information, recreation, etc.

In Tanzania, there is considerable pressure for people to sell their produce to cooperatives which then market it. However, small local markets are still very prevalent. A more formal marketing system simply cannot provide the social benefits of local markets. It seems unlikely that the local marketing system will be completely replaced by more formal marketing in the near future. Thus, women will continue to exert considerable control over local marketing activities and the market places themselves will provide opportunity for information exchange between women. Even within those Ujamaa villages in which members are strongly oriented toward selling through the village cooperative itself, many will continue to sell the products of their own kitchen gardens at local market places.

While the pattern of women's participation in local markets has been strong and may be expected to remain so, income generation for rural women is distinctly constrained and needs to be facilitated in both informal and formal marketing channels. As observed above, the participation of women in the Ujamaa village cooperatives are theoretically neutral 'producer's organizations' but in practice they are more like 'men's organizations'. The training of women's group leaders in cooperative management, now proposed for the Ruingemba Training Centre curriculum, is one possible means of encouraging women's participation in cooperative ventures. Obviously, ignorance of cooperative organization and management principles is a major constraint on meaningful participation. The Centre is also committed to training in the production of elementary hardware from local materials - simple tools and amenities which are designed to improve the standard of rural living. The manufacture and sale of such items by rural women - working in groups or as individuals, marketing through informal local markets or formal cooperative organizations - could significantly improve their income generating ability by increasing the variety and relevance of the goods marketed.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper attempts to provide an overview of the place of women in East Africa generally and Tanzanian society specifically. The very considerable roles which women play as agricultural producers and decision-makers - in addition to their labors in the domestic sphere - are emphasized. Attention is drawn to factors active in the colonial and post-independence eras which have altered the pre-colonial pattern of the division of labor in a way largely detrimental to women and their participation in the development process. With reference to Tanzania, constraints on women as agents of development are discussed vis-a-vis the legal system, formal and non-formal education, the wage employment sector, extension services, technology, agricultural loans, cooperative societies and marketing activities. By way of conclusion, several critical points made in the discussion are singled out for special comment.

Perhaps the most significant constraint on women's more meaningful participation in development is attitudinal: women are widely viewed - by expatriate advisors, representatives of donor agencies, indigenous government administrators, and field officers, and even by themselves - in a way which is repressive of their potential. This condition has been a chronic one: colonial policy-makers as well as contemporary development planners have acted as its vector. It is manifested in simplistic conceptions of the social significance of women: they are 'mothers' or 'housewives' who service the domestic sphere, keeping the interior home front in order while the menfolk take the initiative on the exterior front of economic pursuits and development. It is even more apparent in its derivative material manifestations: the unequal distribution of access between the sexes in the areas of education and employment and other resources such as extension services, agricultural credit and cooperative societies.

During the colonial period, fundamental changes were precipitated in East African society as a whole, and in the situation of women particularly. It can be said that women were systematically excluded from active participation in the modern sector but, at the same time, made to bear a great burden of its costs. The colonialists encouraged the production of cash crops, and in so doing directed their attention to male farmers. They required laborers and those who could be given a modicum of education to serve their

establishment in various capacities; again males were drafted. They instituted land registration, and drastically altered the traditional tenure system by giving males the status of title-holders endowed with the right of disposition.

The effects of this state of affairs upon women were multiple and adverse. While men were gaining access or the means of access to cash through the control of certain crops and inputs, selling their labor, or education and training in technical fields, women were restricted to their traditional subsistence activities. But simultaneously, women often found that demands on their labor had increased (e.g., through having to help maintain cash crops in the field, or because male migration to urban areas or other centers of employment obligated them to assume more responsibility in running the farm), that their status as producers had declined (since they did not have ready access to modern agricultural inputs and techniques, and because they were not participating in 'modern' or 'progressive' fields of employment), and that their previously secure access to land had become rather precarious.

Tanzania in the post-independence era is committed to the principle of sexual equality. Various measures have been instituted to correct the inequalities of the colonial and, let it be admitted, pre-colonial past. It is nevertheless the case that contemporary rural women in Tanzania still find themselves without equal consideration in the distribution of workloads and access to development resources. They are still by and large outside the mainstream of social and economic development.

The legal system in Tanzania has been altered significantly to accommodate the principle of sexual equality. It now defines for women substantially the same rights and liabilities as men, though there is still room for adjustment in this regard. Despite the official laws, it is not clear just how effectively women's rights are being protected at the local level.

In the fields of education and employment, there appear to be real barriers to women's progress in Tanzania. There is, in general, less willingness on the part of parents to provide girls with the same educational opportunities as boys. Moreover, a girl is burdened with more responsibility in home chores, is under considerable pressure to prepare herself for a career as a 'wife', and has fewer employment prospects which would justify her receipt of education. Vocational and other non-formal training for women

in Tanzania is less oriented towards the labor market and technical subjects and more taken up with 'feminine' topics associated with life in the home.

Employment opportunities for women in the wage earning sector are similarly conditioned by prevailing attitudes towards what is appropriate for women to do, by their heavy domestic responsibilities, and also by the lack of access to training avenues.

Although there are active attempts to correct the situation within the Ujamaa village structure and through training programs for women's group leaders, the resources which are important to the women's role as agricultural producer are insufficiently available. Extension services in Tanzania as elsewhere in East Africa have favored the male farmers, and need to be restructured and targeted more for the female client. In the area of technological innovations, mechanical equipment and other devices to increase productivity and lighten the labor load of women could be distributed far more extensively. Males have tended to dominate opportunities for agricultural credit, and the cooperative organizations through which such credit is now channeled seem to be largely male-controlled. Women have traditionally had an active role in the marketing of agricultural produce and other goods but this activity has mostly taken place on an informal basis in local markets and offered limited cash returns. Cooperatives could function far more effectively than they do at present as marketing channels for women.

It should be emphasized that the failure to take the full range of women's roles into account has led to widespread shortcomings in development programs in East Africa. When programs are instituted without a proper appraisal of how they will influence or be influenced by the activity of women, problems can easily arise. For instance, a project to increase maize production in an area might involve the introduction of mechanized plowing over large acreages, together with the supply of certain inputs like fertilizer. The project planners might assume that there will be adequate labor units available to accommodate the increase in manual work (weeding) entailed by an increase in acreage, when this is not the case. It is frequently only the women who do the weeding so it is often more realistic to determine the balance between labor inputs to tractors, or weeders to acres, solely on the basis of female labor units available, and not on the basis of both male and

female units. Tractors can put more acreage under cultivation than it is possible for women to effectively maintain given manual methods and the pressure of other demands upon their time. If planners were to apprise themselves of the actual situation on the ground in regard to the distribution of labor between the sexes, such situations could easily be avoided.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

Note. The measures listed below are recommended for implementation or consideration within the context of the National Maize Program, although they are also relevant to development activity in Tanzania generally.

Methods for involving women in development projects are not fundamentally different from those for involving any client population - i.e., the provision of repeated exposures to new techniques and inputs and the provision of incentives to undertake the proposals. What is special to women as a client population is that they have not been allowed equal access with men to these new techniques and inputs.

General

1. The attitudes which are widely held toward women and their 'place' are a major constraint - perhaps the major constraint - on women's participation in development. It would be well-advised for planners and implementors to re-assess their attitudes, bearing in mind that development efforts, to be effective require the maximization of all human resources and not just the male portion.
2. In order for USAID to more effectively construct and implement development assistant projects to benefit women, a collection of relevant source material could be organized into a small reference library. Literature dealing with women's roles in subsistence and development could be obtained through East African government departments, research institutes and universities. Briefing material could be developed to help AID employees familiarize themselves with the obstacles to and prospects for women in development efforts, and to help inform them of those government and voluntary agencies and their personnel whom it may prove useful to contact when developing projects or carrying out further research.

Extension Activity

3. Specific efforts should be made in conjunction with the National Maize Program to include women in the extension service communication network so that they are directly contacted rather than left to receive information as a by-product of a focus on males.

4. A particular stress should be laid on the public inclusion of women in extension services. For example, if villages have maize demonstration plots, some could be handled by women. In addition, written material could be provided for adult literacy classes which emphasizes the importance and necessity of women's participation in the National Maize Program to ensure its success. The appearance of women extension agents at meetings publicizing the Program, and their active participation in the proceedings would also help. The point is to encourage and integrate women as a significant part of the Program, and to develop the attitude that women have a right to extension services too.
5. Government and voluntary organizations which are concerned with women - e.g., U.W.T., and the Y.M.C.A. - and which have well-established networks to contact women, might be used to disseminate information regarding the National Maize Program and the importance of women's participation.
6. A pattern of group extension visits in which both male and female extension agents interact with mixed-sex groups within Ujamaa villages could be developed. The forum utilized should be primarily an open discussion in addition to necessary lectures and demonstrations. The attempt should be made to establish a rapport between extension workers and farmers and to achieve the active participation of both sexes in an evaluation of proposed changes, potential problems and benefits, and the use of new techniques and resources. The sessions themselves should be restricted to training which is functional and relevant to the National Maize Program. Extension team visits could recur at regular intervals to reinforce proper procedures, to discover problems as they arise, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the program and the success with which it has been communicated.
7. The increased use of present facilities such as RTCs for training local people to teach others might be stressed. Women's group leaders could be trained to assume more of the responsibility for extension work by providing instruction to their groups. The discussion between neighbors which this approach generates is a useful way of involving farmers in the consideration of innovations

and of actively including women in the communication channels.

8. The use of local people as channels to spread extension information may free extension agents to follow-up and monitor the system and also to involve themselves in the collection of needed data, etc., would not only be useful for local-level planning purposes but would also provide extension personnel with a better understanding of the economic conditions and lifeways of the people with whom they are working.
9. Further methods for reaching women which warrant consideration include organizing discussions and demonstrations specifically for women's groups, information booths or discussion groups at local market places, and brief radio programs broadcast regularly which describe the National Maize Program and discuss the care of hybrid maize and access to inputs. The latter approach would be facilitated by the supply of radios to women's groups or key individual women in the appropriate villages.

Technology and Labor

The growing of hybrid maize means increased labor as well as changes in labor patterns; it will require:

- earlier plowing and planting to achieve a longer growing season
 - closer, more precise spacing of seeds
 - use of fertilizer with a consequent increase in growth of weeds and need for more weeding
 - additional work as a result of the hardness of the soil before the beginning of the rainy season.
10. Since women are the primary weeders, their workload will clearly increase along with the increased growing of hybrid maize. Therefore, the provision of better locally appropriate non-power tools (which may be particularly necessary if present tools are unable to effectively deal with the hard, packed soils prior to the rains) and the provision of facilities which will free women from other labor are quite relevant.
 11. A determination of the time that women have available for the extra labor and research into the yearly workcycle to discover what tasks earlier plowing and planting will conflict with are also significant to the success of the program, and should be carried out.

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44

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