

WOMEN WORKERS AND SELF-EMPLOYED

IN THE RURAL SECTOR

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ABBREVIATIONS

BOS	Bureau of Statistics
CRDB	Cooperative and Rural Development Bank
ERP	Economic reform policy
ESAMI	Eastern and Southern Africa Management Institute
F Hhh	Female Headed Households
FLS	Forward Looking Strategies
ha.	hectare
Hh	Household
ILO	International Labour Organisation (United Nations)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JASPA	Jobs and Skills Programme of Africa (ILO, Addis Ababa)
LF 1990/91	Labour Force Survey 1990/91 Mainland
LF 1992	Labour Force Survey Zanzibar
MCDWAC	Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children
MDB	Marketing Development Bureau
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MOE	Ministry of Education and Culture
MSE	Mtibwa Sugar Estates
NAFCO	National Agricultural and Food Corporation
NBC	National Bank of Commerce
NMC	National Milling Corporation
NSCA	National Sample Census of Agriculture
PFA	Platform for Action - Beijing
REPOA	Network for Research on Poverty Alleviation
SAP	Structural Adjustment
SARDC	Southern Africa Research and Development Centre
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
T.	Table
TAMWA	Tanzania Women's Journalists Association
TAWLA	Tanzania Women's Lawyers Association
TAWLEA	Tanzania Women Leaders in Environment and Agriculture
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
TNC	transnational corporation
TPAWU	Tanzanian Plantation Agricultural Workers Union
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WB	World Bank

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

1. Analysis of the position and conditions of women workers in the rural sector is a study of who has *access* to and *control* over what resources at household, community and workplace level, and why. Power relations determine not only what kind of employment women have access to, compared to men, but also differences among women in access to and control over land, labour, cash income and other basic resources.
2. This study seeks to analyse the impact of economic reform on (self)employment conditions of women workers and farmers, compared to men, in rural areas; and to explore the extent to which structural adjustment (SAP) policies have deepened pre-existing gender relations and inequalities, or undermined and transformed them.
3. The focus is on agriculture, which provides an increasing share of Gross Domestic Product and export earnings, and provides some 80% of the population with full- or part-time employment. Agriculture consists of smallholder farming and largescale capitalist enterprise.
4. Underlying both farm systems is the *patriarchal farming system*, which is structured around elderly male domination in power relations at household level, and the exploitation of the *unpaid labour* of women, youth and other household dependents in the production of crops and other produce for household use/consumption and sale.
5. *Specific questions* included the following:
 - viability of smallholder agriculture
 - household strategies for survival (and/or accumulation), and the gender patterns therein, with a focus on the combination of farm and off-farm activities
 - changes in the gender division of labour in household farming systems, and in household off-farm economic activities,
 - household budgets, who provides the cash for the item, from what economic activities
 - changes in producer prices and incomes for different crops and off-farm products, with attention to gender differentials
 - changes in opportunities for wage employment, including regular/casual terms, wage levels (cash, fringe benefits)
 - changes in the length of the working day, to include market- and nonmarket-oriented activities,
6. *Methodology*: The study was mainly based on secondary analysis of official statistics, recent research and other documents. Resource persons were also interviewed, including researchers, policy-makers and practitioners with hands-on information

(Appendix 1). A short field study of six days duration was carried out during May 1997 in Mtibwa Ward, Morogoro Rural District, at Mtibwa Sugar Estates and at Lusanga and Mbogo Villages, with the support of the TPAWU/MWEMA committee at Mtibwa Sugar Estates (hereafter MSE).

7. Economic reforms associated with structural adjustment (SAP) led to market restructuring, liberalisation, tight fiscal policies and the shift from public to private responsibility for social services and provision of farm inputs/equipment. (Ch. 2).
8. During the 1978-1988 period, there was an increased involvement of young women and men 15-19 years of age, and children, in rural economic activities (Ch.3). The portion of women who worked as unpaid family labour declined, and employment conditions for women and men became more similar, as men lost their past advantage in formal wage employment and increasingly depended on the informal sector. Nevertheless, women's wage earnings remained lower than men's, and they continued to be relegated to low paying, unskilled or lesser skilled work, and had less advancement to decision-making positions at the top of the job hierarchy.
9. Most people worked at least part-time in agriculture/fishing/forestry, women more than men; men had more opportunities in nonagricultural sectors. Gender patterns were also found in types of informal sector employment, with women located in stereotypical female activities (eg beer brewing, sewing, food preparation/sale, hair saloon). Some women were also working, however, in road and building construction, mining, and long distance grains trade.
10. Smallholder farm production suffered a reduced labour supply because of the withdrawal of young women and men during the period since 1986. They engaged in nonfarm activities in their villages or nearby rural trade centres, sought casual farm work on neighbouring plantations or large farms, or migrated to town for informal employment. The major causes were land shortages and deterioration, declining farm incomes, increased opportunities in nonfarm employment, and resistance against patriarchal forms of unpaid family labour - young people want to earn cash so as to meet their daily needs.
11. An increasing number of women of all ages have become employed on a regular and casual basis on sugar, tea and sisal plantations (Ch.4). Their opportunities are restricted, more than men, to lesser paying, unskilled work, though "skills" categories are often arbitrary, and enabled employers to keep wages down. The field study at Mtibwa Sugar Estates in 1977 documented a 26% reduction in total employment during the 1992-1997 period; and a corresponding lesser decline for women of 11%. Management was forced to cutback employment in order to reduce production costs, increase profits, and become a more attractive buy for potential private investors. The figures refer mainly to permanent employees. A surplus labour supply existed in neighbouring villages, as well as among long-distance migrants, and many women failed to find work.

12. The rising cost of living, declining farm incomes and short-term drought were given as the main reasons for seeking employment on the plantations. Field-workers were not at all satisfied with work conditions, and workers in all sectors felt that their wages were too low - one-eighth to one-fourth of their daily expenses. A large proportion of women workers were female heads of households, more than women farmers in neighbouring villages.
13. Nearly one-third or more of rural households were headed by women, and the proportion of young men and women deciding to delay marriage - or not marry at all - was increasing, according to census data, local research and the 1977 field study in Mbogo and Lusanga villages (Ch.5). Women had become more responsible than ever before for provision of cash needs in the household, partly due to declining male incomes and reduced employment opportunities. Increased independence and decision-making power was counterbalanced with high work loads, economic stress and increased marital conflict.
14. Subjective comparisons of "life" during the last five years, or during the 1987-1992 period, by plantation workers and village farmers (women and men), found that: wages and farm incomes were lower, production costs were higher, people worked harder than before for less return, and money had less value (i.e. inflation). They faced landlessness as a result of the inroads of commercial farmers and company-owned plantations on village land and commons, and had been transformed from independent farmers into casual farm workers.
15. Agriculture production in the 1990s began to recover from the earlier decline which occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s, but many crops have not reached the peak output levels of the 1970s (Ch.6).. Producer prices increased in nominal but not real terms, and the costs of farm inputs increased beyond the reach of many smallholder farmers. Regional differentiation heightened, with farmers in areas close to markets or on major road links benefiting from liberalisation and other aspects of market restructuring, while those in distant, more remote locations have suffered poor returns for their labour. Smallholder production increasingly depended on the exploitation of unpaid family labour, with oppressive outcomes for women and youth.
16. Gender inequalities were found in access to and control over key resources: land, farm inputs/equipment, credit, labour supply and information, which led to lower yields on the farms of female household heads (Ch. 7). Gender inequalities occurred in the context of growing class differentiation in the countryside. At the same time, a large and growing portion of rural women rented and/or owned their own farmland, in addition to those who had usufruct rights to the land of husbands or relatives. Women farmers and traders created women's organisations to access scarce resources and enhance their incomes.

17. Both women and men carried out most farm operations, especially in key cash crops, but women continued to do most of the farm work in production of household foodstuffs and nearly all of the reproductive work (cooking, collection of water and fuel), with the assistance of children. Women have more decision-making power than before at household and community level, as a result of increasing female incomes (Ch.8).
18. Two matrices are presented in Ch.9 to sum-up the consequences of SAP measures, in general and in terms of gender issues (Tables A,B). Outcomes have been mixed, in that a few women and men have benefited, but the majority of people have experienced economic hardship, lower real incomes and increased insecurity of livelihood. Smallholder farming was at risk. The future outcome could well be the collapse of viable smallholder farming, and the entrenchment of largescale capitalist enterprises employing crude and oppressive forms of labour organisation and highly dependent on unpaid family labour to sustain the labour force. Economic measures would have succeeded to create the kind of profitable conditions which once depended on colonial and/or apartheid systems of social organisation.
19. The rise of female-headed households and increased female economic power was associated with the loss of male incomes and employment -- i.e. male economic impotence, with potentially tragic outcomes for women, men and their communities. Female incomes remained exceedingly low and insufficient to sustain a family. An alternative strategy for sustainable development is needed, which relies on local resources and local initiative, can be managed democratically by women and men, old and young, and provides dignified livelihoods on an equal and equitable basis.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Women and men, through their community and nongovernmental organisations, to lobby for increased voice in decision-making concerning macro-level policies, with special attention to economic and financial policies, so as to ensure that these are in their own best interest; and governments and donors to give more attention and respect to the concerns of working people -- civil society is more than private business.
2. Immediate steps taken to increase real producer prices, reduce real costs of farm inputs/equipment, if necessary by means of subsidies, and provide necessary support systems to ensure the viability of "efficient" smallholder farm systems which are organised in a nonoppressive way (i.e. providing an adequate cash income to all family workers and other producers); workers/farmers coalitions to lobby with a gender perspective.
3. NGOs and community organisations to strengthen their coalition work to lobby for a more democratic process of land reform, Parliamentarians to protect the land rights of

smallholder farmers and livestock-keepers, and of women and youth in particular, and the government to listen to the will of the people, facilitate a democratic debate on land reform, and ensure that the final land bill empowers the community, and women, youth, pastoralists and other disempowered people in particular.

4. Government to enact and implement a full (self)employment strategy, with special focus on women and youth in rural areas; donors and the private sector to support; NGOs and CBOs to support information dissemination, capacity building and lobbying at all levels; to include support for nontraditional farm and nonfarm activities, increased value-added industrial processes, and innovations in technology in production and reproduction activities.
5. Immediate steps taken to raise the minimum wage, and adjust other wages accordingly, in line with inflation, in rural and urban areas, on the mainland and Zanzibar, workers/farmers coalitions to lobby with a gender perspective.
6. Immediate steps taken to improve road and off-road transport in rural areas, so that women in the 21st century are freed of the bondage of headloads.
7. Immediate steps taken to provide “free” basic education, health and water services, especially in rural areas, as a basic human right and a means to reduce rural-urban migration; the relatively low costs incurred to be met by reductions in administration and military expenses, and increased taxation of large companies and corporations.
8. Immediate steps to support grassroots initiatives to develop people-centred sustainable development strategies, using local resources, manageable and doable in an equitable and just way; NGOs and CBOs to facilitate community-based action-oriented participatory research and education programmes
9. Immediate steps to support specific women’s employment and training programmes in rural areas
10. Immediate steps to support institution-building and capacity building of local organisations in the rural areas, focusing on women, youth, landless, pastoralists, the poor and other disempowered groups.
11. Strengthen labour union organising on plantations, commercial farms and small farms, with specific attention and organising by women, youth, casual farm workers; employers to improve working conditions and raise wages to a livable standard; government to protect the rights of farm and other workers to organise themselves.
12. Specific steps taken to remove discriminatory regulations and practices in employment (and associated institutions such as education) which oppress women by government and the Parliament, by means of legal steps to make all forms of gender discrimination illegal; NGOs and CBOs to facilitate women and men at the

grassroots level to lobby local authorities and MPs for the same; broad coalition be set up to lobby and mobilise the public.

13. Specific steps taken by the government and the business sector to protect the livelihoods of domestic industry/business in all sectors, including agriculture, with a focus on those with progressive industrial relations and “best” practices from a gender perspective; broad coalition to be formed to lobby for a strong inward- and regional-oriented economy.
14. Immediate steps taken to develop indicators of gender equity/equality in employment, education and other arena by NGOs with the support of donors and government; government, donors and private sector to implement the same.
15. Immediate steps taken to develop a gender review strategy by government, donors and NGOs, indicating concrete objectives, activities, actors, timeframe, monitoring indicators and budget; gender reviews of policies in all sectors to be implemented, forthwith, and no new policies, programmes or projects to be adopted which do not pass the gender review.
16. Immediate steps taken by the government to take a more proactive role in negotiations with World Bank, IMF and other donors, keeping the interests and rights of the majority of its citizens in mind; a coalition of NGOs and CBOs formed to monitor macro level policy-making by government, World Bank, IMF and other donors, and lobby for sustainable development strategies (see above).
17. Immediate steps taken by the government to monitor and regulate market conditions and private sector activities, balancing the needs and rights of consumers, workers and farmers with those of private business and traders.
18. Immediate steps by agriculturalists to develop smallscale labour intensive low cost farming systems which are ecologically sound, environmentally friendly, job creating, low forex consumption, under local control and initiative, in place of largescale capital-intensive mechanised farming systems, which are not sustainable, not economic and endanger the environment and economic wellbeing of local communities.
19. Immediate steps taken to provide micro credit to rural farmers, artisans, traders, transporters and others, with a special focus on rural women and youth, in all regions, districts and villages.

1

INTRODUCTION:

GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE RURAL SECTOR

SOCIAL GENDER ANALYSIS

Analysis of the position and conditions of women workers in the rural sector is a study of who has *access* to and *control* over what resources at household, community and workplace level, and why.¹ Power relations determine not only what kind of employment women have access to, compared to men, but also differences among women in access to and control over land, labour, cash income and other basic resources.

Employment in the Tanzanian context consists of self-employment, as farmers, beer brewers and traders; unpaid employment as family workers in household economic activities (upon which the entire economy depends); casual employment as farm workers and in nonfarm work; and a few permanently employed workers in the formal and informal sectors. The majority of basic needs in the sense of food, water, fuel, housing and services (child care, nursing and old age support) are provided by women, men and children in the household, with little or no state support, structured by intrahousehold relations of inequality and power. Inequality and power relations can be mapped in terms of welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control over resources in and outside of the household, in the community, workplace, district and nation (TGNP 1993, drawing on UNICEF 1993).

This study seeks to analyse the impact of economic reform (structural adjustment and stabilisation policies) on (self)employment conditions of women workers and farmers, compared to men, in rural areas; and to explore the extent to which SAP policies have increased and deepened pre-existing gender relations and inequalities, or undermined and transformed them. The *timeframe* is the post-1986 period, the period associated with economic reform. Few studies exist of a comparable nature before and after SAP reforms, so as to be able to provide baseline-data, and to make rigorous conclusions as to the causal relationship between specific reforms and women's employment. Instead, the assumption has been made that major trends observed during

¹ Bennett 1992 provides a model report which adopts an assertive tone and becomes a lobbying instrument, while providing information needed by policy-makers, planners *and* advocates for gender transformation in society.

the post-1986 era are at least influenced, if not wholly caused, by SAP reforms and associated changes in the national and global economy and politics.

The *farm household* provides the context, conditions and resources within which the majority of agriculture workers/farmers operate, and is a major element of the analysis. Intrahousehold social relations are defined by gender relations which are structured partly around sex, age and marital relations, and partly determine women's access to and control over resources, and their [non]participation in decision-making with respect to (self)employment. Women's access and control over resources is also determined by the position of each individual and household in wider social relations that have to do with income and class differences, and how these are expressed along ethnic, race and national lines. *Growing income disparities* in rural areas has characterised the post-1986 era, with especially damaging consequences for the majority of women and youth, as emphasised in the literature and documents consulted, as well as personal interviews and group discussions.

Farm household economies have historically consisted of both farm/livestock-keeping and nonfarm activities. Much household labour is devoted to the production of untradable goods and services which are consumed within the household or extended family. Some activities are carried out by the household as a unitary unit under the management of the household head -- a man or a woman; but many others are carried out and managed separately by household members. The concept of 'household' as a unit of analysis is therefore problematic, but remains a key reference point in this study because it is commonly used in Tanzania in the production of statistics for the population census, the agriculture census, and labour force surveys, and by researchers at micro-level. Special attention will be paid, however, to *changes in the composition of the household and 'its' economy* during the post-1986 era, including the following:

- the increased number of female-headed households
- the increased number of separate economic activities under the control of women
- the increase in market-oriented production of tradable goods and services by women, compared to the past (including farm and livestock-keeping)
- the increase in nonfarm activities, including waged labour, carried out by women, compared to the past
- the increased significance of female incomes in household expenditures
- the increased work load of women, compared to men
- the increased power of decision-making that women have, compared to the past, in negotiating resource management and income distribution with men in the household and community

These changes have a transformative potential, but their outcome will depend upon the way in which women and men respond in different situations, and the degree to which the government and other development agencies are aware and supportive of *real* gender equity and transformation.

The concepts of gender and empowerment guide this work, and are explored in the next section. This is followed by a discussion of the significance of agriculture and patriarchal farming systems for an understanding of women's (self)employment in rural areas. Key methodological issues which the study faced are presented next, along with a brief summary of the process adopted during the Mtibwa field work in May 1997. An outline of the remaining chapters of the report is found in the concluding section.

GENDER

Gender provides a set of analytical tools with which to examine differential relations among women and men, old and young, parents and children, the state and special interest groups. Social gender relations are presumed to vary according to class, cultural identity, and other factors, such that women and men experience different and often conflicting gender relations in the course of one day.

Gender analysis takes as its starting point the different situations of men and women, which in turn generate different interests and priorities which sometimes coincide, sometimes conflict. In gender analyses, these differences are not based in biological differences, but because of a society's construction of what constitutes male and female roles and responsibilities, behaviour, values, cultures. Gender analysis also recognizes gender as opposed to sex, as a social construct which varies in different historical and socio-economic contexts. Societies have given men and women different roles, activities, responsibilities and authorities and levels of power and value. These differences intersect with other axes of differentiation such as age, ethnic group and urban/rural and global location to characterize the life situations and parameters of various women. (Mbughuni 1994: 210-212).

Critical gender analysis assumes, on the basis of a wealth of information and research, that women and youth have developed multiple ways to accommodate, contest and resist oppressive gender (class, ...) relations, and that these actions, in turn, help to shape the kind of gender relations that develop at any moment of time.

Gender differences, or differences based on gender constructs, have been sites of struggle for Tanzanian women in everyday life: in particular three areas have been highlighted in the literature: the gendered division of labour, gendered access to resources such as land, credit, education and labour, and the more powerful control of men over decision-making processes. A fourth element is also gaining attention: the discourse on 'tradition' or the ideology which legitimizes and justifies this male control. (ibid:212).

A conceptual framework has been developed by critical feminists in Tanzania to grapple with causes of gender inequality and disempowerment at different levels. Figure

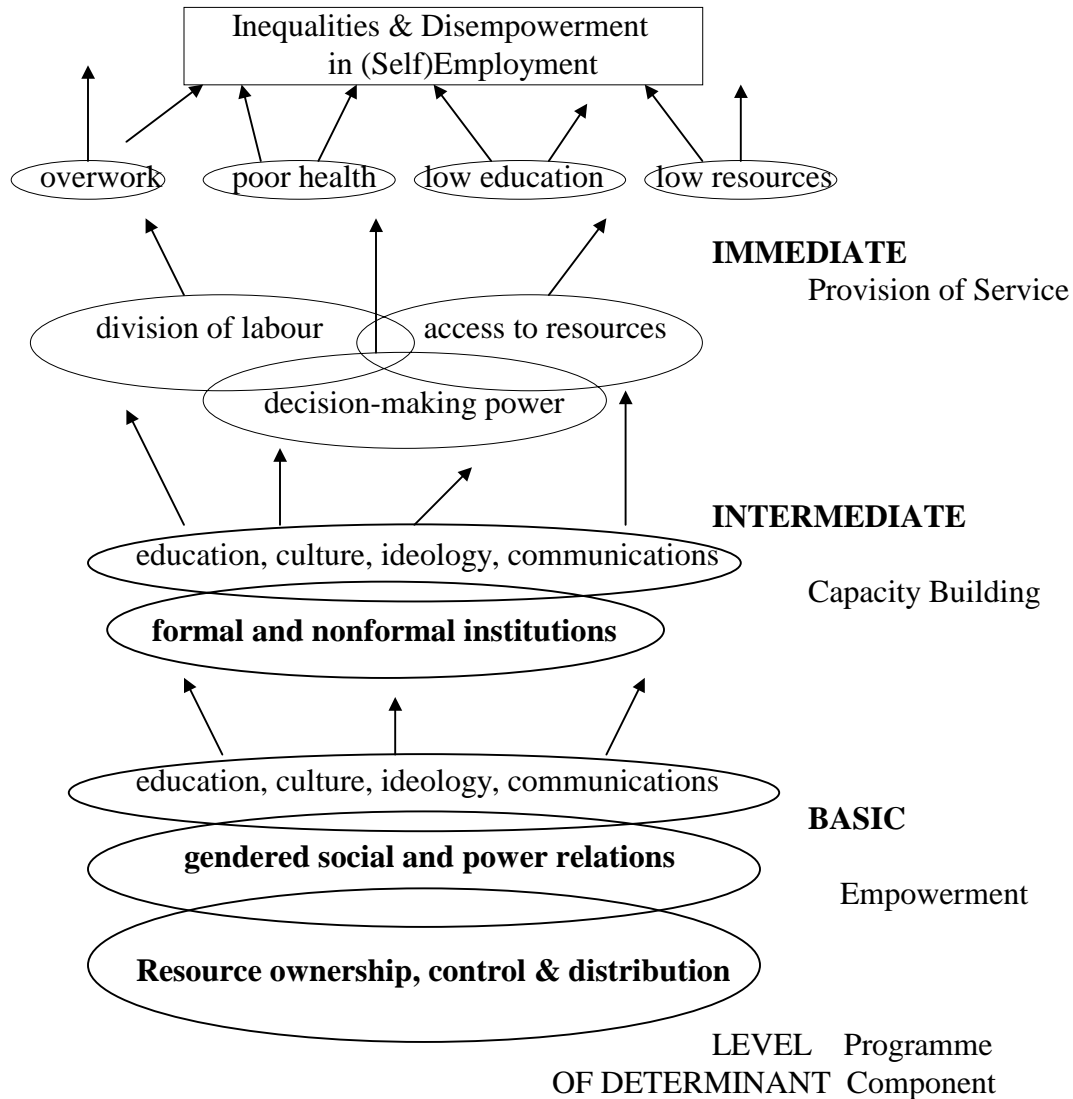
1 draws on earlier work to provide a graphic representation of the factors determining gender inequalities and power in employment. At the top of the framework are the manifestations of the problem, in this case, *inequalities and disempowerment in employment* among women and men, old and young. Indicators will include nature of (self)employment, regularity, income returns (producer prices or wages), and level of decision-making power. The immediate causes of gendered inequalities and disempowerment in employment include overwork, poor health, low education and low income, land holdings and other resources. What Mbughuni refers to as the “triad” of division of labour, differential access to resources and decision-making processes acts as intermediary factors, which are mediated by formal and informal social institutions (eg education system, legal system, marriage and household structures). The level of basic causes at the ‘bottom’ consist of social and power relations rooted in differential (class, gender, global) control of resources -- the most difficult to change, and also the most controversial.

An *empowerment framework* is employed in this study, which focuses on the twin goals of equality and power for women, by means of increased welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control (TGNP 1993). Both practical and strategic needs will be considered. Practical needs include health and education facilities, income, and technological improvements, and are often the subject of *service delivery* strategies. *Capacity-building* refers to institutional formation and operations at the individual and organisational level, that enable women to overcome intermediary causes of their disempowerment. *Empowerment* strategies focus on the abolition of structures of power which deny women control over basic resources, including ownership patterns and patriarchal ideologies. Gender and Development (GAD) approaches have promoted the fusion of service delivery, capacity-building and empowerment strategies, so as to meet women’s practical needs while empowering them to take control of resources for the betterment of their lives, and that of their families and community, and the realisation of equality, democracy and human rights.

Why does gender matter? The empowerment framework provides a rationale for considering gender relations when studying the impact of economic reforms (ERP hereafter) on women workers and the rural economy in general, and their policy implications. Improved employment and incomes will lead to more satisfactory *welfare* for women and their households and families. Strategies to overcome cultural and institutional constraints so as to increase women’s *access* to greater skills/knowledge (*capacity-building*) and meaningful (self)employment and higher incomes, and to increase their *participation* in decision-making, will lead to increased *equity* in society. Efforts to *transform* oppressive power relations and the structures which sustain them will lead to longterm *empowerment of women and youth* and *sustainable development of society* (TGNP 1993).

Each of these strategies will also increase the *effectiveness* of macro-policies, by removing constraints and bottlenecks which hinder the realisation of developmental goals

Figure 1 A Conceptual Framework on Inequalities and Disempowerment of Women in (Self)Employment



Adapted from Mbughuni 1994 & TGNP 1993 & UNICEF CSPD programme

at household, community and national level, and the *efficiency* with which resources are used and managed at all levels (Elson 1991ab, Mascarenhas 1994, Moser 1989).

The majority of women and men in rural areas are employed part- or full-time in agriculture or in agriculture-related activities, the subject of the next section.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AGRICULTURE AND PATRIARCHAL FARMING SYSTEMS

The Tanzanian economy depends heavily on agriculture, which provides an *increasing share* of Gross Domestic Product (some 57% in 1995/96) and export earnings (59% derived from the 6 traditional commodities, namely coffee, cotton, sisal, tea, tobacco and cashewnuts - BOS 1996a: Table 4.1.2). Some 80% of the total population are employed in agriculture on a full- or part-time basis, the majority in the rural and peri-urban areas. Most agriculture activities are carried out in rural and peri-urban areas under a wide variety of conditions, with differential access to fertile soil, adequate rainfall, reliable transport and market infrastructure, social services, credit and capital investment. Both largescale capitalist growers (private and public) and smallscale village farmers are actively engaged in farm production and compete for control over land, water, labour, credit, farm inputs and other resources.

The *three main forms of labour organisation* in agriculture are (1) patriarchal farming systems in the smallholder sector of farming and livestock-keeping; (2) migrant labour systems, primarily in the largescale capitalist sector of plantations/estates, but also found in some smallholder farming systems; and (3) casual labour systems, relied upon in both small and large farming systems.² Underpinning all three systems is that of the *patriarchal farming system*, which is structured around elderly male domination in power relations at household level, and the exploitation of the *unpaid labour* of women, youth and other household dependents in the production of crops and other produce for household use/consumption and for sale. The patriarchal farming system provides cheap raw materials to the domestic and global economy, in the form of crops, livestock and other commodities, on account of '*free*' *unpaid labour* of most family members. It sustains the migrant and casual labour systems by reproducing both migrant and casual labour on a daily and generational basis, and provides a labour reserve for the labour requirements of larger farms and plantations.

In addition to its economic significance, patriarchal farming systems sustain patriarchal ideologies and fictions which reinforce the oppressed position of women and youth in society *at all levels* (Mbughuni 1994).

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Gender analysis broadens the terrain to be covered so as to include *reproduction* as well as production activities in our analysis of employment, paid and unpaid work, and marketed and nonmarketed products/services (Elson 1991b). The logic of a woman farmer will be different from that of an economist, but not necessarily 'irrational'. Having to balance multiple considerations, she will opt to carry out several different income-generating activities at the same time, which fit into her matrix of reproduction

² Detailed analysis of these three labour organisation systems from a gender perspective and references are found in Mbilinyi 1988, 1991.

and production work, in spite of low returns for her labour. Her resistance against putting in more labour time on her husband's cash crop plot, and preference for labour intensification on her own food crop, may appear to be irrational, given the higher producer prices to be realised in the export crop sector. However, *he* -- not *she* -- will realise the value of the export crops. Women have endeavoured to maintain control over proceeds from food crops, even when they become transformed into tradables.

Women -- and men -- in poor communities and households will prioritise 'nonproductive' activities such as funerals, weddings, and other forms of community and family organisations which provide them with the safety nets needed during hard times. Researchers need to adopt the gaze of each target group, so as to comprehend the constraints within which they act, and their strategies for survival, contestation and resistance. By doing so, they are in a better position to link micro- and macro-level analyses which provide scope for action, and *real growth and development* (Sen and Grown 1987). In the words of the Southern-based feminist organisation, DAWN (ibid: 20):

...it is from the perspective of the most oppressed -- i.e., women who suffer on account of class, race, and nationality -- that we can most clearly grasp the nature of the links in the chain of oppression and explore the kinds of actions that we must now take. Such a perspective implies that a development process that *shrinks and poisons the pie available to poor people, and then leaves women scrambling for a larger relative share, is not in women's interest*.Equality for women is impossible within the existing economic, political, and cultural processes that reserve resources, power and control for small groups of people. But *neither is development possible without greater equity for, and participation by, women*.

Why start with the vantage point of poor women? First, women constitute the majority of the poor, the unemployed and underemployed, and the disempowered in most societies. Efforts to improve standards of living, reduce poverty, increase access to employment and reduce social inequality will logically begin with those most concerned. Second, women's work is vital to the survival and reproduction of the household, community and entire society, in food production and agroprocessing, provision of water, fuel, health care, child rearing and other functions. Their views are therefore significant when investigating the impact of development strategies on basic needs. Third, women have increasingly become significant actors in the market economy, as wage labour, own account or self-employed workers, and unpaid family workers. Their responses to changes in the economy will have an impact on achievement of development objectives.

Cost-benefit and rate of return analyses underlie many rural development strategies and pricing policies. They assume a single *household* unit which is headed by one person, whose members share similar interests. As noted in the National Sample Census of Agriculture 1994/95 (hereafter NSCA 1994/95), "a multi-person household is a group of two or more persons who occupy the whole or part of one housing unit and *make joint provisions for food or other essentials for living*. Domestic servants living in the

same housing unit are included in a multi-person household.” (vol.III, p. 4). Each household is presumed to have *one agricultural holding*, and the household head thereby becomes the holder: “a person who exercises management control over the agricultural holding operation and who takes major decision [sic] regarding resource utilization or disbursement.” At the same time, one holding may consist of more than one field, and within each field, more than one plot.

In reality, the smallholder farming household in many places consists of *multiple* holders who manage *separate economic activities*, including distinctly separate plots, if not fields, and separate livestock holdings. In households consisting of a husband and one wife, for example, *he* may manage a household food plot on which they both work, and an export crop plot understood to be ‘his’ concern, though dependent as well on *her* labour input. At the same time, the *wife* will manage a separate food plot of her own, and may be able to expect and demand labour input from the husband for specific tasks such as land clearing.

Pricing policies assume that by raising producer prices, farmers will react positively by increasing labour input and expanding the amount of land under cultivation of the crop in question.³ Feasibility studies and rates-of-return analyses assume that (male) household heads have complete power of decision-making over the use of plots, choice of crops and allocation of the labour supply in the household. If the household head is dependent on family labour, however, he may have to negotiate with household members, or otherwise face their resistance and/or go slow work tactics. Studies in Rungwe District in the 1980s documented, for example, the increased labour costs which resulted from successful demands by household members to be paid for plucking tea in smallholder tea plots. Household heads who did not pay found themselves without a labour supply, as women and youth walked off their family farms to go work as casual workers on neighbouring farms or on Tukuyu Tea Estates (Mbilinyi 1991). This resulted in a radical drop in the rate of return for smallholder tea, compared to other crops, which led many tea growers to uproot their tea and plant alternative crops.⁴

This study has reconfirmed that most *information systems* pertaining to agriculture and other rural activities are gender blind. There is very little research which has been carried out in agriculture with a gender perspective, according to top Ministry of Agriculture officials, and most data is not disaggregated by gender. For example, the Morogoro Regional Statistical Abstract 1993 has a wealth of information on employment issues which is of limited usefulness, because of the lack of gender disaggregation (BOS 1995). This issue has been raised by members of the Bureau of Statistics themselves, who have set up a Gender Statistics Dissemination Programme in an endeavour to correct the situation (BOS 1994b).

³ See MDB analyses of returns for labour in the production of maize and rice (Mdadila 1996), tea (Kimambo 1994), tobacco (Majengo 1994), and coffee (Mwakambo 1995).

⁴ For critique of the household concept, see Mbughuni 1994, Aarnink and Kigma 1991, URT/UNICEF 1990.(Baden 1996) provides a valuable critique of market liberalisation from a gender perspective.

The NSCA 1994/95 represents a welcome exception, with detailed statistics on a wide variety of information (e.g. size of holdings, crop outputs, farm inputs, employment status) presented separately for male and female household heads. Information about the work input of household members was acquired for different farm tasks, with analysis of gender differences. Gender differentials were discussed with respect to many other factors, and a separate section was devoted to women's participation in agriculture in volume III. They note the absence of adequate measures of women's agriculture work (NSCA 1994/95 3:30).

In the past, most gender analysis on employment and agriculture in rural areas was carried out by women, individually and through a variety of women's groups, including the Tanzanian Women Leaders in Environment and Agriculture (TAWLEA). Now, a growing number of *men as well as women* employ gender analytical tools, as can be seen by the number of 'gendered' research reports from SUA and REPOA.

The *social setting* within which information is sought also matters. In our field work in Lusanga and Mbogo Villages, Morogoro Rural District, separate focus groups had to be organised for women and men, so that women felt free to speak openly. Household surveys which are conducted at household level, involving the presence of the household head and other household members, are likely to have invalid results because of the impact of intrahousehold power relations. The more educated, wealthy or politically powerful members of a community tend to dominate discussions within a group of women or men, as they did in the Mtibwa study. Animation techniques become invaluable to create the kind of space in which disempowered groups can speak openly, and challenge the status quo. Sometimes the only valid approach, however, is to hold separate group discussions for separate income/class categories among women (or men), so as not to jeopardise the interests of the more disadvantaged.

Agriculture data was found to be dispersed in several different offices, located in distant places within Dar es Salaam. This confirmed the need for a central documentation and information centre on agriculture, which is accessible for ordinary citizens, farmers, farm workers and others, as well as policy-makers and technocrats.

Liberalisation has made it difficult for government authorities as well as researchers to collect information on crop output, prices of crops and farm inputs, employment trends and other aspects of farming systems. In the past, researchers could rely on single channel marketing institutions as the key source of information. *Appropriate information systems* for operating in a market economy have not yet been set up. They are urgently needed to monitor production and marketing patterns, to identify shortfalls in food output for example, and in the distribution of necessary farm inputs.

More in-depth micro-level studies are also needed to explore gender issues, with special attention to different gender patterns in employment for women and men in different social classes, cultural groups and urban/rural locations. Studies elsewhere have shown that it is possible for official statistics to provide data which is disaggregated by

class as well as gender (Bennett 1992), but this will not happen until policy-makers, researchers and activists demand that such data be generated.

THE FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

This study explored the impact of SAP policies on gender relations in the household, community, the workplace and labour market in rural areas, with an emphasis on the living/employment/income conditions of women, compared to men, in different social groups; and the different ways in which women (and men) have responded to changes in the rural economy. Specific attention was given to the dynamic relationship between smallholder and largescale agriculture, and the way that this relationship was mediated by patriarchal gender relations. This provided the context to examine changes in employment and incomes among different groups of women (and men).

Specific questions included the following:

- viability of smallholder agriculture as the major means of subsistence for village households
- household strategies for survival (and/or accumulation), and the gender patterns therein, with a focus on the combination of farm and off-farm activities
- changes in the gender division of labour in household farming systems, and in household off-farm economic activities, including who does what, who benefits, who controls major resources, who decides what to do with the proceeds [resources here will include land, credit, farm and non-farm inputs/equipment, markets, extension services]
- household budgets, in terms of key budget items, who provides the cash for the item, from what economic activities
- changes in producer prices and incomes for different crops and off-farm products, with attention to gender differentials
- changes in opportunities for wage employment, including regular/casual terms, wage levels (cash, fringe benefits)
- changes in the length of the working day, to include market- and nonmarket-oriented activities, such as provision of water, fuel and food for household consumption, and provision of services (nursing the sick and aged and child care).

METHODOLOGY OF THIS STUDY

The study was mainly based on secondary analysis of already-existing information, including official statistics. Analysis was carried out of relevant studies and reports carried out during the last ten years (see References). A limited number of resource persons were also interviewed, including researchers, policy-makers and practitioners with hands-on information (Appendix 1). A short field study of six days duration was carried out during May 1997 in Mtibwa Ward, Morogoro Rural District, at Mtibwa Sugar Estates and at Lusanga and Mbogo Villages, in conjunction with the TPAWU/MWEMA committee at Mtibwa Sugar Estates (hereafter MSE).

A mixture of methods were used during the field work, but the main approach was focus group discussions with separate groups of women plantation workers (guards, field workers and hospital workers) and with village government leaders at Lusanga; an animated workshop with MWEMA representatives from all sectors of MSE to raise issues concerning women's employment and plan actions; seminars with village members (women and men) and local leaders at Mbogo and Lusanga Villages; interviews with individuals in management and trade union positions at MSE; and with regional and district authorities in Morogoro (See Appendices 2, 3 and 4).

A total of 110 women and men took part in focus group discussions and/or seminars at MSE, Mbogo and Lusanga villages: 51 plantation employees, including TPAWU/MWEMA leaders, and 59 villagers and village leaders. All but two of the 51 MSE employees were women, whereas in the villages there was a total of 28 women and 31 men (Mbogo 15 women, 9 men; Lusanga 13 women, 22 men). Twenty-one MSE employees also participated in the Gender and Employment workshop, all but three of whom were women. Several of the women also participated in small group discussions, but many others were leaders of field sections or departments which could not be visited because of time constraints.

Women plantation workers have organised themselves with the support of the *TPAWU/MWEMA* project. The members of the MWEMA coordinating committee and sub-committee leaders agreed to take an active part in the field work portion of this study (Mtibwa study, hereafter). A joint planning session was held on the first day with the coordinating committee to discuss the main objectives of the research and to plan the research activities at MSE. The selection of villages to include in the study was made in consultation with the MWEMA Chair, Vicky Maselle, and Richard Mabala, who had recently completed research on sugarcane outgrowers in the same area. MWEMA leaders, led by Vicky Maselle, the Secretary, Esta Mpolo, and the project coordinator, Erasto Ching'oro, also helped to facilitate the process of focus group discussions, village seminars and the workshop on gender and employment issues,. A joint feedback and evaluation session was held on the last day with the Coordinating Committee, to sum up the main findings of the field work, examine policy implications, make recommendations, and evaluate the process. The information acquired through this process is reported in the main body of the text of this report, and recommendations in the Executive Summary.

The following *checklist* of issues guided focus group discussions which were held with plantation workers and villagers:⁵

- perception of ‘life’ today, compared to last year; 5 years ago.
- adequacy of wages (cover full, half or one-fourth of monthly needs)*
- adequacy of crop prices +
- views about farm input prices +
- problems at the workplace *
- the perceived relationship between marital discord (or its absence) and economic stress
- changes in responsibility for provision of cash needs for the household (are women providing more than before? why? what about men?)
- marriage tendencies among young men, and women of any age
- knowledge about HIV/AIDS and prevention of infection
- future expectations for children*
- out-migration of youth (male and female) and/or their (self)employment patterns in the village +
- gender division of labour by sex and age in ‘housekeeping’ work and farm work +
- gender division of labour in cash-earning activities on and off the farm +
- participation in decision-making about farming and livestock-keeping by gender +
- recommendations.+

In general, the women plantation workers provided frank and critical views in all three sections. Villagers and their leaders were more circumspect, partly because of the lack of a similar organisation which had already won their trust, as in the case of TPAWU/MWEMA for women workers. The mixture of men and women at the Mbogo meeting was also a handicap -- only a few women were willing to talk independently of the men. Women participated more in the separate session at Lusanga, but discussions were still dominated by the older, more educated and/or powerful women in the village. Young people had to be given special encouragement to speak, although speak they did. These results confirm the need for longer in-depth studies, where researchers and the ‘target’ group are in a position to develop more familiarity and trust.

Would individual interviews have led to different replies? On the whole, I believe that similar responses would have been found, but people would have provided more detailed elaboration. At the same time, the participatory techniques used in the focus group discussions and seminars probably enabled *some* people to speak more frankly ‘in the third person’ or in abstract, in the public meeting, than they might have done on their own. Indeed, at one of the villages the Divisional Secretary, a woman, was provoked to

⁵ Items marked with an asterick (*) were only asked of MSE workers; those marked with a plus sign (+) were asked of villagers. All other items were discussed by both groups. Copies of the checklists and flipcharts are provided in Appendix 3.

say that women had become too radical, that “what has been voiced here should not lead to negative outcomes at household level. No one should demand changes which were too strong or too fast! It was necessary to follow proper procedures!”⁶

Some 21 employees participated as leaders of the Mtibwa branch of TPAWU/MWEMA in the *Gender and Employment Workshop* which was held on 28th May 1997. The MWEMA coordinator, Erasto Ching’oro, was facilitator of the workshop, with the backup support of the researchers and other MWEMA leaders. The main objectives of the workshop were to (1) analyse the impact of SAP on conditions of employment and household/family life for workers and farmers; (2) plan strategies for action which focus on causes of problems noted; (3) strengthen gender analysis and animation skills. Songs, group work, a role play, posters and plenary discussion were used to help raise the level of participation and analysis, as shown in the workshop agenda (Appendix 4).

Three small *groups* were created to examine three main issues: 1) economic crisis among workers in particular; (2) family conflict, and 3) conditions of smallholder farmers. All three groups emphasised the negative impact of the fall in real incomes, be they workers’ wages or farmers’ producer prices, and the responsibility of the government to take an active role in regulating wages and prices (Groups 1 and 3) or providing credit and promoting gender equity at household and community level (Group 2). Group 3 emphasised the need for smallholder farmers to organise themselves in local groups or self-organised cooperatives to represent their interests viz private traders and the government, and to press for higher producer prices (see Appendix 5 for group reports). Group 1 cautioned the government not to accept every condition demanded by the World Bank (and, by implication, IMF), and especially emphasised the need to reinstate and strengthen the role of the Price Commission. The market should not be left to operate without any form of government regulation and control.

The overall *evaluation* of the workshop and the field work by TPAWU/MWEMA leaders was positive: high participation without fear among many (MSE and villages); open, frank discussion; educative; mixed education/occupational levels enabled a sharing of views; innovative data collection methods, namely the flipchart tables; women learned they could create space -- and use it -- to speak up. On the negative side, people agreed that the time was too short to analyse all the issues relevant to MWEMA, although the objectives of the study were met; that some issues did not come into the open because of fear of victimisation; and that there was a tendency to research the same, close-by villages, instead of going to more isolated locations.

In terms of information generated, people noted that: economic hardship was experienced by both groups, smallscale farmers in the villages and plantation farm workers; cost-sharing has been especially difficult for women, and children are the most endangered; privatisation of MSE may lead to the loss of present social services and

⁶ Literally “Yaliopatikana yasiwe na matokeo yoyote mabaya katika kaya. Pasiwe na mtu wa kudai mabadliko kwa nguvu na kwa haraka pasipo kufuata utaratibu.”

infrastructural support, such as the maintenance of feeder roads; credit oppresses rather than helps women because some are taken to court for non-repayment; families have marital difficulties, especially due to drunkenness, and divorces have increased. More “educational” work of this nature was recommended, both at MSE but especially in different villages so as to raise women’s awareness of their rights, and to inform one another about macro policies. The results of the research should be reported back to MWEMA and to the villages who participated, for future action. MWEMA plans to work more closely with women’s groups in neighbouring villages. This activity was seen as a contribution to the strengthening, therefore, of MWEMA activities.

Women’s position in employment is dependent on changes which have occurred in the structure of the rural economy, and in macro-level policies pertaining to agriculture, specifically, and to the economy overall. At the same time, many reform objectives in agriculture have not been realised, at least partly because of the failure to include gender considerations. Chapter 2 examines changes which have occurred in macro-level policy and the rolling back of agriculture reforms. A growing portion of the agricultural labour force are women, working as own account farmers, unpaid family labour or casual farm workers on smallscale farms or largescale agriculture enterprises. Changes -- and consistencies -- in gender patterns in rural (self)employment are analysed in Chapter 3, and the employment situation on plantations in Chapter 4. The falling returns for traditional export crops, as well as staple food crops, have led to a reduction of male income, and household incomes in total, and a change in the composition of household incomes and sources. Female incomes derived from both farming and nonfarm activities have become increasingly significant. Women and men believe that their incomes and welfare have deteriorated during the last 5-10 years, which is partly associated with changes in structures of household and domesticity, the subject of Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 examines agricultural performance in the light of policy changes, with specific attention to crop output, crop prices, farm input prices and the gender implications. Agricultural employment and incomes depend on access to and control over key resources such as land, livestock, credit. In reality, women farmers do not have equal access to key farm inputs, the subject of Chapter 7, which affects their response to price changes and other aspects of SAP. Although the gender division of labour at household level is changing in response to women’s increased labour force participation outside of the household economy, they remain the main “workers” in household reproductive activities, as shown in Chapter 8, which explores the division of labour and gender patterns in decision-making at household level. The triple burdens which women carry -- in household production, household reproduction and nonfarm activities -- have led to an unbearable workload, according to the views of many rural women, which has become a major constraint against increased production *and* productivity in agriculture. Moreover, male bias in control over incomes, resources and benefits represents a major disincentive for women. Why invest more land and/or income in farming/livestock activities over

which they have no control and whose benefits they will not enjoy? No matter how committed women may be to the welfare of their families and households, they are not irrational nor stupid. These and other conclusions of this study are presented in Chapter 9, and summarised in the Executive Summary, which also contains the recommendations of this study.

2

CHANGES IN POLICY AND STRUCTURES OF THE RURAL ECONOMY

This chapter examines the history of reforms and counter-reforms in Tanzania's farm policy and of the associated conflict and coexistence between smallscale farming and largescale capitalist agriculture. Special attention is given to structural adjustment at the institutional level and trade liberalisation, given their significance in determining household, and women's farmers', access to markets, farm inputs, extension and other factors.

REFORMS AND COUNTER-REFORMS IN AGRICULTURE

Tanzanian agriculture has experienced rapid changes in policy direction and priorities during the last 50 years, i.e. within the life span of many farmers and farm workers in the countryside. State support for *white settler farming* in the colonial era epitomised the 1940s and 1950s, in contrast to state promotion of indigenous smallholder farming and parastatal large farms during the late '60s and early '70s. The late '70s and early '80s consisted of a breakdown in state services and policy direction, whereas economic liberalisation based on 'free market' principles characterised the period beginning in the late '80s to the present.

The development - and under-development - of agriculture has had a major impact on the employment and welfare of women and men, given its significance in the rural economy, and the national economy overall. In turn, its growth depends on patterns of investment and growth in other sectors. During the colonial era, there was minimal investment in agriculture, and no effort to develop manufacturing, services and other sectors. The Tanzanian economy was dependent on primary commodity exports. A *migrant labour* system was established, which persists today, to provide cheap labour to plantations and mines within the territory, and in South Africa and now-Zimbabwe. The *patriarchal farming system* developed within the smallholder agriculture sector to meet reproduction needs of the local indigenous population, and to produce domestic and export cash crops. The range of employment opportunities was highly constricted for African men and women by racial employment policies of the state, as well as the structural dependence on agriculture (Mbilinyi 1991).

Largescale capitalist farming provided more than half of the export earnings and officially marketed produce during the 1940s and 1950s, led by the sisal industry which earned some 61 per cent of total export earnings at its peak in 1951 (Mbilinyi 1991,1994). Transnational corporations (TNCs hereafter) expanded their investments in tea, pyrethrum and wattle plantations during the 1950s, and individual European and Asian

farmers expanded their holdings in coffee, wheat and maize. Some 20-40% of all cultivated land was farmed by non-Africans by 1956, and they controlled more than half of the most fertile areas in the highlands of the north, south and centre.

The *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 ushered in substantive changes in resource allocation in agriculture, as well as in social services and the economy overall. Racial structures and mechanisms which favoured Europeans, Asians and Arabs had already been abolished during the early 1960s, but investment patterns had not altered. Arusha policies led to the development of principles of redistribution and equity, with concrete dividends for the poor majority. Former labour reserves in the south and west of the country were opened up by means of improved transport and communications and market infrastructure. Crop schemes, soft credit programmes and extension services targetted smallholder farmers, with a dramatic increase in the quantity and quality of resources which reached smallscale agriculture. At the same time, import substitution policies in industry led to the expansion of employment opportunities in manufacturing, services and other nonagricultural areas, especially in urban areas.

These developments were highly dependent on *political structures*, including the one party system which reached all the way to the grassroots level, villageisation, and forcible resettlement in most of the lowlands. Resettlement disrupted local farming patterns and led to loss of income and short-term famine in some areas. Local resistances by women and men villagers led to even more coercive practices among many local government officials, including forced production of certain export and food crops. At the same time, local pressure succeeded to extract positive incentives from the state, including universal primary education and health programmes, and access to all-weather roads and year-round markets. Per capita social welfare expenditures rapidly rose during the 1970s, peaking in 1978/79, with the most marked gains in the rural areas (URT/UNICEF 1990). Social services such as schools, health dispensaries and water wells, and improved roads, depended on local people's contributions of land, labour, water, money in cash and kind, and other resources, as well as on inputs from the central government and donor agencies. *They were never free!*

During the 1970s, there was a rapid expansion and diversification of local economic activities, including farming and nonfarming. Local employment opportunities increased for women as well as men (ILO/JASPA 1986, Koda et al 1987, Mbilinyi 1991). Class and regional differences also grew, both locally and nationally, and gender inequalities heightened. For example, people in the highlands received the bulk of small credit and farm inputs, and well-to-do small farmers monopolised the same -- mostly men. By the late 1970s, some 50% of export earnings and 30% of total value of agricultural production were produced by small and large growers in the highlands (Mbilinyi 1994:171).

The *large-scale plantation/estate* sector persisted, in spite of the wave of nationalisations during the early 1970s. By the end of the 1970s, it produced nearly 50% of total export value and 25% of total domestic value of agricultural commodities

(Tibaijuka and Msambichaka 1984:68). However, the viability of largescale capitalist farming was severely undermined by the dynamic growth of smallholder farming, and the expansion and diversification in the economies of the former labour reserves, in particular. The conflict over land, credit, farm inputs and especially labour led to a major crisis in the sisal, sugar and tea industries by 1980 and 1981 (URT/MOA 1982)..They had lost their labour supply!

Output increased for most crops during the 1970s, including those produced largely by small farmers (eg cotton, part of coffee and cashew nuts) and large growers, including owners of estates and plantations (tea, some coffee).⁷ The peak years for coffee exports, until today, were in 1973 and 1976, and cotton exports remained significantly above 1963 levels throughout the villagisation period (1967-1976), with the exception of 1975, in spite of declining real world prices (peak year 1966). Cashew nut exports also remained above the 1963 baseline during the 1967-1979 period, with a sharp decline beginning only in 1980 --1974 being the peak year.

Rapid declines occurred in exports of nearly all crops *after* 1978/79, as a result of the growing forex crisis at that time, which led to a major decline in availability of fertilisers, other agrochemicals, and a general and accumulative breakdown in the support system for smallholder agriculture in particular. Disinvestment by largescale growers also occurred in response to falling world prices, the labour crisis and a relatively unfriendly policy environment.

Tanzania was unable to sustain its social welfare system and smallholder farm policy during the period between 1978 and 1984, as a result of the crisis in foreign exchange and gradual reductions in donor support, together with a rise in mismanagement and corruption during this time. There were severe shortages of consumer and producer goods, especially in the rural areas, but all sectors of society were affected, with the exception of political leaders and bureaucrats who were able to use their state connections to access scarce goods and foreign exchange.

Economic reforms (or counter-reforms) were finally adopted, beginning in 1984 - 1986 with a Tanzanian-based programme which opened the door to market liberalisation and a reduction of state controls over import and export trade. Merchants were permitted to import second-hand clothes and other goods, which helped to meet mass consumption needs (but in the long run, represented unfair competition for the local textile industry, which finally collapsed as a result of the lack of capital, high taxation rates and the flooding of the domestic market with cheap imported clothing and cloth). Controls on importation of farm equipment and motor vehicles were relaxed, which helped to improve the transport situation. Cooperative unions were reintroduced so as to help revitalise the rural marketing system. Pan-territorial pricing was abolished, which meant that producer prices varied in different places according to transport and other handling

⁷ BOS 1994 Table 8.1 provides a time series for volume output of major cash crops during 1951-1991 - reproduced in Ch. 2, see also Chart 8.1 (ibid); Table 11.2 gives volume of export crops during the same time period; see also Mbilinyi 1994: 177, based on data provided by Bryceson 1988:38.

costs and local market conditions. A large number of crops whose marketing had formerly been regulated and controlled by the state were formally deconfined by July 1985 (Msambichaka and Naho 1995:35).

The reforms of 1984-86 were mainly financed through domestic funding because of the lack of donor support, which remained conditional upon the government's acceptance, in full, of IMF conditions associated with *structural adjustment* (SAP). Following the agreement reached between the government, the World Bank and IMF in August 1986, full-fledged liberalisation was launched and backed by substantial increases in foreign exchange provisions by multilateral and bilateral agencies.

The impact of economic reform and SAP on agricultural performance will be explored in detail in Ch. 6. The next section provides more information on SAP in general, and specifically in agriculture, so as to understand the context in which (self)employment patterns have evolved during the 1980s and 1990s.

Structural Adjustment

The main goal of Structural Adjustment (hereafter SAP) is to increase economic investment and growth, by increasing efficiency in allocation of resources, productivity and output, by reorienting the economy towards export rather than domestic markets, reducing inflation and improving the balance of payments (TGNP 1994; see Msambichaka, Kilindo and Mjema 1995 for detailed analysis). Tanzania's economy is expected to become more competitive in the world market by reducing production costs -- by means of devaluation, control over labour and wage reductions. SAP, by definition, therefore, sets employers' interests against those of workers.

A central principle of SAP is to restructure the economy according to market principles, allowing production and trade to proceed with as little government regulation and interference as possible. The emphasis is on 'getting the prices right' in order to send the 'right' signals to employers, manufacturers, farmers, traders, workers, consumers and others about what their priorities ought to be. Prices are to be governed by market forces, but manipulated by devaluation of national currency, raising of bank interest rates and other fiscal and economic policies. SAP therefore assumes a fully developed market economy, whereas the Tanzanian economy is characterised by severely uneven development of markets in land, labour, credit and other economic factors.

SAP includes stabilisation and adjustment measures that have *completely altered the environment* for farming and nonfarm activities in the rural areas, and the *access* which rural women and men have to social services, markets, credit, farm inputs, transport, and consumer goods. Stabilisation measures refer to steps taken concerning finance: devaluation, privatisation, liberalisation of trade in currency exchange and commodities, budget reform and cut-backs in social services, withdrawal of food price subsidies for consumers and farm input subsidies for farmers, abolition of exchange price and wage controls -- including worker benefits and worker protection legislation -- and a

credit squeeze by increasing interest rates. Stabilisation measures are of special concern to IMF. They have led to cost-sharing in public services, increased sales taxes for both producer and consumer goods, privatisation of public parastatals, and a general reduction in the role of the national government in provision of social services, including agricultural extension systems.

Adjustment measures refer to institutional reforms: measures to promote export production; the reform of pricing policies so as to increase efficiency and output; the increased role of the private sector in production and the provision of social services; appropriate tax and tariff structures; decentralisation of responsibility for social services and other functions from the central to the local government, families and individuals. The World Bank is especially involved in promoting adjustment measures.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

SAP entails a further intensification of the liberalisation policies which began in the 1984-86 period.⁸ Restrictions on the movement of grains across regional boundaries were removed, and uniform pricing abolished. Marketing of food and export crops was fully liberalised in 1994/95, when private companies were allowed to purchase export crops directly from farmers and/or primary societies in the villages, in competition with cooperatives. They also distribute farm inputs and provide credit, in some cases, and have become the favoured buyer in many locations.⁹ The functions of National Milling Corporation (NMC) have been reduced to purchases of grains for the Strategic Grain Reserve, and it no longer has access to easy credit from NBC or CRDB. Marketing boards have been streamlined, and their functions largely consist of organising auctions, monitoring crop quality and carrying out research.

There is growing pressure on the government to 'liberalise' land tenure/use from the World Bank and other donors, and from corporate business interests in South Africa and elsewhere. Agribusiness seeks security of land ownership and control over forex earnings, and government intervention on their behalf in disputes with local villagers over land, water, labour and other basic resources. A coalition of concerned NGOs and CBOs -- the National Land Forum -- has criticised the proposed land act for its undemocratic and top-down structures of decision-making, and the gender blindness of its overall conception.¹⁰ Final authority is vested in the office of the President, a perpetuation of the

⁸ This section is drawn from Msambichaka and Naho 1995:36-37 and Kashuliza and Mbiha 1995; see Mbilinyi 1995 for a gender perspective on the restructuring of agriculture.

⁹ The recent struggles for access to tobacco and cotton crops between regional cooperatives and private companies (mostly foreign) in Songea Rural and Tabora illustrate the contradictions that have emerged with market liberalisation.. The regional authorities appear to side with inefficient cooperatives and their company supporters, whereas the more vocal farmers and government leaders insist on their right to choose from among a variety of crop buyers. Behind the scenes are the competing interests of several transnational corporations, each vying for control of the market.

¹⁰ See proceedings of the following workshops: HakiArdhi 3 April 1996 and 15-16 May 1997; TAWLA & TAMWA 1997.

present situation which has empowered local bureaucrats, promoted corruption, and led to the steady erosion of local community power and control over land in their common domain. The community would 'participate' through local government leaders (village baraza), which is considered problematic by women's organisations because women, youth and local poor households would be underrepresented.

The National Land Forum) has begun to lobby for enough time to allow all sectors of society to discuss the proposed bill and to forward their views through a democratic and participatory consultative process, beginning at the grassroots level (Uhai wa Ardhi 1997). The Gender Task Force linking eight NGOs has taken the lead in providing suggested revisions of the Bill which would protect the rights of women and youth. Adequate representation of the views and concerns of women, youth, pastoralists, the poor and other marginalised groups was given special priority.

Agriculture consists of three main actors in Tanzania, smallholder farmers, small commercial farmers and largescale capitalist enterprises owned by private and parastatal companies and transnational corporations. The farming systems in each case differ, with different and often unequal access to key resources of land, credit and labour. *Women increasingly depend on part-time wage employment in the largescale capitalist sector, which they combine with part-time smallscale farming.* The next section provides recent information on big and small farming in the 1990s.

LARGE AND SMALL FARMING IN THE 1990S

According to 1994 data (Koda 1994), there were 730 large farming/ranching enterprises in Tanzania, controlling about 2 million hectares (average holding 2740 ha), and 3.5 million farm households with some 46,000 sq. km. Some 46% of the large farms were parastatals, holding 78% of the large farm acreage. The NSCA data for 1994/95 Mainland (Vol II) indicated an increase for both sectors: 2000 commercial/large farms, and 3.8 million holdings, covering 10,764,000 hectares (average holding 3 ha). Assuming that the 2000 commercial farms continue to hold 2 million ha (a conservative assumption), each large farm controls 1000 ha on the average. The total largescale sector consisting of *only 0.02% of all holdings, controls 16% of the total land under cultivation* (12,764,000 ha total). Many parastatal farms and ranches are being privatised or moved into joint ventures and there appears to be an expansion in other largescale investments in agriculture by national and foreign entrepreneurs. Hence, these figures do not reflect the present situation, and should be considered an under-estimation of the number and significance of largescale agriculture in the country.

Inequalities are also found among smallholder farmers. Some 70% are operating only 1 or 2 plots of 0.4 ha. a plot, i.e. a maximum of 0.4-0.8 ha. under cultivation, which is considered too small to sustain an average household in most areas (AGSC 1994/95: vol II). Some 60% of farm households are crop cultivators, 40% mixed crop and livestock-keeping, and only 0.4% are pure livestock-keepers. The average household size

is 5.4, with a total of 21 million household members engaged in agriculture, 8,747,000 or 40% of them on a full-time basis (*53% of whom were women, 47% men*). About 17% of the agricultural households were headed by women (F HH H) and 83% by men (M HH H). Detailed analyses of gender differentiation in access to and control of land, livestock, labour and other resources will be provided in Chs 6, 7 and 8.

Major regional and district differentiation was also found in livestock holdings and food security. Only 37% of all agricultural households kept livestock (90% of livestock-keeping households kept goats, 80% cattle, 36% sheep, only 10% donkeys - AGSC 1994/95 Vol. III p. 13). Moreover, livestock tended to be concentrated in certain regions. Cattle were mainly raised in 10 regions: Dodoma, Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Mbeya, Singida, Tabora, Shinyanga, Mwanza and Mara.

Maize was the most important crop grown by 60% of all cultivating holdings (mainly in Shinyanga, Mbeya, Iringa, Ruvuma, Tabora, Arusha, Rukwa, Dodoma and Singida). Sorghum was the second most important cereal crop, with 20% cultivation holdings growing the crop (mainly in Shinyanga, Dodoma, Singida, Lindi and Tabora). Paddy was the third most important cereal grown by 20% cultivator holdings (mainly in Mwanza, Mbeya, Morogoro, Shinyanga and Ruvuma - AGSC 1994/95 III: viii).

MARKET LIBERALISATION

Changes in the marketing system of food crops and export crops have altered the environment within which women and men farmers must operate. The case of *maize and rice* will be focused on here.¹¹ Both women and men grow both crops in most areas, although women's proceeds are mainly used to feed their families, while men's crop is primarily sold for cash (Ch.8). At the same time, women have relied on these and other food crops as their major source of farm cash income, because of male dominance over export crops.

During the mid-1960s through the early 1980s, a single marketing channel operated for the major food grains, and farmers received producer price supports by means of official price levels and pan-territorial prices during the 1970s and early 1980s. Liberalisation policies specifically aimed to remove government price supports for smallholder growers, as well as to open up grain marketing to private traders by creating a multi-channel, competitive market. Public marketing agencies disengaged from the food trade due to lack of working capital and their inability to compete with private companies. NMC purchased insignificant amounts of maize and paddy for its mills, and the Strategic Grain Reserve (SGR) remained the only public organisation to acquire relatively large quantities of maize. The size of the Reserve was set at only 50,000 tonnes of grains, but it was the major buyer in remote maize surplus areas (namely Rukwa, Ruvuma, Ludewa

¹¹ The main source is Mdadila 1996 (MDB R.1/94); backed up by interviews with MDB staff and regional agricultural authorities. See also Kashuliza and Mbiha 1995, Mbonde 1992, Msambichaka and Naho 1995, Turuka 1995.

District (Iringa), Kiteto District (Arusha). However, it was planned to reduce purchases in Rukwa and Ruvuma 1996/97, and to increase purchases in Dar es Salaam and Dodoma, so as to reduce marketing/ transport costs. This will lead to a decline in competition among maize buyers in the relevant regions, and a resulting decline in producer prices (Mdadila 1996:17).

The majority of private traders in grain were small traders in 1991, with few physical assets and little credit (ibid). Official gender-disaggregated information is not available, but a growing number of women were found to be trading in grain, as local and inter-regional traders, by micro-level researchers (Ch.3, Makombe et al 1997). A large number of small traders operated from the main production areas and major urban centres. Most purchased maize directly from farmers and brought the crop to the main wholesale market. *Grain marketing at village level was not competitive*, in the sense that most grain purchases were not carried out in a primary market where farmers could choose among different buyers. They faced a buyers market, dominated by private traders who were able to dictate price levels.

In 1991, most of the grain was traded as maize grain rather than flour from the farmer to the retailer and consumer, but by 1995 an increase was noted in the number of *largescale maize millers*.¹²

Rice marketing also depended on a large number of small traders who purchased small quantities of paddy directly from farmers and transported it to mills where it was milled and sold as rice to inter-regional traders or to local retailers (Mdadila 1996:14). Larger inter-regional traders took the rice to large markets. Alternatively, interregional traders went directly to the villages to purchase paddy, got it milled, and transported rice to consumption centres. The number of large rice mills was expanding in rural and urban areas.

According to government observers, market liberalisation had increased the number of private traders operating in the countryside, and provided additional incentives for farmers to produce more food, at least in those areas on or near good all-weather roads and not far from major consumption centres. However, major constraints had been identified by MDB which reduced the returns available to women and men farmers (paraphrased from p.20, ibid):

- absence of buying centres and few traders at village level, thus reducing competition among buyers and creating a buyers market instead
- traders' use of volume unit measures rather than weight measures, which led to cheating on prices

¹² For example, at least four large scale maize mills, with a total annual milling capacity of 75,000 tonnes of maize, were installed by private companies in Dar es Salaam between 1992 and 1994. Traders have begun to deliver maize directly to the large and medium scale mills, which have been built in rural areas such as Morogoro, as well as in Dar es Salaam (Mdadila 1996).

- absence of a grading system, thereby reducing the incentive to maintain quality output
- impossibility of collecting lawful levies and information under present market conditions.

Import-export merchants, big and small, had also become key actors in the food trade outside of the country, in place of the government and NMC. The private sector concentrated on the importation of wheat grain, rice and sugar and the export of beans, rice and maize. Unofficial trade had also expanded, especially along the borders with neighbouring countries. *Women have been particularly active in cross-border trade*, exporting food stuffs and purchasing textiles (Kigoma), beer (Taveta), sugar (Malawi, in the late 1980s at least) and other commodities. Recent studies in Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Mara, Mwanza, Mbeya, Rukwa, Kigoma and Kagera discovered that the major export items were *food stuffs*: mainly maize, beans, and rice. The imports varied depending on the border country: processed household goods and beer from Kenya; sugar from Malawi and Zambia; textiles from Zambia; beer from Malawi; hard currency and gold from Zaire. ‘Unofficial’ cross-border trade brought in high profits, reduced time spent dealing with bureaucracy, and reduced transport costs to other major trade centres (ibid: p. 24). The major problems were harassment from state officials; uncertainty of government policy; conflicting policies as implemented by central and regional authorities, with regional authorities projected as acting “contrary to the interest of the farmer, trader and national policy” (p.24).

A summary of the economic reforms associated with Structural Adjustment has been presented in this chapter. The next chapter examines gender patterns in rural (self)employment in detail, with comparison of trends before and after SAP.

3

GENDER AND (SELF) EMPLOYMENT

The increased participation of women in the labour force, especially in non-farm activities, is one of the most significant aspects of changing gender - and social relations - in rural areas of Tanzania. This chapter focuses on gender patterns in employment at national and household level, with an emphasis on agriculture, which remains the most significant source of female income and employment. Comparisons will be made, using official census data for 1967, 1978 and 1988 and the labour force surveys for 1990/91. These cover the earlier period of state-supported smallholder agriculture (1967-1978), the period of economic decline (1978-1984) and structural adjustment/economic reforms, beginning with the national reform programme of 1984-1986 (1984-1988/1990-1991). The changes noted are considered to be indicative of broad trends associated with the growing monetisation of rural society, and the increased significance of market-oriented activities that have accompanied economic liberalisation. The first to be explored below is the rapid urbanisation of Tanzanian society.

RURAL DECLINE AND URBANISATION

The *rural areas are shrinking*, demographically at least. The share of the total population that was urban grew from 6% in 1967 to 14% in 1978 and 21% in 1988, according to the population censuses of those years (Maduhu 1994:35). Tanzania has one of the *highest rates of urbanisation* in Sub-Saharan Africa: the urban population increased by **53%** between 1978 and 1988, with an even higher growth rate of 57% on the mainland. This rural-urban migration reflects the movement of thousands of young women and men away from the countryside to towns in search of better opportunities in employment, education and access to social services. The majority are absorbed in the informal sector (see Luvanga 1997).

During 1978-1988, *more women* left the countryside to go to urban areas than men, thus reversing past trends, so much so that the number of women in urban areas now outnumber men on the mainland (BOS 1995). The female/male sex ratios in urban mainland Tanzania increased from 93 to 101 women per 100 men during the 1978-1988 period, whereas the sex ratio has remained the same in urban Zanzibar (105). On the other hand, there has also been an *increase in the female/male sex ratio* in the rural areas from 106 to 108 in the mainland and from 99 to 106 in Zanzibar, for the same years respectively. The sex ratio is especially high in some regions: eg Iringa 116, Kigoma 112, Lindi and Mtwara 110, Mbeya and Dodoma 109, Singida and Shinyanga 108, Tanga and the Coast 106, Morogoro, Ruvuma, Rabora and Kagera 105, and Rukwa 104 (ibid:16). This reflects the historical trend of male rural-urban migration which began during the colonial era and accelerated after independence, leaving women behind to

sustain the rural economy. The only regions with more men than women are Dar es Salaam 93 (largely urban) and Arusha 98; they reach parity or 100 in Kilimanjaro.

The major explanation for out-migration from rural areas is economic: low rural incomes, economic hardship, scarcity of arable land - especially for women and youth -- and the desire for non-farm employment. This reveals strong dissatisfaction with existing employment conditions. The next section examines changes in labour force participation rates among women and men in rural and urban areas.

PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOUR FORCE

The majority of rural women and men were found to be economically active in the late 1980s and early 1990s, according to the 1988 population census and the labour force survey 1990/91 (BOS 1994c:86-87, *Women and Men* 1995:28).¹³ The major changes noted during the 1978-88 period are *the increased participation of young people and children* in the economy, and *the decline in unpaid family labour* -- negative and positive developments. Unfortunately, the *National Profile* clustered together all persons 10 years and over, which underestimates level of economic activity, and seems to *take child labour for granted*. According to the 1988 census, an equal number of women and men were economically active in rural areas (72%), compared to 72% and 52% respectively in the urban areas. It is likely that many urban women who were categorized as not economically active are involved in part-time informal activities (and are otherwise engaged in reproductive work such as cooking, collecting water, child care, housekeeping). This brings out the methodological problem with the market frame of reference used in the conceptualisation of 'economic activity'.

Which *age groups* are most active in the economy? Highest participation rates were found in the 40-44 years age group in 1988 (some 92% and 98% of women and men, respectively), reflecting a slight drop from 96% and 99% respectively in 1978 - *ibid*:T.6.10). There was a *major increase in the involvement of young people* 19 years and under in economic activity during 1978-1988, especially in rural areas (*ibid*:87). Overall, 61% of the 15-19 years age group were participating in economic activities in 1988, compared to 44% in 1978: 59% men and 62% women in 1988, compared to 33% men and 54% women in 1978 -- a *percentage increase of 178% and 115% respectively for men and women*. The biggest shift is for men, which mainly reflects the fact that fewer men reported to be involved in the economy in 1978, compared to women. There is a sizable increase in *child labour* as well. Some 14% of the 10-14 years age group were reported to be economically active in 1988, compared to only 3% in 1978, with slightly higher figure of 14% for boys compared to girls (13%). This rise in labour force

¹³ The two sources of data, the population census of 1978 and 1988, and the labour force survey 1990/91, are not strictly comparable because of different methodologies but the gender patterns found and urban/rural differences are useful indicators of the employment situation.

participation rates is all the more significant, given the parallel increase in education enrolment rates for both males and females during the same period.¹⁴

Analysis of changes in *economic status* is another way to examine the extent to which women and men depend on wage employment, or on self-employment (categorised as “own account” in the census), or are relegated to the status of “*unpaid family worker*”. The *proportion of women and men who reported themselves to be unpaid family workers dramatically declined* in both rural and urban areas, according to the 1967, 1978 and 1988 census (Tables 1abc). The female ratio has declined from 85% and 88% in urban and rural areas respectively in 1978 to 69% and 61% in 1988. Unpaid family labour is one of the linchpins of the patriarchal farming system underlying the smallholder farming in Tanzania. Its decline is a significant indication of the major changes taking place in rural gender relations.

During the 20 years period, both women and men moved from unpaid family labour *and wage employment (employee status)* to become *self-employed own-account operators* in rural and urban areas (Table 1abc). In rural areas, the female ratio in own account rose from 47% to 54% during 1978-1988; whereas there was a slight decline from 54% to 50% in the urban female ratio. Nevertheless, urban women remained more dependent on self-employment than men (72% and 44% respectively), because of the greater wage employment opportunities available to men.

What kind of gender patterns are revealed in these figures? Employment conditions for rural women and men are becoming *more similar*, which partly reflects the shrinkage in the formal labour market and the decline of largescale plantations and estates during the 1970s and 1980s, the major source of formal male employment in the past. The decline in the number of female family workers reflects a change in women’s relationship to the market -- and to men -- as the majority of women have become cash earners in their own right, as farmers and as artisans, traders, casual workers and in other occupations (see below). True, more than half of unpaid family workers are female, but this is a declining phenomenon.

Unemployment rates were extremely low in rural areas (below 3% mainland, 1% Zanzibar) for both men and women, according to the Labour Force Survey 1990/91, compared to urban areas (some 15% women and 7% men were unemployed in urban mainland, and 12% women and 6% men in Zanzibar - Charts 3:1&2).¹⁵ In 1990/91, the economic participation rates of women and men on the mainland were 71% and 74%, respectively; lower than those of Zanzibar, 77% and 84% (ibid:T.3.3). In rural mainland, both women and men shared a 74% participation rate, similar again to that of the 1978 population census, and even higher participation rates were found in Zanzibar (86% and

¹⁴ People enrolled in education are classified as not economically active, along with “homemakers” and others, even though most of these people probably work part-time in the market and in reproductive activities.

¹⁵ analysed by BOS and MCDWAC in the preparation of the Analysis of African Women and Men: The Tanzanian Case (1995a - hereafter Women and Men) Table 3.1.

88% respectively). Participation rates were nearly the same in urban mainland (71% women, 74% men), but lower for women in urban Zanzibar (60% women, 76% men). More indepth research is needed to find out the reasons for the differences found in gender patterns of employment between the mainland and Zanzibar.

In which *sectors* were most women and men working in 1990-1992? The majority of both worked in *agriculture/fishing/forestry*, but women consistently depended more on this sector: 90% women and 78% men on the mainland and 67% women and 53% men in Zanzibar (Women and Men 1995:T3.4, Labour Force Survey). Men had a wider range of options: on the mainland, for example, 7% construction, 6% finance, 3% manufacturing, 2% trade; compared to 5%, 3%, 1%, and 0.2% respectively for women. *In Zanzibar, women and men were much less dependent on agriculture*, which probably reflects the higher rate of urbanisation and economic diversification on the islands. Women were engaged in a variety of sectors: 11% construction, 8% finance, 12% manufacturing and 0.2% trade, compared to men: 12%, 18%, 5% and 3% respectively. The higher proportion of women than men employed in the construction sector in Zanzibar is remarkable -- some 47% of the total in the sector are women, compared to 42% on the mainland - which is also quite high.

In general, men outnumbered women in most industrial sectors, as shown by sex ratios, with the exception of agriculture/fishing/forestry (hereafter agriculture..) consisting of 54% women on the mainland and 56% in Zanzibar (ibid). However, 100% of those engaged in mining and quarry in Zanzibar were women (though they were less than 1% of all women)!

Less is known about women's participation in fishing and livestock-keeping. Kopoke (1997) found that some 300,000 people were involved in some way in *fishing*. Women were active in close-to-shore maritime fishing and in freshwater fishing, along with fish processing (frying, smoking), fish trade and provision of inputs, but not in deep water fishing. For example, in the Rufiji River Delta, some 600 women did small net fishing, while 3000 men fished prawns. Some women in villages along the coast near Bagamoyo collected slugs and shellfish, but the majority relied on farming and trade. In general, women did not own fishing gear, nor boats.

Women were actively engaged in *livestock-keeping*, their work structured by gender relations, same as in farming (Ch.8). In pastoralist societies, women were responsible for small herds (goats, chicken, calves), milked the cows, processed the milk and sold it (Mitzlaff 1988, Swantz 1995). Many owned one or two heads of cattle which were received as wedding gifts, but their control was tenuous, as they were unlikely to be able to transfer ownership by inheritance or sale. More details on the gender division of labour in mixed livestock-keeping/farming systems is provided in Chapter 8.

The *informal sector* absorbed an increasing number of both women and men, in rural and urban areas. Official statistics such as those of the population census and the Labour Force Survey cited above tend to underestimate the number, because of the way that questions are constructed and people reply. *Part-time farmers* will say they are

agriculturalists, even though a sizable portion of their working week/month is spent in nonfarm activities on a part-time basis (eg beerbrewing, trade, food manufacture and casual wage labour for women). Tanzania Informal Sector 1991 survey of the Planning Commission and Ministry of Labour and Youth Development specifically targeted the informal sector, and found that 22% of total employment was in that sector, 15% in rural areas and 56% in urban, involving 28% and 15% respectively of all employed men and women (Women and Men 62-63). In rural areas, 31% of persons working in the informal sector were women, fewer than in the urban areas but still sizable (40% women in Dar es Salaam and 44% women of the total informal 'workers' in other urban areas). *The majority of both women and men (some 74%) were in charge of their own activities, and some 26% were wage employees, with no gender differential.*

The highest number of both women and men are employed in *trade/restaurants/hotel* activities as operators and employees, and 53% and 52% of them, respectively are women -- the highest female ratio (Planning Commission & MLYD Tanzania The Informal Sector 1991 Dar T.9.2, hereafter Informal Sector). Manufacturing is the second most prevalent industry group, with 28% female operators and 12% female employees; agriculture, livestock and fishing is the third, with 10% female operators and 34% employees, and fourth is construction, with only 0.3% female operators and only 2% female employees. The majority of women were (self)employed as sales/labourers and service/shop workers, whether categorised as operators or employees, which reflects traditional forms of female employment (ibid:1-76). A sizable number were also working in crafts. Unfortunately, the report did not carry out systematic gender disaggregation within each geographical location, so as to enable more detailed analysis of the rural situation.

Similar sectoral trends were found by Makombe et al (1997) in their study of 268 *women who had received credit* in the rural districts of Tanga region. The majority of female enterprises were in trading (66%), compared to 34% in production (16% farming, 13% dairy). Women's informal sector activities were characterised as small scale, traditionally feminine, service-oriented, using traditional "feminine" skills, with low incomes and returns but requiring low capital investment. However, their sheer variety illuminates the degree to which economic diversification is beginning to take hold in rural areas, albeit mainly in trade: farming, horticulture, dairy, poultry, piggery, donkey cart, restaurant, mama ntilie kiosk, retail shop/kiosk, grain sales, khanga/vitenge cloth sales, second hand clothes sales, homebrew pombe manufacture/sales, sugarcane press, firewood or charcoal sales, bicycle hire, grain milling machine, guest house, dispensary, brickmaking, tailoring, butchery, hair salon, bar, supplying meat by tender, kerosene trade, and selling utensils, dried fish, fruits, vitumbua or maandazi, soft drinks, ice cream, furniture, new clothes, salt or fresh milk (ibid:28).

The major problems which the women noted are reproduced below in rank order, according to the percentages reporting them (ibid:39-40):

- lack of market & high competition for the goods (29%)
- unfavourable weather conditions, pests and vermin (16%)

- small capital, inadequate loan (14%)
- high cost of operations, especially transport costs (bulky goods) or medicine costs (cows) (10%)
- high interest rates, short grace period (8%)

Most of the problems reflect the negative impact of recent economic reforms on women's (self)employment

Artisanal mining has become a booming sector of employment since the reforms. Some 900,000 people were estimated to work full or part-time in smallscale mining and auxiliary activities in 1993, and a more recent study estimated more than 555,000 people worked directly in mining (cited in Mutagwaba and Mwaipopo-Ako 1996). Average incomes were more than the government minimum salary of Tshs 30,000/ per month (about \$50), with differences according to occupational category: claim owners in reef gold mining earned about \$730 per month, pit owners \$420, miners in worker groups of five individually earn about \$ 171. Groups of six ruby miners earned about \$333 per month in Matombo, which comes to about Tshs 30-40,000/ per person.

Women were mostly employed in the least paying and tedious jobs, representing some 24% of miners, mainly in mineral processing. A gender division of labour operated to restrict women's access to employment underground in the deep mines. Nevertheless, a few women succeeded to become claim holders and pit owners, though the majority work in processing as contract workers, especially in reef gold mining: grinding and washing on sluices reprocessing of tailings, breaking aggregates. Others provided services (foodstuffs, drinks, trading, run guest houses and bars). Most women pit owners acquired their initial capital by saving their earnings from food and drinks vending. Women have also become active in river sand mining, breaking boulders into smaller stones, and lime making. In addition to the problems which male miners faced, women were restricted by patriarchal prohibitions and the gender division of labour, and tended to earn less than men in the same occupational categories. Women owned fewer resources related to mining, had less information about modern technology, and combined mining with other activities, including trade, farming and household reproduction.

Women's status and incomes in the labour force are lower than that of men in part because of the way in which they are channelled into *the lower ranks of occupational hierarchies*. Gender breakdowns for different occupational categories are provided in Table 2 for rural areas, using the 1988 population census data (BOS 1992:T.16). Both women and men depended mainly on work as "cultivators" (90% and 81% respectively), though once again, women outnumbered men in this category. Another 7% women and 10% men were classified as mixed farmers. Few people worked as professionals, in sales, crafts or trade, especially few women.

Inequalities in access to formal education is one of the major causes of gender inequalities in employment. At the same time, labour force participation increases for both women and men when they have been exposed to formal education, with a particularly marked increase for both urban and rural women who have attended a post-

primary or post-secondary training programme (Table 3). The 1988 census data suggests that access to primary or secondary schooling is associated with higher participation for women in the rural areas, but that educated women still face barriers to employment in urban areas. A contrasting pattern emerged for men, in that participation rates increased almost 20% points for those men with only some primary schooling.

The data cited above reflects the returns to education for older people, but the situation has changed for the growing number of children who work full or part-time in the informal sector in both rural and urban areas. The proportion of children enrolled in primary school (and above) has dropped during the post-1986 period, and the drop-out and incompleteness rate has risen, for both girls and boys. The major explanations given are the rising costs of education due to cost-sharing measures in both public and private schools, and the opportunity costs involved in freeing child labour from engagement in farm and nonfarm activities. The next section examines the relationship between labour force participation and age in more detail.

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND AGE

Studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s found that a growing portion of young people, both women and men, in the age group 20-29 years, were employed as casual workers in farm and nonfarm activities at village level and on plantations.¹⁶ The concept of “vijana” or youth was synonymous with that of casual labourer. These findings were born out by the results of the 1988 Population Census (BOS 1992: Table 18), as shown in Table 4. Although the data does not disaggregate for rural and urban areas, the mainland figures mainly reflect the rural situation. On the mainland, 32% of male employees were 20-29 years, more than 50% were 20-34, and if we add the young 15-19 year old group, 57% were 15-34 years. Women employees were on the whole even younger than men: 49% at 20-29 years, 67% 20-34 years, and 78% 15-34 years. Similar trends were found for Zanzibar, though the waged work force was slightly older. For male employees, 31% were aged 20-29 years, 47% 20-34 years, 52% 15-34 years -- removing the 15-19 year olds, some 62% were 20-39 years. For female employees, 42% were 20-29 years, 60% were 20-34 years and 75% were 20-39 years.

These are also the peak child-bearing years for women. Women workers with children have to balance the multiple roles of wage employee and mother. This issue will be explored in more detail in later chapters.

Contrary to expectation, employers also tended to be in the younger age groups (Table 4) - micro-studies have usually found that older women and men predominated as owners of enterprises, because of their greater control over capital, land, labour and other resources. Own account persons had a greater spread across different age groups, whereas unpaid family workers were mainly found in the 10-24 age group, i.e. sons,

¹⁶ See ILO/JASPA 1986, Mbilinyi 1991, Mbilinyi 1995b.

daughters and other household members who worked in household activities in exchange for their upkeep -- and also, perhaps, younger wives.

Data from the Labour Force Survey 1990/91 confirmed the predominance of young people in the waged labour force, especially in rural areas (Table 5). General labour force participation rates *within each respective age group* were also highest for young people, especially in the rural areas, as shown in Table 6. Age patterns were similar for women and men in the rural areas. In urban areas, the participation rates for women were lower than that for men in all age groups, but the differential was much less for the 15-24 year olds.

At the same time, *unemployment rates* were much higher for young people, both male and female, as found for example by the Labour Force Survey 1990/91 (Statistical Abstracts 1994:Charts E.1 & E.2).¹⁷ In urban areas, the highest unemployment rate was found for 15-19 years (34% women, 30% men), and 26% and 14% unemployment rate among women and men respectively in the 20-24 years age group. Female and male children *aged 10-14 years* had unemployment rates of 31% and 23%! Did children represent themselves as out of work and looking for work? If so, this reflects the growing significance of child labour in the Tanzanian economy.

Young men, and women, have increasingly withdrawn from smallholder farming during the 1986- period, according to people consulted at regional, district and village level in Morogoro, thus confirming other studies (Mvungi 1995). They sought work which earned immediate cash returns, in preference to working as unpaid family labour on their parents' plots, or as low paid smallholder farmers if they had established their own households. Many young people in Morogoro villages found employment on a casual daily basis in construction, farming and trade, women and men, and women also worked as bargirls and prostitutes in the rural trading centres which had mushroomed during the late 1980s and early 1990s. They were also self-employed in beer brewing and in trade, including the weekly village markets - *magulio* - found in every village. Traders moved from one village to another, selling second-hand clothes, foodstuffs, and all the other items noted earlier. Young men ate at the small kiosks run by *mama ntilies* during the day, even if they still lived at their parents' homes. Some parents in the Mtibwa study said that their children were not seen until it was harvest time for paddy, when they returned home to help themselves to a sack of paddy, before going back to the small rural trading centres where so many had migrated.

A recent study in Mwanga District (Mvungi 1995) reported that nearly all young men migrated from the two villages in the study (Mikuyunu and Mororo Villages) to go to Arusha after completing primary school. The majority entered the sandals trade, making shoes out of old tyres. Within ten years, many had saved enough to build modern

¹⁷ The figures will not be reproduced here because male/female breakdowns were only provided for the urban population, which in turn reflects the fact that the vast majority of unemployed were found in urban centres, and not in villages and rural towns. The urban situation is indicative, however, of the plight of young rural people as well.

houses back home in the village. Others went to the employment centres which emerged around donor-led projects, including irrigated agriculture, but they worked in trade or manufacture, not farming.

Why did they leave? A major cause was *increased land shortage and growing soil erosion and degradation, which led to falling crop yields*. The commons had diminished, leaving less virgin land available for young people to open up. Young people were also *resisting unpaid family labour systems* which underlie patriarchal farming. They wanted to earn their own cash and be independent, and found smallholder farming “too tedious” and “unproductive”. A few fortunate ones found work in the local District Council. Many others worked as casual labour in local informal sector activities, such as charcoal and brick manufacture and sale. Others migrated away from Mwanga to seek (self)employment. Young women, in contrast, endeavoured to acquire farm land so they could be independent of marriage and the “oppressive clan property system” it sustained (ibid).

Farmers in the lowlands were no longer self-sufficient in maize production, and in the highlands, people switched from banana to maize and purchased much of their grain needs from Tanga and Moshi. Coffee yields had also declined because of the high prices and unavailability of farm inputs; and farmers had switched to maize and vegetables as cash crops. *Male incomes were declining*, because of their past reliance on coffee farming and on regular wage employment. “Falling coffee production (in the highlands), and falling numbers of animals (in the plains) are slowly eroding male arrogance, and raising the confidence of women” (ibid:123). *Women’s “small” activities had become major sources of household income*: farming and sale of vegetables and fruits grown on rented farms; dairy, handicraft, pottery, sewing, weaving, restaurants, and hair-plaiting. These issues will be discussed in more detail later.

As women entered the labour force in larger numbers, they faced wage differentials in all sectors of employment, the subject of the next section.

WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

Women employees earned lower wage incomes than men in all industrial sectors, according to the Labour Force Survey 1990/91 on the mainland and Zanzibar (cited in Women and Men :T.3.5). Although the data was not disaggregated for rural/urban location, the mainland figures are indicative of the rural situation. An index has been constructed, using this data, to show the proportion of male incomes earned by women (i.e. female divided by male wages -- Table 7). *On the mainland, total female wages were 83% of male wages, on the average; in Zanzibar, women received a lower share (77%)*. The differential on the mainland was largest in the agriculture... sector, where 90% women were employed -- women earned 68% of male earnings, compared to 75% in Zanzibar. The other sector which employed a fairly large number of women (5% total) was construction, where women’s earnings were 80% of men’s on the mainland, and near

parity (94%) in Zanzibar. In manufacturing, which employed 1% and 12% of mainland and Zanzibar women respectively, women received 70% and 68% respectively of men's wages (see *ibid*:Table 3.4 for employment rates per industrial sector, also cited above).

As noted in *Women and Men* (p.57), wage differentials are not the result of statutory differentials in wages, but rather reflect the way that women are allocated jobs at the *lower end of the wage scale*, combined with *lesser skills and education credentials*. However, earlier research in Tanzanian urban centres found that *women systematically received lower wages than men, even when they had the same education credentials, work experience and occupational* (ILO/JASPA 1986:133-140, citing Sabot 1982 and Shields 1980).¹⁸

Similar trends were found by Shields in her reanalysis of data for the informal sector in seven towns, a study carried out in 1971, therefore dated but still useful in the absence of more up-to-date data for the informal sector. Shields data was not broken down by occupational type, but instead by age group. For the total sample, women's wages were 83% of men's, with the lowest share earned by women with no formal schooling (.56), compared to .84 for women with some secondary schooling. Older women earned less than men, regardless of their educational level. At the same time, women's wages increased more than men's as they acquired more education, but only up to Form 5-6 level (*ibid*:Table 94). Access to education made a greater difference for women, even though they continued to earn less than men within any one education category. The greater gains continued up to university level, where men experienced a slightly higher increase in wages compared to women.

Similar wage differentials were found among university graduates during the late 1980s, in a rigorous follow up study of 300 graduates, 30% of whom were women (Galabawa 1989). Men's average starting salary was 49% higher than women's. The differential declined after 20 years work experience to about 25%, but that still meant women were paid 25% less than men. At the same time, women's wages increased more as a result of accessing university education, thus confirming Shields' findings that *education makes a difference!*

These findings document the existence of a systematic pattern of gender discrimination, which cannot be explained away as the result of lesser skills and lesser education. More sensitive analysis is needed to explore the mechanisms which

¹⁸ Take clerical and secretarial employees, for example, an occupation for many women. In the early '80s, male clerical/secretarial employees with Standard 7/8 education and 3 years or less work experience earned an average monthly wage of Tsh 634/, compared to women's wages of 486/ (Sabot 1982:T.5.9). Those with 15 years or more experience earned 974/, compared to 609/ for women. What about those with some secondary education? Men with 3 years or less education did earn less than women: 697/ compared to 767/ (the only group earning less than women), but those with 4-7 years experience earned 996/ on the average, compared to 807/ by women, and with 8-14 years experience, the differential rose -- 1282/ compared to 992/ respectively.

discriminate against women, so as to be able to adopt meaningful policies to do away with them.¹⁹

The growing significance of nonfarm -- or off-farm -- employment has been noted in this chapter. One of the occupations which has absorbed a growing number of young women during the late 1980s and early 1990s is wage employment as casual farm workers on plantations. The next chapter examines gender patterns in employment on sugarcane and sisal plantations, focusing on Morogoro Region.

¹⁹ ILO/JASPA 1986 and Mbilinyi 1990 provide detailed analyses of gender differentials in (self)employment and possible explanatory factors, together with policy recommendations.

4

WAGE EMPLOYMENT ON PLANTATIONS

An increasing number of women have sought, and acquired, wage employment on plantations in Tanzania since the post-1986 era, especially in the tea and sugar industries (Lazaro 1996, Mbilinyi 1989b, 1995b). This chapter will explore the reasons for the growing significance of female labour in the plantation sector from the point of view of management as well as workers, and the impact of economic reforms. Gender patterns in employment and wages will also be examined. The focus is on employment in the sugar and sisal plantations in Morogoro Region, based on the findings of two separate studies which were carried out in 1992/1993 and 1992 respectively (Lazaro 1996, Mbilinyi 1995b), and the 1997 Mtibwa study. Baseline data from the pre-1986 era is lacking so as to compare these results. However, plantation workers were invited to compare conditions during the last year, or last five years in the Mbilinyi (1995b) study, as well as in this 1997 research, which will be reported in Ch.5.

In 1992, a study on gender patterns in employment was carried out with OTTU/MWEMA at Mtibwa Sugar Estates, Kilombero Sugar Company and TPC (Mbilinyi 1995b). A total of 116 workers (29 men, 87 women) were interviewed by the researchers, and 300 (94 men, 206 women) by MWEMA leaders. The report provided a detailed analysis of workers views concerning working conditions, wages, the gender division of labour and their assessment of changes in living conditions during the 1987-1992 period. More attention will be given to Mtibwa workers, so as to provide a basis of comparison with the situation in 1997. In 1992, some 21 women field workers had been interviewed by the researchers and 31 by MWEMA leaders, in different sections of the plantation, and another 16 non-field workers were interviewed by MWEMA leaders.

Lazaro's (1996) is a detailed study of men and women workers and wives of male workers on sugarcane and sisal plantations in Morogoro Region in 1992 and 1993.²⁰ A total of 230 women were interviewed: Mtibwa Sugar Estates (72), Kilombero Sugar Company (71), Tungi (64) and Pangawe (23) sisal estates (ibid:53). They all lived in plantation housing, most in one room with their husbands and children. Some 210 male workers were also interviewed: Kilombero (60), Mtibwa (49), Tungi (60) and Pangawe (41). Only 28% of the women were employed on the plantation. The other women farmed maize and rice for household consumption needs, usually on land provided to permanent employees by the companies. They also collected firewood from nearby forests, and on the sisal plantations, devoted a great deal of time to hand pounding, winnowing and threshing of grains because of the absence of mechanised grain mills. Their major source of cash income was from beer brewing, averaging Tshs 2000/ - 6000/

²⁰ Gratitude is expressed here to Dr. Evelyn Lazaro, who permitted her Ph.D. dissertation to be cited in this study, and provided additional insights in our meeting.

per month, and employment as casual farm workers on neighbouring commercial farms owned by townspeople. The beer brewers at Kilombero and Mtibwa were found to be the most organised, confirming our own observations in 1992 and again in 1997 (below).

Some preliminary information about the employment situation in Morogoro is presented in the next section, so as to contextualise the findings on the plantations.

MOROGORO REGION²¹

The population of Morogoro sustained a growth rate of 2.6% during the 1978-1988 period and reached 428,700 people (BOS 1995b), due not only to 'natural' reproduction, but also to the in-migration of people to rural areas in search of plantation employment, and to Morogoro town. A large number of in-migrants were men who came to work as cane cutters during the 7-8 months cutting season (around June through December/January). This is reflected in the sex ratios (females per 100 males), which were 95 for the region as a whole (i.e. women outnumbering men), and ranged from 94 in Ulanga, 96 in Kilombero, to 99 in Kilosa and Morogoro Urban, but in Morogoro Rural, women outnumbered men 134 (and in Mtibwa ward, 129 - *ibid*:Tables C.3, C.4.2). More in-depth study is needed to explore the reasons for such a high female ratio in a district characterised by both plantation and smallholder farming.

The population of Morogoro Rural District aged 15-44 years had the highest rates of non-attendance in primary school for both men and women, compared to other districts: 24% and 48%, respectively, compared to 18% and 38% for the region as a whole (*ibid*: T.C.9). The district also led in percentage of girls and women aged 10 years and above who were working (76%), and took second place after Kilosa for male employment (75% - *ibid*:T.c.11). The regional "working" rate was 72% and 70% respectively for men and women. The majority of women and men worked in agriculture; 55% of those (self)employed in agriculture were women (*ibid*:T.C.12). Gender breakdowns were not provided for other employment figures, with the exception of the teaching force. Men primary school teachers outnumbered women at both grades (Grade IIIA 64% men and Grade IIIB 61% men) in the district, whereas in Morogoro town, the relations were reversed - author's calculations, based on *ibid*:T.M.9).

EMPLOYMENT IN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

Job Cutbacks

The management of Mtibwa Sugar Estates (hereafter MSE) reported a *drop of 600 workers* in employment during the last five years, resulting from pressures to downsize, streamline production and reduce production costs, partly in anticipation of privatisation. Expansion plans and rehabilitation of the factory had been slowed down. Downsizing took

²¹ This section is based on data in the Morogoro Regional Statistical Abstract 1993 (BOS 1995b), much of which is drawn from the 1988 population census.

place mainly in field work, especially weeding, and in the health/cleaning sector in the camps - both major occupations for women. According to management, the reduction in employment was carried out by 'natural' retirement processes, without overt retrenchment. However, part-time and casual workers were continually vulnerable to job cutbacks, a large portion of whom were women.

Concern was expressed by several of the employees interviewed in 1997 about the possibility of further job losses. Management endeavoured to win employee support for privatisation by funding a visit to Tanzania Breweries for selected workers and staff, including MWEMA leaders. Tanzania Breweries was considered a positive example of joint venture privatisation. At the same time, the management cautioned that specific steps would be needed to protect women's employment in negotiations with potential investors. They were doubtful that the future partner/owner would provide the same amount of "social amenities" as the public corporation -- a fear that trade union leaders had also expressed at Kilombero in 1992. In 1997, Mtibwa union leaders were concerned about the future company's attitude towards the union as a whole, and MWEMA initiatives in particular.

A total of 2040 *full-time workers* were reported in May 1997, 17% of whom were women. How does this compare to the situation in 1992 (Mbilinyi 1995b). A total of 2769 employees were reported in 1992, indicating a drop of some 729 workers in 1997, or a 26% *decline in total employment*. Fourteen percent were women (i.e. 395), compared to 351 women in 1997, representing a drop of some 44 female workers, or 11% *decline in female employment*. *Women were therefore less adversely affected by the cutbacks in employment, compared to men*. This is positive, but may reflect the way that management now prioritises the use of female labour as *cheap labour*, hired on casual terms year after year without workers' benefits such as maternity leave (Mbilinyi 1995b). More detailed information is needed on specific cutbacks in each department, and the terms of employment (regular, temporary and casual).

Judging from the situation at MSE, employment trends in the sugar industry have reversed their earlier positive growth. There was an increase in employment at Kilombero Sugar Corporation, TPC and Mtibwa during the period between 1989 and 1992 (Mbilinyi 1995b). The companies expanded investment in production during this period, in response to liberalisation policies which led to control over foreign exchange earnings, a reduction in wage costs resulting from devaluation and inflation, and a more supportive policy environment.

Cane cutters were openly recruited from distant districts, especially Njombe and Iringa Rural, with government support. Weeders were also recruited during the 1991/92 season from Handeni, for example. Management reported a *surplus* of available workers in all categories: i.e. as temporary cane cutters (mostly male migrant workers) and casual weeders (women and men). Management and workers in the weeding section agreed that the main explanations for the availability of casual workers was economic hardship and short-term drought during that season (Mbilinyi 1995b). For the first time, a sizable

number of women farmers who lived in neighbouring villages were seeking work on a casual daily basis, so as to earn cash with which to purchase basic foodstuffs.²² The company also provided incentive goods such as sugar, and sometimes maize, for those who maintained regular attendance and fulfilled their work tasks.

In 1997, the following changes were reported by management and middle-level staff: (1) long-distant labour recruitment of migrant workers was no longer necessary and had been stopped during the last season; radio was used to publicise employment opportunities instead, thus cutting down recruitment costs considerably; (2) migrant workers were coming from more regions and districts than before, including Kigoma, and some cutters were employed locally; (3) some cutters were now hired on more permanent terms, and worked as weeders or in other tasks during the off-cutting season (i.e. January/February-May); (4) so many women villagers sought work as weeders or in other sections, that many were turned away because of a surplus of labour supply. According to management, *the over-supply of local workers was due to the rising cost of living and falling incomes*, making it necessary for smallscale farmers to seek casual work on the plantation. This was confirmed by workers' views, presented below.

Employment Status

The present staffing position of men and women is shown in Table 8. These figures mostly refer to full-time staff, however, and exclude the many women and men who were employed on a casual basis, especially in field work. For example, the staff situation on 30.9.96 was reported as 2252 full-time workers (1061 labourers) and 1100 seasonal workers (cane cutters).

The majority of both women and men were employed at the lower technical/manual levels in the job hierarchy, but a gender imbalance existed, in that men had a greater opportunity to enter decision-making positions as management: 10% of all male employees were employed in management, compared to less than 1% of all female employees. The largest portion of female employees were found in the office (48%), field (28%) and security (15%); whereas male employees were found in the field (51%), factory (21%) and office (16%). The female ratios in each department were as follows: office (38%), security (30%), hospital (25%), field (10%) and factory (2%). Again, these figures distort the situation, because most male field workers were employed on more regular temporary terms as cane cutters, whereas many female field workers were employed on a casual basis as weeders, and did not get recorded.

One of the major recommendations of the 1992 study (Mbilinyi 1995b) was to increase the number of women employed in supervisory positions as overseer, foremen, senior headmen or headmen *in the field*, so as to promote gender equity in access to decision-making positions, and reduce the level of sexual harassment emanating from men in these positions. Not one woman had been employed on a regular basis in any of

²² A similar change was noted by workers who talked to Lazaro (1996), that before the 1980s, local women did not go to work on the sugar and sisal plantations.

these positions by 1997, but five “trainee” women headmen were reported. However, field workers and MWEMA leaders reported that sexual harassment had decreased.

In 1992/93, the majority of male workers (92%) on sisal and sugarcane plantations were employed on permanent terms, which must include seasonal cane cutters as well, whereas only 56% of women workers were so employed. The other 44% were casual workers (author’s calculations, based on Lazaro 1996:73), who lack the benefit of maternity leave, and the many other incentives provided to permanent employees. Some 68% of the casual workers in her survey were women. Women were also allocated unskilled, low paying kinds of jobs. Some 82% of women worked as weeders and other jobs in field upkeep, and only 18% in “production” activities, whereas 54% of the men worked in production, and only 46% in field upkeep. Field upkeep work was categorised as unskilled by the companies, and paid less, whereas production work included harvesting, factory work and support staff, and paid more in terms of basic pay and incentives (ibid:74-75).

Male bias was found in another analysis, according to pay scales: weeders (who do weeding, fertilizing and planting), attendants (clerical, artisans and security guards) and harvesters. Men were significantly over-represented in the harvester (100% men) and attendant (78%) positions, which paid more (ibid:113). Two-thirds of women workers were categorised as weeders, compared to only 42% of the men (author’s calculations from ibid:T.7.2).

Reasons for Seeking Plantation Work

Discussions with field workers in 1997 confirmed the fact *that the rising cost of living, ever lower farm incomes, and short-term drought, were the main reasons for seeking employment* on the plantation (focus group discussions 29.5.97). Similar reasons were given in 1992 by both women and men at Mtibwa, Kilombero and TPC. This suggests the falling viability of smallscale farming, forcing a growing number of women as well as men to seek wage employment off the farm.

Satisfaction with Working Conditions

People were not at all satisfied with work conditions. They reported that their tasks were too heavy, they lacked transport from the camp to the field, and felt that their health and safety were endangered because of over-work, heavy workload while pregnant, and the lack of safety precautions and protective clothing to guard against fertilizers and other agrochemicals. All of these concerns had been raised in the 1992 study, and *relevant recommendations* forwarded to management of MSE at a briefing meeting in 1992, and again at the tripartite joint meeting held at SUDECO in 1992, as well as to trade union leaders at MSE and national headquarters. Why the union has failed to secure improved conditions for its workers needs further scrutiny.

Guards and hospital workers were relatively more satisfied with working conditions than the field workers in 1997 (same as 1992). However, the guards were concerned about doing night shift while pregnant, and believed that they should not be

forced to do double shifts, especially when this meant working from the afternoon through the night. In addition to the burden of household responsibilities, they were likely to meet the wrath of jealous husbands!

Wages

Wage-levels in 1997 were considered to be too low by all categories of workers, including hospital workers and guards as well as field workers, barely covering one-eighth to one-fourth of their needs (focus group discussions). Wage increases in 1996 had not kept up with the rising cost of living.

Nevertheless, women continued to seek employment on the plantation, because they lacked better alternatives. Smallholder farming no longer provided enough income. There was a seasonality factor as well. Weeding took place during the “hunger” season, when people’s food stores had been depleted. They would work to earn enough money to buy a *debe* container of maize. There was hardly any other comparable waged work, with the exception of casual work on outgrowers farms. Outgrowers actually paid higher wages, but did not provide health benefits and employment was less secure. MSE workers employed on casual terms had full access to the company hospital, along with their children (but had to pay cost-sharing charges for adult members of their families). Workers’ comparisons of conditions in 1997, compared to the recent past, will be analysed in Chapter 5.

As noted above, employees were paid very different wages, according to their status in the job hierarchy, in 1997 as in 1992 (Mbilinyi 1995b: 67). Non-field workers employed on regular terms received a wage which was above the government minimum wage of Tshs 30,000/ -- namely Tshs 32,790/ per month, whereas field workers were paid on a daily basis (Tshs 1040/50 per day) or hourly basis, if permanently employed (Tshs 138/). Casual workers were paid on a piece-rate basis, according to fulfillment of task. Weeders criticised the way that tasks were allocated -- too much work for one day’s work -- and felt that it was unfair for them *not* to be paid if they failed to complete a task after a full day’s work. In reality, they often spent a day and a half to complete one task (focus group discussion, and see Mbilinyi 1995b on the same issue).

In addition to set wages, however, bonuses and other incentives were provided to all workers so as to encourage regular attendance and high performance. There were major disparities in incentive schemes according to position in the job hierarchy. Management received large family homes and vehicles for personal use, whereas field workers shared one-room housing, and used communal bathing and toilet facilities. Women hospital workers were especially bitter about their wage levels, compared to other women in the administrative department. They considered themselves grossly undervalued, in terms of responsibility, skills, work input and education credentials. In their own words, “Office workers are hired, fresh, sent on a three month short course, come back and get big salaries. We study nursing for three or four years, have worked for ten years or more, and end up with nothing” (focus group discussion, 27.5.97).

Differentials also existed between different kinds of field workers, which had a gender dimension. Cane cutters -- all men -- received favourable treatment, compared to weeders, a large number of whom were women. For example, cutters received a weekly attendance bonus of Tshs 600/, weeders Tshs 400/ per week; cutters received a completion task bonus of Tshs 165/ per day, weeders Tshs 65/ per day. Many other bonuses were only given to cutters, including a daily canteen subsidy, Saturday premium, and an extra completion bonus (“Marekebisho ya Vivutio- Msimu 1995/96” - MSE).

The situation at MSE was volatile, as events in 1996 showed, when cutters took strike action, and later rioted in protest over the failure of management to backdate their wage increase to the beginning of the season in July, instead of November when the pay raise was announced. Management agreed to backdate to September after negotiation, when the cutting season actually began. The cutters have negotiating strength vis-a-vis the company, which weeders lack. The company cannot afford to lose even one day’s work of the cutters, because of the nature of the product and the labour process. Moreover, cutters consist of more than a thousand young, strong men, who have developed the organising and negotiating skills necessary to defend their interests.

What about *supplementary incomes from other income-generating activities*? Full-time workers in the security and hospital departments said that they lacked enough free time to carry out trade. Many farmed paddy as a food and cash crop, often by opening up new forest land, and relied at least partially on hired labour, but only the top level management and professionals could afford to become sugar outgrowers. Field workers had less access to land and the cash needed to hire others, and whatever farming they did was on marginal company land, and directed towards meeting household food consumption needs. Lazaro (1996) had similar findings in 1992/93. In fact, unmarried women workers resembled unmarried men workers, in that very few engaged in any form of farming. In contrast, married men relied on their wives to take the lead in farming.

In 1997, many of the *wives* of male workers who lived in the company camps were active in beerbrewing/trade, or in running mama ntilie restaurant-kiosks. We held informal talks with 20 beer brewers at Starehe Social Club one evening (27.5.97). They rented space from the social welfare department of the company (at Tshs 1000/ per month), processed the beer in the back of the beerhall, using equipment which they owned or rented, and sold it to workers and their wives and other relatives at the club premises. The brewers took turns selling, so as to reduce the competition any one evening. They worked from 4 pm in the afternoon until 10 pm at night. Many had to rush home to prepare dinner for their families, with the support of other women who took care of their business during their absence.

The brewers broke down their usual costs and returns as follows. One *pipa* of beer earned, on the average, about Tshs 10,000/, assuming it was processed well and they got enough buyers. The costs involved totalled Tshs 8650/ : 6000/ for two debes of maize, 2000/ for firewood, 500/ for ulezi, and 150/ disco charges for the music at the hall. Their average net returns were Tshs 500/, but this assumed that all consumers paid cash

down. Many purchased on credit terms, which they had to accept because of competition from other brewers. Their incomes were low and seasonal. The best period was during the cutting season, when the male cutters relied on the social club for evening meals as well as alcohol. The women supplemented their beer earnings by farming - "We farm. How could we survive without farming!" said one..

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Workers and Neighbouring Villagers

All of the 49 women workers who participated in the focus group discussions in 1997 had been employed at MSE for at least 5 years, in all three departments (16 security guards, 8 hospital, 25 field), and 31 (or 63%) had worked there for 10 years or more. Most of them were married in official or common law marriages (59%), but the other 41% were single, divorced or widowed - representing a higher unmarried figure than that of the general population (Ch.5). The youngest age group was found among the security guards, 63% of whom were aged 20-29 years, and the rest were 30-39 years. Most of the nurses (75%) were 30-39 years, and the rest were 40-49 years. A wider range of ages was found among field workers, but contrary to expectation, the majority were 30 years and older, and only one was 20-29 years. Some 84% of the 19 field workers who reportedly knew their ages were 30-49 years, and two were over 50 years. This contrasts with the situation found on tea plantations in Rungwe in 1989, where young women in their teens and twenties predominated among female tea pluckers (Mbilinyi 1989b).

Similar age and marriage patterns had been found in 1992 (Mbilinyi 1995b). Non-field workers were younger than field workers, who tended to be 40 years and older. These were not young, unmarried daughters living at home, looking for some cash before going off to get married and set up their own households -- typical of many tea pluckers on tea plantations in Rungwe in 1989 -- but rather a stabilised workforce. The rate of marriage was also much lower than national average (Ch. 5). Some 52% of the field workers we interviewed were married, but only 13% of those interviewed by MWEMA leaders - a large difference which was never fully explained (ibid:T. 3.5, 3.6).²³ Some 63% of the non-field workers were also married. The majority of nonmarried workers, in field and nonfield employment, were single unmarried women (58% of the MWEMA fieldworkers sample!).

Women in different occupations also had different levels of education, in 1997 as in 1992. Guards and hospital workers had more education than most of the field workers in 1997. All of the guards were St 7 primary school leavers; 6 of the 8 hospital workers were St.7 primary school leavers, one was a Form 4 leaver, and one had completed lower primary school. Hospital workers had also had exposure to professional medical training, some for two years or more. In contrast, 16 field workers (64%) had had no formal schooling, 6 (24%) had completed lower primary school and only 3 (12%) had completed

²³ The same difference was found at Kilombero and TPC. The only consistent pattern found was that the field workers in the MWEMA samples at Kilombero and TPC were much younger than those interviewed by the researchers, which would explain the high number of unmarried women. Another explanation may be that the researchers defined "marriage" more widely, to include common law arrangements, than others. This was found during the 1997 study to be true.

St.7/8. The situation was similar in 1992: 48% and 66% of the field-workers in the researchers' and MWEMA samples had had no formal schooling, and only 22% and 17% respectively had completed primary school; whereas all nonfield workers had had some formal schooling (58% St. 7/8, 37% Form 4, only 5% did not complete primary school (ibid:T.3.3, 3.4).).

In Lazaro's sample (1996:61) in 1992/93 on the four plantations (two sisal, two sugar cane), men predictably had higher levels of education than women: 49% had completed St.7, compared to 43% of the women; and only 6% had had no formal schooling, compared to 35% of the women (recalculations of T.5.3). Of more interest was her comparison of women employees and nonemployees (i.e. 'workers' wives'). Women workers were more educated, and exhibited education patterns more similar to those of men: 52% had completed St.7 or higher education, 36% had St.1-6, and only 12% had had no formal schooling, compared to 43%, 19% and 38% respectively of the nonemployee women (ibid:T.6.5). Access to education would appear to increase the likelihood that a woman would seek, and/or obtain, plantation employment.

How do these characteristics compare with the women we talked to at Mbogo and Lusanga Villages, situated a few kilometres away? Age-wise, they were roughly similar. Mbogo women were fairly evenly spread between 20-49 years, with only one out of the 13 aged 50-59 years. Twelve of the 13 women in Lusanga were aged 30-49 years, and the other woman was aged 50-59. However, more women villagers were married (77%). Lusanga villagers had had more access to education than their Mbogo neighbours, and *more than the women field workers*. However, in both places, men had had more access to education than women. In Lusanga, 65% of the men and 38% of the women had completed St.7/8, and another 31% of the women had had some lower primary education. Only two men and two women (1% and 15% respectively) had had no formal schooling, and five men and one woman had had some form of adult education (22% and 1% respectively). In Mbogo, 13% and 50% respectively of the men and women had had no schooling; 71% and 50% respectively had completed St.7/8; and 13% of the men had had some lower primary schooling. These findings suggest that women field workers were drawn from the most impoverished, least educated segments of rural society.

Lusanga villagers were also of mixed origin, with around half of the men and women coming from outside of Morogoro Rural District, whereas all of the Mbogo villagers came from within the district, with the exception of one man, and most had been born in and around the village. Regardless of origin, most villagers were long time residents. All of the Mbogo villagers had been residing in Mbogo for 10 years or more; and the same was true of most men and women in Lusanga ((75% and 83% respectively). Most of the other men and women had lived in the village for from 5-9 years.

What were the main economic activities of women and men villagers? Most people farmed paddy and maize, whose cash returns were mainly controlled by men. Women earned extra cash incomes from homebrew beer, and manufacture and sale of

doughnuts (*maandazi*) and other foodstuffs which were sold at kiosks. Both men and women had also worked off and on at MSE.

This chapter has documented the existence of a male bias in employment at the national level in rural areas, and also within the plantation sector, specifically. The increased proportion of women who engage in nonfarm activities has been noted, which is associated, by the workers themselves with the rising cost of living and falling farm incomes. Fewer women work as unpaid family labour in rural households, however, which may reflect female resistance, as well as household impoverishment and the resulting need for female cash incomes.

The next chapter examines the extent to which rural households are headed by women, and explores recent indicators of household well-being. Comparisons of changes in livelihood and well-being during the last one to five years (1992-1997) and the previous 1987-1992 period are also presented, to provide a subjective assessment of the impact of economic reforms on working women and men.

5

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES AND QUALITY OF LIFE

This chapter will focus on gender patterns in domestic structures of household and marriage, indicators of quality of life at household level, and people's perceptions of changes in their wellbeing during the 1987-1997 period.

CHANGES IN STRUCTURES OF HOUSEHOLD AND DOMESTICITY

The structure of the household is a major determinant of the kind of resources available to women, because most of the resources they depend upon in farming and nonfarm activities are drawn from the household, including labour in particular, but also land, livestock, water, firewood, and money. The organisation of the labour process in farm and nonfarm activities affects and is affected by changes in the structure of the household and marriage.

A growing number of women and men are not married, and are living their lives in some other form of relationship to kin and non-kin, as shown in official statistics, recent research and our brief field study in Mtibwa. The population census data for 1978 and 1988 provides a basis of comparison (Table 9). On the mainland, the percentage of the population 10 years and over who were not married (combining single, divorced/separated and widowed) increased for men from 50% to 55% and for women from 43% to 48% during the same period, in each case a 5% increase. More people in Zanzibar were married, but the patterns were different. In 1988, more men were single (never married), compared to women, whereas more women were divorced and widowed on the mainland and Zanzibar, as well as being married.

The overall trend of declining rates of marriage is a long-term phenomenon that began by the 1970s (ILO/JASPA 1986). The 1973 demographic survey found that women were marrying at later ages than before, a trend which one would expect during the 1970s and 1980s as a result of increased school enrolment among girls, and their increased economic activity (BOS/BRALUP 1975 vol I:T.27). Women and Men (1995:8) indeed found that the "singulate mean age at marriage" i.e. the mean age of first marriage, had risen, from 18 and 24 years for women and men respectively in 1967 to 21 and 26 years in 1988. Patterns were similar on the mainland and Zanzibar.

Another indicator of demographic change is *the growth in the number of female-headed households*. Some 30% of all Tanzanian households were headed by women, according to the 1988 population census, with slightly more in Zanzibar (33%) compared to the mainland (30% - Women and Men 1995:14). The proportion is nearly the same in

rural and urban areas in the mainland (29.5% and 31.6% respectively), and there are more households headed by women in rural compared to urban Zanzibar (33.1% and 31.6% respectively - *ibid*:19). Analysis of the different situations of women and men household heads will be presented in later chapters. It is important to point out here, however, that women household heads, in general, have access to fewer resources than men (land, labour, farm inputs, credit), which has a negative impact on the sustainability of household economic activities and overall household incomes.

Table 10 examines the marital status of male and female household heads, based on calculations using 1988 census data for rural mainland and Zanzibar. This helps to correct for the distortion arising from the other data, which includes age groups 10 years and up. The majority of male heads are married (89% and 87% on the mainland and Zanzibar), far more than female heads (58% and 50%), but then, one might have expected none of the women heads to be married. Married women are likely to be heading a household whose principal male is absent, having migrated to live elsewhere, and only present periodically, if at all. As women said in Lusanga Village (1997), “The man comes home to plant another baby and off he goes.” Dissatisfaction with the heavy burdens that women carried because of male absence was emphasised by many village women in Mbeya, Kondoa and Songea during recent education field work by TGNP (see IGN Reports, especially that of Chale and Mukangara (1997). This illustrates the negative impact of male out-migration in search of employment in other rural areas or in town.

Far more women than men heads are widowed and divorced in both locations (mainland and Zanzibar), but fewer women than men are single in Zanzibar, compared to near parity on the mainland. This data confirms qualitative research findings which quote widowed and divorced women as saying that they choose not to remarry: “Why add another child to the household?” “I don’t want another burden/mzigo” or as one Mtibwa field worker said in 1997, “Who in their right mind would accept problems?” [“Nani atakubali matatizo?”]²⁴ These views partly reflected the impact of falling male incomes and growing un- and underemployment on gender relations at household level, at a time when cash requirements were steadily increasing. The decline in male incomes was due to falling returns for export and other cash crops (Ch.6) along with the decline in formal employment, and the growing scarcity of fertile land and water supplies in many areas.

Other studies have found a smaller portion of female headed households, which may be due to different definitions of “household head”, as well as different populations under study. For example, the recent 1994 Indicator Monitory Survey (hereafter IMS) in both rural and urban areas came out with a figure of 20% (BOS 1996:36). Some 67% of the households in IMS were rural, 5% Dar es Salaam and the remainder in other urban places. The National Sample Census of Agriculture (hereafter NSCA) is another valuable source of information, as it focuses on farm households in rural areas. In 1994/95, some 17% of the farm households on the mainland were headed by women (MOA/BOS vol 1 1996:9). NSCA data has shown similar though fluctuating trends during the 1986-1995

²⁴ See Mbilinyi 1991, Mbilinyi/Semakafu 1995, Chale & Mukangara 1997, Lazaro 1995, and confirmed by several women villagers in the Mtibwa 1997 field work.

period: 15.2% in 1986/87, 14.6% in 1989/90, to 17.5% in 1990/91 on the mainland (cited in Koda 1994b:T.4.1). In Zanzibar, the percentage female heads rose from 27.8% in 1980 and 1985, to 29.8% in 1993, thus similar to census findings.

Recent research, including the 1997 Mtibwa study, have found that many young men and women were *choosing* not to marry (Mbilinyi 1995b, n.24 above). Young men explained that they lacked the resources necessary, such as land, a house and enough cash income. Rural unemployment and general economic decline were considered to be major obstacles. In Lusanga Village, people said that young men were in a rush to earn money, and forgot other priorities such as marriage and farming. Mbogo villagers attributed the delayed marriage patterns to the land crisis: “Without land, how can our young men marry?” Young women had regular sexual partners and bore children, but increasingly chose not to marry, because they feared the *costs of having a husband!* Even parents encouraged their daughters not to marry, according to some Mtibwa workers, because of the problems which married women faced.

The extent to which female household heads were disadvantaged in terms of access to basic resources, including land and labour, is documented in Chapter 7. Another implication of the trends noted above is the risk of HIV/AIDS infection associated with less stable sexual relations, whether married or not. Women workers and farmers both expressed a high level of anxiety about their risk of getting infected by their male partners, including husbands. The major problem was male promiscuity and unwillingness to use a condom at home. Some men protected themselves with condoms when having sex with girlfriends and mistresses, but they all refused to use them with their spouses. Women who broached the subject to husbands or boyfriends were accused of being unfaithful! Men did not perceive safe sex practices as necessary to protect ‘the other’ from one’s self, but rather as a means of self-protection.

Women field workers pointed out that most people were fatalistic about HIV/AIDS because there was no cure. They labelled it “ajali kazini”, one of the accident risks that came with “work”, and blamed infection on men, whom they called “murderers”. The level of risk is very high on plantations, where a large number of married and unmarried women and men live in crowded quarters, including “bachelor” male migrant workers, far from their homes and communities.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Households headed by women were on the average smaller than those headed by men, according to the 1988 population census (Women and Men 1995:15): 4.6 persons per household for female heads and 5.5 for male heads nationwide, with smaller household sizes in Zanzibar: 4.3 and 4.8 for female and male heads, compared to 4.6 and 5.5 respectively for the mainland. Rural households on the mainland were larger than those in urban areas, especially for female heads -- 4.3 U, 5.6 R, compared to male heads, with 5.6 U, 5.7 R. Opposite trends were found in Zanzibar (ibid:Table 1.9). Female

heads also had fewer members of the household who were economically active and hence in a position to help them economically, as will be shown below.

QUALITY OF LIFE

The recent findings of the 1994 IMS will be relied upon to explore the conditions within which most women and men lived at household level in this section. They illustrate the variety of tradable goods and services needed to sustain a rural household, and provide some indication of the cash incomes required. As noted earlier, two-thirds of the households surveyed were in rural areas. The primary activity of most household heads was farm work (69%), while others were in wage employment (13%), nonfarm self-employment (9%), livestock-keeping (1%), fishing (1%), schooling (>1%), housekeeping eg fetching water, firewood, construction for use (2%), no work (1%) and aged/sick (1%) (BOS 1996:36). Household sizes were comparable to census population at 5.4-5.6.

Some 81% of the farm households grew their own food and/or cash crops, and only 43% reported that they sold some portion of their crops (ibid:5). The average household income realised from crop sales in 1993 was *Tshs* 30,802/ for the year, while the cost for agrochemicals and improved seeds for those 36% households who purchased them averaged around 2,384/ per year. The low figures mask the probable inequalities in farm investments and proceeds among large and small farmers. Costs of hired labour were the highest production cost, averaging 8,795/ per household in the 37% households who reported hiring labour. Farm equipment cost 3,475/ on the average, and was reported by 34% households.

Some 40% of the livestock-keeping households reported sales, and 81% reported receiving similar or better prices in 1994, compared to 1992. The average value realised from livestock sales was 36,225/ in 1993, while average costs were 12,690/, leaving hardly any net returns for producers.

Household food security is a significant indicator of household wellbeing. Some 17% of the households reported to have no or very little food at least part of the year, with an average of 1.2 weeks of starvation. The majority went into debt to secure cash or foodstuffs, primarily from relatives and neighbours. In the case of non-kin, they often repaid the 'loan' of food by working on the farms of the creditor.

This figure may well be an underestimate. The recent Gender Country Profile by SARDC (Mukangara & Koda 1997:21-22, drawing on Koda 1994ab) reported that 6.6 million Tanzanians experienced chronic food insecurity. Food insecurity was reportedly increasing as a result of changes associated with Structural Adjustment, with emphasis on growing cash needs, and increased competition over land, labour, credit and farm inputs between food production and other economic activities. Household food insecurity was also attributed to the gender division of labour, such that women's work day [week, year]

was overloaded, with increasing labour demands in both 'production' and 'reproduction' i.e. in market and non-market activities. Moreover, women's lesser power of decision-making concerning farm production and the management of household resources blocked increased output and productivity, and meant that wives and children could be dispossessed of their food requirements by male household heads.²⁵

The failure of development agencies (of the government, donors and NGOs) and the private sector to invest in improved technology for subsistence agriculture, food processing, food storage and food transport in smallholder farming is another cause, along with the perpetuation of backward technology in the form of *women's headloads* -- an attribute of 18th and 19th century slave portage (Bryceson and Howe 1993, Mascarenhas 1994)! Similar failure to improve the technology used in other essential household tasks/needs such as cooking, lighting, heating, water storage have had a negative impact on all household members, but women and girls in particular, since they provide the bulk of the labour (Bryceson 1993, Chapter 8 below).

Most people lived in very basic housing, with an earthen floor (72%), grass or bamboo roof (47%) or corrugated iron sheets (43%), and depended on charcoal or firewood for cooking (89%), and kerosene or paraffin for lighting (87%). Very few had access to electricity or bottled gas, or to private wells (1%) or piped water (9%) in their house or compound. The majority fetched water from community pipes (25%) or from rivers, dams and lakes (22%). Some people (19%) -- namely women and girls -- walked more than two kilometers during the dry season to fetch one pail of water from the source and carry it home. Nearly all households (91%) used pit latrines (IMS:33).

Rising school costs due to cost-recovery policies of government and the donors had increased the cost of living for households with school-aged children, and their extended families. Declining enrolment and completion rates in primary were attributed to the rising costs of schooling, and the rising opportunity costs of withdrawing children from the household labour force by many persons consulted in this study. What are average school costs? According to IMS data (ibid:13), school fees per child cost 3589/, stationary/equipment 2665/, uniforms 2884/, voluntary contributions 648/, meals 492/ and bus fare (mainly in town) 2884/ , totalling 13,162/ per child, or 10,278/ without the bus fare. The majority of children whose costs were reported here were enrolled at primary school level. Mtibwa workers reported in 1997 that average fees for primary school was Tshs 2000/ per child, plus contributions, along with other costs such as uniforms and notebooks.

Access to health services is another indicator of household well-being. Only 62% of all children under 5 years of age were born in a health facility, although 95% of their mothers had had at least one prenatal visit (p. 14). What about everyday health expenditures? During the last 14 days preceding the survey, people reported average

²⁵ See Mbughuni 1994 for a succinct analysis of the patriarchal division of labour as a major cause of poverty; see TGNP 1994 for the links between patriarchal division of labour at household and community level and SAP.

expenses of 2097/ per sick person for the two week period, which gives an annual bill of 54,500/ per person. Compare this to the average crop earnings of 30,800/, or livestock sales of 36,225/!

COMPARATIVE WELLBEING

The legitimacy of economic reform depends on the degree to which it will deliver its promises of improved wellbeing, higher incomes, reduced poverty, and greater access to basic social services for the majority of rural and urban people. Real rural incomes experienced a drastic decline in the late 1970s and early '80s, dropping to 62% of base line 1969 incomes in 1979/80 and 55% in 1982/83. This decline was all the more painful given the rise in real incomes during most of the 1970s (133% and 136% in 1974/75 and 1976/77 respectively), in conjunction with development policies associated with *Arusha* (Msambichaka and Naho 1975:57).

Comparable data on real levels of rural incomes for the late 1980s and 1990s was not available. Analysis of declining returns for labour on cash crops in Ch.6 is one indicator. Another is the prevalence of poverty in the rural areas. IFAD estimated that 60% of the rural population lived below the poverty line and 10% were hard core poor in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Bevan et al 1988, cited in *ibid*:58). The 1991 Cornell/ERB study found that more than 50% of the population or 44% of households lived in poverty, and that absolute poverty was much greater in rural areas (Tinios et al 1993 cited by *ibid*:58, see also Sarris and van den Brink 1993). Average rural per capita income was 63% of urban income, and 44% of the average in Dar es Salaam. Moreover, income gaps were larger in rural compared to urban areas, and had doubled between 1969 and 1991, as indicated by data on per capita rural expenditures (Msambichaka and Naho 1995:58).

Poverty has a qualitative, subjective dimension, which cannot be pinned down by economic measures (Mbughuni 1994). In a 1996/1997 survey of social service delivery among 2600 rural households in different areas of the country, some 37% people reported that their lives had deteriorated during the last few years, and only 21% that life had improved.²⁶ The decline in living standards was most often reported by poor household heads, many of whom were women (Cooksey 1997). Most people thought only a few people had benefited from the reforms. Some 75% complained about the high cost of health services, about the costs of schooling which averaged a total of 12,000/ (very similar to the HSI figure) and about the unavailability of water (58%). Social services not only cost more, but the quality of delivery had declined, which was a disincentive for people to pay more!

When asked to assess their welfare in 1992, compared to 1987 (five years before), the majority of plantation workers at Mtibwa Sugar Estates, Kilombero Sugar Company

²⁶ sponsored by the Prime Minister's Office and conducted by Prof. Max Mmuya, to be published by TADREG, cited by Cooksey 1977.

and TPC said that conditions had greatly worsened. In their own words (author's translations, Mbilinyi 1995b: 133-135):

Prices are increasing, the salaries are still too low. They are really killing us. I can't afford cooking oil. We just boil the food. We have fish twice a month, on pay day. That's wehn we buy soap and maize (for ugali). There's no money left over to pay the development tax, or to buy myself any clothing. I pay people to produce charcoal, which I sell as supplementary income, but I can't afford to use it myself -- it's too expensive. We use firewood instead. I get free medical services but have to pay for my children. It's Tshs 150/ for the medical card, a bed is Tshs 1000/ if they are relly sick, and the daily out-patient charge is Tshs 300/. People try to leave without paying - we can't afford it (woman weeder, 26, Kilombero Sugar Company - hereafter KSC).

Look at the price of things! One piece of khanga costs Tshs 750/. A cloth to sew a dress costs Tshs 5000/, and we get maybe Tshs 2000/ at the end of the month, or less after deductions (woman weeder, 31, KSC)

Tshs 4000/ is not enough. You pay Tshs 700/ for the rent of one room for you and your children. You have to pay for school fees and uniforms. Even when you and your wife are working and each contributes something, there is not enough (man weeder, 30, KSC).

Food is expensive. These days, food is expensive and clothing is cheap. A sack of paddy costs Tshs 6500/. Even if you reduce your consumption to the minimum, life is hard in the village (man weeder, 42, KSC).

The prices of things have risen very fast (woman weeder, 20, MSE)

Money has dropped in value -- our incomes are small (woman weeder, 35, TPC, lower Moshi)

Life is getting harder every year. The cost of living goes up, the value of money drops (woman clerk, 23, TPC)

Prices of food like maize have risen. Meat is out of reach, our incomes are too low. In 1986/87, prices were low. Even Tshs 3000/ was enough to live on. Nowadays, a khanga from Kenya costs Tshs 2800/ - your pay is finished! I don't know where we are headed (woman irrigation worker, 40, TPC).

Low wages, many things you need. You cannot afford anything important, all the money goes to food (woman weeder, 27, TPC)

Your child passes into secondary school, but you can't afford the school fees (man irrigation worker, 48, TPC)

In spite of their hardship, several MSE workers in 1992 felt that they were better off now than in the late 1980s, because of their employed status. Wage employment, even on a casual basis, was preferable to full-time farming, because at least “they were sure of *some* income, whereas farmers had nothing” (ibid:135).

When asked a similar question in 1997 -- “how is life today compared to one year ago? five years ago?” - Mtibwa workers once again stressed “hard times” “*maisha magumu sana*” in all three departments (security guards, hospital and field). The rising cost of living was emphasised, with examples given for food, primary school costs, and the costs of items like cooking oil. Agreed that there were more goods in the shops - a positive result of liberalisation - they questioned, “what’s the good of it, when we cannot afford to buy them?” The negative impact of inflation was also noted: “*Leo pesa hama. Motisha hana.*” and were also critical of recent tax hikes.

Villagers in Mbogo and Lusanga shared similar views with the workers, but emphasised the rising production costs of farming. When asked to compare 1997 to 1992, one young woman in *Mbogo* said, “There’s no income from farming. I cannot afford to farm many acres, but one acre is not enough.” A male villager supported her views, “In the past our incomes were better. Now things are available but we are not satisfied, because of our low incomes. Life is especially difficult for the women who depend on us men.”

One of the causes of poverty were the inroads on village land by the sugar company, and later by sugar outgrowers. “I was born in 1925,” an elderly man said, “and arrived here when I was 16 years old. We used to get big yields of maize. When they came and opened up the factory, conditions both worsened and got better. We got money for our land, but ended up hungry. Company bosses rule us and benefit from our land. We have nowhere left to farm.” A woman explained why some sold their land. “I have got forest land, but I lack the means to farm it, and then the rains fail. That’s why some of us sell the land, at least we can eat with the money.”

In *Lusanga Village*, the following views were expressed during our morning session with local leaders:

Commodities are available, but life is hard, there is no money. What you sell does not match with what you buy. Crop prices are too low, and the prices of what we buy too high (man)

Yes, yes - sana sana - we farmers are being hung by the neck! We sell at low prices, compared to farm input prices which are high, pesa ngumu sana - money is hard (woman 1)

Sawa kabisa - absolutely - you try to do some business. The money you get is so little, it’s not enough for your consumption needs (woman 2)

Right now women carry a heavy load. First of all, there's divorce. Men run away when they see how costly a family is... (Village Chair)

Later on, in an informal gathering before the separate sessions were held for men and women at the Lusanga seminar, a man pointed out that “Women’s involvement in trade has resulted from hard times. In the past there were no women at the market, but now there are many.”

During the separate meeting with men, people emphasised the worsening terms of trade for farmers.

Crop prices are too low, goods in the shop are too high. A farmer can't meet his needs.

Conditions look good, but we don't have the resources. Our hands cannot support us, and provide all our needs “Mikono haiwezi kustahimili kuwezesha mahitaji yote ya binadamu”

This language is tough. We are mixing up life and politics. A Lusanga resident doesn't know evening or morning time what he'll eat? Baba drinks tea at the restaurant, mama takes porridge with the children. Conditions are very difficult. People live by faith alone. Things are there but who has the means to buy them? Life is not good. We just try our luck.

Malnutrition is increasing. Among every 10 children, only one is fully fed. (village health worker)

Women in Lusanga emphasised the worsening terms of trade in farming:

The market for paddy is down, the prices are bad. Things are available, but there's no money. You farm and harvest but the prices are too small. Life is very hard just now.

We farmers use the hand hoe, and cannot produce much. There is no future in hand hoe farming, it's mere subsistence [Mazao ya kilimo cha jembe la mkono hayana maeendeleo makubwa bali ni kilimo cha kujikidhi tu, siyo kujikwamua au kujinasua kimaisha]

Women agriculture extension officers are around, they have the expertise, but the prices of farm inputs are too high. Fertilizer prices, namely of urea, are higher for us villagers than at the factory (MSE). Urea which is bought on credit is more expensive, because it's a business-venture. MSE sells fertilizer at a lower price because they are the major buyers of the sugar cane (from outgrowers). The

private trader who sells fertilizer ups the price on the excuse that this is a free market, after liberalisation.

There are no textbooks in the school, because the prices are so high. Life is difficult for everybody - parents, students and teachers - different from the past (school-teacher in Lusanga).

Wages for casual workers? Tshs 500/ for harvesting one debe of maize, or one debe of paddy. This is too little - your objective is to get some money for food (mlo wa familia).

Lazaro (1996) reported similar findings in her plantation study in 1992/93, from a longer time perspective. Workers felt they were much better off in the 1950s and 1960s. Deterioration began in the 1970s, in purchasing power, public services and social mobility. At the same time, Lazaro noted signs of relative wellbeing. Some 51% of households had a bicycle, 52% a radio, and 39% some savings. Sugarcane workers were better off than those working on sisal plantations: 70% had bicycles, for example. When invited to list constraints, women and men shared similar priorities, but in reverse order: poor housing and low incomes, with the women emphasising housing and the men income.

Mhina (1996) carried out a similar comparison of the priorities given to productive and reproductive needs by men and women villagers in Itumba Ward, Ileje. Although both men and women expressed concern about inadequate use of farm inputs in farming, men gave this more prominence, whereas women emphasised reproductive issues such as the scarcity of piped water, the distance to health services and the shortage of food. Both highlighted their weak purchasing power vis-a-vis farm inputs, and the lack of viable commercial crops. Women also stressed their heavy work loads due to the gender division of labour and the negative impact of custom and traditions, issues to be discussed in Chapter 8.

Changes in the structure of the rural household have been analysed in this chapter, especially the rise of the female-headed household and the obstacles young people face to marry. Household well-being has been shown to be under stress, through basic indicators of household conditions and people's subjective perceptions of worsening conditions during the last ten years. The kinds of issues emphasised -- worsening terms of trade, declining real incomes and real wages, inflationary pressures and rising costs of living -- are the direct result of economic reforms. Both women and men were concerned about changes in crop prices and farm inputs. The next chapter examines trends in agriculture output, input and returns more systematically, using official statistics and micro-level research findings.

6

AGRICULTURE PERFORMANCE:**OUTPUT, INPUTS AND RETURNS**

The majority of rural women depend on agriculture for their livelihood, as full- and part-time farmers and/or as farm workers on plantations, commercial farms and smallholder farms. Many women also depend on agriculture indirectly, as a source of raw material (eg for homebrew beer or manufactured foodstuffs), and a market for their goods (as providers of services to others employed in agriculture). The welfare of the entire household and family depends on the proceeds from export crops and/or cash food crops, and/or livestock. True, access and control of resources and benefits vary depending on gender, age, marital status and relationship to the household head, as will be shown in Chapters 7 and 8. This is the site of growing gender conflict, but also the terrain upon which women have increased their negotiating strength and resulting economic power at household level. Women therefore have a vital stake in monitoring the impact on crop returns of macro-level policies such as market liberalisation, devaluation and reduction of farm support systems provided by the state.

Overall trends in agriculture performance will be analysed first. The different roles which women and men have in the production of different crops is examined in Chapter 8. Suffice to say here that men continued to predominate in *control* of the production of industrial export crops and food crops which were major cash crops, but relied heavily on the labour of their wives and other household members.

THE LONG VIEW: AGRICULTURE OUTPUT TRENDS 1951-1991

According to mainstream discourse, agriculture production went downhill after independence, especially after Arusha Declaration policies of 1967, and has only been rescued by the liberalisation policies of the late '80s and 1990s. Chapter 1 has provided a summary analysis of changes which have occurred in state policy concerning agriculture during the last 50 years. What were crop production trends during the same span of time? Table 11 presents production trends in eight major cash crops, measured in volume tonnage (sisal, cotton lint, hulled coffee, tea, tobacco, pyrethrum flowers, cashew nuts and sugar), indexed to 1976 output figures (BOS 1994a: Table 8.1). They indicate the following:

- crop production increased in all crops *after independence in 1961*, even crops which were heavily dependent on white settler growers in the colonial era who 'fled' Tanzania after independence -- small farmers made up the difference;

colonial outputs were extremely low as percentages of 1976 figures, with the sole exception of sisal, a plantation crop owned primarily by large corporations based in Europe

- output continued to rise during the 1960s and 1970s, with peak levels reached *during the Arusha reform era* in nearly all cases (cotton 1973, coffee 1973, tea 1979, only surpassed in 1990 & 1991, tobacco 1977, cashew 1974, sugar 1978 -- sisal 1964, pyrethrum 1967).
- production began to decline in most cases around 1977/78/79 , with dramatic drops in the early 1980s - the period of forex crisis, when state support systems for agriculture were no longer functioning, and both small and large growers faced shortages of fertilisers, pesticides and other farm inputs
- production during the post-SAP (post-1986) era has been mixed, with increases shown for cotton, coffee, tea; continued low output in cashew pyrethrum, sugar and sisal; and fluctuations in the case of tobacco.

There have been few studies at farm level on the impact of policy reforms, and hardly any which took gender into consideration (Kashuliza and Mbiha 1995). Moreover, most macro-level studies and government proclamations used baseline figures in the early 1980s or the 1978-79 period, *after* output had begun to decline!

Msambichaka and Naho (1995) disaggregated agriculture performance for the following time periods: 1976-80, 1983/84-85/86 (ERP1) and 1986/87-1993/94 (ERP2). The late 70s period is referred to, rather inappropriately, as the “socialist experience” -- inappropriately in that the capacity of the Tanzanian state to sustain its social welfare and farm support system had declined by 1978/79. Nevertheless, the data provides a useful benchmark for comparisons of later periods, with the caveat that production trends for most crops were decidedly upward throughout the ‘70s, and only began to decline during 1978-1980s period (Table 11). The second period refers to the first era of economic reforms which was largely funded by domestic resources, and the post-1986 period to SAP with substantial foreign funding.

Of special interest are food crops like cassava, maize and paddy over which women have had more control than industrial export crops. Maize and paddy outputs began to recover from their late ‘70s low of 4.7% growth rate during the early 1980s period (ERP1) -- growth rates for maize and paddy were 23.4% and 6.3% respectively -- but maize growth rates declined to *below that ‘70s figure* during ERP2 (0.2% - *ibid*:40). Growth rates for paddy also dropped during ERP2 to 1.2%, but this was still an improvement on the - 4.6% decline during the late 1970s. Cassava saw an increase in growth rate from 2.9% during the late ‘70s to 8.3% ERP1, which was sustained at 8.4% during ERP2. The increased output of maize and paddy during the 1980s was not caused by increased productivity, which declined from a growth rate of 11.1% and 17.3% during

the late 70s, to -2.5% and -0.0% during ERP1 for maize and paddy respectively (ibid:41). Cassava, the only exception, showed improved yields from a decline of -1.7% to 7.6% rise for the same time periods.

The authors also queried the extent to which the reforms encouraged farmers to increase land under cultivation of food crops. Comparisons of growth rates of land under cultivation of the three food crops during ERP1 and ERP2 found different trends: declines for maize and cassava and increase for paddy (ibid 43).

What about *export crops*, the main priority during both ERP periods? The authors focused on cotton, which is *the* classic smallholder export crop. They found a *decline* in the growth rate in output figures from 10.9% to 2.8% during ERP1 and ERP2 respectively, and a decline in yields. There was a corresponding decline in growth rates of area under cotton cultivation and of yields. The *export performance* of all the 7 basic crops (coffee, cotton, sisal, tea, tobacco and cashew nuts) was also poor (ibid: 47-49). During the early '80s before ERP1, there was an increase in world prices for coffee, tea and tobacco, at least, but volumes exported declined. During the ERP period, foreign exchange earnings tended to stagnate because of declines in export volume, even when prices increased (sisal), or *declining world prices* which nullified increased exported volumes (coffee, tea, cashew nuts). Cotton and tobacco were the exceptions in recording positive increases of export prices and volumes. Most output was exported, with a steady decline in volumes sold to local industries for cotton, tea and flue tobacco; and upward trends only for sisal and fire tobacco (coffee not shown - ibid 49). This trend reflects the negative impact of the deindustrialisation process under way in the Tanzanian economy.

The drop in world crop prices is a long term trend, as is the worsening terms of trade between traditional export crops and imported manufactured goods and high technology. Policies to increase traditional exports therefore appear highly irrational from the point of view of Tanzanian producers and the Tanzanian government, but not for transnational corporations who profit from ever cheaper raw materials (Coote 1992).

Why was agriculture performance so disappointing, in contrast to the optimistic forecasts of the economic reformers? One of the key explanations, according to Msambichaka and Naho, was the decline in distribution and consumption of farm inputs. The growth rate in tonnage distribution of fertilizers declined from 0.2 % during 1980-86, to -0.5 % during 1987-93, and of improved seeds from -3.3% to -14.9% during the same time periods (ibid:51). The greatest decline in growth rates was found for most crops during the *post-1986* period (ibid:T.2.12). Their explanation for this decline includes *the failure of private companies* to provide fertilizer and improved seeds, as needed, in spite of the opening up of inputs distribution to the market, and the *removal of adequate farm support systems*, especially to smallholder farmers, in the form of *farm input subsidies* which were formerly provided by the government and its parastatals.

A recent study of large commercial farmers in Iringa found *that incomplete reform of marketing institutions* in the export crop sector compounded the problem for farmers

during the late 80s, and contributed to low farmgate producer prices and low returns (Booth 1991). Export marketing boards retained their monopoly position in trade up to 1990; full market liberalisation of export crops was only realised around 1993/94. The *farmgate price received by farmers was much lower than the world producer price*, because of the large share taken by export marketing boards and/or cooperative unions, reportedly for overhead expenditures, transport and the like (see below).²⁷ Smallholders remained dependent on cooperatives as their major marketing outlet, whereas big commercial farmers of oil seeds, spices and pulses were “freed” and able to export directly overseas, but faced major bureaucratic hurdles in order to secure export licences and their forex earnings. Farmers, both big and small, were also hurt by devaluation, which led to a major increase in producer costs for labour, farm inputs and farm equipment. The extremely high interest rates charged for credit and the abolition of soft loans policies in all the major banking institutions also deprived most farmers of access to necessary farm credit.

Although focused on Iringa Region, Booth’s findings have since been confirmed by several recent studies in other locations and by reviews of 1993/94 production and returns for key export crops by the Marketing Development Bureau, to be discussed below. Before doing so, however, it will be useful to examine more recent output figures for six key crops, maize, paddy, tobacco, coffee, tea and sugar cane.

CROP OUTPUT TRENDS IN THE 1990S

Farmers produced less maize, paddy, wheat, sorghum, millets and pulses during the early 1990s, according to 1984/85-1995/96 data provided by the Food Security Department, Ministry of Agriculture, and output only began to increase during 1994/95 and 1995/96 (cited in Mdadila 1996: Table 1,p.3). Different trends were found, however, for different regions and districts, due especially to the higher costs of transport and farm inputs in more distant areas, coupled with lower producer prices. Focusing on maize, there was a declining output with fluctuations during the 1988/89-1991/92 period, but increases in 1994/95 and 1995/96, with different trends for different regions. The reform process stimulated output in northern and western areas (namely Mwanza, Kilimanjaro, Kagera and Kigoma, where production increased) but discouraged producers in the former ‘breadbasket’, the southern regions of Rukwa, Ruvuma, Iringa and Mbeya, where proportionate output declined. The major explanations for declining output in the south were declining producer prices and incomes, transport costs, the removal of

²⁷ According to everyday knowledge, a large percentage of export crop earnings is reportedly embezzled by top management, with the connivance of political and administrative leaders who receive their ‘cut’. For example, Booth 1991:17 and n.14, found that the Tanzania Tobacco Marketing Board was misleading public opinion “by misreporting the prices obtained from foreign buyers and providing politicians with misleading average grower prices” (n.14).

fertilizer subsidies and declining returns to labour, given the rising costs of farm inputs and labour.²⁸

MDB data does not disaggregate for enterprise size, but overall, some 80% of maize was produced by smallholder farmers owning from 0.1-3 hectares of land, and the remaining 20% maize by medium (10-50 has.) and large (over 50 has.) farmers (ibid:4). Most **paddy** was produced by small farmers with an average farm size of 2 has. per household, such as the farmers we talked to in Lusanga and Mbogo (ibid:6). Most of the largescale paddy farms were owned by NAFCO, a parastatal, which will be privatised. Largescale paddy farming was largely based on irrigation and mechanisation, whereas smallholder farmers relied on the hand hoe and rainfall.

Paddy output, like maize, fluctuated between 600,000 and 700,000 tonnes of paddy each year with no major increases following market liberalisation during the period 1984/85-1994/95. The major paddy producing regions were Shinyanga, Mwanza, *Morogoro*, Mbeya and Tabora, which together produced some 70-80% of national paddy output. Higher output had been expected, especially from Shinyanga and Mwanza, but output declined since 1990/91. The decline was partly explained by a switch to cotton during periods of favourable cotton prices.

Tanzania produces three types of **tobacco**, only two of which in significant amounts, namely flue cured tobacco (80% total production) and fire cured (almost 20%), leaving less than 1% burley tobacco. Flue cured tobacco is grown in Tabora, Urambo, Chunya, Iringa, Mpanda, Kahama and Manyoni. During the years covered in the 1993/94 marketing review (Majengo 1994) between 1989/90 and 1994/95, tobacco output fluctuated, with a slow rise beginning in 1991/92, followed by a decline between 1993/94 and 1994/95, and another increase in 1994/95. Flue cured tobacco farming faced the following constraints: low producer prices, high labour demand, high input costs, especially fertilizer, high costs of farm equipment and the shortage of firewood for curing (ibid:6). This *combination of low producer prices and high input/equipment costs* has accompanied the reform process for most export crops, with a negative impact on smallholder growers in many, if not all, locations.

Fire cured tobacco experienced a more steady increase between 1989/90 and 1993/94, with peak levels in 1991/92. Most commercial fire cured tobacco was produced in Songea Rural District, Ruvuma. Producers in the other main areas of Tunduru and Biharamuo Districts *withdrew from production because of high production costs*. Songea farmers persisted, partly because of the lack of alternative high value crops, and the declining returns of maize.

Coffee remained one of Tanzania's top export earners (Mwaikambo 1995). The two main types of coffee are Mild Arabica (72% annual production) found in the

²⁸ Nevertheless, the top six regions remain, in order of output, during 1995/96, Shinyanga, Iringa, Mwanza, Mbeya, Ruvuma and Rukwa (ranging from 332,000 tonnes in Shinyanga to 205,000 tonnes in Rukwa, compared to the lowest output of 57,000 tonnes in Lindi (ibid).

Northern Zone (Kilimanjaro and Arusha) and Southern Highlands (Mbeya and Ruvuma) and Robusta (20% annual production), mainly grown in the Western zone (Kagera). Only 8% total annual production consists of Hard Arabica. Most coffee output came from smallholder growers, responsible for 95% of area under coffee in 1991/92, and 90% of coffee output. Some 10% output was grown on large coffee estates owned by cooperatives, public and private companies and commercial farmers. Substantial variation in coffee farm size existed among smallholders, however. According to the 1993/94 coffee marketing review, coffee output during the 1980s and 1990s tended to stagnate with fluctuations, and never reached the peak output of 66,611 tonnes in 1980/81 (ibid:7). Substantial *zonal differences* were found, however, with the Southern Zone recording a 65% increase during the last eleven years, compared to an 11% decline in the Northern Zone and a 23% decline between 1990/91 and 1992/93 in the Western Zone. *Estates output declined some 46% between 1980/81 and 1992/93*, thus contributing to the general decline throughout this period.

The main explanation for the decline among smallholder coffee producers in the North included: aging trees, disease, *unreliable supplies of agrochemicals*, *institutional changes in input suppliers*, declining yields, and *high marketing costs*, despite market reforms (ibid:8). The major constraints faced by the estates included: deterioration in state-owned coffee estates, and *disinvestment by private growers in response to falling financial returns* compared to other crops. Estates have not expanded area under coffee production, whereas there has been a *53% expansion in smallholder acreage* under coffee between 1972/73 and 1992/93, mostly during the *1970s and 1980s* in Mbozi and Mbinga in the South, and in the Western region, in response to favourable prices and institutional support from donor-led projects (p.9). These are former labour-reserve areas, which lacked access to markets and transport infrastructure in the past, for whom coffee represents a positive alternative. Northern coffee growers have had a different, more advantaged history, with well-developed infrastructure and support systems, beginning in the colonial era. They did not expand their coffee farms because of the *decline in real prices*, scarcity of land, and the pressure from competing and more profitable food crops.²⁹

Tea has become a significant export crop, now earning some 12% total export value (Kimambo 1994). Some 80% green tea output was grown on privately owned tea plantations in Rungwe, Iringa, Njombe and the Usambaras, and 20% on smallholder farms in the same areas and in Bukoba. There was a 58% increase in tea sales during the period from 1986/87 to 1993/94, with some fluctuations (ibid:5).

Being a perennial crop, farmers must be able to make a long-term investment in tea production. It takes three years after planting seedlings before tea begins to produce enough leaves for harvest. During this period, farmers do not realise any proceeds, but they must invest in land preparation and weeding, along with fertilizers and other agrochemicals. The review noted that major constraints on smallholders included *labour*

²⁹ Factors highlighted are those most directly affected by reform policies, including market restructuring and liberalisation.

costs, costs of farm inputs, lack of land, and “shortage of pluckers” (p.10). It is hard to accept the last explanation, given the fact that tea estates in the same locations reported an *increased supply of local labour* from neighbouring villages during the same period (Mbilinyi 1989b). A more likely explanation is two-fold: withdrawal of labour and land by male household heads, in preference for other crops with higher returns; and *resistance by family members to work as unpaid family labour* on household tea farms (ibid). Patriarchal social relations which underlie smallholder farming have had a particularly negative impact on smallholder tea production (Mbilinyi 1991).

Sugar cane experienced increasing output with fluctuations during the period of 1982/83 to 1993/94, according to the 1993/94 industry review (Toke 1995). Although most of the sugar cane was produced on estates (mainly Kilombero and Mtibwa), the share coming from the sugar outgrower sector increased significantly during the same period (330%), and was largely responsible for the growth in output (estates output showed a 103% increase during the same period, my own calculations based on data in Table 1). The output from growers has increased, as a share of total annual sugar cane production, from 11% to 35% during the same period (ibid:6).

The relations between the estates and the outgrowers have changed over time, as have the ownership patterns in the industry. The sugar estates were formerly privately owned companies and became parastatal companies after nationalisation in the late 60s-early 70s (Sterkenburg and Wiel 1993). The government sought to increase outgrower production so as to increase income redistribution and rural (self)employment in the 1970s, but during the 1980s, the area under cane and its output declined. The decline was partly caused by low producer prices, and the lack of adequate farm support services from both the government extension services and the estates. The estates were expected to provide support on a credit basis, in the provision of machinery to clear and prepare the land, and for planting. They even provided hired labour to weed, harvest and transport cane during peak seasons. However, the estate management faced rising costs in the 1980s, and scaled down its support for outgrowers, partly out of expectations of low returns (ibid).

Since 1990, outgrowers production has increased for a variety of reasons: *increased producer prices, increased returns*, improved communications between company management and outgrowers, the creation of outgrower associations in Kilombero and Mtibwa to represent their interests (ibid). Another factor is *the loosening of restrictions on management participation in outgrower production* during the early 1990s (Mbilinyi 1995b). This has given management an added incentive to be supportive of outgrowers, with the possibility of a conflict of interest in the long run. The result has been increased area under outgrower cultivation, increased yields and increased output (Sterkenberg and Wiel 1995:11). At Mtibwa, the share of total cane provided by outgrowers was more than that of the estates (57%) in 1995/96, a level first reached in 1994/95, its top level from 17% share in 1988/89 (Mtibwa 1997 study). Reports indicated the share had dropped back down to 40% in 1996/97. Management reported overproduction of cane coming from the two sources, above the present factory capacity.

Deliberate priority was given to the outgrowers' output, so as not to discourage them.³⁰ Company output data indicated, however, that estates' output had been declining since 1991/92, and factory output depended on increased outgrowers production.

Mtibwa management had mixed views about the effects of economic reforms. On the one hand, the availability of forex had enabled them to import equipment and rehabilitate the factory. They were not hurt by devaluation, as other companies were, because they had already paid off their loans in the early 1990s. However, competition from cheap, imported sugar had caused substantial market losses; Mtibwa sugar was no longer sold in Dar es Salaam, but rather in the regions and exported to Europe. Unit production costs in Tanzania were higher than that of the top African sugar producing countries, namely Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, because of the relatively small size of the estates, which made it uncompetitive in regional and global markets.

PRICES AND RETURNS

Women and men smallholder farmers reported increasing difficulty to sustain farm production and take care of their families during the 1990s, according to recent micro-level research and a recent overview of women and agriculture.³¹ Women, in particular, reported having to intensify their labour in market-oriented activities, *as self-employed* farmers, traders, and artisans, *unpaid family labour* in both export and food crop production, *casual and permanent labour* in farming and nonfarming, and *as unpaid family labour* in reproduction and maintenance of the household, family and community. Levels of income were not commensurate with increased work, for women or men (Chapter 5). However, women faced the compounded problem of having to depend on the good will of household heads for benefits from their labour input, especially on export crop farms. This acted as a major disincentive towards increased labour input in export production, and undoubtedly had a negative impact on total farm output at household and national level..

People's subjective views are backed up by recent studies, including the 1993/94 marketing and industrial reviews carried out by MDB, which documented falling returns for their labour in farming, both in food crop and export crop cultivation.³² This section will focus on quantitative analyses of rates of returns to labour carried out mainly by MDB, and their reanalysis by Msambichaka and Naho (1995: Table 2.17 and 2.18).

The *main findings on trends since SAP (post-1986)* are that:

1. producer prices show minimal or no increase in real terms for most of the post-'86 period
2. low share of producer price and domestic sale price goes to the farmer
3. farm inputs prices grow faster than producer prices

³⁰ An example of the pitfalls of the present situation, since management officials were also outgrowers.

³¹ See Kashuliza and Mbiha 1995, Koda 1994ab, Mbilinyi 1995b, Turuka 1995, and Ch. 5.

³² See n. 3; Kashuliza and Mbiha 1995, Turuka 1995.

4. returns to labour are mixed, in many cases export crop returns are below food crop returns, or are negative
5. competition over labour, land and farm inpputs between export crops and food crops has increased
6. pressure to intensify farm production (intensify labour, farm inputs, land) has increased, in tune with increasing power of market forces.
7. farmers located near major market centres or good transport lines have benefited most from reforms, whereas farmers in distant or more remote locations have not benefited.

Producer Prices

In general, nominal producer prices increased during the ERP2 period (post-1986), whereas *real* prices for both food and export crops fell during the 1978/79-1985/86 period (Msambichaka and Naho 1995:Tables 2.17, 2.18). The increase was especially marked for food crops. Producer prices actually varied a great deal according to location and season, and *price variability increased after liberalisation*. In the case of dried maize, during the period between July 1995 and June 1996, the price for a 90 kg bag ranged from a low of Tshs 4912/ in July '95 to a high of Tshs 10,231/ in March '95. Prices were lowest during the harvest period, and highest during the off-season period. The majority of smallholder farmers, including women farmers, were forced to sell during the harvest period in order to meet necessary cash needs, whereas a few well-to-do farmers had the income and storage facilities necessary to store their grain until prices had risen. The average price per kg also varied from place to place, depending on local market conditions, distance from the market and transport costs, ranging from lows of Tshs 42 and 43 in Arusha and Mbulu, respectively, to 111 in Masasi, 100 in *Morogoro* and 95 in Bukoba (Mdadila 1995: Annex 13). Similar details were not provided for paddy, but average producer prices did vary, from Tshs 91 per kg in Shinyanga during the 1993/94 marketing season to Tshs 114.4 and 112.8 per kg in Mbeya and Morogoro, respectively (ibid:36). Table 12 provides absolute selling prices for four selected crops in Morogoro during 1991/92-1995/96, and indicates that prices continued to rise after 1993/94, especially for paddy and cotton.

Food crop growers had easier access to parallel markets, whereas export crop growers were more dependent on official crop markets until around 1993/94, when marketing of most export crops was liberalised. In the case of coffee, producer prices varied according to type. Producers of robusta and hard arabica coffee experienced a steady decline in real producer prices throughout the ERP1 and ERP2 periods, whereas there was a rise in mild arabica coffee prices. Farmers found themselves in a bind, in that private companies provided cash down in many cases, but no second payment, whereas cooperative unions often purchased on credit, but provided the second payment following global sales. Export crop prices also varied from place to place, same as food crops. For example, the announced producer prices for flue tobacco (Tshs/kg) during the 1993/94 season varied from 309/64 in Kahamba to 354/55 in Chunya, the variance explained by different operating costs in the different cooperative unions (Majengo 1994:9). Fire cured tobacco was priced during the same season at Tshs 242/60 in Ruvuma.

Probably no crop has experienced as sharp a drop in prices as cloves: from US\$ 9000 per ton in 1980 to \$ 500 per tonne in 1993 (Khamis 1995). Copra prices also dropped during the 1986-1973 period. Resources on the islands, including land, had shifted away from agriculture to tourism, which had become the major export earner. Price policies were intended to stimulate increased food production for the market, but farmers' concentrated on food production for household use, and sought nonfarm (self)employment for cash.

Producer prices increased much less in *real* terms than in absolute terms, and, as will be shown below, the increase did not keep up with the rise in prices of farm inputs, including labour, and the general cost of living.

Farmer's Share of Selling Price

One of the basic arguments for market liberalisation was to increase the share of the selling price realised for export crops which reached the farmer. The government declared that producers would receive not less than 60% of the selling price. However, in general this goal has not been realised, and if anything, the situation has worsened with the opening up of export crop markets to private traders. Stein (1990:19) found that the share received by farmers of the international value of coffee, cotton and tea declined during the period between 1983/84 and 1987/88 seasons, from 54 to 34%, 73 to 41% and from 28 to 25% respectively (cited by Booth 1991:15). Tobacco growers in Iringa calculated that they received 20% of the selling price realised by the Tobacco Board in 1989, and 45% of the world price (*ibid*). These views of tobacco farmers were validated by the tobacco industrial review of 1993/94 (Majengo 1994), which calculated that producers of flue tobacco received 34% of the export price in 1989/90. Their share persisted at this exploitative level throughout the 1990s, and only increased to 64% in 1993/94 (*ibid*:11). Fire tobacco growers received even less of the value of their crop: ranging from 18% in 1989/90 to a 'peak' of 44% in 1991/92, which dropped down to 32% in 1993/94. Marketing agencies took an even greater share of local sales prices during the same period (1988/89-1993/94) for both crops. In 1993/94 marketing season, for example, farmers received only 25% flue tobacco prices and 33% of fire tobacco.

Growers of mild arabica coffee received 64% and 97% of export prices in 1991 and 1992. However, the share radically dropped to 46% and 33% respectively during 1993 and 1994. A less drastic decline was experienced by growers of robusta coffee, whose share rose from 49% in 1991 to 69% and 71% in 1992 and 1993 respectively, and then dropped down to 54% in 1994 (Mwakambo 1995:39). The sharp drop during 1992/93 and 1993/94 was attributed to cooperative unions, who were allowed to set producer prices during these two marketing seasons. According to the author (*ibid*:56): "Most of the Co-Operative Unions are currently insolvent, badly managed and are considered uncreditworthy by the banking sector." In addition, high interest rates charged by the banking sector "pushed financial costs out of proportion to other marketing costs".

Rates of Return

The rates of return for tobacco, coffee, tea, sugar and rice will be examined in this sub-section as illustrative of the situation faced by crop producers and their families. Although most crops had a positive return, they barely covered the rising costs of production in 1993/94 season, when most of these studies were carried out. Hence, many farmers in some areas, not all, were switching to maize or another cash crop with higher returns or immediate cash payment. The costs of farm inputs and labour have risen since then, according to the views of a variety of actors we talked to (farmers, market researchers, regional authorities).

Returns for flue tobacco showed a slight increase to Tshs 296/68 per day in 1993/94 compared to 168/24 per day the previous season, due not to higher yields but to better producer prices (Majengo 1994). Fire tobacco experienced a decline in nominal prices from Tshs 67/35 per day in 1992/93 to 46/65 per day in 1993/94, *due to increased costs of inputs*, not declining yields. The major costs were firewood, transportation, fertiliser and insecticide. Maize had much higher returns of 464/ per day during the season under review in the same areas, but farmers had *shifted away from maize* because of other constraints, including unreliable markets and the lack of storage facilities. Nevertheless, tobacco faced what was called “acute” labour competition with other crops, *especially food crops*, and other deconfined crops grown and sold on the open market: maize, millet, cassava in Ruvuma, maize, beans and pyrethrum in Iringa and maize, paddy, groundnuts and honey in Tabora.

Tobacco farmers required a great deal of capital to invest in the crop, before they saw any returns. The total input costs for flue tobacco in the 1992/93 season were estimated to be Tshs 143,359/ per ha. and 533 “mandays” [sic] of work; for fire tobacco, 74,309/ per ha and 428 “mandays” [sic]. and whose days were these? wives, daughters, sons, other household members and the household head, plus women and men farm workers. Some 72,000 smallholder growers produced tobacco, which probably refers only to the household heads, along with largescale commercial tobacco farms in Iringa (ibid). For purposes of comparison, the National Sample Census of Agriculture - NSCA 1994/95 (vol 2: iv-v) recorded a total of about 3.8 million farm households, with some 21 million farm household members, 8.7 million of whom were considered potentially active farmers (being 10 years or older!).

Rates of return calculations for coffee had become problematic during the 1993/94 season, as a result of trade liberalisation, because of different costs of production in different regions, different crop prices, and the lack of reliable sources of information about actual prices paid to the farmer (Mwaikambo 1995). Coffee farmers do not see any return for four years while establishing their crop, similar to tea, but the crop provides them with output for 45 years thereafter, with peak years of production during the first 15-20 years. Arabica required about 224 labourdays, robusta 176 if interplanting (Ruvuma) and 183-204 if pure stand (Mbeya). The returns to labour for pure stand coffee ranged from 785/ to 878/ per labour day; for mixed stands in highlands, 591/ per day because of fewer trees; mixed stand Robusta in Kagera 374/ per day. Again, *very different returns were realised, depending on geographical location.*

There was growing pressure on farmers to intensify their exploitation of unpaid family labour in place of wage labour in order to reduce labour costs, and thereby offset the increased cost of farm inputs. In Mbinga, for example, farmers reduced their labour costs by combining hired labour and family labour, where the number of paid labour days was reduced from 209 to 102, and only then got higher returns (878/ per kg). In the Northern zone where coffee was interplanted with banana and other crops, if growers only used family labour, they got much higher returns to labour, ranging from 591/ to 925/ per kg. Mbeya returns remained low (785/ per kg) because of low prices paid by the Mbeya cooperative unions.

These calculations reveal the *significance of unpaid family labour for the sustainability of smallholder export crop production*. Without unpaid largely female, child and youth labour, coffee, for example, would not be an economic crop for smallholders to grow. The premises upon which these calculations were made by the market experts were *not questioned* -- i.e. exploitation of unpaid family labour. Moreover, it is possible that extension agents advised farmers to shift from hired to family labour so as to reduce "costs" of labour. On the other hand, the proportion of women, and men, working as unpaid family labour had declined, according to the 1988 census data, and there was evidence to suggest that young men and women were resisting this form of oppressive work by migrating away from home or seeking nonfarm forms of employment (earlier chapters). This may help explain why the output of export crops has not risen as much or as quickly as expected. Reliance on "free" unpaid family labour to sustain Tanzania's smallholder farming system is increasingly untenable. Alternative mechanisms will be needed to revitalise smallholder agriculture, while ensuring a reasonable cash income for all household members and others who work on the farm.

Coffee growers were also hit hard by rising costs of farm inputs, including labour: in Mbozi, they rose 746% to 45,667/ per ha; Arusha, rose 282% to 67,489/ per ha; and in Kagera, rose 447% to 43,134/ per ha in nominal terms. The situation would have been worse if calculations were in real prices. As in the case of tobacco, many farmers were shifting from coffee to other crops such as maize, which had higher returns. Hence, the paradox, that in some areas, farmers were shifting from coffee or tobacco to maize, whereas elsewhere, sometimes within the same district, they shifted away from maize to an export crop. These different trends reflect the different and confusing conditions faced by different kinds of farmers: women or men, rich or poor, on accessible roads near markets or far away.

A variety of explanations were given for the low returns for coffee, *in spite of, or because of, economic reforms*. They included: *declining real world coffee prices* during the early 1990s; *high bureaucratic and transport costs of the cooperative unions*, including mismanagement (ibid:53); *extremely high interest rates of 26-30%* which made it impossible for cooperatives to access the credit necessary for purchases of farm inputs and crops; *"inflexible banking attitude"* (ie market principles first); *increasing real costs of farm inputs*; *scarcity of farm inputs*; poor roads. The farmers were squeezed between

the cooperatives, on the one hand, and private traders on the other, and “are to a larger extent than ever before financing the crop operations” (p.54).

Some 1.78 million people were reported to be directly employed in coffee farm production and in coffee processing factories.³³ Many other people depended on coffee indirectly for their employment as truck drivers, desk workers, road/rail employees, civil servants, distributors of inputs, extension workers and the like.

Tea is produced by smallholder growers on small farms and largescale corporations on plantations. Returns per day in real terms for smallholder growers in 1993/94 were estimated to be 255/ for tea, compared to 464/ per day for maize, a drop of 40% from 1992/93, which was, in turn, a drop of 45% from the previous season (Kimambo 1994:21). This steady decline in returns and farm incomes was attributed to *increased costs of farm inputs* and *declining producer prices*. For example, the cost of fertilizer increased 768% compared to the previous season; tools increased 250%. Total costs had reached 85,954/ per ha. The drop in real producer prices was also devastating: 23/13 per kg in 1993/94 was 68% of the peak price of 34/07 per kg in 1971/72.

Tea, like coffee, has a lengthy time period to establish the crop (some 3 years) before the farmers see any cash returns and is highly labour intensive. Tea requires a great deal of work in preparing the land, weeding and plucking, and weeding and plucking rely heavily on female labour (Mbilinyi 1989b). Each operation has a different labour cost, assuming that hired labour is used. In reality, small tea growers depended on a mix of family and hired labour. In Rungwe, they were forced to *pay family members* for plucking tea during the late 1980s, in response to the resistance of wives and children, who began to shift their labour from the household farm and work for neighbours, or on the neighbouring tea plantations (ibid).

In a 1990/91 field study in Morogoro, Iringa and Mbeya, involving 458 smallholder farmers in 24 villages, availability of credit for farm inputs and farm equipment and machinery for hire were considered more significant factors influencing production decisions than farm gate prices and marketability - though all four items were emphasised (Kashuliza and Mbiha 1995). Farmers varied, however, according to zone and crop, because of different production and market conditions. In Morogoro, for example, where relatively few farmers used agrochemical farm inputs, more weight was given to farm machinery and farm gate prices, compared to Iringa and Mbeya, where farm inputs were key. Although farm inputs were now available in private rural shops in many areas, the high prices compared to real crop incomes dissuaded farmers from purchasing and applying recommended levels, which led to lower yields. In Iringa, farmers shifted from coffee to maize because of lower production costs and higher prices in the informal market, and Mbeya farmers were tempted to do the same. *The costs of hiring farm implements and farm machinery for oxen or tractors had risen beyond the reach of*

³³ It is unclear, again, if this refers only to household heads, or includes the wives and children who also work on the coffee farm. Many women are employed as casual workers in coffee farms and processing factories.

smallholder farmers. Tractor hire charges, for example increased more than 50% in real terms during 1985/86-1989/90, “thereby squeezing out smallholder producers who could not cope with the rise in the cost of these services (ibid:67).

Another study by Turuka (1995) compared the impact of reforms on maize production in Songea, part of the former southern breadbasket, and Moshi, part of the new emerging grain producing centre in the north. Very different price trends were found, which helped to explain the different farmer responses. Of special concern here is the impact of changes in prices and availability of fertilizer during 1990/91, on size of land under cultivation, price returns and output. The responses of large and small farmers differed in each place (normally most large farmers were male, most women farmers operated small farms). In Moshi, larger farmers devoted more land in the plains to maize production as a cash crop, whereas in Songea, they devoted more land to tobacco as the cash crop.

Outputs were negatively affected by the increased cost of fertilizer (Moshi, Songea) and the increased unavailability (Songea) as a result of trade liberalisation and the declining role of cooperatives. Farmers in both places used lower units of fertilizer than recommended, and spread it out more with increasing farm size. Hence, lower yields were found on larger farms. Fertilizer prices increased dramatically during the period of 1990-1991 (a 184% increase in Moshi, 223% in Songea), bringing them near official prices in Moshi but *higher than official prices* in Songea because of distance, unavailability and *imperfect market conditions*. In general, Southern Highlands farmers reportedly paid 30-40% above recommended prices for fertilizer (ibid:127). Returns to labour were much higher in Moshi than Songea in 1991 (Tshs 480/ and 235/70 respectively), using open market prices, with 172% and 258% rise from 1990 returns, respectively.³⁴

Returns for *paddy* varied according to district location, same as other crops (Mdadila 1996), ranging from Tshs 382/ in Senerema and 429/ in Kahama (where farmers use animal drawn oxen), to 1034/ in Morogoro, 1498/ in Kisarawe and 1704/ in Kyela. The main reason for higher returns in the last three areas was higher prices because of closeness to markets. In 1994/95, labour charges in Morogoro were calculated to be Tshs 10,000/; the major input cost was for seeds (Tshs 72,000/ per ha), with an expected output of 16 bags per ha (ibid:40). Another 4800/ was spent on sacks for each ha; with other items, the total cost per ha was expected to be Tshs 88,400/ - confirming the views expressed by Lusanga and Mbogo farmers in 1997 that production costs had risen dramatically since liberalisation. Tractor hire was relied upon by some, and cost up to 15,000/ for virgin soil, and 10,000/ for other land. Labourers using the hoe would cost 10,000/ for cultivation and planting, without the tractor. Weeding costs, using hired labour, were estimated to be 12-15,000/ per ha. plus food. Expected outputs ranged from 10-12 sacks per acre, 15-25 in some places. In Mbogo, they expected to produce 8-12

³⁴ Lyatuu 1994 also found similar responses among farmers, who reduced their levels of fertilizer use because of inadequate credit sources, while implementing other forms of improved farm practices which had low capital costs.

bags per ha., earning roughly 50,000/ net without costing the labour of household heads and members.

In Lusanga, relatively well-off farmers complained about their loss of a market in Dar es Salaam, due to cheap imported rice. These farmers had been accustomed to store their paddy until the prices went up, and then transport it to Dar for sale, along with crop purchases from other paddy growers. Poor farmers were forced to sell their crop soon after harvest so as to meet cash needs. The price differentials were substantial: in 1997 a sack of paddy sold for 5-6000/ during May-August, 10-16,000/ in Sept-Oct, and 20,000/ in December-January. Another villager talked about the rich-poor divide: “You’ll find one farmer producing two ha of paddy, and getting 16 sacks, while someone else farms 100 ha. Both of them are supposed to compete in the same market. You can tell that it’s a matter of one finishing off the other. The one with 16 sacks will sell 10, remain with maybe 3, he has no profit and no food!” Several village leaders and farmers in Lusanga and Mbogo called for a more active role of government in protecting producer prices, ensuring a market for crops, and supporting the development of other cash crops with higher returns. At the same time, they argued that farmers needed to create their own associations to protect their interests, first by setting a floor price for crops, below which no farmer should agree to sell her/his crops.

Sugarcane has become a significant smallholder and commercial farm crop, grown by outgrowers on a semi-contractual basis with the large sugar companies, as noted above. Services and inputs that the companies provided on a loan basis were recovered by payment deductions at the time of sale to the company. Normally it took 14-16 months to begin harvesting the first crop after planting, but thereafter the crop continued to produce for many years, with yields up to 30 tons per ha. around Kilombero. According to MDB estimates in the 1993/94 season (Toke 1995:13-14), outgrowers experienced a loss of about Tshs 17,550/ per ha. during the first harvest, but realised about Tshs 39,750/ returns per ha thereafter. Their production costs per ha. included Tshs 23,850/ for weeding, 6000/ for fertilizer, and additional charges for cane cutting 10,500/ , loading 5250/ and transport of 41,790/ [provided by the company]. In addition, 30% interest was charged on the “loan” or capital invested by the company, giving total production chares of Tshs 130,791/ per ha., a substantial capital investment, beyond the means of most smallholder farmers we talked to in the Mtibwa area, in any case.

Outgrowers reduced their costs by *using unpaid family labour instead of hired labour* (ibid:13): “Some of the operations which outgrowers use their family labour include furrowing, planting, part of weeding, and fertilizer application.” As shown in Chapter 4, outgrowers sugarcane production has expanded around Mtibwa and Kilomberol. A growing number of farm households and their members have become absorbed into the sugar industry, on highly exploitative terms from the point of view of unpaid family members, i.e. wives and daughters, as well as sons and other family members.

Agriculture production in the 1990s has begun to recover from the earlier decline which occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s, but many crops have not reached the peak output levels of the 1970s. Producer prices have increased in nominal but not real terms, and the costs of farm inputs have increased beyond the reach of many smallholder farmers. Regional differentiation has heightened, with farmers in areas close to markets or on major road links benefiting from liberalisation and other aspects of market restructuring, while those in distant, more remote locations have suffered poor returns for their labour. Smallholder production increasingly depends on the exploitation of unpaid family labour, with oppressive outcomes for women in particular.

Differential access to and control over resources is the subject of the next chapter, focusing on gender patterns.

GENDER AND RESOURCES

Women farmers are constrained by inadequate and unequal access and control over key productive resources, such as land, credit, labour, farm inputs and equipment and money to be used as capital expenditure and provision for household consumption needs. Moreover, both women and men are not free agents to decide how to allocate their time and resources because of the persistence of the patriarchal gender division of labour which defines who does what, who owns what, who decides what - and when, how, why? These constraints which are rooted in social relations at household and community level intervene with the trajectory of SAP measures, and have blocked the realisation of many objectives.

Another constraint is the uneven development of money relations and market economy in the rural areas, in contrast to the presumption of market forces underlying most calculations (Marcussen 1996). In rural areas, capitalist market forces coexist with nonmarket social relations. Forms of mutual support systems persist, along with barter transactions, and nonprice calculations which determine decisions about resource management, including allocations of labour, land and other production factors. Most smallholder farmers prioritise the wellbeing of their household, extended family and clan above mere profit, and therefore make decisions which often are not the most 'rational', according to the enterprise model of decision-making which guides pricing policy.

This chapter will examine gender inequities in access to and control over resources, focusing on the key productive resources in smallholder farming systems: land, labour, credit, information, farm inputs and farm equipment. SAP policies presume that farmers act the same and in a predictable manner in response to price signals. The argument underlying this chapter is that *farmers are not the same, they differ according to class/income categories and gender, and that gender inequities impede the development of a truly productive smallholder farm sector* (Gladwin 1991). Calculations are mainly based on data provided by the National Sample Census of Agriculture 1994/95 (hereafter NSCA) of BOS and MOA (vol.2,3, 1996), which provides mainland data. Recent research at SUA has also been drawn upon.

LAND

Landlessness has become a real issue in Tanzania, defined both as absolute landlessness, and inadequate land so as to provide for basic needs (in kind and cash).³⁵ Those most vulnerable to landlessness are young women and men ('youth'), divorced

³⁵ See HakiArdhi workshops, TAWLA, Mhina 1996, Mvungi 1995, Chapter 4 above.on Mtibwa.

women, widows, and poor households.³⁶ Research indicates a decline in farm size under cultivation, at least in some areas (Turuka 1995). The majority of smallholder farmers in Tanzania own less than one acre, many farm in semi-arid conditions or on soil which is not fertile, and in once fertile areas, the land is over-farmed with inadequate fallow and rotation periods because of land pressure and the market pressure to intensify farming so as to increase cash proceeds (Abdallah 1996 on Kondoa, Mvungi 1995 on Mwangi).

Women are the most disadvantaged when it comes to land (Omari 1995), but it is essential to place gender in the context of *growing class polarisation* in the countryside. Morogoro regional and district authorities reported several sites of land conflict in rural areas: a large farmer sought 20,000 acres of land in one case (thus far, denied), and local villagers demanded land fragmentation of large farms elsewhere. In the Mtibwa field study, villagers in Lusanga and Mbogo spoke bitterly about the way that village land had been purchased by large sugar cane outgrower farmers, so much so that they and their children and grandchildren now experienced real landlessness.³⁷ In the past, one acre in Lusanga sold for Tshs 50,000/; today the price would be Tshs 100,000/ or more. "Who could afford to buy land any more?" they said. Farmers with means were forced to rent land in neighbouring villages for 10,000/. Those without means? A steady proletarianisation process was occurring in the villages surrounding Mtibwa Sugar Estates. The opening up of land to market forces occurred side by side with the growing expansion of a labour market. In the words of several outgrowers: "You buy a plot and the people living on the plot". What do you mean? "You buy the plot. The next day, you find the farmer on your doorstep. What is it? "You bought my farm, didn't you? How am I going to eat? You bought me as well." Villagers told us the same, from the perspective of the "purchased".

In Zanzibar, market pressures on the land had increased with the reform process, and led to growing land insecurity. The majority of farm households (67%) in a recent 1994 study (Khamis 1995) had only secondary rights to land; that is, they could only plant nonpermanent crops, but not permanent trees such as coconut or clove trees, the major export crops of the islands. The land they farmed was rented, borrowed or a seasonal allocation from government, but not fully owned by themselves. An increasing portion of good farm land was being bought up by land speculators and hotel companies, to cash in on the tourist boom.

Young men in Songea Rural, Mbeya Rural and Kondoa Rural Districts spoke bitterly in 1995, 1996 and 1997 about their lack of access to land, because 'wazee' refused to handover the land to youth, or sold it or rented it to big farmers.³⁸ For

³⁶ Manju's (1997) paper provides an especially vivid account of the way that women are dispossessed of their rights to land -- and labour of their children -- when widowed, especially if they are known to be HIV/AIDS infected.

³⁷ Richard Mabala brought my attention to the land issue in Mbogo Village, and shared preliminary reflections from his recent Mtibwa research, which is highly appreciated.

³⁸ TGNP 1996 'National Report on Voter Education' Dar es Salaam, Chale and Mukangara 1997, proceedings of TGNP feedback workshops on Intermediate Gender Networks in 1996, 1997.

example, villagers in Ilongo ward, Mbeya Rural, explained how individuals and groups rented out their land to rich farmers for 10,000/ per acre. Land pressures had increased the rent level beyond the reach of local women who depended on land rentals or 'loans' in the past, because they lacked inheritance rights. Inroads were being made into village land, not just land on the outskirts of village boundaries, but within (Chale and Mukangara 1997).

Gender and Land

According to Agricultural Sample Surveys carried out over time by the BOS, average planted area of smallholder farmers (in hectares, i.e.ha.) increased with fluctuations from 0.74 ha in 1986/87 to 0.91 ha in 1994/95. Women heads consistently farmed smaller landholdings than men (Table 13), and the *gender gap increased* during the period. Women planted land in 1986/87 was 66% of that of men; 61% in 1987/88; 67% in 1990/91 and down to 64% in 1994/95.

The youngest farmers (15-24 and 25-34 years) had the smallest planted landholdings, averaging 0.70 and 0.77 ha respectively., compared to 0.93-0.98 ha for heads 35 years and above (NSCA 3:T.1-15). Farmers with the smallest plots also had the smallest households: one person households farmed 0.55 ha., households with 2-5 persons farmed 0.74 ha, households with 6-10 persons farmed 1.06 ha on the average, and households with 11-15 persons and 16+ persons, respectively, farmed 1.64 and 2.31 ha (ibid:T.1-14). In other words, households which were land poor were also labour poor, since larger households tended to have more household members who worked on the farm (ibid).

Male farmers were overrepresented among the farmers of 1-5 + ha (30% of men heads and 17% of women heads), and women were overrepresented among those farming 0.30 has and less (34% men, 43% women), as shown in calculations presented in Table 14. Some 72% men and 84% women farmed 1 ha or less, i.e. the national average, which is too small to be a viable farm unit.

Micro-level research confirm these findings. In her recent study of 97 women farmers in Morogoro region (three villages in Morogoro Rural and two villages in Kilosa), Rwambali (1990) found a variety of ways in which women accessed land. Some 35% held land in their own right, 15% farmed their husband's land, 25% farmed land held jointly by husband and wife, and 25% farmed land which belonged to relatives or neighbours. In the latter case, they received land from neighbours in exchange for providing labour service on their neighbour's farm. Some 60% had direct access to land; 62% of married women had direct access - in other words, female headship did not necessarily correlate with having more access to land. Some 72% farmed land averaging 2 has. or less, 19% 2-4 has, and the remaining 8% farmed 4-8 has. Her sample was therefore on the upper end of the national range, but reflects conditions in Morogoro, where land is relatively plentiful. Indeed, women reported that land scarcity was not an issue. Instead, the problem was adequate capital to open up new land, and the long distances between house and field for allocations women received from village

governments. The majority of these women farmers produced maize (70%) and paddy (28%), two major food and cash crops in the region, but only 17% mentioned cotton, a typical export crop dominated by men, and hardly any mentioned sugar cane.

Mwanyika (1993) contrasted forms of land acquisition for women and men household heads in Mbozi District, Mbeya. All male heads inherited land from their fathers, and 38% acquired additional land by purchase, and 72% from village governments. None of the female heads inherited land from relatives. Some 57% purchased land, and 43% acquired it from village government (ibid:51). These findings confirm the fact that 'customary law' systematically discriminates against women and deprives them of control over the land they farm as daughters, wives, sisters, mothers. At the same time, these and other studies (eg Omari 1995) document the steps being taken by women to acquire land in their own right.

Gender differences were also found in crop 'choice'. Some 88% of male heads grew coffee -- none of the female heads grew coffee. Everyone grew maize and beans, but women's average hectarage was smaller (0.6 ha. women, 1.1 ha. men maize; 0.4 ha., 0.7 ha. beans -ibid:58). In no case were women's farms larger than men's, even for crops traditionally considered to be women's domain, but they were usually equal (eg. cassava, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, bananas). Women also reported being forced to leave part of their farms uncultivated because of the high cost of farm inputs.

FARM INPUTS AND EQUIPMENT

Women had less access to farm inputs and equipment, leading to lower productivity in farming. This corresponded to their lesser access to improved technology in nonfarm activities, including cooking, water, fuel, plus other economic activities. These differentials increased during the post-1986 period, as a result of rising costs (Meena 1991, Meena et al 1993). According to NSCA 3:31-32, the following differentials were found in 1994/95:

- 12% female heads and 15% male heads used chemical fertilizers
- 31% female heads and 36% male heads used farm yard compost manure
- 22% female heads and 28% male heads used improved seeds
- 13% female heads and 19% male heads used pesticides, insecticides, herbicides.

These differences are not large, however, and suggest that a growing proportion of women well-to-do farmers were investing in improved agriculture, in contrast to the majority of women and men who could not afford to. Regional differences were also notable, however (ibid:T.5-09), which suggest the need for more in-depth study at the local level.

Farm Transport and Equipment

NSCA (ibid:A52) data did not provide gender breakdowns for agricultural implements and machinery, but the information provides us with a basis of comparison for later research references. All farmers in the NSCA owned at least one hoe, and on the average, 3 per holding; whereas 77% owned at least one big knife matchet (panga) and one mortar. Only 12% owned an animal plough, 0.2% a tractor, and only 0.2% had a weeder (animal or tractor drawn), of special significance to women as weeding is a major labour bottleneck for women and children after mechanisation. What about improved transport, so vital to reduce women's head loads? Only 4% had a wheelbarrow, 2% an ox cart, but 34% reported owning a bicycle. True, most of these were probably owned by men, but women still benefited because male household heads and other male members became responsible for tasks which were formerly carried out by women, such as transporting crops from field to house/store/weighing station, or fuelwood, and sometimes water.

Another source of machinery was to borrow or rent from others (ibid:A53, not in percentages). The most prevalent items borrowed were big knife matchets, axes, milling machines and mortars (1.18 million households, about one third!). The second most common items borrowed were ploughs, hoes, sprayers, grinding stones and bicycles (10-14%). Very few borrowed wheelbarrows or ox carts, which could ease transport burdens considerably for women. A recent study of 431 households in Makete District found that 90% of all trips, 80% of labour time and 95% of total weight of goods carried was done within and around the village (Mascarenhas 1994:5). Some 23 tonnes were moved each year per person, on the average! Women were the major transporters, carrying 67% of transport, and 85% of loads, usually on their heads. The average adult woman made more than 3 trips per day, and spent 4 hours a day in transport, mostly on foot.

Morogoro

In Morogoro, most women farmers depended on the hand hoe; few were able to afford to hire tractors (Rambali 1990). Some 33% used improved seeds, 35% insecticides, and 30% storage pesticides, but only 1% used fertilizers. When asked to prioritise their needs in agriculture, the top priority was given to oxen/tractor mechanisation for cultivation, second was improved supply of insecticides and pesticides, and third was improved supply of improved seeds -- fourth was increased producer prices. Although the majority did not purchase agrochemical inputs, one third purchased insecticides from the cooperative, extension workers or other sources; 29% pesticides; and 33% improved seeds.

Innovations

Reliance on the hand hoe has increased, according to a recent study in Njombe, Babati, Iringa Rural and Mbulu (Diyamett et al 1997), which found that 80-85% farmers relied solely on the hoe in 1992, compared to 75% in 1987. Interviews with entrepreneurs as well as farmers about information sources and access to such innovations as improved firewood stoves and oil presses found that inadequate attention had been given to the supply side of technological development and dissemination.

Farmers needed the information, easy access to the technology, and follow up provision of spare parts and repairs. When these needs were met, women were quick to innovate. For example, in one area of Mbulu, some 85% of the women possessed both the wood and charcoal improved stove which reduced the time needed to collect firewood - and was environmentally friendly at the same time. The time used otherwise in firewood collection was substantial: eg 6-16 hours in Njombe.

The oil press had transformed gender relations at household and community level in some areas of Njombe, for example, as a result of the increased cash returns derived from sunflower crops, increased control which women had over cash income and their increased status in the community. There were many other positive spin-off-effects, such as animal feed derived from seed cake which supported livestock-keeping. The two innovations, improved stoves and oil press mill for sunflower seeds, had spread most rapidly where commercial channels had been used (eg Babati, Mbulu). Official channels were less dynamic and flexible. These were positive aspects of liberalisation. At the same time, small oil producers faced unfair competition from cheap imported cooking oil, whose merchants paid low import duties, compared to their own tax levels

CREDIT

Very few of the farm holders in the NSCA (ibid vol 3:32) had access to credit, but of these, twice as many were men (6% men and 3% women). These findings were backed up by smallscale local level research studies. Smallholder farmers -- male and female -- were deprived of financial support, which destroyed the viability of small farming (Lyatuu 1994). Farm credit support systems were the corner stone of farm support systems in the developed industrialised countries, along with farm input subsidies, farm insurance schemes and other income support programmes.

SAP worsened the situation, by abolishing soft loans once provided to farmers through cooperative unions and/or crop marketing boards in the 1970s and early 1980s, and by increasing interest rates charged on loans to the cooperative unions to an uneconomic level (as reported in MDB reports for 1993/94). Cooperatives remained the major source of credit. Some 50% of farm holders (the 5% total who received credit) acquired it from cooperatives, 40% from local money lenders and 10% from government and other sources (NSCA 3:x). Informal sources were becoming increasingly important, which was an indication of the vulnerability of the poor (Lyatuu 1994). Interest rates were exceedingly high, often twice the value of the loan, as found by Marcussen in Ileje. Regional inequalities persisted in access to formal credit. Most was distributed in Ruvuma, Tabora, Mbeya, Mara, Rukwa, Dodoma and Shinyanga - the former big six producers of maize (NSCA 3:x).

Women were systematically denied access to credit, as a result of marginalisation in society and the male-bias found in financial institutions, and reforms in Tanzanian financial institutions. The commercial terms and mechanisms in place discriminated

against women, because they demanded collateral in the form of land or other durable property - conditions which most women could not meet because of patriarchal property relations (Meena et al 1993). Women also lacked as much control over cash income, and therefore could not provide the down-payments required. As a result, very few women had credit, in spite of its significance in the development of agriculture. In Mwambali's Morogoro study, for example, 93% of the women farmers farmed without any credit. One woman borrowed money from relatives for agriculture and domestic needs (p. 76).

Most credit opportunities available for women were through donor-supported special women's credit programmes (Meena et al 1993). Makombe et al (1997) carried out a review of the outcomes of such a credit programme in Tanga region, already referred to in Chapter 3, and found that while significant and necessary, credit programmes were not sufficient to empower women. Credit needed to be part of a transformative programme which enabled women to take control of the production process, access more income and other resources, and break out of the rigid gender division of labour which permeated "income-generating" projects (Mbughuni and Mwangunga 1989).

A major source of credit in the past were the cooperatives (Rwambali 1990). Their diminished role will probably further limit farmers' access to credit as well as farm inputs and equipment which were often provided on credit terms. Cooperatives were also significant markets, especially in more remote locations. Rwambali (1990:76) found that 56% women farmers marketed crops through the local cooperative union, especially cotton, and 43% relied on private traders. One third stated that they sold to cooperatives because it was the only alternative, but it was not necessarily their preference.

LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

Female farm heads had fewer household members working full-time on the farm (3 compared to 4 for male heads), according to NSCA 1994/95 (vol 3:32). They also were less likely or able to employ permanent farm labour, and employed fewer than men (Table 15). The labour crisis facing smallholder growers has already been alluded to, with reference to the withdrawal of young people from smallholder farming. On the other hand, economists and policy-makers calculated farm returns with the assumption that patriarchal farming systems continued which *depended on the exploitation of unpaid labour of children, wives and other household members*. Experts need to catch up with reality, and develop a different farm package, which includes some form of cash remuneration for all household members who are active in farming.

Jeanne Koopman found in her recent evaluation of irrigation schemes in Singida and Dodoma that labour conflicts had emerged between the household farm and casual work on neighbour's farms (personal communication). The labour market was expanding in conjunction with irrigated farming. Growers could not sustain half a hectare of irrigated paddy without hired labour, because of the labour requirements. Men would seek

work as casual farm labour so as to realise cash incomes needed to purchase food and other household needs, thereby causing a loss of labour on the household farms..

Similar findings elsewhere suggest that agricultural development, if defined as modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture, will necessarily lead to the ruin of many poorer smallholder farmers, as part of a slow concentration process. The gender component to this process has already been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, in that women are increasingly being employed by plantations and larger farms, in tea, sugar, paddy and other crops. What makes the Tanzanian situation unique is that the resulting polarisation process is not between large and small farmers drawn from the same population of producers, but rather, between an increasingly proletarianised indigenous community and 'outside' company growers.

Part-time farming

Smallholder farming has become a part-time occupation for many farmers, both male and female, but especially women. Studies of the rural informal sector confirmed the fact that more women than men engaged in nonfarm income activities (Bryceson 1995). At the same time, more female farm *heads* worked full-time in farming than men (89% compared to 78%), as shown in Table 16. This did not negate the possibility of carrying out other activities, but indicates that female heads depended more on farming for their livelihoods and had fewer (full-time) alternatives (Chapters 3 and 4). This is confirmed by Table 17, which shows that more women heads categorised themselves as farmers or livestock keepers (95%) compared to men (88%). Many more men were employed in other nonfarm occupations.

What impact did educational background have on gender patterns in involvement in farming and nonfarm activities? Women heads were more likely to work full-time on the farm, *regardless of their educational background*, including those with secondary, higher and University education (Table 16). At the same time, both women and men with at least some education were more involved in off-farm activities, and worked part-time on the farm. The proportion working full time declined steadily with more exposure to formal education. Men had access to a greater variety of occupations within each education category (Table 17). At the same time, the proportion of university educated women who were employed in a management capacity was much higher than men (17% and 5% respectively), whereas none were employed as professionals, compared to 15% men. This suggests that educated women had an opportunity to advance themselves to managerial level in rural-based jobs, where they may well be over-educated, while men were reluctant to remain there because they have better employment prospects in the urban areas.

In general, as to be expected, women heads had had much less exposure to formal education than men (Table 18), many more were illiterate, and of those with formal education, fewer had had any form of post-primary education.

How many *members* of farm households, in contrast to household heads, actually worked on the farm full-time? Are there any differences for women and men? Nearly two-thirds (60%) of all members or 8.75 million people worked full-time in farming, 30% worked part-time (4.4 million), 3% worked off the farm, presumably full-time (0.4 million) and 6% were not employed economically (NSCA2:T.1.19). Cultivators and agro-pastoralists absorbed more of their household members full-time in farming (63% and 58% respectively), whereas only 26% of pastoralists' household members worked full-time in livestock-keeping (ibid:10).

The observation that smallscale farming depended increasingly on female labour is born out by Table 19, which provides gender breakdowns for the level of involvement in household farming activities. More women members worked full-time on the farm (53% women, 47% men), whereas men were more likely to work part-time on the farm, off the farm or were not economically active (58%, 59% and 52% respectively of the total were men).

Morogoro and Mbozi

Recent local level research complements the above survey data. For example, women household heads in Mbozi had two-thirds the labour supply of men (Mwanyika 1993). In Rwambali's Morogoro study (1990), the average female and male labour force within the farm household was 1.8 and 1.2 respectively; women were 60% of household labour. Focusing on those among the potential labour force who actively worked on the farm, she found the same 1.8 units for women but only 1.0 for men, with 67% of the farm 'labour force' consisting of women. More detailed analyses of the gender vision of labour within farming and nonfarming activities will be provided in the next chapter.

INFORMATION

Women have had less access to information, as shown by lower rates of formal schooling, as well as less access to agriculture extension services and other extension services. At the same time, there was a steady decline in public support for agriculture extension services during the 1980-1988 period, relative to the increase in the 1970s (Isirika 1995), and financial investment in agriculture information systems is still insufficient (MOA officials at headquarters and Morogoro region).

NSCA3 (1996:3) reported that 50% female farm heads had received extension advice, compared to 54%. These figures seem very high, compared to the findings of local level research. More than half (54%) of the women farmers in Rwambali's Morogoro study (1990) had had no visits from extension workers.³⁹ Some 37% had been visited one to three times, and 9% more than three times, on their own account, through their husbands, or via women's organisations, cooperatives and the village government (i.e. the visits reported by 46% women were not necessarily directly to them on their

³⁹ Comparable data is needed from male farmers, since many men have reported similar neglect in the past, and the bias in extension services towards more well-to-do local farmers and village leaders.

farm). Other extension methods also bypassed women. Some 20% reported having participated in a farm demonstration on their own or with their husband; 4% a field day and 5% agricultural classes.

The situation was similar in Mbozi, where 65% of women in male headed households and all of the women household heads said that they had never been visited by extension agents (Mwanyika 1993). What access do women have about specific information needs about farm inputs, for example, or producer prices? Nearly half (45%) reported that they had no information about farm inputs, whereas most (88%) had some information about producer prices. Information about prices was mainly acquired from cooperative leaders (30%), neighbours (23%), husbands (10%) and village leaders (8%), while farm inputs information was primarily acquired from cooperative leaders (23%) and extension workers (12%), and to a lesser extent from husbands (6%) and village leaders (5%). Cooperative unions and local societies clearly played a significant role in information dissemination at local level, far more than extension workers, and ought to be given more support.

Inequalities in access to extension information and on-farm advice had a negative impact on farmers' knowledge about modern farming, as well as about potential sources of farm inputs, location of best markets for specific crops and other information needs, and ultimately is partly responsible for women's lower productivity in farming, and the increase of household food insecurity nation-wide (Rambali 1990, Mwanyika 1993, see also Isinika 1995).

Rambali (1990) has argued, on the basis of women farmers' own experiences, that the lack of education was a handicap blocking them in developing themselves and adopting new innovations. Their lack of self-confidence, awareness skills and information were barriers to fuller participation in village activities at the leadership level. Her sample was actually more educated than the NSCA survey, with only 21% with no formal education (compared to 50% Mbogo and 15% Lusanga women villagers, Ch. 4 above).

In Mbozi, male household heads had had access to more formal education than women, at all levels with the exception of one woman head with secondary education (Mwanyika 1993:53). No male head had been totally deprived of formal or adult education, compared to 22% female heads.

The basic causes for gender inequalities in access to formal education and extension advice are rooted in patriarchal relations at household, national and global level, and interact with class and national structures of power (TGNP 1993). These social relations are established and/or perpetuated by male-biased policies at institutional level, within the government, donors and NGO establishments. The male monopoly of training positions in agricultural training institutions leads to an overwhelming male predominance among agricultural extension workers, researchers, experts and policy-makers in the field (see Koda 1994b:6-7 for details). Pledges by the Minister of

Agriculture to adopt a quota system in training during his 1994 budget speech could be followed up so as to ensure implementation.

YIELDS

One result of women's lesser access to basic resources was lower yields in food crops over which they had real control. According to NSCA3 data (1996:32), the average maize yields were 1547 kg per ha for women heads and 1752 kgs per ha. for men; for paddy, the comparable figures were 1745 kg per ha and 1869 kg per ha, respectively; sorghum 893 and 1096 kgs per ha.; bulrush millet 950 and 1099 kg per ha, respectively; and beans 583 and 630 kgs per ha.

There was growing pressure to increase crop yields at regional and district level. The whole ethos of agriculture reform favours high capital-intensive "modern" farming, dependent on imported agrochemicals and mechanisation. This will necessarily marginalise the majority of smallscale farmers, a large proportion of whom are women.

LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

Cooperatives have made a significant contribution to rural development, in spite of their shortcomings. They were responsible in the past for distribution of farm inputs, purchase of crops, agro-processing before marketing and provision of credit to the farmers. Equal membership rights in cooperatives are therefore key indicators of women's access to a variety of resources, as well as their general status in village society. Recent studies confirmed previous findings that women were systematically denied full participation and leadership in cooperatives, at all levels.⁴⁰ Women have also had lower participation in Rural Saving and Credit-related Associations (Koda 1994b). On Zanzibar, the proportion of women among Cooperative Union members fluctuated over time, from 30% in 1980, down to 21% in 1985 and up to 44% in 1993 (Koda 1994b: T.5.2). More information is needed on how women and their cooperatives were able to effect such a large participation rate, compared to the mainland (see below), and to assess the quality of their participation (attendance, participation in debates, leadership).

An average of 17% of the women farmers in Rwambali's Morogoro study belonged to cooperatives, ranging from a low of 5% in one village to a high of 27% in another (op.cit.p.86). Of the 51 cooperative members in her sample, 45% were married and 55% were single, indicating that unmarried women were more likely to become members, but that married women could also join in their own right. She also found that some married women used their husband's membership to access services. On the whole, women were grossly underrepresented in management committees. One reflection of female views about cooperatives was their low attendance at meetings. Some 53% never

⁴⁰ Mayoux ed 1988, Meghji et al 1985, Koda et al 1987.

attended feneral meetings, 18% attended once during the season, 20% twice, and 19% regularly. Since major decisions and by-laws were decided upon at these meetings, at least on paper, low participation meant low participation in decision-making.

Of course, attendance is not enough. To what extent did women speak up at meetings? Some 73% said that they had never given an opinion at general meetings! 22% did so occasionally, and 6% did so regularly. Unfortunately, this study focused only on women, so we lack comparative figures for men. Personal observation in village meetings in Rungwe villages during the 1980s, and the recent Mtwiba field study, suggest that a few men, and women, dominate village meetings and meetings of the village government. They tend to be the more powerful members of the village, with more wealth, more education, more status.

Women actively organised themselves in women's cooperatives and other kinds of women's groups during the 1970s, and have sustained that organising strategy ever since (Koda et al 1987, Mbilinyi 1992, 1994b). Formation of women's groups enabled women to strengthen mutual solidarity, access key resources at community level such as land, subvert patriarchy within the household and extended family by placing savings within the group, and increase local support and status for women. The government provided major support for women's cooperatives and groups at this time, in the form of credit and access to imported producer goods such as milling and sewing machines. Donors began to support women's economic groups in the 1980s and early 1990s, and in a sense filled the gap which arose after the government's financial crisis, beginning around 1978.

Women explained their increased organisational activism in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a response to the growing crisis of incomes and the shortage of necessary consumer and producer goods at that time. They created informal *upatu* (savings and loan) groups, and used group formations with some success to negotiate access to more resources from village governments, district leaders, and donor-led projects. Women's groups became early schools of democracy at local level, and the most successful ones were based on local initiative.

Rwambali (1990) found in her study of Morogoro that 41% of the women farmers belonged to at least one women's group, compared to only 7% who were members of village government and 4% ten cell leaders. Mhina et al (1996) also found fairly high participation rates in women's groups, as well as in mixed male/female groups in Korogwe and Muheza Districts (Tanga Region).

Women's groups have created local safety nets for women and their households and communities, as well as a training ground for democracy, and with the proper support, can become the building blocks for programmes to increase agricultural output and productivity. Policy-makers need to become informed about already-existing groups and organisations which have been successful, and provide them with support, rather than

start up entirely new programmes which interfere with local initiatives and divert resources (UNICEF 1994).

Male bias in distribution of key resources has been documented in this chapter, together with the existence of regional and income/class disparities. The next chapter examines intrahousehold patterns of access to and control over resources, and the gender division of labour in household economic activities, including reproduction as well as production.

8

INTRA-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS IN FARMING AND NON-FARM ACTIVITIES

One of the major changes which occurred in the gender division of labour at household level and in the rural economy as a whole during the 1980s and 1990s is the growing participation of women in formal and informal labour markets. A growing number work as paid casual farm labour on plantations, commercial farms and small village farms, or in other forms of wage employment. They have also become more involved in other forms of nonfarm market-oriented activities, including beer brewing, trade, food manufacture and sales, and artisanry. SAP has accelerated this process of commoditisation of female labour, by increasing the pressure to seek cash income, and by expanding the rural labour market and commodity markets in general.

Pressure to intensify female labour in cash-earning activities has arisen from several interrelated factors:

- increased costs of life associated with devaluation; cost-sharing in education, health and water;
- increased production costs associated with devaluation, abolition of farm producer subsidies, increased reliance on hired labour [partly due to withdrawal of the labour of women and youth from unpaid family labour reserve]
- declining male incomes due to falling rates of return for 'male' export crops, a decline in formal wage employment
- increased demand for cheap casual labour on plantations and large farms, often in 'female' tasks such as weeding, harvesting, and certain agro-processing tasks
- increased market opportunities at village level and on plantations, rural mines and other employment and trade centres for goods and services which women have been able to provide, including homebrew beer, cooked food and buns, fruits and vegetables, and sexual services.

Earlier chapters have confirmed the growing significance of female labour in nonfarm as well as farm activities in rural areas. This chapter will focus on recent studies of intrahousehold social relations within the households of smallholder farmers in Morogoro and Mbozi (Rwambali 1990, Mwanyika 1993), and of workers on sugarcane and sisal plantations in Morogoro and Moshi (Lazaro 1996, Mbilinyi/Semakafu 1995).

The following questions will be asked:

- do women and men share domestic work, as women become more active in cash-earning activities?
- do women and men share farm tasks rather than sustain rigid task divisions by gender?
- has women's work increased over the last five years or so?
- who provides what in the household?
- who makes basic decisions about farming? use of crop proceeds and other sources of income?

The answers to some of these questions are qualitative. Women (and rarely, men as well) were asked their perceptions of changes over time with regard to specific issues. In general, there is a dearth of time-series data on all of these questions, and an urgent need to carry out in-depth longitudinal studies so as to document changes. Nor did time allow adequate comparison between earlier literature and the present situation.

SMALLHOLDER FARM SYSTEMS

Gender Division of Labour in Tasks

According to the NSCA3 (1996:30-31), women reportedly carried out more than half of all the work in farming (estimated contribution of women shown in parentheses):

- tilling (64%)
- sowing (70%)
- weeding (71%)
- harvesting (73%) and
- marketing (56%).

These are aggregate figures, as well as being estimates, in response to a question which asked people to report whether women carried out all the work, three quarters, half or a quarter in each farm operation, and on how much planted land. Micro-level research findings will therefore be relied upon to get more reliable information. Moreover, the NSCA3 does not provide regional differences, which are expected to be fairly large, given different crop cultures and farm practices.

Table 20 provides more specific information on who does what activity in one area (Ahungo n.d. cited in Women and Men 1995:T.3.8). Women predominated in nearly all tasks, with the exception of land preparation by oxen. They were especially responsible for threshing/processing, harvesting, weeding, storage and transport. A growing percentage of women took sole charge of formerly male tasks such as site clearing and land preparation, whether by hoe or oxen. Few households carried out farm tasks jointly.

How long was the working day? In a study carried out in Isange Village, Rungwe District (Mbeya Region) in 1983, it was estimated that the working day of a woman was about 12-14 hours, compared to 6 hours for men (Mbilinyi 1987). The working day covered both production and reproduction activities, i.e. farming, agroprocessing, transport including collection of water and fuelwood, and cooking. The work day was even longer in Bujera Village, Rungwe, because of the labour demands of tea production. Both men and women worked long days during 9 months of the year on household farms as family labour, and many wives and children also worked as casual labour on neighbouring village plots or on the Tukuyu Tea Estates (Mbilinyi 1989b). Still, women's work day was longer than men's, not due to farm tasks, but because of their reproductive tasks.

Morogoro and Mbozi

Women farmers spent an average of 6.7 hours per day solely in agriculture production in the five villages Rwambali studied in Morogoro Region (1990), with a range from 5.4 to 8.4 hours per day. In addition, they spent an average of 4.7 hours per day in reproduction activities, the most time-consuming being food preparation and cooking (2.7 hours) and water collection (0.8 hours). Hardly any farm activities were carried out solely by men, as shown in Table 21, not even in the case of cash crops. Most operations were carried out jointly or by hired labour, children and relatives (the other category), and some by women alone. The concept, *joint*, is also nebulous: what portion of joint was actually that of women?

In her 1992/93 study of women working or living on plantations in Morogoro, Lazaro (1996) found that women devoted an average of 4 hours per day to food crop production, compared to 1.6 hours by men. There was no major difference between married and single women (4.4 and 4.8 hours respectively), whereas married men devoted less time than single men (1.7 and 2.8 hours). Her explanation was that the married men relied on their wives' input into the farm. Women also devoted more time to domestic reproduction activities: 5.0 hours, compared to 1.3 hours for men (ibid:86-96).

Similar gender patterns were found in the Mtibwa 1977 study in Mbogo and Lusanga Villages (see above). Men did hardly any of the key domestic work in cooking, laundry, water collection and child care. This was carried out by wives/mothers, with the assistance of their children (male and female), with the exception of cooking which was occasionally done by boys. Mbogo villagers reported that some men might cook, if their wives were ill and there was no one else available. Those with bicycles also helped to carry water, especially if the water source was far from home.

Most farm operations in both villages were carried out by all household members, without regard to sex or age, especially hoe cultivation, planting, weeding, harvesting, transport. In Mbogo, everyone also took part in clearing the land, whereas Lusanga villagers insisted that this was largely the male head's responsibility. Food storage was carried out by men in Mbogo and women in Lusanga, but marketing the crop was solely carried out by the men in both places. Men were responsible for protecting crops from

pigs, a common pest, in Lusanga, whereas women and children scared away birds; in Mbogo, reportedly everyone shared this task.

Mwanyika (1993:73) carried out a gender disaggregation of labour requirements for coffee, maize, beans and finger millet in Mbozi. Different gender patterns were found for different crops. The only crop where more labour was put in by men was coffee (85 days for men, 80 for women). Men were mainly responsible for pruning and spraying, and women for pulping/washing, and women also did more of the harvesting and sorting, while weeding and fertilisation was carried out on a par. Although women put in more time than men in maize (61 days men, 77 days women), they each carried out all of the key farm operations; with more female responsibility shown for planting and weeding. Beans and finger millet depended almost entirely on female labour (11/59 and 6/141 respectively). Men helped out with land preparations in both cases, and some harvesting of beans.

These figures confirm the significance of female labour in two key cash crops, coffee and maize, whose proceeds, especially in the case of coffee, are almost entirely controlled by men. The concentration of male labour in cash crops and female labour in household food crops is also self-evident.

Decision-Making

Although men continued to dominate key decisions, especially concerning production, recent studies indicate that women also participated in the decision-making process, contrary to the situation in the past. In some 50% of Mbozi rural households who participated in Mwanyika's study (1993), both husband and wife decided together what to produce, and 47% what to sell. The husband decided alone in 32% and 40% of the households, respectively; and the wife alone in 18% and 13% of the cases. Who controlled the income? Male-domination persisted, with 72% of the households stating that husbands controlled this arena -- in full (2%), three quarters of the income (56%) or half the income (14%). Some 28% reported that the wife decided alone for the entire income (14%) or half (14%).

Lazaro (1996) carried out a detailed analysis of income and expenditure patterns in workers' households on Morogoro plantations. As women earned more cash income, they were increasingly involved in decision-making. Single women, like single men, had more or less complete control over how they used their income, and over other resources. Married men were faced with a new situation, however, in that they were responsible for providing for household consumption food needs on the basis of cash earnings, whereas as farmers, they could have relied more on their wives to provide (ibid:121). When asked who had the final decision on how household income was spent, 89% of the households with a non-income-earning wife said the husband, 11% said both. However, women who were earning some form of income had more say, either over how to use their own earnings, or they also gained decision-making power over joint income.

During the village seminars in Lusanga and Mbogo, the only decision that was unambivalently reported to be joint was that of what kind of crops to grow. Men controlled sales of crops, with joint consultation in some households. Women were the major decision-makers as to where to plant in Lusanga, whereas this was a joint decision in Mbogo. Men controlled sales of cattle and goats, women chickens, although in Mbogo people said there was consultation. Decisions over allocation of cash proceeds from crops were dominated by men, with the possibility of consultation in some cases -- "3 out of 100 households!" according to one woman in Lusanga.⁴¹

In response to other questions, some women villagers accused men of squandering their money on alcohol and "other women" - not all men, but many. The same issue of financial irresponsibility was raised by Mtibwa workers. Male workers hastened to point out that wives did not trust their husbands when they reported that their incomes were diminished, or that they had no more savings. The decline in male wages/ incomes had led to increased marital conflict as a result. Several women villagers *and* field workers conceptualised the present marital relationship as one where *women marry men*, and criticised this reversal of accepted gender roles. As one field worker noted: "The man used to be afraid of the marriage law, he gave you everything. Nowadays they avoid their responsibilities. According to the law, we women are supposed to be married, not to marry, but these days it's as if we married the men."

Talks with the security guards revealed a radical change which had taken place in some households or sexual relationships, when wives/girlfriends were employed on a regular basis and their husbands/partners were either unemployed lacked regular cash incomes. Some women used their income to dominate and exert power over the men!

These findings to some extent paralleled those of 1992 at Kilombero, Mtibwa and TPC (Mbilyi 1995b). Marital conflict had increased, and a major cause was believed by the workers to be growing economic hardship and poverty, and associated with that, female perceptions that men were not carrying their share of family responsibility.

Changes have taken place in the gender division of labour, but women remained solely responsible for most reproductive functions, with their children. Women's increasing access to and control over cash has given them more decision-making power in the household. When asked whether they regretted their additional responsibilities, several women proclaimed, "No way." They shuddered to recall past dependence on men for cash needs.

The major conclusions of this study are presented in the next chapter.

⁴¹ Kaihula (1995) also found a similar pattern of contradiction as women entrepreneurs accessed and controlled more income. Their husbands expressed anxiety about the perceived threat to their former position as 'heads' of household, but they also appreciated the contributions which women made to household income.

9

CONCLUSIONS

Key issues that have emerged during the course of this study are presented in this chapter, along with potential directions for further research and analysis. A summary of the main findings of this report is presented in the *Executive Summary*, along with policy recommendations.

The Impact of SAP

The outcomes of reform policies have been mixed in terms of overall agriculture performance, with positive and negative consequences for women farmers and workers and other self-employed persons. Summaries of specific reform elements and their outcomes are presented in the form of a matrix in Tables A and B below. Table A refers to general social consequences, and Table B to gender consequences. Space has been left for participants/readers to add their own observations. In a sense, the matrices reflect worst case scenario, from the perspective of working people. Clearly a minority of the population has benefited from the changes which have been occurred in Tanzanian rural society. Moreover, gender relations have been transformed with increased economic power for women, resulting from their increased labour force participation. This has accompanied the tragedy of falling male employment and the decline in male incomes that has been found in many locations.

The difficulty of disentangling specific outcomes of SAP from a general process of “globalisation” was noted in Chapter 1: i.e. increasing incorporation of the people and society as a whole into the global market, under the domination of transnational corporations. To that extent, SAP and other reform processes have accelerated a long term process in the development of capitalist relations. Many of the outcomes noted fit this analysis.

Smallholder Farming at Risk

Many of the observations of this study suggest that smallholder farming, at least as it exists today, is at risk:

- the growing dependence on nonfarm incomes for household subsistence;
- the increasingly part-time nature of farming;
- the increasing withdrawal of family labour from smallholder farming for a variety of reasons (including women/youth resistance against unpaid family labour systems);
- the migration of youth and women away from the household farm;
- the increasing monetary costs of farm production and dependence on tradable goods and services such as farm inputs/equipment;
- the increasing landlessness or marginalisation in land ownership, especially among youth, the poor and women;

- the increasing orientation of farming towards non-food export crops;
- the increasing concentration and control over key resources (land, labour, farm inputs/equipment) by largescale capitalist enterprises, and the corresponding marginalisation of smallholder farmers;
- the shift in orientation of state services in support of largescale capitalist ventures rather than smallholder farming.

Many of the tendencies noted by Bryceson and Howe (1995) in their analysis of the “de-agrarianization” process have been found in this study, including barriers to the full implementation of SAP or to viable development strategies. For example, imperfect markets interfere with the development process as designed by the policy-makers. Economic diversification is happening, vis the increased significance of nonfarm activities, but infrastructural problems and low rural purchasing power inhibit rural industrialisation. Nontraditional crops may not be viable because of their reliance on high capital costs, special cultivation skills/knowledge, and efficient transport systems.

Table A: Structural Adjustment and its Consequences Thus Far - A Summary

<i>SAP</i>	<i>Social Consequences</i>
1. increased role of market forces	blocked by imperfect markets; but increased market value given to land, increased differentiation and concentration of land holdings; increased income gap
2. devaluation of national currency	increased cost of farm inputs and consumption items
3. increased bank interest rates	declining access to credit for poor smallscale farmers (the majority), women, cooperatives
4. cost-sharing in social services	increased costs of schooling reduces access; declining utilisation of modern health facilities
5. abolition of producer price support systems	declining food producer prices in remote/distant locations leads to falling output; better off farmers switch to export crops; increased prices and returns in northern and western zone stimulates increased output
6. abolition food consumer price subsidies	increased household food insecurity among poor rural households
7. abolition farm input subsidies	increased cost of farm inputs, decreased use, declining yields and outputs overall of food and export crops in many areas
8. increased producer price levels (crops)	stagnancy/decline in real price levels; stagnancy/decline in export crop outputs; reduced export earnings
9. increased producers' share of world crop prices	remains low due to inflation, devaluation (which increase transport and other costs of marketing) and incomplete restructuring of market systems
10. retrenchment	increased unemployment, especially of men; with no employment strategy to assist; increased burdens on women
11. tight budget management	decline of agriculture extension and other farm support services (see also #10)
12. trade liberalisation & market restructuring	increased regional and class differentiation in crop returns, control over land, farm inputs/equipment, credit

	and other resources
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Table B: Structural Adjustment and its Consequences Thus Far - A Summary

<i>SAP & Its Effects</i>	<i>Gender Consequences</i>
1. increased nominal producer prices	women farmers do not benefit equally or at all; therefore no incentive to increase labour input and output
2. increased cost of farm inputs	decreased access to farm inputs/equipment for women
3. increased cost of consumer goods	increased female poverty
4. trade liberalisation	increased (self) employment opportunity; loss of assured markets for food crops
5. fiscal austerity measures	decreased access to credit due to high interest rates, 'hard' procedures such as collateral
6. increased market value of land	increased landlessness; increased rental/price rates beyond the reach of most women and youth in many areas
7. increased intensification of farming to meet rising consumption/production costs	increased female work burdens in production; increased female and child labour in farm and nonfarm activities
8. increased pressure to earn cash	declining household food security; food stores sold for cash; especially harmful for women, the "providers"
9. increased nonfarm activities at household & community level	decreased availability of family labour for farming
10. increased rural-rural and rural-urban migration, esp. of youth	decreased labour supply for farming; delayed marriage; increased % female-headed households
11. switch from food to industrial export crops as main cash crop *	declining household food security, as more land devoted to non-food crop; increasing gender conflict over control of labour, land and crop proceeds
12. switch from industrial to food crop as main cash crop *	increasing gender conflict over control of food crop and female labour

* Depending on location, crop switching may move in either direction, from food to industrial crop, or industrial crop to food crop. Each will have an impact on gender relations in the farming system.

On the other hand, the results do not necessarily connote de-agrarianisation, but rather, a transformation of social class/gender relations in agriculture production. One scenario could be the growing immiseration of the majority of rural people, the collapse of viable commercial smallholder farming (or peasant farming by another name), and the entrenchment of largescale capitalistic agriculture enterprise which relies on extremely exploitative forms of labour organisation - made possible by the quantity of surplus labour available. Economic measures would thereby have created the kind of profitable conditions which depended in the past on colonial or apartheid systems of social organisation.

Whatever the alternative may be, it hopefully will not be on the backs, again, of women and youth. The gender relations which underlie the patriarchal farming system are

no longer tenable - women and youth have voted with their feet and with their hands - “no more unpaid slavery!” People-centred sustainable development strategies will have to confront the enormity of the oppression and exploitation that maintains the so-called “community” in rural Tanzanian society, and join forces with women and youth in creating entirely new forms of household/community structures.

The Meaning of Female-Headedness

The shift in responsibility for cash incomes from the shoulders of men to those of women - in part or full - needs to be problematised in the light of the apparent decline of male ability or obligations to provide for their households and families. The phenomenon of male economic impotence and the rise of female-headed households has been a characteristic of other impoverished and disenfranchised peoples, namely the Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean community in the Americas. At issue is not male irresponsibility as an attitudinal or behavioural thing, though it may come to that, but the steady erosion of viable means at men’s disposal to provide for themselves and their families/households. This is neither traditional nor progressive; from a gender perspective, it is tragic. The solution need not be a call to return to “traditional” values and roles - indeed, that will be impossible. Rather, people need to contemplate, realistically, what kind of sustainable development strategies can be developed with the resources at their disposal, right now, which depend on local initiative, can be managed democratically by women and men, old and young, and provide dignified livelihoods for women and men on an equal and equitable basis.

Research Strategies

Many questions have emerged during this study, that cannot be answered without further study of the available literature, and by in-depth research. Nearly all of the research reports consulted were one-off studies. Long-term time series data is needed, to be able to discern real changes in market conditions, farmer responses, employment patterns and gender relations. More work needs to be done to analyse the impact of SAP and to create viable development alternatives with local communities, targeting specific interest groups, such as women, youth, pastoralists, landless groups, and casual farm workers. Action-oriented participatory research can become part of a programme to build organisational capacity at the local level, thereby equipping communities and groups to face the challenges ahead in a more proactive manner.

Take Reproduction Seriously

The capacity of the household and the community to reproduce themselves has been seriously undermined. The decline of public social services has become a politically explosive issue, and yet, the government and other development agencies have not taken decisive action to reverse the trend and provide high quality, accessible education, health and water services to all citizens. The rural areas continue to be neglected, with negative consequences for all. Health epidemics know no boundaries. Participatory democracy depends upon a well-educated and enlightened citizenry. These are efficiency arguments. Access to quality health, education and water services is a basic human right, that ought to require no justification.

Activist State and Civil Society

Village farmers and plantation workers shared a common vision of an activist state, which would protect their interests vis-a-vis company management and the vagaries of the market. Parents accused the government for its failure to develop an employment strategy which would ensure that their children had something meaningful to do, and the means to maintain themselves. Women were angry with official neglect in ensuring that men carried out their parental responsibilities. Plantation workers were especially alarmed about the increase in child abuse, and believed that the government had an active role to play in supporting efforts to stop male violence against women and children.

At the same time, farmers talked about the need to organise themselves so as to protect their control over village land and the commons around it. Joint action was also recognised as necessary to create a bottom floor to producer prices, below which farmers would not sell, thereby protecting their farm incomes from the inroads of private traders. TPAWU/ MWEMA is a good example of initiatives being taken by women workers to organise themselves.

A strong democratic activist state and a multi-layered civil society consisting of many different kinds of organisations -- these are both vital building blocks of democratic society. All citizens should have a voice in deciding about macro-level policies such as SAP, as directly as possible. Concrete mechanisms need to be put into place to enable people, at local level on up, to decide, for example, what kind of land reform they prefer, and how national revenue should be allocated between different sectors of government (the budget process). Economic literacy programmes will help to build analytical capacity, so as to be able to make informed decisions about macro policy. Gender activists can contribute their analytical skills to this popular education process, along with advocacy and lobbying for desirable policies at all levels of society. As Mtibwa workers said, "We don't have to agree with the World Bank about everything!" A healthy dialogue is needed, involving all stake-holders, so as to ensure that rural communities thrive and transform themselves in the twenty-first century, with justice, equity and peace.

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Table 1a Economically Active Population by Sex and Economic Status, Percent - 1967

	Mainland Rural			Mainland Urban			Zanzibar		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Employer	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0
Own-Account	69	83	76	22	50	27	72	88	80
Employee	12	1	7	74	44	69	18	2	11
Family workers	18	16	17	1	5	2	9	10	9
Not stated	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Abs.No ('000)	2734	2635	5369	177	30	207	90	81	171

Source: Dey and Mogil 1973 in BOS/BRALUP 1973 : T. 8.

Table 1b Population by Sex and Employment Status (1978) - Percentages

	Rural					Urban				
	Total	Men	Women	%	% Female	Total	Men	Women	%	%Female
Permanent employm	234246	6.1	1.1	100	17.4	401228	53.6	17.	100	15.4
Temporary employm	148769	3.9	0.6	100	16.0	100847	12.8	5.3	100	19.8
Casual employment	58789	1.6	0.2	100	14.2	28333	3.9	1.6	100	21.7
Own Account enter.	4945370	82.6	63.1	100	46.8	3860642	27.7	54.8	100	54.2
Family workers	1454848	5.1	34.8	100	87.7	92495	2.1	21.1	100	85.9
Other	10342	0.2	0.1	100	44.8	2152	0.2	0.2	100	33.1
Total %		100	99.9	100			99.9	100	100	
Total		46.5	53.5				62.6	37.4	100	
Total N	6852364	3185921	3666443			1005697	629447	376550		

Source: ILO/JASPA 1986: T.13, calculations based on BOS 1982 vol. IV, T.12, p. 51, 1978 Population Census - includes Zanzibar.

Table 1c Economically Active Population by Sex and Economic Status - 1988
10 Years and Over (In %)

	<u>Rural</u>				<u>Urban</u>			
	Men	Women	Total	%Female of Total	Men	Women	Total	%Female of Total
Employer	0.3	0.2	23072	38.6	2.5	0.9	33197	19.5
Employee	6.9	1.6	366511	20.5	43.9	22.7	630873	26.9
Own Account	89.6	94.2	8164047	53.8	51.5	72.1	1079328	49.9
Unpaid Family Worker	2.7	3.8	289477	61.2	1.1	3.6	39784	69.2
Other	0.4	0.2	27529	32.2	0.9	0.6	14175	28.6
Total %	99.9	100.0			99.9	99.9		
Total N	4205509	4665127	8870636	52.6	1050466	746891	1797357	41.5
Not Stated	741697	1935671	3677368	52.6	463202	775575	1238777	62.6

Source: Author's compilation from BOS 1992:T.17, p. 89 - Population Census 1988, mainland and Zanzibar.

Table 2 Occupational Categories by Gender for Total Rural Population 10 Years and Over
[% - Excluding Not Employed & Not Stated]

	Men	Women	Total	% Female of Total
legis/adm/manager	0.4	0.0	18749	9.6
professionals/tech/teachers	2.7	0.9	156702	26.7
clerks	0.4	0.2	25878	31.4
service/shop/sales	1.2	0.9	90312	45.1
cultivators	80.8	89.8	7610085	55.2
mixed farming	9.7	6.9	735915	44.0
agri. workers	0.5	0.1	26797	18.4
craftsment/mach.operators	1.5	0.2	70799	10.3
smallscale traders/labourer	1.9	0.5	106489	23.3
other worker	0.8	0.5	55150	41.4
Total %	99.9	100.0		
Total N	4217499	4679374	8896872	52.6
Not Employed	1700192	1895933	3596125	52.7
Not Stated	29310	25394	54704	46.4

Source: Author's calculations from BOS 1992: T. 16, p. 77

Table 3 Participation Rates of Persons 10 Years and Above by Education Level and Sex -
Mainland

[in %]

Education Level	Mainland Rural		Mainland Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
TOTAL N	5821091	6463569	1438201	1441993
Never to school	81	83	73	62
Primary not complete	95	91	91	66
Primary completed	96	91	93	62
Form 4 not complete	94	85	92	58
Form 4 complete	97	90	95	79
Form 6 not complete	93	89	81	79
Form 6 completed	94	87	94	82
University/other	96	90	96	85
Course after Pri. S.	96	96	92	88
Course after Sec. S.	97	96	97	93
Attending School	2	2	2	1
Not stated	2	0	0	0
Total Participation Rate	72	72	72	52

Source: BOS 1995 National Profile T. 6.8, 6.9

Table 4 Employment Status, Gender and Age in Tanzania - 1988

[In %]*

Age Group	Total		Employer		Employee		Own Account		Unpaid Family Worker		Other		Not Stated	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-14	21	19	2	1	0.	1	4	3	32	18	6	12	60	49
15-19	16	16	8	12	6	12	14	14	34	28	14	25	24	19
20-24	11	13	14	22	13	22	14	16	15	16	18	17	4	7
25-29	11	12	17	27	19	27	14	15	8	11	18	14	2	5
30-34	8	8	15	18	18	18	10	11	3	6	10	8	1	3
35-39	7	7	13	11	15	11	9	10	2	5	10	6	1	2
40-44	5	5	9	5	10	5	6	7	1	4	5	4	0.	1
45-49	5	5	7	3	8	3	7	6	1	3	3	3	0.	1
50-54	4	4	5	1	5	1	5	6	1	2	3	3	0.	1
55-59	3	3	4	1	3	1	5	4	1	2	3	2	0.	1
60-64	3	3	3	0.	1	0.	4	4	1	1	2	2	1	2
65 +	7	6	4	0.	2	0.	9	5	1	2	4	4	5	8
NState	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1
Total	7460874	8123264	40884	15385	752251	245133	4310192	4933183	123680	205581	28968	12736	2204899	2711246

*Rounded off to the nearest digit

Source: BOS 1992: T. 18, p. 92

Table 5 Paid Employees by Age and Rural-Urban Location
[In %]

Age group	Rural	Urban
10-14	3	1
15-19	9	7
20-24	13	13
25-29	17	23
30-34	18	20
35-39	13	14
40-44	9	8
45-49	6	8
50-54	7	5
55 +	6	4
<i>Total %</i>	<i>101%</i>	<i>103%</i>

* % do not add up to 100% because of rounding off

Source: Author's calculations from BOS 1996b Statistical Abstract: 1994: T. E.5

Table 6 Participation Rates of Population 10 Years and Above by Age
Rural/Urban Mainland and Zanzibar

Age Group	Mainland (1990/91)		Zanzibar (1992)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>URBAN</i>				
<i>Total</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>76</i>
10-14	7	9	--	--
15-19	49	53	26	38
20-24	70	85	65	79
25-34	82	98	76	96
35-54	78	98	76	96
55 +	51	81	38	67
<i>RURAL</i>				
<i>Total</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>86</i>	<i>88</i>
10-14	26	25	--	--
15-19	70	66	62	55
20-24	92	93	92	86
25-34	95	97	96	100
35-54	95	96	97	100
55 +	70	84	70	88

Source: Women and Men T.3.3, p.55, based on BOS/Labour Dept 1993 Tanzania Mainland: The Labour Force Survey 1990/91; Labour Commission & Dept of Statistics, Zanzibar: The Labour Force Survey 1992.

Table 7 Index of Female Wages as Portion of Male Wages
Average Monthly Income Paid by Industry - Mainland and Zanzibar
 [Female Wage as Portion { % } of Male Wage]

Industry	Mainland	Zanzibar
<i>Total</i>	83%	77%
agriculture/fishing/forestry	68	75
mining/quarrying	*	*
manufacturing	70	68
electricity & gas	94	103
building/construction	80	94
trade	92	78
transport	92	55
finance	86	82
personal services	86	79

* Women's sample too small for calculation

Source: Author's calculations from Women and Men T. 3.5, original data from Labour Force Survey 1990/91 Mainland & Labour Force 1992 Zanzibar.

Table 8 Employment at Mtibwa Sugar Estates - 1997

[in %]

	Men				Women					
	Managerial	Technical Manual	Total %	Total Men	Managerial	Technical Manual	Total %	Total Women	Total N	Female % of Total
Field	3 %	97 %	100 %	869	1 %	99 %	100	99	968	10 %
Factory	19	81	100	348	--	100	100	8	356	2
Office	26	74	100	277	4	96	100	168	445	38
Hospital	8	92	100	74	25	75	100	25	99	25
Security	1	99	100	121	0	100	100	51	172	30
Total N	175	1514		1689	10	341		351	2040	17%

Source: Mtibwa Sugar Estates field research, May 1997, Data provided by office of Manpower Development and Administration

Table 9 Marital Status by Gender in Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar - 1978 & 1988

{In %}

		Mainland			Zanzibar		
		Married	Not Married	Total %	Married	Not Married	Total %
1978	Male	50%	50 %	100%	34%	66%	100
	Female	57	43	100	39	61	100
1988	Male	45	55	100	45	55	100
	Female	52	48	100	50	50	100

BOS 1992: National Profile T.5

Table 10 Marital Status of Heads of Household in Rural Mainland and Rural Zanzibar
[in %]*

	Rural Mainland				Rural Zanzibar			
	Male	Female	Total N	Female % of Total	Male	Female	Total N	Female % of Total
Married	88.6%	57.8%	2698501	21.4%	86.9	49.7	68045	22.1
Single	6.2	6.2	210282	29.5	5.7	1.4	3938	11.0
Divorced/ separated	3.3		199688	60.4	5.1	26.6	11138	72.0
Widowed	2.		285762	83.5	2.3	22.3	8124	82.9
N.S	0.		406	70.4	0.0	0.0	0	
Total %	100.1				100.0	100.0		
Total N	2394462	1000177	3394639	29.5	61046	30199	91245	33.1

Table 11 Production of Major Cash Crops Index (1976=100)

Year	Sisal fibres	cotton lint	hulled coffee	tea	tobacco	pyrethrum flowers	cashew nuts	sugar
1951	130	21	34	8	15	8	00	8
1952	145	20	35	8	12	6	00	9
1953	151	33	29	9	10	7	00	11
1954	160	22	37	12	18	12	00	10
1955	158	44	36	14	15	16	00	10
1956	166	52	43	17	15	19	00	17
1957	165	57	39	20	15	19	00	17
1958	176	72	43	20	18	16	00	19
1959	184	74	43	26	19	20	00	25
1960	184	85	50	26	16	26	68	26
1961	177	81	37	32	19	33	33	26
1962	191	72	50	30	12	49	68	36
1963	191	92	54	36	16	58	70	45
1964	205	112	63	34	15	58	90	56
1965	191	125	64	40	36	93	92	61
1966	198	158	97	48	36	112	101	64
1967	194	186	75	51	55	170	102	65
1968	173	167	97	52	51	122	143	75
1969	184	122	86	62	82	95	138	83
1970	178	164	93	60	78	59	135	79
1971	162	180	86	74	84	93	148	87
1972	138	154	97	90	100	108	156	80
1973	137	182	111	91	92	102	152	99
1974	126	154	75	92	98	83	176	88
1975	109	168	108	98	128	120	135	93
1976	100[113698]	100[42410]	100[53351]	100[14075]	100[14223]	100[3945]	100[82370]	100[110569]
1977	92	158	85	119	135	83	118	90
1978	81	119	100	124	128	65	83	121
1979	72	132	93	127	121	41	69	103
1980	76	143	90	121	12	41	50	111
1981	65	138	125	112	117	51	69	110
1982	53	105	102	117	114	48	54	108
1983	41	101	100	110	96	41	40	114
1984	34	99	93	117	74	36	59	102
1985	28	94	92	120	94	39	39	94
1986	27	74	101	99	88	34	23	91
1987	29	163	78	103	116	31	20	86
1988	29	183	92	106	91	36	29	92
1989	28	131	104	124	81	33	23	87
1990	30	79	97	135	83	41	21	101
1991	32	111	--	135	116	43	35	--

* rounded off to the nearest digit

figures in brackets [] are tonnes output in index year

Source: BOS 1994a: T. 8.1

Table 12 Nominal Producer prices in Morogoro Region

<i>Crop</i>	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97
Maize (Tsh/kg)	53/	63/	80/	83/	100/	137/50
Paddy (Tsh/bag of 75 kg)	4500/	6000/	8000/	8500/	10000/	20000/
Rice (Tsh/bag of 100 kg)	13500/	14000/	20500/	23000/	23000/	54000/
Cotton (Tsh/kg)	60/	80/	120/	200/	160/	-

Source Regional Agricultural Development Office, Morogoro, May 1997

Table 13 Planted Area of Holding ('000 ha) by Gender of Farm Holder/Head

Sex	1986/87		1987/88		1989/90		1990/91		1994/95	
	Plantd	Ave.	Plantd	Ave.	Plantd	Ave	Plantd	Ave	Plantd	Ave.
Male	2607	.89	2660	.93	2262	1.1	2474	.73	2954	.97
Female	353	.59	280	.57	608	.74	381	.53	394	.62
Totl	2960	.74	2940	.75	2870	.92	2855	.63	3348	.91
%F of Total	12%		9.5%		21%		13.3%		11.8%	

Source: 1994/95 = NSCA3:T.1-16; all other years from Koda 1994:T.5.3, original source Agricultural Sample Surveys, BOS.

Table 14 Heads of Household by Sex and Size of Planted Area - Mainland [in %]

Size of planted area	Male	Female
without planted area	5%	4%
0.01-0.10	9	12
0.11-0.20	11	14
0.21-0.30	9 [29%]	13 [39%]
0.31-0.40	8	11
0.41-0.50	7	9
0.51-0.60	6	6
0.61-0.70	5	4
0.71-0.80	5	5
0.81-0.90	4	4
0.91-1.00	3 [38%]	2 [41%]
1.01-1.50	12	9
1.51-2.00	6	3
2.01-5.00	10	4
5.01 +	2 [30%]	1 [17%]
Total	101%	101%
Total Households	3872324	661868
%F of Total		17%

Source: Author's calculations from NSCA3: t. 1-13A

Table 15 Land Holdings: Number of Employed Workers by Sex and Size of Holdings
[In %]

	Number Employed		Total N	%Female of Total
	Male	Female		
0.01-0.10	1%	3%	1136	36%
0.11-0.20	3	-	1847	--
0.21-0.30	7	10	6098	25
0.31-0.40	--	3	376	100
0.41-0.50	4	6	3432	27
0.51-0.60	1	--	461	--
0.61-0.70	1	--	354	--
0.71-0.80	-	--	--	--
0.81-0.90	1	9	1734	76
0.91-1.00	1	-	500	--
1.01-1.50	11	4	7453	7
1.51-2.00	11	17	9135	26
2.01-5.00	33	43	26872	23
5.01 +	27	6	17873	5
Total	101%	101%		19%
<i>Total Households</i>	<i>62739</i>	<i>14530</i>	<i>77271</i>	
%F of Total				17%

Source: Author's calculations from NSCA3:T.5-04A.

Table 16 Total Number and Percentage of Agricultural Households by Formal Education, Sex and Level of Involvement in Farming Activity of Head
[in %]

Sex & level of involvement in farming of head	Total		No Formal Education			Formal Education				
	No	%	Total No Formal Ed	No reading & writing	Reading & writing	Total N Formal Ed	%	Pri S	Sec S	Univ & Higher
<i>Male Headed HH</i>										
Full Time on Farm	2491303	78	81	79	83	1037474	73	75	35	62
Occasionally	633037	20	16	16	15	352907	25	23	57	36
Working Off Farm	43395	1	1	1	1	23407	2	1	8	2
Not Eco Active	42723	1	2	4	1	4342	0.	0.	--	--
Total %		100	100	100	100		100	99.	100	100
Total N	3210458		1792328	828137	964191	1418130		1329480	65114	23536
<i>Female Headed HH</i>										
Full Time on Farm	591301	89	91	91	92	116864	82	84	56	76
Occasionally	62904	9	8	7	8	23570	17	15	44	7
Working Off Farm	3530	1	0.	1	-	1209	1	1	--	17
Not Eco Active	4131	1	1	1	-	---	--	--	--	--
Total %		100	100	100	100		100	100	100	100
Total N	661866		520223	411481	108742	141643		131447	7046	3150
<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>3872324</i>		<i>2312551</i>	<i>1239618</i>	<i>1072933</i>	<i>1559773</i>		<i>1460927</i>	<i>72160</i>	<i>26686</i>
% Female of Total	17%		22%	33%	10%	9%		9%	10%	12%

Source: Author's calculations, based on NSCA2: T. 1-09.

Table 17 Percentage of Agricultural Household Heads by Formal Education, Sex and Occupation of Head
[in %]

Occupation of Head	FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS							MALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS						
	Total No	%	No Formal Ed %	Formal Education				Total N	%	No Formal Ed %	Formal Education			
				Total %	P/Sc	Sec S	Univ +				Total %	Pri Sch	Sec Sch	Univ +
Manager/adm/related	529	0.	--	1	-	-	17	13748	0.	0.	1	1	5	5
Professional/related	8192	1	--	5	5	26	--	79009	3	0.	5	4	33	15
Clerk	729	0	--	1	1	6	--	12392	0.	0.	1	1	6	--
Sales Worker	1706	0	0.	0.	0.	--	--	8553	0.	0.	0.	0.	-	--
Office Worker	1916	0	0	1	1	--	--	21114	1	0.	1	1	1	--
Peasant Farmer	619363	95	97	80	88	56	83	2720478	86	92	81	83	37	68
Cattl-herding/fishery	2109	0	0.	2	0.	--	--	68725	2	3	2	2	0.	3
Other agri worker	3416	1	1	1	1	--	--	14061	0	0.	1	1	1	3
Forestry/Hunting	--	--	--	0.	--	--	--	3106	0	0	0.	0	0	-
Business	5818	1	1	6	2	--	--	141570	5	4	6	6	8	2
Machine Operator	--	--	0	1	--	--	--	15995	1	0.	1	1	1	--
Student	507	0.	--	0.	0	-	--	1429	0	--	0	0	2	-
Housewife/domestic worker	6568	1	1	-	2	--	--	--	-	-	--	--	--	-
Other	1569	1	1	2	1	11	--	51839	2	--	2	2	7	4
<i>Total</i>		<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>				<i>101</i>	<i>102</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Total N</i>	<i>652422</i>		<i>511280</i>	<i>14103</i>	<i>1309</i>	<i>7046</i>	<i>3150</i>	<i>3152019</i>			<i>14103</i>	<i>13226</i>	<i>64179</i>	<i>23535</i>
N.S.	9445		8944	7805	501	99	-	58438			7805	6870	935	--

Source: Author's calculations, based on NSCA2:T. 1-11

Table 18 Education of Household Head
[in %]

Education Level	Male Household Heads		Female HH Heads	
<i>No Formal Education</i>				
<i>Total No Formal Ed</i>	55.8		78.6	
<i>No Reading/Writing</i>		25.8		62.2
<i>Reading/Writing</i>		30.0		16.4
<i>Formal Education</i>				
<i>Total Formal Ed</i>	44.2		21.4	
<i>Primary Sch.</i>				19.9
<i>Sec Sch</i>				1.1
<i>Univ. +</i>				0.4
Total %	100.0		100.0	100.0
Total N	3210458		661866	

Source: Calculations made from Table 16 above.

Table 19 Household Members and Level of Involvement in Farm Activity
[in %]

Level of Involvement	Male	Female
Full time working on farm	55.6	64.9
Occasionally working on farm	34.1	26.2
Working Off Farm	3.5	2.6
Not economically active	6.7	6.3
Total %	99.9	100.0
Total N	7399866	7135013

Source: Author's calculations from NSCA2: T. 1-18.

Table 20 Division of Farming Activities (in %)

<i>Farming Activities</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Both together</i>
Site clearing	45.6	43.5	10.9
Land preparation by hoe	38.3	42.5	19.2
Land preparation by oxen	32.5	50.0	14.5
Sowing and planting	40.4	34.1	25.5
Weeding	69.3	12.3	18.4
Harvesting	73.4	12.3	14.3
Transport	66.6	14.6	18.8
Threshing/processing	79.5	12.3	8.2
Storage	69.4	18.3	12.2

Source: Ahungo n.d. cited in Women and Men 1995: T.3.8 p. 60.

Table 21 Women's Percentage Contribution to Different Farm Operations in Food and Cash Crop Production
[N=47]

<i>Operation/activity</i>	Women only	Men only	Both	Others	Total
<i>site clearing:</i> food crop	16.7	23.3	43.3	16.7	100.0
cash crop	5.6	0.0	44.4	50.0	100.0
<i>seedbed</i> food crop	13.8	0.0	72.4	13.8	100.0
<i>preparation</i> cash crop	11.8	0.0	70.6	17.6	100.0
<i>sowing:</i> food crop	14.9	0.0	48.9	36.2	100.0
cash crop	12.5	0.0	54.2	33.3	100.0
<i>weeding:</i> food crop	14.9	0.0	38.3	46.0	100.0
cash crop	12.5	0.0	50.0	37.5	100.0
<i>harvesting</i> food crop	19.1	0.0	42.6	38.3	100.0
cash crop	16.7	0.0	41.7	41.6	100.0
<i>transporting</i> food crop	10.9	13.0	30.4	45.7	100.0
cash crop	16.7	8.3	42.7	33.3	100.0
<i>threshing</i> food crop	28.3	2.2	41.3	28.2	100.0
cash crop	14.3	0.0	57.1	28.6	100.0

Source: Rwambali 1990: p. 66.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 LIST OF RESOURCE PERSONS

Dar es Salaam

Prof. Robert Mabele, Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar es Salaam
 Bertha Koda, Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam
 Janet Bitayeko, Assis. Commissioner, MOAL
 Teresa Msaki, Planning Officer, MOAL
 Mr. Ngondi, Assis. Commissioner, MPDB
 J.M. Mdadila, Planning and Marketing Department, MPDB
 Dr. Munisa, MPDB
 Richard Mabala, researcher, writer, freelance consultant and TGNP member
 Demere Kitunga, Programme Officer (Information), TGNP
 Dr. Jeanne Koopman, consultant, IFAD
 Prof. Simon M Mbilinyi, Member of Parliament (CCM-Peramiho)

Morogoro

Oniesmo Ishumi, RADO, Morogoro
 J.A. Mwakiluma, Ag. Regional Administrative Secretary, Morogoro
 Joan Foya, Planning Officer, Morogoro Region
 Mary Kirimbai, Morogoro Water Procurement Project
 P.T. Mhongole, District Commissioner
 Susan Chekani, Senior Administrative Officer, Morogoro District
 Dr. Flavianus Magayane, Agri. Ed. and Ext., SUA
 Dr. Aida Isinika, Agri. Eco., SUA
 Dr. Evelyne Lazaro, Agri. Eco., SUA
 Flora Makundi, Dev. Studies Insti., SUA
 Asina Ali Shenduli, M Sc candidate, Agr. Ed. and Ext., SUA

Mtibwa Sugar Estates, Turiani Division, Mbogo and Lusanga Villages

Adelfina Kunjumu, Katibu Tarafa, Turiani
 Vicky Maselle, Chairperson, OTTU/MWEMA (MSE)
 Esta Mpolo, Secretary, OTTU/MWEMA (MSE)
 S.K. Magese, Adm. Manager, MSE
 Z M Lushiku, General Manager, MSE
 Dr. E Kiwonyi, Head of MSE Hospital
 Erasto Ching'oro, Coordinator, OTTU/MWEMA (MSE)

Mbogo Village

Rajabu Mohamed, Vice-Chair
 Amrali Mohamed, Secretary
 women and men villagers and other village leaders

Lusanga Village

Abdul Yusuf, Chair

12 other village leaders

women and men villagers

Adelfina Kuujuumu, Katibu Tarafa, Turiani

APPENDIX 2 PARTICIPANTS IN MTIBWA WORKSHOP
Organised with OTTU/MWEMA, 28 MAY 1997

Rehema Nyingilili, Finance, Chief Clerk (Stores)
 Mwajuma Hasani, Field, Sec'y Section I
 Donatila Wanyumila, Field, Sec'y Section II
 Benny Mhapa, Agronomy, Msimamizi Mwandamizi
 M T Mapunda, S/Constable, Adm.
 E Macha, Preventative Medicine, Stores
 Said Matula, Garage Foreman
 S Shilangalila, Records
 H Patrick, Finance, Sec'y
 N Pyupi, Adm., Chair of Clerical workers
 T Juma, Shamba, Sec'y, Weeders
 U C Mkilya, Shop, Factory
 M Chapulinge, Diversification (Field), Katibu Section IV
 R Muro, Nurse, Chair, Hospital workers
 T Japheti, Security, Chair
 Anastazia Raphael, Field, Weeders, Chair, Sect. II
 Melania Mathew, Field, " " Sect. IV
 Amina Salumu, Field, " " Sect. I
 Esta Mpolo, Field, Supervisor, Sect. IV, Secretary of OTTU/MWEMA
 Vicky Maselle, Administration, Training Dept., Chairperson of OTTU/MWEMA
 Erasto Ching'oro, Coordinator, MWEMA Project, MSE

Researchers:

Marjorie Mbilinyi, Professor, IDS, UDM
 Julius Mwabuki, Teacher

Group 1: Ben Mhapa, R Muro, R Nyingilili, T Japhet, M Mathew, M Mapunda, N Pyupi
 Group 2: S Shilangalila, D Wanyumila, E Kinyunyu, T Juma, A Raphael, E Mpolo, E
 Ching'oro
 Group 3: D Matula, H Patrick, U Mkilya, M Hassan, E Macha, M Chapulinge

APPENDIX 3.1 CHECK-LIST OF QUESTIONS/ISSUES FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS AT MSE & AT MBOGO AND LUSANGA VILLAGES

Procedures used:

At *Mtibwa Sugar Estates*, three separate focus group discussion sessions were held with women working as guards, hospital and field workers under the auspices of TPAWU/MWEMA and with the permission of MSE management. At Mbogo Village, a joint seminar was held with village leaders and women and men villagers, whereas at Lusanga Village, two separate processes were used. In the morning, the researchers met with the village government leaders in a focus group discussion which focused on only a few of the key issue questions. In the afternoon, separate group discussions were held with women and men, which explored all the items, but the gender division of labour issues were only asked of women. Their responses were presented visually (and therefore anonymously) to the men in a joint meeting afterwards, followed by discussion.

One of the TPAWU/MWEMA leaders was always on hand to introduce the research team to workers, and to help facilitate discussions.

Participants were introduced to each other at the start, and then the Senior Researcher gave a brief introduction of the objectives of the research visit. Information on bio-data was collected first from each individual by ticking or a show of hands (see below), and then the Senior Researcher posed the other questions on the check-list, one by one, and invited honest and frank replies. Efforts were made to ensure that there was full participation from different elements of each group. Participants were encouraged to provide different answers to the 'issue' questions, and to explain their answers. In many cases, a question led to prolonged discussion among workers, or villagers. Posters from the TGNP Voter Education programme were also used to raise awareness on gender issues.

An innovative approach was used to solicit information on bio-data and division of labour quickly and visually. All of the tables shown below were prepared on flip-chart, and then displayed on the walls of the meeting place (office, building walls, held by hand in the sugarcane field, and school classrooms in the case of villages). In every case, people chose to do the exercise 'publicly', i.e. in front of the group. Among guards and hospital workers, each individual ticked the appropriate 'cell' in the table, for example, concerning age group, or number of years of work experience. Because the session with field workers was held out-of-doors at one of the sugarcane fields, and involved 25 people, many of whom were illiterate, it was decided to invite a show of hands, instead, with facilitators responsible to count and then fill in the appropriate answer. A similar approach was used in Mbogo and Lusanga villages. The flip-chart approach was efficient in terms of time, and invariably aroused curiosity and some humour among participants.

MSE Workers

1. Hali ya maisha mwaka huu, ukilinganisha na mwaka jana? eleza.
-- miaka 5 iliyopita? eleza.
- 2.1 Mshahara [mapato] yako inatosha 100% mahitaji yako? nusu? robo? eleza.
- 2.2 Bei za mazao zinakuwaje? bei za pembejeo?
3. Umeanza kufanya kazi lini? Nini imekusababisha kutafuta kazi MSE?
- 4.1 Unafanya kazi katika idara ipi?
- 4.2 Unafanya kazi gani?
5. Matatizo gani kazini?
6. Siku hizi wengine wanasema kuna ugomvi zaidi nyumbani katika ya mama na baba, sababu hali gumu, fedha haitoshi. Je, seijui kama wewe unasemaje? Kweli ugomvi umeongezeka siku hizi au hapana? eleza.
7. Wengine wanasema siku hizi akina mama tu wanagharamia mahitaji ya nyumbani, kwamba akina baba hawasaidii. Wengine wanasema si kweli, hata akina baba wanasaidia, ila kipato chao kimeshuka. Mnaonaje? eleza.
8. Wengine wanasema siku hizi vijana wanaume hawaoi, au wanachelewa kuoa, kwa sababu uwezo hawana. Je, hapa je, ni kweli kwamba vijana hawaoi au kuchelewa kuoa? eleza.
9. Upande wa wanawake, wengi zaidi siku hizi hawaolewi tena baada ya kuachana au kufiwa. Je, ni sawa katika eneo ya Mtibwa (Lusanga, Mbogo)? kwa nini?
- 10.1 Je, sehemu nyingine idadi ya watu wanaoumwa na ukimwi inaongezeka, hapa je? Waajiri wanafanya nini baada ya kugundua kwamba mfanyakazi anaumwa?
- 10.2 Eti, vijana na wazee, wote wanaelewa njia za kuambikizwa na ukimwi? na kujua njia za kupinga? eleza
- 10.3 Eti, akina mama mnaweza kuongea habari hizo na akina baba? eleza.
11. Ungependa kwamba maisha ya watoto wako yawe namna gani watakapokuwa wakubwa? eleza.
12. Nani ana jukumu la kununua vitu fulani fulani katika kaya yako? mafuta ya taa, mafuta ya kupikia, ada za shule, nguo za shule, nguo za watoto wadogo, pembe jeo.
13. Mapendekezo kuhusu kazi:

Villagers, including village government leaders

The following questions were the same, with paraphrasing to fit the village situation when necessary: 1,2,6-13.

3. Umewahi kufanya kazi Mtibwa?

Questions 4 plus biodata were presented on flipcharts, filled in by individual workers at MSE in the case of biodata; filled in by open discussion and show of hands in Mbogo and Lusanga villages:

4.1 kazi za nyumbani: (weka alama k.m. ✓)

Shughuli	Mhusika			
	baba	mama	mtoto 'kike	mtoto 'kiume
kupika kufua nguo kuchota maji kutunza mtoto mdogo				

.....

4.2 kazi za shambani: (weka alama)

Shughuli	Mhusika			
	baba	mama	mtoto 'kike	mtoto 'kiume
kusafisha shamba kulima kwa jembe kulima kwa trekta kupanda kujpalilia kumwagilia kuvuna kubeba kuhifadhi ghalani kutafuta soko kujenga mifereji kutunza mifereji kufukuza ndege kufukuza nguruwe				

4.3 Nani anafanya shughuli zifuatazo:

Shughuli	<u>Mhusika</u>			
	baba	mama	mtoto 'kike	mtoto 'kiume
kilimo cha mpunga kilimo cha mahindi biashara: mgahawa pombe maandazi ajira (km Mtibwa)				

4.4 Nani anafanya maamuzi?

Shughuli	<u>Mhusika</u>			
	baba	mama	mtoto 'kike	mtoto 'kiume
aina ya mazao ya kuotesha (kilimo) mauzo ya mazao mauzo ya mifugo: kuku “ ng'ombe/mbuzi upandaji shamba mgao wa mapato ya kilimo: mazao “ : mifugo				

5.1 Sehemu nyingine vijana hawabaki kijijini. Karibu wote wanakwenda mjini kutafuta kazi/maisha. Je, inakuwaje hapa?

5.2 Nini ingesaidia vijana kubaki?

Bio-data kwa wote: (flipcharts)

a. umri wako (weka alama -/)

<i>miaka</i>	wanawake	wanaume
15-19		
20-29		
30-39		
40-49		
50-59		
60 -		

b. Miaka mingapi umefanya kazi Mtibwa [au umekaa Lusanga/Mbogo]?

<i>miaka</i>	wanawake	wanaume
0 <= 1		
1 <= 4		
5 <= 9		
10 >		

c. Elimu ya shule:

<i>darasa</i>	wanawake	wanaume
0		
P/S1 <= 4		
P/S 5 <= 7/8		
Kidato 1-3		
Kidato 4		
Kidato 5-6		
Elimu nyingine		

d. Suala la ndoa:

<i>hali ya ndoa</i>	wanawake	wanaume
sijaolewa/oa		
nimeolewa/oa		
kuachana		
kufiwa		

APPENDIX 3.2 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MANAGEMENT OF MSE

Data Needs

1. Trends in patterns of employment

1.1 Has there been an increase or decrease of female employment during last 1 year?

Comment.

1.2 During last 5 years? increase/decrease in Female employment

Which department

Task

2. Employment composition by Gender:

	Men		Women	
	managerial	technical/manual	managerial	technical/manual
Field				
Factory				
Office				
Hospital				
Security				
Total				

3. Other:

Field Workers Men Women Trainees Total

Overseer

Foremen

Senior Headmen

Headmen

4. Present net wages: Field day worker Field permanent worker Non-field worker

Other fringe benefits _____

5. Last change in wages

Level then of minimum wage: field

non-field

6. Major sources of labour in field work:

_____ cane cutting weeding

Men Local
 Neighbouring district
 Distant district

Women Local
 Neighbouring district
 Distant district

7.1 Source of cane:(%)

Mtibwa Sugar Estates%
Outgrowers%

7.2 % Cane of outgrowers only:

.....% 5 largest outgrowers
.....% 10 largest growers

8. Source of labour supply: outgrowers

Local% (approximation)
Neighbouring districts%
Distant districts%

9. Acreage under cane cultivation (approximation)

Mtibwa Sugar Estates
Outgrowers

10. Major achievements at Mtibwa Sugar Estates in last 5 years

11. Major problems in last 5 years & how solved?

APPENDIX 4 GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT WORKSHOP
 OTTU/MWEMA, Mtibwa Sugar Estates, 28.5.97
 [original on a flipchart, in Kiswahili]

Facilitator: Erasto Ching'oro

Agenda

- 10:00 am Song (Wimbo)- OTTU/MWEMA
- 10:15 Introductions (Kutambulisha)
- 10:45 Role Play (*Mchezo wa Kuigiza*) - Vicky Maselle et al
- 11:00 Discussion of Play (*Majadiliano*) with tea (*chai*)
- 11:10 Gender & Employment (*Jinsia na Ajira*) - Marge Mbilinyi
- 11:20 Group Work: Strategies (*Kazi za Vikundi: Mikakati*) - Erasto, Marge & Julius [three groups formed: 1:Economic hard times: development, equality and justice (*Uchumi hali ngumu: maendeleo usawa na haki*); 2:Struggles in the family: justice, peace and equality (*Mapambano katika familia: haki, amani na usawa*); 3: Smallholder farmers' conditions: crop prices down, farm inputs up: development and justice (*Hali ya wakulima wadogo: bei ya mazao chini, bei ya pembejeo juu -- maendeleo na haki*)
- Group instructions: (1) brainstorm about problems relevant to the theme; (2) select two major problems to focus on; (3) outline, for each of the two problems, the major causes, possible strategies of action, responsible persons, and timeframe.
- 11:50 Lifeboat game (*Mashua isiyozama*) - Julius Mwabuki
- 12:00 Group Reports (*Taarifa za Vikundi*) - Group Recorders
- 12:30 Sum Up (*Majumuhisho*) - Marge, Erasto
- 12:40 Follow-Up plans (*Ufuatiliaji*) - Rehema Ningilili, Esta Mpolo
- 12:45 Presentation of Kwangu Wapi? books to participants (*Vitabu*) & Song (*Wimbo*) - Marge, OTTU/MWEMA
- 12:50 Thanks & Farewell (*Kushukuru na kuagana*) - Erasto, Esta, Marge

APPENDIX 5 GROUP REPORTS, MTIBWA WORKSHOP¹

Group 1 Economic crisis

<i>Problem</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Responsible</i>	<i>When?</i>
Low income	Needs bigger than income	government to plan according to inflation	TPAWU, government	1 year
	devaluation	government should not follow all World Bank conditions	Parliament	2 years
	'free market' lacks price controls	government regulations & price controls	Price Commission	2 years

Group 2: Struggles in the Family

<i>Problem</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Responsible</i>	<i>When?</i>
Malnutrition	low income	education	MOE, MWEMA, TPAWU, URT	6 months
	lack of cooperation	more hard work	family members	6 months
	accountability	increased wages	employer	12 months
		credit assistance	URT, NGOs, private sector	18 months
		justice, equality	family, URT	6 months
		initiative at work	family members	6 months

Group 3: Conditions of Smallholder Farmers

<i>Problem</i>	<i>Cause</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Responsible</i>	<i>When?</i>
low crop prices	many farmers= one crop	crop diversification	farmers groups/ coops, NGOs, URT	by Dec '97
	farmers lack power to set prices	as above - cooperation between buyers & farmers	as above - buyers	as above
increased production costs	unavailability of farm inputs	gov't to involve farmers in setting prices	URT	January '98
	many farmers, high demand			

¹ My translation from Kiswahili.