

**POVERTY AND THE GENDERED DIMENSION OF LAND RIGHTS IN
SOUTHEAST TANZANIA**

A Case of Nyangao Village, Lindi

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Dedication

This Doctoral dissertation is gratefully dedicated to my
late beloved mother,

Mrs Adelhelma Joachim Gama – Soko.

Without her prayers, love, support and insisting on
importance of hard working, I could not have completed
this process. I pray that Lord rest her soul in eternal
peace. Amen!

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Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

Armut ist ein Resultat von verschiedenen Faktoren in Entwicklungsländern, welche das Wohlbefinden der Menschen beeinflusst. Die Studie analysiert Parameter, die Geschlechter und Zugang zu Grundstücken befasst um Phänomene der Armut im „Lindi Bezirk“ im Süd-Osten Tansania zu untersuchen. Besondere Bedeutung haben geschlechterorientierte Rechte, die sich mit Nutzungen, Zugang, Besitz und die Aufsicht von Grundstück befassen. Während der gesamten Studie wurde das Geschlecht als ein Mittel der Analyse verwendet. Dies hat die Perspektive der Frau in bezug auf Grundstücksrechte erweitert.

Tansania ist ein agrarisches Land, in dem das Grundstück als ein fundamentaler Faktor zur Armutsanalyse betrachtet werden kann. Für nur wenige im ländlichen Tansania ist es möglich durch andere Methoden (außer Land) ihren Unterhalt zu bestreiten, wie zum Beispiel durch einen festen Arbeitsplatz, viele Leute in Tansania arbeiten in der Landwirtschaft

Jedoch gibt es bislang nur wenig Informationen über die steigende Unsicherheit über die Grundstücksrechte der Frauen. Die meisten Landbesitzsysteme land tenure system in Tansania erlauben Frauen nicht in ihrem eigenen Recht Grundstück zu besitzen. Ihre Rechte werden weitgehend über ihre Beziehung zu Männern bestimmt, insbesondere jedoch durch ihren Status als Ehefrauen. Deswegen hat das land tenure system Frauen und Männer auf eine andere Art und Weise betroffen. Folgerichtig unterscheidet sich die relative Verteilung der Armut zwischen Frauen und Männern erheblich. Diese Studie richtet sich an die Benachteiligung der Frau in Grundstücksangelegenheiten und erstellt hiermit eine Verbindung zu deren schwacher sozioökonomischen Situation dar.

Diese Studie errichtet darüber hinaus einen enge Relation zwischen Heirat und der Grundstücksrechte der Frau. Dies gibt einen Hinweis darüber, dass das Geschlecht eine große Rolle bei den Grundstücksrechten der Frauen auf Haushaltsebene spielt. Dieses Problem hat die Grundstücksrechte der Frau des Weiteren verunsichert und hat demzufolge ihre Gefahr in Armut ausgesetzt zu sein erhöht. Der Schwerpunkt dieser Studie richtet sich an geschlechtesbezogene Aspekte der Grundstücksrechte. Die Studie analysiert die Art von Grundstücksrechten, die die Tansanische Gesellschaften den befugten Frauen bietet. Andere spezifische Aspekte sind:

1. lokale Meinungen über Armut zu analysieren.
2. Die Konditionen, unter denen Erwerb, Übergabe und Aufsicht der Grundstücke bei Frauen erfolgt, abzuschätzen.

3. Faktoren zu identifizieren, die entweder die Anstrengungen der Frau zur Armutsminderung unterstützen oder hindern, solange der Besitz und Kontrolle der Grundstücke in einem männlich dominierten sozioökonomischen Rahmen geschehen.

4. Die Geschlechtseinteilung von Arbeit und Haushaltsentscheidungen einzuschätzen.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zeigen, dass die Verletzbarkeit der Frauen in Bezug auf Armut in Nyangao *village* ein Resultat von sowohl sozioökonomischen als auch soziokulturellen Faktoren ist. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zeigen, dass weibliche Familienvorstände in Nyangao *village* Grundstücksrechte durch die Allokation der Dorfgemeinschaft erhalten können. Des Weiteren berichtet diese Studie, dass es eine Steigerung in der Anzahl von weiblichen Familienvorständen gab, die Grundstücke von ihren Eltern erhalten haben. Dies ist gegensätzlich zu der patriarchalischen Orientierung und stellt eine Herausforderung zu diesem System dar, da es die Evolution von Grundstücksübergabe außerhalb des patriarchalisch definierten Ablaufs motiviert. Der Grundbesitz-Eigentumsstatus der Frauen in Nyangao *village* ist gefährdet durch die Agrarreformen, die durch die „Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)“ und wirtschaftliche Liberalisierung beeinflusst werden. Deshalb werden flexible Regelungen der Eltern, die zuvor vorteilhaft für Frauen (alleinerziehende Mütter) waren immer weiter gefährdet. Resultate dieser Studie zeigen, dass die relativ geschlechtssensible Wiederverteilung von Grundstücken innerhalb der Haushalte, und die neuer Trend zum gleichberechtigtem Erbrecht zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Kindern weist darauf hin, dass dies zu eventuellen wirtschaftlichen Unabhängigkeit der Frau führen könnte. Der berechtigte Zugang und die Kontrolle über Grundstück von Frauen könnte Wohlfahrt, Effizienz, Gleichheit und Bemächtigung erzeugen. Es wird erwartet, dass dies das gestörte Gleichgewicht zwischen den Geschlechtern vermindern wird, welches ein wichtiger Mechanismus zur Armutsminderung ist.

Diese Studie basiert auf qualitativen und quantitativen Daten, die zwischen August und Dezember 2003 erfasst wurden. Der primäre Schwerpunkt wurde, auf Grund des Charakters dieser Studie, auf die qualitativen Daten gelegt. Sowohl primäre als auch sekundäre Quellen wurden zur Datensammlung verwendet. Eine Fallstudie zu „Nyangao Village“, welches sich im ländlichen Lindi Bezirk, Lindi Region in Südost Tansania befindet, wurde auserwählt und als primäre Datenquelle verwendet. Die qualitativen Daten wurden durch „Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)“, gründliche Interviews, Lebensgeschichten und Beobachtungen erfasst. Die Studie verwendete ebenfalls strukturierte Fragebogen. Insgesamt wurden 180 Befragte von 180 Haushalten auserwählt. Während die quantitativen Daten mit

Hilfe des „SPSS package“ analysiert wurden, wurden die qualitativen Daten manuell verarbeitet und interpretiert.

Summary in English

Poverty in developing countries is a result of various factors which affect people's well being. This study analyses parameters surrounding gender biased access to land in investigating the phenomena of poverty in Lindi district, south east Tanzania. Of particular importance are gendered rights of land use, access, ownership and control. In this study, gender as a tool of analysis has been used throughout and this has broadened the perspective of women's land rights in a village (rural) setting.

Since Tanzania is an agrarian country, land can be considered as one of the fundamental factors in analysing poverty. While few people in rural Tanzania enjoy other modes of survival, for example wage employment, many Tanzanians are mostly engaged in farming activities. However, little is known about the increasing insecurity of women over land matters. Most of the country's land tenure systems give women access to land not in their own right. Their right is widely determined by their relationship with men, in particular as wives. In this sense, land tenure systems have affected women and men differently. Consequentially, the relative distribution of poverty between women and men differs significantly. The study addresses women's disadvantages in land matters and establishes a connection to their poor socio-economic situation.

This study establishes a close relationship between marriage and women's land rights. This suggests that gender role is a major factor influencing women's land rights at household level. It has increased women's land tenure insecurity and hence increased their vulnerability to poverty. The main focus of this study is directed towards gender related aspects of land tenure rights. In addition, the study analyses the kind of land rights that societies in Tanzania (represented by the Nyangao case study) accord to women on their own capacity. Other specific objectives are:

1. to analyse local views on poverty
2. to assess the conditions under which women acquire and control land
3. to identify factors which either facilitate or constrain women's efforts towards poverty reduction as far as ownership and control over land is concerned in a male dominated socio-economic framework
4. to assess the gender division of labour and household decision making.

The findings from this study shows that women's vulnerability to poverty in Nyangao village is a result of both socio-cultural and socio-economic factors. Those findings point to the fact that women heads of households in Nyangao village enjoy land tenure rights through allocation by the village government. Furthermore, the findings report that there is an increase

in the number of female-headed households who were allocated land by their parents. This is contrary to the patriarchal orientation (currently followed by societies in south-east Tanzania) and poses a challenge to that system as it encourages the evolution of land transfers beyond patriarchally defined procedures. The study also reveals that the Nyangao women's land holding status is threatened by the agrarian reforms as influenced by the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and economic liberalization. In this, land allocation provided by parents which were beneficial to women especially single mothers are increasingly being threatened by land privatisation and commoditization. Furthermore the findings reveal that the relatively gender sensitive intra-household redistribution of land and the encouraging new direction (as obtained from the respondents views) towards equal inheritance rights between female and male children suggests that this may lead to the eventual creation of women's economic independence. Women's access and control over land may create welfare, efficiency, equity and empowerment. This is expected to reduce gender inequality which is an important mechanism for poverty reduction.

This study is based on the qualitative and quantitative data, collected between August and December 2003. The primary emphasis is placed on qualitative data due to the nature of the study. Both primary and secondary sources of data collection were consulted. A case study of Nyangao village located in Lindi rural district, Lindi region, south-east Tanzania was selected and used as a source of primary data. The qualitative data were collected through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews, life histories and observation. The study also used structured questionnaires. A total of 180 sampled respondents from 180 sampled households were selected. While quantitative data was analysed by using the SPSS package, the qualitative data was manually processed and interpreted.

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Acronyms

CBOs - Community Based Organizations

CEDAW - Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women

CEO - Chief Executive Officer

CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency

CMS - Church Mission Society

DC- District Council

DED - District Executive Directors

ERP - Economic Recovery Programme

ESRF - Economic and Social Research Foundation

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization

FGDs – Focus Group Discussions

GAD - Gender and Development

GDI – Gender Related Development Index

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GEM - Gender Empowerment Measure

GER - Gross Enrolment Rate

GNP- Gross National Product

HDI - Human Development Index

HIV/AIDS – Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

HPI - Human Poverty Index

IDSWSG – Institute of Development Studies’ Women Study Group

IMF - International Monetary Fund

IMR - Infant Mortality Rate

IRA - Institute of Resource Assessment

LARRI - Land Resources and Research Institute

LDCs - Less Developed Countries

MCDWC - Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children

MEC - Ministry of Education and Culture

MLYD - Ministry of Labour and Youth Development

MOE – Ministry of Education

MOH - Ministry of Health

MSTHE - Ministry of Land; Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education

NER - Net Enrolment Rate

NGO - Non Governmental Organisation

ODA - Official Development Assistance

PPP - Purchasing Power Parity

RAD - Regional Administrative Director

RAS- Regional Administrative Secretaries

RC - Regional Commissioner

REO - Regional Education Officer

REPOA - Research on Poverty Alleviation

RMO - Regional Medical Officer

SAPs – Structural Adjustment Programs

SPSS - Statistical Package for Social Sciences

TAMWA - Tanzania Media Women Association

TANGO - Tanzania Non Governmental Association

TANU - Tanganyika African National Union

TAWLA - Tanzania Lawyers Association

TBS - Tanzania Bureau of Statistics

TGNP - Tanzania Gender Networking Programme

Tshs – Tanzanian Shilling

U5MR - Under Five Mortality Rates

UDSM - University of Dar es Salaam

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

UPE - Universal Primary Education

URT – United Republic of Tanzania

USD – United States Dollar

UWT - *Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania*

VEO - Village Executive Officer

VPO – Vice President’s Office

WAD - Women and Development

WB- World Bank

WDC - Ward Development Committee

WDR- World Development Report

WEO - Ward Executive Officer

WHO – World Health Organization

WID - Women in Development

WLSA - Women and Law in Southern Africa

WRDP - Women's Research and Documentation

WRDP - Women's Research and Documentation

WSSD - World Summit on Social Development

YWCA - Young Women’s Christian Association of Tanzania

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1 Overview and Objectives of the Study

“What is poverty? Poverty is hunger. Poverty is lack of shelter. Poverty is being sick and not being able to see a doctor. Poverty is not being able to go to school and not knowing how to read. Poverty is not having a job, is fear for the future, living one day at a time. Poverty is losing a child to illness brought about by unclean water. Poverty is powerlessness, lack of representation and freedom.”

(World Bank PovertyNet www.worldbank.org/poverty/mission/upl.ht)

Analysis of the parameters surrounding gender-biased access to land and their relation to poverty is the central objective of this study. The aim is to provide gender sensitive data which clarifies how lack of access, ownership and control over major socio-economic resources, in this case land, lead to poverty. Land is an important socio-economic resource for the majority of the population in Tanzania. In Tanzania for instance, land provide almost all the essentials of life. However, for a long time now Tanzania has been grappling with the problem of land tenure security. Little is known about what different social groups from rural societies can offer from their daily life experiences to provide a solution to the problem of land tenure security.

The case study took place in Nyangao, a village of southeast Tanzania in Lindi rural District (Lindi region).



Source: Source: www.darhotwire.com

Map 1 : Location of Lindi Region in Tanzania

Since Nyangao village is not an isolated socio-economic and political unit, there is a need to locate village based land rights within the context of national land tenure systems. While the focus on analysing poverty is specifically directed towards gender related aspects of land tenure systems, other possible factors that have perpetuated gender imbalances in the study area are also investigated. This study is guided by the following specific objectives:

- (1) To analyse local views on poverty.

- (2) To assess conditions under which women transfer, acquire and control land.
- (3) To identify socio-cultural and socio-economic factors, which either facilitate or constrain women's efforts toward poverty reduction as far as ownership and control over land are concerned in a male dominated socio economic framework.
- (4) To assess the gender-based division of labour and household decision-making, as well as its influences on the vulnerability of women.

To achieve these objectives, the following research questions were designed to guide the research instruments used in the field:

- (1) Who are the poor and marginalized according to the villager's point of view?
- (2) What are the specific forms of land acquisition in Nyangao village with regard to women's land ownership and control rights?
- (3) What are the customary rights and obligation of Nyangao women with regard to the land resource?
- (4) Does the women's precarious hold to land make them more likely to suffer from poverty than men?
- (5) Are other means for poverty reduction accessible to women (For instance, access to credit, technology, education and health)?
- (6) What are the procedures in case of land conflicts /disputes?
- (7) What are the existing local arrangements in the village for land allocation and management?

1.2 Background of the Study

Poverty in developing countries is a result of various factors, it can therefore be seen in different facets. In this study, the manifestation of poverty to people's well being is being discussed particularly in two related aspects, that is, gender and land rights. Land is an important resource for human being as observed by George (1879):

“Land is the habitation of man, the storehouse upon which he must draw for all his needs, the material to which his labour must be applied for the supply of all his desires...On land we are born, from it we live, to it we return again-children of the soil as truly as is the blade of grass or the flower of the field. Take away from man all that belongs to land, and he is but a disembodied spirit” (Henry George 1879: 295-296)

Land remains to be a necessity for survival of the majority of the population in Tanzania because only a minority of the population enjoys for example, wage employment. In

Tanzania, little is known about an increasing insecurity of women over land matters despite of its importance in analysing poverty. Bruce (1993:46-47) pointed out that the vast majority of African tenure systems give women access to land not in their own right but only as their husband's wives. Hence, women's access to land is widely determined by their relationship to men, in particular as wives.

The development of commodity relations during the colonial period led to a restructuring of gender relations (Bernal 1988). The European notion of property, assumed control over cash crop production and primary rights to land to men, this benefited men. As a result, women have been increasingly dependent on their husbands and male kin to obtain user rights to land.

A large proportion of Tanzania's labour force is based in rural areas where the majority are small-scale farmers. Women form the core, that is, they are intensively engaged in this smallholder sector than men. However, usually men control the remuneration of women's labour (Mackenzie 1993:195). Therefore Women's productivity is hampered by widespread inequalities in land matters (UN 1995; Muntemba & Blackden 2000).

The social system's dynamics differ from one society to another as well as from various historical epochs. For instance, the dynamics inherent from patrilineal and matrilineal social systems as well as underdeveloped capitalist social system (Ngware et al. 1997; Koda & Mukangara 1997). These dynamics have affected women and men differently with regard to land tenure system. Consequentially, women's rights in land matters have been distorted and marginalized and this makes them to become more vulnerable to poverty than men.

The increasing land conflicts within and between communities in Tanzania imply the socio-economic significance of land to both women and men (Ngware et al. 1997). There have been several land tenure reforms in Tanzania¹ which aimed to tackle land problems. This study aims at finding out more about the situation of women considered to be the poorest among the poor in one of the poorest regions, Lindi in Tanzania. The study investigates the situation of both men and women but specifically highlights the situation of women as a vulnerable group. Considering the social system dynamics (from matrilineal social system and underdeveloped capitalist social system) this study further pinpoints women's level of ownership and control of land.

¹ Such reforms include the 1967 Villagization Programme, the 1975 Villages and Ujamaa Village Act, the 1983 Agricultural Land Policy, the Regulation of Land Tenure Act. No. 22 of 1992, the 1995 Land Policy and the 1996 Land Bill

1.2.1 Poverty, Land and Gender: Its Relationship

Poverty levels are very high among the rural subsistence farmers. Overall statistics suggests that in Africa agriculture accounts for approximately 21% of the continent's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In Tanzania agriculture accounts as high as 50% of the country's GDP (FAO 1995). Employment in agriculture ranges from 40% in Morocco to 85% in Tanzania. Women contribute from 60% to 80% of the agricultural labour used to produce both for household consumption and for sale (FAO 1995). However, men generally have better access to land (Cecelski 1987).

Poverty has a gendered face. Not only its causes and responses are gendered, but also the relative distribution of poverty between men and women. As a social category, women are poorer than men. A study conducted by UNDP (2000: 161- 164) reported that in Sub-Saharan Africa, women make a major contribution to household well being through their domestic and productive labor. However, generally they are not fully rewarded for their contribution, neither in terms of control over the resources nor in any form of income. This study aims to address women's disadvantages in land matters (social system dynamics is considered) and it establishes a connection to their poor socio-economic situation.

Studies on poverty and gender have often used the household as a unit of analysis. However, different impacts of poverty on the members of households according to gender have not been adequately assessed. In addition, women's productive, reproductive and public/community roles in relation to poverty have not been well documented. This led rural development planners and experts to underestimate the importance of women's productive, reproductive and public roles and generalize the situation in order to establish programmes or projects to alleviate poverty which might not be viable in the first place.

In many societies, men and women have different rights and responsibilities within the household. Hence, understanding intra household differences is very important as it has crucial policy implications (FAO 1993). Gender inequalities in resource entitlements such as land and income can clearly explain different levels of poverty and vulnerability between women and men in households. These inequalities leave women with limited flexibility to respond to economic challenges in ways that would maintain or improve their position in society.

Given the overwhelmingly agrarian nature of most African societies, the increased attention is on women's access to and control over land. Gender equity is an important mechanism for achieving improvements in agricultural output and eventually poverty reduction. Agarwal (1994) identified four main reasons why women should not simply access

land but equally important exercise control over land and its products in order to reduce poverty.

1. Welfare: This suggests that women's access to land will improve both their own and their households' standing, because of the correlation between an improvement in women's position in relation to land and an improvement in household food security and child nutrition.
2. Efficiency: This suggests that giving women rights in land will increase agricultural productivity because women will invest more in their land.
3. Equity: This suggests that recognizing women's rights in land is necessary for justice for women.
4. Empowerment: Having land rights will empower women and strengthen their ability to fight for equality, dignity and additional economic rights.

Customary systems of tenure in African countries have undergone many changes and adaptations throughout the colonial and post-colonial period. Those changes emphasise on the commodification of land. This goes along with major changes in the functioning of households in the modern economy and complex patterns of stratification among rural households. The colonial administration interpretate 'customary' law in a manner which served to strengthen, not weaken, patriarchal control over women. In addition, they also froze a level of subordination to male kin, for example father, husband, brother-in-law and son, which was not the case in pre-colonial societies. It is also argued that the colonial powers in Africa involved not only the imposition of euro-centric views and prejudices on the part of colonizers, but also the collusion of male patriarchs within African society. The male patriarchs shore up their diminishing control over female reproductive and productive power (Walker 1990; Bollig & Gewald 2000). The contemporary customary law in many African states generally sanctions male authority over women and limits women's rights in land to secondary rights derived through their membership in patrilineal trends. It underpins a system of traditional authority that tends to disadvantage women who challenge their subordinate role in society (WLSA 2001).

Currently, in many parts land is no longer a relatively abundant, non-market resource. In many parts lineage land has become imbued with concepts of individual ownership in the hands of men (Ensminger 1997; WLSA 2001). This has increased the insecurity of women's land rights at times of crisis, for example divorce, separation or death. Interestingly, the trend is now widely encouraged and followed by some of the former matrilineal social

communities. In those communities, patrilineal norms have infused earlier practices and weakened women's relative advantages as transmitters of lineage membership and property rights (WLSA 2001).

1.2.2 The Gender Disparities and Dynamics

In Tanzania, general disparities between genders can be seen in various sectors. The country's 2000/2001 Household Budget Survey showed that many women, particularly in rural areas, had no education. Over one third of all women had no education, 41% of them were unable to read or write (URT 2002). Female adult illiteracy was 36% in comparison to 7% for male. For illiteracy of young adults, 13% of all women were illiterate in comparison to 7% of men (World Bank 2000). In Tanzania, women participation in workforce has been about 50% since the 1970s (World Bank 1997). The high participation of women in the labour force, compared to other parts of the world is due to the high percentage of labour force in traditional agriculture (UNDP 1998).

The political economy of Tanzania is characterized by these gender dynamics. Much of these gender disparities and dynamics relate to women's tenure insecurity (Mukangara 1995). It is argued that the changing socio-economic environment in Tanzania has created women's marginalization in land issues. Other studies present a contradictory view that the economic reforms improved the possibilities for women to gain independent access to land ownership and control rights (Mukangara 1995). Women as daughters, sisters and wives get access to usufruct rights and very few enjoy ownership rights to land.

The 2002 national population census data shows that 56% of all farmers in Tanzania are females who own less than 17% of farmland. More than 75% of the female population resides and works in rural areas as small-scale food crop producers and service providers. Women produce between 70% and 80% of their families' food supply and they contribute their labour to export crop production. Yet, their land rights are grossly marginalized (TANGO 1994; Mukangara 1995). Despite of lacking ownership rights to land, women's relation to land is very complex. On one hand, this relationship is governed by women's role as major food crop producers, on the other hand such a relation is determined by women's status and/or relationship with men as daughters, sisters, wives and mothers. According to the Third World feminists this relationship is culturally constructed and have some historical background. Many feminist analysts and activists, such as radical feminists and critical third

world feminists contended that this is influenced by the complexity of patriarchal customs through its institutions .

Since 1970s, third world feminists and social analysts expressed a general concern that women in Tanzania are discriminated against in matters of land access, ownership and inheritance (Mukoyogo 1991; Mukangara & Koda 1997). Attempts to explain this discrimination partly point to the fact that in many Tanzanian ethnic groups land distribution, transfer and/or ownership have been closely associated with the household head, the patrilineal succession to land and customary rules on clan land where chiefs and clan lineage leaders are respected as trustees.

Land tenure reforms introduced in Tanzania after colonialism hardly addressed the inherent gender imbalances in land rights (Shivji 1997). The land policies and tenure reforms initiated after 1961 retained the patriarchal and colonial capitalist philosophy, that is, principles of land tenure which maintained gender discriminatory features to a great extent. Patriarchal land tenure systems continued to marginalize women's land rights even after land was declared state property in 1962. The socialist "*Ujamaa*" policy adopted in 1967 tried to challenge patriarchal principles inherent in customary and statutory land tenure. However, the absence of a Land Policy (by then) and the lack of legal support impeded a successful reform concerning women's land rights (Swantz 1996).

The introduction of economic and political liberalizations has aggravated land tenure insecurity and limited coping capacity for women (URT 1993). The nation-wide survey conducted in 1992 on land matters showed that there was persistent inequality in access to/and control over land of marginalized social groups. Those inequalities were a result of customs, culture, and certain religious practices which mitigate women's land rights especially with respect to inheritance (URT 1992: 268). However, the survey did not adequately address women's land rights. Gender inequality and biases against women, particularly under customary system, render land inaccessible to women in terms of ownership and control even though they work on it (URT 1992: 137). The discriminatory laws of inheritance embedded in custom and culture work against the interests of widows and daughters. The traditional male domination and female subservience result in practically all major decisions on land being made by men.

1.3 The Research Problem

Agriculture is the backbone of Tanzania's economy. Land is considered as a major resource for people's livelihood. Security over land with respect to access, ownership, and control is a

critical factor in analysing poverty. For the majority in Tanzania land remains to be a basis of poverty reduction because it is a means of securing shelter, security, food, investment, income and social status. However, gender imbalances are manifested with respect to land matters.

The study argues that gender imbalances in land matters are conducive to women's vulnerability to poverty. In many Tanzanian communities, women's land rights are increasingly becoming uncertain (Omari 1998; Mukangara 1995). In most communities' women's access to land, especially family land is regulated by the prevailing customs and traditions (customary laws). The patrilineal social system and the dynamic nature of the market and money economy coupled with the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are conducive to women's increasing level of vulnerability (Mukangara 1995).

This study seeks to find the kind of land rights, which are accessible to women. Furthermore, it analyses these land rights within the context of social system's dynamics. The study elaborates how land rights are accessed and guaranteed with regard to acquisition, control and transfer. Havnevik (1988) summarized this context:

“Their [women] influence and strategies tend to be local at household level, kinship and neighbourhood level and depend on a number of factors including their position and status with respect to being wives and mothers, their age, the age of their children and sons in particular, mutual relations between household heads and wives, their knowledge and abilities descendants from influential clans and membership of various women groups”. (Havnevik 1988:44)

It is imperative to articulate women's land rights within the context of the dynamics of the assumed linkages between changes from matrilineal to patrilineal and global capitalism in the framework of Tanzania's political economy. This entails an exploratory feminist approach which grasps both national and household social processes.

1.4 Brief Account of South-east Tanzania

South-eastern Tanzania covers Lindi and Mtwara administrative regions. Wembah-Rashid (1998) characterizes Lindi and Mtwara as:

“...an area of forested highlands and plateaus, undulating wooded grassland plains and swamps, before extensive exploitation of the natural vegetation took place. The soils and rainfall were and still are highly variable and unreliable. However, most of the soils were in the past suitable for production economy of crops and animal husbandry, especially on the plateaus and in the alluvial river basins.” (Wembah-Rashid 1998: 41)

Inhabitants of the region are basically producers for subsistence. According to Murdock (1959), the regions are inhabited by the Makonde, Makuwa, Matabwe, Matumbi, Mwera, Ngindo and Yao tribes among others. The majority of ethnic groups in south-east Tanzania were matrilineal. Under this social system, all individuals were affiliated to the descent units following their mother's line even in relation to the household composition, domestic authority, residence, inheritance of property and succession to social political positions. This has clear positive effects for women's side who are the inheritors of virtually all the land under customary tenure in a matrilineal social system (Wembah-Rashid 1998).

The anthropological work done by Harris (1971) shows the complex social structure of the matrilineal social system:

“The stability of Matrilineal social system is threatened by the structurally difficult relationship between the male who is a father and his children who are under the mother's brother authority. He experiences psychological conflict because of his love for his own children who belong to another descent group and over whom he exercises no authority and his responsibility for his sister's children whom he does not raise but whom he controls.” (Harris 1971: 331)

Despite of following mother's descent line in the matrilineal social system, it is men who invariably control the corporate kin groups productive and reproductive resources.

Increasingly, societies in South-east Tanzania are shifting towards patrilineal tendencies by reducing matrilineal loyalties (Wembah-Rashid 1975). Several historical forces have been mentioned as causes for these social transformations. South-east Tanzanians have had contacts with different patrilineal peoples. Those include the agents of development such as the Muslim and Christian missionaries who emphasized patrilineal social orientation. Colonialism can also be held responsible for the social changes in matrilineal communities. Colonialists as well as agents of development projects saw men as their targets for economic development. Both the German and the British colonial administrations created centers for cash cropping. The new settlements established by colonial rule, encouraged labour migration in order to facilitate easy collection of taxes and political control. All these changes contributed to the introduction of new cultural practices and ultimately produced cultural and social transformations of local communities. The post independence government policies favored a patrilineal social system as observed by Wembah- Rashid (1998):

“... deliberate post independence government policies which favoured Patrilineal. Therefore, they cannot be described as typically Matrilineal. The Wamakua and Wayao are transforming themselves from Matrilineal to bilineality and the rest of the groups qualify to be classified as Patrilineal” (Wembah- Rashid 1998: 43-44)

1.4.1 Environmental Parameters

Climatologically, Mtwara and Lindi regions have moderate rainfall and experience hot and humid rainy seasons from November/December to April/May and cool or less humid dry seasons from June to October. The peak of rainfall is April. The average annual rainfall ranges from 774mm to 1191mm. Air temperatures and humidity are slightly higher along the coastal areas than inland. The region has a moderate mild temperature averaging 23°C, depending on the altitude and season. The amount of rain varies within the region from one district to another.

The southeast region consists of the southern coast and southern semi-arid land zones. The southern coast has mostly sandy, infertile soils with areas of more fertile clays on uplands and river floodplains. The southeastern semi-arid areas have flat or gently undulating plains between 200 and 600m with moderately fertile loams and clay in the south and infertile soils in the centre (Tanzania, Planning Commission and Lindi 1997).

Various soil types are characteristic for the Lindi region. The coastal low land (e.g. Kilwa and Lindi urban districts) is marked by sandy soil, which has low fertility and low holding capacities. This type of soil grows cassava, coconuts, groundnuts, cashew nuts, oranges, rice, pulses and sorghum. Marine clay soil is found in Nachingwea district. This type of soil is fertile but difficult to access agriculturally. Coastal limestone is mainly found in Nachingwea district. It gives rise to red, well-drained, heavier texture soil and red clays. The latter two types of soil are considered to be the best soils in the region. The agro-ecological zones are demarcated into coastal low land, middle land and upland. Table 1.1 shows the agro-ecological zones of Lindi region.

Table 1 : Agro-ecological Zones of Lindi Region

Zonal Physical Feature	Altitude (Meters above sea Level)	Soils	Areas	Crops
Coastal Low land	0-300	Sandy soils	Kilwa and Lindi Districts- Coast	Cassava, Coconuts, groundnuts, cashew nuts, oranges, rice, pulses and sorghum
Middle land	300-600	Sandy- Loamy soils	Lindi Rural District	Maize, Cassava, Sorghum, groundnuts and Cashew nuts
Up land	600-900	Sandy Loamy, Salty soils, clays - Red Clays	Ruangwa, Liwale districts - Nachingwea	Maize, fruits, sesame, sorghum and vegetables

Source: (Tanzania, Planning Commission and Lindi 1997, p. 15-17)

The plateaus and alluvial river basins in southeast Tanzania have been over-exploited and mismanaged. The plains have turned into poor soils covered with grasslands and scattered trees (Wembah-Rashid 1998).

Southeast regions in Tanzania, that is, Mtwara and Lindi are at the bottom of the list ranking 19th and 20th respectively, in terms of the infant mortality rate (URT 2002). Per capital income for both regions are far below the country's estimated poverty line (Luanda 1998). The southeast regions are isolated from other regions since it lacks a reliable transportation infrastructure. The regions are served with one road to Dar es Salaam, which is impassable for about six months of the year. For the rest of the time, people have to travel either by air or sea. To many people, airfares are expensive and therefore unaffordable. As a result this hinders economic development efforts in the region (Killian 2003). Transportation is a crucial factor for the movement of goods, ideas, services and hence economic development. The natural features of the region do not only restrict people's movement outside the region, but also within the region itself. The many rivers within the region (e.g. Matandu, Mbwenkwa, Lukuledi, Mwiti, Mbangala and Lukwika) have also restricted people's mobility for a long time, as well as the physical features of the Makonde and Rondo plateaus (Killian 2003; Wembah-Rashid 1998).

1.4.2 History

Mtwara and Lindi regions are among the oldest towns in Tanzania. As far as 11th century, Arab traders were already engaged in trade in Lindi town and its neighboring areas. The hinterland of Kilwa formed a trading center for gold and ivory trade. The southeastern Tanzania was part of the long established centers for trade routes from inland to the coast. The Yao traders are believed to be major actors in expanding the earliest routes in the south selling tobacco, hoes and skins and in return buying salt and beads (Kopenen 1988:70). Apart from early contact with the Arab traders, colonialism exposed the Southern region to the German and later British colonial masters. They established plantations and introduced new crops to farmers. Apart from a few sisal estates, doomed groundnut scheme and Makonde water development schemes, very little was done to develop the region. Instead, the Southern region was deliberately set aside as a labor reserve for plantations in the 'North' (Kopenen 1988; Killian 2003)

The state of development in Mtwara and Lindi is very low. There are various explanations for the south-east backwardness: -

1. The nature of colonial interaction between the South and the North. Throughout the colonial period, both the German and the British did very little to develop the southeast regions. As a labor reserve area, only a few plantations and infrastructures were established. The colonial strategy not to develop the region came as a result of the stiff local resistance to colonial occupation demonstrated through the Maji Maji rebellion of 1907 (Wembah – Rashid 1988:47). The author further argued that, developing Southern Tanzania was seen as “dangerous” to German rule as it would have allowed the people in the area to organize themselves into effective resistance group. Like the Germans, the British took over the German policies with regards to the South.

“..... it was a policy decision of the colonial administrators, rather than colonialism itself, that was responsible for the isolation” (Liebenow 1971:15)

Liebenow (1971) further pointed out that nearly eight decades of German and British colonial administration did relatively little to develop the region. As a result the Southern regions were left not only underdeveloped but also isolated from the rest of the country. Therefore, poor industrial base accompanied with poor communication links that lead to underutilization of natural resources located in the region made the South- east of Tanzania poor (Killian, 2003)

2. The villagization program. This was one of the policy measures to put into practice the country’s ideology of socialism and self-reliance. In this programme, the government used compulsion to move millions of people from their original homes and farms into clustered villages. This collectivization program improved the provision of social services such as water, education and health services. Despite these noticeable positive results, in the long run, the villagization policy negatively affected agricultural production. The attempts to move people did interfere with tenure system, social networks and socio-economic activities in general. The villagization transformed the system of land ownership in villagized areas. It shifted individual landholding and/or lineage/clan landholding into a collective ownership of land.

“The process of distribution under village settlement movement in some cases involved the taking of land away from larger farmers and handing over to villages for the use of new comers and the village themselves in the form of village farms” (Chachage & Nyoni 2002: 42).

The villagization took place throughout the country. However, the southeast region took the largest share of villagization exercise compared to other regions. Voipio (1998:82) noted that about 38 percent of all *Ujamaa* villages in Tanzania were based in Mtwara and Lindi regions. It was the poor and underdeveloped regions that provided an experimental ground for the ‘villagization’ program. Developed areas were rarely touched by the policy. By 1974, there

were only 14 *Ujamaa* villages in the Kilimanjaro region compared to 1,391 *Ujamaa* villages in southeast Tanzania.

3. The belief of the Southerners themselves that they are “marginalized”. They claim that there is lack of political will to develop Mtwara and Lindi regions partly because of the politicians' belief that these regions lack profitable natural resources for the government to invest upon (Killian 2003). The construction of Lindi – Kibiti road which began since 1980, is believed to have taken decades largely due to the lack of political will to promote the project. It is reported that, whereas new roads are continually being built in other parts of the country and in certain areas railway lines run parallel with good roads, in southern regions, the only railway line built by the colonialists was uprooted after independence (Mesaki & Mwankusye 1998).

4. The geographical location of the region. This is also another factor that is reported to be the cause of underdevelopment in the Southeast regions. The regions are tsetse fly – infected zone, livestock keeping is quite difficult and therefore economically less feasible. The geographical reasons also places some emphasis on the disadvantages associated with physical isolation of the area from other developed regions. Surrounded by the Indian Ocean in the East, Rufiji river in the North, Ruvuma in the South and Lumesule River in the West, it is therefore concluded that the South-East regions are naturally cut off from the rest of the country (Killian 2003). Wemba- Rashid (1998) points out that the two regions have the bad luck of having neighboring areas which are economically underdeveloped as the South itself. To the South, the region borders Northern Mozambique, the Coast region to the North, and Ruvuma region to the West. As a result:

“Economically underdeveloped adjacent areas have nothing to share or exchange but poverty” (Wemba-Rashid 1998: 45)

During the struggle of independence of Mozambique and the following Mozambique civil war, South-eastern Tanzania was specified as an emergency area with great numbers of refugees. For this reason, it remained a restricted area, which limited movements in and out of the area until the independence of Mozambique in 1974. Since 1974, refugee settlements became ordinary villages (Swanz 1996).

Conclusively, Mtwara and Lindi are poorly developed in terms of infrastructures, social services and general living standards of the people.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Studies have examined poverty in Lindi region in relation to gender and land issues. This research provides baseline information that could be used for future studies of southeast Tanzania. The information obtained from this study helps to understand the structures underlying poverty in southeast Tanzania from a gendered perspective. The results will contribute to the existing knowledge of gender relationships in relation to land issues. In this regard, it adds to the integrated understanding of poverty along the lines of gendered land issues. Furthermore, this study unmasks the social system changes in relation to gendered land issues and the plight of rural women.

Local individuals' knowledge and beliefs about poverty are taken into consideration since they understand their local situation better than anybody else. They are simply knowledgeable poverty analysts and true poverty experts. Therefore, their knowledge, beliefs, experiences and priorities are taken into account.

1.6 Justification of the Study & the Study Area

Sub-Saharan Africa has the largest number of people living below the poverty line (World Bank 1995). Tanzania is among the countries hardest hit by poverty. Among the country's objectives to be achieved by 2025 is poverty alleviation. The country has been working on various measures to reduce if not to eradicate poverty. One of the key focuses is to integrate gender equality in various major chapters of development. However, the country's strategies need to be complimented by analytical and empirical data from local people's experiences and knowledge.

Lindi region was chosen for the study because the region is considered by many as "exceptionally poor" compared to other regions in Tanzania (URT 1999; Killian 1998). The fact that the southeast region was a testing ground for the *Ujamaa* villagization policy in the 1970s have also contributed in the selection of the study region. The *Ujamaa* concept aimed to eradicate poverty and to bring development to Lindi region (Voipio 1998: 82-84).

"This entailed the resettlement of huge numbers of scattered rural households into dense rural settlements called "Ujamaa villages". The poor and marginal southeastern regions of Lindi and Mtwara became a testing ground for the villagization campaign soon after the Arusha Declaration. By 1974, the campaign had been implemented there more comprehensively than anywhere else in Tanzania." (Voipio 1998:82)

Nyangao village was among the Ujamaa villages introduced in Tanzania in 1970s. Originally, most people in Nyangao village used to follow the matrilineal social system. However, the traditional matrilineal social system is undergoing changes towards patrilineal loyalties. The implication of those changes, especially with regard to the major socio-economic resources such as land is analyzed in this study.

1.7 Expectations of the Study & Sources of Methodologies

The aim of this study is to fill the information gap on gendered land tenure systems in southeast Tanzania. The focus was on women's customary land rights and their vulnerability. To achieve this goal, an empirical investigation was conducted to generate both quantitative and qualitative data. Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used to collect data which were then analysed according to the study objectives developed beforehand. This helped to provide relevant interpretations of the phenomena (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Formulation of the objectives is based on feminist epistemology and other studies on gendered land rights in Tanzania. From the previous stated objectives, the following assumptions were developed: -

1. Gender imbalances in land matters are conducive to women's vulnerability to poverty.
2. Unequal land rights between men and women are a result of various socio-economic and socio-cultural factors.

In December 2002, a six weeks long preliminary investigation was conducted in Nyangao village. This preliminary research phase provided the opportunity to acquaint the researcher with the research area and to map relevant sources of information. Key informants were identified and consulted for discussion, while regional and district authority offices were approached in order to obtain census data and other relevant literatures. Furthermore, this phase enabled the researcher to review the appropriateness of selected research methods according to the context for the main research phase.

After further preparation including desk research, research clearance was obtained from the region so that the field research could take place. The main research phase was carried out between August 2003 and December 2003. Unlike the preliminary research phase, when it was difficult to reach the region by road due to heavy rainfalls, the main research phase was dry, the weather facilitated movements within the region although the roads were in bad condition.

During the main research phase, 180 structured interviews were conducted. Since the harvesting period was just finished, it was easy to find the villagers at home or at different festivals which were taking place around that time. The process of data collection emphasized people's participation. This underlined the importance of people's knowledge and mutual learning.

Two enumerators who were locally recruited (with high school secondary education) helped in administering questionnaires. Prior training was conducted for one week in order to enable them to get familiar with the questionnaire and the research objectives. The questionnaires were pre-tested with ten villagers who were not part of the later sample. Pre-testing of the questionnaire was very important because it enabled the researcher to crosscheck the enumerators' understanding of the questionnaire and their ability to administer it.

Both qualitative and quantitative information was obtained but the primary emphasis was on the former, due to the nature of the study. The techniques involved included household questionnaires, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), observations and in-depth discussions/interviews. The combination of data collection techniques was helpful since it enabled the researcher to get diverse, sufficient and insightful information about the subject matter. In the mornings, individual household interviews were undertaken, while the afternoons were set for both FGDs and in-depth interviews or discussions with the respondents. In the evenings, a discussion about the daily work with the enumerators to check if they encountered any problems during the interviews was conducted. The data was compiled and stored in appropriate file for processing stage. (See Chapter Three for a detailed Methodology used in the Study).

In October and November 2004, a follow up visit completed the process of data collection. The original plan was to include 45 respondents out of the previously interviewed 180 households for a follow up study. However, considering time and resource constraints on the side of the investigator, only ten households were included in a follow up investigation.

1.7.1 Data analysis procedures

Fieldwork data collected was clustered into "qualitative" and "quantitative". Qualitative data was compiled and analysed manually. Quantitative data was mainly analysed using computer software, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 1988). The data was cleaned and frequencies were run to check its validity and tables were drawn for further analysis.

1.8 Limitation of the study

Some difficulties were encountered in locating information about the matrilineal social system dynamics and its impacts on gendered land rights.

- It would have been useful to cover more case studies in various villages, districts and regions in order to have a comprehensive study. In this case, it was not feasible due to the limited time and most critical limited finance to cover a wider range. Therefore, since the research covered only one village, no generalizations can be drawn from the study findings.
- The fieldwork also suffered from time constraint. Especially in regard to life stories, more time would have been needed to collect more life stories for comparison.
- Most empirical studies on the burden of work focus on time allocation. Thereby, these studies often neglect other characteristics of work, in particular the effort involved in the work or work intensity (Jackson 1997). This study suffers from the same weakness partly due to the difficulties involved in measuring the intensity of work. For instance in agricultural activities, men may cultivate faster than women but women may be faster in weeding.
- Another problem that may have affected the data was that, some interviewees seem to have anticipated something from the interview, that may have affected the level of cooperation. For example, some respondents were uncomfortable with questions regarding their “wealth” or “poverty”. In some cases they exaggerated their poverty or their wealth in order to increase their chances of being included in the anticipated benefits or to minimize chances of being adversely affected by things such as taxation.
- Inability of the respondents to articulate information. Consequently, some of the information they had given may have been subjected to problems of recalling and accuracy. In addition, there were no physical measurements of land/farm size made, therefore information on respondents farm/land sizes were regarded as correct estimates.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: The Concept of Gender and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a discussion of the concept of gender and two theories that are important in guiding this study. Two theories were chosen to expand the understanding of the perspective of gendered land issues. The Historical/Dialectical Materialism is rich in its philosophical framework; it considers the unequal distribution of power as a factor influencing the distribution of means of production and consumption. The feminist paradigm has been chosen to complement Historical/Dialectical Materialism theory in this study because it offers a lot of analytical tools for social studies like this one.

2.2 The Concept of Gender

Lorber (1994) defines gender as an institution which establishes patterns of expressions and expectations for individuals in everyday social life. Gender is embedded in major fields of society such as the economy, ideology, family and politics. The concept of gender can also be defined as socially constructed and culturally variable. Gender refers to a structural relationship of inequalities between women and men and it is manifested in labor markets and in political structures, as well as in households. Custom, law and specific development policies all act to reinforce gender roles (Lorber 1994). Gender is also defined as a set of particular behavior which embraces people's appearance, dress, attitude, personalities and work both within and outside the household. Sexuality, family and commitment relate directly to gender roles (Mosse 1994).

The definition of the concept of gender is based on three basic premises. According to Meena (1992), the first premise is the distinction between gender and sex, whereby sex is attributed to biological differences and gender refers to social differences. Gender can be explained in terms of social relations between men and women based on the roles they have, which are formed by society, ruled by cultural norms and values and not by biological differences. Dirasse (1990) describes gender as social relation between and among women and men, usually asymmetrical divisions and attributes, reflecting relations of power, domination and rule. Therefore, gender relations are socially constructed or deconstructed as a result of the behavior of women and men themselves. Gender is a relational concept that denotes the manner in which women and men are differentiated and ordered in a given socio-

cultural and political context. Gender relations are therefore historical, changeable and subject to transformation through everyday actions as well as periodic moments of crisis.

Historically, traditions have structured unequal gender relations between women and men. This is manifested in the labour markets, in politics as well as in household economies. The entire process of sex differentiation of categorizing people as either female or male then evaluating and rewarding them unequally is called gender stratification (Nikoi 1998). Differentiation is a prerequisite for stratification whereby females and males are assigned different status within a society.

The second premise is the distinction between gender and patriarchy. Gender is a more general term encompassing all social relations that separate people into different social statuses (Lober 1994). Women's and men's social relations are experienced differently, because of different social origins such as class, ethnic, gender and other relations. The interrelationships among and between these social relations are complex, unstable and sometimes contradictory (Moser 1986). The distinction between who is privileged and who is disadvantaged and between oppressor and oppressed, depend on the positions of cultural values of the societies (Dey 1990). Leach (1992) emphasises that the social construction of gender is part of ruling relations. Hence, gender roles and gender differences are practiced at every level of society, that is, at the household, regional, national and global levels. However, Engels (1942) argues that women's subordination is a form of oppression resulting from the institution of class society and maintained because it serves the interests of capital.

The third premise exhibits that gender is dynamic and changing. However, that does not necessarily mean a deliberate restructuring towards a greater equality between women and men. Human beings are organized by gender as a social institution. Human societies depend on expected divisions of labour, a designated allocation of scarce resources or goods and assigned responsibilities for all members of society. Religion, law and the society's entire set of norms and values legitimate the outcomes of the process of gender. Change of a society's values has an impact on gender roles.

2.2.1 Integrating the Concept of Gender into Poverty Reduction Strategies

Globally there has been a considerable progress on the issue of gender equality. However, gender inequalities are still pervasive across the world, affecting many dimensions of people's lives. The nature and extent of gender discrimination varies considerably across countries and regions. There is no region in the world where women experience equality with men in all spheres of life such as legal, social and economic rights. In developing countries, gender

disparities remain widespread in respect to access, ownership and control of major resources such as land, in economic participation, political voice and power in general. Gender inequality affect the welfare of the whole society as it can reduce economic growth which in turn has an affect on the well being of the whole society (Klassen 1999).

Gender inequality is not only a social issue, but also is an economic as well as a development issue. It has adverse effects on a number of development goals. Among others, inequality in education and access to socio-economic resources may prevent the reduction of child mortality (King & Hill 1995). For instance, if Sub Saharan Africa had done more to reduce gender inequality in education, today their economic growth could have been raised up to 0.9% per year (Klasen 1999; Njuki 2001). Gender equality can play a vital role in reducing poverty, therefore, it is important to include both sexes in poverty reduction strategies that seek to improve the living conditions of all people regardless of their sex.

In many African countries, women are predominantly working as cultivators on land and they do most of land related work except the clearing of land (Baumann 1928; Wangari 1991). Women's responsibilities at household level and their work on land differs depending on factors such as marital status and age (Cloud 1985). Household divisions of labour are influenced by gender relationship depending on national, regional or local contexts (Rocheleau 1991). This division of labour can explain poverty in some societies. For instance, a study conducted in Gambia revealed that women were more responsible for most of the agriculture and domestic work than men. They were primary maintainers of the household and the well being of their respective families (Bastone 1988). A study conducted in Cameroon found a big difference between women's and men's weekly labour hours at both household activities and farm related activities. While men had a weekly labour average of 32 hours, women worked twice as much on the land and in the household – their weekly labour average was 64 hours. The study further revealed that a large part of female labour was used to produce food for family consumption; women spent an average of over 16 hours to produce food while men used an average of only 4 hours for the same purpose (Henn 1988). Due (1988) also made similar findings on unequal labour time spent for both men and women in Tanzania. While women spend an average of 8.5 labour hours per day working on land, men's contribution was an average of only 7 hours per day on the same tasks. In addition, the study revealed the unequal distribution of time spend by both males and females on non-farm tasks. Women spend an average of 5 hours compared to men's contribution of 1.1 hours on the same.

Men's fewer labour hours than women in non-farm activities can be linked to society's cultural beliefs and norms. A study conducted in Morogoro, Tanzania observed that male labour on other domestic activities such as fetching water, collecting firewood and cooking was considered completely as a taboo (Mtoi 1988).

2.2.2 The Gender Policies:

Development in the 1960's was equated to increase through economic production. This approach offered only short term solutions which basically aimed at the physical environment ignoring the social, cultural and political factors which all interact to determine the achievement of development. The crucial role of women was ignored. Therefore, this approach had a negative impact on the lives of poor women and their dependents.

- **Women in Development (WID)**

In the mid 1970's, many debates which focused on different directions about women and development evolved. The most significant approach during that time was Women in Development (WID). The approach focused on the identification and integration of women's productive roles in the development process. In order to achieve development, WID emphasized the quantification and maximization of women's productive roles. Moser (1986) noted that the process of development into which women were to be integrated remained fundamentally the same.

- **Women and Development (WAD)**

The WID approach was introduced at the same time as Women and Development (WAD) policies. WAD emphasised the problem of non-participation of women within the socio-economic realm of development as crucial. Beneira and Sen (1982) considered both WID and WAD policies as concentrated on women's production. This added to the women's already excessive workload without changing the inequalities that denied them access to the benefits of their work.

- **Gender and Development (GAD)**

The concept of Gender and Development (GAD) emerged in the late 1980s and it continues to evolve. This approach has challenged WID and WAD approaches in order to reach sustainable development. GAD views women as not separate from society but in relation to men. Thus, the approach is concerned with integrating both men and women in the process of development. According to GAD, gender inequality in all realms of life is a result of

inequitable distribution of power and control whereas women in most cases have a disadvantaged position. GAD challenges these imbalances and ensures that both women and men are able to make decisions, hold positions of power and both benefit from development on the basis of personal ability. The approach addresses women's needs and assumes that the practical needs are met. It also recognises the fact that gender relations cross cut and interact with other social aspects such as age, class, race and ethnicity and that these generate inequitable and structured powered relations as well.

2.3 Theoretical Orientation of the Study

This study explores multiple issues. There are two theories that are significant in guiding this study, that is, the Dialectical Materialism and Feminist theories. This section discusses and illustrates the applicability and reasons of choosing these two theories to guide this study. Finally, this section provides details of their relevance to this study.

2.3.1 Dialectical Materialism

This theory has been chosen because of its philosophical relevance to this study. The main argument of Dialectical Materialism is that one's actual consciousness is derived from both the social practice and experience and the social position one holds in a particular community. The Philosophical description of this theory states that in each concrete social formation other than socialism, there is unequal distribution of power which influences the distribution of means of production and consumption (Fonow *et. al.*, 1991). The relevance of this theory in this study lies on the fact that it explores peasant's female and male interpretation of changes in land matters and how they (men and women) contribute and react to those changes. In a Dialectical Materialist interpretation, the concept of activity as observed by Klementyev and Vassilyeva (1986) is:

“...material activity, or production, that determines any other activity of people, while material relations, taking shape in the process of production, determine other kinds of social relations. The relations of production taken together constitute the economic set-up of society, the basis with the legal and political superstructure over it, and with corresponding forms of social consciousness.” (Klementyev & Vassilyeva, 1986: 19)

The meaning of activity as advanced by the Dialectical Materialists has shortcomings on its gender sensitivity. The concept of people has been used to imply both women and men without paying attention that people are affected differently. The language of sexism in the

analysis of economics is a major shortfall of Dialectical Materialism. In addition, they have ignored the power of patriarchy in influencing social action. This theory concentrates on the analysis of economics, this is yet another shortcoming.

However, despite the mentioned shortfalls, the theory can still be applicable in the analysis of gendered land rights (parameters which have been chosen in this study to explain the phenomena of poverty). Women and men consciously influence and/or are influenced by changes in land tenure systems. Gaining control over land enriches both people's spiritual and material life as argued previously that land could play a role in poverty reduction.

The changing of the political economy in Tanzania has aggravated gender imbalances. This has been continually challenged as it signifies the role of human experience in changing social relations. There is association between people's action and history as argued by Klementyev & Vassilyeva (1986).

“The social pattern of society is a logical reflection of the historically necessitated division of labour, which is seen in people's activities in various spheres of production and public life.” (Klementyev & Vassilyeva, 1986: 9)

The applicability of the Dialectical Materialism in this study lies specifically on its guidance in contextualizing Nyangao women's historical life experiences on land access, ownership and control and their vulnerability. The philosophical gap of the theory as mentioned earlier lies on its failure to address the gender dimension of the issues investigated in this study which expose women to be more vulnerable than men. The reasons for its failure on addressing gender issues can be explained from its emphasis on economics and class issues. Furthermore, the Dialectical Materialism marginalises social and reproductive spheres of life. The ignored parts in this theory tend to influence much of the women's life experiences. Therefore, this study adapts the feminist theory to complement the observed gap in the Dialectical Materialism.

2.3.2 The Feminist Theory

The Feminist paradigm is endowed with rich gender analytical tools for social studies, it has capability of explaining gender differences. The feminist discourse gives guidance in analysing and understanding the complex gender issues embedded in matters related to land tenure. The main argument posed in this study is that women and men face different forms of challenges and struggles in this major socio-economic resource, that is, land especially in tenure systems.

The Feminist theory seeks to explore the way gender relations are constructed and experienced. The major focus of this paradigm has been to isolate gender from sexual/biological attributes at the analysis level and to facilitate the articulation of gender linkages to the productive spheres of life. This is done without marginalizing the sexual influence on economic roles through the ideology (Fax 1987). Ortner (1974) further elaborated this point:

“The secondary status of women in society is one of the true universals, a pan-cultural fact... Yet within that universal fact, the specific cultural conceptions and symbolization of women are extra ordinarily diverse and even mutually contradictory. Further, the actual treatment of women and their relative power and contribution vary enormously from culture to culture, and over different periods in the history of particular cultural traditions...the universal fact and the cultural variation constitute problems to be explained” (Ortner 1974:67)

Women as persons function as individuals and not as objects, they therefore exercise considerable power in constructing their avenues for social action (Moore 1988). This study sees women as active participants both as individuals and as a social group, as decision makers and as negotiators in land matters. Women are differently located in land matters as men, influenced by the economic and the underlying social system dynamics (Meena 1992). This study takes this as a starting point in addressing gender issues. The Feminist Theory offers a wide range of theoretical and practical interpretations of social processes.

In each historical epoch, gender issue as an integral part of social process has been explained differently. Before embarking on those feminist paradigms with its practical and theoretical interpretations of social process, it is worth to describe the two major groups of feminism, that is, micro and macro theories. Those two groups try to explain the origin and reasons of gender stratification.

2.3.2.1 Micro type theories

Micro type theories are theories which explain gender differences from an individual perspective (Nielsen 1990). Micro type theories are of two types: on the one hand biological theories and on the other social learning explanations.

- ***Biological Theory***

Proponents of biological theory stress that there are aspects of human biology that are qualitatively different in males and females and these are the cause of gender differences. Basically, this theory argues that gender has a biological determinant and the common

assumption is that sex linked genetic mechanism trigger different hormonal activity in the two sexes, which later produce sex linked social behaviour (See Fig 1.2 Hormonal explanation of gender stratification) (Walby 1986). The idea that social behaviour can be genetically inherited is explicit or implicit in most biologically based theories of sex stratification. Walby (1986) defines socio-biology as the systematic study of the biological basis of social behaviour and social organization of organisms including humans. Its central theme is that organisms act so as to maximize their reproductive potential, leaving progeny that will in turn survive and continue with the reproductive role (Blumberg 1984). A unique feature of socio-biology is that it offers an explanation for female altruism, which is defined as self-sacrificing behaviour that promotes another's well being through reproductive roles. However, socio-biology theory does not answer the main gender question, as to why there are social, economic and cultural gender inequalities within societies (Mies 1989).

<i>Genetic Mechanism</i> ----> <i>Hormonal Activity</i> -----> <i>Behavior</i>
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Figure 1 : Hormonal Explanation of Gender Stratification

- ***Social learning expectations***

Social learning expectations ground its base on the very beginning of life; the world acts as though sex makes a difference. At birth names are given according to sex, presents are also given depending on the sex of the baby. Socialization processes, that is, being raised as a boy or a girl may explain the status differences between the sexes. Theories that explain gender from this perspective are; Freud's theory (Freud 1933), which emphasizes the importance of early learning as a decisive factor in personality development. The cognitive developmental theory as advocated by Kohlberg (1966) argues that the child first perceives the gendered nature of the world in terms of sex and associates different activities to one sex or another. Another theory concerning this is Bem's gender schema theory. This emphasizes gender schematic behaviour, defined as a generalized readiness by the child to encode and organize information according to a cultures' definition of being a male or female.

2.3.2.2 Macro type theories

Macro type theories attribute gender stratification to societal characteristics rather than to the individual. The primary features of the gender status depend on characteristics of the specific society (Blumberg 1984). Advocates of this approach argue that societal characteristics

determine the kind of position women and men fill in the society. For instance, according to Mies (1989) most African families are organized in a patriarchal manner. Women are socialized to be less aggressive than men and societies expect women to be subordinated to a male head of household, performing a secondary role of child rearing.

Miller (1990) views this subordination as an important implication for the women in the control of their mental, reproductive lives, and in the autonomy they have over household affairs. The implication is not on the household level only, but it goes outside to the public systems like the working places and the market economy. Due to different sexual expectations and experiences, both women and men are forced to behave differently while reinforcing gender inequalities in different societies (Sen 1995). According to Nielsen (1990), gender differences are conditioned by social forces, and thus, can be rectified with time. For them sexual differences/ stratification is necessary for the on going operation and survival of human society (Harris 1977).

The Macro theorists see the secondary status of women as one of the true universals, “a pan-cultural fact” as Ortner calls it. However, the specific cultural conceptions and symbolizations of women are diverse and in some cases mutually contradictory. It is argued that the actual treatment of women and their relative power and contribution vary from one culture to the other and time to time. Hence, both the universal fact and cultural variation constitute problems for further explanations (Ortner 1974). The Macro type theories are divided into four categories, namely: Functional theories, Ideological theories, Materialist theories and Feminist theories.

The main assumption of functional theories is that the causes of social patterns can be found in their consequences for the society as a whole. Functionalists suggest that sex stratification was and perhaps is still necessary for the on going operation and survival of human society. One of the functional works is by Harris (1977) on ecological determinism which is based on anthropological studies of male dominance in pre-industrial societies.

Ideological theories see sex status as being determined by factors pertaining to values. Ideology refers to an expressive system, that is, its member’s values, beliefs, opinions and attitudes. Those include theorists such as De Beauvoir (1952) who suggests that since men have made the definition and distinction of gender, they have defined women as the “other sex” or the “second sex”. In this category there is also the woman-nature, man-culture theory as propounded by Ortner (1974). This theory sees culture as the human made component of life and more superior to nature and links women to nature thus making them inferior.

The Materialist theorists analyse gender stratification from a different perspective of the functional and ideological theories. Materialists argue that ideologies develop in order to provide justification for the existing distribution of material rewards (Nielsen 1990). The assumption is that ideologies follow rather than precede gender stratification. A great part of these theorists argue that the two sexes are tied to the economic structure in different ways and that these differences explain their statuses. For them, the origin of male dominance is located in the transition from subsistence to surplus production. This can be specifically explained by the development of land and animals as private property in combination with the discovery of issues of paternity and inheritance. Major theorists in this theory include conflict theory as developed by Collins (1971), which assumes that accesses to resources determine sex status. Another is a general theory of gender stratification as advocated by Blumberg (1984), which sees the major determinant of women's relative status in their relative economic power or control over means of production. Chafetz (1984) and Sen (1995) developed a comparative macro structural theory of sex stratification, which links gender stratification to environmental, technological and demographic variables. These variables determine how society's productive activities are structured.

Feminist theories are a culmination of different theories which focus on reasons for gender stratification. This move aims at transforming gender relations that are oppressive to women (Miller 1990; Mannathoko 1992). Feminist scholars question and challenge the origins of oppressive gender relations and attempt to develop a variety of strategies that might change unequal gender relations for the better (Tong 1989; Harding 1994). The aim of the feminist theory is to fulfil three major tasks: -

- (1) to articulate gendered view-points on how human beings influence and are affected by the social world
- (2) to consider how people's mode of thinking about the social world is implicated in existing power relations
- (3) to suggest ways of transforming the existing undemocratic and gender imbalanced social worlds (Fax 1987).

Although feminists share the same idea in terms of gender oppression, they differ widely in terms of analysing its origin and solution (Dow 1991). The Feminist paradigm is divided into four major variants: Liberal Feminism, Marxist /Socialist Feminism, Radical Feminism and the Critical Third World Feminism.

- **Liberal Feminism**

Liberal Feminism was developed after the Second World War, it borrows much from liberal capitalism. The theory is basically based on classical modernization theory which advocates for efficiency in production and consumption of goods and services. Liberal Feminism theory originates from white middle class women who fought for equality of rights and opportunities for both genders within the capitalist economic system. Liberal feminism emphasizes legal reforms and expansion of women's political participation. Its main argument is that women are not sufficiently integrated into the development process due to their inadequate access and exposure to various resources.

Liberal feminist sought women's liberation through legal reforms (Donovan 1985). Their main argument is that:

“...all individuals, regardless of sex or rather personal characteristics, would be free to compete in the market for rewards distributed according to productivity.” (Clark 1991:214)

Liberal feminists believed that addressing legal and political barriers is the way to ensure justice for both women and men. Their thoughts raised awareness on the vulnerability of women and they therefore introduced women as a unit of analysis in social science and economic research.

The liberal feminists considered underdevelopment and poverty as a stage in the development process which had resulted from lack of necessary political, social and economic conditions for development to occur. For example, the oppression of women in Africa is considered as having resulted from backwardness and primitiveness of the African cultures and social values (Bruce 1990). For them, modernization of the economy is regarded as a necessary pre-requisite for the liberation of women, since it is supposed to introduce new values, social norms and ideals in favour of women's liberation (Donovan 1985).

Although liberal feminists fought for women's rights and opportunities, the theory did not question structural inequities which prevailed in the society. The theory lacks an explicit critique of imperial and capitalist structures. In addition, the theory does not pinpoint relations between sexes as a specific power relation although it raises awareness on the plight of women (Bank 1986). Its reformist approach on changing gender inequities tends to perpetuate the status quo especially in the working sphere. Another weak point of the liberal feminism is that it sees women as a homogenous social group. It focuses exclusively on women and considers women as passive recipients of the process of social change. Liberal feminists put more emphasis on women's participation in the capitalist economy, thus failing to address

basic causes of female subordination, that is, the underlying structural causes of gender imbalances. The paradigm is basically eurocentric although data from the third world are said to have been used in developing this theory.

Solutions proposed by liberal feminists on the plight of women address more practical actions than challenging the gender roles, the patriarchal system and capitalism. It can therefore be concluded that liberal feminism does not propose fundamental changes in power relations nor does it challenge the global gender imbalances.

- **Socialist/Marxist Feminism**

This theoretical strand was developed as an attempt to address the gaps of liberal feminism. This theory emphasizes the importance of capitalism in maintaining sex stratification. The prominent figures in this school of thought include Jenness (1972); Moore (1988); Mies (1988); Weinbaum (1978); Hartsock (1983) and Leacock (1981). Those theorists argue that both women and men have been exploited by global capitalism. The founders of socialist paradigm support Marxism, especially on issues of property relations and exploitation of women. Engel's thesis that women's inferior status is linked to their lack of ownership rights to the means of production (Leacock 1981). In the same vein Moi (a socialist feminist) says:

“Like Marx, I believe that our specific material position in society and history crucially limits the range of ideological and political options available to us.”
(Moi 1988:7)

The scholars from this school of thought further criticise that women's contributions to the national economy have been ignored in national statistics. This leads to the invisibility of their specific problems, concerns or needs in national policies, programmes and projects. Feldstein and Poats (1989) argued that women's work is not valued or recognized in economic statistics because it is not paid. However, Socialist/Marxist feminists consider women's labour as contributing to the final quantity of surplus value realized. Furthermore, women's social reproductive functions such as unpaid child-care and domestic work are vital for the capitalist economies (Horn 1991; Meena 1992; Mohamed 1991). Socialists/Marxists consider capitalism, imperialism and sexism as inseparable and the liberation of women is thus linked to the liberation of oppressive social class relations. In this framework, women are seen as a reserve labour force for capitalism. Women's lower wages provide extra surplus to the capitalist system. In addition, women serve the interests of capitalism through the management of family production and consumption (Donovan 1985).

Socialist/Marxist theory is accused for ignoring the institution of patriarchy which discriminates against women by emphasising on class issues. The theory tends to marginalize

the role of women's domestic activities and the inherent concerns with the productive spheres of life, is yet another critique. Socialist/Marxist feminism provides a critical analysis of women's concerns as linked to the global economy. As far as they (Socialist/Marxist) are concerned, global capitalism has tended to benefit from women's contribution at both macro and micro- levels (Leacock 1981).

Socialist/Marxist feminists agree with the radicals that there is a need to focus on social change and social structural issues as well as on individual rights in order to eliminate women's subordination (Jaggar 1983).

- **Radical Feminism**

The radical feminism goes further than the socialist/Marxist feminism in recognizing the institution of patriarchy as the source of women's problems. It emerged as a result of a breakaway of socialist/Marxist feminists who were frustrated due to their inability to analyze gender oppression (Ginwala *et al.*, 1990). This variant therefore challenges the validity of the gender-stereotypical roles and calls for changes in power relations between women and men at all levels. Advocates of Radical Feminism include Simone de Beauvoir (1949); Elman (1968); Millet (1971); Daly (1978) and Scott (1995). The proponents of this theory demand a radical transformation of the oppressive relations (Duncan 1989).

According to Offen (1987), radical feminists put sexuality and patriarchy at the center of the political arena and they struggle for changes in women's political consciousness. The theory empowers women to analyze their lives as part and parcel of common experiences in patriarchal societies.

Radical feminists recognize the institution of patriarchy as the root cause of women's problems. They ignore class, ethnicity and radical forms of oppression thus imposing a false uniformity in women's life experiences. This variant also tends to advocate for extreme solutions such as calling for global women solidarity through homosexual "lesbianism" and consider the technology of test tube babies as offering women unprecedented opportunity to escape their biological dependence on men (Clark 1991). They consider biology rather than economics as a basis of women's oppression.

While liberal feminists fight for equal opportunities to resources, radical feminists challenge both the quality and quantity of resources (Harding 1994). For instance, liberal feminists have been fighting for equal access to education and health for women. Radical feminists have argued that education and health services must empower women (Friedman 1991). The demand for radical women's empowerment may explain why radical feminism has

met hostility in many societies and has failed to have a significant impact on development strategies in gender issues (Donovan 1985).

- **Critical Third World Feminism**

This paradigm is a variant of radical feminism. It has borrowed a lot from socialist feminism and sees capitalism as a mechanism which propagates women's low status in all spheres of life. Most advocates of this paradigm are intellectuals whose empirical experience originates from Less Developed Countries (LDCs) which analyses dependency within the world system. These intellectuals include Agarwal (1991), Meena (1992) and Mbilinyi (1994).

The paradigm recognizes women's and men's contribution to the continuation of patriarchy and the general development process. For them women are active agents of change. They do not side with the radical feminism over the conjugal relationships between women, that is, lesbianism.

Critical third world feminism developed as a result of socio-economic and political conditions which prevailed in most African societies especially in the 1960s. It emerged as a form of resistance against colonial domination in African societies (Mohamed 1991). Women participated in anti-colonial struggles as members of the ruling classes and created women's wings of the dominant political parties. However, Imam *et al*, (1988), observed that the impact of women's wings to political ideologies was to solicit support for the male-dominated parties for the purpose of attaining independence.

According to the third world feminists, there are differences among women in terms of race, class, religion and ethnicity. They consider feminist struggles as a political struggle against economic exploitation, racism and poverty. In this case, both women and men have important roles to play depending on the social locations. For them gender discrimination is viewed as part of broader social-political and economic discrimination. Critical third world feminists consider changes in socialization, the gender sensitive development of legal systems, power structures and re-organization of economic life from the household level to public levels as crucial to redress gender discrimination. They propose women empowerment as the solution to gender inequalities (Mukangara 1995).

After independence, argues Dow (1991), women's organizations have continued to support the male-dominated ruling structures. Women's party wings have been compromising women's basic human rights for token measures provided by national governments through the patronage system. Most African states sidelined women issues by supporting only the welfare services and projects such as redistribution of health, education and handicrafts,

ignoring the gender inequality within the ruling system (Friedman 1991). While nationalist movements had mobilized both women and men in the struggle for independence, power was essentially transferred to few men who inherited the colonial administrative apparatus (Nikoi 1998). In addition, the author insists that power was transferred to few men whose immediate preoccupation was to reinvent African “masculinity”.

However, the challenges faced by the third world feminists’ are embedded in the ways to transform poor gender relations especially those related to traditions and cultures. In general, third world feminism has provided the African societies, women scholars and researchers with critical tools of gender analysis. Despite of adopting many ideas of critical third world feminism, this study also intends to enrich the feminist theory as described above by recovering and exploring how Nyangao women articulated their basic needs.

2.4 The Relevance of the Chosen Theories to this Study

Two theories were chosen to guide this study. Those theories are the Dialectical Materialist theory and the Feminist theory. Both theories can be linked to the situation in the study area. They have been chosen to guide this study because they provide the intellectual tools needed to create a research like this one. These theories can be applied to analyse real issues happening in a community.

The dialectical materialist theory is used because of its rich philosophical framework. The theory can be used to expand the understanding of social, economic and political forces that have served to marginalize and oppress women in Tanzania. The main argument of the theory is that one’s actual consciousness is derived from social practice and social position one holds in a particular community. The theory focuses on the idea that in each concrete social formation, there is unequal distribution of power which influences the distribution of the means of production and consumption. In this case, the dialectical materialist theory has been found to be useful in expanding, understanding and exploring the peasant women and men interpretation of changes in land rights. The theory specifically guides the study in establishing how people contribute and react to changes such as the social system dynamics in Nyangao village.

The major advantage of using this theory lies in its usefulness in analysing changes which are happening to people’s lives in the study area. In this study, women and men consciously influence or are influenced by changes in land tenure systems. However, dialectical materialism is not gender sensitive as it fails to adequately address the gender dimension of the issues investigated in this study. The theory focuses on analysis of

economics and class issues and marginalizes social and reproductive spheres of life which influence much on women's life experiences.

The feminist paradigm adds to a materialist paradigm as it offers gendered analytical tools for social studies. Those tools are based on exploring the way gender relations are constructed and experienced. The advantage of using feminist discourse lies in its capability of giving guidance in problematizing and analysing the complex gender issues.

The major argument posed in this study is that women and men face different challenges in land matters especially tenure systems. Feminist discourse views women as active participants who exercise considerable power in constructing their avenues for social action. The theory consider how peoples mode of thinking about the social world is implicated in existing power relations and suggest ways of transforming the existing undemocratic and gender imbalanced social worlds. This study emphasizes that women are differently positioned in land matters.

From the mentioned four feminist variants, the guiding paradigm in this study is the critical third world feminism theory which recognizes that capitalism reinforces women's low status. Unlike other feminist variants, critical third world feminism recognizes that women's and men's contribution both to the perpetuation of patriarchy and development process. The peculiar characteristic of this variant is that, it sees women as active agents of change and recognizes men as allies. This shared experience between females and males can allow both irrespective of their gender differences to feel a sense of self worth and dignity and fight poverty together as allies.

The next chapter introduces the research design (research methodology), which will be used in articulating women's marginalisation in land matters and their vulnerability to poverty situation. It further highlight on their struggles in accessing land ownership and control rights.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology adopted in this study. It situates the research site and describes the study instruments, design and the methods of data collection and analysis procedures. The chapter covers two sections: The first one includes the context of the study which provides a description of where the study was conducted, that is, the geographical location of the study area. A short description of the political economy of Tanzania as well as the profile of Lindi region are presented in order to put the study area into a national context. The second section presents a detailed description of the methodology used in the data collection process. This covers the sample frame, data collection methods and data analysis.

3.2 Political Economy of the United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa with a total land area of about 945,087 sq.km, out of which 487,100 sq.km are arable land (Briggs 1996). Only 10% is under cultivation and largely managed by small-holders (URT 1996). About 84% of all cultivated land is tilled by physical labour while 10% is under animal power and 6% under mechanical power (TANGO 1994). Tanzania is bordered by Uganda and Kenya to the north, Rwanda, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west, Zambia to the southwest, Malawi and Mozambique to the south and Indian Ocean to the east. During the 2002 census, Tanzania had a population of 34.5 million people (URT 2002).



Source: www.atlapedia.com

Map 2 : Geographical Location of Tanzania

The country is divided into a total of 25 regions, five are on the islands of Unguja and Pemba (Zanzibar isles). The twenty regions in the mainland Tanzania are sub-divided into 113 districts which are further sub-divided into divisions, wards and villages.

Land is a public property under the trusteeship of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania was amended in 1984 to accommodate among other things the Bill of Rights in Article 24. This bill recognises the right of every citizen to own property. It also prohibits all kinds of discrimination, including gender discrimination in Article 13 (4) and (5) (URT 1995).

Agriculture is the mainstay of the country's economy providing about 61% of the gross domestic product (GDP), 85% of the exports and 80% of the employment (URT 1993; URT 1994). According to the UN report (1993), the average cultivating capacity of a

smallholder family with five members is 2.5 ha. The primary commodity production in agriculture is the employment sector for about 98% of the women and 90% of the men living in the rural areas (Omari & Mbilinyi 1996).

Most households in Tanzania are headed by males. According to the 1990/91 agriculture sample survey, rural female-headed households were 17.5% (Koda 1994). Women are the main actors in subsistence farming as they produce between 70% and 80% of their families' food supply. Food preparation for the family is a traditional female task, in accordance to the stereotyped role model (Mukangara 1995). However, in most parts of Tanzania women's access to ownership and control over land is limited as both patriarchal customary rights and religious laws present restrictions. Major cash crops grown are coffee, tea, tobacco, cotton, sisal, pyrethrum and cashew nuts. Other sectors contributing to the national economy are mining activities, manufacturing industries, forestry and tourism (Briggs 1996).

The Tanzanian education system is divided into three parts: primary school, secondary school, and post secondary school. The history of education in Tanzania can be traced back to the German colonial rule, when the Church Mission Society (CMS) established schools. This was the start of formal education in Tanzania. The purpose of the school then was to promote Christian religion but as education developed, it became an instrument to produce skilled labour for the settler's farms and clerical staff for the colonial administration. In Tanzania, education is a basic human right of every child. It offers improvements for their quality of life by making them more receptive to the applications of science and technology in agriculture, industry, social services and in their every day lives. For this reason, Tanzania's education strives to cater for both female and male children.

Regarding religion, Christianity and Islam are dominant religions with almost equal numbers of believers. The two religions have much influence on marriage patterns in both urban and rural areas to the extent that both Christian and Muslim marriages are legally accepted in Tanzania. Tanzania is a home to various communities that migrated during colonial rule from India and Pakistan. They are referred to in Tanzania as Asians and divided on the basis of religious affiliation into Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Although many left after independence, a substantial number remained in urban areas such as Dar es salaam, Mwanza, Arusha and Zanzibar. Arabs live along the coast. Although all observe Islam, they are divided between "old" Arabs who arrived before the 16th century, and the "true" Arabs, originating with the establishment of Arab hegemony in Zanzibar in the 19th century. Tanzania has no state religion. However, the majority of the Christians are members of the Roman Catholic,

Lutheran, Anglican and other Protestant churches. These religious affiliations are the outcome of early missionary activities which assisted in the administration of the country during colonial times. Most churches tended to be ethnically homogenous since colonial authorities pursued the policy of allocating a mission to a particular territory. This tendency has changed with increasing communication and mobility.

Both patrilineal and matrilineal social systems are found in Tanzania for about 80% and 20% of the population respectively (Swanz 1998). However, both social systems face constant changes in land tenure because of the dynamics in the social-economic, social-cultural and political sphere. These changes are fuelled by both internal factors such as socio-economic contradictions, and external factors, for instance the pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) to liberalize the economy (Vuolera 1987; Mbilinyi 1996)

3.2.1 The Administrative Structure

In Tanzania, the region is part of the central government structure. Subordinate to the region are the districts, the largest local government units which are structured under the region. Following the districts are divisions, wards, villages and hamlets (*vitongoji*). The political organs for governance on those levels are the district council, the village council and the village assembly. Administrative officers of each level are the District Executive Directors (DED), the Ward Executive Officers (WEO), the Village Executive Officers (VEO) and the *Kitongoji* Chairperson (Appendix I: Local and Central Government Structure).

3.2.1.1 The Village Level

Villages are divided into hamlets (*vitongoji*), the residents of the area elect the hamlet chairperson “*mwenyekiti wa kitongoji*”. During the colonial era, in some areas the head of the villages were chiefs. After independence, the villages’ chairperson replaced the chiefs. The hamlet chairperson is also represented in the village council. The hamlet system in Tanzania was introduced in 1992. The aim was to ease administrative difficulties in large villages. The compulsory division into hamlets is considered as relevant in some villages such as Nyangao village (a case study), but not in all. The function of the hamlet’s chairperson among others includes the mobilisation of the *kitongoji* residents for development activities, payment of taxes such as development taxes, co-ordinating development efforts, keeping villagers’ records and assisting the District Council.

According to the 1982 Local Govt. Act, the Village Assembly is the supreme authority in all matters of general policy making such as use and distribution of the available resources for instance land. Before the 1982 Local Govt. Act, all planning and decision-making processes were centralised. The major shortfall of this centralised organisation was that the planner was too far away from the planned, making it difficult for him/her to fully appreciate and understand the issues involved. In addition, the bureaucratic procedures required by the centralised system could not respond promptly to immediate problems of the people. The Village Assembly consists of adult residents in the village who have attained the age of 18 years and above. The actual functions of the village assembly differ among villages. Even where it is functioning, the participation of women and youth are observed to be insufficient if not lacking. The village assembly elects members of the village council who should be over 21 years of age and residing in the village. The village council number is between 15 and 25 members, determined by the village assembly. The village chairperson is both the chairperson of the village council and of the village assembly. Although the village council requires one-fourth of the members to be women, this is not always the case (Shivji & Peter 2000). The functions of the village council are mainly to manage, regulate and co-ordinate developmental affairs of the village and to mobilise villagers for social and economic development. Every village council is required to establish five functional committees: finance and planning, production and marketing, education and social welfare, work and transport and security and defence.

The village Executive Officer (VEO) is an employee of the District Council but accountable to the Village Council. VEO is also secretary to the Village Council and is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) at the village level (Shivji & Peter 2000).

3.2.1.2 Ward and Division Levels

The ward (*kata*) level is the link between the village and the district. In Tanzania, there are more than 2,400 wards. A ward can cover an average of about three to five villages. Unlike the district or village levels, the ward does not have a democratically elected leadership organ. These are functionaries who manage the ward under the direction of the Ward Development Committee (WDC). The functionaries who are in charge of the ward are the village chairpersons and the Ward Executive Officer (WEO). The WEO is an appointee in the District Council.

WDC is composed of a councillor representing the ward, all village chairpersons, and other appointed members such as extension staff, community development workers, staff of

the health, education and agriculture. Dispensaries often operate at the ward level. However, WDCs do not have their own source of funds, and are therefore in many cases not functional. Hence, their functions, especially in governance, are limited. There is a Division Secretary who is often regarded as the supervisor of the WEO (Shivji & Peter 2000).

3.2.1.3 The District Level

The highest level within the local government is the district. The decentralisation efforts strengthen the districts' functions and narrow down the role of the regions. Head of the central government at the district level is the District Commissioner (DC) who is appointed by the president. The local authorities at the district level are the district councils who are elected. The administrative heads are the District Executive Directors (DED). They have the responsibilities of delivering basic services including basic education (Primary schools and adult literacy), health (dispensaries and health centres), water supplies, road maintenance and community development services. Although technical officers are connected to the central government, most of them are responsible to the DED, except for the agricultural staff (Seppälä 2000).

3.2.1.4 The Regional and Central Level

The head of the central government at the regional level is the Regional Commissioner (RC), appointed by the president. The administrative heads of the regions, the Regional Administrative Secretaries (RAS) are central government employees. The regional level provides the district levels with technical support and supervision. On technical matters, regional staffs report to the responsible ministries. For example, the Regional Medical Officer (RMO) reports to the Ministry of Health and the Regional Education Officer (REO) reports to the Ministry of Education (URT & UNICEF 1990). At the national level, the president heads the government, he is elected every five years.

3.3 The Profile of the Study Area

Lindi region is one of the 20 regions of mainland Tanzania. The region is located in the south-eastern part of Tanzania between latitude 7°55' and 10°50' south of the Equator, and longitude 36°51' to 40° east. Latitude 10° passes through Lindi town, the main urban centre of the region. According to the National Population Census of 2002, the region had a

population of 791,306 (381,359 females and 409,947 males) (URT 2002). This was an increase of 144,961 people compared to the previous National Population Census of 1988, the region had a population of 646,345. The national census of 2002 also shows that the region had a total number of 190,761 households with an average size of 4.1 people per household (URT 2002).

Bordering Lindi region are the Coast region in the north, Morogoro region in the west, Ruvuma region in the southwest, Mtwara region in the south and the Indian Ocean in the east. Lindi region covers an area of 67,000 km², consisting of about 8% of Tanzania's mainland area. About 25% of the region's area is not inhabited, as it is part of the Selous Game Reserve. There are four major rivers in the region, which are Matandu, Mbwemkuru, Mavuji and Lukuledi (Wembah- Rashid 1998).



Map 3 : Lindi Region – Location of Nyangao Village

Historically, Lindi is among the oldest towns in Tanzania. In the 11th century, Arab traders were already engaged in trade in Lindi town and its neighbouring areas. Kilwa was a main trading point in the medieval Indian Ocean trade network in the region. The hinterland of Kilwa formed a trading center for gold and ivory trade. In addition, Southern Tanzania was part of the long established trade routes from inland to the coast. The Yao traders are believed to have been the major actors in expanding the earliest routes in the south, selling tobacco, hoes and skins and in return buying salt and beads (Kopenen 1988:70). During colonial times, Mtwara and Ruvuma regions were categorised into the then southern provinces of Tanganyika. After independence the provinces were abolished and smaller administrative regions were formed. Lindi and Mtwara regions were then constituted as one administrative

region. In 1971, Lindi was declared a separate administrative region. Apart from a few sisal estates and Makonde water development schemes, very little was done to develop the region during colonialism. The whole southeast region was deliberately set aside as a labor reserve for plantations in the north (Kopenen 1988)

The region's state of development is low compared to other regions in mainland Tanzania. According to the 2002 statistics, Lindi ranks 19th in the Human Poverty Index (HPI) among the 20 regions in mainland Tanzania. As for the infant mortality rates, southeast Tanzania regions, that is, Mtwara and Lindi, are at the bottom of the list ranking 19th and 20th respectively (URT 2002). The per capita income for both regions is far below the country's estimated poverty line (Luanda 1998).

Lindi region is poorly connected to other regions in the country. As far as land communication is concerned the region is cut off from direct communication with major cities and regions for about seven months of the year. Lindi and Mtwara are served with one road to Dar es Salaam, the main commercial center and former capital city. For the rest of the time, people have to travel either by air or sea. Many people can not afford airfares as they are very expensive. The road network is only 2% that is, 134.5km of the road is tarmac, 1.6% (108km) is gravel and 96.3% (6,443.5km) is earth, this makes most of the roads seasonal (Killian 1998). There is a long shoreline on the Indian Ocean and two ports in Lindi town and Kilwa. However, for a long time transportation has been irregular and unreliable (Tanzania, Planning Commission and Lindi 1997).

The colonial policy is held responsible for the region's isolation and backwardness (Liebenow 1971). The colonial administrators created potential opportunities in some regions and neglected others. Both the German and the British did very little to develop southeast regions in Tanzania. The regions were designated to be a labor reserve and only a few plantations and infrastructures were established. According to Wembah-Rashid, the colonial strategy not to develop the South came as a result of the stiff local resistance to colonial occupation demonstrated through the *Maji Maji*. Some developmentalists argue that it is not lack of resources that is making the region poor but rather it is poor industrial base coupled with poor communication links that lead to under-utilization of natural resources located in the region (Wembah-Rashid 1998)

The state of underdevelopment of Lindi and Mtwara is a result of "marginalization". People from this region believe that there is lack of political will to develop Mtwara and Lindi

regions partly because of the politicians' belief that these regions lack profitable natural resources for the government to invest upon. In the 1980s the government started the construction of Lindi - Kibiti road, the road has taken decades to be realized. This is explained largely as lack of political will to promote the project. Mesaki & Mwankusye reported that:

“Whereas new roads are continually being built in other parts of the country and in certain areas railway lines run parallel with good roads, in southern regions, the only railway line built by the colonialists was uprooted after independence” (Mesaki & Mwankusye 1998:60).

3.3.1 Geographical Location of the Lindi Region

The geographical location of Lindi is another factor that is mentioned to be the cause of underdevelopment in the region. The region is tsetse fly - infected therefore livestock keeping is difficult. This adds to other aspects of economical deprivation. Wembah-Rashid (1998) pointed out that the geography of the region has contributed to the disadvantages associated with physical isolation of the area from developed regions. Surrounded by the Indian Ocean in the east, Rufiji river in the north, Ruvuma in the south and Lumesule river in the west, the argument is put forward that the region is naturally cut off from the rest of the country. Furthermore, the southeast regions are surrounded by areas, which are as economically underdeveloped as the region itself. To the south, the region borders northern Mozambique, the Coast region to the north, and Ruvuma region to the west, therefore the region itself and the neighbouring regions have nothing to exchange but poverty (Wembah-Rashid 1998:45). Conclusively, Lindi is poorly developed in terms of infrastructure, social services and general living standards.

3.3.2 Administrative Structure of the Region

Administratively, the region is divided into six districts namely Lindi Urban, Lindi Rural, Liwale, Nachingwea, Ruangwa and Kilwa. The subdivisions of the districts are summarized in Table 2 The administrative coverage of the region of Lindi

Table 2: The administrative coverage of the region of Lindi

District	Area Sq. km	Divisions	Wards	Villages
Kilwa	13,920	6	21	74
Lindi Rural	7,538	10	28	121
Ruangwa	2,080	3	12	62
Nachingwea	7,070	5	27	65
Liwale	36,084	3	15	39
Lindi Urban	308	1	13	4
Total	67,000	28	116	365

Source: Lindi Regional Commissioner's Office (1997)

3.3.3 Ethnic Groups

The main ethnic groups found in Lindi region are the Mwera, Yao, Makonde, Ngindo and Matumbi. The Mwera, Makonde and Yao are the majority among the five main ethnic groups. The majority in Lindi Rural District are Mwera followed by Yao and Makonde. Other tribes found in Lindi are Ndonde and Machinga.

3.3.4 Economics and Livelihood of Lindi Region

The main livelihood for the majority of the population is agriculture, which employs over 90% of the population and contributes to 66% of Lindi region's GDP (1995/96). The main food crops grown are cassava, which covers the most hectares, followed by sorghum, maize, rice and pulses. The main cash crops are sesame and cashew nuts. Lindi produces 72% of the total production of sesame and 14.7% of the overall production of cashew nuts in Tanzania (Tanzania, Planning Commission and Lindi 1997).

Although the region has good marine fishing grounds on the coast, especially in Kilwa district, it has limited numbers of fishermen. The method of fishing is small scale. Beekeeping is a traditional livelihood undertaken in all districts especially in Liwale and Nachingwea. Economic activities other than agriculture related to natural resources account for 27% of the region's GDP (Tanzania, Planning Commission and Lindi 1997).

The diversification of income generating activities illustrates the proactive agencies of villagers in coping with economic situations (Seppälä 1996). In the region other income generating activities include the extraction of natural resources such as hunting, gathering, selling firewood, making charcoal, selling and building poles, making bricks and selling grass. Crafts comprise making mats, beds, ropes, houses and pottery. Trading alcohol,

tobacco, fruits, coconuts and services such as tailoring, traditional doctor, midwife and music is of importance as well.

While some people opt for diversification of income generating activities in the region, others, especially young people, migrate from Lindi region to the big cities such as Dar es salaam as evidenced in the findings of this study. The proportion of out migration in the region is high and the percentage of population remaining in the original region of birth has been 79.25%, which is the second lowest in Tanzania mainland (Aboud 1994:52).

3.3.5 Health & Education in Lindi Region

The region provides few social services, these includes private and government secondary schools, hospitals and dispensaries. Missionary influence on social amenities is high in this region. Lindi is considered to be one of the most deprived regions concerning health and education. However, there are disparities between the districts within the region itself, as illustrated in Table 3, which indicates mortality rates, and Table 4, which shows primary school enrolment rates by districts.

- **Health**

Lindi region had 140 IMR (Infant Mortality Rates) per 1,000 and 236 U5MR (Under 5 Mortality Rate) per 1,000 in 1985. Within Lindi region, Lindi rural district had the highest IMR of 160 and U5MR of 269. Lindi urban district had the lowest IMR of 111, and U5MR of 186 (URT 1988a).

Table 3 : Mortality Rates

District	Infant Mortality Rate	Under 5 Mortality Rate
	Per 1,000, 1985	
Kilwa	125	210
Lindi Rural	160	269
Lindi Urban	111	186
Liwale	147	249
Nachingwea	124	209
Total of the Lindi Region	140	236

Source: Compiled from Tanzania, 1988a.

- **Education**

The primary school Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) was 63% in 1998 and the Net Enrolment Rate (NER) was 49% in Lindi region . Within the region, Lindi rural district had the lowest GER of 37% and NER of 27%. Nachingwea district had the highest GER of 127% and NER of 98% where girls had higher enrolment rates than boys unlike other districts.

Table 4 : The Enrolment Rates in Primary Schools in Lindi region

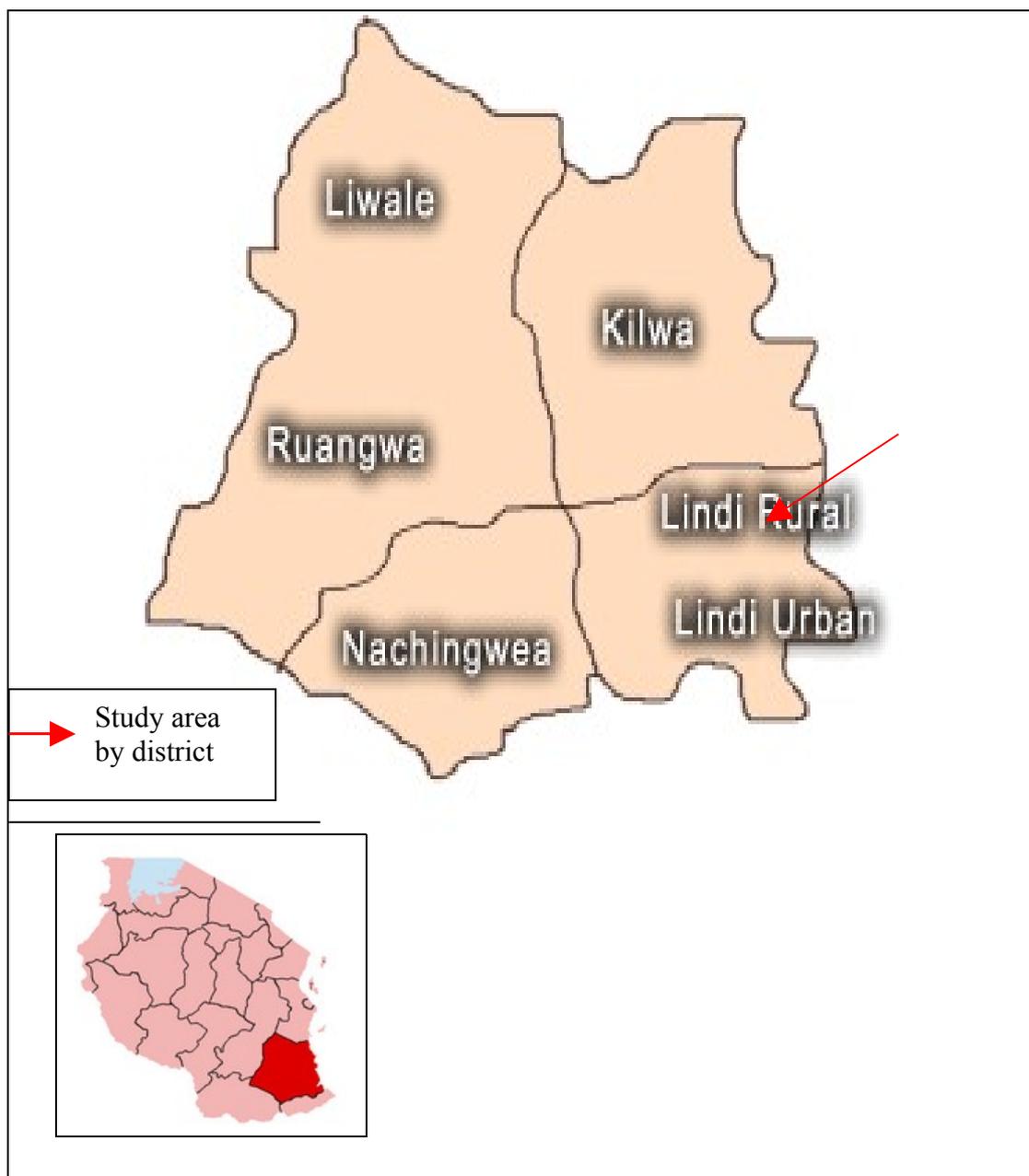
District	Gross			Net		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
	% 1998			% 1998		
Kilwa	56	48	52	43	38	41
Lindi Rural	37	38	37	27	27	27
Lindi Urban	61	70	65	45	53	49
Liwale	90	83	86	75	70	73
Nachingwea	124	131	127	94	102	98
Total of the Lindi Region	64	63	63	49	49	49

Source: Tanzania, MOE 1999

The differences in literacy rates between the districts have a religious and a historical background. The majority of inhabitants in Kilwa district are Muslims whereas Christian religion dominates in Lindi rural district. The introduction of Christianity in south-east Tanzania was coupled with the establishment of missionary schools, which provided formal education (primary and secondary education) in both Lindi and Masasi districts. In contrast, in Kilwa district where Muslim religion was dominant, the education was islamic and little attention was paid to formal education (URT 1997).

3.3.6 Lindi Rural District

Lindi rural district borders Ruangwa district to the west, Kilwa to the north, Mtwara region to the south and the Indian Ocean to the east. Lindi rural district has 28 Wards and 121 villages, it covers an area of 7,538 sq. km. According to the population census of 2002, the district had a total population of 215,764 including 113,234 females and 102,530 males. Lindi rural district had a total of 55,577 households with an average size of 3.9 people per household (URT 2002)



Source: Lindi Region Homepage for the 2002 Tanzania National Census and Tanzania Government Directory Data Base.

Map 4 : Lindi Administrative districts

The main economic activity in Lindi rural district is agriculture. In most villages within the district, a rural informal sector emerges. Most of these villages are characterised by service-oriented activities such as carpentry, tailoring, local beer brewing and food vending. The district is poorly supplied with electricity. The majority of its residents, with the exception of few middle-class people, cannot afford electricity because they are economically weak. Generally, housing conditions are of poor quality. Most houses are built with mud

poles and roofed with either old rusty corrugated iron sheets or grass. The average size of household units is two to three bedrooms.

3.3.7 Nyangao Village

Nyangao ward, in which the study area is located, had a total population of 15,834 (7,495 males and 8,339 females). This population is grouped into a total of 3,898 households with an average size of 4.1 people per household (URT 2002). Nyangao village is an inland village within the Nyangao ward. According to the village's data, Nyangao village had a population of 3,948 people (1,762 males and 2,186 females). The small number of males compared to females can partly indicate that the majority has migrated out of the village, especially young people.

The population in this village is ethnically mixed, it includes communities such as Yao, Mwera, Makonde and Makua. Traditionally the Nyangao people followed a matrilineal social system whereby inheritance of property was through the female line. The maternal uncles used to have a central role in household related decision-making. The wife's brother would meet the needs of the man's children, but this is changing now. Today, the uncle's role for instance is only felt during marriages and initiation ceremonies.

All the ethnic groups in Nyangao village have historically been matrilineal in their practices. Changes that have taken place over a period of years, have to a large extent transformed the nature of the previously existing social relationships. There are number of factors which have led to those changes: 1) The practice of cousin marriage. In this case men were not obliged to change village of residence. In most cases the couple, that is, cousins were in the same village. Furthermore, the FGDs informed that if a man is obliged to move to the wife's village and prove to be a responsible husband, he could ask to his in-laws to take his wife and children to his village of origin. 2) The influence of patrilineal ethnic groups with whom ethnic groups in Nyangao village came into contact. 3) The influence of missionaries in Lindi region. The missionaries emphasized the view that husband is the head of the family. They also put the emphasis on paternal authority and control over children. 4) The colonial emphasis on cash crops. This made men more influential than women as they were the sole producers of those crops. Women were mostly engaged in the production of food crops. Hence, the extent of those changes can be explained by the weak matrilineal patterns. Initially the prevalence of the matrilineal social system in Lindi region suggested that transfer patterns of resources including land would favour maternal relatives. However, due to current trend,

this study found no evidence for such situation. This can be explained by the changes which have taken place in the region.

The Nyangao elders play a key role in issues such as reconciliation in marriages, funeral rites and settling disputes. Unlike other communities in Tanzania, which were administered by chiefs, Nyangao communities were administered by the clan system where as elders played an import role in the daily running of their communities. In contrast to the elders' role, the childrens' central role has been to support the family in agricultural activities and in business ventures like petty trade.

Nyangao village comprises five sub-villages, namely: Naijongolo, Nyangao, Nyangao B - Sokoni, Mtakuja and Cheleweni. According to the village's records, about 20% of the village's households are headed by females with the highest number in Nyangao B Sokoni, a sub-village, which shares semi-urban features. Nyangao is predominantly an agrarian village with over 95% of the villagers earning their livelihood through small-scale agriculture. Most farming takes place on individual holdings which are fragmented into several plots. The average size of a farm is one hectare but there is a lot of variation between the families. Most farming is done by using hand hoes. The production comprises both cash and food crops such as cashew nuts, rice, groundnuts, sesame, cassava, millet and beans. Other income generating activities are mainly petty businesses. Very few villagers own large farms for cashews while the majority owns small holdings.

The village has one primary school from standard one to standard seven. Missionaries established this primary school, after independence the government took it over. There is also one vocational training secondary school and one home economics college.



Photo 1 : Nyangao Primary School

Photo: Grace Soko

In terms of medical services, the village has a well-established mission hospital (Roman Catholic church). This hospital started in 1947 as a dispensary and by 1959, it gained the status as a hospital.



Photo 2 : Nyangao Mission Hospital

Photo: Grace Soko

Nyangao village has been facing water problem for a long time. For most villagers, the water sources are boreholes and rain water in ponds. Another social services available in the

village is electricity supply. However, for the majority this service is unaffordable. According to the village government data, majority of inhabitants in Nyangao village are Christians followed by Muslims.

3.4 Justification of the Choice of the Study area

Tanzania, like other developing countries is among the countries hardest hit by poverty. The country has been embarking on various strategies to reduce poverty amongst her population. Lindi, one of the 20 regions, was the case study for data collection. This region was purposely selected for a number of reasons: - Firstly, the region is considered “*exceptionally poor*” compared to other regions in Tanzania (URT 1999; Killian 1998). Secondly, Lindi was among the regions where the concept of socialist villages “*Ujamaa* villagization” was first experimented in large scale in the 1970s. It therefore provides a good understanding on how successful the concept of *Ujamaa* on poverty reduction was. Thirdly, the social structure in Lindi has been matrilineal and has been drifting towards patrilineal tendencies. A consequence of this shift has been confusion in issues such as participation in decision-making, acquisition of land and other resources and the daily functioning of the family. Fourthly, the region covers a number of villages like Nyangao which have undergone the above mentioned shifts. Nyangao village is located along the highway to Masasi district, Mtwara region and Lindi town. This proximity enhances the capacity of the village to implement changes.

Lack of documented data about poverty in relation to gendered land rights and social system dynamics was another reason for conducting this study in Nyangao village. Previous researches have focussed on poverty and development issues and paid little attention to gender perspectives and social system patterns (Killian 1998; Wembah-Rashid 1998).

Generally, people from southeast Tanzania have always been regarded as the poorest and most backward among fellow Tanzanians. I was familiar with the situation of poverty in Lindi due to my work with the Young Women’s Christian Association of Tanzania (YWCA), a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO), as a Programme Officer. I observed that women were socially and economically weak compared to men and faced more problems than men especially in accessing, owning and controlling various socio-economic resources including land. Work with the YWCA had exposed me to various issues of gender imbalances and the vulnerability of women. One of the tasks of the YWCA is to empower women in various respects. On various occasions, I encountered land issues as an obstacle to the reduction of poverty, especially among women. However, during my career, I did not have an opportunity

to deeply explore the nature of gender inequality regarding socio-economic resources which make women more vulnerable to poverty than men.

3.5 Data Collection

The research was conducted between August and December 2003. The Regional Administrative Director (RAD) office in Lindi region was visited, the intention and purpose of the research was explained. He gave the researcher a research permit to commence the data collection.

Assistance from two enumerators (a male and a female) was sought because the researcher was aware that the work would be enormous. While the female enumerator was from Lindi town, the male enumerator was from Nyangao village. Both of them had a high school education and possessed experience in data collection. A one-week training was organized. The purpose of this training was to provide the enumerators with the necessary skills for data collection. The training was based on the following areas: - interview techniques, tape recording during FGDs, to administer questionnaires, study objectives and guidelines for data collection. After their training and recruitment, the study instruments were reviewed. The questionnaires were pre-tested with ten villagers who were not part of the study sample. Pre-testing the questionnaire enabled the research team to clarify the misunderstandings. It also enabled the principal researcher to gauge the ability of the enumerators to administer questionnaires.

After pre-testing, the research team planned the research schedule and its execution. The enumerators were introduced to the village authorities and explained the purpose of the study to them. The village authorities were supportive and helpful to the research team in many ways. They organised an open meeting of the villagers during which they introduced the research team and the purpose of the research. They stressed the need to cooperate and ascertained their full participation in the research process. This enhanced the understanding and cooperation between the authorities, the villagers and the research team. On commencement of the data collection process, the research team held discussions in the evenings to review the day's work and to brainstorm on any issues arising from the fieldwork.

3.5.1 Research Design

This part describes the research design, the sample size and the sampling procedure. The study utilised both qualitative and quantitative procedures. The emphasis was placed on a qualitative approach due to the nature of the study. The participatory phase in this study underlines the fact that the researcher and the villagers engaged in articulating and discussing the topical issues.

- **Participatory Research Methods**

The participatory research approach used in this study includes a combination of data collection methods. The use of qualitative methods has been stressed in this study as they take people's real life experiences as the starting point in recognising that people know their own situation better than an outsider (researcher) and that they have their own ideas of the world and their own comprehension of social reality (Mandl 1978).

Participatory research is a source of social creativity and collective articulation as it encourages the use of principles of *Open Dialogue* and *Freedom of Expression* thus accommodating different ways of expressing people's view points (Swantz 1981). In this method, the role of the researcher is catalytic in stimulating the target group to engage in the envisaged dialogue. This role motivates the interested individuals to join the researcher in reflecting, articulating and discussing their own experiences, perceptions and thoughts while drawing linkages between the discussed issues and the universal features (Rahman 1981).

Through participatory methods, dialogue is expected to go beyond the respondents' experiences through the researchers' input of external knowledge and analytical tools and experience as observed by Swantz (1984):

“The local community's wealth of accumulated knowledge and experience is integrated with the analytical methodology supplied by the Intervenor/Researcher. A mood of scientific inquiry is generated among the people. People move from sensory perception of their social experiences to conceptual and analytical frameworks in deliberations (on various concerns). Fatalistic prejudices nurtured by dependency relations give way to realization of their power to change the reality in their favour” (Swantz 1984:4)

- **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

Focus Group Discussions are normally aimed at cross-checking information gathered through other research instruments as well as clarifying controversial issues raised during household survey and in depth interviews/discussions. In this study, three Focus Group Discussions were conducted. They comprised old, middle and youth aged groups, men and women, that is, both

married and unmarried persons. The choice of participants for the three Focus Group Discussions was randomly made from the compiled list of individual respondents where the three sets of respondents were selected. Each respondent's name was written on a piece of paper and folded. The folded papers for each set were put in separate boxes in which they were mixed by shaking the boxes and then the anticipated number of members of each FGD was picked.

The first FGD organized for males included fifteen members. This group was comprised of all age categories i.e. young, middle and old. Furthermore, members were from different marital statuses. All of the participants were engaged in agricultural activities. This group enabled males to express their opinions freely, specifically on land rights. The second FGD comprised 21 members, ten females and eleven males. All participants were peasants. A series of topical issues such as the importance of land for poverty reduction, marriage patterns, land rights and the interpretation of inheritance rights of all categories were validated in this FGD. Definitions of several concepts were also reviewed in this FGD.

The third FGD comprised twelve women, both married and unmarried, from all the three age groups. All the women in this group were peasants and four women apart from farming were also engaged in other socio-economic activities. The discussed issues were similar to those discussed with the male FGD but with an emphasis on married, widowed, single and separated women's land rights. Separate women groups were crucial because according to many southeast Tanzanian traditions women, particularly in villages, are not free to speak in front of men. Moreover, Folch-lyon & Trost (1981) noted that participants often feel more comfortable and secure in the company of people who share similar opinions and behaviour. In addition, conducting separate groups of females was to encourage the participants to talk freely and disclose issues that might not be disclosed in the presence of males. During the FGDs, the principal researcher asked questions and moderated the discussions while the assistants took notes and recorded the responses.

All the FGDs were conducted in the village's office. The place was conducive for conducting discussions as it was spacious and also had chairs where participants would sit comfortably. The discussion sessions began with general introductions and continued to the specifics according to the guideline. The proceedings in the FGDs were audio taped. Tape recording can also enhance the quality and validity of data and can aid in recalling the information at any time during the data analysis process (Marshall & Rossman 1995). The use of Focus Group Discussions in this study was important in a number of ways:

1. It enabled the generation of information (Folch-lyon & Trost 1981) on certain behaviours, attitudes, beliefs and decision-making.
2. It enabled the validation of information collected through other research instruments, clarified controversial issues and helped to countercheck information raised during the interviews.
3. It stimulated participants to engage in dialogue, reflect, articulate and analyse their thoughts, experiences and perceptions on issues raised during the interviews.

- **Transect Walks**

Transect walks aim at involving respondents in the joint exploration of the physical environment. In this study a total of five transect walks was made. The participants consisted of the principal researcher, one research assistant, 12 females and 14 males who were included in the sample. At least six people took part in each transect walk. One of the objectives was to observe and hold farm-based discussions on the grown crops and the sizes and location of the farm holdings. The transect walks also recorded the performed activities by each gender, the types of farm demarcation and the average farm sizes.

- **Historical Trends**

Historical trends can be described as narrations of past events as experienced by people in a certain community. These were aimed at providing an overview over changes which have taken place within the community over a period of time. Their purpose was to give insights on how the present situation was reached. Hence, the old people who have personally witnessed the changes were involved in this method. In Nyangao village, the method comprised three discussions regarding the historical trends in Nyangao village. The respondents were selected from the group of people the household interviews were conducted, especially from the age bracket of 56 years and above. Their choice was based on several considerations including the following:

1. During the household interviews, they were knowledgeable and enthusiastic on the issues raised in the questionnaire.
2. They impressed the principal researcher by their communication skills and articulation of historical events in Nyangao village.
3. On various occasions, they referred back to past events while articulating their views e.g. on the dynamics of the matrilineal social system.
4. They witnessed and were affected by the issues they were narrating.

The historical narrations took place in the respondents' homes. The discussions were informative and stimulating and took two to three hours to complete. The narratives were recorded and notes were taken.

- **Life stories**

Life stories can be described as narrations of people's personal experiences. Life stories use individual life experiences to provide detailed accounts, individual struggles and lessons learnt on social issues. This technique gives empirical data which link theory to experience and thus make the respondent's direct experience of everyday life a primary source of knowledge.

Two key informants for life stories were purposely selected from women who own farms. Both were selected from the sample of household interviews. While one woman was divorced, the other was widowed. Their selection was based on the fact that during the household interviews they communicated moving personal experiences which the principal researcher noted down and followed up for appointment immediately after the household interview. The life stories they shared with the researcher generated information about their poor life, inheritance, land ownership and control rights, discrimination, and the division of matrimonial properties after the divorce.

- **In-depth Interviews**

The in-depth interviews were held immediately after the household survey with the respondents. This was mainly done as additional points to the structured questions asked during the household survey sessions and needed more probing. Most of those interviews aimed at generating additional information.

- **Observation**

Data were also collected through observation. Observation started immediately after the arrival in the study area. It included the active presence in village's social gatherings, experiencing the feelings and emotions of participants as they engaged in discussion, and observing their way of dressing, eating patterns, kind of houses, latrines and properties they owned. In order to gather enough information through this technique, I attended the village's burial ceremonies, traditional dances, traditional healing practices and a wedding ceremony. I also attended a gathering of a famous traditional healer/ fortune-teller. Mingling with the villagers helped to build confidence and gain acceptance among the villagers.

Observation was also helpful to gather information on what the researcher did not ask and the respondents would not reveal in the “official” discourse during the interviews and discussions. Since people may say one thing in an abstract sense and act very differently in a concrete situation. Observation also complemented the information gathered from other research techniques such as household interviews. This method enhanced the verification and validation of information collected during the household interviews as well as cross-checking certain information. Besides, it generated information on how people interact and/ or relate with each other on available resources such as land, on beliefs and on poverty levels. The information also highlighted limits and opportunities of men and women in land matters.

3.5.2 Quantitative Research

Quantitative survey research has been used in this study. It is attractive for the following reasons (Hudelson 1994:5):-

1. It allows statistical inference from relatively small samples to large populations.
2. The relationships between variables can be assessed and measured.
3. Surveys are fairly easy to design and quick to implement.
4. Results from standardised surveys can be compared across periods or regions.

On the other hand, it entails a number of problems: -

1. Respondents may misunderstand the questions.
2. Answers may not be truthful for fear of negative consequences or in hope of benefits.
3. People may simply say what they presume the interviewer wishes to hear.

The research team conducted 180 structured face-to-face interviews with the heads of the selected households. The research team provided confidentiality of the interviewees by conducting the interviews in privacy. The interviews took place during the day at the respondents’ homes. The interviews were carried out at a corner of the compound, which was not frequented by people to avoid disruptions. The research team avoided conducting interviews in presence of other members of the family or in a place where noise, disruption and influence from others could be envisaged. Carrying out interviews at the informants’ homes was advantageous in the following ways:

1. The respondents’ homes revealed a lot of information about their socio-economic conditions.
2. The respondents did not feel time constrained as it would have been the case if the interviews were done outside their homes.

The interviews took 30 to 40 minutes to complete. This involved asking the respondents structured questions and filling in the responses into the questionnaires. The questions asked were designed to generate demographic data and information on the acquisition, ownership and control of land and other family properties. Information was also sought about their ethnic affiliation, place of origin, current household composition and gendered land issues.

Before the research team started to administer the questionnaires, they made efforts to motivate the respondents in various ways including the following: -

1. They made the respondents feel experts in the interview process. This enhanced the co-operation from the respondents.
2. They made the respondents realise that it is their thinking and their views that are important and not whether they are right or wrong. This made the respondents relax during the sessions and enhanced their participation as it reduced their fear of getting some questions wrong.

In order to investigate the topical issues, a cross-sectional design using a questionnaire as well as other techniques were adopted. A cross-sectional design involves a study of a defined population or group of people at one point in time where subjects are assessed at a single time in their lives. This allows data to be collected at one point in time, and therefore, enables to establish relationships between variables (Bailey 1978; De Vaus 1993). The use of consolidated and combined approaches, that is, triangulation of methods was of great importance because it assisted in obtaining information which would have been difficult to obtain through a single method.

3.5.3 Sample size

Before selecting the study sample, the principal researcher first identified the population that formed the source of data. This was in line with the methodology demanded for designing qualitative and quantitative research (Keith 1998). The sample size was 180 heads of households, which included women and men drawn from different age groups, marital statuses, social statuses and religious denominations.

Table 5 : Distribution of Respondents by Age and Gender

Age group	Female	Male
18 – 35Yrs	23 (39%)	32 (27%)
36 – 55Yrs	17 (29%)	51 (42%)
56 – Above	19 (32%)	38 (31%)
Total	59	121

- **Sampling Procedures**

The sampling procedure involved two stages. The first stage of sampling used in this study was the selection of the region, district and village of the study. All were purposely selected. This was followed by the selection of individual respondents in order to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data.

Based on the literature review and information gained during a preliminary field visit in 2002, a set of criteria was developed to guide the choice of respondents. The head of the village was requested to create a sampling frame, which consisted of a list of the names of all heads of households living in the village. The creation of the list was not based on administrative records alone because the village did not have an update or accurate record of the general population. In order to cross-check and complete the list of households intended to be researched, the village chairperson, as well as the leaders of all the five sub-villages with their ten cell leaders¹ and their ten-cell rosters of all the five sub villages were consulted in addition.

Since the researcher was interested in people's day-to-day life, it was logic to solicit relevant information for this study from the heads of the households. The heads of the households formed a starting point in selecting the respondents. Therefore, based on purposive sampling, the sample size was open and was determined by the following broad criteria which guided the selection process:

- 1) A female or male head of the household. To have a mixture of households headed by either male or female was of course, essential to capture their different perspectives.
- 2) The household head must have dependents. This was aimed at covering demographic characteristics because other studies have shown that the domestic power structure changes with the developmental cycle of the family (Lamphere 1974).

¹ According to households' organizational structure in both rural and urban Tanzania, a ten cell leader is a person responsible of 10 households and is supposed to know members of each household.

- 3) The household head must be eighteen years or above. I limited the age to eighteen years because in Tanzania eighteen years is considered as a standard age for any citizen to be considered an adult.
- 4) The respondent must have lived in Nyangao for at least five years. By defining the minimal length of stay, I tried to control differences between recent immigrants and those who have migrated long time ago.
- 5) Farming is the main economic activity. I looked on the importance of land to even those who did not have land but nevertheless depended on farming as their major economic activity, that is, even when they relied on renting farms.
- 6) Using the villagers criteria, the rich and poorest in the village were identified, that is, those who were considered economic middle class “*wanajiweza kiuchumi*” and those who were considered the poorest in the village were the targeted respondents.

Of the 790 households in Nyangao village, 221 fulfilled these criteria. Some of the household’s heads were absent during the entire research period. They were travelling or were temporarily absent and could not be contacted even after repeated visits. In such cases, they were omitted from the study sample, resulting in a total of 180 households as the final sample size. From the criteria set, overall, a sample size of 180 respondents was deemed sufficient to cover the diversity with respect to socio-economic conditions in the research area.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data collected by different techniques on the same topic were cross-referenced and compared. This facilitated the interpretation because the same topic appeared in various contexts highlighting different aspects of the same phenomenon. Such contextualised information helped to clarify specific issues raised in detail. The data were compiled and reserved in an appropriate form for processing at a later stage.

- **Data Processing and Analysis Procedures**

The fieldwork data collected was clustered into “qualitative” and “quantitative” data based on different methods used for analysis. The qualitative data were compiled and analysed manually by using content analysis. The information was kept in files and later on used at the writing stage. The quantitative data were mainly analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 1988). All collected data were cleaned, frequencies were run to check their validity, tables and figures were drawn for further analysis.

- **Activity profile**

An activity profile is based on the concept of gender division of labour. Therefore, data on different activities performed by household members in accordance with their sex and time spent were analysed using this profile. The aim was to find out who was doing what and the time spent to perform the activity, so as to be able to analyse the gender division of work. Household responsibilities such as domestic activities were also examined in the activity profile.

- **Access and control profile**

This profile identified what resources individuals command at the household level. Because access to various resources affects the household performance of activities, respondents were asked to list the household resources such as land, cash income, credit, cash crops, food crops, livestock among others and indicate who controls what. The information obtained was summarised and compiled in the control profile for further analysis. Factors affecting access to and ownership of resources among the household members were also assessed and summarised.

3.7 Follow up Study

A return visit for filling gaps was carried out after a year to capture local dynamics. The original plan was to involve 45 households (1/4 of all households formerly involved in the research process) out of the 180 households in a follow-up study. However, considering constraints on the side of the investigator in terms of time and resources, only 10 households were included in the follow-up investigation. These 10 households were visited again in October and November 2004. The gaps filled during the follow up study were related to issues of sharing properties, issues of marriage and divorce. In addition, the follow up visit enabled the researcher to share some findings of the study with the villagers.

3.8 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data were obtained from both published and non-published materials during and after the fieldwork. The documented sources included books, journal articles, policy documents, website articles, village records, newsletters, baseline surveys, research reports and newspapers. The aim of reviewing various documents was to get a better understanding and to increase knowledge about gendered land issues and their relation to poverty.

The documentation of sources was accessed from the libraries of the Institute of Ethnology and the Department of social and cultural anthropology at the University of Cologne, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM); the Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA) and Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF). Other libraries consulted included the British Council; the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children; the Ministry of Lands and Urban Development; the Tanzania Bureau of Statistics (TBS); Women's Research and Documentation Project (WRDP); the Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA) at the UDSM; and the library of Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). The relevant information collected forms an important part of this study.

3.9 Data Validation

To improve the internal validity of data on people's views, practices and knowledge qualitative information and quantitative data were combined (Agyepong *et al.* 1995).

3.9.1 Reliability and Validity

The term reliability refers to the extent to which findings can be replicated, or reproduced, by another inquirer (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:100). Reliability is required to make statements valid. Researchers working with qualitative methods can increase the reliability of data and interpretations by working in a team which explicitly aims at improving the comparability of different interviewers' and observers' conduct and interpretations (Flick 1998:222-224). However, as in the case of this study, qualitative researchers filter reality through their eyes, ears, and minds when they collect their data. To reduce biases of gathering information in qualitative research, the researcher stayed with the villagers during the entire period of data collection process and did a lot of household visits in order to familiarise with them.

- **External Validity**

External validity refers to the degree to which findings can be generalised to other settings similar to the one in which the study was carried out (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:100). In qualitative data, it is just as difficult to assess external validity, as it is to measure reliability. In the specific case of this study, external validity could have been improved, especially in the follow up visit if more resources in terms of time, personnel, money and equipment had been available to follow up a larger sample of respondents. The external validity of data on poverty

and related parameters, that is, gendered land issues has been increased by the comparison with similar findings of other studies in neighbouring areas.

- **Internal Validity**

Internal validity refers to the degree to which findings correctly map the phenomenon in question (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:100). One approach to increase the validity of qualitative data is to triangulate data collection methods, that is, to address research topics through a variety of interviewing and observation techniques (Hudelson 1994:54; Flick 1998:229-230). Confidence in the validity of findings increases when a high agreement in the data and among the respondents is achieved. Based on these criteria, the internal validity of the data presented in this study is high.

In this study, data collection methods were triangulated and data were systematically examined in terms of consistence and coherence. In the preliminary study, first ideas on people's understanding of poverty and its root cause as conceived by the villagers were recorded during the villages' group discussions and during various discussions with key informants. They were taken up and examined in depth during the study in the village.

3.10 Definition of Key Terminologies / Operational Concepts

Some few concepts were discussed with respondents in order to come up with their meanings. This was done through the FGDs and other discussions. In most cases, concepts are considered as tools, which facilitate human communication. Concepts can serve the purpose of expressing an individual's perception and interpretations of ideas on everyday life. The perceptions, inspirations, goal setting and expectations sometimes influence people's aspiration. For example, levels of aspiration may differ among individuals due to differences in their perceptions on what they can accomplish through their own capabilities. Interpretations of concepts therefore need to be contextualised within a historical context and a cultural setting.

In order to understand local understandings of central issues, key concepts were discussed with respondents to establish consensus as to their meanings. These concepts include poverty, gender, gender relations, matrilineal social system, patrilineal social system, marriage, land and land tenure, usufructuary rights, household and wealth.

- **Poverty**

Poverty has been difficult to define. The history and development of societies shows how various governments have had difficulties in dealing with the problem of poverty due to its definition problem. Relative poverty can be distinguished from absolute poverty. The two terms can be used to explain the situation based on the quantitative information or can be qualitatively applied to analyse and present a poverty situation.

Absolute poverty refers to a state where a population or part of it fails to receive sufficient resources to support the minimum requirements like nutrition and calories intake. Copenhagen Declaration (1995) defines absolute poverty as:

“A condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services.” (WSSD World Summit for Social Development Copenhagen, 6 - 12 March 1995)

Consequently, malnutrition and other diseases relate to the inadequate food intake. These problems can be experienced especially among women and children. This definition is said to have its advantages because changes in the welfare position of the poor can be traced and the success or non-success of poverty eradication can be measured (World Bank 1990; Atkinson 1991; Bigsten 1983; Fieds 1980).

On the other hand, relative poverty is defined in relation to general standards of living in a particular society or country. Relative poverty is based on a comparison of poor people with others in society. Peter Townsend equates relative poverty with the absence or inadequacy of those diets, amenities, standards, services and activities which are common or customary in a society. In this case, individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty situation when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diets, participate in the activities and have the living conditions which are customary, or at least widely encouraged and approved, in the societies to which they belong (Townsend 1979).

Furthermore, it is related to what is accepted as poor in a specific socio-cultural setting (Omari 1994). However, the definition of relative poverty varies from one country to another and from one society to another depending on the general standards of living of others in the community/ country and on what is generally accepted as poverty line.

Since the poverty situation varies from one country to another and from one society to another, approaches to alleviate poverty differ considerably. It is out of this concept that some

economists have developed the level of incomes, which help to draw the line between the poor and the well-to-do people in a society. If the general income of people is below that line known as “poverty line” then the concept of poverty is applied to them, they are the poor. Even with the quantified data, it is not easy to draw the “poverty line” in a society because the line is always drawn in comparison to what other countries or societies are experiencing (Omari 1994).

According to the World Bank (1990: 26) the concept of relative poverty can be described by using consumption-based measures. This description involves two major elements:

“The expenditure necessary to buy a minimum standard of nutrition and other basic necessities and a further amount that varies from country to country, reflecting the cost of participating in the everyday life of society” (World Bank 1990:26)

People view their poverty situation when they compare themselves with others:

“...the people living in poverty can see for themselves the disparity between their way of life and the life-style of those who control the production resources”. (Ensminger & Bomani 1980:19)

The authors further observed that:

“Most of the developing countries poor are rural residents and thus limited to earning their living from agriculture.” (Ensminger & Bomani 1980:14)

During the FGDs that were conducted, villagers’ understanding of poverty is primarily associated with the lack of land for cultivating both cash and food crops. For them, poverty is also characterised by the inability to own a good house, that is, a stable house built with bricks and roofed with corrugated iron sheets, owning a small patch of land which hardly suffices for the production of cash crops or having no land to cultivate. Nyangao villagers consider poverty as living in houses built with poles and mud, unstable doors, thatched roof and most of them having no windows. In addition, lack of capital was also an indicator for poverty.

- **Gender**

Gender is socially constructed. Normally this concept is used to show the social character of the division of labour between females and males and to underscore the fact that social, economic and political differences between women and men are culturally shaped (Soko 1999:31-33). Social construction defines the sex roles, which boys and girls perform (Tanzania Country Report – Beijing 1995). Gender can also be elaborated as:

“It is a rational term referring to the manner in which men and women are differentiated and ordered in a given social-cultural system... an important social organizational variable to be considered when analysing and measuring

the participation and contribution of men and women in economic development.” (Shayo 1995: 123-124)

Patrilineal social systems visualise and/ or conceptualise people in terms of gender rather than sex as illuminated by allocation of roles and resources and in socialisation where “*femininity*” and “*masculinity*” characteristics are instilled in children (Meena 1992; Mukangara 1995; Soko 1999). Gender is therefore an analytical variable as well as an integral part of the social process.

- **Gender Relations**

Gender relations comprise a complex set of social relations emanating from a changing set of historically located social processes. They therefore consist of a socially constructed set of values, norms and expectations, which define the terrain on which women and men locate their life experiences. Gender relations are volatile as dictated by cultural experiences. Historically, gender relations have tended to favour men and especially adult men over factors of production and reproduction (asymmetrical power relations). However, with time those relations have changed significantly partly due to colonialism and globalisation (e.g. in the form of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs).

- **Marriage**

Marriage is a major institution for reproduction and maintenance of social systems. There are three types of marriages legally accepted in Tanzania. These are: Islamic marriages, Customary marriages and Statutory marriages, each of which has its own pre-requisites. Customary marriages differ from one ethnic group to another. For the majority of the ethnic groups in southeast Tanzania, one is said to have been married after a portion of the bride wealth has been paid and a special ceremony has been held to mark the event.

From the FGDs, it was argued that the system of the payment of bride wealth in exchange for the bride tends to give women similar “exchange value” to that of any other commodity. In this system, only women are allocated an exchange value. This system neither encourages the involvement of the bride nor the women (who bear the children) in decision making on issues of bride wealth. The social value attached to the bride wealth is said to give men control over the marriage process as well as marital relations.

- **Patrilineal Social System**

The patrilineal social system is a social system of power relations where senior men have authority over women and younger men and where adult men keep their dominant position

using the ideology of patriarchy (Hartman 1979; Wilson 1997). A patrilineal system is also defined as a system of interrelated social structures which facilitates women's subordination and exploitation by men as well as it is an ideology aimed at protecting sexual hierarchy (Walby 1983). Various forms of patriarchal expressions are developed such as gender roles stereo-typing, the division of labour to public and private spheres and motherhood ideologies. All these define women as dependants and plays a role as a part of female subordination of men (Gordon 1996). Patriarchal assumptions and practices are historically and culturally determined.

- **Matrilineal social system**

Many anthropologists suggest that there exist three characteristics of matrilineal social systems, which are: decent through the mother, that is, family name through mother, matrilocal residential system, that is, the husband lives at the residence of his wife after the marriage and lastly inheritance of property by females (Divale & Harris 1976).

In a matrilineal society, the descent or the family name is through the mother's side, and is known as 'matrilineal descent'. This affiliates an individual with kin of both sexes, related to him or her through women only. All children of a woman take the family name of their mother. As descent is through the female side, only the children of the female of the family can become members of the family. The children of the male child cannot be a member of their mother's family (Kapandia 1966).

In matrilineal societies, a man often resides with his wife's matrilineal kin. Usually in a matrilineal system, it is the husband who lives with his wife in his in-laws house and doesn't take his bride home, as it is the case with other communities. After the birth of one or two children, the man in some cases may take his wife to his own house. Generally, at this point they form a neo-local family. However, a neo-local family set-up is that the mother of the bride mostly gifts the house in which the couple usually settles down.

In a matrilineal social system, property is transmitted through the female side. Whatever a male member of the family earns belongs to the family, to which he belongs, and either goes to his mother's side or is inherited by his sisters and her female descendants.

- **Land**

Land is the most significant asset for all Tanzanians especially peasant women for whom this resource is essential in fulfilling their role in the food production process. Traditionally, land was considered as a sacred source of life/social security for clan members as well as being the

property of God and the ancestors. With the colonial and post-colonial land reforms, land was conceived as state/public property and today it is considered a personal and/or family and clan property /asset. Privately owned land is self-acquired land through one's own efforts and the holder has what is viewed as permanent/absolute rights of ownership, control and disposition over it. On the other hand, family land is land shared among members of a larger family. Clan land is land that belongs to a larger extended family within an ethnic group. From the study findings, it was observed that most villagers do not distinguish self-acquired land from either family or clan land especially when it comes to inheritance procedures.

- **Land Tenure**

Land tenure is the system which defines rights specifying access, ownership, control, use and transfer (Shivji 1997; Bruce & Migot-Adholla 1994). Concerns over land tenure rights are usually expressed in terms of security of such rights. The notion of land tenure security embraces different types of land rights, duration of such rights therefore include a bundle of rights which need to be well defined, secured, guaranteed and transferred at the owner's discretion¹

- **Usufructuary Rights**

These are rights which are guaranteed to all clan members under customary land tenure as practiced in Nyangao village. From both the FGDs and individual informal discussions it was underscored that for most married women in Nyangao village access to family and clan land has tended to mean either permission or opportunity to use the land. This is due to the fact that they have limited freedom to use the land as they wish and such permission can be denied or granted depending on the willingness of the landowner. It was argued that a right is normally associated with freedom which should be sustained and protected by law. Incidentally, this is not so with the so-called women's "usufructuary rights" as far as family and clan land are concerned. Respondents in this village referred to "usufructuary rights" as "opportunities"

¹ See Shivji 1997 who argues against the courts contention that security over land can not prevail without ownership rights. This argument is supported by experience from both the pre-colonial customary land tenure where people had security over usufructuary rights despite their lack of ownership rights, and the "granted right of occupancy" where grantees enjoyed security over land rights despite the fact that the actual owner was supposedly the colonial state. More on this see (Bruce & Migot-Adholla, 1994)

rather than “rights”. This notion of land security ties in well with what is referred to as limited security over land tenure¹.

- **Household**

The household is often conceived as a unit of production and reproduction (supplier of labour/ distributor of resources). Critical analysis reveals conflictual interests of its members based on sex and age (Mukangara 1995). Other social analysts conceive the household as an institution comprising members with varied interests and disparity in terms of needs (such as training, technology etc.) because of the different roles performed according to age and sex. The household is also conceived as a residential unit where people eat from the same pot/ bowl (Harris 1981; Brydon & Chant 1989).

In this study, a household is viewed as a housing unit comprising either a mother or father with or without children/ grand children/ relatives. This definition goes in line with the government understanding / conception of household “*kaya*” as commonly used in both the village based and the national population census. In a nutshell, the household can be viewed as a unit with a complex matrix of relationships. In addition, the household is a unit, which is characterised by repeated negotiations and bargaining over socio-economic and political resources such as land.

- **Wealth**

Generally wealth was described as things/objects/means of production such as farms (land holdings), bicycles, motor vehicles and money. Children were also mentioned as wealth because they supply labour and create more wealth, for example bride wealth from daughters. Children can also be the parents’ security in their old age. A wife was also considered as wealth because she produces and reproduces labour force. Participants revealed that a man without a wife or with childless marriages is regarded as poor.

Income from farming plays a significant role in a household’s income compared to off-farm activities. However, many households in Nyangao village are also practicing other off-farm income generating activities in order to stabilise their total household income. Data

¹ Land tenure rights (security) contain three components including adequate time to invest and reap (duration), freedom to use and/or dispose /transfer one’s land in terms of renting, lending, selling, giving away as present or mortgaging (robustness) and absence of arbitrary alienation (protection). For details see (Bruce & Migot-Adholla; 1994).

collected from this study shows that most of the “wealthy” villagers tend to combine economic activities i.e. farming and off-farm activities.

Acquisition of wealth was said to be through exchange, renting, inheritance, or allocation by authoritative leadership for example heads of households or senior members of the family. The FGDs revealed that wealth and status are closely connected. The patriarchal household head was said to have more control over land, labour and labour proceeds because he held a higher social status at home.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: The concept of Poverty and its Relationship to Land

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the meaning of poverty in different historical epochs in the history of Tanzania. The chapter contains literature reviews on who are the poor in society. It further provides a direct relationship between poverty, access to land and gender in the Tanzanian context. Furthermore, the chapter analyses poverty along the lines of gender issue in control of major socio-economic resources such as land. It focuses its attention on the importance of land and highlights various inequalities experienced by poor women. Finally, the chapter discusses gender imbalances and the plight of women in specifically land matters.

4.2 The Poverty Situation

Poverty is unevenly spread on the globe, within regions and also within communities (Bagachwa 1994). Literatures about poverty in developing countries suggest that poverty is one of the features which characterize them. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 11.1% of the world's population but of the world's poor 16.1% live in Africa with limited access to education and under weak economic conditions (World Bank, 1990; World Bank 2001). About one-third of the Sub-Saharan African population is affected by absolute poverty (CIDA 1997). According to this report, 30% of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa was extremely poor.

In search of the improved well being of people, there have been many attempts by the world community to eradicate poverty in its different facets. For example, in March 1995, the World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) prioritized certain agendas related to social development and poverty reduction. Such agendas included education, health, employment and gender equality. It is argued that gender inequality and the limited access to resources such as land and other basic needs place more women than men into vulnerable situations. This has been reported by the UN report on WSSD (2000):

“ More than one billion people in the world live in abject poverty, most of whom go hungry every day. A large proportion, the majority of whom are women, have very limited access to income, resources, education, health care or nutrition, particularly in Africa and the least developed countries.... More women than men live in absolute poverty and the imbalance continues to grow, with serious consequences for women and their children. Women carry a disproportionate share of the problems of coping with poverty....” (UN 2000:1)

Achieving equality and equity in various respects between women and men was among the measures agreed upon by the WSSD summit in order to eradicate poverty from the world. In addition, as the report made clear, the WSSD summit considered the importance of land and gender equality in poverty reduction:

“Promote full and equal access of women to literacy, education and training, and remove all obstacles to their access to credit and other productive resources and to their ability to buy, hold and sell property and land equally with men Remove the remaining restrictions on women's rights to own land, inherit property or borrow money...” (UN 2000: 7)

In Tanzania, like in other Sub-Sahara African countries, the poverty situation is very severe in rural areas. The situation is overwhelmingly pervasive in the southeast regions of the country where rainfall is unreliable and infrastructures are underdeveloped (Killian 1998). The country had poverty reduction objectives close to gender equality in all spheres of life. The discourse of poverty reduction in Tanzania since independence in 1961 has been clearly influenced by Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the first President of the United Republic of Tanzania. He declared a war against poverty. According to him, to get rid of poverty all people must fight as equal partners. In addition, the fight against poverty must be based on self-reliance, especially in agriculture which he saw as the backbone of the country's economy (Nyerere 1966; Nyerere 1973).

“...with self reliance for agriculture and provision of basic health and education as supporting elementspoverty can be alleviated” (Nyerere 1966: 162-163).

Despite a slight decline in the degree of poverty in recent years, poverty is still extensive in Tanzania (URT 2000).

“Since independence in 1961, the Government of Tanzania has been preoccupied with three development problems: ignorance, disease and poverty....Despite sustained efforts since the mid 1980's, to address the country's economic and social problems, one half of all Tanzanians today are considered to be basically poor, and approximately one-third live in abject poverty.” (URT 2000: 3).

4.2.1 Historical Context of Poverty and Poverty Measurements

Poverty can be traced back from medieval England where the codification concerning the laws addressing the plight of the poor emerged (ODA 1999). This has been shown in the pioneering empirical studies at the turn of the century by Booth in London and Rowntree in York. For example, Rowntree's study, published in 1901, was the first to develop a standard measure of poverty for individual families based on among other things the estimates of nutritional requirements. However, from the 1960s, the main focus of poverty measurements

was on the level of income, reflected in macro-economic indicators like Gross National Product (GNP) per head.

In the 1970s, the concept of poverty became prominent in political discourse. The emphasis was placed on relative deprivation, as inspired by the work of Townsend who redefined poverty not just as a failure to meet minimum nutrition or subsistence levels, but rather as a failure to keep up with the standards prevalent in a given society. During the same period, the second shift was to broaden the concept of income-poverty to a wider set of 'basic needs', including those provided by society. Thus, in the mid-1970s, poverty came to be defined not just as lack of income, but also as a lack of access to resources, health, education and other services (ODA 1999).

In the 1980s, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) developed various indices as ways of measuring the dimensions of poverty. These indices included: the Human Development Index (HDI), the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI). A table reproduced from the UNDP Human Development Report 1998 outlines these indices. The UNDP has done ground-breaking work over the last decade in developing the Human Development Index (HDI), the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) as ways of measuring the dimensions of poverty. These poverty indices are set out in the table below. The table has been reproduced from the UNDP Human Development Report 1998.

Table 6 : UNDP Poverty Indices

HDI, GDI, HPI - 1, HPI - 2 - same dimensions, different measurements				
Index	Longevity	Knowledge	Decent Standard of Living	Participation or Exclusion
HDI	Life expectancy at birth	Adult literacy rate Combined enrolment ratio	Adjusted per capita income in PPP\$	---
GDI	Female & male life expectancy at birth	Female and male adult literacy rate Female and male combined enrolment ratio	Adjusted per capita income in PPP\$, based on female and male earned income shares	---
HPI - 1 for developing countries	Percentage of people not expected to survive to age 40	Adult illiteracy rate	Percentage of people without access to safe water. Percentage of people without access to health services. Percentage of underweight children under five	---
HPI - 2 For industrialized countries	Percentage of people not expected to survive to age 60	Adult functional illiteracy rate	Percentage of people living below the income poverty line (50% of median personal disposable income)	Long-term unemployment rate (12 months or more)

Source: Reproduced from the UNDP Poverty Report 1998, in a box entitled OECD-DAC/UN/World Bank Joint Monitoring of Poverty Reduction.

The 1980s leave a lot of ambiguity in defining poverty due to the plentitude of regnant definitions of the term. An ODA (1999) reports on these complexities:

“The principal innovations were: (a) The incorporation of non-monetary aspects, particularly as a result of Robert Chambers’ work on powerlessness and isolation. This helped to inspire greater attention to participation. (b) A new interest in vulnerability, and its counterpart, security, associated with better understanding of seasonality and of the impact of shocks, notably drought. This pointed to the importance of assets as buffers, and also to social relations (the moral economy, social capital). It led to new work on coping strategies. (c) A broadening of the concept of poverty to a wider construct, livelihood. This was adopted by the Brundtland Commission on Sustainability and the Environment, which popularised the term sustainable livelihood. (d) Theoretical work by Amartya Sen, who had earlier contributed the notion of food entitlement, or access, emphasised that income was only valuable in so far as it increased the ‘capabilities’ of individuals and thereby permitted ‘functionings’ in society. (e) Finally, the 1980s was characterised by a rapid

increase in the study of gender. The debate moved from a focus on women alone (women in development (WID)), to wider gender relations (gender and development (GAD)). Policies followed to empower women and find ways to underpin autonomy, or agency.” (ODA, 1999: 5)

By the turn of the 1990s the poverty concept took on another meaning:

“The idea of well-being came to act as a metaphor for absence of poverty, with concomitant emphasis on how poor people themselves view their situation. At the same time, inspired by Sen, UNDP developed the idea of human development: ‘the denial of opportunities and choices... to lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-esteem and the respect of others...’ (ODA 1999: 6)

Hence, the definition of poverty has changed remarkably over the years and is currently the subject of much international discussion and debate. Different indicators have different and complementary uses in the identification of poverty and planning.

Most people agree that monetary income (or consumption) on its own is an imperfect measure of welfare and recognise the need to take account of variability over time. Therefore, the idea of relative deprivation is widely accepted. There are different views, however, about the relative importance of non-monetary variables such as self-esteem and the weight that should be given to the views expressed by poor people themselves.

Despite the fact that there is no single definition of poverty, it is agreed upon that poverty needs to be understood first and foremost as a problem at an individual rather than at a household level. Through understanding an individual’s position within the household, the causes for poverty could be revealed more effectively. There is an important trade-off between being able to identify the poor using local indicators and being able to aggregate the results into meaningful, national or international figures.

Universally, different models of poverty imply different indicators. Money metric models require information on income or consumption. Vulnerability models use indicators such as those of wealth and exposure to risk as well as income. Models concerned with capability and functioning present indicators of life expectancy or educational achievement. Models of well-being or social exclusion will include measures like the degree of social support. It is a frequent practice, however, to present a wider set of indicators. For example, World Bank poverty assessments, concentrating on money metric measures, provides evidence on health, education, physical isolation, resource ownership and other so-called correlates of poverty. Therefore, different models of poverty imply different indicators and need different measures to countercheck the problem.

Defining minimum consumption is not easy, it varies with age, gender, activity level and environmental conditions. Additional problems arise in setting an international poverty line: the current convention of using \$US 1 and \$2 per day, in 1985, as purchasing power parity (which adjusts for differences in prices between countries) is a case in point. According to this measurement there are 1.3 billion people subsisting on less than \$1 and almost 3 billion on less than \$2 a day (World Bank, 2001). Whilst these figures are in themselves staggering, they do only provide a very rough guide to the extent and character of poverty worldwide. Hence, poverty cannot be defined purely by income and consumption. Other measures of poverty are more qualitative and/or more location-specific, and cannot be easily aggregated. For example, coping strategies are often analysed at the individual or household level within narrowly defined livelihood systems.

There is a broad consensus that, in addition to basic income and consumption measures, poverty reduction must take into account social indicators. Those include among others education, health and access to resources, services and infrastructures. Similarly, there is a broad agreement that less tangible factors need to be added. For example risk, vulnerability, livelihood insecurity, social exclusion, loss of dignity/humiliation, deprivation, lack of choice and powerlessness must be taken into account for poverty reduction (World Bank, 2001). There is a need to consult the experts, that is, the poor themselves in defining their own poverty situation and their needs. Poverty is a complex, multi-dimensional problem arising from a matrix of assets, markets and institutions. Thus, poverty is not amenable to simplistic solutions but needs a holistic multi-dimensional approach and strategy¹. For the purpose of this study, it is worth noting that 70% of the world's poor are women (World Bank, 2001). Hence, there is need for gender-related information to address poverty.

¹ A number of documents are particularly useful here, especially Poverty and health : a global perspective by Margareta Sköld, WHO, Geneva, 1999; 2 Villa Borsig Workshop Series 1999 papers from the Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung : Social Exclusion : Towards a Holistic Understanding of Deprivation by Arjan de Haan and Inclusion, Justice and Poverty Reduction by J.L.S. Abbey; the World Bank's WDR on Poverty and Development 2000/01 : A Very First Cut Outline, January 1 1999; Towards an Efficient and Equitable Health Care Strategy by Joseph Stiglitz, Senior Vice-President and Chief Economist of the World Bank, IHEA Meetings, Rotterdam, June 7 1999; Why is Inequality Back on the Agenda by Ravi Kanbur and Nora Lustig, paper prepared for the Annual Bank Conference on Development Economics, World Bank, Washington, April 21 1999.

4.3 Literature Review: Who are the Poor?

The poor in the society can be identified as depending on the society's meaning of the concept of poverty (Rehnema, 1993: 10). The measurement of poverty by using externally imposed indicators is quite different from measuring poverty with the criteria used within a certain cultural setting (Killian, 1998). An ideal measure of poverty should therefore be based on local people's perceptions of what constitutes poverty. Indicators of poverty from people's perception and/ or knowledge should not necessarily point to the same universal criteria such as health, life expectancy, education, diet and shelter. A certain indicator can be important in one area and less or not important in another.

For instance, the World Bank (1990:28) through its World Development report argued that by using consumption level indices, Sub-Saharan Africa had one third of the world population poor people. Therefore, the establishment of the methodological procedures for the identification of the poor class of the society is important before one can identify the socio-cultural factors necessary for the alleviation of poverty.

Poverty is multifaceted. According to the universal criteria, among other characteristics, the poor are characterized by the lack of purchasing power, exposure to risk, insufficient access to social and economic resources and/or services and the absence of opportunities for income generating activities (World Bank 1994:3). The poor are heterogeneous and the concrete data about them is difficult to obtain. For instance, in Tanzania the income per capita is just an estimate, and the exact income of the people is not known. In this case, many poverty analysts depend very much on unreliable and inconsistent official statistics (Bagachwa 1993: 1; Sarris and Brink 1993:48).

The World Bank on its Development Report (1990:29) developed other social indices to describe the poverty situation in Africa. For example, high rates of Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Under Five Mortality Rates (U5MR) are used as well to explain the poverty situation. Also, life expectancy, the longevity of life among the adult population, maternal deaths, access to social services, adequate food intakes and the problem of malnutrition in both adults and children are used to measure poverty in society. Generally, these are accepted as good social indicators which lead to reasonable measures of the well-being of people (Sen 1986). Other indicators developed are the lack of education for the whole society or part of it, sub-standard housing situation and living in areas liable to environmental hazards.

Studies in Tanzania and elsewhere revealed that the perception of poverty differs in relation to locality, gender and social groups. In many localities, there is a difference between the poor who can feed themselves and can participate in social and economic life of the

community, on the one hand, and the poorest who are destitute and totally dependent such as the disabled and old people, on the other. In many societies the ability to survive crises, to secure access to food, income and adequate housing and, to a lesser extent, to acquire education are major dimensions of local poverty (Chachage *et al.*, 1994).

4.3.1 Relationship between Poverty and Gendered Land Issues in Tanzania

The discussion of agriculture in Tanzania goes hand in hand with the issue of land. After independence, the emphasis in agriculture has been repeatedly mentioned by the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere. In his address in 1962, he stated that:

“...the population of this country is about ten million. Of that ten million not more than 250,000 to 300,000 live in the towns. All the rest work on the land. Which is to say that Tanganyika is, in fact, a country of peasant farmers. We have proportionately very few wage earners. For this reason, in drawing up our three – year plan, Government decided to lay the greatest emphasis on agriculture” (Nyerere, 1966:183).

Tanzania’s economy depends highly on agriculture as the basis of her development. As Nyerere argued:

“... because the main aim of development is to get more food and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of those agricultural crops. This in fact is the only road through which we can develop our country- in other words, only by increasing our production of these things can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian.” (Nyerere, 1968 in Arusha Declaration 1967: 243-244).

The importance of land as a source for agricultural development and poverty reduction was re-emphasized during Nyerere’s speech at the University of Dar es salaam on 5 August 1967, when he said:

“ ...for our development we have to depend upon ourselves and our own resources. These resources are land and people...it is important to realize that...out of a gross domestic product estimated at Shs. 4,646/- million in 1966... more than 57 percent was the direct result of agricultural activities” (Nyerere, 1968: 318-319)

The policies emphasising working on land - in this case agriculture - for both men and women in order to achieve development and reduce poverty have strong implications on the livelihoods of both women and men. Since independence in 1961, the government of the United Republic of Tanzania has had poverty reduction as its main goal to achieve sustainable development. The introduction and implementation of social and economic policies which address the issues of poverty both at national and individual levels were among the nation’s suggested intervention measures.

Reducing gender inequality in land matters and encouraging the participation of women were among the goals to achieve Tanzania's objective of poverty reduction. Women and men have different rights and responsibilities as far as land is concerned. Their ownership of, and control over land bear different legal and traditional rights (Undry 1996).

Due to the importance of land in analysing poverty, there is of course a need to go deep on the issue of gender distinctions and stratifications specifically on the control of this major socio-economic resources, that is, land. In Tanzania, land and other land-based natural resources are crucial and determinants of livelihoods and levels of vulnerability. However, varieties of rights to land are firmly embedded in complex socio-economic and socio-cultural structures where gender dimensions can be clearly seen in matters related to land. Various inequalities are experienced by poor rural women in capital/financial services, education, health and participation. These inequalities, coupled with women's limited ownership and control of land, hamper their efforts to reduce poverty. In addition, the socio-economic inequalities diminish the effectiveness of the national poverty reduction strategies.

Women's rights vary with time, location, social system, the function it fulfils and the legal system applicable at the local levels. Available studies have shown that women tend to be more discriminated against and are disadvantaged in matters related to land (Mbilinyi 1998). This can be explained by various factors, such as ideologies, cultural practices, influences from foreign religions, that is, Muslim and Christianity.

Religious ideologies have affected land tenure systems, especially with respect to inheritance rights. In Tanzania, many religious institutions are inclined towards patrilineal rather than matrilineal tendencies (Koda 1998). In addition, the SAPs under the concept of "modern economy" has ensured the prevalence of gender imbalances, with women being more discriminated against in land issues. Koda (1998) observed the following:

“ The process of privatisation and commoditization of land emanating from the profound restructuring of both the local and the global economy has stimulated parallel and gender-specific tenurial challenges with specific class and gender dimensions. Undoubtedly, it entails new forms of land inequality, and the subordination and exploitation of the poor rural masses.” (Koda 1998:196)

The Tanzanian government has integrated gender in the various chapters of her development so as to promote greater efficiency in poverty reduction strategies and ultimately in sustainable development policies. However, it has been demonstrated that many of the country's poverty reduction policies and/or programmes in rural areas have not often been successful. This is due to the fact that rural women's socio-economic status as well as legal and other constraints were either wrongly or inadequately assessed

In the 1990s, the World Bank conceptualised and implemented a new vision of land policies. These are policies for privatisation and individualization of property rights in land. For private lands, these policies are based upon the use of markets as a principal means of reallocating land. The World Bank calls this approach pro-poor land policies. In its August 2003 report, the World Bank comprehensively reviews the initial outcomes of these land policies in different countries (World Bank Policy Research Report 2003).

The pressure on land is not the only risk to insecure land tenure for women. Women's rights in access to, and control over land are a determining factor in women's over all living conditions, particularly in developing countries (HABITAT 1999). Such rights are central to their struggle for equality in gender relations. Women's reliance on land for economic security and survival is only deepening as women heads of households increase due to various factors such as male migration (Liviga *et al.* 1998).

Women's lack of security of tenure is the most notable feature of women's relationship to land. This is a result of both economic and social discrimination against women. More particularly, gender biased laws, policies and traditions that prevent women from renting, leasing, owning and inheriting land independently leave them dependent on their links to men. This dependence leaves women destitute in cases of divorce, desertion, separation or widowhood (Nzioki 2001).

In Tanzania, colonialism has further aggravated gender imbalances. According to the colonial system, men were favoured with various opportunities such as education, employment and access to resources (Snyder & Tadesse 1995). Women, on the other hand, fall into the disadvantaged position as far as ownership and access to resources such as land were concerned. This is said to be a result of land consolidation and settlement schemes, which introduced title deeds to men, for they were considered household's heads. Snyder & Tadesse (1995) argue that:

“ Profound changes came with colonialism ...in the colonial system, as in many other systems at the time, men were favoured with opportunities for education, employment and access to resources. But perhaps the most serious setback for women came when land consolidation and settlement schemes gave title deeds to men as heads of households...This was often in direct contradiction to the use rights that were customary and that encouraged women's productivity. The prestige accorded to women's work in the parallel society system of earlier eras was consequently down-graded, even though women often worked continuously and for many more hours than men.” (Snyder & Tadesse 1995: 22-23)

Modernization eroded the traditional patriarchal control of elders through education and the semi-urban nature of village life of youths, state intervention and the formal capture

of rural social and political domains (Harvenick et al., 1988). These changes, as far as property relations are concerned, exhibit the major direction of the capitalist mode of production which normally tended to transform all social relationships into those between capital and labour regardless of sex, as argued by Vuorella (1987):

“...changes in property relations are both the outcome of the tendency of capitalism to transform all social relationships into those between capital and labour irrespective of sex, accompanied by the achievements of human rights and women’s movements which have fought for gender equality in both employment and law.” (Vuorella 1987:61)

Such changes have a significant impact on women (Omari & Creighton 1995; Mukangara 1995). The new international division of labour is a blend of patriarchal peasant economy and that of the world economy promoted by cash crops production. This has a drastic effect on women’s economic status, their security in land tenure and ultimately their efforts in reducing poverty.

In order to understand the present situation in land matters in Tanzania and the ways they have affected women drastically, it is important to have an idea of the history of land rights in Tanzania. The next chapter traces the main history of land rights and policies from the pre-colonial epoch to colonialism and post-independence, that is, during the Arusha Declaration era.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: Articulation of Land Tenure Rights & Gendered Legal Gaps in Mainland Tanzania

5.1 Introduction

Land is a key asset in Tanzania as it is largely an agrarian country with over 80% of the population depending on agriculture for its livelihood. Pastoralists and urban dwellers comprise the rest of the population, they depend on agriculture to some extent. The analysis of land tenure systems focuses on both the socio-political and social economic relationships between man and land and between man and man in respect of land. Land tenure studies are concerned with the different distribution of ownership and use rights in land among persons or groups in society. Such studies focus on the form and composition of the whole pyramidal power structure related to land. It is a power structure which governs access to land that moulds the opportunity, equity and reward patterns in land use. Thus, these studies bring together governmental, planning, professional, corporate, investment, family and personal endeavours to determine the shape of socio-economic institutions and relationships in land based societies. Tenure relationships reduce or frustrate economic opportunities, legitimize existing inequalities, and limit the power of choice and action of individuals. Imbalances in tenurial matters may produce, among other things, poverty, dependence and disharmony.

5.2 Traditional forms of Land Tenure Systems

The traditional land tenure systems were based upon the blood relationship between lineage head and lineage member, and the basis of this relationship was socio-political. The heads of lineages or descent groups held administrative powers over land. These included powers of allocation, revocation and reallocation amongst their lineage members. The lineage members received users' rights over land, for example habitation, cultivation or grazing (Busia 1971).

People drew their sustenance from land. Some groups saw the concept of land as a sacred family trust and they attached religious significance to land as the earth-goddess. According to Busia (1971), land was traditionally recognized as the main element providing security and identity for the group and they gave a high sense of dependence on land. To be deprived of land was not only an economic loss but also an emotional shock and psychological trauma. Clans were seen as belonging to the land. The inalienability of land outside the family became the salient feature of this form of tenure. As West (1982) observes, people in the descent group were allocated land based on some general conditions:

“Within the descent group each member of marriageable age had a right to the possession and use of a portion of group land. It was obligatory upon the hereditary chief or family head to allocate land on the following general conditions: that the overall distribution of land within the group was equitable and each member received sufficient for his subsistence needs; provided certain social obligations were discharged, that the allot-tee could remain in possession indefinitely; that the use-right was not transferable, except possibly through a pledge within the group (a form of mortgage in which the mortgagee goes into possession); that investment of labour and latterly even of capital (e.g. on planting tree crops or improving water supply), did not entitle the group member to claim separate ownership of his allotment, but only of his improvement; and that, on the death of the allot tee, his successors normally remained in possession. The burial of the dead of several generations on the holding tended strongly to reinforce the successors' claim to continued possession.” (West 1982:7)

The author further observes that the traditional forms of land tenure systems used a simple technology characterized by communal land use:

“This tenurial system operated in conjunction with primitive levels of technology and was normally associated with a degree of communal land use, very frequently in shifting cultivation. In respect of grazing land (or cultivable land after the harvest), use-rights were generally exercised in common, any separate property right being deemed to apply to the stock rather than to the land. In respect of land for cultivation, the actual user was generally the immediate or nuclear family and within the nuclear family, cultivation was carried out jointly by family members. In addition, there was likely to be some degree of communal effort outside the nuclear family, particularly in initial clearing and harvesting, probably with the help of the traditional beer-party. But there was usually a limit to spontaneous co-operation of this sort. Communal effort was usually sporadic and reciprocal and should not be allowed to obscure the fact that use rights were allocated to the nuclear family.” (West 1982:8)

Parsons (1970) observes that a descent group had the right to grant use-rights over unallocated land to “new comers and strangers”¹. However, such a grant was usually conditional upon the payment of periodic dues, not as an economic rental but as a tribute in acknowledgement of the grantor's superior interest.

In Matrilineal societies of south-east Tanzania, as Wembah-Rashid (1983) notes, residence and cultivation were major ways of claiming land ownership. However, due to the nature of a shifting cultivation and residence, agricultural activities were not necessarily permanent. The system of shifting cultivation represents an adjustment to marginal conditions in climate and soils. There was no land scarcity and therefore shifting cultivation was possible.

¹ New comers and strangers are defined as any persons not belonging to the group concerned

The main feature of pre-colonial tenure systems provided joint ownership which guarded against alienation, hence the systems were defensive from dispossession of group members and their descendants. These systems provided all the security necessary for subsistence cultivation and grazing and did not exclude cash cropping when such opportunities later presented themselves. The non-negotiability of land rights continued to provide a defence against the social disruptions to which most individualized systems of tenure have been prone, such as the excessive aggregation of property rights, absentee landlordism and overburdening indebtedness. All lineage members were allocated almost equal shares of land, this practice helped to avoid land disputes. Pre-colonial tenure systems promoted both cohesion and harmony and provided a sense of corporate responsibility. The systems militated against the development of class distinctions and antagonisms.

Koponen (1988) observes that during pre-colonial time, chiefs or clan elders in Southeast Tanzania's matrilineal societies were said to have a standing right to re-call unused land from cultivators who failed to use the allocated land for a certain extended period. In more permanent settlements, especially in patrilineal communities, chiefs allocated land to male clan members. Rights to land for both males and females remained usufructuary while the production system remained subsistence oriented.

One major setback during pre-colonial era as far as land rights were concerned was its failure to clearly distinguish between ownership rights and usufructuary rights, as Koponen (1988) argued:

“It is misleading to speak of land ownership in the sense of exclusive rights, by individuals or corporate, making land a commodity to be treated at the will of the “owner”. Rather, access to land was regulated by a complicated “series of retreating and reversionary right” from the final user through the descent group up to the leader of the society.” (Koponen 1988: 273)

Population increase and change to permanent settlements made the distinction between ‘ownership’, ‘control’ and ‘use’ rights more pronounced. Wembah-Rashid (1983) notes that in some communities there were remarkable changes in land matters with regard to rights and social relations in 1870s – i.e. after the introduction of the capitalist patriarchal system. And permanent crops such as cashew-nuts.

Nasoro & Shaidi (1991) observes a strong influence on land tenure system emanating from religious ideologies with respect to the inheritance rights over property - in this case, land. For instance, under Islamic law, daughters get 1/5 of the property while wives get 1/8 of the deceased husband's property, if they had children with the deceased or ¼ of such property if they had no children (Koda 1994). Islamic influence was not strong enough to erode the

controlling power of clan leaders over land rights (James, 1971). Land inheritance was the main method of land transfers, as Koponen (1988) elaborates:

“In inheritance the guiding principle was that land should remain within lineage or within whatever descent group was operative in this respect.” (Koponen 1988: 273)

The pre-colonial era also evidenced gender imbalances, that is, discrimination of women in inheritance rights, with the fear that girls would marry outside the clan and that if they inherited land, it would mean the possible transfer of clan land to the outsiders. Gender imbalance in land access is further elaborated by Koponen (1988):

“Women the ultimate cultivator, were allocated land as members of their original descent groups (matrilineal societies) or those of their husbands (patrilineal societies)” (Koponen 1988: 273).

Apart from inheritance, another mode of land access during this time was land borrowing. Land borrowing was arranged to accommodate the needs of the landless. This was practiced on an annual or seasonal basis. As discussed earlier, each culture had its own ways of dealing with land matters; land borrowing also depended on social demands although in many societies the borrower had to pay in kind, for example in terms of crops or even animals (Omari & Shaidi 1992). However, under this method, women’s fate has not been extensively discussed.

Harrison (1987) argues that customary land tenure systems generally favour some social groups by giving them overlapping multiple rights over land use while denying others one or more of such rights. Women were categorized as a weaker social group with less land tenure rights. In a contemporary situation, this can as well be linked to the challenges women face today as far as land tenure is concerned.

Customary land tenure systems were also said to be flexible and more egalitarian than the system brought during the colonial and post-colonial era (Bruce & Migot Adholla 1994). The consequences of the traditional systems of land tenure have been profound. There can be no doubt that the nature and incidents of tenure have on the whole prevented the polarization of property rights and the consequential economic and social differentiations that are apparent in many individualized systems.

Conclusively, it can be argued that land use rights continued to have religious, economic and political connotation (Koponen 1988; Bruce & Migot- Adholla 1994). As Shivji (1997) sums this up by arguing that:

“The customary land rights thus have always been ambiguous and fragile with little security of tenure protected by law.” (Shivji, 1997:5)

5.2.2 Land Tenure Rights during the Colonial Era

Tanzania, the then Tanganyika was first colonized by the Germans during the second half of the 1880s. At the end of the First World War in 1918, Tanzania came under the British colonial rule. The colonial era introduced Tanzanians into cash economy, formal employment and the tax system. Therefore, the peasants were forced to grow cash crops and sell their labour to European settlers and government bureaucrats to earn cash income. The promotion of cash cropping was successful as its implementation was forced, especially in areas with permanent settlements. In areas where people practiced shifting cultivation, the colonial government introduced the migrant labour system to force people to sell labour in plantations elsewhere as an alternative cash earning activity.

The German colonial administration was very interested in land control. They declared the Imperial Ordinance of 1895, under this all land was deemed as Crown Land except for land possessed by chiefs and indigenous communities (James 1971). The indigenous land rights followed the native law and custom. The system was recognised under section 2 of the Land Ordinance, Chapter 113 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania, as will be apparent hereinafter. The Imperial Ordinance of 1895 allowed Africans to hold “four times” the land they were cultivating while the remaining land was put under the discretion of the government (Illife 1979). This was purposely done in order to avoid the African peasants’ outrage.

The colonial administration knew it was impossible to rule a country without effective control of people’s major means of livelihood, that is, land (Shivji 1997). Hence, the colonialists retained institutions and customs which were not contradictory to their principle functions. They allowed the customary land tenure system to co-exist with their newly introduced colonial mode of land administration .

According to Shivji (1997) the colonial land tenure systems were grouped into two sub-systems. The first was the 99 years Granted Right of Occupancy which facilitated land alienation and the plantation economy. It was provided for under section 6 of the Land Ordinance, Chapter 113 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania. Section 6 (1) of Chapter 113 reads, “ The President may, where it appears to him to be in the general interests of Tanzania, grant rights of occupancy”. Subsection (2) of the said section 6 stipulates, “No right of occupancy

shall be granted under this section for a term exceeding ninety nine years or with an option for a further term or terms together with the original term exceed ninety nine years". The second sub-system was the Deemed Right of Occupancy, which is defined as the right to use and occupy land. This was confined to natives and native communities. It was recognized under section 2 of the Land Ordinance, Chapter 113 of the Revised Laws of Tanzania. The definitions of the terms "occupier" and "right of occupancy" spell out the character of the Deemed Right of Occupancy. The term "occupier" is defined under the said section 2 of Chapter 113 to mean "The holder of a right of occupancy and includes a native or native community lawfully using or occupying land in accordance with native law and custom". The term "right of occupancy" is defined to mean "A title to the use and occupation of land and includes the title of a native or native community lawfully using or occupying land in accordance with native law and custom."

The 99 years Granted Right of Occupancy gave sufficient security of tenure to the holder who had a contractual agreement with the state, while the Deemed Right of Occupancy states that the right of holder was just recognized and declared but not adequately entrenched in statute (Shivji 1997; URT 1992). In light of this, one can argue that foreigners rather than local people were more protected under the colonial land tenure systems. However, in all these sub-systems, gender issues regarding land rights were not discussed. For instance, how women fared in the colonial land tenure system is neither mentioned nor elaborated.

Land alienation through land sales, mortgages and leases were possible during the colonial era (Kimambo 1991). The process of land alienation was gender blind and in addition, it was racial and class biased, as discussed earlier, little is reported on the gender aspect. The alienation process was felt in areas where peasants' land was converted into sisal, tea and coffee estates owned by mostly Europeans and Indians. British colonialism which replaced the German colonial administration adopted the same land tenure rules used by their predecessors. The British ruled Tanganyika as a Trust Territory and passed land laws which, *prima facie*, were to protect native interests. All land was made Crown Land except for land under leasehold granted before January 26, 1923, the date when the change on Tanganyika land tenure was effected through the Tanganyika Order in Council (James 1971). The Governor held the Radical Title which meant holding land in trusteeship and had the power to grant or lease such land on behalf of the colonial government. Shivji (1992) noted that the colonial nature had its shortcomings on its law:

“ The German decree of 1895 and the British Land Ordinance of 1923 declared all land as crown Land and public land respectively. This enabled the colonial

state to kill two birds with one stone: to alienate land freely to European settlers, the basis of the plantation economy, and at same time convert African cultivators into tenants with little legal security of land ownership". (Shivji 1992: 135)

The Land Ordinance of 1923¹ was however, not clear on "native" land ownership.

The written land title deeds were granted to foreigners in urban centres and to estates and plantations, the majority of citizens were limited to customary tenure under a system of informal law². Thus, under statute law the economically dominant classes in urban and rural areas dominated large-scale properties while the majority, under customary law, were restricted to ownership of small-scale landed property.

In 1928, more changes were made. These included re-defining the Right of Occupancy to include Titled, Community, Individually lawfully cultivating and Occupying land (according to customary law), hence the term Deemed Right of Occupancy. The transfer of land to foreigners remained under the control of the colonial government (James 1971). The Chief's power under the British system continued to operate on matters of land distribution until 1936. During this time a by-law was issued which transferred all powers of the traditional leaders to the native authorities. The native authorities were directly controlled by the colonial administration through the District Commissioners (Kimambo 1991).

The introduction of this by-law rose a controversy as some chiefs were not satisfied, they reacted in order to get back their powers which they considered as taken away. However, their efforts failed since no changes were made to the 1936 law. The prominent feature of the said law was to control the local communities' economic and social life. In addition, the colonial state introduced the Local Government Ordinance of 1953, which empowered the District Councils to issue orders to monitor and ensure the continuous production of quality and standard cash crops, and thus, in short, to control the agricultural land (URT 1992).

Conclusively, all documented works from various analysts (such as the historians, political and legal analysts) who adequately analysed and described the colonial land tenure system, overlooked gender aspects as far as land issues were concerned. Part of the reason for overlooking the gender issues is that by then most people were generally not sensitive to gender issues. As such, most analysts did not approach issues from the perspective of gender.

¹ This is still the standard Land Statute. See Chap. 113 of the Laws of Tanzania

² The Land Ordinance provided for granted rights of occupancy (a periodic system of land ownership of up to 99 years) for the dominant classes and deemed that the "natives" had customary titles, known as deemed rights of occupancy.

5.2.3 Land Tenure Rights During Independence/ Pre-Arusha Declaration Era

During the fight for political independence in Tanzania, the land issue was not among the top priorities in the political agenda. Kimambo (1991) notes that the then political party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) discussed the question of land more as a common item in the struggle for independence rather than a problem. Tanganyika attained her independence in 1961. After independence, attempts to transform the customary land tenure system were further discussed and consolidated. In 1962 land became state property with the radical title vested in the president. The analysts saw what was done was to replace the name “Governor” by the word “President” as trustee of the public/state land. The independent Tanzania introduced the local government system through the African Chiefs’ Ordinance (Repeal) Act No. 13/1963 cap 517 and abolish chieftainship. (James 1971).

In 1963 Freehold lands were changed into Government Leasehold (lands) through the Freehold Title Act (Shivji 1997). The 1967 Arusha Declaration, put all major means of production in public hands under the nationalization process. This created an environment for the central government to appropriate peasants’ land for what was known as “public interest”. The post-independence rural development strategies were further attempts to reform village-based land tenure practices: they include the improvement and transformation approaches of the early 1960s and especially the transformation approach, which led to the formation of settlement schemes. The structures of the village settlement schemes were engaged in:

“...removing cultivators and pastoralists from their traditional environments and settling them in villages and ranches supervised by top-down managers” (Shivji, 1997:6)

5.2.4 Land Tenure Rights During Post Arusha Declaration Era

In 1967, the president declared the Arusha Declaration. This declaration aimed at building a socialist state in Tanzania: hence, the introduction of the policy of socialism and self-reliance “*Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*”. Among other things, the Arusha declaration aimed at abolishing the exploitation of “man” by “man” and ensuring gender equality. The social economic and ideological changes initiated after the adoption of the “*Ujamaa*” policy have a strong bearing on the land tenure system. The Arusha Declaration nationalized the abandoned plantations/estates and introduced the villagization programme. This programme involved shifting people from their customary settlements to planned socialist “*Ujamaa*” villages. The declaration forced people to live a communal life and therefore those *Ujamaa* villages were

characterized by considerable communal land holdings with power over land transfers vested in both district authorities and village governments. The villagization programmes was supposed to take place in the whole country. However, spread of the villagization process was more dynamic in regions such as Lindi and Mtwara, which were sparsely populated and relatively marginalized economically, socially and politically compared to other regions. (Swantz 1996).

The villagization programmes in Tanzania started from 1973 to 1976. In this period, Tanzania's central government embarked on the massive project of permanently settling most of the country's population in *Ujamaa* villages. At the time, this was the largest forced resettlement attempt in Tanzania pioneered by the first president of the independent Tanzania Julius Nyerere. He argued that the goal of the move was to ensure that the majority of the people would not lead a poor life. He wanted people to live a communal ways of life. However, rural Tanzanians especially the pastoralists were not pleased with the plan.

“As cultivators and pastoralists, they had developed patterns of settlement and, in many cases, patterns of periodic movements that were finely tuned adaptations to an often stingy environment which they knew exceptionally well. The state-mandated movement threatened to destroy the logic of this adaptation.” (Scott 1998: 224)

The result of the villagization programme was a disaster especially for agricultural production. Generally, this can be connected to the failures in Tanzania's efforts to boost agricultural production which is a main stay of the economy. The villagization process was highly criticized on its top-down nature, in that only the top leadership was involved in designing the programme and its implementation. Due to its limited success, in the 1980s the programme was eventually abandoned. The failure of *Ujamaa* is viewed differently by some social analysts, there are those who blame the pressure from capitalist forces, others relate such failure to people's political resistance against oppressive and top down state policies (Shivji 1997). The failure of the *Ujamaa* policy was also associated with lack of seriousness on the part of both the state bureaucracy and the implementers of the policy (Wembah-Rashid 1983). The pioneer of the *Ujamaa* policy, Julius Nyerere, had little support from his government.

“The duty of party is not to urge the people to implement plans which have been decided upon by a few experts or leaders. The duty of the party is to ensure that the leaders and experts implement the plans that have been agreed upon by the people themselves- it is not correct for the leaders and experts to usurp the people's right to decide” (Swantz 1996:143).

The introduction of *Ujamaa* villages in Lindi meant that the re-division of land was given in the name of the head of the household, this means that women received land in their

name only if they were single heads of household. Consequentially, the villagization programme in Lindi made some people from the same family /lineage to shift to new settlements and others to refuse to do the same. Some villagers, especially those who were forced to resettle in new villages had to leave behind their farms and permanent crops and houses. There were also some villagers whose land was taken and appropriated by the village government for social services such as school, church, mosque and dispensary.

6.0 CHAPTER SIX: Land Policies and The Plight of Women

6.1 Introduction

After the formation of the supposedly “*Ujamaa* villages” there emerged a confusion as to which land tenure system was to be followed in the said villages. This chapter explores the land tenure rules after the villagization programme and its legal shortcomings. In addition, the impact of villagization on people is also presented. A brief account of the 1975 Ujamaa Village Act is presented in this chapter. This Act was a remedy to the tenure crisis aggravated by the villagization programme. Furthermore, the chapter establishes a link between the 1992 Land Act and the 1983 Agriculture Policy. In addition, the 1995 National Land Policy and its major areas of concern are also discussed. On one hand, the gender insensitive aspects of the 1995 land policy is discussed; on the other hand, the gender sensitivity of the 1999 Land Act is also presented in this chapter

6.2 Land Tenure System and its Consequences to Ujamaa Villages

The ambiguity of land tenure rules after villagization is assessed by the Report of Presidential Commission of Enquiry into Land Matters (URT, 1992):

“The villagization process of 1973-74 period... paid little regard to the existing land tenure system and the culture and customs in which they are rooted lacked clarity on post villagization land tenure systems.” (URT 1992:131)

Land problems and conflicts emanated from land scarcity. This was aggravated by the operation of socialist villages “*Operesheni ya Vijiji vya Ujamaa*”. Under the villagization programme, villagers were moved out of their clan land while new people who moved in and developed the area, finally claimed ownership rights. During the villagization process, some people, as URT (1992) explained, lost their customary land rights:

“After villagization, village land was held under collective tenure and village borders were drawn by verbal agreements which often caused inter-village conflicts. Within village borders, a right of occupancy could be granted to an individual, a group of people, or a company on condition that it was going to be developed. For small pieces of land in the village areas, the village government had the right to determine who could settle in or cultivate these plots.” (URT 1992:155)

The villagization programme is explained to be gender-sensitive, through partially. Every adult, regardless of sex, was eligible for land allocation in his/her own right either for housing construction or for farming. This move was beneficial to female heads of households,

that is, the single, widowed and divorced, most of whom were denied land ownership rights. However, the number of women who benefited from this policy was smaller than that of men, as the benefits were more applicable to female heads of households who are normally fewer in comparison to men, that is, about 18% of total rural households heads in 1994 (TANGO 1994). Also the patriarchal ideology was still allowed to guide other socio-economic process and, hence, the little effort made to address women's land ownership rights was confined to few *Ujamaa*- oriented villages. Despite of these shortcomings, there were still positive effects as far as gender relations were concerned.

The *Ujamaa* land tenure system was very complex. Some social analysts argue that despite the fact that the *Ujamaa* land tenure advocated for socialist principles, traditional customs that govern land rights continued to be applied (Omari & Shaidi 1992). The negative impact of the *Ujamaa* doctrines was felt by women in matrilineal communities. It is reported that customary land tenure which was invariably matrilineal was replaced by patrilineal principles, hence eroding women's land rights (Swantz 1996). The impact of villagization on matrilineal systems is extensively discussed in southeast regions (Chaplain 1984; Swantz 1996). Most women's de-facto land rights were undoubtedly eroded.

Lack of legal backing on land tenure during villagization was another problem which is partly explained by the fact that the villagization programme was more of a political move than an attempt to reform land (Shivji 1997). More land tenure confusion was therefore the outcome, as a result land disputes. In the resolution of those disputes, institutions such as traditional leaders, the government bureaucracy and courts were involved (URT 1992).

6.3 The 1975 Ujamaa Village Act

The 1975 Ujamaa Village Act was the outcome of land tenure crisis which was a result of the villagization programme. This act gave village councils the power to allocate the unoccupied village land to the landless. Individual male villagers continued to own and control land by virtue of being heads of their respective households. Most women had relatively limited land tenure security although the village councils often allocated land to unmarried women such as single, widows and divorcee (Mbilinyi 1997). The confusion and ambiguous land tenure systems after 1975 Villages and *Ujamaa* village Act continued, this gave loopholes for most villagers to continue using patriarchal customary land tenure even where they were discouraged by the statutory laws governing land matters (URT 1992).

The impact of the villagization programme on people differed tremendously. In some cases it forced many rural people to re-settle in new villages while leaving behind their farms, permanent crops and durable houses (Shivji 1997). Village governments and religious institutions also alienated land for both social and public services such as school, dispensary, Church/Mosque, market, communal farming and other purposes.

The changing of a global political economy has to a great extent reflected on the economic changes and legal reforms of the country as described above. The introduction of both Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and World Bank induced SAPs in 1980s to redress the national economy was not a solution to the noted concern. The ERP and SAPs have intensified privatization and commoditization of land in both rural and urban areas but more so in the former and, hence, the increased land conflicts. In 1982 the Local Government Act (District Authorities Act No. 7) was passed as an attempt to shift more power from the village councils to district councils but this created even more confusion on land tenure in the village (URT 1992). The Act was meant to solve land problems, it ended up creating more problems largely because of its undemocratic nature (Shivji, 1997).

6.4 Relationship Between 1992 Land Act and 1983 Agricultural Policy

Weaknesses in the policies are reflected in the laws because the latter is based on the former. For instance, the 1983 Agricultural Policy which was considered as a landmark in land tenure system in the post Arusha era as it attempted to officially introduce principles of capitalist farming in the 1980s, was reflected in the 1992 Land Act.

The 1983 National Agricultural Policy emphasized the private ownership of land. Villagers would, for example, be able to own land privately within the boundaries of their villages. It was hoped that this would increase rural productivity. The type of tenure proposed for the village itself was a right of occupancy of 99 years, that is, for all practical purposes an equivalent to freehold which could be used as a collateral. The 1983 Agriculture Policy had shortcomings with regard to the issuing of title deeds to village councils as stipulated in the said policy. Giving title deeds to village council is aimed at transferring land rights from customary institutions to direct government control, that means all land reforms were aimed at reforming customary land tenure. In a real sense, the 1983 Agriculture Policy did not address the multiplicity of institutions claiming control over village land. Both villagers, the village council as well as the district council continued claiming rights over the same land occupied under customary land tenure and this led to a number of unresolved land conflicts.

In search for a new way to address land matters, the president appointed a commission to study and make proposals for land tenure reform. The Presidential Commission of inquiry into Land Matters presented its report in November, 1992. The report identified five major areas of concern which were: pervasive insecurity of tenure, radical title vesting in the presidency (powers of control and administration over land), overlapping institutional structures over land allocation and administration, and dispute adjudication, lack of transparency and popular participation in the administration of land and poor institutional structure for adjudication of land rights and disputes. The report made the following recommendations: the first was on land tenure reform and the second was concerned with restructuring the institutional mechanism for land allocation and administration, as well as the adjudication of land disputes. With regard to land tenure, the report observed that the challenge lay in enabling citizens not only to occupy and cultivate land, but also to own and control it. This called for institutional changes and a search for feasible alternatives for organizing the land tenure system. The report recommended the removal of the radical title from the president and vesting it in the people's representatives¹

The report further recommended that land tenure should include formalizing customary titles by issuing customary certificates with the title "*Hati ya Ardhi ya Mila*". Decisions concerning land matters were to be made at the village assembly's general meeting. In case of any disputes, the processing mechanism was to be in the hands of an elder's land council "*Baraza la ardhi la wazee*" which would also administer a village land registry. Outsiders would be entitled to customary leases not exceeding 10 years. In addition, transactions between village residents should be allowed. However, outsiders were supposed to get consent from the village assembly.

Within the village, assignment of matrimonial property was subject to spouse consent. In the area of land administrations, the report noted that the existing machinery had become inefficient, illegitimate and unjust, and thus incapable of "administering land rights/justice"²

¹ Shivji, I.G., (1996) "Grounding the Debate on Land: The National Land Policy and its Implications", Paper presented at a Workshop on the National Land Policy, British Council Hall, Dar-es-Salaam - National lands, would be administered by a Board of Land Commissioners under a National Lands Commission, holding national lands in trust of behalf of citizens. Village lands would be held by village assemblies, composing all adult members of the village. In an assessment Shivji has written that: "The central recommendation however, was undoubtedly the divestiture of the radical title and de-linking of land from the Executive and vesting of village land with Village Assemblies. This recommendation is the most fundamental one and runs through all the more detailed recommendations of the Commission. Admittedly, this would have some significant impact on the organization of the state structure."

The legality of the said 1992 Land Act is being challenged. Critics of this Act consider it violated several provisions of the constitution. For instance, the top-down nature of this law is demonstrated by the fact that most villagers and leaders at grassroots level are not aware of its existence, much as it addresses the major means of their survival, that is, land (TAMWA 1997). Critics of Tanzania's land tenure systems have thus described them as inflationary, impregnated by internal contradictions and ambiguities and generally inaccessible to the main tillers of land (Swantz 1996; Shivji 1997).

6.5 The 1995 National Land Policy

The 1995 National Land Policy addresses the following major areas: land tenure and administration, surveying and mapping, urban and rural land use planning, and land use management. However, the land policy document agrees that land should be a constitutional category. Under the 1995 Land Policy, contrary to the report's recommendation, the village assemblies will not be the administrative unit, but rather the village councils, i.e. the executives at the village level. The National Land Policy of 1995 agrees on some respects with the commission's report, such as the right of occupancy system should be retained. This means recognizing a statutory right of occupancy of 99 years. The unlimited customary title was also recognized as the "*Hati ya Ardhi ya Mila*" issued by the village council and registered at a district land registry. According to this policy document, the Commissioner for Lands shall be the chief administrator of land and shall appoint officers to administer land other than village land. Village land shall be administered by village councils.

The 1995 Land Policy clearly stipulates that all citizens are to be ensured equal access to land, but access by foreigners would be through stipulations of the Investment Promotion Act, but they would not be able to acquire customary land. Furthermore, the policy clearly explains that women's access to land is guaranteed, although the law of inheritance will continue to be governed by the custom and tradition of the particular society.

However, with regard to guidelines on the disposal of land, the policy is full of contradictions. The government's powers of revocation and forceful acquisition of land are retained. The Land Policy also provides for a system of land registration for statutory and customary titles. It has also been argued that the implementation of the 1995 Land Policy

² See also: Shivji, I.G. and W. Kapunga, (1997), "Implications of the Draft Bill for the Land Act", Paper presented at the Consultative Conference of NGO's and Interested Persons on Land Tenure Reform, Dar-es-Salaam.

allowed local rich people and government bureaucrats to buy peasants land and make them landless (Shivji 1997). The policy making process has also been criticized as undemocratic despite the seemingly consultative approach used by the responsible Ministry for the preparation of the policy document (Shivji 1997). The 1995 National Land policy appears to be gender insensitive, for it clearly proposes the continued use of customary principles in dealing with family land despite the known fact that, under customary land tenure, female access to land is very insecure (Shivji & Kapinga 1997). This can be clearly seen in 1995 Government land policy paper which stated that:

“ In order to enhance and guarantee women’s access to land and security of tenure, women will be entitled to acquire land in their own right not only through purchase but also through allocation. However, inheritance of clan or family land will continue to be governed by custom and tradition.” (URT 1995:12)

The last clause caused debates among the women rights activists, as a result an additional clause was added and read as follows:

“Provided that those traditions and customs do not, discriminate against women” (Shivji & Kapinga 1997).

The 1995 Land Policy had yet another controversial clause when it stated that:

“Ownership of land between husband and wife shall not be the subject of legislation”. From the legal point of view, these clauses, as observed by Shivji & Kapinga (1997), ignore the existing laws such as the Married Women’s Property Act, 1982; section 4 of the Law of Property and Conveyance (Ordinance) Cap 114 as introduced in Tanzania in 1958 and Part IV of Law of Marriage Act, No. 5 of 1971¹.

6.6. The 1999 Land Act and its Gender Sensitivity

The Land Act of 1999 repealed the Law of Property and Conveyance Ordinance, Chapter 114 of the Laws. Section 3 (2) of the Land Act, 1999; Act Number 4 of 1999 and section 3 (2) of the Village Land Act, 1999; Act Number 5 of 1999, which are similarly worded that “... The rights of every woman to acquire, hold, use, and deal with; land shall to the same extent and subject to the same restrictions be treated as a right of any man”. The said sections of the two Acts are made under Parts II of the two Acts, which are both titled “FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL LAND POLICY”.

¹ Refer The Law of Marriage Act, 1971, Tanzania

Contrary to the 1995 National Land Policy, the 1999 National Land Policy was more gender sensitive. The gender sensitivity of the 1999 National Land Policy can as well be seen in the light of section 161 of the Land Act, 1999. Subsection (1) of the said section 161 provides:

“ ... Where a spouse obtains land under a right of occupancy for the co-occupation and use of both spouses and where there is more than one wife, all spouses, there shall be a presumption that, unless a provision in the certificate of occupancy or certificate of customary occupancy clearly states that one spouse is taking the right of occupancy in his or her name only or that the spouses are taking the land as occupiers in common, the spouses will hold that land as occupiers in common and, unless the presumption is rebutted in the manner stated in this subsection, the Registrar shall register the spouses as occupiers in common.”

Subsection (2) of the said section 161 provides “Where land held for a right of occupancy is held in the name of one spouse only but the other spouse or spouses contribute by their labour to the productivity, upkeep and improvement of the land, that spouse or those spouses shall be deemed by virtue of that labour to have acquired an interest in that land in the nature of an occupancy in common of that land with the spouse in whose name the certificate of occupancy or customary certificate of occupancy has been registered”.

Furthermore, subsection (3) of section 161 provides that “Where a spouse who holds land or a dwelling house for a right of occupancy in his or her name alone undertakes a disposition of that land or dwelling house, then: (a) where that disposition is a mortgage, the lender shall be under a duty to make inquiries of whether the spouse or spouses of the borrower has or as the case may be, have consented to that mortgage in accordance with the provisions of section 59 of the Law of Marriage Act, 1971; (b) where that disposition is an assignment or a transfer of land, the assignee or transferee shall be under a duty to make inquiries of the assignor or transferor as to whether the spouse or spouses have consented to the assignment or transfer in accordance with section 59 of the Law of Marriage Act, 1971, and where the aforesaid spouse undertaking the disposition deliberately misleads the lender or, as the case may be, the assignee or transferee as to the answers to the inquiries made in accordance with paragraphs (a) and (b), the disposition shall be avoidable at the option of the spouse or spouses who have not consented to the disposition”.

In addition, section 60 (2) of the Village Land Act, 1999 provides that “Where a village council establishes a Village Land Council, that council shall consist of seven persons of whom three shall be women ...”

Reducing decisions on family land to a private matter may perpetuate women's discrimination through patriarchal traditional norms and values. As Shivji (1997) argued:

“The policy document is fundamentally a re-statement of the existing land tenure system with all its problems, perspectives and approaches. It could even be described as a manifesto of the Ministry of Lands trying desperately to defend mal-administration and abuse of the poor by rhetorical and hortatory statements of principles while reinforcing existing institutional hierarchies and management styles in its substantive provisions.” (Shivji 1997: 45)

6.7 Women and Land Tenure Reforms

The aim of land reform is usually to address agrarian concerns although gender differences are often ignored in terms of both the degree of women's and men's contribution to the said reforms and as result both are affected (Swantz 1985; Mukangara 1995). Various studies on gender issues inform that women are disadvantaged when it comes to gendered land rights. This is mainly because of their limited control over the resource base (Shao 1993; TGNP 1992). In supporting this, Shao (1993) stated that:

“Land holding...confers on the holders the mutually reinforcing attributes of political privilege and social prestige. But this depends on the nature, kind, and size of the land. Land ownership and distribution ...was a cause for economic and social differentiation among the rural populace” (Shao 1993: 93).

There is a clear relationship between land ownership rights and decision-making powers. Women are believed to be capable of doing more to improve their family's standard of living if they have control of aspects of household economy such as land. It is therefore argued that if women own land and have full control over it, they can meet families basic needs which include food and income for purchasing and/or paying for other basic needs (Ngware, 1993; Mukangara, 1995)

7.0 CHAPTER SEVEN: Tanzanian Laws Governing Inheritance Matters

7.1 Introduction

Inheritance is the major means of land transfer in many Tanzanian communities. This chapter discusses laws governing inheritance matters in Tanzania. In addition, the chapter presents women's insecurity in land tenure rights and its legal implications.

7.2 Women and Land Matters

Most women, especially in rural Tanzania do not own or control land. Various studies conducted suggest that women are discriminated against by the main system of land transfer, that is, inheritance (Swantz 1985; Boserup 1970; Mascarenhas & Mbilinyi 1983; Kironde *et al.*, 1998). According to URT (1994), 80% of land cultivated by small peasants is accessed through the inheritance system. However, there are few studies which have shown that some women have managed to acquire land ownership rights through inheritance system. For instance, Odgaard (1986) in his study in Rungwe district, Mbeya region argued that women got access to land through inheritance system:

“Women have somehow succeeded in getting access to land through other means than marriage, either through renting/borrowing basis or through a special inheritance arrangement” (Odgaard 1986: 224).

Similar inheritance patterns were also observed in a study conducted by Tibaijuka (1988) in Bukoba region. These inheritance arrangements, noted in the Odgaard's and Tibaijuka's studies, would have been of interest to policy makers and planners. However, the researchers did not go in details. They didn't describe how such kinds of inheritance arrangements work in those societies nor did they venture to link issues of inheritance with broader imbalances in the stereotyping of gender roles.

In Tanzania there are three sets of laws on inheritance matters, each is believed to have a varying degree of gender discrimination or equity. In rural areas, land is accessed through customary rules and traditions, particularly in matters related to inheritance. The customary and statutory laws guarantee women's interests in land matters through marriage institution. However, in her study Mtengeti -Migiro (1990) observed that customary laws do not have all aspects of little gender equality. For instance, the Tanzanian Marriage Act of 1971 Section 114 allows the courts to divide matrimonial property between spouses when giving a decree of separation or divorce. The section says:

“114.-(1) The court shall have power, when granting or subsequent to the grant of a decree of separation or divorce, to order the division between the parties of any assets acquired by them during the marriage matrimonial by their joint

efforts or to order the sale of any such asset and the assets division between the parties of the proceeds of sale.

(2) In exercising the power conferred by subsection (1), the court shall have regard-

(a) to the custom of the community to which the parties belong;

(b) to the extent of the contributions made by each party money, property or work towards the acquiring of the assets;

(c) to any debts owing by either party which were contracted for their joint benefit; and

(d) to the needs of the infant children, if any, of the marriage, and subject to those considerations, shall incline towards equality of division.

(3) For the purposes of this section, references to assets acquired during a marriage include assets owned before the marriage by one party which have been substantially improved during the marriage by the other party or by their joint efforts.” (The Tanzania Marriage Act 1971:40)

However, the same section is ambiguous, particularly when it comes to whether a woman’s domestic and other family duties are to be taken as a contribution to acquiring matrimonial wealth. The law itself still requires the courts to have regard for customs of the community to which parties belong when they order a division of matrimonial properties. Thus, when it comes to matrimonial assets division, particularly land, women are disadvantaged.

7.3 Customary Law and Matters of Inheritance

The governing legislation in Tanzania on matters of land is the colonial Land Ordinance of 1923. This ordinance declares that all land in Tanzania is “Public Land” and that the final control of such land is vested in the president who is given power to administer the land for the use and common benefit of the native Tanzanians. The ordinance enjoins the president to give due regard to native laws and customs whenever he is exercising his power over land.

After independence, an attempt was made to codify Customary Laws in the country: the Customary Law (Declaration) Order of 1963 (G.N. No. 436 of 1963) came into being. Since then court rulings on matters of inheritance have been based on rules contained in it and, hence, women’s rights have been compromised. The Customary Law based on G.N. 436 of 1963 contains rules of inheritance governing matrilineal communities in Tanzania. There are three categories of land provided by the rules. These are namely Self-acquired land, Family land and Clan land. Self acquired land means land acquired by an individual through his or her own efforts. This may include the clearing of bushes in order to improve the land.

The holder of the self-acquired land has permanent rights or absolute ownership and control over it. It is subject only to the rights of the state, that is, public land.

The Customary Law Declaration Order, 1963 (GN No 436 of 1963), on its Rule 26, provides that children (both sexes) of the deceased person have exclusive rights to inherit her/his self-acquired land although daughters get a smaller share. Women have rights to inherit self-acquired land as stipulated in Rule 20 which states that:

“Women can inherit, except for clan land which they may receive in usufructuary but may not sell. However, if there is no male in that clan, women may inherit such land (to) full ownership.” (Rwebangira & Mneney 1995: 58)

Girls' right to inherit is contained in Rule 21. Under the same law, Rules 19-30 provide that all daughters, irrespective of their seniority or that of their mothers, inherit in the third degree, and each is entitled to between one twentieth ($1/20$) and one tenth ($1/10$) of the deceased's property. The first-degree inheritor is the first son of the senior wife who is entitled to one third ($1/3$) of the property. Other sons, inherit in the second degree. Under the same law there are contradictions to its rules: it is obvious that Rules 20 and 31 contradict Rule 21 by saying that a daughter cannot inherit either family or clan land unless there is no male heir, and that if she does she has no final control of it - that is, she can not sell the land she has inherited. Where there are sons but neither daughters who are alive nor those who have left children, there is no third degree (Rule 33). Likewise where there are daughters but there are neither sons who are alive nor those who have left grandchildren, there is no second degree (Rule 32). Where there is only one child, such a child will inherit all the property but, if it is a female, she cannot inherit family land which she is only allowed to use for her lifetime without the right to sell it (Rule 21), and subject to Rule 20 where no distinction is made between clan land and family land.

Family land refers to land that has been passed among descendents of a larger family. It can be disposed of with the consent of all adult male members of the family. Clan land refers to land belonging to a large extended family within a tribe or an ethnic group. Women's rights to clan land are the same as those which apply to family land. Widows and daughters can only inherit clan land when there are no living male clan members. They cannot transfer such land to their children. Widows' rights to residence follow those of her children as she has no right of inheritance (Rule 27). Widows can inherit only if the deceased is survived by neither children nor relatives (Rules 44- 50).

Widows' rights are stipulated in Rule 27, which says that a widow can only inherit if there are neither children nor male relatives and that the widow shall be guaranteed usufructuary right to land during her lifetime. In this case, under customary laws widows have

no right of inheritance in case the deceased have left behind children or blood relatives. It is only children who have the right of inheritance where the deceased dies without a will. If the deceased left no children or grand children, then it is his blood brothers and sisters who are entitled to inherit his assets.

It is clear from the Customary laws that, male children are entitled to more than female children. It is insisted that the first male born of the deceased should get more than the rest of his brothers and sisters. Rule 43 forbids inheritance of children born outside the wedlock, in this case, if there is absence of a valid will made by the deceased to allow such children to inherit, they are not entitled to inheritance. If such children have been legalized, then they are entitled to inherit.

The impact of Tanzanian laws on assessment of their gender sensitivity at the village level is not well elaborated. For example, the protection of land against alienation by non-clan members affects women's land rights (Ngaiza 1994). Mukoyogo (1992), argues that protective principles have been indiscriminately applied with prejudice against female heirs. While retention of ownership rights despite physical absence is allowed for men, the same is denied to women (Ngaiza 1994).

In most cases marriage determine women's inheritance rights. However the institution can be used in both ways, that is, as a limitation for women's land tenure security as well as an asset for women's land access. The validity of this statement is verified in the findings section. Women's denial over land rights, especially clan land, has been criticized in the courts of law:

“I have found as a matter of fact that S.20 of the Rule of Inheritance G.N No. 436/1963 of the Declaration of customary Law, is discriminatory of females in that unlike their male counterparts, they are barred from selling clan land. That is inconsistent with Art. 13(4) of the Bill of rights of our Constitution on account of sex”. (Rwebangira & Mneney 1995:59)

In addition the Chief Justice of Tanzania criticized the denial of women's rights especially in inheritance matters as quoted by Rwebangira & Mneney (1995):

“Now it is abundantly clear that this custom, which bars daughters from inheriting clan land and sometimes their own father's estates, has left a loophole for undeserving clansmen to flourish within the tribe. Lazy clan members anxiously await the death of their prosperous clansmen who happen to have no male issue and as death occurs they immediately grab the estate and mercilessly mess up things in the dead man's household, putting the widows and daughters into terrible confusion, fear and misery. It is quite clear that this traditional custom has outlived its usefulness. The age of discrimination based on sex is long gone and the world is now in the state of full equality of all human beings irrespective of sex, creed, race or colour.” (Rwebangira & Mneney 1995:58)

The Judicature and Application of Laws Ordinance No. 57 of 1961, Cap 453 provides a constitutional right to change repressive elements of the customary law. However, few people are aware of this legal provision which could be used to address the gender discriminatory customs associated with land inheritance. According to the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters (1992), clan land is held in such valuable esteem that most patrilineal societies (80% of the diverse Tanzanian population) discourage both land alienation and disposition of clan land through selling because they fear that land alienation may mean diminution of clan land while it is expected that the clan will expand.

7.3.1 Islamic Law of Inheritance

Section 9 (1) of the Judiciary and Application of Laws Ordinance (Cap 453) of 1961 empowers the courts to apply rules of Islamic Law in matters related to marriage, divorce, guardianship and inheritance. There are three major Islamic sects in the country: Shafi, Shia and Hanafi. The Islamic law on inheritance clearly stipulates that sons, daughters and wives must get inheritance rights. Unfortunately, in most parts of Tanzania this right is still influenced by patriarchal influences. Girls for instance are legally entitled to get their father's share while wives are entitled to one eighth (1/8) of the deceased's assets if they have children with the deceased or else they get a quarter (1/4) in case of childless marriages. Unlike other laws, Islamic Laws of Inheritance give rights to the deceased's parents to inherit one sixth (1/6) of their late son's wealth. The law gives male children the right to inherit more than female children. However, it denies the right to inheritance to a child born out of the wedlock unless such a child has been legalized (Mukangara 1995; Kironde *et al.* 1998).

During the distribution process the Islamic law makes a distinction between movable and immovable property. The minimum rights provided for women are not always realized because of the reluctance of the male kin to give land as a result some women give up their land claims to avoid conflict with their male kins (Agarwal 1988).

7.3.2 Statutory Law of Inheritance & the Provision of the Indian Succession Act of 1865

The Statutory Law is based on the Indian Succession Act of 1895. This law seems to be more egalitarian compared to the other two, that is, customary and religious laws in inheritance matters. It has been pointed out on several occasions however that primary courts rarely use Statutory Law (Rwebangira & Mneney 1995). Statutory Law came to be applied in Tanzania by virtue of the Indian Acts (Application) Ordinance, Cap. 2. Its application is aimed at all

Christians and people of European origin. Under this law, priority is given to the wishes of the deceased in case he left a valid will. Statutory laws passed by the Act of Parliament, generally takes a neutral position in terms of gender, religion, ethnicity, race and class.

According to this law, if the deceased leaves behind a widow and children, they are entitled to the deceased assets. In this case, the widow is entitled to one third of all the assets and the balance remaining is to be distributed equally among the deceased children. Should any of the deceased's children have died before the division of his/her father's assets, the remaining children are entitled to the share of their late father. If a person dies without children, the widow is entitled to half of all the assets and the remaining is to be distributed equally between the deceased parents, sisters and brothers. In case the deceased had no relatives whatsoever, the widow is entitled to all the assets. Also in this law, children born out of wed lock, or adopted children have no rights of inheritance, unless the deceased left a will stating that such children should be entitled to inheritance, Section 86 of the Statutory Law. However, customary and religious- Islamic laws are mostly preferred by many.

7.4 Women's Land Tenure Rights, Inheritance and Legal Gaps

Women's security of tenure is shaped by country specific laws and administrative procedures (Bruce & Migot –Adholla 1994). The experience of Tanzania, as evidenced in previous studies, shows that the dynamic nature of culture may either generate contradictions entailing new relations of inequality, subordination and exploitation or create opportunities for marginalized groups' increased land tenure security (Mukangara 1995). Major parts of the current land conflicts in Tanzania reflect the legal gap in land tenure matters. This gap is a result of many factors which include the violation of supportive principles of customary land tenure and the inadequacy of both the customary land tenure system and the contemporary legal system. This lies in the insufficiency of the government and judiciary machinery in addressing land matters.

The 1992 Presidential Commission of Enquiry into Land Matters (a nation-wide survey) recommendation's were based on addressing the gender imbalances. They recommend on ways to broaden democratic rights in land matters and ensuring both quantitative and qualitative women participation in village councils, land committees and courts which deal with land allocation and conflict resolution.

Rural societies are conservative and most of them, especially women, are ignorant of the laws and procedures that can protect their rights. As such discriminatory practices against them continue. Usually women are poorly educated and have very little economic power to

take action in case of any injustice towards them. By contrast, most men are educated and have economic power (Kironde *et. al.* 1998).

The Bill of Right, incorporated in the Tanzanian constitution in 1984, came into force in March 1988. Before its application, the courts generally had little choice except to rely on customary law where this applied for the purpose of reaching a decision on various issues of inheritance. For instance in the case of *Deocras Lutaban V. Kashanga* (1981) TLR 122, the Court of Appeal held that a woman under Haya customary law can inherit her deceased father's landed property but this is with exception for family or clan land.

The above-cited case provides ample evidence that women continue to be discriminated against in regard to the inheritance of clan/ family land despite the opposite stance of some judges on the laws which discriminate against women. Reference is made to the case of *Holaria s/o Pastory* (Civil Appeal No. 70/1989). In this case, Holaria inherited clan land from her father by a valid will. When Holaria was getting old and senile, and had no one to take care of her, she decided to sell the land in August 1988 to Gervase Kaizigile who was not a member of this clan for Tshs 300,000/= The following day a member of the clan Bernado Ephraim filed a suit in the Primary Court claiming that the sale of the land by his aunt was void and under their customary laws (*Haya*) females had no power to sell clan land. The Primary Court agreed with the applicant and ordered the seller to refund the purchase money. On appeal to the District Court, the decision of the Primary Court was crushed on the basis of the provisions of the Bill of Rights in the constitution which guaranteed equality between both women and men. On further appeal to the High Court, the judge found S. 20 of the rules of Inheritance under customary laws to be discriminatory and inconsistent with article 13(4) of the Bill of Rights, as enshrined in the Tanzanian Constitution. The stated article bars discrimination on the basis of sex. He called for S. 20 to be modified and qualified such that both males and females have equal rights to inherit and sell clan land.

The Tanzanian constitution stipulates clearly that all men and women are equal irrespective of sex, race and religion. Among many rights, all citizens have got the right to possess property, and the law is supposed to ensure that people's properties are protected. However, there are still some provisions of the laws that are discriminatory along the sexual lines. Among these laws are those which deal with matters related to marriages, divorce, employment, the application of Customary Laws and the enactments governing affiliation and inheritance matters (URT 1988:71).

8.0 CHAPTER EIGHT: Findings - Basic Characteristics of the Respondents in Nyangao Village

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the field data. In order to have an idea of the situation of the villagers, the chapter explores the housing condition and types of toilets found in the study area. Marital status by age and gender, and the detailed account of the marriage institution and social system dynamics in Nyangao village are also presented and discussed in this chapter. In addition, the chapter describes the reasons for girls' early marriages and teenage pregnancies. It further depicts the traditional rights and their consequences as observed by the villagers. Religious status of the respondents and the belief systems including witchcraft are also analyzed in this chapter. The chapter further presents and interprets data concerning the educational status of respondents. It analyses the trends of migration in the southeast regions, coping mechanisms and support from family members who are residing outside Nyangao village.

8.2 General Demographic Data

Nyangao village has existed since the 19th century. The villagers participated in the 1905 – 1907 *Maji Maji* war. In 2003, Nyangao village had a total population of 3,948 people, of which, 2,186 were females and 1,762 were males. Generally in Tanzania, there has been a systematic increase in the average household size since 1967 census. In 1967, there were 4.4 persons per household, but this increased to 4.9 persons in 1978 and 5.2 persons in 1988 (URT 1988). The 2002 population census shows an increase from 5.2 to 5.5 people per household (URT 2002).

The common factors influencing demographic trends in Nyangao village are socio-economic and socio-cultural in nature. High fertility rates are a cultural norm. The increase in the number of household members in this village is attributed to high birth rates brought about by the uncontrolled fertility levels. Such trends influence poverty. Many people in Nyangao village still regard children as security, that is, children are expected to take care of their parents in old age. Parents with many children can therefore expect to receive better care from their children than parents without children.

The respondents also revealed that children in Nyangao are not only expected to provide care for their parents in old age, but are also serve as a main source of labour for both domestic and farm activities:

“In the farm we normally work with our children and wives. The greater the manpower to assist in farming activities, the higher the chances in harvesting and there is enough stock than a person with few people to help on farm activities” (A Middle aged Male Respondent, Male FGD)

The findings obtained from other studies concur with this study that children in many families have various economic roles to play especially in agricultural activities and petty trade. For instance, a study conducted in rural Ghana shows that about 52% of boys and 48% of girls undertake work on the household farm, a further 3% are engaged in household enterprises, and less than 1% report employment outside the household. The report produces evidence that children of families who own a farm are more likely to be working on their farms and thus child labour may arise as the result of factors such as the incentive for landowners to employ their children when it is difficult to hire reliable adult workers (Bhalotra & Heady 2003; Bhalotra & Heady 2004). In other areas children’s contribution to farm work is increasing because they substitute for adults who migrate in search of work (Barret & Browne 1997).

The findings from this study further revealed that many women gave birth to many children in order to compensate for their children who died at an early age. They always tried to have as many children as possible so that the natural selection through death is allowed to take its course:

“If all my children would have been alive I would have twelve by now. Five children died few months after birth and three died between three years and four years. If I were to follow family planning methods and have fewer children may be I would have ended up without any children” (An old female respondent, In-depth interview)

Families with many children have ample supply of labour but children also cost a lot and do not generate significant income, therefore families with many children are more likely to suffer higher levels of poverty than those with few. Many children cost a lot of money and time and despite of working for the household children may not earn enough.

8.3 Family size, Age and Origin of the Respondents

Data obtained from the household survey shows that the average family size in Nyangao village was five persons per household. According to the government population census conducted in 2002, the average household size in Lindi region was 4.1 people per household (URT 2002). Table 8.2 below shows the family size of the sampled households in Nyangao village.

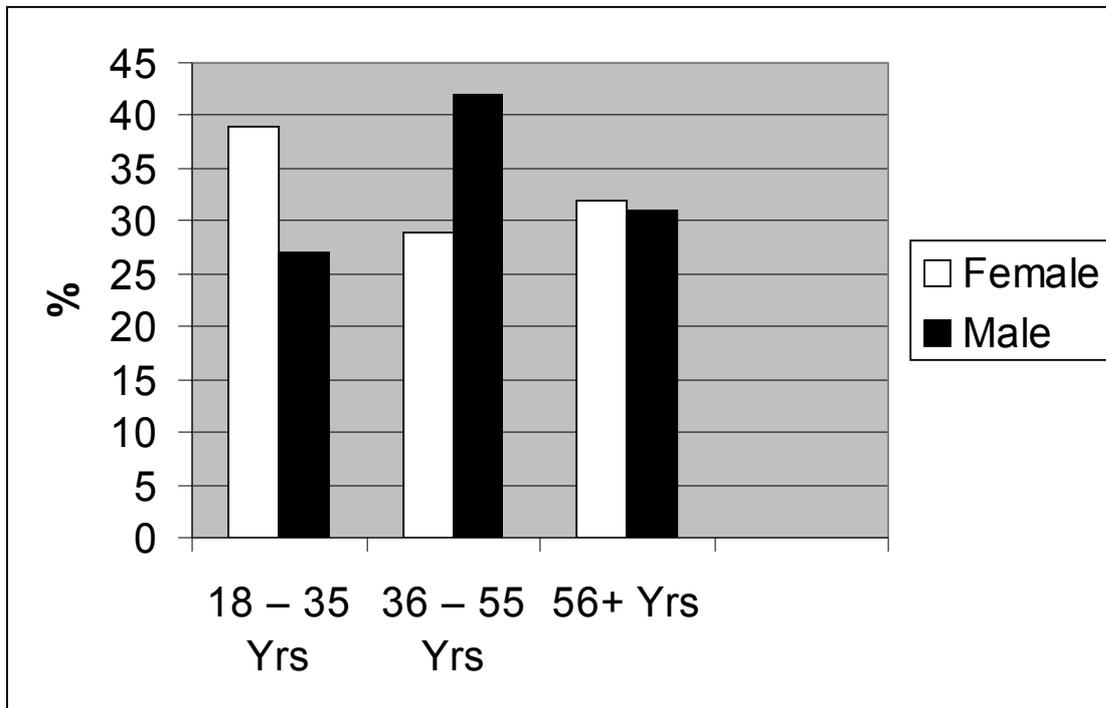
Table 7 : Nyangao Village Household Family sizes

Family Members	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	15
Total Households	9	30	60	46	10	10	4	5	3	1	1

68 respondents (about 38% of all respondents) were between 36 and 55 years. While 57 respondents (about 32 % of all respondents) were 56 years and above, 55 respondents (about 30% of all respondents) were 35 years or below. This is partly because the majority of the youth under 35 years were not living in the village. Youths in Nyangao village especially after completion of primary school education were not interested in agricultural activities. They prefer to engage themselves in petty businesses like selling second hand clothes and other small-scale business in big cities. Liviga & Rugatiri (1998) confirm that youths from southeast regions comprise a big number of petty traders in big cities, such as Dar es Salaam where they are commonly known as “*machinga*” meaning petty traders from South-east Tanzania. 51 male respondents (about 42% of all male respondents) were 36 – 55 years old. In comparison, only 17 female respondents (about 29% of all female respondents) were 36 – 55 years old.

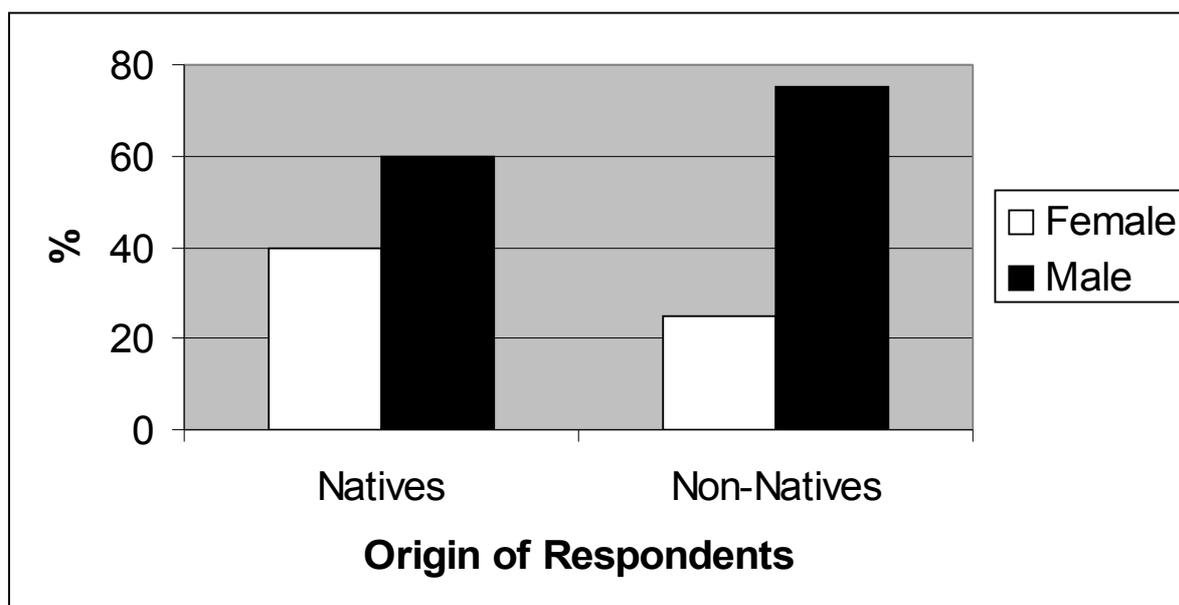
As shown in Figure 2 below, of all the female respondents, a large proportion of female household heads were in the age bracket of 18 - 35 years old. However, these results must be interpreted with caution since only 59 (about 33% of all respondents) sampled female-headed households out of the total of 180 sampled households were interviewed.

Figure 2 : Age Distribution of Respondents According Gender



8.4 Origins of the Respondents

The study found that 96 respondents (about 53%) of all 180 sampled respondents were natives of Nyangao village. The remaining 84 respondents (about 47%) were born outside the study village, that is, they were not native to the village and came from other areas both within and out of the region. Of all the natives of the village, 38 respondents (about 40%) were females and 58 respondents (about 60%) were male. There were more male non-natives, that is, 63 respondents (75% of all non-natives respondents) than female non-natives. Female non-natives were 21 respondents (25% of all non-native respondents)

Figure 3 : Natives and Non natives Respondents

The study results reported that those from other villages within the region mostly migrated to Nyangao as a result of intermarriages and/or in search of permanent settlements. Marriage was considered as an important factor for people's movement and migration to Nyangao village. Majority of the immigrants from outside the region, the Makonde, came from Mozambique. Most of them were men who migrated either with their families or alone. They came to the sisal estates in Lindi region during colonial times as labourers. Wembah-Rashid (1998) reported that even after the colonial era, cross boarder migration continued due to a civil war in Mozambique.

Majority of residents in this village belong to Mwera, Yao, Makonde and Makua ethnic groups. Table 8 shows the ethnic affiliation of the sampled respondents. Of 180 respondents chosen for this study, 114 (63%) were Mwera, 33 (18%) Makonde, 19 (10%) were Yao, 12 (7%) were Makua, one was Matumbi and the remaining ones belonged to other tribes.

Table 8 : Ethnic Affiliation of Selected Respondents

Ethnic affiliation	Female	Male
Mwera	34 (57%)	80 (66%)
Yao	10 (17%)	9 (7%)
Makonde	7 (12%)	26 (22%)
Makua	7 (12%)	5 (4%)
Matumbi	1 (2%)	-
Other tribes	-	1 (1%)
Total	59 (33%)	121 (67%)

8.5 Health Condition

When people in Nyangao village fall sick they try traditional medicines before consulting modern medical treatments. Villagers believed and feared witchcraft to the extent that they related almost all diseases with witchcraft. The common traditional treatment is known as *kombe*, which is a paper written in Arabic script in red ink and then dissolved in water; Muslim Sheikhs in Nyangao or traditional healers normally administer this treatment. Consulting traditional healers is a common practice and many people believe in their treatments. It has implications at rational level because many people respect and fear traditional healers since the general understanding is that one can be condemned by traditional healers through the use of Koran.

Nyangao village recorded high infant mortality rates. All the surveyed households have seen some of their children die before the age of five. This supports data collected by the World Bank in a study conducted in Tanzania which argued that infant mortality rates have not improved over the last decade (World Bank 1995: XVII). In Nyangao village, the main causes for the reported deaths were pneumonia, childhood fever and malaria. Studies conducted elsewhere in Tanzania revealed that malaria, diarrhoea and respiratory diseases caused between 75 to 80 percent of deaths among young children (UNICEF 1990: 20). The recent statistics indicate that Lindi rural district (where Nyangao is located) recorded the second highest mortality rates among children in Lindi region (URT Bureau of Statistics 2006).

Table 9 : Under 5 Mortality Rate (U5MR) in Lindi Region.

District	U5MR		Average Annual Rate of Reduction in U5MR 1988-2002	Percentage Change 1988- 2002
	1988	2002		
Kilwa	210	217	-0.2	3.3
Lindi Rural	257	220	1.1	-14.6
Lindi Urban	186	159	1.1	-14.5
Liwale	249	221	0.9	-11.4
Nachingwea	209	198	0.4	-5.5
Ruangwa	257	250	0.2	-2.9

Source: URT, Tanzania Census 2002, Infant and Child Mortality Report Vol. iv. Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment, DSM (March 2006)

According to the data collected from Nyangao village, witchcraft was another possible cause of death for the children under five years of age. Respondents indicated that people in Nyangao village had strong believes on witchcraft:

“We obtain traditional protection/immunisation “*kinga*” from our traditional healers and witchdoctors, although it is good if one can use both, that is, the traditional and modern (hospital) medicines for newly born children. The problem lies in the conditions attached to the medicines given by traditional healers especially in administering their doses. One is not allowed to mix their medicines with those provided from the hospital.” (A middle aged Female respondent, Secondary school graduate, In-depth Interview)

Similar sentiments were also raised during the female FGD:

“Normally most children tend to fall sick frequently during their early ages because they have low immunity compared to adults. Many parents turn to the traditional medicines which are cheaper and some are even free. It is true that children vaccinations are provided free of charge in the hospital and health centres. However, some parents refuse to take their children to hospital and get vaccinated. In most cases when children get fever, there is a myth that if you take them to hospital, injections or any other form of modern treatment i.e. hospital’s medicament may cause a sort of disability or even death. Therefore, in most cases children with high fever are normally taken to the traditional healers or witch doctors. In most cases, they (witch doctors/ traditional healers) fail to diagnose the problem. Some parents after wasting much of their time with the traditional medicines and without success finally resort to the hospital when it is already too late. At the end of the day, many do not survive. The blame is then shifted to either neighbours, or relatives that they have bewitched

their children and the death was fuelled by the hospitals' treatment especially injections which is believed by the majority that it reacts negatively to people who have been bewitched." (A female old age respondent, Retired Nurse, Female FGD).

The same respondent further contended that:

"I don't want to say that the traditional medicines don't work or have stopped to function because some of us were brought up by the same medicines. The problem is that nowadays we have many diseases affecting children and most of them are beyond the capability of our traditional medicine-men or witchdoctors. I am of the opinion that both medicines, that is, traditional and modern be used together. However, I think the problem will always remain because hospital medicines are not affordable to many parents. One must have money to buy medicines and the majority here are poor, we do not have money."

Normally the traditional healers charge directly for their service in cash or in kind. In kind they may request the patient to bring things such as chicken or a piece of cloth to be used for treatment and afterwards those things remain with the healer. The amount charged for consultation or treatment differs, normally it depends on the problem. For example consulting a traditional healer/medicine or a witch doctor for the *kinga* is cheaper than consulting him/her for the treatment of a disease. The costs for *kinga* ranges between Tshs 500 and Tshs 2000, it depends on the type of the *kinga*. Consultation fees are between Tshs 200 and Tshs 1000. After the treatment, one is allowed to pay the fees in instalments depending on the amount charged.

These findings revealed an interesting revelation that people consult traditional healers not only because of their belief in witchcraft, but also because hospital consultation fees is high and not many people have money to buy the prescribed medicines. Most parents cannot afford basic healthcare for their family and therefore they resort to traditional healers/doctors as alternative sources of treatment.

Since the 1980s, the Tanzanian government adopted Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as a strategy for poverty reduction and economic growth. As a part of the SAP, the government introduced cost sharing schemes in the health care sector since 1994. This required patients to share the cost of consultation and medication in public hospitals. Since the introduction of cost sharing in public hospitals, many rural poor families are unable to afford medical care to their families with children being the most affected (Lugalla 1995a: 44). Today, health centres in all districts in Tanzania charge some form of fees. In Lindi rural district charges range from the equivalent of USD 45 cents for registration on each visit at

dispensaries and health centres. The costs rise substantially for hospital treatment of chronic illnesses, whereas the escalating health care costs starting at USD 5 rise up to USD 15 if admission is required.

Charges for basic healthcare known as user fees is one of the major barrier to children and their mothers in Nyangao village. High fees mean that many families seek health care for their children not on the basis of what they need but on the basis of what costs. Families wait often until it is too late to go to the doctor. In 2004, WHO estimated that each year 178 million people suffered destitution as a direct result of paying for health care, the report further said that 104 million people were forced into poverty. Research conducted by the Save the Children UK revealed that over 50% of people surveyed in Tanzania did not seek health care when they were chronically ill and three quarters gave high treatment costs as the reason. The payment policies include exemption for poor families or for children. However, those policies do not work because of confusion at local/village level and because health workers do not promote them as they benefit from the fees. Although exemption exist in Lindi rural district, only 20% of children under five years of age were actually exempted from admission costs (Save the Children UK 2005). For the patients from Nyangao village the costs of treatment at the Nyangao Mission Hospital range from Tshs 3,000 an equivalent of 3 USD (for registration and basic treatment) to Tshs 20,000 an equivalent of 20 USD for the operation. The treatment costs doubled for an outsider from the village, that is, they pay Tshs 6,000 (about 6 USD) for registration and basic treatment, and Tshs 40,000 (about 40 USD) for the operation.

Infant mortality rates in Nyangao village like in the rest of the country are being accelerated by unfavourable government policies on the provision of healthcare services. In this, SAPs are contributing to the deterioration of health conditions among children in Nyangao village and the villagers rather than improving them. As previously discussed on health aspect, the introduction of user charges (cost-sharing) in education and health are reported as main contributors to the deteriorating situation of both the quantity and quality of health and education services for rural communities (Lugalla 1995a: 44).

8.6 Housing Conditions

Materials with which houses were constructed can be a good indicator of poverty in the study area. Both observation and household survey reveal that most houses were constructed of mud and poles, and roofed with rusty and worn out corrugated iron sheets or thatch grass with

compacted earth serving as floor. In addition, most houses had unstable doors and had small windows, some had no windows and therefore ventilation was poor.



Photo 3 : Sample House in Nyangao village

Photo: Grace Soko

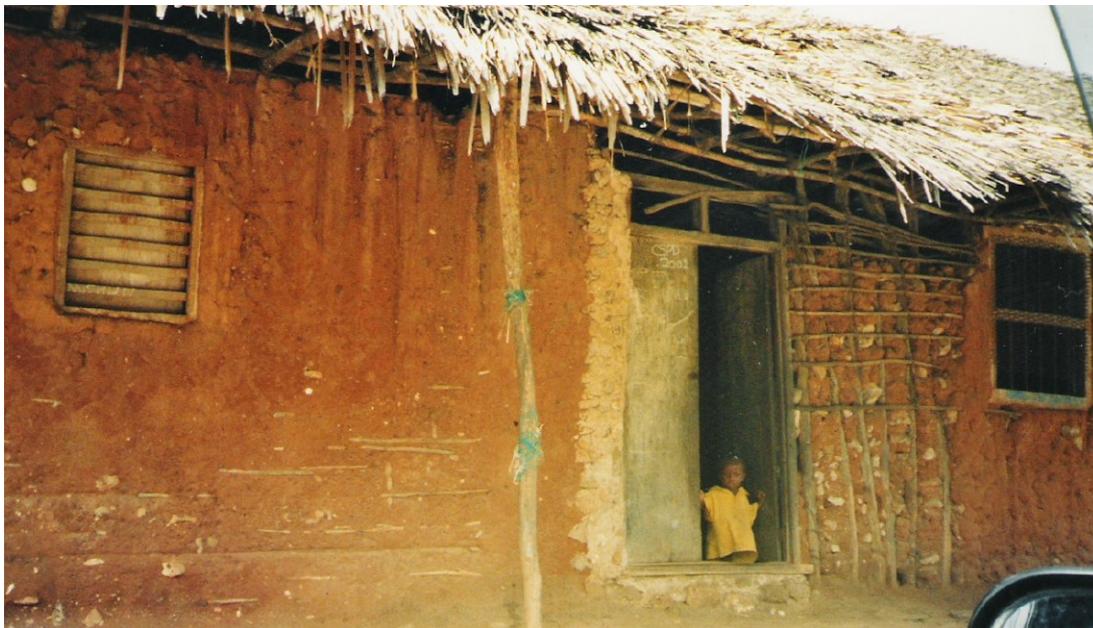


Photo 4 : Sample House in Nyangao village

Photo: Grace Soko

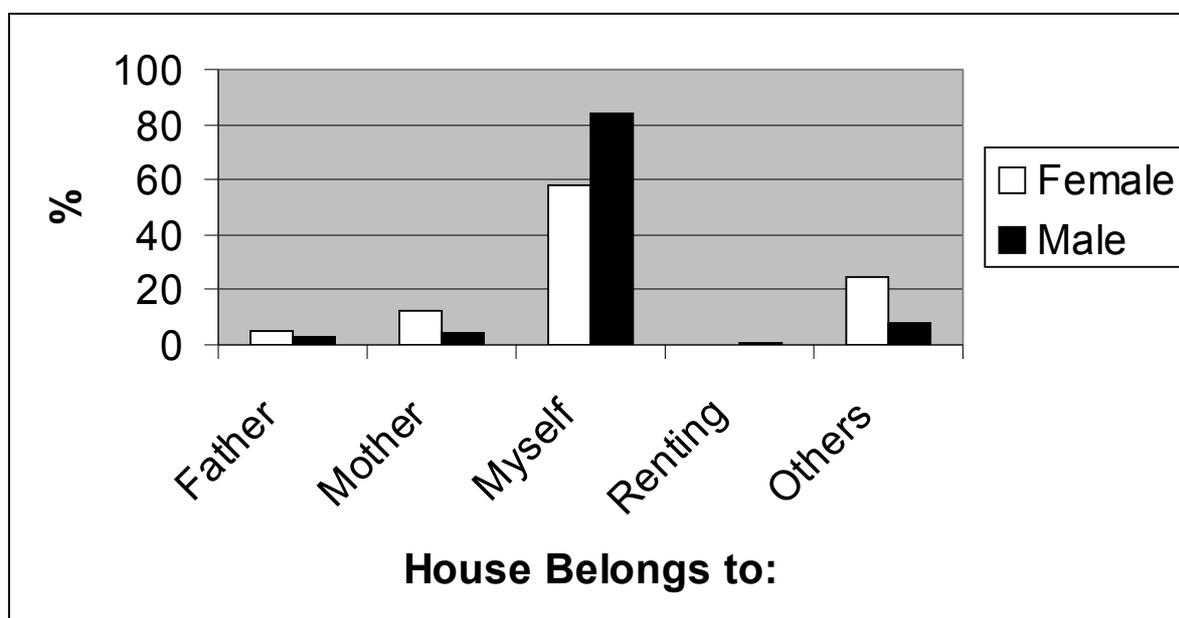
Respondents mentioned that unstable houses constructed with mud and roofed with thatch grass indicate that the members of that household are poor. One young woman (18- 35 years old) described materials with which houses are constructed as indicators of poverty:

“People can be considered as poor when walls of their houses collapse frequently. Before they go to farm (*shamba*) family members must repair the holes and the situation is even worse when it is raining as the thatched roofs are leaking and must be fixed often. These poor villagers don’t have money to buy good quality grass or iron sheets” (A young female respondent, Female FGD)

8.6.1 Household Acquisition

The majority of respondents 136 (about 75.5%) out of total of 180 respondents said that they owned houses in which they lived. Out of a total of 121 male respondents, 102 (about 84%) respondents owned houses, while only 34 (about 58%) of female respondents owned houses they were living out of total of 59 female respondents. Many female household heads (about 42%) lived in the houses of their father, mother or other relatives/friends. No female respondent had rented a house. In contrast, only 18 male respondents (about 15%) lived in the house of their father, mother or other relatives/friends. Only one male respondent (about 1%) was living in a rented house. This shows that house renting is not very common in Nyangao village and therefore it can be regarded as an unimportant investment.

Figure 4 : Ownership of Houses according to Gender



8.6.2 Types of Toilets

The majority of households surveyed use pit latrines to dispose human excreta, which are either thatch roofed or unroofed; those with corrugated iron sheet indicate relative affluence.

Only a few respondents had pit latrines roofed with corrugated iron sheet. There was no household which had a flush toilet. Some households had no toilet facilities and shared the facility with their neighbors. Pit latrines have multiple purposes for many households, they also use them as bathrooms. This was confirmed in the 2003 male FGD as one old male participant mentioned that:

“ ... Overflowing of latrines is the main problem as we use them as bathrooms as well” (Old Male Respondent, Male FGD).

Most of the pit latrines tend to be located outside the house. In most cases, the pit latrine holes are relatively shallow and are not covered by lids. This allows easy movement of flies from latrines to other places such as kitchen and food stalls and results in communicable and infectious diseases. The village chairman and village secretary reported that, at least the majority of the households have or had one or more of its members who have suffered from diseases which are water-borne, infectious and communicable. This confirms the fact that there is a lack of readily available water, sewage connections, or other systems which dispose human waste in Nyangao village. These, together with the absence of basic measures to prevent disease and provide primary health care, has resulted in many debilitating and easily preventable diseases becoming endemic among household members especially children. These include dysentery, diarrhoea, skin diseases, typhoid and intestinal parasites.

8.7 Marriage in Nyangao Village

Social changes has affected marriage in Nyangao village. Those changes originate from the matrilineal social system, they have some implications for the current marriage patterns in the village. The original form of marriage in this village as described by an old aged male respondent was as follows:

“In our time, a man was obliged to move and join his wife after marriage. They either stayed in the same household as the wife’s parents or the man built a small house beside his in-laws household. The children born in that marriage followed to the wife’s clan.” (Old aged male respondent, In-depth Interview).

The matrilineal social system considers a man as just connected by marriage to his family but he plays little or no role as far as his own children are concerned. Despite the fact that he is the children’s father he is not “directly” related to them. They belongs to another (different) clan. On the women’s side, marriage was considered as bringing in additional unpaid workers into the women’s clan. As argued by the above respondent:

“Men were supposed to work on the farms of their in-laws for indefinite time. All the farm produce were controlled by the in-laws” (Old aged male respondent, In-depth Interviewee)

Weule (1909:186) and Swantz (1985) contended that in the matrilineal social system, men who moved to their in-laws' house lived with them for some years until their own family circumstances necessitated a different arrangement. He devotes all his powers to keep his parent-in-law's establishment. He sees to the planting of the crops, he breaks up new ground, in short he renders every possible service and anticipates every wish of his parents in law.

This study also observed that the matrilineal social system in the past didn't have a provision where parents felt obliged to allocate farm holdings to male children when they were about to marry. The current trend as practiced by the majority is that, once a man marries, he takes a woman away from her parents, that is, a woman follows the man. A man therefore is expected to get a plot of land for farming activities from his own parents (not the brides' parents), his family, his clan and /or purchase a farm with his own money.

The female FGD informs that the prevailing situation is that, a man can divorce and chase the wife out of his house and marry another woman, since a woman is expected to be taken away from her original family through marriage. For a woman to be divorced it is like to be returned back to her parents. Men who tend to divorce more than twice are not only seen by women as unreliable, but also by their fellow men. One male respondent had the following to say in support of this:

“I can't allow my daughter to marry a man who always divorces. He can probably use my daughter and return her back. I would rather give my daughter to a polygamist who seems to be more reliable than a man who always divorces women ...” (A male middle-aged respondent, male FGD)

Young and middle aged respondents support the current change from matrilineal to patrilineal system. The 2003 male FGDs reported that in past the original form of matrilineal social system placed them in a disadvantaged position as then they did not have land rights and as a matter of fact they were exploited. It was disadvantageous if a family had only male children. Before one decided to marry, he was supposed to work for his family's farms together with his brother's in law if he had married sisters. Once he married, he transferred his labour power and worked on the farms of his parents in law; all farm products were then controlled by his parents in law. A majority of young and middle aged respondents considered this as oppressive because men did not benefit as long as they did not have female members in their lineage, that is, sisters. Young and middle-aged participants clearly preferred the current marriage practice. Under the current trend once a man is about to marry, his own parents

allocate him a farm, i.e. family or clan and if that is not the case he is obliged to purchase land. The acquired or purchased farm holding not only serves as a source of livelihood but also it enables him to practice full control of both the farm holding and its products, which is among the important features of the patrilineal social system.

8.7.1 Respondents Marital Status by Age

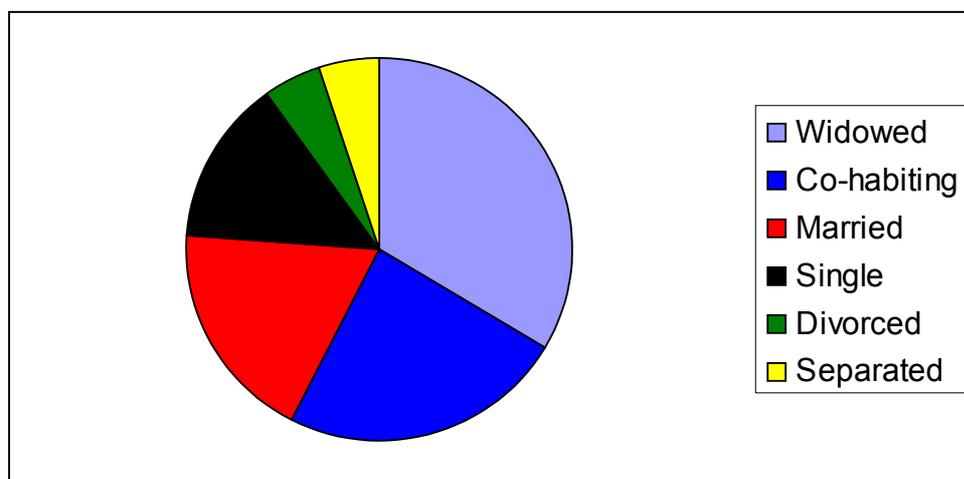
97 respondents (about 54% of all respondents) were married. The majority, that is, 54 (about 56%) of all married respondents were in the age group of 36-55 years (Middle age group). Another 15 (about 15%) were in the age group of 18-35 years (young age group). A total of 37 respondents, about 21% of all respondents were co-habiting. A majority of them, 26 (about 70%) belonged to the age group of 18-35 years. 22 respondents (about 12% of all respondents) were widowed and a majority of them (about 68%) belonged to the age group of 56 and above (Old age group). There were 12 single respondents of which the majority i.e. nine respondents (75%) belong to 18- 35 years age group. Six respondents (3% of total respondents) were separated, of which four were in the age group of 56 and above. Another six respondents (3% of total respondents) were divorced.

Table 10 : Respondents Marital Status by Age.

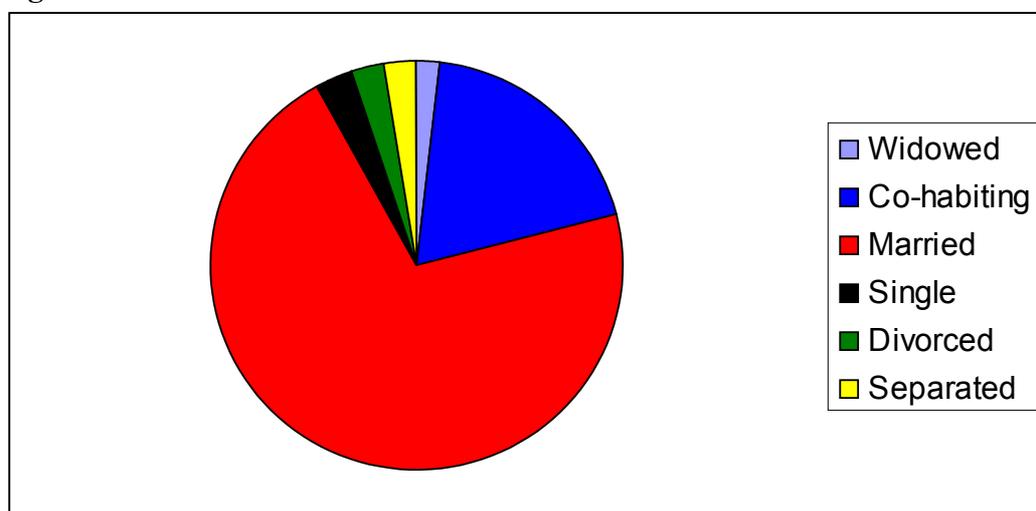
Age group	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
18 – 35 Yrs	9 (75%)	15 (15%)	26 (70%)	2 (33%)	2 (33%)	1 (5%)
36 – 55 Yrs	-	54 (56%)	6 (16%)	-	2 (33%)	6 (27%)
56 – Above	3 (25%)	28 (29%)	5 (14%)	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	15 (68%)
Total	12 (7%)	97 (54%)	37 (21%)	6 (3%)	6 (3%)	22 (12%)

8.7.2 Respondents Marital Status by Gender

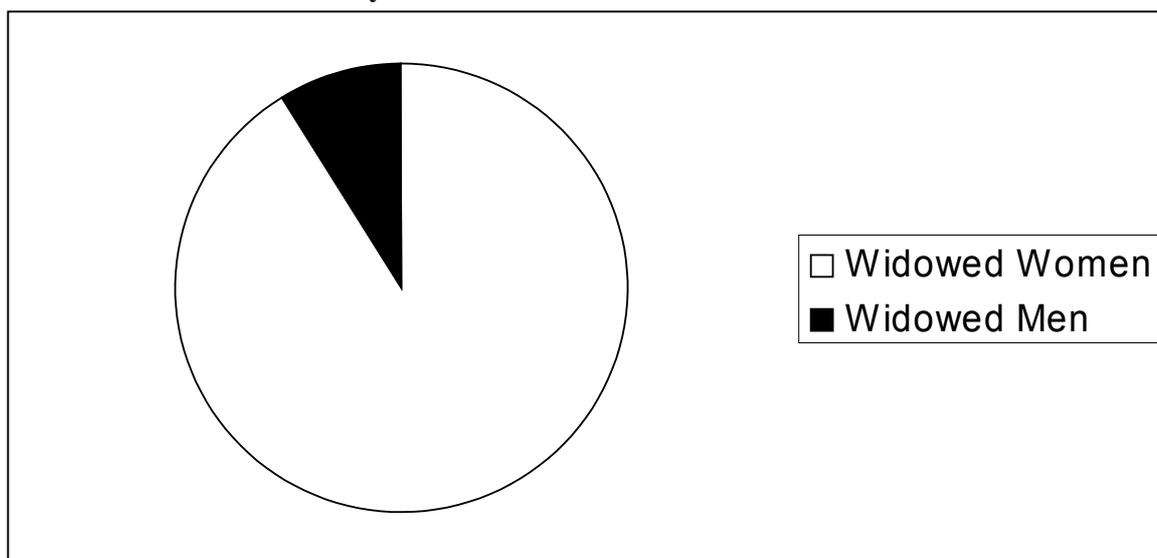
Data from the village's authority office shows that in Nyangao village about 20% of all households were headed by women. Out of 180 households surveyed, 59 households about 33% were headed by women; of which a majority i.e. 20 women (about 34%) were widowed, 14 women (24%) were co-habiting, 11 women (19%) were married, eight women (14%) were single, three women (5%) were divorced, and three (5%) were separated.

Figure 5 : Female Marital Status

Of the 121 (67%) male-headed households, the distribution was as follows: 86 (71%) were married, 23 (19%) were co-habiting, four (3%) were single, three (2.5%) were separated, three (2.5%) were divorced, and two (2%) were widowed

Figure 6 : Male Marital Status

A total of 22 households (12% of all households) were headed by widowed men and women. In comparison, households headed by widowed women were more, i.e. 20 households (about 91% of all widowed households) than those headed by widowed men, i.e. only two households (about 9% of all widowed households)

Figure 7 : Widowed Households by Gender

This can be explained by the fact that men usually re-marry soon after divorce or after the death of their wives. On the other hand, women do not tend to re-marry soon after the death of their husbands and they take relatively longer periods of time to re-marry than men. Data from the FGD indicated an increasing number of female widows who are refusing to re-marry, because they think that they could get care from their brothers and their grown up male children. If such care can be obtained elsewhere, there is no need for them to re-marry. A young female widow had the following to say:

“I don’t want to marry again because after the death of my husband and my parents I now live with my young brothers. I also need my own freedom to decide and do whatever I want.” (A Young Female Respondent, Female FGD).

HIV/AIDS has also been cited as a reason for women refusing to re-marry, as contended by a middle aged Female widow:

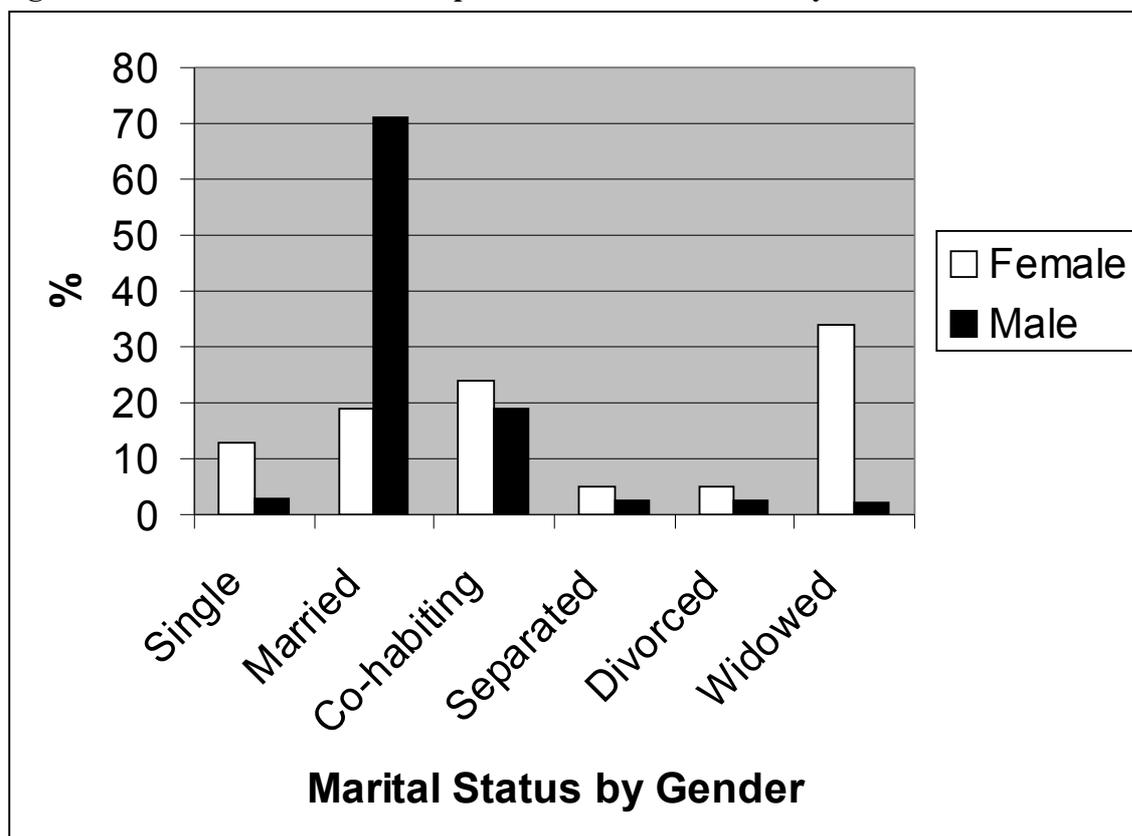
“I really want to re-marry but I always hesitate to do so because I fear to be infected with HIV/AIDS...I know men here cheat a lot, I don’t want to take a risk” (Middle Aged Female Respondent, Female FGD).

Sharing the same sentiments on the HIV/AIDS issue a young woman had the following to comment:

“Even if some widowed women may want to re-marry, people may fear them considering the disease which caused the death of their previous husband especially if the cause wasn’t well established or people suspect it was related to symptoms of HIV ” (A Young Female Respondent, Female FGD)

From the sample out of total 97 married respondents (54% of all respondents), married male account for 86 respondents (about 71% of all male respondents) compared to only 11 households (about 19% of female respondents) headed by married women. Figure 8 presents respondents marital status by gender.

Figure 8 : Distribution of the Respondents Marital Status by Gender



The noticeable characteristics of female-headed households in the study area were high levels of poverty. It has been reported that after the death of husband and/or divorce, most women in Nyangao tend to drift into a fragile situation where the family land is taken away or they are given a small farm to till as narrated by an elderly widow during the in-depth interview, she had the following to say:

“We never had our own farm. All these years we have been cultivating the farm of my husband’s family. My husband’s brothers were not living here. When my husband died, his brothers told me I could continue to live in our house as long as I do not bring another man in their late brother’s house. They also told me to find another farm because the one we were cultivating was given to their elder brother who was returning to the village. I asked them for a piece of land and they gave me a small portion of farm, which does not suffice for my family’s needs. I have two children and other three dependents” (A Middle Aged Female Widow, In-depth Interview)

Most widowed women do not own enough land to generate enough income. Nzioki (2001) noted that women's vulnerability becomes most exposed during times of crisis, that is, when the household breaks up either due to marital conflict leading to divorce or separation, or upon the death of the husband. The findings in this study also concur with those of Folbre (1991), which suggests that female headed-households are poorer than male-headed households. Folbre (1991) found that divorced, widowed and single women in South Africa and Nigeria were particularly vulnerable to poverty due to lack of land and resources. Narayan *et al.*, (2000) conducted a poverty study in 35 villages in Kenya among female-headed households, the research was commissioned by the World Bank. Narayan's research reported a high percentage of poverty in 35 villages in Kenya among the female-headed households. 44% of the female-headed households interviewed were poorer than male-headed households, which were only 21%. The study further observed that 80% of all female-headed households were either categorized as poor or very poor (Narayan *et al.* 2000).

8.7.3 Girl's early marriages and High number of Teenage Pregnancies in Nyangao

The FGD members expressed that while married women have a respected status in society single women are normally considered to lack such a status. Girls tend to marry soon after they finish primary education. On the other hand, it has been reported that, boys tend to finish their primary education and wait a little longer for their marriage until they are able to earn some regular income or establish their own farms.

Major reasons mentioned during the FGDs and interviews conducted about girls' earlier commitment in marriages were referring to economic difficulties. The study noted that some girls were encouraged by their parents to marry early so as to minimize the use of family resources. In addition, parents encourage their daughters to marry because they expect to get money from bride wealth which will help them to meet other basic needs. An interview with a 20 years young female respondent revealed that she was encouraged by her single mother to marry at the age of 14 years. She married a polygamist who was 40 years, almost three times her age. She elaborated that her mother failed to meet some of her basic needs and those of her younger sisters. She further narrated that part of the money obtained from her bride wealth went to her mother and the remaining to her maternal uncles. All females and males interviewed regarded payments of a bride wealth as a good practice.

Parents allow their young daughters to marry at an early age because they want to get rid of the burden of caring for their girls who are considered to be old enough to have their own houses. Poor parents would allow their daughters to marry even without receiving bride wealth in advance. A middle aged male respondent testified this during the male FGD, he said:

“As soon as a girl reaches puberty she is ready to be a mother. At that stage it is better to let her go to a husband, rather than wait for a shame of out of marriage pregnancies.” (Middle aged male respondent, Male FGD).

An old male respondent in an in-depth interview verified this:

“As far as I am concerned, I have no problem with bride wealth. I have two wives and eleven children, seven children from my senior wife and four from the junior wife who is also expecting any time. Last year a young man from Nanganga proposed to marry my daughter but he had not raised enough money to pay for the bride wealth. He sent his messenger *mshenga* to ask me if I can agree to receive the bride wealth in instalments. I had no objection and I told him if he was ready to marry, he could take his wife even if he did not have the whole sum. He came to take her (my daughter) as his wife. Till today, I have not received the whole amount of bride wealth but he has helped me provide basic care for my daughter and of course I have helped him to get a good wife. The (maternal uncles) brothers of my wife did not believe me that I let the daughter go without receiving full bride wealth. They are now spreading rumours that I have taken the bride wealth alone but none of them has ever helped me to bring up my children.” (Male Respondent, Old aged, In-depth Interview)

Therefore, it can be concluded that girls’ early marriages are prompted not only by the need of parents to get bride wealth, but also as an intentional strategy to reduce the number of household dependents.

Society’s cultural norms and practices were also reported as contributing factors for teenage pregnancies. Culturally in Nyangao village, both boys and girls are obliged to undergo initiation rites in order to be accepted as true members of their society. In the past girls as soon as they reached puberty were taken into groups to undergo initiation rites *Unyago*. The major contents of the *Unyago* sessions taught girls traditional role of women, good manners, care for themselves as women and that of sexual satisfaction to their men, in this case, their husband to be. As soon as they come out from the *Unyago* sessions, they immediately start to practice what they have been taught in theory. Most of them end up in early-unwanted pregnancies and therefore are forced to move to the man responsible, or run away from home for fear of the parents. As one young girl clearly expressed during an informal discussion:

“I attended *‘unyago’* sessions. It is true that we have been taught many things including how to offer sexual satisfaction to men. A couple of months later I tried with my boy friend because he assured me I would not get pregnant. He lied to me because I fell into a trap and got pregnant. I feared my parent’s reactions, so I decided to move and stay with him, but he already had a wife. I could not get along with his wife so I moved and now I stay on my own. We are still in touch and he sometimes helps me, I am like his second wife although that is not official. Now I have a second child with him.” (An 18 years old young girl, Informal Discussion)

Those findings concur with the government’s statistics that Lindi region is reported to be one of the leading regions for female school drop-outs due to early pregnancies. Early sexual practices increase the incidence of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

8.8 Ritual and Society

In Nyangao village, both traditional rites for boys and girls are still performed¹. The introduction of UPE, Universal Primary Education in 1977 and the threat of imprisonment of parents who took their girls out of school when they reached puberty, led to the initiation rites being performed before the girls started school at seven years of age. Hence, the introduction of early initiation rites in which most youth participated after the introduction of UPE has led to the early practice of sex and has increased teenage pregnancies. Early pregnancy of school girls leads to dismissal from schools and consequently shortens girl’s education. Villagers were aware that early sexual practice might increase the risk of acquiring HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

In Nyangao village, it is believed that both girls and boys after passing through circumcision and initiation rites are considered as full members of the society. A Female respondent verified this during the Female FGD. She said:

“Maturity of a person is only considered if he or she passed through circumcision or initiation rites” (Female Middle-aged participant, Female FGD)

Traditionally in this village in order for a girl to get married, she must go through initiation rites. The community believed that an initiated girl has a sexual life and know her duties both as a wife and as a mother.

¹ See also Shuma 1994:124 on South-east Tanzania

8.8.1 Circumcision and Initiation Rites “*Jando na Unyago*” Ceremonies

Circumcision and initiation rites “*Jando na Unyago*” are the big ceremonies in the village. This is a process through which boys and girls of a maximum of 14 years of age are initiated to local cultural norms. Normally such ceremonies involve eating and drinking and are well attended by relatives and other villagers from Nyangao as well as neighbouring villages. *Jando na Unyango* activities are normally held during the dry season that is from July through September when transport services are good. All clan members residing in Nyangao or a neighbouring village participate in these ceremonies. People normally stay about a week or longer as they participate in the pre-ceremony preparations as well as in the actual event. These ceremonies seem to be an event which pulls a big crowd together where social networks and friendships are also established. The initiated children acquire additional knowledge to formal education, and establish friendships amongst themselves. Such relationships may become a life long and may as well constitute a life bond.

Despite of the advantages of creating social networks, these ceremonies costs a lot of money, parents may have to set aside a lot of food and money for the occasion and care for the visiting relatives. The respondents reported that in these days *Jando na Unyago* ceremonies are considered to carry a lot of disadvantages as observed by a middle aged respondent:

“*Jando na Unyago* may exhaust all the food in the family because nowadays people are not contributing as they used to do in the past. (Middle aged Male Respondent, Male FGD).

In the past, the celebrations were meant to clear food stocks from the previous harvest. Over the last few years changes have been introduced to reflect changing circumstances. One is that some parents take their boys to hospital where they are circumcised and then keep them at home instead of staying with others. Each household celebrates and initiates on its own.

Movement for cultural practices is significant in Lindi. Among the activities involving notable flows of people are initiation ceremonies for children, which constitute the most important event for many families and a priority investment area for most parents in both rural and urban settlements. *Manyago*, the local name for the ceremonies, is a process through which boys and girls of between seven and 14 years of age are initiated to local cultural norms. A well financed and well performed *manyago*, with plenty of food and drink, and well attended by relatives and other villagers, raises the social status of the parents.

As *manyago* is a clan activity, it has to be attended by all relatives living in or outside the village. To facilitate this, ceremonies are held during the dry season when transport services are good. Relatives staying in distant places like Dar es Salaam can reach Lindi and join the ceremonies. People in the three settlements studied believe that a clan member who does not participate in clan ceremonies may lose credibility and respect within the clan and in the whole community. Not participating in *manyago* is as serious as not attending the burial ceremony of a relative, which is the greatest cultural crime in most tribes in Tanzania. Because of this, flows of people to Lindi during the dry season include government officials, members of parliament and others who would not wish to lower their credibility in the community. For visiting relatives, coming home during the dry season after harvest is also beneficial because villagers have money earned from the sale of crops and will not be demanding financial help from the visitors. There is also food, which can meet the needs of the ceremony and be given as presents to visitors to take back. A visiting relative normally stays a week or longer, and has to participate in the pre-ceremony preparations as well as the actual event.

Mechanisms used by the community to ensure participation of clan members and relatives in celebrations include marginalisation, public humiliation and lack of support when it is the offender's turn to host the ceremony. Through such sanctions relatives and friends are mobilised to join others in the village and sustain a formalised network of social relations which are also used in different occasions, for instance supporting clan members during difficult periods such as food shortages or when there is a sick person in the family.

Ceremonies also provide traders with business opportunities. Different types of goods, particularly local brew, cooked food, second-hand clothes and other commodities are sold. It is therefore a market as well as a social gathering, which provides people with opportunities to exchange information on marketing of agricultural products, for example, and locations where prices are better than those offered in the village. With the exception of few public meetings, *manyago* seems to be an event which pulls a big crowd together and where social networks and friendships are established, which can lead to business partnerships or marriages. The children being initiated acquire additional knowledge to formal education, and establish friendships among the group who were initiated at the same ceremony. In Lindi such relationships are a life bond. These groupings also exist in other tribes in Tanzania, like the *Maasai* and are referred to as *rika*. Parents and relatives benefit from increased social status and the establishment of social networks. According to respondents from Nachingwea, parents who perform ceremonies together become close friends and an essential part of social networks which provide crucial support in times of difficulty. Thus *manyago* benefit different people in the community in a variety of ways.

Source: Lerise et. al. 2001 : 21-22

Box 1 : A Typical Initiation Ceremony

8.9 Social System Changes

The changes in the matrilineal social system can be traced back to the introduction of foreign religious ideologies (Wembah-Rashid 1998). Christianity through their Missionaries came from countries where matrilineality was unknown. The male authority in Christianity was strengthened and therefore the church rule contributed to the disappearance of the original form of the system. In addition, the introduction of early Islam prevented the participation of women in public because of the Muslim religion's tendency to keep women out of the public eye (Weule 1909).

Other factors, which were vital in influencing social system dynamics were development and changes in production pattern. For instance, the villagization programmes. The re-division of land after the move to concentrated villages meant that the land was registered in the name of the head of the household, not individually to different household members. This meant that women received land in their name only if they were heads of households. Therefore, land was given to men who were considered as heads of households. However, the Nyangao village Chairman said that un-married women (about 20% in Nyangao village) who happened to be heads of their respective households enjoyed the allocation of land from the village government after the introduction of the villagization programme.

8.10 Religious Status of the Respondents

According to the records of the village statistics, there were 2035 Christians, 1862 Muslims and 51 people belonging to other faiths. From these statistics data it can be concluded that the majority of residents in Nyangao village are Christians. Other studies in south-east Tanzania suggested that the region is said to have more Muslim followers than Christians, as Wembah-Rashid (1998) reports:

“Although I do not have statistics to support the following statement, it is my impression that south-eastern Tanzania today has more Muslim followers or people who lead an “Islamic way of life” than Christians and traditionalists.” (Wembah- Rashid 1998: 49-50)

Out of a total number of 180 respondents, 117 (65%) were Muslim, 59 (33%) were Christians (Catholics) and the remaining 4 (2%) were fundamentalists Christians “*walokole*” - “born again” Christians. 62 respondents (64%) out of 97 married respondents were married under Muslim faith, while 27 respondents (28%) were married under Christian faith, and the remaining 8 (8%) were married under customary principles. Customary ceremonies, which declare couples as married, are usually performed before one goes for official Christian or

Muslim marriage ceremonies. Such marriages are preferred when marrying partners belong to different religions or different Christian denominations and are not ready to compromise. A single young female respondent contended this:

“Marriages are not stable. For instance, I am a Roman Catholic and have a Muslim fiancé but if we marry, I would prefer a customary marriage. I am not going to change my religion. What if the marriage is not going to work out?”
(A young single Female respondent, In-depth Discussion)

Marriage is usually understood as a male-female relationship designed to produce children and successfully socialize them. In Nyangao village, some form of polygamy, that is having more than one wife is allowed. This is due to the Islamic influence and the fact that children are a future source of agricultural labor. However, the practice is decreasing in popularity, in part because of the influence of Christianity which prohibits polygamy and considers marriage as a life-long covenant between God, a man and a woman. The expenses of maintaining several households have also reduced polygamous marriages.

There are three types of marriages in Nyangao village. An arranged marriage is a marriage that is at some level arranged by someone other than those being married and is usually used to describe a marriage which involves the parents of the married couple. A forced marriage is a marriage where by the parents choose the child's future spouse with little or no input from the child. In most cases, the marriage takes place even when there are objections from the child; in this type of marriage the parents tend to override the child's objections. Motivating factors for a forced marriage tend to be social or economic, i.e., the interests of the family or community that are served by the marriage are seen as paramount, and the will of the individual is rendered insignificant. The third type of marriage is love marriage, where people are free to find a mate on their own and present them to their parents. The parents then tend to take over and handle the logistical aspects of the marriage.

Logistically, the man's side writes a marriage proposal letter to the parents of the woman, and inside the letter they put some money. The amount attached in the marriage proposal letter ranges from Tshs 1000 (about 1 USD) to Tsh 7000 (about 7 USD). If the letter doesn't contain money, it is normally returned back and termed as unreadable, i.e. it can not be read without money. The letter is normally delivered to the woman's parents by a messenger “*mshenga*” chosen from the man's side.

The messenger establishes communication link between the two parties, i.e. the man and the woman. After the woman's parents read the letter, they arrange a date to meet the man and his parents/ relatives. In the first meeting (if the man has been accepted by the woman's parents) the man may be asked to set a date for the payment of bride wealth. On the day of

paying the bride wealth, the man is accompanied by his parents and other close family members and friends. Bride wealth ranges from Tshs 2000 (about 2 USD) to Tshs 30,000 (about 30 USD). After the bride wealth has been paid, the woman (expected bride) is taken by her relatives, mostly old and married women, and they teach her the techniques of handling her husband to be, taking care of her house and children.

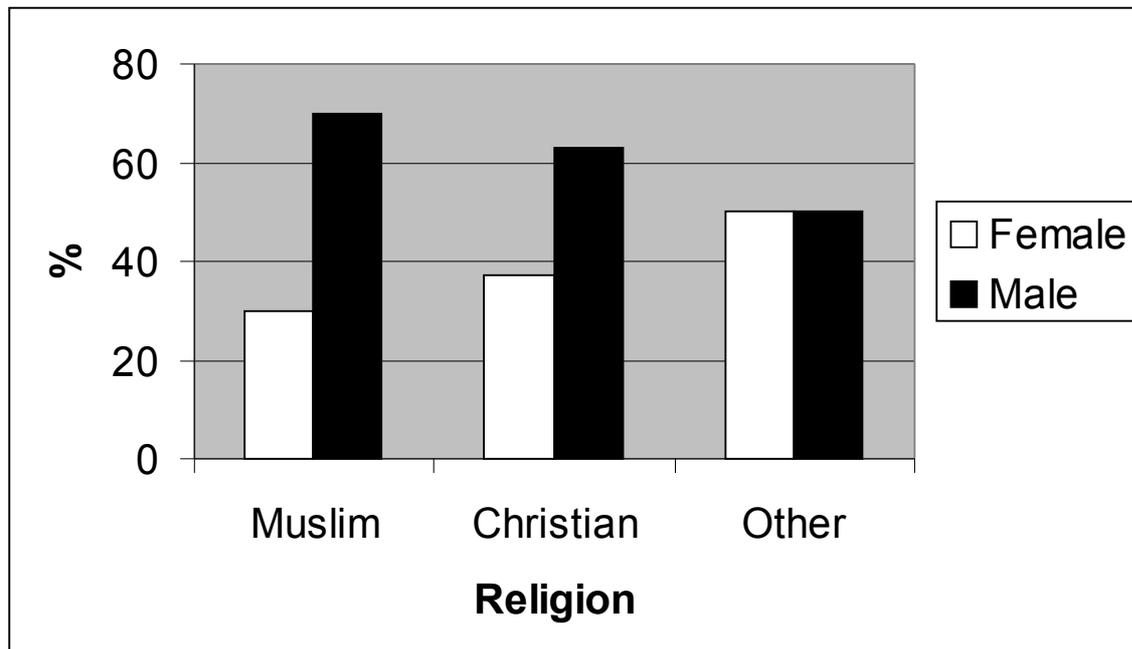
The ceremony in which a marriage is enacted and announced to the community is called "*harusi*". In Islamic marriages, apart from paying the bride wealth, the bride groom must pay about Tshs 2000 (about 2 USD) to the Sheikh who will administer their marriage. Islamic marriages are normally done at home. On the other hand, Christian marriages are administered by the priest or the minister in church. The ceremonies follow afterwards, this involves verbal invitation extended to the relatives and most of the villagers. The respondents reported that all villagers in Nyangao village can attend the ceremonies whenever it is convenient to them even when they are not formally invited. As in the case of a funeral ceremony, there are no restrictions on attending a wedding.

The Christian marriage normally end at the death of one of the partners. This allows the other partner to marry again. In case of Islamic marriages, officially the marriage can end or be terminated through a divorce.

8.10.1 Gender and Religious Characteristics of the Respondents

Of the 180 household heads interviewed, 117 respondents (65% of all respondents) were Muslim, and 59 (about 33%) were Christians. 4 respondents (about 2%) belonged to other religions. Of the 117 Muslim heads of households, 82 respondents (about 70%) were males while 35 respondents (about 30%) were females. There were 22 (about 37%) Christian (Catholics) female heads of households and 37 (63%) Christian male heads of households. Only four respondents (50%) were born again Christians "*walokole*", two males and two female. The FGDs revealed that females in the village, both married and un-married, comprise a bigger number of born again Christians than their male counterparts. The fundamentalist Christian movement "*walokole*" has attracted more women than men and plays a role to pacify them in their struggle to reduce poverty.

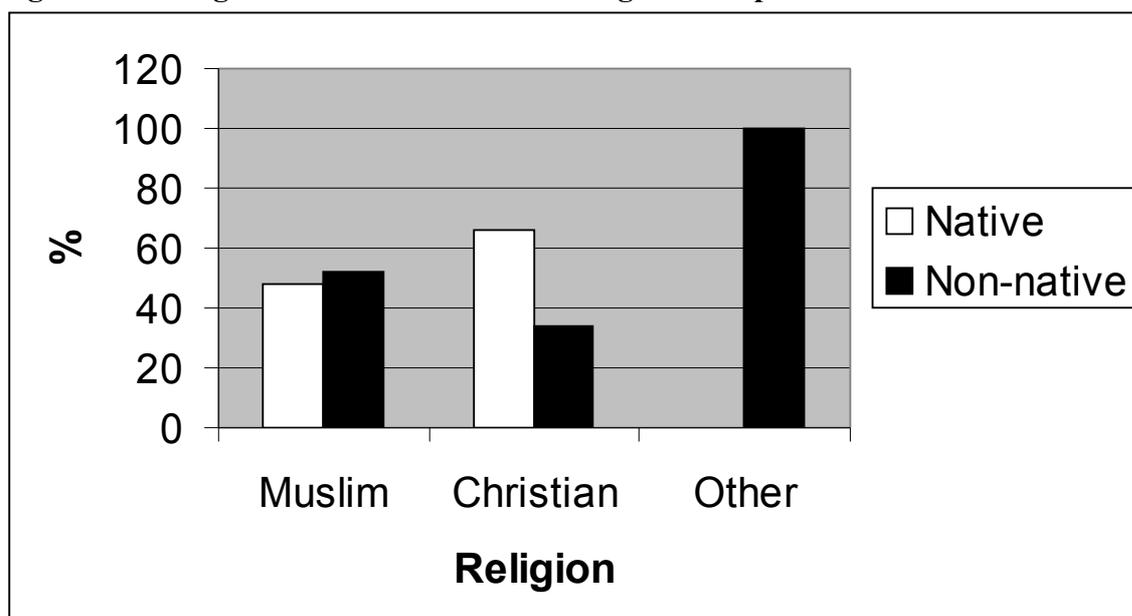
Figure 9 : Gender and Religious Characteristics of the Respondents



8.10.2 Religious Characteristics and the Origin of Respondents

56 (about 48%) Muslim respondents were natives of Nyangao. Another 61 (52%) were migrants who have settled in Nyangao. Likewise, 39 (66%) Christians were originally born and raised in the village (natives) compared to 20 respondents (34%) who were migrants. All born again Christians *walokole* were immigrants in Nyangao village.

Figure 10 : Religious Characteristics and Origin of Respondents



8.11 Belief Systems: Witchcraft in Nyangao Village

Witchcraft as a belief system was also observed in Nyangao village, this is considered as another social factor adding to poverty in the village. People believe that witchcraft is a constant threat to the wellbeing. Witchcraft beliefs and preoccupation with possible bewitchment or accusation of witchcraft shape and condition social interaction in this village. Most people in this village believe that the ‘successful’ are particular targets to be bewitched, this shows a connection between success and witchcraft. Most people in this village associate prosperity with danger, as it provokes envy/jealousy of the less successful, who then resort to witchcraft to redress the imbalance. Ashforth (2000) narrated the same trend about witchcraft in Soweto, South- Africa:

“...beneath the appearance of love and togetherness” lay “a reality of jealousy and hatred that must be guarded against at all times” (Ashforth 2000:175).

The author further observed that:

“...people live with “a lively sense of the potential of others to cause harm” and “a general awareness that this must be guarded against” (ibid.:207).

Witch craft beliefs or accusation result in people living in fear and even mistrust among neighbours, relatives, or even people they otherwise refer to as friends. Lack of trust can manifest itself in many ways such as limited mutual assistance. People may fear to ask a neighbour or a relative for assistance when faced with crises, such as shortage of food, cash or other necessities because they are concerned with the possibility of being bewitched. In this case, people’s ability to use trust-based social networks to construct and maintain livelihoods is weakened by belief in witchcraft.

During the household interviews, a majority of the respondents associated high under five mortality rates (U5IMR) among children with witchcraft; only a few associated death with medical causes like diarrhoea, fever, pneumonia and malaria. An elderly female respondent while narrating the causes of deaths of her two children openly said that her children’s death was caused by witchcraft. Even I was advised to obtain a witch doctor service to make my stay in the village safe.

Despite witchcraft beliefs in Nyangao village and the role it plays in stifling trust, there are instances when a sense of community is clearly seen. In events such as weddings, bereavement and illness, high levels of cooperation is shown. In these instances villagers seem to temporarily suspend their mutual suspicion and fear, and display cohesion.

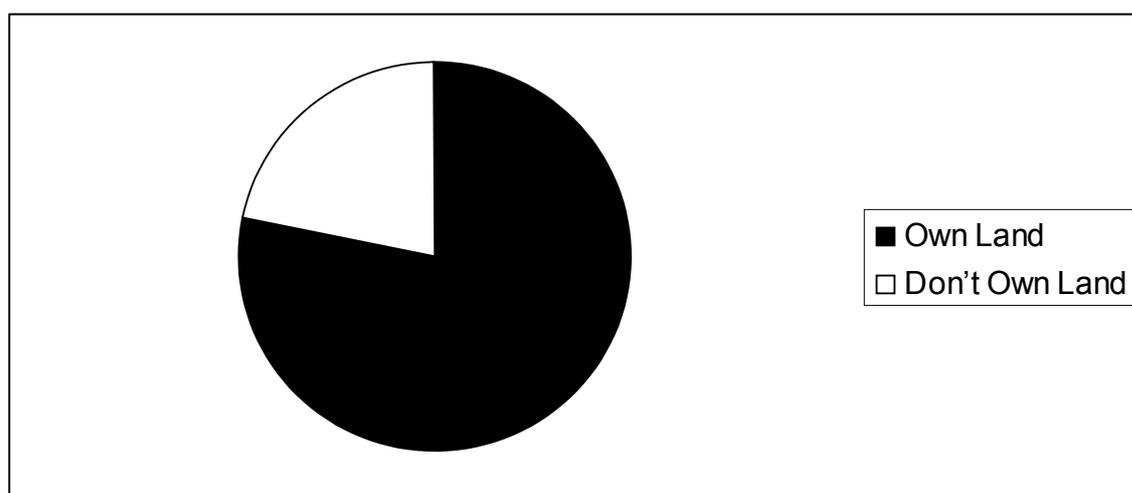
8.12 Education status of the respondents & Awareness of Land Matters

The extent to which respondents were formally educated influenced their awareness of land issues. This study proved a direct link between the education of respondents and their level of awareness on land issues. Most of the illiterate women for example, did not know how to go about fighting for their rights as far as land matters are concerned even where supportive policies and laws are in place because they don't know about the solutions.

Women in Nyangao village had a lower education level than men. The number of women with no formal education was higher than that of men in the sample. The same observation was made for primary and secondary education where more men compared with women had attained that education level. Mukangara (1995) found that women in Tanzania did not have equal access to education facilities like their male counterparts. Hence, there is gender disparity as far as education in Tanzania is concerned. This study has established that early marriages among girls and high levels of teenage pregnancies, coupled with domestic responsibilities were likely to limit girl's access to education compared with their male counterparts.

The majority of respondents, i.e. 141 (about 78%) owned land; in comparison, only 39 respondents (about 22%) did not own land.

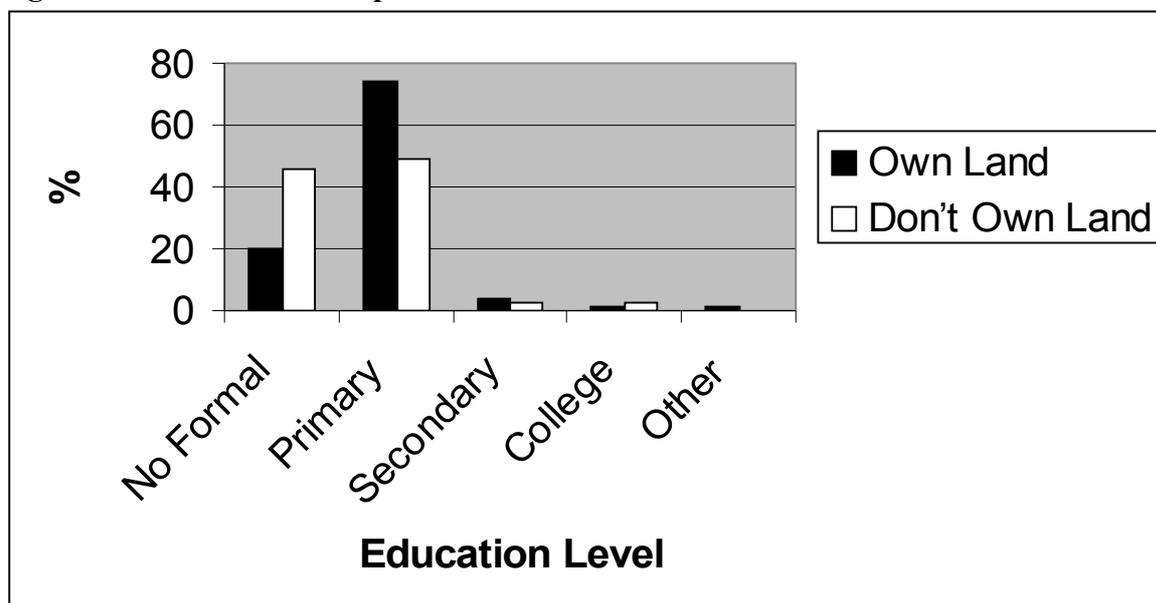
Figure 11 : Ownership of Land



The study established a relationship between land ownership and the level of education of the respondents. A significant number of respondents with primary education and secondary education owned land. Out of those land owners, the majority, that is, 104 respondents (about 74%) attained primary education, while 29 respondents (about 20%) had no formal education.

Those who did not own land comprised 18 respondents (46%) with no formal education and 19 respondents (49%) with primary education.

Figure 12 : Land Ownership in relation to Education Level



8.12.1 Respondents Education Background According to Age

Of the 180 respondents interviewed, 123 (68%) were primary school leavers; only seven respondents (4%) had secondary education, while 47 respondents (26%) had no formal education. Most young and middle-aged respondents attended primary education; this shows respondents educational background also varies by age. Among respondents with no formal education, 20 (43%) were from the old age group whereas only 9 (19%) were youth (18-35 years). This can be explained by the fact that the policy of compulsory formal education did not exist when respondents in the old age group were young, whereas for the contemporary youth, it is compulsory to attend primary education.

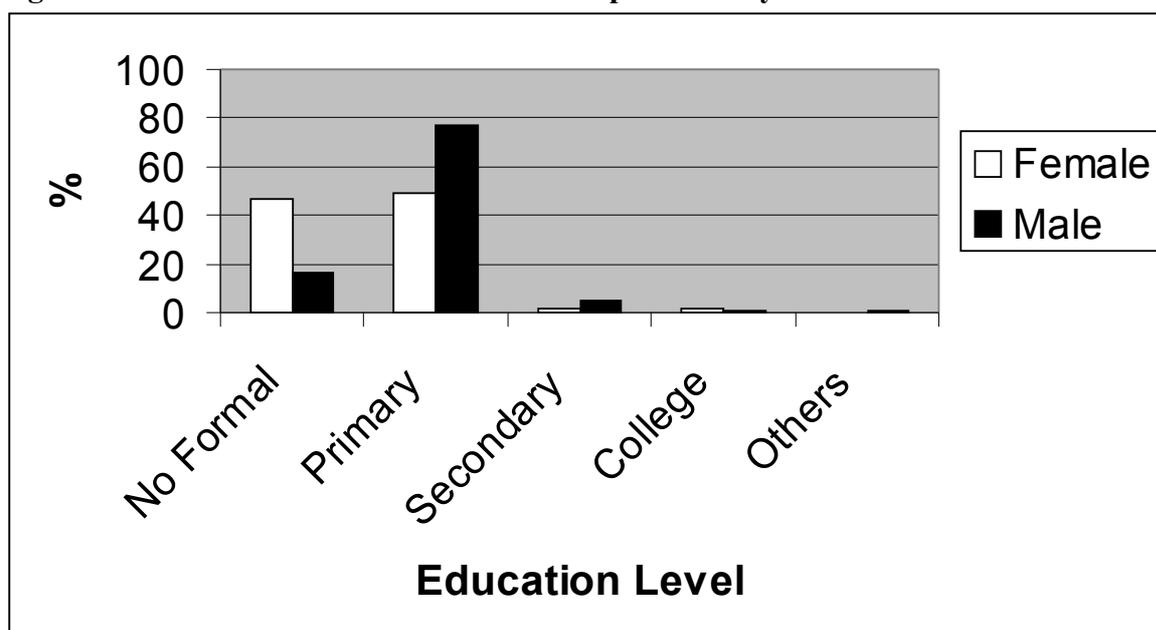
Table 11 : Respondents Educational Background by Age

Age Group	No Formal Education	Primary Education	Secondary Education	College Education	Others Madrassa
18-35 Yrs	9 (19%)	42 (34%)	3 (43%)	1 (50%)	-
36-55 Yrs	18 (38%)	48 (39%)	2 (28.5%)	-	-
55- Above	20 (43%)	33 (27%)	2 (28.5%)	1 (50%)	1 (100%)
Total	47 (26%)	123 (68%)	7 (4%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)

8.12.2 Respondents Education Background According to Gender

28 females (47%) out of 59 female respondents had no formal education as compared to only 19 males (16%) out of 121 male respondents. This shows that illiteracy levels were higher among females than among males. 29 females (49%) compared to 94 males (77%) had primary education. As for secondary education, only one female respondent (2%) out of a total of 59 female respondents reached this level, compared to 6 males (5%) out of total of 121 male respondents. Education background of respondents by gender reflects the tendency of women in Nyangao village to have lower education level than men. In addition, this is a reflection of the country's situation as far as formal education is concerned. Gender disparity in education is portrayed in Figure 13 below, which shows education status of respondents by gender.

Figure 13 : Education Characteristics of Respondents by Gender



Social and cultural factors play a key role in determining female participation in education: Early marriages, pregnancies and domestic responsibilities, notably fetching water and fuel wood collection are among the factors limiting girls access to schooling.

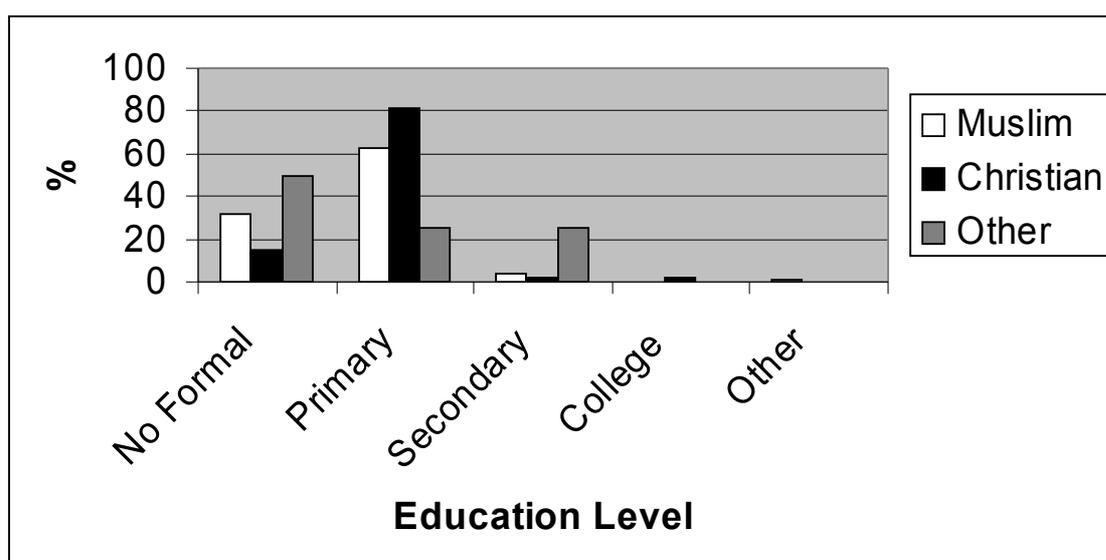
Higher levels of education are positively correlated with people receiving relevant information about land issues. Literacy affects access to legal materials and other related materials to address poverty. However, from the findings it is evident that the higher the level

of education the less likely it is for men or women to be full time residents of this village practising farming activities as they migrate to cities in search of office jobs.

8.12.3 Respondents Education Background According to Religion

During the household survey, it was found that more Muslim respondents were illiterate than their Christian counterpart. Of the 117 Muslim respondents, 37 respondents (32%) had no formal education. This was much higher when compared to only 9 Christian (Catholic) respondents (15%) out of total 59 Christian respondents. 74 (63%) Muslim respondents had primary education compared to 48 (81%) Christians (Catholic). In addition, 5 Muslim respondents (4%) had secondary education, while only one Christian (Catholic) respondent (2%) reached this level.

Figure 14 : Education Background According to Religion



A significant number of Muslim illiterates in Nyangao village can partly be explained due to historical reasons. During the colonial times modern education was first provided by the missionaries who came to Tanzania (then Tanganyika). Both the Roman Catholics and Protestants established primary schools, secondary schools and agricultural colleges in many regions including Lindi. All the students in those missionary schools were obliged to follow the Christian belief and principles. Therefore, some Muslims converted to Christianity to receive education provided at the missionary schools. Those who refused to convert were denied education opportunities. However, there were a few Muslims who did not part with

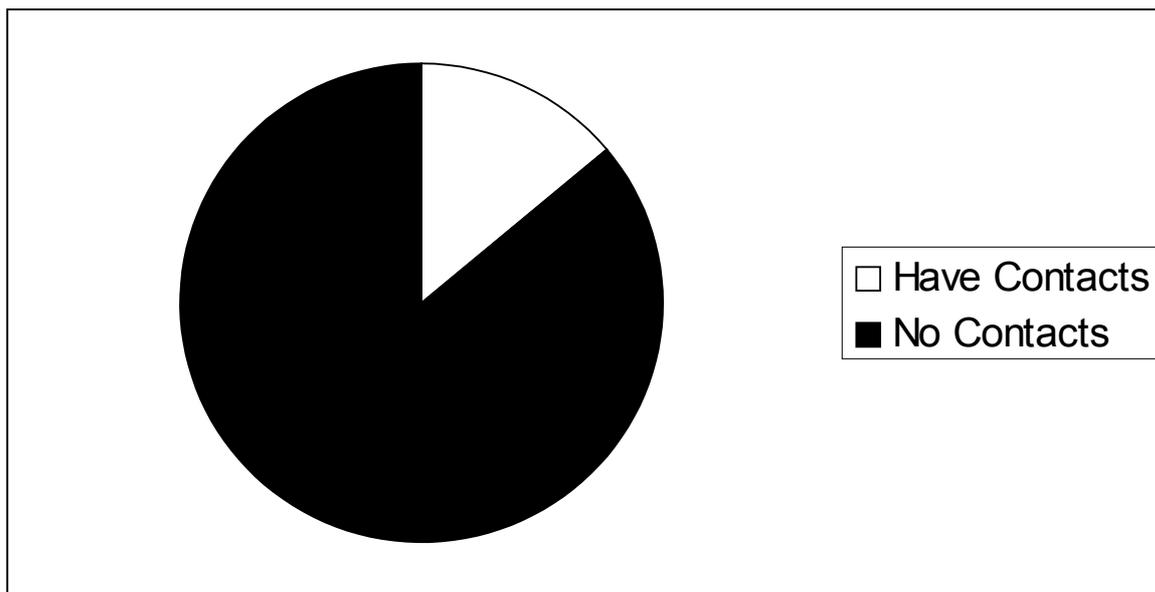
their religion in these schools, but they had to go to the church and study the Bible and be examined on it.

8.13 Urban Migration of Youths

Earlier findings reported that many youths from southeast Tanzania are migrating to big cities soon after the completion of their primary education and in some cases even before they finish their primary education (Liviga & Rugatiri 1998). During a session of oral life histories, an old male respondent said that he had four sons who migrated to Dar es Salaam. He had no idea of what they were doing since they left, for they neither go back to the village nor did they send any form of help to support him.

Of 109 respondents who had close relatives and/or children living in the city and/or out of the village, only 15 respondents (14%) mentioned having contacts. These respondents further admitted that their relatives/children occasionally came back home or send some sort of help. The majority 94 respondents (86%) said they had neither seen them nor received any form of help since they left the village. Some pointed to the fact that life was even more difficult in the areas where their children or relatives are; others held the view that they had simply abandoned them. The informants said that in the past, socio-economic ties had established links between some few urban-based well to do members and poorer members of households. This used to be an important social support and security system.

The high expectation of the majority of the respondents in Nyangao village on this kind of assistance from close relatives or children reflects the nature of extended family relations, which is typical in many African communities.

Figure 15 : Contact to the Migrants

This study observed that many migrations are not motivated by a wish to send money back into the family. As one old aged female respondent said:

“When our children go to town they tend to forget us and our problems, they spend all their money just on themselves and their children and they don’t want even to bring their children here” (Old aged Female Respondent, Mixed FGD)

9.0 CHAPTER NINE: Findings - Local Knowledge of Poverty, Decision Making & Access to Credit in Nyangao Village

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings on local people's perceptions of poverty and their opinions on the improvement of their situation. Patterns of decision making from the household level to the village level are also explored. In addition, ownership, access, control of various resources, gender relationship and division of labour at the household level are analysed. The chapter further explores the composition of village government to understand its gender composition and participation in decision-making at the village level. Finally, the chapter looks at the situation of credit facilities in the village.

9.2 People's Knowledge of Poverty and Priorities in relation to Poverty Reduction

Detailed FGDs discussions, interviews, life histories, observations and participatory methodologies were used to identify villagers who classified themselves and/or by others as poor. This was done by examining criteria that the villagers associate with poverty and wealth. It was necessary to give local people opportunity to describe and analyse their own situation and to see what priorities and choices they had for improving their situation.

Most respondents considered land as a priority in reducing poverty. They associated poverty with a household when the following indicators were present:- lack of farm holdings, lack of food, and engagement in farm wage labour (casual labour). A young male respondent said:

“To own both cash and food crops means relative affluence in this village, that is, one is better off. Through farms, one can get both money and food, which are equally important in our life. Only two villagers in this village as far as I know are managing to live a good life without having farms; they are business people with big capital travelling between Lindi and Mtwara. For the majority of us having big farm holdings means a lot. If you do not have one and you are living here you will end up working on other peoples' farms as a casual labourer and you will die poor” (A male youth Respondent, Mixed FGD)

The respondents considered the major poverty indicator as lack of land (farm). Besides land, the respondents also consider those villagers who sell their labour to other villagers owning relatively big and multiple farm holdings, as poor. Poor housing condition was also considered as an important indicator of poverty. A middle aged female respondent elaborated this point by giving an example. She said:

“ If a person's derives his income by selling his own labour to other farm owners, then that person is poor. However the person may be better off if he

owns his own house even if it is poorly constructed.” (A middle aged female respondent, Mixed FGD)

Among all the factors, land scored the highest rank in improving people’s poverty situation. An elderly male respondent had the following to support:

“If all people in this village could have their own plots of land, and afford agricultural equipment and inputs, such as tractors, pesticides and fertilizers, their farming methods would improve and so would their productivity, and in the end we will not have any poor people in Nyangao village ” (A male Old aged respondent, Mixed FGD).

High living standards are considered in terms of ownership of large farm holdings for both food as well as cash crop production. As elaborated by a female respondent:

“People who have big plots of cashew trees and cassava are the ones who live well. They earn enough money and they can therefore meet all the basic necessities for their families.” (Old age Female respondent, A Mixed FGD)

In addition, families with surplus food are also considered as having good living standards.

The FGDs and in-depth discussions were used to categorize people in Nyangao village into three categories. The first category is the well-off group who own big farms and use them for cash crops (cashew nuts). They cultivate large farms, have good houses built with brick and roofed with corrugated iron sheets, and have properties, such as bicycle and radio. They have one or more members of the family who reside in town and support their families back home in various ways. However, people belonging to this category were very few in Nyangao village.

The second group is the middle category. The majority live in simple but very stable constructed houses built with poles and mud and roofed with either grass or corrugated iron sheets, though mostly very old. Few people in this category live in small houses built of brick and roofed with old corrugated iron sheets or grass. Members of this category own farm holdings between one and three hectares and grow mixed crops, that is, food and cash crops on the same farm. Most people in this category do not hire labour, they depend mainly on family labour for their farming and non-farming activities. Qualitative data shows that most villagers belong to this category. Most of them are engaged in various income-generating activities such as petty trading, to supplement their income from farm activities.

The last category of people are those who belong to the lowest strata. The most important characteristics of this category are: - they generally lack food supply either seasonally or throughout the year; own very small patches of farm land (one hectare or less); some are even landless. The majority are non-married women or female-headed households, youth, and old people. Members of this category normally live in poorly constructed houses,

which often leak during the rainy season. Most of these houses are very unstable, with unstable doors, small or no windows, and hence poor ventilation. Villagers who belong in this category depend on selling their labour, locally known as *kibarua*, that is, casual work on daily basis without contracts. Women as well as men engage in casual labour and earn about Tshs 500 to 1000 a day (about 0,50 USD to 1 USD). The amount obtained from *kibarua* is not enough to sustain life, especially in periods of scarcity when food becomes expensive. In addition, it is not a guarantee that they would find work as casual labourers everyday. During the FGDs, this category was categorized as lacking capital to establish small businesses. A young male respondent argued:

“Some of us do not have money to buy or own farm holdings. Sometimes we just work as casual labourers. We earn very little money which is not adequate to meet our family needs.” (A Youth aged Male Respondent, Male FGD)

Those with optimistic views about their future belonged to the first and middle class category (as explained above). All of them had farms and some were the main cashew producers in Nyangao village. The increase in cashewnut prices is an indicator that in the coming ten years their economic situation will significantly improve because they will have enough money to buy additional farm holdings, fertilizers, and hire tractors. Furthermore, the villagers belonging to this category share a view that Nyangao village is a main link to towns like Mtwara, Lindi and Masasi district township. They see that there is a potential of turning this village into an important business point. The road from Mnazi mmoja, which passes through Nyangao village to Masasi district township, is tarmac and passable throughout the year. One respondent contended that:

“The renovation of the road from Mtwara town to Dar es salaam through Lindi town which passes Mnazi Mmoja at the cross-roads to Mtwara, Lindi and Masasi/Newala through Nyangao can be an indicator of positive future prospects as this will encourage more businessmen to come and purchase our crops. I am optimistic that the completion of the Dar es Salaam - Mtwara road will present many economic opportunities and eventually improve the economic base in this village” (A middle aged respondent, In-depth discussion)

It is the expectation of the respondents that people’s lives will improve through a good road network and the anticipated increase in agricultural production, which will lead to increase in trade activities in Nyangao village.

The second category (the majority) was pessimistic about their future. They hold the view that a change in their situation from poor to high living standards is a day light dream without government intervention in various spheres of their life. It is widely believed that without government intervention nothing can be expected to improve within the next ten years. This group places its hope and seems to depend exclusively on the government to

improve their lives. People who belong to this category were women especially female heads of households, old people, and young landless men. A young female respondent explained:

“As a matter of fact here in Nyangao we are stuck, especially we women, we need government help in order to improve our life situation. Go and tell the government that Nyangao people want credits, fertilizers and tractors in order to improve our life. If the government can support us on all these for at least two years we will then be able to stand on our own feet and in the next ten years this village will have a different story” (A young Female respondent, Female FGD)

This group does not see their life situation as improving at all, instead they feel that they are continuously marginalized and place their hopes on the government in order to improve their lives.

The last category, are those who can be categorized as the poorest. The difference between the second and the third category is that the third category was not clear on what should be done to improve their life situation in the next ten years. Respondents falling in this category were fewer than those in the second category. A middle-aged respondent had the following to say which reflects his confusion:

“I really don’t know what should be done to improve my poverty situation in ten years, let alone the entire village’s life situation. I know I am poor, I know there are many poor families in this village just like me. I do not know how this will come to an end or may be we were born to live like this. I hear people in Dar es Salaam are not poor, they live in multi-storey houses. You can clearly see my situation. I normally work as a casual labourer because I do not have my own farm. I do not have savings. If I or any of my family members get Malaria we are not able to cure it properly because I cannot afford to buy prescribed medicines. I just feel totally confused if you ask me what should be done in the next years to improve my living condition or that of my fellow poor villagers. I cant figure out how my next day will look like and yet you are asking me about ten years to come!” (A male middle-aged respondent, In-depth Discussion)

An elderly widowed female respondent shared the same sentiments during the female FGD:

“I have nothing. I do not understand what it means to have an improved future, throughout my life I have been constantly struggling. I don’t know how my future can improve, and I do not think it will ever improve”(An old female respondent, Female FGD)

9.3 Decision Making at the Household and Village Levels

Participation in decision-making is one of the major aspects in promoting gender equality. This study determines the level of participation by both men and women in decision- making

at the household level. Participation in decision-making was investigated at two different levels: household and village government.

9.3.1 Decision Making at the Household Level

Decision-making starts from the household level. Decision-making is a vital process for women's full participation in the battle against poverty. According to the UNDP's report (1993), village development programmes can only realise their full potential if decision making in resource allocation is equally shared among household members. Thus, at the household level, participation in decision-making is investigated on ownership and control of various family resources, specifically land and family income. Respondents' decisions were made by sharing ideas between the husband and the wife, but with the husband taking the leading role in most cases, especially on major decisions. In the FGDs, it was reported that decisions regarding the type of food crops to be grown were dominated by women. On the other hand, decisions regarding marketing of cash crops were male dominated. Men were responsible for making negotiations on the cash crop prices. Lack of women's involvement in decision-making on some crucial issues at household level was seen as a hindrance. This reduces their capacity to attain productive resources like cash income and other inputs required for improving their living standards. The gender-based difference in decision making at the household level can discourage women's participation in contributing to what they think will improve their family's condition because they lack the freedom to make decisions in what they believe.

Women's role in decision-making is very limited. Women make independent decisions on how to use the harvest domestically. Both food and cash crops stored in large quantities within the house are considered as men's property, as they are the ones to decide on how to use them. A divorced female respondent (old age) elaborated this point:

“When I was married, if we had food stored in our house there was no problem as I didn't have to ask my husband, I could take enough for the family consumption. But if a neighbour was in shortage of food I could not take what is in the store without seeking the consent of my husband” (A divorced Female, Old respondent, Female FGD)

Women's participation in making decisions on food crops is based on their primary responsibility of caring for household's well-being (reproductive role).

9.3.2 Authority over Family's Income

Participants admitted that men had the final authority in the use of the family's income. Decisions on purchasing important items such as household assets (radio and bicycle), building materials, and farm inputs were mainly taken by men. Women's participation in decision-making was noticeable in the purchase of domestic commodities, such as kitchen utensils, clothes and food items such as salt, sugar, flour, rice and cooking oil. All interviewed female heads of household said that they were the final authority in deciding on the use of their income. However, during the in-depth discussions some married women informed me that they normally consulted their men on how to spend their own income. Married women usually inform or seek permission from their husband before purchasing new household items. In rare cases, the money has to be submitted to the husband who is the head of the household. A middle aged female respondent reported that:

“I am running a food vendor business *“mama ntilie”*, I normally discuss with my husband on how to use the profit I gain. We normally sit together and decide on what to purchase for the family and sometimes for myself.” (Middle aged female respondent, Female FGD)

From the findings it is evident that money obtained by women from non-farming activities was likely to be used to purchase household items, such as soap, salt and kitchen utensils.

Men take decisions regarding family matters of both economical and social nature as part of their responsibility as the head of household. A middle aged male participant echoed this view during the FGD:

“A man is the head of the family and he has the right and responsibility of controlling not only his family but also everything in his house. A responsible man must be in a position to control all his family's resources and know his family stand. In a house you can not have two bosses.” (A middle aged male respondent, Male FGD)

Findings from this study show that gender disparity and gender role stereotyping are once again illustrated in household control of income. This inference supports results of a study conducted by URT and UNICEF (1990), which argues that generally in developing countries, women are not as equally involved as their male counterparts in making decisions on the use of household income. Thus, decision-making trends reflect the traditional gendered division of labour (Mungo'ng'o 1998).

Therefore, it can be argued that because men seem to control cash crops, they also control cash income as well as the purchase of major household properties, such as bicycles and radios. There is a greater chance for males than females to own and control many resources within the household. On the other hand, it can be concluded that female heads of

households in this village have a considerable degree of autonomy as far as decision-making specifically on their income is concerned.

9.3.3 Ownership, Access and Control of Households Goods and Resources

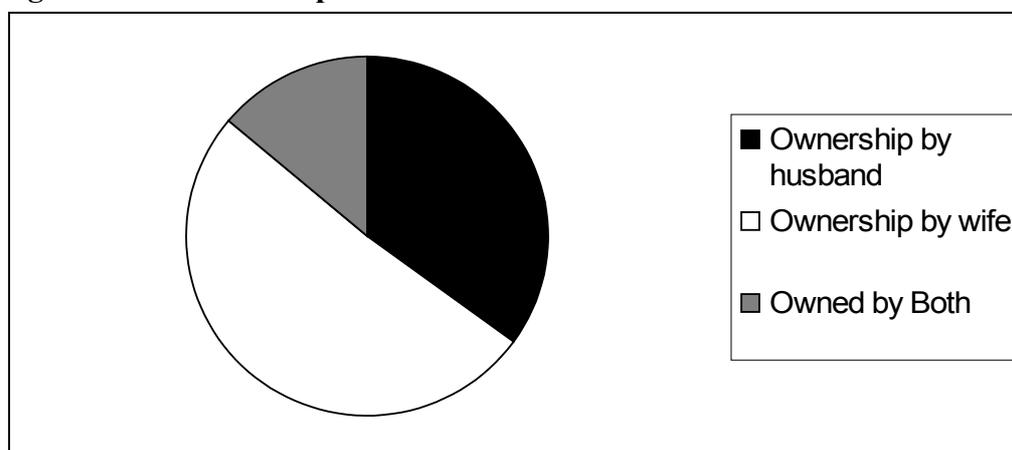
Ownership of certain goods and resources within a household can be an indicator of the socio-economic status of a person. Table 12 sorts ownership and household items according to gender; this shows respondents opinions on the ownership of household resources.

Table 12 : Ownership of Household Items According to Gender

Sex of respondent	Ownership by husband	Ownership by wife	Owned by Both
Female	21 (24%)	30 (67%)	8 (16%)
Male	65 (76%)	15 (33%)	41 (84%)
Total	86 (48%)	45 (25%)	49 (27%)

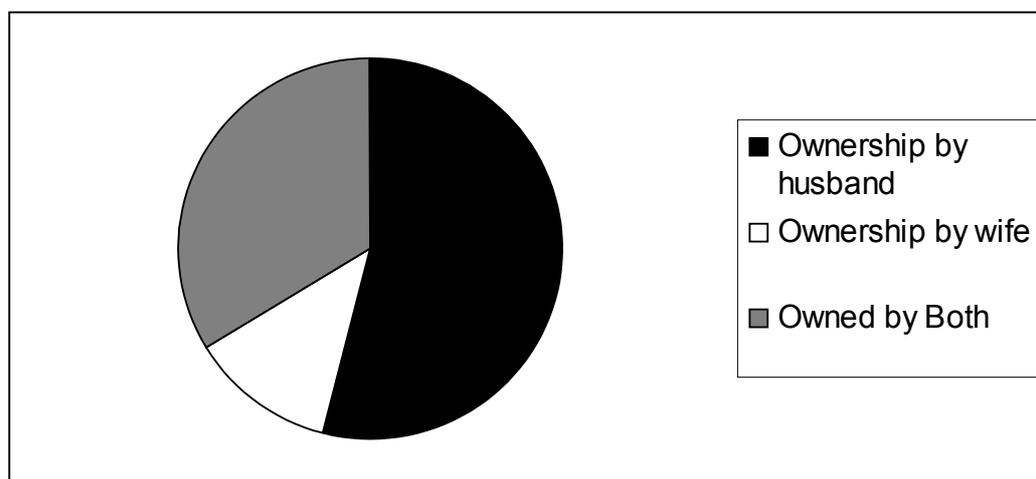
Table 12 describes views on the control and ownership rights of various goods and resources at the household level. When female-headed households were asked to give their opinions on who should own household goods and resources, 21 respondents (35%) out of 59 female heads of households said that ownership of things should remain with husbands. 30 women (51%) had an opposite opinion and said that ownership should be with the wife. The remaining 8 respondents (14%) believed in equal ownership and control rights of household resources.

Figure 16 : Female Responses



On the other hand, out of total of 121 male respondents, 65 respondents (54%) were of the opinion that ownership of goods and resources should be held by husbands, while only 15 respondents (12%) indicated that wives should do the same. 41 respondents (34%) preferred equal participation of husband and wife in ownership.

Figure 17 : Male Responses



Female FGD reported that women have obvious access and control of day-to-day domestic products, such as food crops and fuel wood. This has been explained by the fact that women's control over those items is based on their ties to domestic responsibilities and provision of basic needs for their families. Results on access and control of some household resources and products are compatible with those obtained in other studies that food crops which are traditionally owned by women were for solving some domestic needs (Mukangara 1995).

9.3.4 Gender Relations

The most conspicuous aspect in life of Nyangao villagers is the limit imposed upon women from actively taking part in public occasions. Traditionally in this village, men and women held separate meetings when deciding on issues which affect their community. To-date women in Nyangao village are still uncomfortable to air their views in mixed public forums. This study has validated this fact, during the mixed FGD, women were not comfortable in participating in the discussion. Men on the other hand were very active in giving their opinion and contributing on various issues raised sometimes they even raised new issues for discussion.

9.3.5 Household Division of Labour

Household division of labour has also generated gender parity. In agricultural work, both men and women were involved although it has been observed that women work for more hours than men. The information obtained from this study found that while husband and wife goes together to the farm in the morning, the wife's responsibilities continue after the farm work. In addition to agricultural or business activities, women were also responsible for taking care of children and all domestic activities. On the other hand, female FGD informs that, after farming activities men spend their time either resting at home or going to a local beer club. In some instances, men hang out after farm activities chatting with colleagues and friends, or playing the local chess game "*bao*".

Gender roles on daily routine activities were reported through observation and asking members during the FGDs and informal discussion to mention activities performed from morning (that is the time they wake up) to evening (time they go to bed). Table 13 gives a summary of daily activities performed by men and women. The part on women's daily activities was constructed following observations, female participants own analysis during the female FGDs and after an in-depth individual discussion with women. The analysis of daily activities of men was also obtained through observations, which were concretized by the opinions of men themselves during FGDs as well as individual discussions.

Results from the table shows that there are differences in time allocation between male and female respondents. Women spend on an average 14 working hours per day on a combination of both domestic and farm activities, while men spend on an average of only eight hours per day on their activities. The analysis further found that women had no time to rest. In contrast, men had about six hours of resting, visiting friends, and/or drinking local brew. Findings from a study conducted in Mbeere district in Kenya observed that women spend more time than men on farms as they participated more in agricultural production than men (Wangari 1991).

Table 13 : Daily Timetable by Sex

Time in Hrs	Women Activities	Working Time used	Time in Hrs	Men Activities	Working Time used
5.00 a.m-6.00 a.m	Wake up, Clean the house, fetch water	1 hr	6.00 a.m	Wake up	-
6.30 a.m to 11.00 a.m	Farm activities and cook porridge	4.30 hrs	6.30a.m to 11.00a.m	Farm activities	4.30 hrs
11.00 a.m -11.30am	Drink porridge		11.00a.m to 11.30a.m	Drink porridge	
11.30 a.m to 2.00p.m	Continue with farm activities	2.30 hrs	11.30 a.m to 2.00p.m	Continue with farm activities	2.30 hrs
2.30 p.m to 3.30p.m	Come back home and prepare lunch	1hr	2.30 p.m to 3.30p.m	Rest, wait for the lunch	-
3.30 p.m to 4.00 p.m	Eat lunch	-	3.30p.m to 4.00p.m	Eat lunch	-
4.00 p.m to 6.30 p.m	Collect vegetables and fire wood, fetch water and other domestic activities such as grinding maize or rice	2.30 hrs	4.00p.m to 6.30 p.m	Rest, visit friends, listen radio and sometimes drink local brew	-
6.30 p.m to 7.30 p.m	Prepare supper	1 hr	6.30p.m to 7.30 p.m	Continue as above	-
7.30p.m to 8.30 p.m	Eat supper	-	7.30p.m to 8.30 p.m	Eat supper	-
8.30 a.m to 9.30 p.m	Make sure everything is in order for the next day eg. Clean utensils, prepare uniform for children etc.	1. hr	8.30 p.m	Go to sleep	
9.30 p.m	Go to sleep	-	-	-	-
Total		13.30 hrs			7.30 hrs

Source: Observations, FGDs & Informal Discussions data, 2003

These results were later discussed in a mixed FGD. Men voiced their opinion that they worked more than women. A middle-aged male respondent summed up views raised by men. He reported that men do not have leisure time or time to rest. He further elaborated that after farm activities, which uses much of their physical labour, they go back home and spend most of their time as heads of households to think and strategize for the next day. The informant further narrated that while women continued with their other “simple” domestic responsibilities, they (men) on the other hand use that time to think. He said:

“When a man sits alone outside under the tree’s shade, it is because he needs to spend some time thinking as a household head and strategize for the challenges in life. This is not a simple task as may be perceived by some women, it requires a man to work very hard with his brain and plan for the next day’s tasks and how he and his family are going to accomplish it.” (A middle aged male respondent, Mixed FGD)

Supporting this, another young man had the following:

“Working doesn’t always mean to take a hoe and go to farm, cook or clean pots. I may sit and do a big part of work using my brain. As *jamaa* (a colleague) said, serious thinking is not an easy task no wonder here in Nyangao men die before women because men are working very hard and use both their strength and brain.” (A Young Male respondent, Mixed FGD)

The above respondent further commented on time spent on hanging out and talking with friends. He argued that the time men spend talking with friends is also valuable to both the family and the village at large:

“After tough farm activities we occasionally sit with friends or neighbours and talk. Actually, in our conversations, we not only exchange jokes but also work on constructive ideas on various issues which are vital for the improvement of both our families and the village at large. If you give women such opportunities, the best they can do will be to gossip. As I have already said, our body and brain work very hard on daily basis and therefore we sometimes go to bars to relax our hard working minds.” (A Youth age group Male respondent, Mixed FGD)

Gender ideologies represent how individuals view the appropriate roles employed by men and women. They affect behaviour in a profound way (McHale & Huston 1984). However, the behaviour of spouses does not always correspond to these ideologies (Blaisure & Allen 1995). For example, Allen & Hawkins (1999) suggest that greater husbands’ involvement with the family violates some women’s perception that family is primarily a woman’s domain. Sharing the same view, Greenstein (1996) demonstrates that in some instances the gender ideology may prevent some husbands from being as involved as they would like to be in household labour. For instance, some women believe that a man is not capable of nurturing or caring for children; this may manifest itself in behaviour that limit the amount of her husband’s involvement in household chores. Allen & Hawkins (1999); Glass (1998) and Hochschild (1989) support the notion that mothers may prefer that fathers do not become more involved with the domestic responsibilities. However, the Nyangao case study has proved the contrary as women wish to get support from their husbands in domestic responsibilities.

9.3.6 Gender and Decision-Making at the Village Level

The *Ujamaa* Village Act of 1975 states clearly that a village is the basic unit of the government (Appendix I). The village government structure retains full legal control of all resources, notably equal allocation of land for the well-being of the village communities. Thus, the village has traditionally been the focal point for the Tanzanian government's vision

of development, especially in agriculture (Kauzeni *et al.* 1993). According to the Nyangao village government reports, the village is headed by the village chairperson who is assisted by the Village Executive Officer (VEO). Following the model of the government's village structure, the Nyangao village government has three standing committees: - the finance, economic and planning committee; the social services and environment committee; and the defence committee. However, the village councils are authorised to form more committees depending on the needs of the village (URT, 1995). These village committees, together with the village chairperson and the village executive officer, form the village council. The village chairperson, together with the village committee members, is elected by the villagers. The Village Executive Officer is employed position; the holder of this post is recruited according to his/her qualification and is employed by the district office. The village council comprises 25 members elected by the village assembly. According to the village leaders, the village council is the most important village organ where all decisions regarding village development are made. Village experts like the health officer, the extension officer, and the head teachers are also *ex-officio* members of the village council. The village council is the highest governmental organ in making final decisions regarding village land and developmental issues. It was therefore important to study its membership composition.

According to the village records, the level of participation by women and men in decision-making at the village level was not equal as women were few. As observed from the village records, the composition of leadership in the village government was male dominated. All the highest leadership positions for the village chairperson and the Village Executive Officer were both occupied by males. All the *vitongoji* (village's sections) chairpersons were also men. Female leadership was seen in the posts of the members of village section (*vitongoji*) committees. Representation of women in the village council was low, as out of 25 village council member positions in Nyangao village, only four were held by women.

Female representation in Nyangao village government is below the standard specified by the Tanzania government. According to TGNP and TAMWA (2000), the Tanzania government specified that female representation should reach at least 25 per cent. This is not the case in Nyangao village as the number of female representatives was below the minimum specified number. Discussions with various respondents and village leaders showed that the reasons for under-representation of women in Nyangao village vary. Reasons related to negative attitudes of some husbands and villagers scored the highest rank in explaining the limited representation of women in the village government.

The negative and discouraging remarks towards female leadership makes them (women) to shy away from leadership positions in the village government. The key position in the village, the village chairpersons, is considered as a sensitive position and males have always dominated it. Reports from the women's FGDs revealed that it was almost unlikely for women to contest for a chairperson position because the majority, including women themselves, believe that women are not capable and therefore cannot perform well on this highest post of village leadership.

Women's lack of self-confidence and ignorance on matters related to leadership responsibilities and rights have been cited as one of the contributing factors to their under-representation in Nyangao village. In addition, women's workload as a result of their double responsibilities also explains their absence from leadership positions. Lack of comprehensive young women leadership programmes, which aim at preparing women to take leadership positions also play a role in the female under-representation in leadership roles. The above reasons create a belief among women and men that women are less suited to take leadership position compared to their male counterparts. This creates discrimination, which is a great barrier for women's participation in leadership positions.

9.4 Access to Credit

Lack of credit is a well-known problem that poor people face. During the household survey, Nyangao villagers reported that they had no access to credit facilities. None of the respondents confirmed to have received any form of formal credit from any credit institutions. Hence, loans or credits were closed avenues for the villagers in Nyangao village. Absence of credit facilities in Nyangao village make the small-scale farmers face severe cash problems. Hence, the capacity to adopt innovations and improved farming technologies, such as fertilizers and tractors is thus compromised. As elaborated by a middle aged male respondent:

“... in this village we just hear about credits... those people came once and took our details and never came back” (A middle aged Male respondent, Mixed FGD)

Another middle-aged woman commented the following on the issue of credit:

“If we could get some form of credit that would help us in our agricultural activities because we can use the money to hire tractors, hire labourers, buy fertilizers and increase agricultural productivity” (A middle aged Female respondent, Female FGD)

Since land is normally considered as collateral for bank loans, poor farmers and especially women often do not have the necessary collateral. Women's lack of control of

major resources and/or assets which can be used as collateral puts them at a higher risk in accessing credit. As one young woman said:

“When they came to ask for our details in order to facilitate the exercise of giving us credits, they asked us to mention our properties. I doubt if I would get anything from them because my friend from Lindi told me if I do not own any major property I am not going to get anything. If what she told me is true then I am confused and wonder why do they want to give loans to those who already have something? Why don't they help some of us who have nothing? Surely, if I had what they were asking then why should I ask for a credit? I don't understand them.” (A young Female Respondent, Female FGD)

As previously discussed, men, control most of the families' household properties and assets (Njuki 2001). Female credit is associated not only with increased earning capacity and improved command over assets for women but also with increased autonomy and greater decision making capacity within the home (Khandker 1998). A study conducted in Mbeere, Kenya reported that farmers are being discouraged and even intimidated about applying for loans because of stringent credit requirements, lack of knowledge about filling out forms, lack of transportation, long application process, and lack of confidence in the system. The majority of farmers in Mbeere, (92.2 percent of the sample's registered farmers) felt that financial institutions did not favour farmers with small farms or without other sources of revenue (Wangari 1991).

The FGDs participants were asked to give an idea as to where they would resort to in case of a big financial problem. The majority of the respondents said that they would seek help from a family/ relative and /or neighbours. This shows the importance of traditional social security networks, that is, family members, clan members and neighbours.

9.4.1 Credit and Savings Groups

One of the most notable forms of collective action against poverty in the village would be the credit and savings group. These groups would offer credits to members in the village where no formal financial institution exists. There were no credit and savings groups found in Nyangao village. From this study, it is obvious that formal financial institution in Nyangao village do not exist. The trend is same in many rural areas of Tanzania where financial institutions for the poor are most needed (Omari 1994).

Lack of credit has negative consequences for poor people's agricultural productivity, food security, health, and overall household welfare. Improved access to credit will help poor rural households engage in more productive income-generating activities both on and off the farm and raise their living standards. Most households in Nyangao are characterized by small

landholdings and therefore they cannot grow enough food to feed themselves. These smallholders can climb out of poverty only by farming more productively and diversifying into non-agricultural activities. It is an inevitable reality that such changes require access to capital through credit institutions established especially for the poor.

10.0 CHAPTER TEN: Findings - Socio-economic Activities, Gendered Land Issues and Social Changes in Nyangao Village

10.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the findings of socio-economic activities in Nyangao village. Since agriculture is an important economic activity in this village, the importance of land is analysed in this chapter. Also the chapter discusses gender aspects of farm ownership and control patterns. Mode of farm acquisition, farm sizes, distances of farms and its gender implications are also presented in this chapter. There were four main modes of land transmission in the study area: inheritance, allocation by the village government, purchase, and clearing virgin bush.

10.2 Villagers Economic Activities

All the 180 sampled respondents earn their income from agricultural activities. In many instances, however, small plots do not yield sufficient income to help people meet their basic needs. This assumption was corroborated during the interviews, as the agricultural produce obtained per season was not sufficient to sustain a family's food requirement for the entire year. This explains the reoccurring incidence of hunger in Nyangao village. A middle aged male respondent had the following additional information with regard to the villager's economic activities:

“...Almost all of us are farmers but unfortunately some of us run out of shortage of food even before the next season starts. The main reason, which makes many people produce insufficient food, is that they have small farming plots. However, I think even if they were given big farming plots the story would remain the same because they would not be able to produce surplus by using hand hoes. As a result many poor families in this village always become the victims of hunger and they end up surviving by eating mere roots commonly known as *ming'oko*” (A middle aged male respondent, In-depth Discussion)

At the household level, most farm labour is provided by the household members themselves. In some cases, the better off farmers hire casual labourers for jobs such as clearing the bush. The majority of farms do not use fertilizers. The respondents in this study revealed that the prices were too high to afford. Most respondents said that they are not used to the practice of using chemical fertilizers on their farms and a majority cannot afford to buy them. The few farmers who use fertilizers said that they do so only when they have money to buy it. Therefore, apart from the fact that people are not traditionally used to the practice of

using fertilizers, shortage of income seems to be the major obstacle for many respondents. Those who use fertilizers normally record better harvests than those who do not use them.

The study further observed that majority of small holder farmers in this village engage themselves in various other economic activities in order to supplement their income. This explains the dynamic nature of economic activities where by diversification is applied as a risk minimising strategy.

10.2.1 Gender & Other Economic Activities (off farm activities)

Gender disparity was also observed in non-farm economic activities performed by women and men. Women's productive roles included activities such as selling food – stuffs, selling local beer, cultivation, gathering of roots for medicine and food (*ming'oko*), and performing related domestic chores. Money obtained from non-farm economic activities were basically used to sustain family's livelihood. A female food vendor had the following to say in regard to the use of money obtained from her business:

“The money we get from our small businesses is very small and is basically used to help meet basic needs in our families. Of lately things have changed and cash is needed, with agriculture alone it is not possible to get sufficient cash income to meet all basic needs.” (A young Female Respondent, Female FGD)

The diversifying strategies adopted by women, that is, off-farm activities, such as those mentioned above, depend to a large extent on agricultural raw materials and access to land.



Photo 5 : Women’s Other Economic Activities – Food Vendor *Mama Ntilie*

Photo: *Omary Kinaghua*



Photo 6 : Women’s Other Economic Activities- Local Brew Bar - *Kilabu cha pombe za Kienyeji*

Photo: *Omary Kinaghua*

On the other hand, men were mostly engaged in handicraft activities such as carpentry, tailoring and masonry. Unlike women, men's other economic activities do not necessarily depend on farm-based raw materials.

This study observed that, the more women control and manage their own incomes, the more the responsibilities are added upon them at the household level. Female respondents complained that their husbands or male partners have been running away from their parenthood responsibilities. A middle aged female respondent revealed that some men consider women who are doing other economic activities as financially capable of taking care of the household responsibilities. She said:

“Men think we earn a lot of money in our small businesses even when we tell them how much we get they do not believe us, as a result they use their money to drink and expect us to use ours to take care of the family's needs.” (Middle aged Female Respondent, Female FGD)

Women's engagement in other economic activities can be a result of their family care responsibilities at household level. In this case, women face many demands including cash payments for school fees, uniforms, hospital fees and medicines. The income obtained from other activities is also directed to other responsibilities such as to feed the family.

A household survey showed that more males than females are self employed as an alternative to non-farm activities. Only a few women were employed in the public sector, such as school and hospital. Women's engagement in the informal sector is normally done on part time basis as they usually do this parallel to agricultural activities. This reiterates earlier findings, which reported that married women in rural Tanzania are rarely involved in full time wage employment or self-employment. Even when they do, especially in the self-employment sector, they do it on part time basis (Mbilyi 1997). In Nyangao village, there are neither estates nor big farms for women and men to work as reliable casual labourers. This explains why casual labour is not an important economic activity for the majority.

10.3 Gender and Age Aspects of Land/Farm Ownership

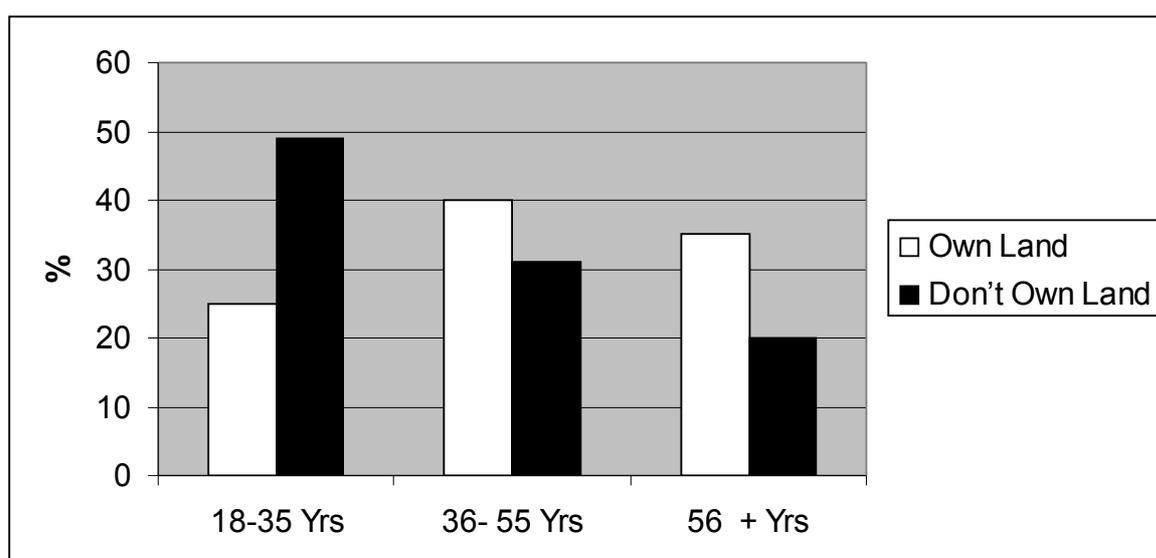
Gender disparity concerning land rights was consistently raised as a concern by Nyangao's female inhabitants. The findings obtained from this study revealed that women's access to land is subject to their position in the family. While some female heads of households have exclusive rights to the land they hold, the majority has user rights to the land owned by their husbands.

Studies elsewhere suggest that with the current context of rapid social change and economic crisis, the institution of marriage appears to have become increasingly unstable and the land rights that women acquire through marriage are thus vulnerable (Nzioki 2001; Sebina-Zziwa 1998). According to Nzioki (2001), women's vulnerability is most exposed during times of crisis, that is, when the household breaks up either through marital conflict leading to divorce or separation or upon the death of the husband. The evidence from this study thus points to the importance of social policies and laws that strengthen women's rights in marriage and inheritance, and secure their rights to common property as well as other properties that they might bring into marriage or acquire themselves during marriage.

10.3.1 Ownership of Land by Age of Sampled Respondents

Farms are owned by people from all the three age groups, that is, youth, middle and old, as shown in Figure 18: Farm/Land Ownership According to the Age of Respondents. From the sampled respondents, the middle age group has the highest numbers of respondents owning farms compared to other groups. Of the 180 respondents, 141 (about 78%) owned farms and out of those, 57 (40%) respondents belonged to the middle-aged category (36-55 years); 35%, (49 respondents) belonged to the old age category (> 56 years) and 35 respondents (25%) were from the young age group (18- 35 years). The majority of the farm owners were found to have small sizes of farms.

Figure 18 : Farm/Land ownership according to the age of respondents



Most of the young people do not own farms and if they do, they own relatively small plots due to their limited cash income and small families compared to other age groups. Young people cannot afford to buy big and multiple farm holdings. On the other hand, middle-aged group were found to own bigger farm holdings than the younger group. As for the comparison between the age groups, the pattern is as follows: Out of 57 old respondents, 49 respondents (86%) owned farms. As for the middle aged groups, 57 respondents (83%) out of 69 middle-aged respondents owned farms. As for the youth, the number of farm owners is slightly less compared to middle age respondents, that is, 35 respondents (65%) out of 54 owned farms. This shows that middle age population are relatively better exposed to the common forms of land acquisition, that is, through inheritance and purchase. Most of the middle-aged respondents are married and this gives them a chance to get land allocated by their parents for their new families. Opportunities to purchase land are few for the young people because of their relatively low economic status.

Most of the older respondents reported to have reduced their farm sizes and sold to other villagers and/ or migrants due to various reasons including their limited physical strength or need of money to meet other basic needs. Other reasons which prompted the old age group to sell their farms include youth urban migration. It was reported that some youth were not interested to stay in the village and therefore they considered migration as a way to earn quick money than to rely on farm activities. According to the Nyangao village government's regulation, it is not allowed to keep un-developed farm holdings for a long time. The village government has the authority to confiscate farm holdings which have not been farmed for an extended period of time and distribute them to other villagers who are in need of land for cultivation. Since old respondents are not able to develop their big farm holdings in order to keep them for their children who have migrated to towns, they are forced to sell their farms from the fear of confiscation by the village government. An old respondent had the following to say to support this:

“I do not have to keep big farm holdings because I cannot till. All my sons do not live here and so they cannot help me. All my daughters are married, so I have decided to sell almost all of my land to people (immigrants) who are coming to settle in this village. I only maintain one hectare which I and my wife can till.” (A male old Respondent, Male FGD).

The children (potential heirs) who have migrated to other areas are not willing to go back to the village and engage in farming activities. This makes parents sell their farms instead of passing them as inheritance to their children. In addition, socio-economic reasons also play a

role for parents especially those belong to the old age group to sell their farm holdings in order to meet other basic needs, such as health.

10.3.2 Age Group of Respondents and Land Size

Average land holding in Nyangao village is 1.5 hectare per household. Table 14 illustrates farm size according to age group of the respondents. Farm sizes differ between less than one hectare and more than ten hectares. From the table below it has been found that most of the respondents who own land have farms with sizes ranging between one and three hectares. The comparison between age groups shows that 19 (54%) out of 35 young land owners own between one and three hectares of land. On the other hand, out of 57 middle- aged land owners, 38 (67%) own between one and three hectares. Out of 49 old landowners, 28 (57%) owned between one and three hectares. It can therefore be concluded that there is no big age difference in terms of those who own land with sizes between one and three hectares, since more than half of the respondents from each age group own the same.

Table 14 : Sizes of Farm Owned by Respondents According to Age

Farm sizes	18 –35 Yrs	36-55 Yrs	56 & Above
Less than 1 ha	15 (43%)	5 (8%)	12 (24%)
1-3 ha	19 (54%)	38 (67%)	28 (57%)
4-6 ha	1 (3%)	10 (18%)	9 (18%)
7-10 ha	-	2 (3.5%)	-
10 – above ha	-	2 (3.5%)	-
Total	35 (25%)	57 (40%)	49 (35%)

For 20 respondents who have farm sizes between four and six hectares, the majority, that is, 10 respondents are from the middle aged, followed by old people; only one respondent was still young. The table depicts the tendency for the youth to own smaller farms than the middle-aged group.

10.3.3 Land Sizes Ownership According to Gender

Gender disparity in ownership of farms is prevalent in the sampled households. A majority of women were found to own relatively small farms of less than one hectare. However, there are

also a significant number of men who own less than one hectare. Table 15 illustrates farm sizes according to the gender of the respondent: men were found to own bigger farms than women. Out of 37 (26% of all farm owners) female respondents who own farms, 17 (46%) own farms less than one hectare in size, compared to only 13 males (13%) out of 104 male farm owners. In addition, 20 females (54% of female land owners) own between one and three hectares, compared to 65 male landowners (63% of male land owners). A more glaring imbalance was noted for those who own land above seven hectares as women were entirely lacking in this category. It can be concluded from this data that women tend to own smaller farms than men. However, in Nyangao village the form in which women acquire land ownership and control rights can partly explain gender differences in farm size.

Table 15 : Sizes of Farms Owned According to Gender

Farm Size	Female	Male
Less than 1 ha	17 (46%)	13 (12%)
1-3 ha	20 (54%)	65 (63%)
4-6 ha	-	22 (21%)
7-10 ha	-	2 (2%)
10 – above ha	-	2 (2%)
Total	37 (26%)	104 (74%)

10.3.4 Mode of Farm/Land Acquisition by Gender

Inheritance is a major way to acquire land in Nyangao. Data gathered during the household survey found the preference of male children on matters of inheritance. From the sampled households, 17 farm holdings owned by female respondents were acquired through inheritance (See Table 16 Mode of farm acquisition by gender). Informants expressed their opinion that both female and male landowners in this village inherited some of their land holdings from both their mothers and fathers although with significant preferences for male children.

In Nyangao village, single young mothers acquire land ownership and control rights through allocation by their own families. The explanation given was that single mothers had to either struggle themselves to get land or land was allocated to them by their families in order to cultivate food crops for their children. Once girls get pregnant out of the wedlock, they are expected to be independent and take full charge and responsibilities of their new

family. Sometimes they can get help from their mother and/or other extended family members in the form of child care, while they attend other responsibilities, such as farming or informal business. In most cases, unmarried women ask for a piece of land from either their parents or the village government. It has also been established that in some instances they purchase or borrow land in order to cultivate food crops to sustain their families. A session of in-depth discussion with an unmarried female respondent revealed that single women could be allocated land by the village government, as she said:

“I am not yet married but I have two children. My partner refused to marry me because he had another wife in Masasi. He never informed me of his wife until I told him about my pregnancy. My father was furious when he learnt that I was expecting and he kicked me out of his house. I left home and went to stay with my grand mother who owned a small farm. After some years, my grand mother advised me to look for another farm because her farm was too small to sustain both of us. I therefore went to the village government and they allocated me a one hectare farm.” (A youth unmarried Female Respondent, In-depth Discussion)

Discussions with the village leaders confirmed that depending on the availability of farm holdings, they (village government) were allocating farms to both males and females who were in need.

Information gathered from the FGDs and key informants highlighted the increasing number of single mothers whose parents give them farms so that they can take care of themselves and their children. The philosophy of this practice, that is, acquisition of land ownership and control rights through allocation by their families is linked to the stereotyping of the gender roles and the gendered resource allocation at the household level where women are held responsible for their children’s food needs. Hence, young unmarried mothers are given small pieces of farm holdings for that purpose. In an agrarian society like Nyangao village, land is necessary for food production. Therefore, the best help parents can give to their daughters who have kids outside the marriage is a farm holding which is likely to ensure them self-reliance in food production. Information from the FGDs highlights the increasing number of females whose parents give them farms as a means of livelihood. This is verified in a discussion held with a young female respondent during the household interview:

“I had to cut short my primary education when I was in standard six because I got pregnant. The father of my daughter refused to claim responsibility and then my parents took care of me until I delivered. Afterwards they allocated me a small farm holding which is not far from theirs. They helped me to build a two room house where I and my children live.” (A 22 years old Female Respondent, during a household survey)

This trend seems to modify patriarchal customs of land ownership, which insist on male inheritance. These results on land acquisition provide important information about those changes towards patrilineal customs with respect to inheritance rights. Under the original patriarchal practices, women had limited inheritance rights pertaining to land. Results on women's land ownership are contrary to other findings on land tenure systems that women in rural areas do not own land (Mukangara 1995; Omari 1995). This study has shown some encouraging changes in southeast Tanzania where by women in some instances do own land although in a small ratio compared to men. The findings from this study however also show that men tend to own bigger farms than women.

Table 16 : Mode of Farm Acquisition by Gender

Mode of Farm Acquisition	Female	Male
Inheritance	13	24
Purchase	14	43
Allocated by Village	5	22
Allocated by Clan/Family	2	3
Given by Relatives	2	-
Clear bush	1	12
Total	37	104

From a total of 180 sampled households, 121 were male-headed households and 59 were female-headed households. The data collected shows that a total of 37 (26%) farm holdings were acquired through inheritance. While men inherited 24 farm holdings (about 65% of all inherited farms), women inherited only 13 farms (about 35%). Despite the gender gap in inheritance matters, this information is contrary to the general assumption of this relatively new social system patriarchal land tenure system in Nyangao village. According to the patrilineal land tenure system, inheritance rights to clan or family land are exclusive male domain. This information shows that inheritance rights to a clan / family land continues to be applicable to both men and women, though men are more favored than women.

The villagization programme of the 1970s is said to have created more and new space for women's access, ownership and control rights of village land beyond the clan/ family structure, that is, the allocation of land by the village government. The *Ujamaa* related village

government invited individuals to apply for land holdings. With the introduction of those villages, a few women were allocated land personally.

However, in Nyangao village land allocation by the village authorities is very limited. The information obtained from the sampled respondents shows that only 27 respondents acquired land through village allocation. A possibility of land allocation to women by village leaders was also noted whereby village government facilitated women's acquisition of farms. However, more men than women are said to have acquired land through this allocation. Out of 27 farm holdings, which were given throughout this method, five parcels (about 19%) were allocated to women while 22 (about 81%) farm holdings were given to men. Both male and female heads of households were better placed in accessing land through allocation by the village government.

10.3.5 Farm Size Ownership According to Marital Status of Respondents

Out of 141 farm owners, 87 were married (about 62%). While the majority of married couples owned farms with area varying between four and six hectares, most farms with sizes less than 1 hectare were owned by single, cohabiting and widowed. Married people were also reported to own farm sizes of 10 hectare and above. This gives support to the earlier observation that land rights are associated with marital status.

Table 17 : Marital Status and Farm Size Ownership

Farm size	Single	Married	Cohabiting	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
Less than 1 ha.	3 (16%)	7 (37%)	7 (37%)	-	-	2 (10%)
1-3 ha	4 (4%)	56 (59%)	19 (20%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	11 (12%)
4-6 ha	-	21 (88%)	-	2 (8%)	-	1 (4%)
7-10 ha	-	1 (100%)	-	-	-	-
10- Above	-	2 (100%)	-	-	-	-
Total	7 (5%)	87 (62%)	26 (18%)	4 (3%)	3 (2%)	14 (10%)

Married couples tend to own bigger land holdings than others because they have more favourable opportunities for accumulation of farms than single people. Such opportunities include: land purchase by using both family and personal income and income obtained from a daughter's bride wealth. In addition, pressure to seek additional farm holdings to satisfy family's land needs for both food and cash to sustain their livelihood is another reason for married couples to own more and bigger land holdings than others.

A majority of the un-married women did not own big farms owing to their lower income levels as well as small family size. This partly reiterates the findings observed by Mbilinyi (1998) which suggests that if land tenure rights continue to be associated with the institution of marriage, young men and single un-married women will continue to enjoy less land tenure rights as long as they are not married for various reasons. In Nyangao village, it was reported through the FGDs and discussions with individual respondents that many youths increasingly refuse to marry partly due to lack of livelihood sources, mainly land and other reliable income generating activities.

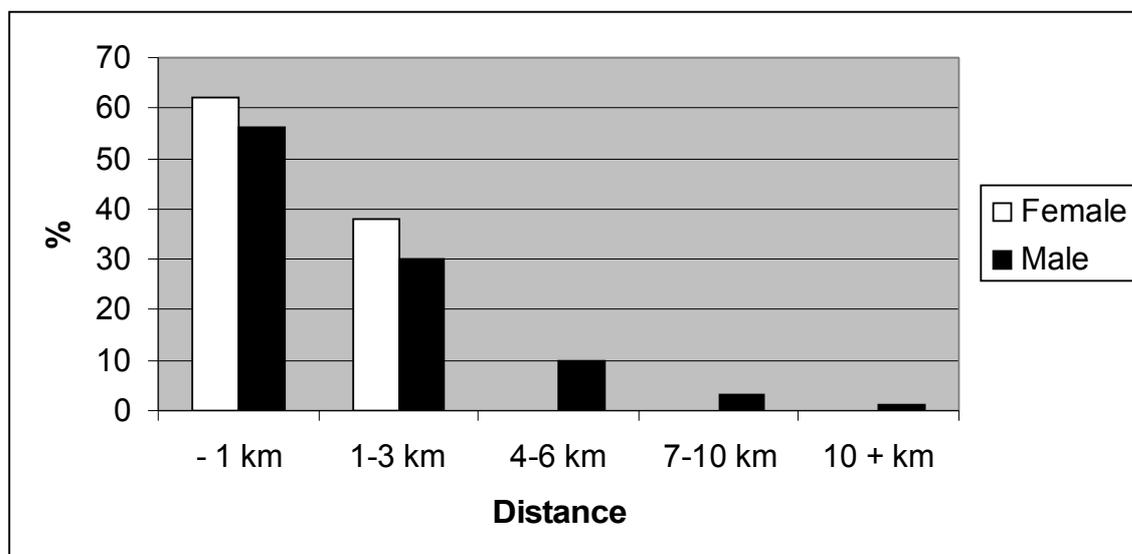
Women focus on the use of land for both food production purposes and raw materials for their informal businesses (see section 10.2.1), while men placed more emphasis on cash crop production than food crop production.

Bruce & Migot-Adholla (1994) argued that conditions attached to land renting rights not only reduces the number of absolute rights but also decreases assurance in exerting land rights. Although same conditions applied to both men and women, there was a glaring gender disparity on the condition dealing with the permission to grow permanent cash crops in Nyangao. However, there are an increasing number of women in Nyangao village who have the freedom to exercise their ownership rights on their land in their respective households. It can be argued that this is due to the increasing number of female-headed households. This finding challenges earlier generalization that women are restricted from growing permanent crops (Omari & Shaidi 1992).

10.3.6 Distance of Farms and Gender

Distance of farms owned by respondents' correlates with gender. Data shows that most small farm holdings owned by respondents are located near their residence, at a distance of less than one km. away. Whereas, mostly big farm holdings are located at a distance of 4 to 10 km away.

Figure 19 : Land/Farm Distance According to Gender



Most farms located near households are smaller in size compared to farms located far away.

However, informants complained that they wasted a lot of time walking to far away farms. In this case, respondents especially women argued that one is obliged to spend many walking hours to reach the area. The quantitative data tallies well with the qualitative information obtained from the FGDs and in-depth discussions that most of the women's farm holdings are located near the village. Distant farm holdings are somehow inconvenient for women who are already time constrained due to their strict double roles of domestic chores and farming responsibilities. In some cases, women have triple roles, that is, domestic activities, farming activities and other off farm activities. This can partly explain the male predominance in possession of distant farms.

It is not proper to generalize that women do not own farms as concluded in earlier studies on land tenure rights in Tanzania (Mascarenhas & Mbilinyi 1983; Omari 1995). This chapter has partly established reasons for the gender parity in Nyangao village on both land ownership and sizes of farm holdings in the context of the form through which women and men acquire land ownership and control rights.

11.0 CHAPTER ELEVEN: Findings - Women's Inheritance Rights & The Landless People in Nyangao Village

11.1 Introduction

Inheritance is the major means of land transfer in Nyangao village. It is therefore important to analyse its patterns as it is expected to generate information on people's land acquisition. Land purchase, which is another mode of land transfer in the village is also discussed. Finally, the chapter discusses the situation of the women especially the landless in Nyangao village.

11.2 Gender and Inheritance Patterns in Nyangao Village

Inheritance is the major means of land transfer in this village. Table 18 gives the current attitudes towards women on issues of inheritance over family and clan land.

Table 18 : Gender of the Intended Inheritor to Land

Intended Inheritor	Female	Male
Wife	-	5 (5%)
All children	25(68%)	66 (63%)
Only Male Children	8 (22%)	23 (22%)
Only Female Children	2 (5%)	5 (5%)
Sisters Children	2 (5%)	4 (4%)
Others	-	1 (1%)
Total	37 (26%)	104 (74%)

The above table shows that a substantial number of both female and male farm owners' would choose daughters and sons as their intended heirs. Out of 141 farm owners interviewed, 91 (about 65%) intended to give inheritance rights to both their female and male children.

Out of 37 female farm owners, 25 women (68%) chose both daughters and sons as heirs of their farms. However, 8 females (22%) expressed their intention to pass their farms to male children only. This indicates that not all female farm owners intend to pass their farms to their fellow women. A large number of women intending to transfer their land rights to both daughters and sons depict a high level of gender sensitisation among Nyangao village women.

A significant number of male respondents also supported gender equality in inheritance patterns of land. Out of 104 male farm owners, 66 (63%) chose both daughters and sons as heirs to their farms. For those who preferred boys, table 18 above shows that 23 respondents (22%) chose only sons as heirs to their farms. There was a clear preference among male respondents towards boys over land inheritance rights, depicting patriarchal influences. The male FGD reported that, while half of the participants said they will pass their

land to both female and male children, others were biased towards male children only. A middle-aged respondent supported this, he said:

“It is logic to pass farms to sons because they need farms for their families while daughters will get married and get land from their husbands.” (Middle Aged Respondent, Male FGD)

11.2.1 Marital Status and Choice of Inheritor

Marital status of landowners also influenced the choice of inheritors. The overwhelming majority of farm owners who are intending to transfer their farms to both their daughters and sons through inheritance are married. Out of 91 respondents advocating for this kind of gender equality, 67 were married (74%). Only 31 respondents intended to pass over their farm holdings to only sons, of which 23 respondents were married. From this fact, it may be interpreted that married people seem to be divided on whether to extend land inheritance rights to only sons or to their daughters as well. However, it can be concluded that the majority of married couples expressed their willingness to transfer land to both daughters and sons through inheritance.

11.2.2 Education of the Respondents and their Choices of Inheritor

Education has been found to have some influence on decision-making on various matters including land transfers. Those with formal education at least at the primary level were more open to both female and male children inheriting land. Of the 141 farm owners interviewed, 104 had primary education (74%). As for the land-owners with primary education, 84 respondents (81%) preferred both daughters and sons as inheritors, while 5 respondents (5%) chose to bequeath land rights to girls only. Even though a significant number of respondents intended to bequeath their land to both daughters and sons, still sons' preference was prominent from the sampled primary school graduates. For instance, 15 respondents (14%) indicated to bequeath their inheritance rights to only their sons, compared to only five (5%) respondents with who intended to bequeath their inheritance to daughters only. Therefore, sons' preference was still prominent in Nyangao village. Of 29 respondents who had no formal education, 12 owned farms. Of these, while two respondents chose male only as their heir, the remaining 10 chose both daughters and sons. As for the six land owners with secondary education, five intended to transfer their land to both female and male children. The remaining one intended to transfers his farm holding to only male children.

The findings from this study suggest that education has some influence on gendering of inheritance rights. This further suggests that educating both parents is very important in Nyangao village, as this will guarantee more gender sensitivity than educating either of them. It is also clear from the relatively large number of literate respondents favouring only sons over inheritance rights that even with education it is likely that some patriarchal influence on people's attitudes towards gender equality will still remain. This likelihood is further supported by the respondents views during the FGDs. An old age male respondent said:

“Marriages are not stable compared to the past, nowadays people divorce everyday, some women go back to their parents some marry again but some do not have anywhere to go and that is bad. If divorced women have their own farms that would not have been a problem.” (An old Male Participant, Male FGD)

It is encouraging to note that the majority of respondents (males and females) choose to transfer their land rights to both sexes.

11.3 Interpretation of Land Rights & Inheritance According to Villagers' Knowledge

Respondents from all forms of marital status and education level tend to interpret land right as a right of every citizen regardless of their gender. They further supported land rights for girls and the majority agreed that both daughters and sons need land for their livelihood. However, female unmarried respondents had different perception on land matters due to their experience. A middle aged female respondent had the following to say during an in-depth discussion

“I was once married in Ndanda but now I am divorced. I have two children. My parents did not allocate a farm to me; all farms were given to my brothers. After divorce, I came here and my brother helped me to purchase my own farm. Yet, I feel like I was treated like an outsider in my own family.” (A middle aged Divorced Female respondent)

Another woman said:

“Parents pass their inheritance to male children expecting daughters to marry and gain access to their husband's farms, of lately marriages break every day and are very unstable.” (Female Divorced Middle aged, Female FGD)

Women are more vulnerable especially when unstable marriages end up in a divorce or separation (Nzioki 2001). Most of them become landless and helpless as observed earlier.

Marital instability does not affect women's social condition but also their economic position. In some cases when a husband dies, a widow faces many problems ranging from psychological to economic stress. Under the patriarchal understanding, all immovable property of the household, including land, belongs to the household head. Sometimes the

relatives of the deceased take over the resources. Such cases however have not been frequently raised, that is, they rarely occur in Nyangao village.

Once girls are married, they are guaranteed access to usufructuary rights related to land. Field data has demonstrated that even if girls succeed in getting married, they (girls) cannot claim control or ownership rights to the land holdings they are working on. The ownership and control of such farms is actually claimed by their husbands. Therefore, it can be argued that married women do not have control over their family's farms; their husbands exercise the primary control.

11.3.1 Supporters for Females Land Rights

The greatest supporters for women's land rights are males followed by the village government. For instance, fathers support their daughters (single mothers) by allocating them farms as discussed earlier. The landless males partners were found to support their women especially in land conflicts. The village government also play a role in supporting for females land rights. During villagization, land allocating committee ensured that adult women, especially the non-married, were allocated land in their own right (Swanz 1996).

The male partners' support can partly be a result of the landless male migrants in Nyangao village. In this case, spouses or cohabiters appear to be the greatest supporters as they know that they can only access land through their women. In Nyangao village, there are many male migrants who are landless. Most of them marry or co-habit with the locals and then depend on them to gain land use rights. Therefore, they (men) turn to be the main supporters in protecting their partner's farm holdings. In an in-depth discussion, a man admitted that:

“I migrated to Nyangao village about seven years ago. I met a woman here with whom we are living together. She had constant conflicts with her neighbour on farm boundaries. In fact, her neighbour harassed her for nothing as she had all the rights. When I came, I fought for her rights and managed to calm down the tensions. We are now cultivating peacefully on the same farm which had problems before” (A Middle Aged Male Respondent, In-depth Discussion).

11.3.2 Women's Limited Support on Land Matters

Women, especially mothers, in Nyangao village give limited support to their children on land matters. Most Nyangao based mothers own only small plots of land, which would not suffice to distribute to children. Very few mothers are exposed to the current debate on increasing land rights for women. Hence, women's relative ignorance can be partly explained by their

confinement to the cultural norms and their not being active in public, as discussed earlier. In addition, mothers have the general fear that encouraging children especially daughters to demand land ownership rights from their fathers would be comparable to interfering with the husband's control over household resources. A middle aged female respondent elaborated this as follows:

“If you dare to support your daughters claim over family land ownership rights and your husband discovers this you may be punished because you are trying to interfere with his authority over the household. We socialize our daughters to accept what the society expects from them.” (A Middle Aged Female respondent)

From her explanation, it is therefore evident that lack of confidence among women also plays a role in inhibiting women's initiatives to fight for their daughters' rights. The patriarchal ideology legitimises the denial of women's control over household resources, such as land. Another reason worth mentioning for women's ignorance of their land rights could partly be explained by lack of education. Since most women have no farm holdings or have too small farm holdings to transfer, they tend not to encourage their daughters to fight for land rights. In addition, lack of communication between men and women, at the household level silences women on many issues, including those concerned with the welfare and/or equality of their daughters

As a matter of principle there is a general willingness expressed by women and men to encourage girls and boys to have land tenure security. Despite the fact that sons have guarantee of land access through inheritance in comparison to daughters, the current trend is encouraging because the majority of the respondents have shown their willingness to bequeath their land to daughters as well.

11.4 The Landless People

This study has noted a substantial number of landless people in Nyangao village. The landless tend to work either in the informal sector or rent land from other villagers. Of 180 sampled respondents, 39 (22%) were landless. The FGDs elaborated that rural urban migration caused by migration of the youth to urban areas in search of employment was one of the main reasons for increasing landlessness in the village. This is because when the youth fail to get reliable employment, some of them return back to the village and land up without having any farm. Other reasons mentioned were related to poor income, which could enable the landless to buy farms. It was also been observed that immigrants, divorced and widowed women, and single male and female form the majority of the landless group in Nyangao village.

The main option reported for landless people in Nyangao village is renting land for cultivation. The one who rents a farm holding has only a subsidiary right compared to the other land tenure rights in the sense that one is restricted from growing what he/she likes, especially permanent cash crops, such as cashew. This means that unmarried people (majority of whom are women and youth) who constitute the main group renting land are disadvantaged when it comes to land rights and cash crops. The alternative for them would have been to purchase farms but this option is limited because most of them have low income level.

Most of those who rent out their landholdings to the landless are the old people. They do so because they lack enough physical strength to cultivate and yet they need food for their livelihood. Normally those who rent land pay in kind after the harvest. This depends on the initial agreement between the renter and the one who rents out his/her farm.

In some instances, the renters end up purchasing those farms especially the ones belonging to old people. However, even when they do so their farms are small in size because they cannot afford to buy big plots. In addition, it has been established that most of those who sell their land are categorized as poor. People sell their land in order to get money to meet other basic needs, such as to pay for their children's education and family health. A middle-aged respondent had the following to say:

“I had a big farm holding but due to the need of money I have cut my farm twice and sold the pieces in order to get money to pay for the children's school fees and to meet other family basic needs, such as buying food in times of drought as well as buying medicines.” (A Middle age, Male Respondent, Male FGD).

From these findings, it may be concluded that land or farm purchase is practiced in Nyangao village even though the field data shows its limited spectrum. The potential for land sales are evident as poor peasants' incomes from farming decrease and the only property that they can sell is land. In addition, the consequences of land commoditization especially after adoption of the SAPs policies is evident from the above explanation as cost sharing for education and health services were illustrated. Therefore, land sales are mainly done by the poor farmers whose income from farming does not suffice to meet other basic needs and the only property which they can sell in order to get money is their land. From the FGD the price of one hectare by 2003 was ranging between Tshs 50,000 and Tshs 60,000 equivalent to almost USD 50 and 60 respectively.

11.5 Land Conflicts

Many landowners in Nyangao village had experienced some form of land conflicts especially on farm demarcations. Land conflicts in Nyangao village were informally resolved. Most

cases of land conflicts were between neighbours or between relatives and more specifically about farm boundaries. Disagreement on land demarcation was cited as the leading reason for land conflicts.

Education plays an insignificant role as far as land conflicts are concerned. Participants confirmed that there is no significant correlation between the education status of a person involved in a conflict and the nature of a conflict. The study argued that conflicts over farm boundaries practiced in Nyangao village were among the shortcomings of customary land tenure system in Lindi Rural District. The traditional land tenure system is vague about boundary demarcation of fields.

11.5.1 Land Conflicts and Gender Differences

From the sampled respondents, out of 37 female land owners, 20 (54%) indicated to have experienced land conflicts. Out of 104 male landowners, 67 (64%) respondents experienced land conflicts. Table 19 illustrates land conflicts in which males and females were involved.

Table 19 : Land Conflicts Among Females and Males

Land Ownership	Sex of the Respondent	
	Female	Male
Experience	20 (54%)	67 (64%)
Dispute/conflict		
Not Experienced	17 (46%)	37 (36%)
dispute/conflict		
Total	37 (26%)	104 (74%)

It is evident from the findings that land disputes involving women are probably a result of societal views that women are helpless when attacked. In addition, the belief that women always depend on men on various issues can as well explain this situation. On the other hand, land disputes involving men are probably a result of men's tendency to have bigger and multiple farm holdings than women. Information collected from this study reported that generally conflict in between relatives and/or neighbours.

11.5.2 Institution addressing Land conflicts/Disputes

Land conflicts can be solved when an agreement is reached between the two parties, that is, the land-owner and the culprit. When the two parties fail to settle their conflict, this may turn into a land dispute. In land disputes an arbitrator is required to intervene in order to settle the dispute. Most sources of land disputes reported in Nyangao village involve disagreements on

farm demarcation. Clan members address cases of disputes informally. If the clan members fail then the disputed cases are sent to the village council commonly known as “*baraza la kijiji*”. If no solution is reached there, the case is sent to formal institutions for judgement. Many villagers are however not aware that formal institutions can offer them supportive services in addressing their land disputes.

Single, divorced and separated women as well as widows were of the opinion that it is better for them to send directly their cases to legal institutions than passing through clan elders. However, none of the respondents claimed to have sent her case to the primary court. Women claimed to be in a disadvantaged position when it came to bringing land matters to the *baraza*. This is because of their limited exposure to case proceedings in both ways, that is, in court or village *baraza* compared to men. Most men used to visit and observe the procedures during village *barazas* or court proceedings. By doing so, they get used to responding to the questions asked and how the arguments are framed. While men have enough time for doing all this, women have limited time to do the same due to their other responsibilities. In most cases, public forum or attending cases is not a women’s domain, once a woman tries to go to the *baraza* to gain exposure, fellow women often make awkward remarks and condemn her for being lazy. One woman had the following to say:

No! I do not think women can attend, I personally cannot. Imagine what would people think if they see a woman in such men’s gatherings?” (A middle aged Divorced Female Respondent, Female FGD)

This indicates the tendency of a majority of women in Nyangao village, who think that such gatherings are a male domain. If non-married women would go there, people would think that they are looking for men. Hence, gender role stereotyping coupled with the patriarchal social system orientation can be counted as limiting factors for women. This supports the expectation that gender role stereotyping influences women’s land rights.

11.5.3 Sources of Information in Addressing Land Matters

There is a relationship between gender and sources of information addressing land issues. The use of informal channels was more common among women than men. Female respondents reported that informal channels are easier to access than formal channels. Twelve women (60%) out of total of 20 female respondents who had problems with land used informal channels as source of information as opposed to only six men (9%) out of a total of 67 male respondents with the same problems.

Table 20 : Source of Information by Gender

Source	Female	Male
Informal Channel	12 (60%)	6 (9%)
Media (Formal)	4 (20%)	31 (46%)
Education Classes	-	4 (6%)
No response	4 (20%)	26 (39%)
Total	20	67

Men reported that in matters related to land disputes, using formal channels to address the issue is the best way. Women's sources of informal channels on information, especially those related to land matters, were through their relatives and friends. Reliance on informal channels among women is indicative of women's limited involvement in formal associations. Women reported that most of them trust on information solicited from their mother's side. This proves that the then matrilineal social system in this village has still an impact on informal information sources. However, it can be argued that the predominance of informal sources of information on which most women rely, can limit them from acquiring the required information in a detail. In most cases, informal sources of information tend to be confined to local knowledge. Therefore, if only localized sources are consulted, chances to access knowledge in its broader contexts are limited.

Media sources such as radio are a major source of disseminating information. Radio acts as a primary source of disseminating news on land rights. Many villagers especially women said that they cannot easily access news from media i.e. radio and news papers because they cannot afford them. Men on the other hand can gather together to play traditional chess "*bao*" while listening to news from a neighbour's radio. Women do not have such an opportunity as they are tied up with many domestic obligations. Therefore, lack of control over family possessions, including radio denies women's access to information. In many households, the final authority on purchasing family property, such as radio, is the head of the household. Therefore, men tend to control the use of those possessions. Information obtained from the female FGD tallies well with this observation. A female married respondent had the following to say:

“We have a radio at home but normally after farm activities my husband takes it out to listen with his friends” (A Middle aged Female Respondent, Female FGD)

Time constraints to listen to the radio programmes as well as financial limitation to own a radio are major limiting factors. This can partly explain the minimal involvement of women in

formal information channels compared to men. Newspapers and other printing media in Nyangao village are not easily accessible. Even when newspapers or printed media can be accessed in the village, they are still too expensive to afford by the majority. A male respondent said:

“Even if we would be able to get newspapers on time, they are expensive. In fact we have more important things to take care in our daily expenditures than to purchase newspapers” (A Youth Male Respondent, Male FGD)

Lack of basic formal education has also been connected to less knowledge on land matters. Education is conceived as important in seeking and interpreting knowledge on land rights. FGDs informed that those with no formal education used less sources of information and depended much on informal sources of information such as relatives and others. Those with formal education tend to use both informal channels and mass media. Hence, despite the fact that the media are a useful source of information it is not affordable to the majority in Nyangao village as observed earlier. Ownership of things such as radio is a prestigious symbol and a sign of affluence in Nyangao village.

11.6 Networking and Women’s Land Rights

The importance of networking cannot be overlooked. Networking is vital for sharing knowledge and information and strategies in addressing land matters. Sources of information regarding land rights, that is, formal and informal channels have been previously discussed. Networking is viewed as instrumental in informing people on institutions, which deal with land matters.

In Nyangao village, there are groups for mutual assistance. Although such groups are not many but there is increasing number of both men and women in those socio-economic groups. These include women’s economic groups, political parties, religious groups and marketing cooperatives. The majority of men were members of at least one formal association, such as the co-operative association “*chama cha ushirika*” and other Community Based Organizations (CBOs). Women on the other hand were involved in informal women’s savings groups commonly known as “*upatu*”.

Women in Nyangao village are not motivated to join formal associations due to time constraint. They are expected to divide their labour between home and other public activities in order to sustain livelihoods. Therefore, they find themselves not having enough time for association activities. In Nyangao village, women normally depend on extended family members or older children for help on household chores. The benefits of joining formal

associations are based on socio-economic advantages. Formal associations provide social networks to its members which link them internally and also to actors and organizations beyond the village. This was supported by a female respondent who said:

“It is through those groups that people get to know each other and exchange ideas. It is good to participate in the association’s activities if one has time” (A middle aged divorced, Female respondent)

Joining formal associations could help one to gain access to information regarding land issues. Associations are useful in disseminating information on various issues including land matters and development issues.

11.6.1 Empowerment of Women

Agarwal (1994) defines empowerment as a process which enhances the ability of the disadvantaged (powerless) individuals or groups to challenge and change (in their favour) existing power relations, that places them in subordinate economic, social and political positions. Two sources of empowerment have been identified: property rights for women and the organization and support of women groups to attain rights (Meinzen-Dick *et al.* 1997). Given the competition over resources, which are a defining factor in women’s status, women work collectively to gain rights and resources, which they otherwise do not and would not have.

The alternative way is to give women groups a chance to acquire land or to allocate land to them through the village government. Normally, the village government would give land to male members of households on the assumption that they are the heads of the households, as opposed to individual women. Due to the poor situation of women, many of them can not afford to purchase land individually, in addition to some customs and traditions, which also prevent them from inheriting land. Therefore, it is believed that in groups, women are able to achieve collectively what they cannot achieve individually. Thus, group formation and allocation of land, which is socially sanctioned in the name of development enable them to acquire productive resources as well as capital. The organization of women in groups enables them to have a voice that can be heard both by local and national governments. This can as well work as a step in the incorporation of women in decision-making within local organizations. For example, women groups in India were so successful that government departments took this as the most preferred structure for development programs (FAO 1989). Even in Tanzania, the government’s local machinery tends to support women’s groups more readily than individual women, for example through training. In addition, women groups form

an important part from which development agents can use them and make a difference in their lives.

11.6.2 Women's Vulnerability and Opinions on Improving Their Land Rights

Data collected from this study reveals that early marriages and pregnancies hinder women from improving their living condition. Adolescent pregnancies force girls out of school and the majority end up being single mothers. Both men and women had constructive ideas on improving women's land tenure security. The main point raised by both was related to supporting land rights to all due to the importance of land tenure security as a means to ensure ones' socio-economic independence and hence quality of life. Both men and women supported this, however women find the need to be considered as a separate category due to their long history of vulnerability in land matters. As an old female respondent said:

“Due to the current marriage situation, it is good for both men and women to have their own farms just in case their marriage collapses”
(An old age Female Respondent, Female FGD)

To improve women's condition, respondents raised the following suggestions: - First, allocate women land; both women and men were of the opinion that it is important for women to own land. Second, respondents, especially women, insisted on educating both males and females on the right of everybody to own land. Third, there is a need for equal distribution of land, this suggestion was raised and supported by the majority of women. However, most men were reluctant to accept this idea. Fourth, both male and female respondents supported the contention that the government should assist women to acquire land.

The information obtained revealed that not all women and men support women's rights to inherit land. However, a majority of the female participants called for the government to ban traditions that hinder women from holding land and ensure that land is democratically distributed.

Table 21 : Respondents Comments on Women and Land Ownership Rights (20 Females and 20 Males)

Comment	Support of the Comment by Gender	
	Female	Male
Allocate women land	20	9
Women can own land but they shouldn't inherit clan land	8	17
Women shouldn't own clan land	7	18
Educate women and men the right of everybody to own land	19	9
Educate Women the importance to own land	19	8
There is need for equal distribution of land	20	5
Government should assist women to own land	17	3
Eradicate traditions which deny women land rights	15	11
Women should be given first priority in land allocation	15	1

11.7 The Status of Land Tenure in Nyangao village

Land tenure security for Nyangao women is not bad. The generally assumed pathetic description of women's land rights in the matrilineal cultures has strongly been challenged by the Nyangao case study where women in some instances inherit and assume full control over land. This study supports other studies findings that there has been continued and conscious support to women's land rights in terms of access, ownership, control and inheritance (Mbilinyi 1997). The customary land tenure system practiced in Nyangao village is still confusing specifically, between old traditions and the socio-economic realities particularly from economic liberalization. Furthermore, the increasing presence of female heads of households challenges the customs and beliefs of the emerged patriarchal trends in Nyangao village that favoured sons in inheritance matters.

The second confusion in this study is related to the patrilineal social system and the capitalist system initiated by SAPs in Tanzania. The impact of SAPs, introduced in the 1980s, on the agrarian sector in Tanzania is strongly felt in the liberalization of land. At village and individual levels, SAPs impact on land tenure systems has been strongly felt in terms of increased monetization of land and increased impoverishment of rural masses (LARRI 1997). Land sales as well as land renting are associated with growing classes in rural areas. In this, the relatively well-off villagers can buy off peasants' land.

Land sales/rentals, that is, land privatisation is a relatively new phenomena in Nyangao village and is believed to have been enhanced by poor peasants' increasing inability to generate adequate cash from farming to meet social needs formerly provided by the state. A

well to do respondent in Nyangao village had the following to say during a session of in-depth interview:

“I have a big farm holding here in Nyangao village. I am planning to buy more farms even if that would mean to buy from far off locations. I believe Lindi of today will not be the same in the next coming five years. After the completion of the construction of the Dar es salaam – Mtwara road, it is my hope that Lindi will turn out to be an important business centre. As we are talking now, here in Lindi there are many Chaggas who are buying land in various villages. The Chaggas are business minded and fast, they have already sensed the potential of this region after the completion of the road project” (A middle aged Male Respondent, Interview)

It can be concluded that poor peasants who sell their land to rich people remain with nothing to re-distribute to their children. In this, social demand of patriarchy conflicts with capitalistic demands as argued by. James (1971):

“...private ownership also occurs when land acquires an intrinsic value by becoming scarce....development of individual proprietary rights in land capitalistic elements such as land alienation by sales, mortgages and leases set in.” (James 1971:63)

Studies conducted elsewhere in Tanzania clarifies this fact as observed by James (1971) that the situation of land tenure is worsened by land sales. For instance, a study conducted by Mbilinyi (1997) in Ruvuma region, Southern Tanzania, reiterates this fact that youth are failing to get access to family farms due to the increased value of land caused by increased land sales and land rentals to big farmers.

The connection of the economy of the country into globalized capitalism, causes social relations to become further integrated into money relations. The increased demand for cash as reflected and previously observed in land sales is mostly practiced to obtain cash for meeting other needs. This is not only detrimental to marginalized social groups but also threatens household food security. Due to SAPs economic and social impacts, an increasing number of female headed households, single parents and children born out of wedlock are evidenced in Nyangao village This trend characterizes new forms of households and social structures. All these features such as increased number of single mothers are tolerated and accepted and this challenges the contemporary land tenure systems. The patriarchal social relations in this village are challenged in everyday life experiences especially with respect to control over labour power of children and women. As men’s economic powerlessness increases, their ability to exert control over the labour resources of women is also reduced. This affects the household dynamics as well as land tenure system in this study.

12.0 CHAPTER TWELVE: Summary and Recommendations

12.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study was to analyse poverty specifically in relation to the gendered dimensions of land issues. In Tanzania, poverty still has a primarily rural face. Effective control over productive resources, especially land, by the rural poor is important for their capacity to overcome poverty. This is because subsistence agriculture is the main economic activity in all Tanzania villages including Nyangao. Land is the primary source to realize agriculture for over 98% of the villagers in Tanzania. Moreover, land has a multidimensional character; that is, in addition to being an economic resource, it is a focal point of communities in their self-identification, their cultural life and their social cohesion. As a consequence, lack of access to and loss of land can foster social exclusion, a diminution of human capabilities and cultivate violence and conflict.

This study established that women and men face different land tenure challenges. The findings unmask the existing power relations over land matters. The study points to the fact that problems related to the accessibility of land were among the major causes of women's vulnerability to poverty. Poverty, gender and land issues are complex but interrelated issues.

12.2 Summary of the Thesis and The Main Arguments Stated

The study examined variables such as household socio-economic characteristics for example age, size of household, religion, marital status, education, ethnicity and forms of access to land. The study covered the implications of the country's social economic changes notably the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), which have been implemented in Tanzania from the 1980s onwards. The Structural Adjustment Programs advocated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) pressurized the government of Tanzania to reduce social services and keep expenditures down. This have affected the adequacy of educational opportunities and health services for rural communities such as the Nyangao village. For instance, the majority cannot afford the costs involved in acquiring medical services. As a result, many families have been forced to operate under marginal circumstances and have been pushed to the brink of poverty.

Women and men are affected differently in land matters; that is, they face different challenges regarding land concerns. Findings from this research uncovered the contemporary

gender relations over land matters and the plight of women in relation to their vulnerability to poverty. Land accessibility, ownership and control was seen as a crucial means of securing shelter, security, food, income and social status. However, the study depicted that access, ownership and control to this basic need has many elements of gender imbalances. Female ownership and control of land were found to be complex. Discrimination of women in land matters was found to entail broader dynamics of social systems and the global political economy. Villagers in Nyangao village were more influenced by customary land tenure system than the statutory system. Women, in particular, were affected by the customary tenure rules. This study offered proof of a direct relationship between the marriage institution and women's land security whereas most of the married women holds usufructuary right only.

The study further noticed that women depend on land for their agricultural and non-agricultural economic activities. Most of their other economic activities use raw materials based on agricultural products. By contrast, men's raw materials for non-agricultural economic activities do not necessarily depend on farm based raw materials. Hence, land may even be more important to women than men.

There is an increased number of female-headed households in Nyangao village. This has increased gender sensitization among women through their life experiences and increased women's economic empowerment. This has also increased (though in small sizes) the number of female land owners.

The process of villagization in 1967 and its subsequent land laws and policies had their effects on women. Although this process was not meant to address gender imbalances, some people in the Nyangao village gained from it at the expense of others. The process introduced socialist "*Ujamaa*" villages, which facilitated the emergence of a multiplicity of machinery for land administration. Despite of its good objectives, the *Ujamaa* policy on the ground has been criticized as a failure not only economically but also socially and culturally. The Government implemented villagization in a top-down fashion in order to move people into villages. This has created opportunities for conflicting interests between the village government and clan leaders and victimized women even more as far as land matters were concerned.

12.3 Conceptualisations of Poverty

The majority of the population in Nyangao village was categorized as poor. The underlying causes for poverty as explained by local people themselves were analysed. Based on the local people's perception and their own indicators of poverty, the majority of the population in

Nyangao village were considered as poor. The most important indicator of poverty for many people was related to the question of land (that is, having little land or being landless). Women often fell into this category. In addition to the land issue, women were also categorized as powerless in decision making. Powerlessness also aggravated women's vulnerability to poverty. Among other factors, poverty was also described in terms of external appearance, that is, health and clothing as well as the type and condition of homesteads and most importantly, the size of farms, its development and its productivity.

Women in particular were considered to be poorer than men. The majority of the female headed households surveyed live in relatively poor housing, have a low level of education and own small farm holdings while others are landless. The causes of their poor situation can be categorized as follows: - Firstly, economic factors which includes:

- 1) lack of farm holdings, that is, inability or no right to own land through normal channels such as inheritance
- 2) lack of financial base including credit.

Secondly, social oppression reasons which includes:

- 1) lack of authority and decision making on important matters
- 2) oppression by husbands and unstable marriages
- 3) oppressive laws and practices with regard to inheritance
- 4) low level of education.

Thirdly, social responsibilities which includes:

- 1) too much work
- 2) shortage of labour
- 3) for some women, burden of bring up children singly.

12.4 Marriage and the Plight of Women

In the Nyangao village, the description of marriage resembles that of patriarchal tendencies whereby husbands and fathers control the major socio-economic resources, that is, family and clan land. The married people in Nyangao village (especially married women) are more respected than un-married people. The culture in Nyangao village has associated marriage with the gender roles stereotyping. Women are seen as the primary care takers of the family's well being while men are the controllers of cash incomes, land and some household properties, as verified in this study.

The study observed that most of the middle-aged respondents who were married had larger farm holdings than the majority of non-married youth and women in particular. For the

married couples, the study revealed that husbands have the final authority in regard to land matters and control of land. However, married women in Nyangao village are better placed in accessing land; they therefore enjoy the access right to the land owned and controlled by their husbands. Contrarily to the married women's easy accessibility to land owned and controlled by their husbands, the study established that the un-married women who happened to own land are in a more advantageous position than married women because they (un-married women) can exercise ownership and control rights.

The majority of male respondents in this study were married. The current trend is that when a male for instance is about to get married, he is allocated a farm by his family for residence and farming for his new family's needs. The patriarchal social relations in Nyangao village have also affected married women. This can be seen in matters related to decision-making on a family's land use, land transfer and income distribution. For instance, with respect to land transfer through inheritance, the majority of inheritors were found to be sons who have accessed such rights from fathers. However, the increasing land commercialisation poses a big threat to the inheritance system.

From the findings, women's powerlessness begins before marriage as they are expected to help their mothers in household chores and perform farm activities. Their fathers (head of household) control the outcomes of their labour in farms, that is, agricultural products. After marriage, their agricultural produce is controlled by men, that is, their husbands (head of household).

Household based gender relations relating to land matters are being transformed by new demands required for social survival. This is confirmed by the married women and men's positive attitudes towards their children's land rights. In terms of land transfers through inheritance for instance, the majority (married people) expressed the intention to extend such land rights to both daughters and sons, advocating for equal rights for both female and male children.

The relationship between marriage and women's land rights have been influenced by supportive government measures. For instance, the country's marriage Act of 1971 is more positive and supportive of married women's rights in terms of encouraging women to participate in decision-making. In addition, the divorcees are supposed to get half of their matrimonial property after divorce. The consolidated customary law expressed in GN No 436 of 1963 supports the widows' inheritance rights to matrimonial property. However, customary law continues to embrace patriarchy.

12.4.1 Inheritance and Land Purchase

Inheritance is the major mode of land acquisition in Nyangao village, followed by land purchase. Inheritance laws and practices therefore have a major role to play in ensuring that people get ownership rights to land. Forms of women's land acquisition and rights were found to vary depending on one's social status in the household.

Apart from inheritance, another form of land acquisition and ownership in the Nyangao village is purchase. Land purchase offers more tenure security and hence, is a better alternative mode of land acquisition for women. However, this is not the case as women generally have low income level and therefore low purchasing power, this inhibits their opportunities in farm purchase.

12.4.2 Gender and Land Rights in Nyangao Village

The study observed the existence of gendered differences in land matters in Nyangao village. Data from this study has repeated earlier findings of other researchers such as Swantz (1985) and Shivji (1998), demonstrating that women are more disadvantaged on land matters especially with respect to inheritance rights. On the other hand, this study has carried further arguments by Tibaijuka (1988) that women do enjoy some form of inheritance rights.

Land tenure as well as the kind of tenure tends to reflect gendered relations of power. Land rights may be either legal by court precedent or by statutory law known as *de jure* or land rights are legal by practice and/or by custom, known as *de facto*. Men are often associated with *de jure* land rights, and women with *de facto* land rights. The implications of this distinction can be seen on the relative strength and security of tenure by gender. In many cases, particularly in Africa, simultaneous systems of customary and statutory law have distorted the customary gender division of resources (Wangari 1991)

More knowledge has been gained on the increased number of women in Nyangao village with land ownership and control rights from their parents.

12.5 Land Conflicts and Disputes

The findings of the study associates land conflicts and/or disputes with the loosely defined customary land rules, especially on boundaries. The majority in this village have experienced some form of land conflicts as evidenced in this study. In this aspect, the study concludes that there is a need for more legal aid for both women and men involved in land problems.

12.6 Impacts of Socio-economic Reforms and Women's Position

The socio-economic reforms in Tanzania have had their own contradictory effects on the customary land tenure rules and on household gender relations in Nyangao village. Economic crisis and commoditization of land coupled with land market have motivated Nyangao based households to sell land/farms in order to earn quick money for meeting other cash needs for instance, school fees, hospital bills and other basic necessities. All these basic needs were formerly provided free by the government before the introduction of SAPs. Although land sales was still limited in Nyangao village, there were obvious indications that such sales would continue to rise and as a consequences, they would increase land tenure insecurity for those who depend on land inheritance or allocation by their respective families as well as on land renting. SAP had also created the commoditization of land which has led to more land alienation for sale by patriarchal and selfish household heads who worry little about their own future and/or that of their children. This has aggravated landlessness and land tenure insecurity for women and the next generation.

The SAP's impact on matters related to land originates from its aim of economic liberalization, which has benefited a few middle class people by allowing them access to opportunities to buy land from the poor household, as seen from the findings. This seemingly unguided economic liberalization has led to the commercialisation of land and, hence, the erosion of the foundations of customary land tenure such as land borrowing, and inheritance and clan/family allocation. All these ensured more security over usufructuary rights for women and landless poor. The primary consequence of the privatisation of land is that, the wealthier will be able to acquire more land and the poor less land: this will widen the gap between the landed and the landless class.

“energetic or rich Africans will be able to acquire more land and bad or poor farmers less, creating a landed and a landless class” (Swynnerton, 1954:10)

Swynnerton (1954) predicted that, in addition, land reforms by recognizing only males as “heads of households” have effectively institutionalised women's customary subordination to men. The rich and powerful have easily acquired land, while the poor and women have been easily left out (Wangari 1991). Swynnerton's prediction has, in fact, come true elsewhere in Tanzania and the truth is coming to Nyangao village, with women in particular suffering from this development. As verified from the findings, some well to do villagers have already started to buy off and accumulate more land holdings in Nyangao village. They believe that after the completion of the construction of the main road from Dar es salaam to Mtwara, the Nyangao village will be a strategic market point connecting Masasi, Mtwara and Lindi.

The increase in the acquisition of individual land rights, accelerated as it is by liberalization of land markets, also reduces patriarchal control and power over reallocation of land. James (1971) argued that processes such as these facilitate greater capitalist control over land tenure system. Land sales threaten the relative flexibility of the customary land tenure given to women in Nyangao village. It also create fear of removing subsidiary rights enjoyed by the landless through land borrowing and renting at low costs. Such sales also threaten the solidarity demonstrated in the Nyangao village by parents and daughters especially single mothers as evidenced from this study. Hence, capitalist patriarchal denies land tenure security to the majority of women and poor villagers in general.

Conclusively, it is the SAPs that have threatened to turn the poor peasants, especially women, poorer than before. The poor peasants, forced by circumstance to sell their farms for cash incomes to meet pressing social needs, remain with very small farms that do not suffice for their livelihood needs. Consequently, they are likely to become land-less in the long run. SAPs have turned the rural economy into a monetary one, accelerating the adoption of individualistic and capitalist principles of production and reproduction. In short, they have eroded the existing social relations based on land matters.

All the above mentioned lessons are derived from the Nyangao case study and are also echoed in the literature review on how the reforms brought about by SAPs interfere with the internal evolution of customary land tenure which might have been leading towards a more gender sensitive land tenure system.

12.7 The Application of Feminist Theory and its Contribution to the Study

This study has been influenced by the feminist theory. Its contributions to the paradigm include, the articulation of diverse forms of the patrilineal social system. It was possible to articulate both customary patriarchy and the global capitalist patriarchy within the context of contemporary land tenure matters in Nyangao village. The study highlighted the prevailed contradiction in both customary and global capitalist patriarchies. The two patriarchal forms bear conflicting interests. For instance, how the customary patriarchy, especially in matters related to inheritance rights, is being quickly overtaken by the global capitalist patrilineal trends in land sales and commercialization of land.

The information gathered from the Nyangao village has provided useful information on male support to the women's struggle in land tenure security. The support given by fathers to daughters in facilitating both the allocation and inheritance of family land is a step forward. Although some who want to practice the patrilineal social system challenged such support.

The males have recently broken with the patriarchal practice of denying women land inheritance rights as a result, there is beginning to emerge a more liberal culture of gender equality. Women's allies including fathers consider that land ownership and control as a women's gender need, as it aims at not only promoting equality between and among women and men but also reducing their vulnerability to poverty.

The marginalization of land tenure rights was not only faced by women, but also in some cases of the landless group which included males, especially the youth. The landless group, for instance, apart from being comprised by women, comprised a significant number of young male members of households whose patriarchal heads controlled land for distribution through the inheritance system. The poor male youth were also found to be victims of a global capitalist patriarchy whose policies of cost sharing in social services forced the heads of their respective households to sell their little farms in order to get money to meet other basic needs. The study has also shown how some of the very structures of patrilineal social system can be used to promote gender equality in land matters. Yet another useful contribution of this study is the proof that women can indeed take advantage of the inherent contradictions within the patrilineal social system in order to advance their own gender-specific struggles. Hence, the feminist theory which guided this study has contributed significantly to the development of the third World feminist paradigm.

12.8 Conclusion

Women in Africa are the major food producers and the core to the welfare of their families in most developing countries. However, the socio-economic structures continue to deny women's rights to major economic resources such as land. Throughout this study, land has been seen as one of the important factors in the fight against poverty. It is argued that land tenure reforms have created more land tenure insecurity for the marginalized groups such as women and youth. The flexibility provided by customary rules such as those observed in the study of the parents giving their daughters (single mothers) land holdings for their livelihood sustenance is threatened and probably it may not be the case for the women of tomorrow. This is because land tenure reforms is directly related with the capitalist system of land commoditization, privatization and commercialization. Large scale farming means more land is needed, capitalism cherishes large scale farming, for them this (large scale farming) is said to be both more economical and profitable.

The Nyangao case study has illustrated that gendered land tenure rights are instrumental in poverty reduction. The study suggests that women's access to and control over

land is crucial to economic development and poverty reduction in Tanzania, in particular, and in other areas, in general. Gender discrimination is outlawed in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania under the equality clause (arts. 12 &13) and the definition of the discrimination (art. 13(5)). However, approaches to mainstream women's land concerns in land policies and laws and even in development programmes have tended to lack adequate preparations.

Land provides livelihood, determines the status of the be-holder, provides a sense of belonging and, hence, possesses tremendous symbolic and economic significance. Therefore, the rights of marginalized groups need to be articulated as a part of a solution to gendered land security problems – a solution that entails overcoming deeply, rooted patriarchal institutions, attitudes, practices and policies. Therefore, this study calls for a more researches on gendered agrarian development so as to reduce poverty.

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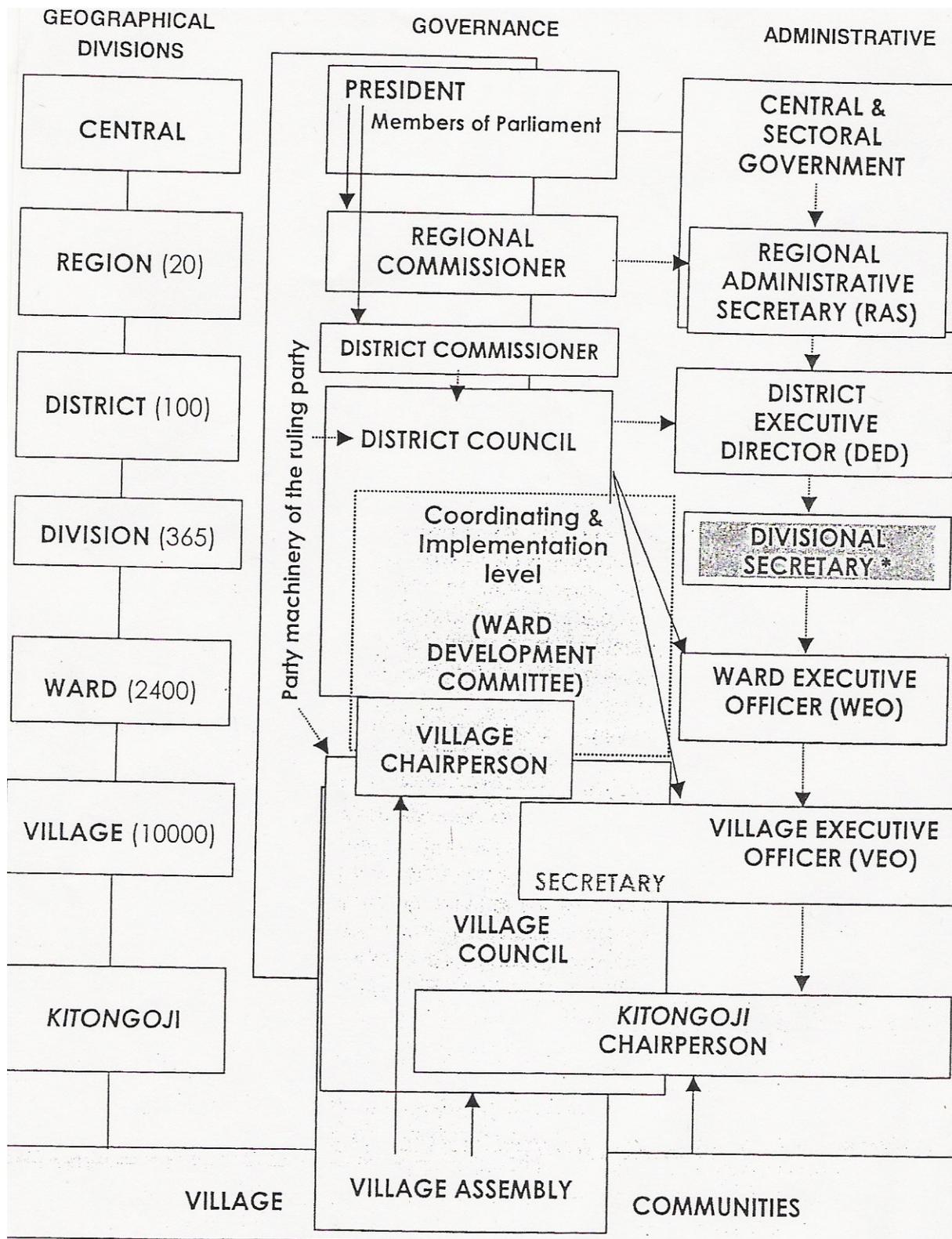
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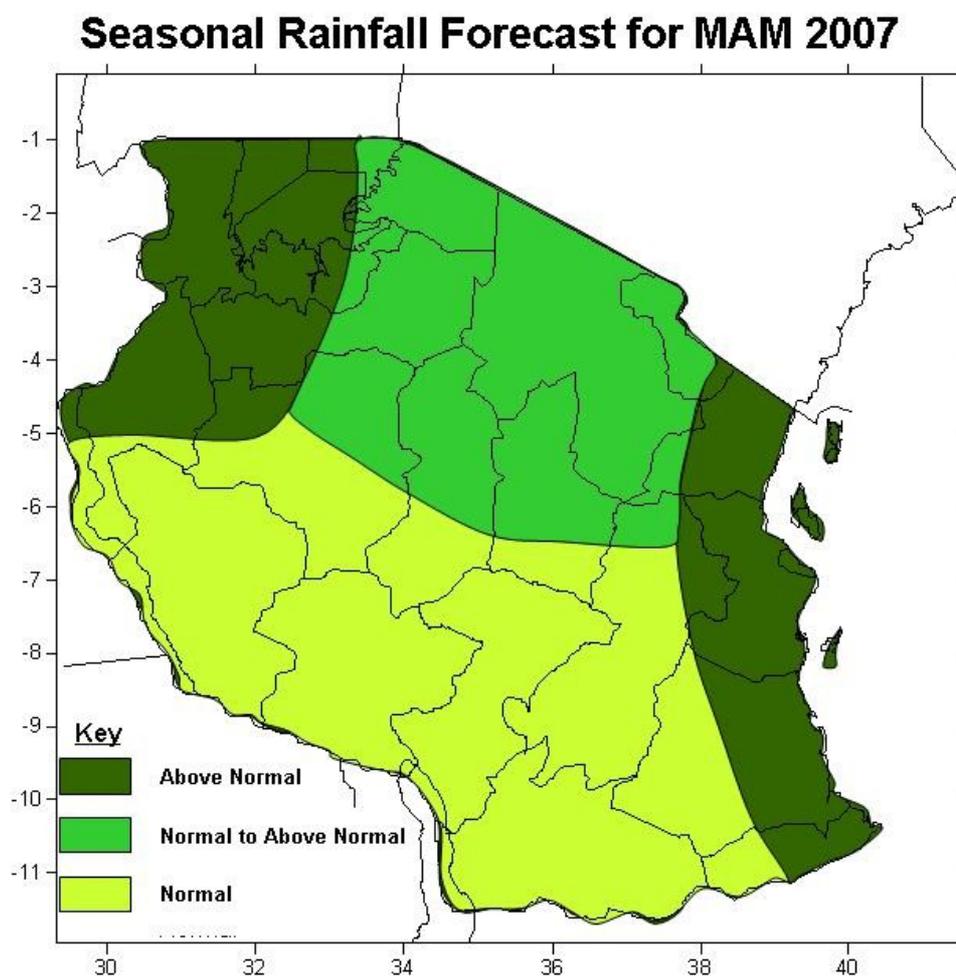
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APPENDICES

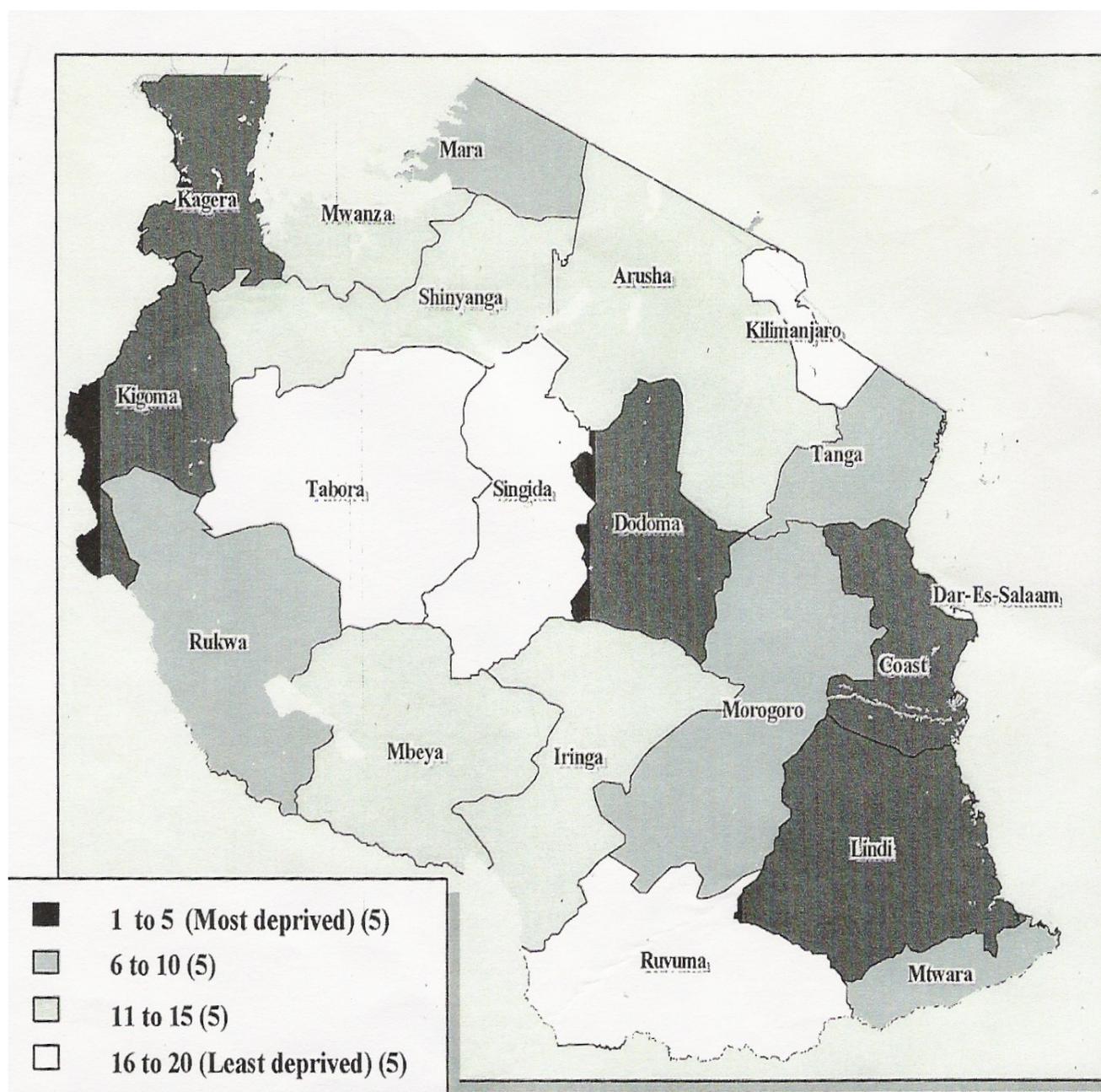
Appendix I: Local and Central Government Structure



Appendix II : Seasonal Rainfall in Tanzania

Source: Tanzania Meteorological Agency

Appendix III: Tanzania: Regional Variation in Poverty



Source: Tanzania, VPO, 1999:70

Appendix IV: Questionnaire and Interview Guideline

Interview Schedule I

Household Questionnaire No.....

Interview schedule for household respondents – Nyangao Village

Name of interviewer..... Household number.....

Date

A: Socio-Economic Data- (Cross or Circe the appropriate answer where a choice is given.)

1.Name of the household head.....

2.Sex of the household head : (Circle appropriate response)

1. Female.....

2. Male.....

3. Age: (Circle appropriate response)

01. 18 – 35 years.....

02. 36-55 years.....

03. 56 and Above.....

4. Ethnic group (Circle appropriate response)

01. Ngindo.....

02. Yao.....

03. Matumbi.....

04. Makonde.....

05. Others.....(Mention)

5. Marital status of the household head

1. Single

2. Married.....

3. Living together (Co-habiting).....

4. Separated.....
5. Widowed.....
6. Divorced.....

6. If married, type of marriage

1. Customary
2. Christian
3. Islamic
4. Others(specify)

7. Level of education (Educational Background)

1. No formal education.....
2. Primary education.....
3. Secondary.....
4. College.....
5. University.....
6. Others (specify).....

8. Religion of the household head

1. Muslim.....
2. Roman Catholic.....
3. Other Christian denomination.....Mention.....
4. Traditional
5. No religion.....
6. Other specify.....

9. Are you a native from this village?

1. Yes.....
2. No.....

10. If no, where did you come from (Place of Birth)

11. When did you start to live in this village?

12. Current household composition: Age, Sex, Education background, Activity i.e. out of school what are they doing, married. Information of dead members, Age when they die, Reasons for the death.

No.	Name of children	Sex	Age	Alive or dead	If dead when (age)	Reasons for death	Married?	Level of education reached	In school?	Activity specify

13. Other people belonging to this household

No.	Name of all the persons belonging to this household	Sex	Age	Relationship to the household	Education level	In school	Activity specify

14. Total number of people living in this household (From the above table, to be filled later by the interviewer)

1. Adult males.....
2. Adult females.....
3. Children males.....
4. Children females.....

15. Are there any members of the household living out of this village?

1. Yes.....
2. No.....

16. Profile of household members who are away

No.	Name of all persons belonging to this family who are away	Sex	Age	Relationship to the household Head	Education level	In School	Where are they	Their activity Specify	Are they supporting home? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Sometimes

17. Type of housing:(To be completed by the interviewer)

- 1) Mud walled with thatched roof.....
- 2) Mud wall with corrugated roof.....
- 3) Wooden wall with corrugated roof.....
- 4) Stone walled with tiled roof.....
- 5) Stone wall with corrugated roof.....
- 6) Other specify.....

B: Socio cultural information

1. Whose clan system do you belong?

1. Father.....
2. Mother.....
3. Others, Specify.....

2. Whose family's house are you living in?

1. Father.....
2. Mother.....
3. Mine.....
4. Other, specify.....

3. According to the kinship system in your family, who owns various properties such as land, house, money etc.?

1. Father.....
2. Mother.....
3. Both.....
4. Others specify.....

4. Who do you expect to inherit your properties such as land, house etc.

1. Wife.....
2. Husband.....
3. All my children.....
4. Male children.....
5. Female children.....
6. Others, specify.....

5. Are there any social cultural activities, which interfere with the labour calendar during the year?.....

.....

C: Socio-economic information

1. Are you a farmer?

1. Yes.....
2. No.....

2. (If Yes) What are the main food crops do you grow in your farm

- 1).....
- 2).....
- 3).....

3. What are the important cash crops do you grow

- 1).....

2).....

3).....

4. Do you have own land / shamba?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

5. If No, Why? (Mention)

1

2

3

6. If you don't own the land you work on, Who owns it?

1. Father

2. Mother

3. Husband

4. Uncle

5. Others (Specify)

7. Do you have intention to own land?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

8. How do you intend to have your own land?

1. To buy.....

2. Ask parents to allocate me.....

3. To clear in a new area.....

4. Request allocation from the village government.....

5. others (Specify).....

9. About ownership of *shambas*/ farm holdings (Please use guideline provided)

Farm Holding	A: Farm size in acres	B: How did you obtain	C: Distance from home in km
Farm one			
Farm Two			
Farm Three			
Farm Four			
Farm Five			
Farm Six			

Use the following Guideline for the table above:

A: 1. Less than 1 acre

2. 1- 3 acres

3. 4-6 acres

4. 7 – 10 acres

5. 10 acres & above

B: 1. Inherited

2. Purchasing/buying

3. Allocated by village govt.

4. Clan land

5. Other, specify

C: 1. Less than 1 km

2. 1 –3 Kms

3. 4-6 Kms

4. 7 – 10 Kms

5. 10 Kms & above

10. Is your land “*shamba*” adequate?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

11. Do you have enough land to allocate to all your children

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

12. Whom do you intend to pass your land to?

1. Sons only.....

2. Daughters only.....

3. Both (sons and daughters).....

4. Others (Specify).....

13. Have you experienced any land conflict/dispute?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

14. If yes, with whom and why? (Explain):

.....

15. What was the nature of the conflict/dispute?

.....
 Explain

16. What was the solution to the problem?

.....

17. Where did you obtain that solution (Explain)

.....

18. Were you satisfied with the judgement/solution?

1. Yes

2. No

19. If NO, why?

.....
(Explain)

20. Do you belong to any socio-economic, political or religious group?

1. Yes.....

2. No.....

21. If Yes, which

1. Religious group

2. Economic group

3. Traditional Association (specify)

4. Political party

5. Cooperative society

6. Others (Specify)

22. If No, why? (Explain)

.....

23. What are the major problems do you experience as far as land is concerned? (Choose as many as possible and add if possible)

- 1. Land is not enough
- 2. Can't own land.....
- 3. Lack of decision making on land use.....
- 4. Low soil fertility.....
- 5. Others (specify)

24. Mention other income generating activities owned by you

Activity	Number of people involved	Male	Female

25. Have you obtained any loan for your activities?

1) Yes.....

2) No.....

26. If "Yes" where did you obtain the loan?

- 1. Bank.....
- 2. Welfare group.....
- 3. Co-operative group.....
- 4. Informal groups.....
- 5. Other, specify.....

27. How did you use the credit?.....

.....

28. If "No" give reasons for not obtaining the loan/credit

.....

D: Gender division of labour at the household

1. Do you think that division of labour according to gender is culturally determined?

1. Yes.....
2. No.....
3. Don't know.....

2. Activity profile according to gender

Activities	Household labour				Time
	MA	FA	CM	CF	
Agricultural activities					
Land preparation					
Tilling					
Planting cash crops					
Planting food crops					
Weeding					
Fertilizer application					
Harvesting cash crops					
Harvesting food crops					
Marketing cash crops					
Marketing food crops					
Food storing					
Household activities					
Cooking					
Water collection					
Fuel wood collection					
Taking care of the children					
Building the house					

Cleaning the house					
--------------------	--	--	--	--	--

Key: MA=Male Adult; FA=Female Adult; CM=Child Male; CF=Child Female

E: Access and control of household products and resources by gender

3. Household products by gender

Resources	Access			Control		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Agricultural products						
Food crops						
Cash crops						
Farm inputs and equipments						
Fuel wood						

4. Household resources by gender

Resources	Access			Control		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Land						
Cash Income						
House						
Furniture & Equipments						
Others, Specify						

E: Gender and Changes

1. Have you noticed any changes in gender roles during the last two decades?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't Know

2. If the answer is Yes, What are those changes?

1. Increase in Female headed household
2. Increase number of women operating income earning enterprises
3. Increase Female leadership at public levels
4. Others (Specify)

3. What are the factors led to such changes

1. Deteriorating social norms and values
2. Increase on women socio-economic and power
3. Women avoid patriarchal orientation
4. Gender sensitisation, formal education and access to media
5. Others (Specify).....

4. How have such changes affected land ownership patterns?

1. Women can inherit and/or buy land
2. Women have access to land through allocation
3. Others, (Specify).....

5. Why do you think women should inherit land from their parents?

(Explain)

6. Are there any specific problems single, divorced and widow women (unmarried women) face with regard to land ownership?

1. Yes
2. No

7. If the answer is Yes, List three major problems

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

Interview Schedule II

For Village Government Leader

1. District
2. Ward.....
3. Village.....
4. Size of the village.....
5. Population of the village
 - Males.....
 - Females.....
6. Population Category
 - Female heads of households.....
 - Male heads of households.....
 - Christians.....
 - Muslims.....
 - Traditional religion.....
 - Other religion, specify.....
7. Main economic activities at the village level
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13. Main cash crops
 - 1
 - 2
 - 3
9. Main food crops
 - 1.....
 - 2.....
 - 3.....
 - 4.....
10. Average size of household farming area (Circle the appropriate)
 1. Less than 1 ha.
 2. Between 1 and 3 ha
 3. Between 3 and 6 ha.
 4. Between 6 and 10 ha.
 5. More than 10 ha

11. Social economic institutions
12. Primary schools.....
13. Dispensary.....
14. Health post.....
15. Shops / Stores.....
16. Market.....
17. Cooperative society.....
18. Church/ Mosque.....
19. Beer/ Pombe clubs.....
20. Permanent roads.....
21. Social groups.....
22. Others, specify.....
23. Has the village been registered? If “Yes” When ? (Give registration Date and Number)

Interview Schedule III

Guiding Points for Participant & Covet Observations

Issues to be observed by the researcher included the following:

1. Daily activities performed by the villagers such as collecting water, firewood and the distance travelled to get the resources.
2. Farming activities
3. Types of household built in the villages
4. Economic activities performed such as the local brewing, brick making, livestock keeping and marketing activities.
5. Attend various festivals and funeral services

Interview Schedule IV

Semi structured questionnaire for the indepth Discussion

Name.....Age.....
 Sex.....Occupation.....
 Education qualification.....Date.....

1. What would you say is the general status of poverty in this village:

1. Very extensive.....
2. Extensive.....
3. Average.....
4. Below average.....

2. Why do you think so?

.....

3. What would you consider as poverty indicators in this area (Mention)

.....

4. What are the main types of economic activities carried in this village

1.
2.
3.
4.

5. What are the other economic activities performed in this district / village

1.
2.
3.

6. Are these specific and other economic activities which helps to reduce poverty ?

1. Yes.....
2. No.....

7. If not give reasons and what are your opinions

.....

.....

8. How are the local people / villagers involved in planning developmental activities

.....

.....

9. Are those activities gender sensitive?

1. Yes.....
2. No.....

10. Explain How

.....

.....

.....

11. Are there any traditional barriers in economic activities?

Explain.....

.....

.....

12. What are the major problems which people in this area encounter as far as land is concerned.....

13. Can you explain about the customary law which controls distribution of land to villagers?

.....

14. In your opinion why do you think women have right to own land?

.....

.....

15. If "No" give reasons for women not owning the land

.....

.....

.....

16. Are there any traditional restrictions for land ownership to both men and women?

1. Yes.....
2. No.....

17. If yes, what are they.....

.....

18. What are your suggestions for improving traditional land ownership practices:

.....

.....

.....

19. What do you think are the causes changes or modifications of the matrilineal social system in this area.....

.....

Interview Schedule V

Guidance for Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Main issues raised:

- **Poverty**
- **Customs practices on land distribution and control patterns**
- **Customs and Practices o socio-economic activities**
- **Issues over land inheritance**
- **Division of labour**
- **Land Conflicts**
- **Marriages**
- **Circumcision and initiation rites**
- **Credit facilities**
- **Social system changes**