

Tanzania

PN-AAW-951

ISN 49846

THE CHANGING POSITION OF WOMEN IN PEASANT COMMODITY PRODUCTION:
THE CASE OF THE SHAMBA KINGDOM

Marjorie Mbilinyi
University of Dar es Salaam

21

004475

000164
5

Paper to be presented to the Symposium on Women and Work
in Africa, April 29 to May 1, 1979, University of Illinois
at Urbana-Champaign.

OTR-0000-6-88-0289-00

11

THE CHANGING POSITION OF WOMEN
IN PEASANT COMMODITY PRODUCTION:
THE CASE OF THE SENEGAL KINGDOM

Marjorie Mbilinzi

I. INTRODUCTION

The question of women's role in peasant production is receiving increasing attention in the 1970's in Africa and the 'third world' in general. The primary role of women in the production of food subsistence crops in most African cultivating societies has been amply documented, as well as the exploitative position women find themselves in when producing industrial cash crops under the management and control of the husband and household head.¹

Many analyses stop here at a description of the oppressive conditions of women in peasant production, which does not explain the underlying causes of these conditions. Corresponding recommendations for action to 'better' women's position tend to be reformist, calling for such measures as increased education and training on the one hand, and increased access to production inputs on the other, so that women become more actively and productively involved in cash crop production (e.g. World Bank 1975). The limits to such proposals are conditioned by the underlying social relations which limit the degree of control women have over the means of production and the product of their labour, and have led to consequences which are actually more rather than less exploitative and oppressive for women, so long as they are dependent household wives. The contradictory consequences of capitalist development have also provided alternatives to being dependent wives under the dominance of lineage social relations and many women have and are seizing those alternatives.

We must go beyond the descriptive level in our analysis in order to adequately understand the material basis of women's oppression and exploitation. An explanatory theoretical framework is required which correctly poses the question of women in the context of the concrete historical material conditions in which women peasants engage in production. Understanding the changing nature of peasant production as well as women's specific role in it requires specific and concrete analysis of the way in which elements of precapitalist relations and forces of production have been transformed with the development of capitalist commodity production. On the basis of concrete analyses of specific precapitalist social formations, generalization at a higher level of abstraction becomes both possible and necessary.²

It is important to emphasize that there is not one pre-capitalist mode of production in Tanzania or elsewhere in Africa, which makes the concept of 'the traditional role of African women' over-simplistic and absurd. A variety of different modes of production and combinations of articulated modes of production developed during the many centuries preceding penetration by merchant capital. The way in which precapitalist social relations resisted and articulated with capitalist relations at different stages of the capitalist accumulation process also varied.

This paper uses the concrete analysis of one specific social formation, the Shambaa kingdom, in order to explore abstract conceptual issues concerning the changing role of women in peasant commodity production. It will be shown that aspects of the social relations identified at the ideological level as the patrilineage organisation persisted and articulated with feudal and later capitalist relations. The bases of the oppression and exploitation of women peasants today is conceived to be at several levels which are not discrete and separate from each other. At the level of the homestead, elements of the patriarchy relations oppress women and contribute to the contradictions among peasants on the basis of gender and age. These social relations articulate with the dominant capitalist relations and represent the most elementary conditions for the generation and appropriation of surplus labour from peasants, which becomes surplus value in the hands of capitalist appropriation.

For the purposes of this analysis the use of the elaborated concept of sexual division of labour developed by Edholm et al (1977) and used in earlier analyses of the Shambaa (Mbilinyi 1979) and Tanzanian women in general (Dryceson and Mbilinyi 1978) has been altered. Rather than posit a sexual division of labour, which combines aspects of the relations of production (ownership and control of the means of production and the product of labour) and of the technical division of labour (sex specificity in economic activities and in tasks undertaken within a given joint economic activity), the different aspects have been dealt with at their appropriate levels of analysis. At the same time, attention is drawn to the different aspects of reproduction pointed out by Edholm et al, social reproduction, reproduction of the labour force and biological reproduction. In ^{this} reconceptualisation of the problem, it has become clear that what has been referred to before as the sexual division of labour is in fact elements of patriarchy relations. In the case of the Shambaa. Comprehension of the articulation question is therefore crucial in order to grasp the women's question. The paper is therefore clearly arguing that the women's question

is not an isolated problem, and that it is best analysed in conjunction with analysis of the overall relations and forces of production as they develop and are articulated with each other and destroyed. This does not lead to a neglect of the women's question. Rather, it correctly places the women's question at the heart of critical social analysis.

The organisation of the paper is structured by the need to periodise the problem, though in a very general way. The second section analyses the period of dominance of the simple community mode of production, the third section analyses the development and decline of the Kilindi state, the fourth section analyses the articulation of the feudal, slave and patriarchy relations of production during the period of the state's expansion and decline, the fifth section analyses the developments after the establishment of the colonial state. The sixth and final section analyses struggles over gender oppression and exploitation which have emerged in Shambaa and elsewhere.

My analysis draws heavily on the information provided by Feierman's research on the Shambaa lineage structure and the history of the Shambaa kingdom (1972, 1974) as well as the work of Schönmeier (1973), Sonder (1974) and Winans (1964). There are significant weaknesses and limitations to Feierman's analysis, characteristic of the anthropologic problematic, which will be pointed out in the course of the analysis.

II. SIMPLE COMMUNITY MODE OF PRODUCTION

The Shambaa mountains rise steeply from the plains to 5,000 feet above sea level. There are three different agricultural zones as one travels up the mountains, distinguished by differential amounts of rainfall, vegetation and soil type. The soil is on the whole very fertile and rainfall plentiful enough in some areas to provide conditions for surplus accumulation even at a fairly low level of technical productive forces. The people who settled up and down the slopes learned to adapt plants to the different local conditions and invented new varieties of food crops. Farms were spread out across the different agricultural zones in order to spread risk of crop failure, and barter trade developed between producers in these different areas in order to acquire basic subsistence needs.

By the end of the 13th century, large numbers of immigrants had settled in the mountains. The immigrants came from diverse areas of East Africa, with different cultural and language origins. The majority adapted themselves to the agriculture production system established by the earlier inhabitants, and were absorbed into the language and culture of the Shambaa.

This early history reveals the danger of adopting uncritically ethnic concepts of 'tribe'. What is referred to as the Chambaa people represents a group with multiple ethnic origins. The later establishment of the Kilindi state meant the further extension of the boundaries of the Chambaa kingdom to include ever more diverse peoples, some of whom became subject peoples and others trading partners and the like.

Neighbourhood and Clan

The organisation of the older, pre-State population was based on neighbourhoods consisting of several villages which in turn contained several lineages. The most powerful lineage of the most powerful village led the organisation of production and of defense and war at the level of the neighbourhood. The powerful lineages tended to be 'original' inhabitants in the village who controlled rituals and social knowledge about the settlement of the village, and controlled the allocation of land to incoming groups. Simple reproduction of the lineages within each neighbourhood partly depended upon barter exchange of basic subsistence goods as well as exchange of wealth in the form of livestock and tobacco and women. Marriage was exogamous : ^{people} could not marry within their own lineage but they could marry within their neighbourhood. Hence the social relations of marriage acted to integrate the diverse lineages within the neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood network of lineages became consolidated within a clan organisation, the largest unit of organisation for production and reproduction at this time. It controlled the surplus labour of young men, women and non-kindependent males as well as the surplus produced and materialised in the form of cattle especially. Kin youth were mobilized for war and plunder, a form of appropriation of surplus and surplus labour, in that the women and children of conquered groups were seized as slaves and cattle and stored grains taken as vital surplus.

Felerman mistakenly identifies the clan organisation with kinship, and argues that the strongest clan was the one with the largest following. Here the ideological expression of underlying social relations (kinship, clan, lineage) are taken as given, uncritically, and their material basis left unexplored (Depelchin 1978). First of all, the composition of the labour force organised under the control of the clan head was as crucial as its size. Greater and diverse forms of labour resources allowed lineages and the neighbourhood to expand and diversify their economic activities, exploiting the different agriculture zones by maintaining separate food farms, each cultivated by different wives of the patriarch (leader of the patrilineage) and his grown sons, hunting wild game for meat and skins, raiding other groups for livestock and slaves. Accumulation of surplus including beer made from millet and livestock provided the basis

for the accumulation of surplus labour in the form of wives, dependent males and slaves and the potential labour of offspring. Girls themselves were vehicles for the accumulation of surplus in the form of marriage payments. Livestock were concentrated through stock partnerships between different lineages whereby cattle, goats and sheep were pooled together in order to enrich the herd composition and lower risk by spreading herds out over different geographical locations. In this way, richer lineages allied with each other in order to increase the means of production at their disposal, thereby contributing to further lineage differentiation.

The differential ability and power of a lineage or clan head to organise and control the pool of labour was a major determinant of the capacity of the group to accumulate surplus and to reproduce itself. Constraints of low technological forces, variable rainfall and other ecological factors made the accumulation and organisation of labour that much more crucial. At the same time, surplus accumulation provided clan and lineage heads with the means to increase the number of followers and dependents and slaves through the process of 'redistribution'. A strong lineage attracted non-kin members who became clients in return for access to land, livestock, women and defense. Homestead heads with insufficient livestock were economically forced to feed and maintain the stock of richer heads, in return for milk and sometimes calves with which to build up their own herds. In times of famine, members of poor lineages pawned or enslaved themselves to the richer lineages in exchange for food and the means of producing subsistence. Individual 'criminals' whose lineages were unwilling or unable to pay the compensation fines for wrongdoing were enslaved by the offended lineage. As a lineage became larger and contained more women and stock, it would attract more offenses in the form of adultery, client loss of stock, stealing, etc. At the same time, the stronger lineage/clan was able to enforce the payment of fines or enslavement with military power.

Ownership of more stock and other surplus was related to control over more dependent women as wives. On the one hand, there was ample surplus with which to exchange for women. On the other hand, lineages were attracted to marry into more powerful and richer lineages, thereby attaining greater security and possibilities of surplus accumulation through such marriage ties.

The power of a clan or a lineage was therefore dependent on the amount of surplus labour under the control of the heads, surplus labour which consisted of young kinsmen but more so wives

who never became kin, slaves and dependent males, all of whom were non-kin. The organising principle of the lineage and even more so the clan is clearly not the blood tie. ^{The kinship and lineage} ideology surrounding the concept of the clan/was important ideologically however, in mystifying the relations of subordination and exploitation which underlay it.

Relations of Production and the Technical Division of Labour
Within the Patrilineage Homestead

The patrilineage organisation was the most primary unit of production and reproduction. Its physical expression was found in the homestead (Guy 1978). The patrilineage organisation consisted of the older patriarch head, the segments consisting of his wives and dependent children together with married sons and their wife(ves) and children segments, and the slaves and dependent males controlled by the patriarch. The patriarch owned and controlled the surplus produced by the different members of the homestead, and did not actively labour himself. He controlled the distribution of the produce and organised and managed the different economic activities in which the members engaged in. The surplus was often appropriated by the patriarch in the form of payments by lineage members to cover fines medicine and ritual costs and marriage payments.

Jural liabilities differed at each level, from the patrilineage organisation to the clan. They served as an important mechanism of social control, in that a rebellious or wayward son or non-kin member could be refused assistance to pay fines, in which case he and possibly his children as well were enslaved by the offended clan or lineage. The exact nature of punishable offenses revealed the sensitive aspects of social control. For example, compensation for impregnating an unmarried girl was related to the need to control the lineage membership, one mechanism of controlling biological reproduction.

Upon the death of the patriarch, the sons of the senior wife became the leaders of the lineage, thereby taking control over surplus labour and the material means of production. The more wealth and number of social relations involved, the greater the struggles at thistime. The heirs struggled to maintain the unity of the patrilineage organisation, and in poorer lineages this was in the interest of all the sons. In richer lineages where a substantial surplus and surplus labour existed, the different segments on the one hand were able to subsist separately and on the other hand had more to lose by being subsumed under the control of one segment, one patriarch. Because Feilerman (1974) has overlooked the crucial question of control over surplus labour within precapitalist social

relations, he cannot satisfactorily explain the patterns of fission within the Shambaa social formation at that time. For Feiorman, the struggle is over access to allocated versus unallocated property and leadership positions. What is hidden in such analysis is the struggle over control of surplus labour and the means of production; i.e. the exploitative relations between patriarchs and all kinsmen subordinated as well as slaves, wives and dependent non-kin males.

With respect to ownership of property, women were instruments of lineage relations of property in that inheritance and leadership within the patrilineage organisation was partly determined by whether the segment in question was that of a senior or junior wife. However, the wives themselves did not inherit the means of production or the surplus which they produced, the offspring which they delivered and reared. Rather, they themselves were inherited as human means of production and reproduction by some branch of the husband's kin at his death.

Each wife had a moral claim to a house of her own and land of different kinds upon which to produce the different subsistence crops necessary for herself and her children, as well as the homestead head. Nevertheless, the land and stock allocated to the wife segment was subject to revision by the head and the patriarch, if the head was indeed a married man under the domination of a patriarch elder. Moreover, land and stock was held in trust for the wife's sons and was allocated to them at the time of their first marriage by the homestead head. The patriarch retained ultimate ownership of all the means of production within the patrilineage organisation, however, even allocated land and land pioneered by so s.

Each homestead had therefore allocated land upon which the wives produced subsistence goods for the whole homestead and unallocated land which the head directly supervised and which was devoted to the production of surplus/^{and exchange} goods like tobacco. Wives had limited economic possession of their subsistence product, which they produced on their allocated land, processed for storage, and prepared as food. At the same time, the wife was obligated legally and ideologically to feed and otherwise maintain herself, her children her husband and his kinsmen or others residing at the homestead.

The technical division of labour was organised partly on the basis of sex and age. Certain economic activities were sex specific; for example, men hunted and herded livestock, young boys contributing their labour as well to the latter. Men plundered and engaged in military warfare and defense. Women prepared food, tended the aged and the sick as well as

young children, collected firewood and water--again, many of these tasks involving the labour contribution of children, especially girls. Men and women jointly cultivated both surplus and exchange crops and subsistence crops, though there were sex specific tasks. The men did the heavy clearing of land, heavy hoeing and helped to harvest, whereas women and children planted, weeded, irrigated and guarded the crops from birds and monkeys. Men guarded the crops from larger vermin like wild pigs.

This kind of analysis does not get us very far, however, because it ignores the question of which men and which women. For example, the patriarch did not directly engage in production, whereas dependent males, slaves and young kinsmen did. Likewise, female elders such as the wife(ves) of the patriarch managed the labour of the wives of their sons and female slaves, and either did not engage directly in production or else avoided the more heavy, drudgerous tasks. I think it is also important to distinguish between activities which produced surplus (whether subsistence or exchange goods, often the same) and those which contributed to the maintenance of the homestead but did not realise any surplus. Whereas much of women's work was necessary for maintenance of the homestead and therefore the reproduction of the labour force, it was less geared to realisation of surplus. Indeed, Peierman's informants constantly make the distinction between female production of subsistence and male production of 'wealth', wealth being surplus particularly in the form of cattle and other livestock. Surplus was not only vital for exchange, but it also represented a food reserve in itself or in exchange for grains, hence the saying, "Many corpses are the result of not having livestock" (Peierman 1974 :34). So long as the amount of surplus produced and accumulated by the patriarch was minimal, such distinctions would be less determinate of ^{gender} differentiation and subordination. The roles of patriarch and wives, subordinated homestead heads and their wives, would be complementary. The problem for the lineage organisation would be one of survival, and women's contribution to the struggle for survival was paramount. As production and accumulation of surplus developed within a given lineage or within the social formation over all, however, this distinction contributed to the devaluation of women's work, a point to be taken up later.

.....

The simple community mode of production was based on relations between clan leaders and subordinated lineages, and patriarchs (lineage leaders) and lineage members. The clan leaders were not in a position at this time to wholly dominate

lineage patriarchs, partly because their own power depended upon the continued allegiance of the latter, and because patriarchs directly controlled the means of production and surplus labour and surplus appropriation of their respective lineages. The power of clan leaders depended on non-economic elements such as ritual and other forms of ideological coercion, and the threat of military force, under conditions of relatively little surplus generation and appropriation. Such economic conditions limited the number of dependents, slaves and functionaries which anyö clan leader could support, without expansion of the means of production and the surplus labour under his control. The limits established by the social relations underlying the patrilineage organisation were overcome through the development of complex community social relations which consolidated the power of the clans or neighbourhoods at the politico-ideological level, and were based on a complex articulation of lineage and slave relations of production. Slaves in the simple community mode of production had not been large in number, and were barely distinguished from other non-kin dependent males. Indeed, they were eventually integrated into the patrilineage organisation through marriage and allowed to establish homesteads of their own. In the next section we will explore the development of the complex community mode of production, but it must be noted here that this analysis here is very speculative. Both Feierman and Winans make frequent note of the existence of slaves, but their actual role in production and reproduction is never explored.

III. THE KILINDI STATE

Transitional Stage: The Development of the Complex Community Mode of Production

Prior to the establishment of Kilindi rule, the different groups populating the Chamba mountains warred with each other for control of the basic resources necessary for their reproduction: land, water, livestock, women. As an increasing number of immigrants entered the area in the 17th and 18th centuries, these struggles increased. At the same time, some of the groups in the area expanded and were transformed, and others were conquered and absorbed by the more powerful groups.

As noted above, the clan was organised on the basis of several patrilineage organisations, united for purposes of defense and war, for circulation of different necessary subsistence and surplus goods, and for the production of basic means of production such as miles-long irrigation ditches and the terraces necessary to cultivate successfully on the steep mountain slopes. Each clan strove to accumulate surplus

product and surplus labour. Accumulation of the social relations underlying the patrilineage and clan was the basis for the accumulation of surplus and surplus labour. As noted earlier, these social relations set limits to the amount of surplus accumulation possible.

Plunder and conquest represented one of the more significant ways of accumulating more surplus and more women as potential wives and slaves, male and female. This explains the state of unrest which Feierman notes to have existed at the time of the immigration period during the 17th and 18th centuries, but leaves unexplained. The productive forces could no longer expand under the dominant social relations. Constant warring among different neighbouring clans limited the expansion both of production and circulation at a time when there was scope for surplus accumulation and its circulation through the widening of trade networks from a local to a regional basis, and incorporating regional trade networks into that of international trade. Limited trade relations had already been established between the plains/nyika and the mountains, including barter with Maasai and Baraguyu groups of grains for livestock. Nevertheless during this transition period, plunder and conquest provided a means of surplus and surplus labour accumulation, and broadened the sphere of production and circulation of the successful clans. More expansive hunting and cultivation of

tobacco as well as basic subsistence crops became possible, the surplus food crops thereby releasing surplus labour for the production of surplus exchange products like tobacco and livestock, and for military organisation for plunder and conquest. Clan leaders were able to mobilize a greater mass of surplus labour to construct and maintain more complex and extensive irrigation ditches and terraces, to produce specialised iron tools and weapons, and to engage in trade as well. The increased maintenance costs/which necessarily arose also meant the intensification of labour of wives and children to produce subsistence food crops. As the surplus accumulation process proceeded, on the basis of an ever more complex set of social relations, clans were compelled to continually expand their sphere of operation in order to reproduce themselves. Struggles among as well as within clans for control of the vital means of production heightened. The conditions were ripe for the emergence of feudal relations of production and the establishment of a feudal state.

The Establishment and Expansion of the Kilindi State

One of the struggling clans, the Kilindi, was able to successively conquer all other clans in the area and establish

a centralised state based in Vugha, the royal town said by Richard Burton to consist of 500 houses (i.e. homesteads) by 1857. Long before that time, however, the inhabitants of the Shambaa mountains were absorbed under the rule of the Kilindi clan, and later the state conquered and dominated the peoples populating the area all the way to the coast.

The state consisted of the king, based at Vugha, and separate chiefdoms, usually headed by a member of the ruling clan. The king owned all the basic means of production within the kingdom, and the chiefs acted on his behalf to organise and coordinate production and circulation of surplus within each chiefdom and to appropriate surplus with which to maintain the chiefdom as well as the king's establishment at Vugha. The mechanism of appropriation of surplus was a combination of tribute of surplus products and corvée or tribute of surplus labour. Each chiefdom consisted of a royal village and commoner villages where the subject patrilineage organisations resided. Every subject patrilineage was required to maintain and occupy a house at the royal village and to cultivate a farm at the same village. Usually lineage patriarchs kept one wife at the royal village who 'occupied' the house and produced subsistence goods for maintenance of the homestead and surplus which was appropriated by the chiefs. They were also expected to produce on the land of the chief, and during peak labour seasons the patrilineage as a whole was expected to cultivate first on the royal lands, and then begin on that of the lineage. The surplus so produced maintained the chiefdom, including various forms of surplus labour under the chief, and some of it was appropriated as tribute by the king. Additional surplus was appropriated by the chief in the form of ritual sacrifices, as the chief and ultimately the king were the key agents of ritual and ancestor worship. Crimes against the state were punished in the form of fines, or else the wrongdoer was enslaved, thus representing a means of appropriating surplus or accumulating slave labour.

After the initial conquest of local leading clans, the Kilindi married into the dominant lineages and established the chiefdom base at the villages of the latter. ^{in the mountains} Foiderman (1974) found villages/which had been settled for several centuries: o.g. Ziwi since 1700, Chashui since 1750. One of the last great kings, Kimweri ya Nyumbai (who ruled from 1815 to 1862), followed the same principle and married into the most important lineages of the different subject peoples conquered during the state's expansion period.

Continual expansion of the state was necessary in order

accumulate more surplus. The surplus product was primarily in the form of subsistence goods like beer used to maintain the labour force necessary for major construction of the means of production like irrigation ditches, and also used as exchange for trade goods ; and surplus exchange goods like livestock and tobacco and magic charms. There was initially a limit to the amount of surplus to be exacted, given the low level of productive forces and the concrete nature of the form which surplus took. Elements of patriarchy relations which persisted in articulation with the dominant feudal relations also obstructed full appropriation and complete economic ownership by the ruling clan. Extended reproduction therefore necessitated expansion of the territory under Kilindi control, thereby expanding the surplus labour and the surplus at the disposal of the state.

Manufactured commodities acquired through international trade began to be an increasingly important component of the material reproduction of the Kilindi state. The regional trade network expanded to incorporate the immigrant Kamba traders and coastal traders, and linked onto the Uyanwezi trade networks. Ivory became an important commodity of exchange for imported American or Indian cloth, and later for firearms and ammunition. Ivory production expanded to keep up with the demands for manufactured commodities, diverting surplus labour from other economic activities like herding. The Kilindi clan monopolised the production and trade in ivory, but after the depletion of local elephant herds, they relied on control of regional trade routes to exact a tax or hongo. Later slaves became the dominant form of exchange value, slaves in exchange for the firearms now necessary to engage in the 'production' of slaves and the control of trade routes and defense of the kingdom from slave raiders. As manufactured commodities became ever more essential for the reproduction of the kingdom, and production oriented more and more to international trade, a process of primitive accumulation was begun whereby the feudal relations of production were gradually dominated by capitalist relations of production, not through conquest but rather through the operation of the law of value.

Zanzibar Commercial Empire

The origins, later expansion and final destruction of the Kilindi state occurred within conditions partly determined by the expansion of the Northern Hinterland of the Zanzibar Commercial Empire (Sheriff 1971). Trade in ivory and later slaves between the coast and Zanzibar increased tremendously during the 1800's, creating an ever-growing demand for the production of ivory and slaves in the area from the Chambea mountains to the Usagara mountains and beyond to Ugozi and Uyanwezi. At the

same time, developments within the Zangibar Commercial Empire were determined by developments within international capital.

The structure of the state, a federation of separate chiefdoms owing allegiance to the king, was too weak to block individual chiefs from taking advantage of the possibilities opening up with international trade. Moreover, the trade routes passed below the mountains on the plains, through the chiefdom of one of Kimweri's kin, Semboja. Semboja developed alliances with coastal traders, Ilaasai and Baraguyu warriors, Zigua and other interior traders in order to create his own power base at a large town near Morogwe at the foot of the mountains. The town was situated on the major international trade route north of the Pangani Valley, and by 1811 was a large trading centre where exchange in ivory and slaves for metal wire and cloth was already heavy (Sheriff 1971). With Kimweri's death in 1862, the internal contradictions within the Kilindi ruling clan and the state as a whole led to the destruction of the kingdom, and not German conquest as Peierman seems to argue (1974).

The state could no longer provide the military force necessary to maintain peace within the kingdom, to control rebellious chiefs or subject peoples, ^{segments of} as the ruling clans fought among themselves for control of the state. The demand for slaves had initially been met within the kingdom by plundering 'alien' groups which were not subject to Kilindi rule, in addition to exchanging the few slaves acquired through the usual processes of pawnship and criminal punishment. The exception was Semboja, who hired mercenaries to raid Shamba chiefdoms for slaves, thereby defying (though indirectly) the principle of not attacking subject peoples of the state. After Kimweri's death, however, and the breakdown of central rule, chiefdom raided chiefdom for slaves. It is said that women at this time could not go to farm without armed escorts (Peierman 1974: 177), significant as much for what it says about the absolute necessity of women in production as about the lack of security. Villages moved to isolated and remote mountain ridges and built stockades for defense. Subject peoples like the Bondoi took advantage of the situation to break away from Kilindi rule and reestablish the old patrilineage organisation of before. Basically similar consequences arose wherever a village was able to isolate and defend itself, so long as it could be economically self-sufficient.

It is incorrect to argue that the chiefs at this time no longer "cared for the welfare of common people in their own territories" (Peierman 1974:169). This is the subjective level

of understanding which permeates much of Feierman's material, based as it is on oral histories spoken by patriarchs or else former members of the ruling clan. Production of commodities for international trade had certainly replaced production of surplus goods for regional and local exchange, and tribute was no longer the dominant mechanism of surplus appropriation for the ruling clans. At the same time, the royal clans depended upon the loyalty of subject lineages to join military expeditions for slave raiding and for defense, and secondarily for provision of subsistence and surplus. The exception appears to be Somboja who relied on mercenaries, but even they had to be fed on the basis of surplus production sited at the level of the local homesteads.

Contradictions already developing within the kingdom were heightened in the 1870's and 1880's, due to the decline of the Zanzibar Commercial Empire in 1870 and 1871. Demands for ivory and slaves fell drastically, and their prices as well, partly due to struggles between English ^{capital} and Zanzibar rulers over control of the Indian Ocean trade, and partly due to the effects on international trade of the American Civil War. (see Sheriff 1971). At the same time, manufactured commodities secured through long distance trade like guns and cloth were absolutely necessary means of production for the Kilindi state. The necessary response to such market conditions was of labour intensification with respect to the production of slaves and secondarily ivory. This also meant even more diversion of labour from production of basic subsistence goods and the absolute loss of surplus labour through the effects of the slave trade. The dominance of feudal relations of production was destroyed by contradictions inherent to these relations themselves and their articulation with slave and pimple community relations; in conditions increasingly determined by capitalist commodity relations.

IV. ARTICULATION OF FEUDAL, SLAVE AND PATRIARCHY ... RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

The form of appropriation of surplus, tribute, should not blind us to the feudal relations of reproduction which were underlying. Feierman argues that during the early period of state expansion tribute was the basis of the reproduction of the state, thereby emphasising things rather than social relations (Depelchin 1970). A similar error is made in conceptualising the underlying relations of production as being tributary relations, an error made by many analyses of African social

formations, including my own (Brydeson and Mbilinyi 1978, Mbilinyi 1979, Ballard 1978 and Mustafa 1975 are some examples). The problem with this conceptualisation is that it tends not to problematize the relations between the direct labourers, the non-labourers or ruling class, and the means of production. Instead focus is solely placed on the ^{form} in which surplus is appropriated rather than how it is produced and the relations of appropriation. As Lemelle has noted (1979), a similar problem arises when trade is conceptualised as the basis of surplus generation. Surplus is produced in the sphere of production not exchange, and it is the relations of production themselves which require investigation, though not to the exclusion of relations within the sphere of circulation. The recent work of Guy (1978) and Lemelle (1979) represent examples of the kind of concrete and specific analysis called for.

As already noted, the Milindi clan owned all the land and other basic means of production in the kingdom. All subjects were obligated to provide surplus labour to the local chief in order to produce subsistence goods for the chief's establishment and surplus goods for maintenance of the chief and for exchange. Local chiefs in turn were obligated to provide surplus labour under their control and surplus produce to the Vugha-based kingdom.

The articulation of feudal relations of production, and slave relations of production and the patriarchy relations underlying the patrilineage organisation determined the distribution of means of production and the distribution of individuals or groups into different categories of economic agents. The complex community relations were subsumed within this articulation process. The different modes of production (or elements of modes of production) established conditions of existence for each other. Part of the cause of the internal contradictions within the kingdom was due to the resistance of the patriarchy relations of production to the dominant feudal relations of production.

Women were responsible for producing the basic subsistence requirements of the homestead. Surplus labour of the women thus freed the ^{patriarchs} /to engage in non-productive activities like litigation and ritual as well as in the production of surplus for exchange such as livestock, ivory and slaves (see Henn 1978 for analysis along these lines, based on very well documented material). The centrality of the role of women in the production of surplus and maintenance of surplus labour, as well as being surplus labour as well, is completely ignored by Feierman,

Tribute was collected from the entire population. The agricultural skills of the Shambaa were equally accessible to all men, although the older men of any village were expected to have the greatest expertise. The tools, too, were in the possession of all men. Each homestead produced food and then consumed it. As a result, the tribute which came to the court was the product of thousands of men, each tending his own garden. (Feierman 1974:121, emphasis mine)

The problem with such analysis is not solely the complete neglect of women's role in production. Far more crucial is the non-problematization of the social relations within the homestead, or within the lineage itself. Despite the dominance of feudal relations of production and the significance of slave relations, simple community relations underlying the patrilineage organisation retained their dominance at the level of the homestead. The capacity of the patriarch to mobilise and organise surplus labour and to appropriate surplus was a necessary condition for the reproduction of the feudal relations and slave relations.

For example, young men (kinsmen youth, dependent non-kin and slaves) were mobilised within the patrilineage organisation to engage in elephant hunts or military expeditions, and represented a form of collective labour when they were organised in a collective way. The royal clan provided the coordination, centralisation and control of this collective labour, mediated however by the power of the patriarchs. The amount of surplus labour which a patriarch could release was partly dependent upon the amount of surplus labour remaining in the form of wives especially to maintain the labour force of the patrilineage and ensure its future reproduction needs, which in turn necessitated a certain mass of surplus held in store. As an increasing amount of surplus labour of various categories of men went into the production of exchange goods like ivory and slaves, the labour of women replaced that of men. Sex specificity in cultivation broke down of necessity, and labour of women was necessarily intensified. The patriarchy relations of production underlying the patrilineage organisation and sex and patrilineage therefore were fundamental to the reproduction of feudal relations.

Another effect of the penetration of capitalist commodity relationships was the transformation of slave relations of production. Drawing on Domelle's analysis of the Bemba, we can see the fundamental transformation which takes place when slaves become commodities in and of themselves, whereas before they were producers of commodities and subsistence goods. Again, subject peoples and even rebellious kin youth become potential commodities under such conditions, as chiefs were driven to accumulate more and more exchange value in order to acquire the firearms and other manufactured commodities necessary to reproduce their ruling position.

The problem with Feierman's analysis is now clearer. Feierman refers to the breakdown of the former "community of interest" between chiefs and subjects due to the slave trade, as noted in the section above. To explain the apparent loss of chiefly interest, it is necessary to examine the transformation of relations which occurred as production of commodities for international trade became increasingly important for the reproduction of the kingdom. Before, surplus product was based on the appropriation of surplus labour of subjects directly and indirectly. The slave trade transformed these relations. The producer himself became the commodity. The underlying relations were ^{apparently} that of chief and subject, but under feudal relations it was in the chief's (king's) interest to maintain law and order, to ensure conditions conducive to surplus production and appropriation within the kingdom. Production of slaves demanded the plunder and sale of the producers. Chiefdom plundered chiefdom, at an ever accelerating rate, in order to meet the ever growing demands for more surplus to exchange for the firearms and other commodities needed to maintain the state. Such a phenomenon of 'eating of one's self' contributed to the destruction of the Shamba kingdom.

V. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COLONIAL STATE

The destruction of the feudal mode of production in the Shambaa kingdom has been shown to be related to the process of penetration of merchant capital in a particular form. The Kilindi state became increasingly dependent on manufactured commodities secured through international trade and on production of commodities for the same market. Under the operation of the law of value, feudal relations of production could no longer be reproduced under the historical material conditions increasingly determined by merchant capital penetration. The process of primitive accumulation which thus unfolded led to resistance and class struggle between the ruling class of the feudal mode of production (the Kilindi clan) and merchant capital. Kimweri's attempt to maintain a form of appropriation based on tribute in defiance of growing dependence on production of commodities for exchange with manufactured commodities illustrates such resistance.

The creation of the colonial state backed up by the force of its army established conditions for the dominance of capitalist relations of production later. The German army entered the Shambaa area in the 1880's and quelled the wars. In 1895, the king of Vugha was hung for murdering the adulterer of one of his wives, symbolic of the destruction of the old social relations and the dominance of the new backed by the repressive might of the colonial state.

The Kilindi clan became allies of the colonial state and acted as agents of indirect rule. The former material basis of their power was destroyed, as a monthly stipend replaced the tribute. At the same time, however, the 'native authorities' controlled and coordinated the supply of labour needed by settler farms and plantations (Sender 1974) and also had control of the allocation of land called 'holdings in trust' found unalienated and unused or fallow at the time of colonial rule. Regular monthly stipends plus their privileged position regarding to land and other services provided the former ruling clan and its agents with a basis of accumulation. Both Sender (1974) and Schönmeier (1978) ^{recently} found sizeable differentiation in land holdings where the largest land owners were either members of the feudal ruling clan or else established themselves through wage labour.

The largest land-owners also dominate the production of tea, which is the most important cash crop; own the most livestock; exploit the most hired labour; and have had access to the most formal education-(Sender 1974:16). The same stratum of rich peasants dominate leadership positions in the ujamaa village government structures. These leadership positions are manipulated

in order to accumulate more capital in the form of restricted land holdings, credit and other resources (see Willinyi 1974 for further documentation of similar trends elsewhere in Tanzania). Here we see the interrelationship between old and new as the colonial state manipulated feudal relations to control the conquered peoples of the Shambaa, and the elements of the feudal ruling clan in turn manipulated their subordinate position within the colonial state apparatus to accumulate capital. Their former dominant position has been reproduced up to the present.

This process of accumulation of land and other resources by colonial state functionaries must be set in the context of growing land shortage. Extreme land shortages were noted by 1913 (Feierman 1974), and resulted from land expropriation by settlers and the colonial state; from the creation of the chiefs' holdings; from the growing pressure to expand acreage in order to produce cash as well as subsistence crops. It was necessary to grow cash crops in order to pay taxes, which had become a necessary aspect of the reproduction of labour power under colonial rule. Cash/necessary to pay taxes and to acquire manufactured commodities and foodstuffs. The colonial state tried to control the old trade networks and do away with barter trade, thereby strengthening the conditions which necessitated the acquisition of cash. Cash could be obtained through cash crop production, the sale of livestock or the exchange of labour power in wage labour on nearby settler farms. However, livestock was usually held on to as a form of security in case of famine and as surplus for exchange, and the conditions of wage labour were so unsatisfactory that only landless or impoverished youths and others were willing to participate.

Wage labour did represent a means of accumulating the cash necessary to purchase land independently of one's lineage, and to acquire cattle and the cash increasingly demanded as marriage payments. Young men who participated in wage labour out of necessity were able to free themselves from labour service to the patriarchy relations of the patrilineage. Women also resisted the social relations underlying the patrilineage organisation by seeking wage labour, by migrating to towns to seek wage labour or some other means of subsistence, and by 'escaping' to mission stations. These routes of resistance are discussed below.

As cash crop/production of ^{increased} cattle, coffee, tobacco and green vegetables, struggles emerged between homestead heads and their wives over allocation of land and labour within the homestead. The unallocated land of the husband was reserved for

cash crop production as once it was for tobacco, and the product was controlled by him. Women were forced to work on these farms as well as their own subsistence plots, but they resisted their labour being used in this way. Minns (1964) reports that in 1957 heads would not allow their wives to plant such crops independently, and wives in turn 'showed' no interest in cash crop production and opposed the use of land for that purpose as well as their own labour. Men were forced to "fall back upon their rights to command obedience" (Minns 1964:46). Clearly female lack of interest was a consequence of the way in which their surplus labour was exploited at the homestead level by the homestead heads.

As land took on a new value under the growing dominance of capitalist relations, heads began to refuse to allocate adequate land to wives on which to produce subsistence crops as well, and to sons upon which to establish their own homesteads. The planting of coffee trees increased the value of the land and the resistance of the heads to allocate it. The bare minimum essential for provision of subsistence food needs was allocated to the wives. Such struggles over land use within the homestead combined with growing land shortage in the area to force the young men to pioneer new land or seek wage labour, already noted above.

The capital accumulation process in the colony was based on absolute surplus value for most of the period, i.e. conditions were established which led to the further intensification of labour of the producers rather than the use of mechanisation and modern farm practices as a basis for increased production. Labour intensification inevitably led to soil depletion under conditions of land shortage. Various schemes culminated in the 'Kilalo Rehabilitation Scheme' in 1946 to counteract soil erosion and to increase food production as well as improved land use and the production of wattle as a cash crop. The scheme was resisted, mainly because more labour time was required to do the extra terracing and to make contour hedges, without any certainty of reward. Leaving land fallow was also impossible due to land shortage and the growing impulse to produce for cash. The colonial state was not in a position to enforce such measures and the Kilindi agents no longer had a basis of local power to do so. Indeed, their identification with force to implement the measures of the scheme led to so much resistance that Kilindi elements had to be withdrawn from positions of power (Schönmeier 1977).

The Articulation of Patriarchy and Capitalist Relations of Production

The dominance of the patriarch and homestead head over cash crop production side by side with the growing dependence on cash for the maintenance of the homestead is related to the

devaluation of women's role in agriculture production. This is so despite the necessary nature of women's labour in producing subsistence needs to maintain the homestead. Because much of women's work does not create a product which is exchanged for cash, that work is not valued as highly as the work--which is often management and supervision--of the homestead head. Nevertheless, the time which the head devotes to the production of cash crops is based upon the necessary labour of the wives who feed and otherwise maintain him. In value terms, we can argue that women's work in production is necessary labour time. The head's labour in producing cash crops, together with that of other homestead members, is partly necessary labour time, depending upon the proportion of the proceeds controlled by the head which are used to purchase maintenance goods and services. The remainder of the labour spent on cash crop production is surplus labour appropriated by capital through the supervisory agency of the head (see Kinn 1970 for further analysis along these lines). The necessary labour of women in particular and their children produces the surplus foods necessary to maintain the head and other dependent males and free their labour for the production of cash crops.

Developments under the Ujamaa Village programme have not altered this pattern of articulation of old and new relations of production. New social relations based on gender and age are developing. As noted above, the leadership is primarily male elders, many of whom are drawn from the ranks of the feudal ruling clan. This leadership decides about labour and land allocation and use within the village, and increasingly this extends not only to the village farms and other productive activities but to homestead production as well. Women are allocated land not in their own right, but as wives of members; i.e. ^{effective} membership tends to be extended to homestead heads, and other s in the homestead become accessory members as dependents. This has been revealed for example in the way in which labour obligations of each member homestead to the village productive activities are organised. Rather than extending such obligations to individual members (men or women, old or young), they are extended to homesteads, and the general trend is for wives to fulfill this labour obligation. In some villages wives have done so enthusiastically, where proceeds of village production have been distributed on an individual basis according to work inputs. But under the latter conditions it is possible to discern the development of membership on an individual rather than a homestead basis. The more frequent case seems to be that heads force their wives to go

to work on the village farm in their place, and that the women do so reluctantly because it is the male heads who will determine in the end the distribution of proceeds from such labour. As one village woman noted (not in Shamba but in a village of Dodoma), "If I don't go, I /i.e. the homestead/ will be fined. If I go to my husband and ask for the fine (shs 10), he will tell me, I don't have the money, why didn't you go to work? What can we do? We go." (based on interviews with village women during the CCT Workshop on Implementation, Dodoma 1978). Here we see the way in which contradictions are emerging which are rooted in the old patriarchy relations and which are opposite to the ideological aims of the ujamaa village programme in every respect.

At village barazas, the voices of women and youth are not heard, whether it is discussion of what to produce, how to produce it, what to do with the proceeds. This is so despite the major contribution their labour makes to such activities. Surplus produced in village production activities is controlled by the leadership, and usually is invested in commercial activities like shops and transport vehicles which become means of further enrichment of the same leaders all too often. Even when a village is able to retain possession of such enterprises, alternative and more productive uses of surplus could have been found. Interesting enough, it is the women who seem the most willing and enthusiastic about such uses. Women argue that they would use the village surplus to fix broken milling machines (thereby freeing their labour from the arduous chore of hand pounding to engage in more productive work); to fix the countless number of broken water pumps (again, thereby freeing women's work).

Under such conditions, women lack any material incentive to increase the production of crops or other products, be it on village or private farms. The organisation of women's cooperative economic activities whereby resources could be jointly pooled is an obvious solution to many aspects of the problem. Unfortunately, up to now husbands tend to dominate such developments, partly because they are the only women able to secure adequate capital to engage in commercial activities themselves. Such endeavours frequently collapse under accusations of misallocation of funds or other resources, revealing the underlying social relations and the necessary tensions which emerge. Neither Sender (1974) nor Schönmeier (1977) focused specifically on the development of women activities, but it is possible to generalise from findings elsewhere (for example, see Kiyonzo 1978 and Dader 1975).

Elements of patriarchy relations continue to be reproduced and contribute to the oppression of women and of youth. Ultimately the entire peasant homestead is exploited by capitalist relations, but the intermediary-like position of the homestead head makes him appear to be the agent of exploitation. Hence, the patriarchy relations are one basis for the generation and appropriation of surplus which is ultimately appropriated in the form of surplus value by capital. At the same time, these relations divide the peasants among themselves, not only men and women, but also young and old,

VI. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF STRUGGLES OVER GENDER

The ideological function of concepts like lineage should now be clear. It is important to analyse such concepts critically, in awareness of their role in mystifying exploitative and oppressive relations which underlie them. Production based on exploitation and domination requires both repressive and ideological apparatuses to contribute to the reproduction of its conditions of existence. Here it will be argued that the ideologies about female inferiority have their material basis in gender relations of exploitation and/or oppression, and that these gender relations are aspects of the patriarchy relations underlying the patrilineage organisation. Elements of these relations have persisted up to the present, as shown in preceding sections. It is correct to argue that the primary

struggle of women for liberation must be waged to destroy the material basis of oppression, i.e. to destroy vestiges of patriarchy relations along with capitalist relations which articulate in such a way as to exploit and subordinate women. At the same time, struggles must take place in the realm of ideology. Ideological constructs define parameters of behaviour for different social categories. Ideological apparatuses have been important in controlling the labour of women in precapitalist and capitalist social formations.

We have already analysed the way in which women's work was objectively devalued, with the development of commodity production during the expansion of the Kilindi state and later under colonial rule. One immediate result was the ideological devaluation of women's work, which was extended to the entire being of the woman. The outcome is illustrated by the statement below made by a male patriarch to Peierman (1972):

The man has to do with disturbances. He has many worries. A woman thinks only about going to her farm and cooking. A man can go from here to Moshi, just because he is worried. Every day has a new problem. A woman only cooks. She can say, 'I have nothing to cook' or 'I have no relish'. But it is a man's place to consider why she has none.

Of course, a woman does not only cook, and cooking in any case represents the necessary labour we have already discussed. The following description of a woman's day, dated 1926 but paralleling present day reports in the Shambaa as elsewhere in Tanyania, reminds us of the repetitive, drudgerous but necessary nature of women's work in production. It is paraphrased from the original (Pearse 1931 : 13).

5:30 a.m. the wife is up, feeds the baby and puts her/him on her back and goes to the river or spring to get water for the day. She carries the water in a large earthenware pot on her head, together with the gourd dipper.

After returning to the house and covering the water, she sweeps out the house with her older girls.

Two or three days a week, she must go to the forest a half hour walk away to get firewood. She cuts down the branches, binds them in bundles, and carries back a load up to 70 pounds with the baby all the time on her back.

The wood is stacked by her under the eaves of the hut.

Other days or later in the same day she goes to work on the farm.

Sometime in the afternoon she must return to begin preparing the evening meal. This involves 'removal of the grain from the cob, the husking and sifting of the chaff, the actual pounding into fine flour, and the careful cooking and stirring in the great earthen ware cooking pot over the fire.'

Hence, the old man's ideas of what women do only in part reflect the objective devaluation of women's work. It also is an active distortion of the contribution which women make. Similar processes of devaluation and distortion are revealed in the following 'cannots' attributed to women by male and female peasants situated in different regions of Tanyania (Mbilinyi 1972) :

Women cannot :

- be of future benefit to parents or families
- be as intelligent as men
- assume major responsibilities
- be as strong as men
- be equal to men
- be reliable
- concentrate on thinking
- be of value

We cannot merely dismiss such ideas. In the context of elements of patriarchy relations which exist today, sons do have obligations to their extended families that daughters do not have, and they have access to the material means necessary to fulfill those obligations. Women have obligations to the family of their husband, and therefore are a 'loss' to their own families once they marry. If women do not own the means of production nor the proceeds of their own labour and that of their children, they cannot possibly assume 'major responsibilities' such as buying land, a tractor, etc. At the same time,

these ideologies legitimise the perpetuation of women's dispossession within homestead production, they have an active function which must be challenged together with their material basis. One of the first steps to be taken is to confront the false consciousness of women peasants themselves, who instruct their daughters in humility, docility, passivity, service and subordination to their fathers and brothers, their future husbands and his kin. Girls learn that their material existence depends on attachment to a male provider, which is a valid reflection of the real relations between homestead heads and wives.

The violence with which the role of women has been distorted and devalued is symptomatic of two things: the significance of male domination for social reproduction within the context of particular social relations at a particular point of time, and the struggles and resistance of women against male domination and female subordination.

The Shambaa myth of Shemta, a myth of origin, exemplifies ideologies of male domination. According to one version of the myth, Shemta conquered the former female chief, Bangwe, said to be a 'murderous' woman, by using his expandable and glorious penis to penetrate and then skewer her to death during sexual intercourse. According to the other less lively version, he conquered Bangwe by first satisfying her sexually, which led to the desire of her women followers for the same sexual relations with him. Bangwe refuses to share him, and the other women react by making Shemta their chief. The patriarch informants explain that this myth explains the origins of the patriarchy relations of male dominance (Feierman 1974).

The theme of male dominance also arises in the myth of Mbogha, the myth of origin of the Kilindi Kingdom. A series of dyadic relations in myth are established to distinguish between Mbogha, symbolic of the Kilindi ruling clan, and the subjects of feudal rule, called the Shambaa in general. His conquest of the Shambaa is characterised in this way, that he 'made them all women'. He is strong, they are weak, like men to women. He was a hunter, they cultivators. He provided meat, they starch. All of these reflect the technical sexual division of labour and the underlying patriarchy relations of production.

Female Resistance

The vehemence with which the subordination of women is insisted upon by such myths and ideological distortions actually reveals the reality of female resistance to oppression and exploitation on the basis of gender. Such ideologies must have achieved particular saliency during the later period of decline of the Kilindi state and the establishment of the colonial state. The eroding of the material bases for precapi-

talist relations weakened the power of male elders (patriarchs and homestead heads) vis-a-vis women and youth. The outcries during the colonial period about the growing independence and 'lack of respect' of women, and their growing immorality (!), must be placed in this context. Moreover, women were 'running away' from oppression. Mission stations were one avenue of escape for women who rejected a previously arranged betrothal, or wanted to leave an unpleasant marriage situation. The missions were sympathetic to such potential converts and provided them with education and even wage labour as an alternative means of subsistence. Women also migrated to urban centres to seek wage labour or else, more frequently, petty trade, beer brewing, prostitution. The latter activities were often the only alternatives given women's unequal access to education and employers' preference for hiring male labour (Bryceson and Mbilinyi 1973). These were alternatives to dependency on homestead heads which evolved after the development of capitalist social relations.

What of resistance during earlier periods? I have come across references to two responses, referring to the period of decline of the Kilindi state. Women were said to be seized by alien spirits, which caused them to "want to eat their own babies" (Feierman 1974:201). This possession was related to the anxieties aroused by the dangers of the slave trade and the real possibility of being seized along with one's children.

The other phenomena is 'cooking pot suicide'. Pregnant women cursed their sons or their brothers as they broke their cooking pots, and died shortly thereafter. In fact, women frequently poisoned themselves and their youngest children, the children being unable to cope alone without the mother's care. Such deaths and the curse itself were believed to lead to more deaths in the lineage itself, and lineages tried to avoid such suicides by protecting the interests of the women involved. Women could therefore manipulate the threat of suicide as a way of bettering their conditions. Clearly women turned to suicide as a last resort, after being mistreated by the husband without any protection from her own relatives. As Feierman points out, it was the last resort of an individual in a helpless position within the patriarchy relations (1972). Young men with domineering fathers also committed suicide, by hanging themselves, which was also believed to spoil the lineage and cause more deaths. Probably the problem was not a domineering attitude but rather the patriarch's refusal to allocate means of production to the son.

The pathos exhibited by such actions reflects the contradictory situation women have been placed in, not only in the

past but also in the present. The development of commoditisation in peasant production and the alternatives of wage labour represent possibilities for individual women to free themselves from their 'bondage' to patriarchy relations. In the present epoch of monopoly capitalism, however, the Tanzanian economy is not developing the basis for capital accumulation necessary to expand industries and thereby create adequate wage labour opportunities. At the same time the state has not confronted the issue of contradictions rooted in patriarchy relations, and the legal system has actually entrenched certain key aspects. For example, 'customary' law is relied upon to decide allocation of children at the time of divorce or widowhood, which in practice has meant in the majority of cases that children are handed over by the courts to their fathers or paternal kin in the case of death of the father. Inheritance of property again reflects patriarchy relations, and polygamy is legitimized so long as the first wife agrees to her husband's taking another wife. Women face a fundamental insecurity within their own homes, although an increasing number are reacting by rejecting legal marriage based on patriarchy, others are caught in the web of concern and responsibility for their children's welfare.

//The alternatives open to peasant women are few and will remain so until the ujamaa village policy itself is transformed together with the contradictory aspects of marriage and other laws. There are other government policies which are potentially progressive in establishing necessary conditions for the advancement of women's struggles and the struggles for socialism. These include the creation of village-level small industry integrated with regional and national basic industry strategy, the actual structure (on paper) of village governments which calls for participation of all members in basic decision-making, ^{and} the provision of productive inputs including human resources of expertise to enhance labour and land productivity within village agriculture. The danger lies in lack of clarity about the absolute necessity of organisation and struggle to ensure that women are not overlooked, or worse yet, are ^{not} actually exploited and oppressed even more.

FOOTNOTES

¹ This is a revised version of a paper originally presented to a joint History/Sociology Seminar, University of Dar es Salaam, February 1979. The revision has been guided by critical comments and suggestions received from colleagues, including the students of HIS 100, and particularly those of Kemal Mustafa and Sidney Lemelle.

²It is worthwhile here to briefly define some of the key concepts used in the paper. Mode of production refers to the combination of labourers, non-labourers and the means of production, their combination determined by the relations of production articulated with the forces of production. Surplus labour is the general form in which surplus is appropriated in all modes of production, even in classless modes. The relations of production define a specific form of appropriation of surplus labour according to a relation of property, central being ownership and control of the means of production and the product of labour. The relations of production determine the social division of labour, whereas the forces of production determine the technical division of labour over which the relations of production are dominant. A social formation is a more complex concept of what is generally referred to as a society, and refers to the articulation of a dominant mode of production with other modes or elements of modes of production, which is conceptualised with reference to production, ideology and politics. These conceptualisations have been drawn directly from Moss 1973.

REFERENCES

- Aaby, Petor
 1977 "Engels and Women" *Critique of Anthropology* 3 (9-10): 25-53.
 1978 "Towards a Brave New World. A Comment on Marxist Analyses of Kinship and Reproduction in Primitive Societies" Paper presented to the Conference on Kinship Structures, Household Organisation and the State.
- Bader, Z.K.
 1975 "Women, Private Property and Production in Bukoba District" University of Dar es Salaam, unpublished M.A. Dissertation.
- Ballard, Charles
 1978 "The Role of Tributary Labour in the Zulu Political Economy, 1865-1879" Conference on the History of Opposition in Southern Africa, University of Witwatersrand.
- Bryceson, Deborah Paky and Marjorie Mbilinyi
 1978 "The Changing Role of Tanganyikan Women in Production: From Peasants to Proletarians". Paper presented to the Conference on Women and the Processes of Development at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, September. Reproduced as IDLUP Service Paper No. 78/5, University of Dar es Salaam.
- Doppelchin, Jacques
 1978 "Toward a Reconstruction of Pre-Colonial Central African History". Paper presented to History Seminar Series, University of Dar es Salaam, December.
- Edholm et al
 1977 "Conceptualising Women" *Critique of Anthropology* 3 (9-10):
- Feierman, Steven
 1972 "Concepts of Sovereignty Among the Chambaa and their Relations to Political Action." Oxford University, D.Phil. Dissertation.
 1974 The Chambaa Kingdom, A History University of Wisconsin Press.
- Fortmann, Louise
 1977 "Women and Tanganyikan Agricultural Development" University of Dar es Salaam, IDL Paper 77.4.

Gold, Alice E.

- 1978 "Women in Agricultural Change: The Nandi (Kenya) in the 19th Century". Paper presented to the African Studies Association Conference, November.

Guy, Jefferson J.

- 1978 "Production and Exchange in the Sulu Kingdom" MOHLOH II: 96-106.

Henn, Jeanne

- 1978 "Peasants, Workers and Capital: The Political Economy of Labor and Incomes in Cameroon" Harvard University, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation.

Legassick, Martin and Harold Wolpe

- 1976 "The Bantustans and Capital Accumulation in South Africa" Review of African Political Economy 7 (Sept-Dec): 87-107.

Lemoille, Sidney J.

- 1978 "Political and Economic Implications of Trade in 19th Century Bechuanaland" Paper for HIS 127B, University of California at Los Angeles, under revision for publication.

Mbilinyi, Marjorie

- 1972 "The Decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania" University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation.
 1974 "The Transition to Capitalism in Rural Tanzania" University of Dar es Salaam, ERB Paper 74.7.
 1977 "Producers and Reproducers in Peasant Production" Women: University of Dar es Salaam, ERB Occasional Paper 77.3.

Mustafa, Kemal

- 1975 "The Development of Ujamaa in Musoma: A Case Study of Butiana Ujamaa Village" University of Dar es Salaam, MA Dissertation.

Pearse, Francis Ding

- 1931 Africa on the Hilltops Westminster Universities Mission to Central Africa

Moss, Glenn

- 1978 "The Conceptual Determination of Class: Conflict as Opposition" Conference on the History of Opposition in Southern Africa, University of Witwatersrand.

Schönmeier, Hermann W.

- 1977 Agriculture in Conflict- The Shamba Case Benshoim, Kübel Foundation.

Sender, John

- 1974 "Some Preliminary Notes on the Political Economy of Rural Development in Tanzania - Case Study in the West Usambaras" ERB Paper, University of Dar es Salaam

Sheriff, Abdul Mohamed Hussein

- 1971 "The Rise of a Commercial Empire, An Aspect of the Economic History of Zanzibar, 1770-1873" University of London, Ph.D. Dissertation.

Winans, B.V.

- 1964 "The Shambala Family" in Gray and Gulliver (eds) The Family Estate in Africa London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

World Bank

- 1975 "Integrating Women into Development" Washington D.C.