

# Mutual assistance and gender under the influence of cash economy in Africa: Case study from rural southeast Tanzania

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## Introduction

In the process of economic globalization, mutual assistance and gender relations have been largely influenced in many parts of the world. While mutual relationships have diminished in many parts of the industrialized countries within the process of economic development, there is an ironical thrust that places mutual relations and social networks as "social capital" mainly in developing countries (e.g. by World Bank) assessing its contribution for economic development. On the other hand, studies of the moral economy in East Africa have indicated that moral economies supported by mutual relations transform but remain even within the influence of the cash economy<sup>1</sup>, and indicate an alternative to the mainstream way of development<sup>2</sup>. However, influences of the cash economy on mutual relations have been a gray zone, and conclusions depended on the space of each case study.

Gender relations have also become one of the major issues in the process of globalization. While there is a general consensus that globalization has marginalized women, there are varieties of stances on the issue. A classic by Boserup elaborated how colonization and globalization marginalized women as victims, however, with interesting contrast between Africa and Asia, and argued the importance of

education for women to be incorporated into economic development.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Illich pictures subsistence economies based on gender transmogrified into sexist industrialized economies criticizing economic development within the capitalist economy as the major source of marginalization.<sup>4</sup> Recent literatures go beyond the women-as-victim approach and focus on the agency of women.<sup>5</sup> In spite of the fact that it has become one of the major issues within globalization, gender relations have rarely been discussed within the context of mutual assistance in changing societies. This article aims at providing a case study of mutual assistance and gender relations influenced by cash economy in Tanzania. The case is from Lindi Region located in southeast of Tanzania, where it is considered a periphery within the country with a strong cultural tradition with majority Islam.

## Methodology

Interviews were done in August 2006 in 2 neighboring villages in Lindi Rural District, Lindi Region, Tanzania. The interviewees were selected with a balance between the two villages, sex, and age. The interviews were done based on a structured questionnaire (Box 1), which was formulated after understanding the village context by residing about a few weeks in an average household in one of the

<sup>1</sup> Sugimura, Kazuhiko, "Kibarua Phenomenon and Moral Economy: A case of Sagara Community of Morogoro, Tanzania", International Conference on the Contemporary Perspectives on African Moral Economy, University of Dar es Salaam, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Sakamoto, Kumiko, "The Role of African Moral Economy in Endogenous Development", International Conference on Contemporary Perspectives on African Moral Economy, University of Dar es Salaam, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Boserup, Ester, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, Earthscan Publications, 1970.

<sup>4</sup> Illich, Ivan, *Gender*, Pantheon Books, 1982.

<sup>5</sup> Such as Chachage, Chachage S.L. and Marjorie Mbilinyi, *Against Neo Liberalism, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP)*, 2003; Beneria, Lourdes, *Gender, Development, and Globalization*, Routledge, 2003.

villages. The objective of the research was explained to the interviewees, as well as the fact that the results will not be disclosed to others as their answers. The set of questions were asked in Swahili orally in secrecy. Although the interview was based on a structured set of questions with a selection of the answers for the interviewers, the prepared answers were to the extent possible not disclosed to the interviewees for the answers to be open-ended.

**Box 1: List of questions asked in the interview**

**<About the interviewee>**

Name\*, *Ukoo*\*, *Kilawa*\*, village\*, Ethnic groups, Sex, age, Occupation, Education attainment, Age of *jando/unyago*

**<About family and groups>**

1. Who do you live with at home?
2. Who do you depend on in times of trouble?
3. Do you do activities with group(s) outside the family? Name and objective of the group\*

**<About crops, farms, and livestock>**

4. What kind of crops do you have on your farm?
5. Whose land do you farm on?
6. Where do you farm?
7. Do you have livestock?

**<About food>**

8. What do you eat everyday?
9. Who do you eat with everyday?
10. Do you eat with only people with the same sex or mixed?
11. What time did you eat what with whom yesterday?
12. In your household, was food sufficient throughout the year (2004-2006)?

If "No" ...

- A) For which months is food insufficient?
- B) If food became insufficient what do you do?
- C) Who do you depend one when food becomes in sufficient at home?

13. When was food insufficient throughout the village? How many people died of hunger?

**<About money>**

14. Has the need for money increased from before?

15. When are you in need for money?
16. Who do you depend you when you need money?

**<About work>**

17. Do you do more work for money (business, cash crops) compared to before?
18. Which sex do you think do more work for money?
19. Which sex do you think do more work for the house (housework)?
20. Which work do you think is important?
21. Which work do you like?
22. What do you think about the gender division of labor?

**<About mutual assistance>**

23. Do you help other people?  
If "Yes" ...  
A) On what occasions?  
B) Who do you help?
24. Do you help other people pound grain (*twanga*)?  
If "Yes" ...  
A) When?  
B) Who do you help?
25. When is it sufficient/relevant to help each other?
26. When is it insufficient/irrelevant to help each other?
27. Do you help each other compared to before?

\* Asterisk marked are unreported items.

The interviewers were part of a team that reviewed the contents of the draft structured questionnaire. All except the author were residents of the two villages. 67% of the interviews were done by the interviewer of the same sex as the interviewee, and the remaining 33% by the different sex (Table 0-1). 40 interviews were done by the author, and other interviews were done by the Tanzanian research assistants residing in the village.

Table 0-1: Sex of the interviewer and interviewee

Sex of interviewer	Sex of interviewee		
	Male	Female	Total
Male	34	15	49
Female	23	42	65
Total	57	57	114

In this article, the results of the interview will be explained with supplementary information mostly from the author's observation in the village for 4 weeks during August to September 2006. Based on the results and analyses, conclusions will be drawn.

## Results

### <About the interviewee>

In order to understand the background and context of the interviewee, their names, clan (*ukoo, kilawa*), village, ethnic group, sex, year born (age), occupation, educational attainment, year participated in adult ritual (*jando/unyago*) was asked. Among the questions, ethnic groups, sex, age, occupation, educational attainment, and age of *jando/unyago* are reported here.

#### 0-1. Ethnic groups:

Mwera	79
Makonde	15
Ngindo, Ndonde	9
Yao, Makua	7
Ngoni	3

Most of the respondents were Mwera, followed by Makonde, Ngindo (Ndonde), Yao (Makua), and Ngoni in the respective order. The area has a history of receiving Mozambique refugees (most of them Makonde) and residents of other areas during the *Ujamaa* villagization. An elderly Ngindo (Ndonde) man stated that he settled in this village during the *Ujamaa* period.

#### 0-2. Sex and age

Sex: 57 women and 57 men

Age: Ranging from ages 16 to 82

The sample was selected in order to have a balance between the 2 sexes, and also between the "young" and the "old".<sup>6</sup> In fact, the interviews were done to a same number of women and men (57). Most age groups (per decades) have samples around 20, except the 50s (Table 0-2).<sup>7</sup>

Table 0-2: Sex and age of respondents

Sex	Age										
	-20s	30s	40s	50s		60s		70s		?	Total
Male	10	10	10	7	1	9		7	1	2	57
Female	13	12	9	2	2	10	3		1	5	57
Total	23	22	19	9	3	19	3	7	2	7	114

Note: The age was calculated from the year born. Some elder women did not know the year born or age (indicated as "?"). Among them, some know which year they participated in *jando/unyago* (0-5). In such cases, the average age for *jando/unyago* was used to estimate their age (e.g. "50s?").

#### 0-3. Occupation:

Farming	89
Businesses	20
Other	5
No answer (n.a.)	2

Majority of the respondents engage in farming (89), followed by business (20). Most that engage in business are young women and men (Table 0-3). The village is located about an hour from Lindi town (capital of Lindi Region), and there is a market within the village, which may be a relatively conducive environment for business. This location increases, also, the influence of the cash economy.

Table 0-3: Occupation of respondents

Sex	Age	Occupation				Total
		Farmer	Business	Other	n.a.	
Male	16-45	19	5	3	1	28
	46-	25	1	2	1	29
Male Total		44	6	5	2	57
Female	16-45	19	12			31
	46-	24	2			26
Female Total		43	14			57
Total		87	20	5	2	114

#### 0-4. Education attainment

No education	23
Formal education	89
Madras	2

Majority of the respondents have educational attainment, however, minority (especially older women) have no education. 2 men were educated in madras (Table 0-4).

<sup>6</sup> In the analysis, the age groups 16-45 is take for the "young" and 46 above for "older" people.

<sup>7</sup> Those who answered that they don't know their age may fall in the 50s.

Table 0-4: Education attainment of the respondents by sex and age

Sex	Age	Education			Total
		No	Yes	Madras	
Male	16-45	2	26		28
	46-	4	23	2	29
Male Total		6	49	2	57
Female	16-45	3	28		31
	46-	14	12		26
Female Total		17	40		
Total		23	89	2	114

0-5. Age of *jando/unyago*

Average age 10

Almost all of the respondents participated in *jando/unyago* and they remembered which year they participated. Some who did not know their age knew the year they participated in *jando/unyago*. *Jando* and *unyago* is a ritual for boys and girls respectively. The average age for their participation is 10, which corresponds with information collected through group discussions, observations, and previous researches. Age of *jando* for men is performed at a younger age in comparison to *unyago* for girls (Table 0-5). The age of *jando/unyago* did not have a clear difference between age groups in this interview results.

Table 0-5: Age of *jando/unyago* by sex and age group

Sex	Male		Total	Female		Total	Total
	16-45	46-		16-45	46-		
Jando/Unyago age							
4		2	2				2
5	2		2				2
6	3	2	5	1	2	3	8
7	3	4	7	2	3	5	12
8	2	2	4	3	1	4	8
9	1	4	5	4		4	9
10	10	2	12	8	1	9	21
11	2	2	4	6		6	10
12	1	4	5	3	1	4	9
13	1	1	2	1	1	2	4
14		1	1		4	4	5
15				1		1	1
17				1	1	2	2
18				1		1	1
n.a.	3	5	8		12	12	20
Total	28	29	57	31	26	57	114

In summary, the sample of the respondents is taken with a balance between women and men, and age groups. Majority of the respondents are Mwera followed by Makonde; the majority engage in farming with minority in business (mostly young women and men); and majority are educated with minority without education (mostly older women).

The average age for *jando/unyago* is 10.

## &lt;About family and groups&gt;

The respondent's social relations are asked from the members of the household, participation in groups, and who they depend on generally.

## 1. Who do you live with at home?

Alone 9

With...Children 84

1 child: 28, 2 children: 22

3 children: 15, 4 children: 14

5 children: 1, 6 children: 3

7 children: 0, 8 children: 1

Wife/wives 46

1 wife: 42, 2 wives: 3, 3 wives: 1

Husband 29

Grandchildren 25

1 grandchild: 7, 2 grandchildren: 9

3 grandchildren: 4, 4 grandchildren: 5

Mother 4

Father 3

*Mdogo* (Younger brother or sister) 4

1 younger brother/sister: 3

3 younger brothers/sisters: 1

*Shemeji* (brother or sister-in-law) 4Including *wifi* (sister-in law): 1*Kaka* (elder brother) 3*Dada* (elder sister) 2*Baba mkbwa* (uncle: older brother of father) 2*Baba mdogo* (uncle: younger brother of father) 0*Mjomba* (uncle-brother of mother) 2*Mkwe* (parent of wife) 2*Mama mkubwa* (aunt: older sister of mother) 1*Mama mdogo* (aunt: young sister of mother) 0*Shangazi* (aunt: sister of father) 1

Daughter of sister-in-law 1

Children of *dada* (elder sister) 1

Other relatives 1

The majority of the people live with their children: the number of children ranges from 1 to 8, and the most common number of children that they live with is 2. More men live with their wife/wives in

comparison to women living with their husbands. This may have three explanations: (i) single unmarried mothers, (ii) widowed, (iii) polygamy: husband not living with one of the wife (respondent), or (iv) husbands working outside the village. I have met a few families of the first 3 types. Some respondents live with their mother, father, sister, brother, uncle, aunt, and other relatives.<sup>8</sup>

2. Who do you depend on in times of trouble?

(multiple choice)

1. Family and relatives 104

Male	Both	Female
Father 15		
Husband 12		
Kaka 12	Children 10	Mother 7
Mjomba 6		Wife 3
Baba mdogo 3		
Grandfather 2	Mdogo 1	
Baba mkbwa 1	Other 1	
51	12	10

2. Neighbors 20

3. Friends 3

4. Mlombo 1

6. Other 1

7. Myself 3

To a general question on who they depended on, almost all the respondents (104) answered that they depended on family and relatives. The most depended figures in the family are male family member such as the "father" (15), "husband" (12), "kaka" (older brother, 12), and "mjomba" (uncle: brother of the mother, 6). Children (10) and mother (7) are also depended on. Neighbors (20) are depended on after family, and the combination of depending on the family and neighbors are also frequent (14, Table 2-1). Looking into the sex and age differences of the responses (Table 2-2), women's answers concentrate on "family" only (47) with some answers of "family and neighbors" (8)

<sup>8</sup> Since people tend to omit answering members that live together who are far in relationship; respondents may live with other distant relatives.

and "neighbors". On the other hand, some men depend on others such as "friends" (3), "myself" (3), "mlombo" (a teacher in *jando/unaygo*) with various combinations.

Table 2-1: Whom do you depend on? Combination of multiple choices

	2 Neighbors		2	3 Friends		n.a.			4	Total
	3 Friends	n.a.		n.a.	3	n.a.	7	6		
1 Family	1	13	14	1	88	1				104
n.a.		6	6		1	1	1	1	1	10
Total	1	19	20	1	88	2	1	1	1	114

Table 2-2: Whom do you depend on? By sex and age

Sex	Age	1 Family			2 Neighbors			3 Friends			n.a.			Total
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	
Male	20s	8			1	1								10
	30s	8			2									10
	40s	7	1					1	1					10
	50s	5	2									1		8
	60s	4	1	1	1						1		1	9
	70s-?	10												10
Male Total		42	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	57
Female	20s	11	1	1										13
	30s	10	2											12
	40s	6	2	1										9
	50s	3	1											4
	60s	12	1											13
	70s-?	5	1											6
Female Total		47	8	2										57
Total		89	12	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	114

3. Do you do activities with group(s) outside the family?

No 89

Yes 21

Yes/No 4

When asked as participation in "groups", most respondents recognized it as a formal activity and answered that they do not participate in group activities (89).<sup>9</sup>

Within the 21 responses that answered participation in (formal) groups, relatively more men answered that they participated in such groups. There were also differences in age group of participation between sex. Young men of the 20s and older men of the 70s or above were the major participants of

<sup>9</sup> The question was accompanied with indication of the name and objective of the group, and "Yes/No" are answers recognized as participation in informal groups. For consistency, the question registered only answers that understood groups as formal groups, but the essence of social network in Africa is within the informal networks, and are asked in other questions. If participation in informal groups were explicitly asked, the answer to "Yes/No" is expected to have increased.

group activities within men, whereas middle aged women of 30s and 40s were the major participants in group activities (Table 3).

Table 3: Participation in groups by sex and age

Sex	Age	Yes	No	Yes/No	Total
Male	20s	4	7	1	12
	30s		12		12
	40s	1	8		9
	50s	2	6		8
	60s	1	7	1	9
	70s-&?	4	3		7
Male Total		12	43	2	57
Female	20s	1	10		11
	30s	2	8		10
	40s	3	7		10
	50s	1	3		4
	60s		11	2	13
	70s-&?	2	7		9
Female Total		9	46	2	57
Total		21	89	4	114

Women and men depended on family, relatives, and neighbors, but there were gender differences on whom they depended on. In their answers, more male family members were depended on, and men depended also on people outside the family or took part in group activities outside the family. An explicit difference was that women answered that they depended on their husbands (12), whereas no men answered that they depended on their wife.

#### <About crops, farms, and livestock>

The type of crops and ownerships of farms and live stock are asked in this section.

#### 4. What kind of crops do you have on your farm?

(multiple choice)

Maize	87
Rice	77
Millet	37
Cassava	32
Cashew	31
Coconuts	24
Sesame	17
Beans ( <i>mbaazi</i> )	32
Tomatoes	9
Spinach	2
Sweet potatoes	2
Other	8

Fruits, banana, orange, onion, pumpkins, sugarcane, beans (*kunde*), peanuts

No crops 7

The two major grain crops are maize (87) and rice (77), with relatively more farming of maize. In comparison, the traditional African food crop millet is farmed by less people (37), followed by cassava (32), and some sweet potatoes. The main vegetable (sub-food crop) is *mbaazi* (beans, 32), with other vegetables such as tomatoes and spinach. The major cash crops is cashew (31), coconuts (24), and sesame (17), but is not cultivated by all.

For the two major crops, about the same proportion of women (39) and men (38) farm rice, whereas more men (51) farm more maize than women (36, Table 4). In consideration to the fact that maize is mainly a food crop, whereas rice is a food and cash crop (proportion or all of the harvested rice is sold), this contradicts with the traditional belief that women are the major cultivator of food crop and excluded for cash crop. Although to a lesser extent, more men also answer that they farm millet (21), cassava (17), and sweet potatoes (2) in comparison to women (16, 15, and 0 respectively).

On the other hand, for all vegetables such as *mbaazi* (beans), tomatoes, and spinach, more women (19, 6, and 2 respectively) farm them in comparison to men (13, 3, and 0 respectively). For all the cash crops such as cashew, coconuts, and sesame, more men (20, 16, and 11 respectively) farm/own them in comparison to women (11, 8, and 6 respectively).

Although not exclusive of the other sex, this tendency is consistent with the traditional belief that the women have been responsible for food crop and men have occupied their space for cash crops.

There is also a difference between age groups. For women, more young women engage in farming for all of the crops (Table 4). For men, the age difference is not prevalent in most of the crops, but more younger men farm/own coconuts and more older men farm/own cashew.

Table 4: Kind of crops by sex and age

Sex	Age	Maize	Rice	Millet	Cassava	Mbaazi	Cashew	Coconuts	Sesame	Tomatoes	Spinach	Sweet potatoes
Male	16-45	25	20	11	8	8	9	11	6	1		1
	46-	26	18	10	9	5	11	5	5	2		1
Male Total		51	38	21	17	13	20	16	11	3		2
Female	16-45	21	23	10	11	10	7	6	5	4		
	46-	15	16	6	4	9	4	2	1	2	2	
Female Total		36	39	16	15	19	11	8	6	6	2	
Grand total		87	77	37	32	32	31	24	17	9	2	2

5. Whose land do you farm on? (multiple choice)

Ours with husband/wife	60
My own (alone)	31
Families	12
Rented	8
Group's	3
Neighbor's	3
Friend's	1
No farm	7

Majority of the respondents farm on their own farm with their spouse (60), followed by the answer that they own it alone (31). Other responses are farming on the family's farm or renting from a family (12), renting a farm (8), in most cases from different people every year, farming on a group's farm (3), neighbor's farm (3), and friend's farm. Some answered in combinations such as having their own farm, but also renting for group farming.

Table 5-1 indicates that more men answer that they own the farm with their wife in comparison to women, and that more women answer that they own the farm themselves. This corresponds with the results of question 1, indicating that more men lived with their wives (46) in comparison to women living with their husbands (29). Most women living with their husband answered that they owned the farm with their husbands (22), and most women living without their husband answered that they owned the farm on their own (20, Table 5-2). On the other hand, most men interviewed in the village lived with their wives and they owned the farm with their wife (32). In other words, more women independently own the farmland mostly because of the absence of the husband at home.

Table 5-1: Ownership of farm by sex and age

Sex	Age	Ours with wife/ husband	My own (alone)	With family	Rent	Group	Neighbor	Friend	No farm
Male	16-45	20	3	3	2			1	3
	46-	16	6	3	2	1	2		
Male Total		36	9	6	4	1	2	1	3
Female	16-45	12	11	3	2				3
	46-	12	11	3	2	2	1		1
Female Total		24	22	6	4	2	1		4
Grand total		60	31	12	8	3	3	1	7

Table 5-2: Ownership of farm and living with/without spouse

Sex	Living	My own (alone)	With wife/husband	Total
Women	with husband	2	22	24
	(without husband)	20	2	22
Total women		22	24	46
Men	with 1 wife	3	32	35
	with 2 wives	1	2	3
	with 3 wives		1	1
	(without wife)	5	1	6
Total men		9	36	45
Total		31	60	91

6. Where do you farm?

Near the lake	90
Mountains	72
Other	7

Average total acre 2.6, ranging from 0-12

To the question of the location of the farm, most of the people farm near the lake (90) followed by those that farm in the mountains (72). The location of the farm near the lake is relatively closer to the village, and they cultivate rice utilizing the flood of the lake for irrigation in the rainy season, and maize during the dry season. Coconuts are also planted. The location of the farm in the mountains is relatively further from the village in most cases, and major crops are maize, millet, cassava, mbaazi, sesame, and cashew.

Average total acre of the respondent's farmland is 2.6 acres ranging from 0 to 12 acres<sup>10</sup>. The most common acreage of ownership in one location is 1 acre (Table 6-1). Plots near the lake are less than 5 acres whereas a few plots in the mountains exceed up to 10 acres.

Table 6-2 indicates that while both men and women own/farm near the lake to the same extent, more men own/farm in the mountains (44 men to 28 women). In relations, more men farm both near the lake and the mountains (37) in comparison to

<sup>10</sup> This is a total of the plot near the lake and mountain if a respondent had multiple plots in different locations.

women (19). This corresponds with the tendency that more men cultivated crops that are cultivated mostly in the mountains such as maize, cassava, cashew, and sesame (questions 4). However, it does not necessarily explain about the *mbaazi* in the mountains cultivated more by women and the coconuts cultivated near the lake more by men.

Looking into the generation differences, much difference is not seen between generations within men (similar to the answers to question 4 on crops). The general tendency that more younger women in comparison to elder women seem to be engaged in farming (as seen crops) is common in the farm near the lake, but slight turnover is seen in the mountains. This may be related to the fact that the farms in the mountains are older than the farm near the lake in most cases.

Table 6-1: Location of farms and acre of each farm

acre	Near lake	Mountains	Other	Total
0.5	11	8	9	28
0.75 to 1	42	22	2	66
over 1 to 2	23	18	1	42
over 2 to 3	7	7	0	14
over 3 to 4	1	9	1	11
over 4 to 5	1	1	0	2
over 5	0	4	1	5
?	5	3	1	9
Total	90	72	15	177

Table 6-2: Location of farms by sex and age

Sex	Age	Near lake	Mountains	Lake and Mt.	Other
Male	16-45	24	23	20	5
	46-	23	21	17	
Male Total		47	44	37	5
Female	16-45	24	13	12	2
	46-	19	15	7	
Female Total		43	28	19	2
Total		90	72	56	7

Note: "Near lake" and "mountains" include respondents that both farm near "Lake and Mt".

In terms of total acre of land owned or farmed, more women tend to have smaller total acre of land ranging from 0 to 1.5 acres, whereas more men

Table 6-3: Total acre by sex and age

Sex	Age	0	0.5	0.75 - 1	over 1 - 2	over 2 - 3	over 3 - 4	over 4 - 5	over 5 -	na.	Total
Male	16-45	3	3	6	4	6	1	7	1		30
	46-	2	3	6	7	3	1	5	2		27
Male Total		3	2	6	12	11	9	2	12	3	57
Female	16-45	3	1	10	9	1	1	0	4	1	29
	46-	1	6	7	4	3	1	2	4	3	28
Female Total		4	7	17	13	4	2	2	8	4	57
Total		7	9	23	25	15	11	4	20	7	114

tend to have larger total acre of land above 2 acres (Table 6-3). This may be related to the fact that plots near the lake is smaller.

#### 7. Do you have livestock?

No 69

Yes 45

If "yes", what kind?

Chicken 33 : Average 11.4 chickens, ranging from 1 - 40

Goat 11 : Average 9 goats, ranging from 3 - 18

Duck 3 : Average 5 ducks, ranging from 4 - 6

Cow 1 : 3 cows

Pigeons 1 : 40 pigeons

Relatively more respondents answered that they do not have livestock (69). According to Table 7-1, younger men were the sex and age group who own the most livestock, whereas women, especially older women owned the least livestock.

Table 7-1: Ownership of livestock by sex and age

Sex	Age	Yes	No	Total
Male	16-45	16	14	30
	46-	10	17	27
Male Total		26	31	57
Female	16-45	11	18	29
	46-	8	20	28
Female Total		19	38	57
Total		45	69	114

Even within the types of livestock (45), most of the answers were chicken (33) which is one of the smallest livestock.<sup>11</sup> The average number of ownership is 11.4 chickens, ranging from 1 to 40. 11 respondents owned goats, ranging from 3 to 18 goats, with the average of 9 goats. 3 respondents owned ducks, ranging from 4 to 6 ducks with the average of 5 ducks. One respondent owned 3 cows, and one respondent owned 40 pigeons. According to Table 7-2, more young male respondents answered that they owned chickens in comparison to other age /sex groups.

<sup>11</sup> One of the respondents even asked whether chicken can be considered a livestock.



Table 7-2: Type of livestock by sex and age

Sex	Age	Chicken	Goat	Cow	Duck	Pigeon	Total
Male	16-45	12	3		1	1	17
	46-	7	3	1	1		12
Male Total		19	6	1	2	1	29
Female	16-45	7	4				11
	46-	7	1		1		9
Female Total		14	5		1		20
Total		33	11	1	3	1	49

## Ownership

Alone	11
Co-ownership	20
With...wife	9
husband	5
child	2
group	1
other	3

The common type of ownership of the livestock was co-ownership (20) rather than ownership alone (11). Among the co-ownership, 9 owned them with his wife, 5 with her husband, 2 with a child, and 1 with a group. Chickens were owned both alone and with someone (Table 7-3). More women owned it alone (6) in comparison to men (3), and more men shared ownership (6) in comparison to women (3). Most goats were co-owned (7), but 2 female respondents owned them alone. Duck, cow, and pigeon were all co-owned.

Table 7-3: Type of livestock and ownership by sex and age

Sex	Age	Chicken		Goat		Cow With	Duck With	Pigeon With	Total	
		Alone	With	Alone	With					
Male	16-45	2	4	6	1	1		1	1	9
	46-	1	2	3	3	3	1	1		7
Male Total		3	6	9	4	4	1	1	1	16
Female	16-45	3	2	5	1	3	4			9
	46-	3	1	4	1	1		1	1	6
Female Total		6	3	9	2	3	5		1	15
Total		9	9	18	2	7	9	1	1	31

Table 7-4 indicates what types of livestock was co-shared with each of the co-owners. 5 female respondents shared goats, chickens, and ducks with her husband. 9 male respondents shared chickens, goats, ducks, and pigeons with his wife. One female respondent shared a goat with her child and one male respondent shared a cow with his child. A male respondent co-shared chicken with a group.

Table 7-4: Co-ownership and livestock type, by sex and age

Sex	Age2	Ownership					With husband/wife			With child			With group		With other		Total
		Chicken	Goat	Duck	Pigeon	Total	Goat	Cow	Total	Chicken	Goat	Total					
Male	16-45	4	1	1	1	7											7
	46-	1	1			2		1	1		1	1		1	1		5
Male Total		5	2	1	1	9		1	1		1	1		1	1		12
Female	16-45	1	2			3	1		1								4
	46-	1		1		2											2
Female Total		2	2	1		5	1		1								6
Total		7	4	2	1	14	1	1	2		1	1		1	1		18

Both men and women farmed rice near the lake, but more men farmed maize and other grain and cash crop in the mountains, and women cultivated vegetables. Women also had smaller plots near the lake, in comparison to men with larger plots in the mountains. More women own both land and livestock alone as a result of the absent husband in the households.

## &lt;About food&gt;

Questions related the food, food security, and responses to food insufficiency are answered in this section.

## 8. What do you eat everyday?

Morning	Tea	78
	Cassava	55
	Porridge	49
	Other	25
	Nothing	3
Noon	<i>Ugali</i> (maize)	109
	Rice	27
	Cassava	22
	Millet	1
	Nothing	4
Evening	Rice	90
	<i>Ugali</i> (maize)	58
	Millet	21
	Cassava	19

Most people drink tea in the morning (78) with cassava (55) or porridge (49) in the morning. For lunch, most of them each *ugali* cooked from maize flour (109). For dinner, people prefer to eat rice (90), but will opt for *ugali* (58) if it is not available/affordable. These results basically correspond with

the crops grown in the villages (question 4).

### 9. Who do you eat with everyday?

Family 108

Male	Both	Female
Husband 31	Children 79	Wife 40
Father 3	Grand 21	Mother 4
<i>mjomba</i> 3	children	<i>Dada</i> 3
<i>Kaka</i> 2	No one 6	<i>sheme</i> 2
<i>baba mkbwal</i>		<i>mama mkubwa</i> 1
		<i>mkwe</i> 1
40	106	51

Alone 6

Almost all of the respondents (108) eat with their family except for 6 respondents that eat alone. Most of the respondents eat with the family members that they live with (question 1). There is a gender bias to eat with female family members, which is probably related to the fact that women do the cooking.

### 10. Do you eat with only people with the same sex or mixed?

Mixed	88
Same sex	23
Alone	3

The majority of the people eat with mixed sex (88) but 23 responded that they practice gender division in eating. Within the respondents, more women answered that they eat with mixed sex (50) in comparison to men (38), whereas more men (16) eat with the same sex in comparison to women (7, Table 10). It is noticeable that no women in the 40s or the 50s practice gender division of eating. This may be due to their reproductive role. The missing husband may also be an explanation that they don't have an adult of the opposite sex to practice gender division of eating. This response is for daily eating, but for special occasions such as weddings and funerals, men and women eat separately.

Table 10: Do you eat with only people with the same sex or mixed? By sex and age

Sex	Age	Mixed	Same sex	Alone	Total
Male	20s	7	1	2	10
	30s	6	3	1	10
	40s	7	3		10
	50s	6	2		8
	60s	5	4		9
	70s-&?	7	3		10
Male Total		38	16	3	57
Female	20s	11	2		13
	30s	11	1		12
	40s	9			9
	50s	4			4
	60s	9	4		13
	70s-&?	6			6
Female Total		50	7		57
Total		88	23	3	114

### 11. What time did you eat what with whom yesterday?

The most common eating schedule in the dry season is drinking tea (74) and eating cassava (22) or porridge (19) with family (94) as breakfast at 8 o'clock (54); eating *ugali* (101) with family (90) at 12 o'clock (52) or one o'clock (32); and eating rice (74) with family (91) at 20 o'clock (80, Table 11). This corresponds with the responses asked generally in questions 8 and 9. However, it needs to be noted that August is after harvest with ample food, and the menu is expected to change during the rainy season. Millet, which is more energy effective than rice, and *ugali* of cassava were explained to be eaten when food is insufficient.

Table 11: What time do you eat what with whom?

	What time	What	With who
Morning	5:00	1 tea	74 Family 94
	6:00	1 cassava	22 Alone 7
	7:00	19 porridge	19 Neighbors 1
	7:30	4 rice	9 Friends 1
	8:00	54 potatoes	9
	8:30	2 chapati, mandazi	7
	9:00	14 bananas	5
	10:00	12 vitungua	2
	12:00	2 ugali	2
	13:00	1	
Noon	12:00	52 Ugali	101 Family 90
	12:30	4 rice	3 Alone 7
	13:00	32 cassava	1 Neighbors 1
	13:30	2 millet	1 Friends 1
	14:00	12	
	14:30	1	
	15:00	1	
	16:00	1	
	19:00	1	
	20:00	1	
Evening	17:00	1 Rice	74 Family 91
	19:00	6 Ugali	33 Alone 7
	19:30	2 cassava	3 Friends 1
	20:00	80 millet	2
	20:30	10	
	21:00	7	
	22:00	1	
	24:00	1	
	1:00	2	

12. In your household, was food sufficient throughout the year (2004-2006)?

No 85  
Yes 29

Majority of respondents (85) answered that food was insufficient throughout the year. More women, especially older women in their 60s answered that it was insufficient (Table 12-1).

Table 12-1: In your household, is food sufficient throughout the year? By sex and age

Sex	Age	Yes	No	Total
Male	20s	5	5	10
	30s	3	7	10
	40s	2	8	10
	50s	3	5	8
	60s	1	8	9
	70s-&?	4	6	10
Male Total		18	39	57
Female	20s	6	7	13
	30s	3	9	12
	40s		9	9
	50s		4	4
	60s	1	12	13
	70s-&?	1	5	6
Female Total		11	46	57
Total		29	85	114

If "No" ...

A) Which months did you have sufficient/insufficient food?

Majority of the people had sufficient food during June to November after the harvest in the dry season (Table 12-2), however, did not have sufficient food during January to March in the rainy season (Table 12-3).

Table 12-2: Number of people with sufficient food for the month

Year/Month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2004	12	5	6	35	46	73	75	73	72	66	63	47
2005	12	6	7	35	45	75	78	77	76	67	61	47
2006	15	8	8	39	49	77	79	81				

Table 12-3: Number of people with insufficient food for the month

Year/Month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2004	66	74	73	44	33	6	4	6	7	13	17	33
2005	67	77	76	48	38	8	5	6	7	16	21	36
2006	66	73	74	43	34	6	4	3				

B) If food in insufficient, what do you do?

Buy from ... 52  
 ...shop: 30, market: 32, friends: 2, neighbors: 4  
 Do work (*kibarua*) for... 43  
 ...relative(s): 12, neighbor(s): 12, friend(s): 5,  
 anyone: 8  
 Get food from the forest 13  
 Do business (for/with) 11  
 ...relative(s): 1, neighbor(s): 3, anyone: 1

Get food from ... 10  
 ...relative(s): 5, neighbor(s): 6, friend(s): 3  
 Borrow money (*mkopa*) from ...8

...relative(s): 2, neighbor(s): 2, friend(s): 1  
 Eat at ...'s house 5 ...relative's:2  
 Other 3

When they have insufficiently food, many of the respondents get temporary jobs (*kibarua*, 43) and then buy food (52) from shops (30) or market (32). Some work for relatives (12) or neighbors (12), but others work for anyone (8) who has money. Other responses are to get food from the forest (13), to do business (11), to get food from others (10), to borrow money from a rich person for the expected crop (*mkopa*, 5), or eat at other's house (5). People also get food from neighbors (6), relatives (5), and friends (3). *Mkopa* is not necessarily preferred because they have no choice but to sell the crop with a low price.

C) Who do you depend one when food becomes insufficient at home?

Family and relatives 65

Male	Both	Female
Husband 21		
Father 11	Children 12	Wife 11
Kaka 7		Mother 10
Baba mdogo 2	Mdogo 2	Mama mdogo 2
baba mkbwa 1		Dada 2
Grandfather 2	Other 3	Grandmother 2
	42	17
		27

No one 7  
 Myself 4  
 Neighbors 3  
 Groups 2  
*Mlombo* 1  
 Others within the village 4  
 Others outside the village 2

Family and relatives (65) are the most depended on when food becomes insufficient at home. Within the family, husband (21) is most frequently depended on, proceeded by children (12), wife (11), father (11), mother (10), and older brother (*kaka* 7). 4

respondents depend on their own strengths (*uguvu*) such as doing temporary work (*kibarua*), 3 depend on their neighbors, and 7 answer that they have no one to depend on. Although the husband come to the top of the list by far in comparison to the rest of the family members, less gender bias is seen in comparison to the general question who the respondents depends on (question 2).

13. When was food insufficient throughout the village? How many people died of hunger? This question seems to have been a difficult question to get a precise answer, but the food insufficiency in 2005 that 59 respondents remember have also be confirmed through a different source (Table 13). Due to the lack of food, the regular festival (*ngoma*) in the harvest season has been banned by the government in 2005. While many of the respondents answer that no one died (18), one of the respondents explained that a few died from improper cooking of the food from the forest.

Table 13: Year food was insufficient, and number of death

Year	No. of response	death	No. of response
1946	1	0	1
1952	1	-	1
1972	1	-	1
1976	4	5	1
		?	3
1982	1	-	1
1985	1	?	1
1997	1	?	1
1998	4	0,10	1 each
		?	2
1999	1	A few	1
2000	4	0	2
		A few, ?	1 each
2001	4	0	3
		?	1
2002	8	0	2
		2	6
2003	13	2	5
		4	2
		?	5
		0,7	1 each
2004	17	0	6
		1	2
		?	5
		2,4,10	1 each
2005	59	0	18
		1	3
		2	5
		?	25
		3,5,19,	1 each
		Few, many	
2006	6	1,2	1 each
		?	4

People drank tea in the morning, ate *ugali* for lunch, and rice for dinner with family in the dry season. Food is sufficient especially during June to November, but majority of the households lack food during January to March. There were years when food was insufficient throughout the village, such as 2005 although many did not recognize people dying of hunger. People mostly depend on family especially the husband, but less gender bias is seen compared to other problems. When people lack food, the typical strategy is to do temporary work for others (*kibarua*) and buy food.

<About money>

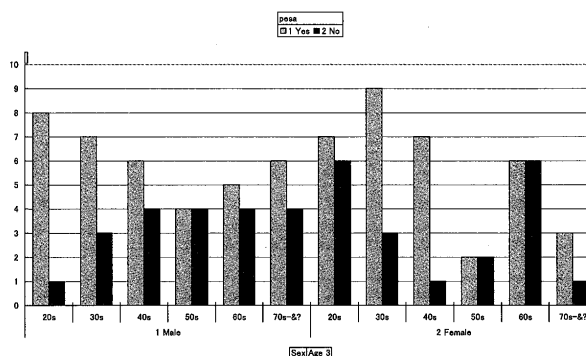
The influence of the cash economy, the problems people encounter, and the person to turn to is questioned here.

14. Has the need for money increased from before?

Yes	70
No	39
Don't know	4
Other	1

Most of the respondents (70) answer that the need for money increased from before. Both women and men consider that the need for money increased, but the peak differs by age groups (Graph 14). The peak of men for the need for money is the 20s, whereas the peak for women is the 30s. This may be related to the fact that men need to pay money as brideprice to the family of the bride-to-be. Women seem to be in need for money at the age one is expected in society to have married and/or have children.

Graph 14: Has the need for money increased from before?



To the question when the need for money increased many people answered during 1995-2004 when President Mkapa was in rule (18), or during 1985-1994 when President Mwini was in rule (Table 14). 1986 is the period when structural adjustment and liberalization started.

Table 14: From when has the need for money increased from before?

Sex	Age	Long time ago	1961-1981	1985-1994	1995-2004	2005-2006	?	Other	Total
Male	20s		0	3	2	1	4		10
	30s		1	0	0	1	8		10
	40s		3	0	2	1	3		9
	50s		0	0	1	0	6		7
	60s		2	0	2	0	4	1	9
	70s-&?		2	2	0	0	4		8
Male Total			8	5	7	3	30	1	53
Female	20s	1	0	1	2	2	7		13
	30s	1	0	1	3	0	6	1	12
	40s		0	1	1	1	6		9
	50s		0	1	2	1			4
	60s		0	1	3	1	8		13
	70s-&?		0	0	0	0	6		6
Female Total		2	0	5	11	5	33	1	57
Total		2	8	10	18	8	63	1	110

15. When are you in need for money? (multiple choice)

All the time	45
Health problems	42
Hunger	40
To educate children	7
Marriage	2
Funerals	3
Rainy season (Dec. - May)	5
Dry season (June - Nov.)	8
After harvest (Nov. - Dec.)	4

The three major answers to the question when people need money are "all the time" (45), health problems (42), and hunger (40).

16. Who do you depend you when you need money?

Family/relative	80
-----------------	----

Male	Both	Female			
	Children	27			
Husband	22				
Kaka	8				
Father	6	Dada	6		
Mjomba	3	Mdogo	3	Wife	4
Baba mkbwa	2	Grandchildren	3	Mother	3
Baba mdogo	2				
Grandfather	1	Other	1	Mkwe	1
	44		34		14

Myself (Men 17, Women 4)	21
Friends	5
No one	4
Anyone	2
Neighbors	2
Groups	1
Others from the village	5
Others outside the village	1

Majority of the people turn to their family or relative when they are in need for money (80).

Within the family, children (27) are the most depended on by far. There are families that have children in the city who work for money, which explains this result. The husband is depended on next (22) to the same extent as for food (question 12C), and more than when asked generally (question 2). Others who are depended on are older brothers (*kaka*, 8), father (6), and older sister (*dada*, 6). The gender bias to where to turn to is stronger in comparison to food (question 12C), but weaker in comparison to when the question asked in general (question 2). Not a few people answered that they depended on themselves (21), most of the men (17). Other persons to turn to are friends (5) and neighbors (2), but others answer anyone (2) or no one (4).

Summing up this section, the need for money has increased, especially for men and young women. Many feel that they are in need for money all the time, but especially when they have health problems and when they are in hunger. People turn to their family, especially children when in need for money.

#### <About work>

In this section, influence of cash economy on work and perceptions on the types of work and gender division of labor is questioned.

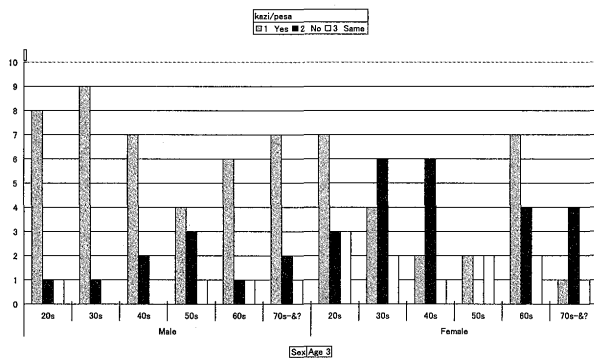
17. Do you do more work for money (business, cash crops) compared to before?

Yes	64
No	33

Same 15  
n.a. 2

Relatively more people feel that they do more work for money (64) such as business or cultivation of cash crop in comparison to before. Majority of men feel that they work more for money whereas only about half of the women feel that they work more for money. More men in all age groups feel that they work for money, whereas women of age groups only in the 20s and 60s feel that they work more for money (Graph 17).

Graph 17: Do you do more work for money compared to before? By sex and age



18. Which sex do you think do more work for money?

Men 78  
Same 20  
Women 13  
Depends on the person 1  
n.a. 2

Majority of the people think that men do more work for money (78), followed by the opinion that both sexes work for money (20), and then women (13). There was also an answer that it depends on the individual. Although both more men and women answered that "men" worked for money, the answers that "women" worked more for money came only from women. All age groups of male respondents answered that "men" do more work for money, whereas most answers that considered "women" to be doing more work for money came from the women in the 60s (Table 18).

Table 18: Which sex do you think do more work for money? By sex and age

Sex	Age	Men	Women	Same	Depends	n.a.	Total
Male	20s	8	1	1			10
	30s	8		1	1		10
	40s	9				1	10
	50s	6		2			8
	60s	7	2				9
	70s-8?	7		3			10
Male Total		45	3	7	1	1	57
Female	20s	9	2	2			13
	30s	8	2	2			12
	40s	6		3			9
	50s	2	1	1			4
	60s	5	5	3			13
	70s-8?	3		2		1	6
Female Total		33	10	13		1	57
Total		78	13	20	1	2	114

19. Which sex do you think do more work for the house (housework)?

Women 110  
Men 2  
Same 1  
n.a. 1

Almost all of the respondents (110) regardless of their sex and age considered that women did more work for the house.

20. Which work do you think is important?

(Multiple choice)

- 1. Housework 18
- 2. Farm work for food (food crop) 61
- 3. Farm work to get money (cash crop) 32
- 4. Other work for money (cash) 9
- 5. Same 36

The most common answer for the most important work was "farm work for food" (61) followed by answers that they considered all the work important (36), "farm work to get money" (32), housework (18), then "other work for money" (9). Among those answers, 20 responded that both kinds of farm work as important, 23 responded "farm work for food" only is, and 12 responded that both "farm work for food" and housework is important (Table 20-1). This indicates that the policy since independence that emphasized agriculture still lives within people.

Looking into sex and age disaggregation, both men and women, young and old, also considered farm work for food most important (Table 20-2). However, men (24), especially older men (15), consider farm work for cash almost as important and

a few (8), especially young men (5), consider other work for money important. On the other hand, not a few women (17) both young and old, give housework its importance.

Table 20-1: Which work do you think is important? Combinations of multiple choices

Reproductive activities		Productive activities					Total
		2	3. Cash crop only	3. Cash crop & 4. other work for cash	4. Other work for cash	5. Same	
	1. Farm food only	23	20	2	2	36	48
	1. Farm food & 2. housework	12	1				13
	2. Housework	4	1				5
	Total	41	28	4	5	36	114

Table 20-2: Which work do you think is important? By sex and age

Sex	Age	1. Housework	2. Farm work for food	3. Farm work for cash	4. Other work for money	5. Same
Male	16-45	1	15	9	5	7
	46-		16	15	3	6
Male Total		1	31	24	8	13
Female	16-45	8	17	7		13
	46-	9	13	1	1	10
Female Total		17	30	8	1	23
Total		18	61	32	9	36

21. Which work do you like? (Multiple choice)

- 1. Housework 20
- 2. Farm work for food 55
- 3. Farm work to get money 30
- 4. Other work for money 15
- 5. Same 32
- 6. Other 4

Almost half of the respondents (55) also answered that they liked farm work for food, followed by the answer that they liked all kinds of work (32), farm work to get money (30), housework (20), and other work for money (15) in the same order as the previous question. The major difference was the increase of "other work for money" (6). The combination of the work that they like show a similar trend that many like both farm works (19), followed by "farm work for food" only (20), then "farm work for food" and housework (13, Table 21-1).

Both women (30) and men (25) liked the farm work for food that they considered important the most. Men also liked farm work for cash (23), and women liked housework (18). However, there were a few young men that considered farm work for food important but they liked other work especially for money (Table 21-2).

Table 21-1: Which work do you like? Combinations of multiple choices

Reproductive activities		Productive activities			Total	
		3. Cash crop only	3. Cash crop & 4. other work to get cash	4. Other work to get cash		
	35	5	3	10	53	
	2. Farm food only	20	19	1	1	41
	2. Farm food & 1. Housework	13	1			14
	1. Housework	5	1			6
	Total	73	26	4	11	114

Table 21-2: Which work do you like? By sex and age

Sex	Age	1. Housework	2. Farm work for food	3. Farm work for cash	4. Cash, other	5. Same	6. Other
Male	16-45	1	9	8	7	5	4
	46-	1	16	15	4	6	
Male Total		2	25	23	11	11	4
Female	16-45	8	16	5	3	12	
	46-	10	14	2	1	9	
Female Total		18	30	7	4	21	
Total		20	55	30	15	32	4

22. What do you think about gender division of labor?

- Good 48
- How things are (as is) 4
- Bad 49
- Other 7

About the same number of respondents answered that they considered division of labor "good" (48) or "bad" (49). According to Table 22, more women considered it "good" in comparison to more men considering it as "bad". According to this result, it may be interpreted that women are satisfied with their reproductive role, but men are unhappy with their responsibilities to earn money and would like to be involved in reproductive activities as well. However, this contradicts with the process of the group discussion where women complained their workload. Also in consideration to the interview process, this result to this question needs to be used with caution.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> There may have been a problem in communicating the contents of the question. The term "gender division of labor" was not easily understood at first by the respondents, and had to be explained using their responses to questions 18 and 19. The explanation needed extra effort for the interviewer to be neutral about how the question was set, and in my experience, women hesitantly but strongly started complaining their work overload only when the setting was right. Comparing answers per interviewer, I have registered both answers, but other interviewers registered answers biased to either of the answers.

Table 22: What do you think about division of labor? By sex and age

Sex	Age	Good	As is	Bad	Other	0	Total
Male	20s	2	1	6	1		10
	30s	3		5	1	1	10
	40s	2		6		2	10
	50s	4		4			8
	60s	1		5	2	1	9
	70s-&?	2		6	2		10
Male Total		14	1	32	6	4	57
Female	20s	6	1	4	1	1	13
	30s	8		4			12
	40s	8		1			9
	50s	2	1	1			4
	60s	6		6		1	13
	70s-&?	4	1	1			6
Female Total		34	3	17	1	2	57
Total		48	4	49	7	6	114

In this section, it has become clear that people are doing more work for money, especially men but not exclusive of. On the other hand, housework is done exclusive by women and shows gender segregation within the work. However, both women and men consider farming for food (followed by or in combination with "for cash") the most important work and they also select it as the work that they like. Farm work for cash and other work for cash are given proceeding importance and preference by men, whereas housework is by women. There were also young men that understood the importance of the farm work for food, but *liked* other work such as business.

#### <About helping each other>

In this section, direct questions related to mutual assistance is questioned.

#### 23. Do you help other people?

Yes 94

No 19

Almost all the respondents (94) answered that they help other people. It was also noted that when they answered "No", they gave explanations that they were too old to help now, and they are being helped by other people. These explanations are consistent with the age disaggregation in Table 23. There were also a few young women who considered that they were too young to help others.

Table 23: Do you help other people? By sex and age

Sex	Age	Yes	No	n.a.	Total
Male	20s	10			10
	30s	9	1		10
	40s	9	1		10
	50s	7	1		8
	60s	6	3		9
	70s-&?	8	1	1	10
Male Total		49	7	1	57
Female	20s	10	3		13
	30s	12			12
	40s	6	3		9
	50s	3	1		4
	60s	9	4		13
	70s-&?	5	1		6
Female Total		45	12		57
Total		94	19	1	114

If "Yes" ...

#### A) On what occasions?

Hunger	65
Sick	48
Funerals	42
Jando/unyago	37
<i>Hitima</i> <sup>13</sup>	34
Weddings	33
Education	24
Any time	15
Rainy season (months 12-5)	11
When someone has a problem	10
Dry season (months 6-11)	2
When I can help	2
Other	24

Majority of the respondents (65) answered that they help others when they are in hunger. Almost half of the respondents answered that they help the sick (48) and for funerals (42). About 30% answered that they help others in the occasion of *jando/unyago* (37, adult rituals for children), *hitima*<sup>13</sup> (34), and weddings (33) respectively. A fewer people responded that they help in education (24) or answered that they help anytime (15). In terms of seasons, 11 responded that they help in the rainy season, but a few answered in the dry season. 10 answered that they help when someone has a problem, but a few answered that they help when they can. The tendency is that they help during the hard times,

<sup>13</sup> *Hitima* is reading Koran in funerals, funeral sermon, feast of a funeral service, etc.



but there is also the question of capacity to help others.

### B) Who do you help?

Family and relatives 87

Male	Both	Female
	Children 31	
Father 11		Mother 15
Husband 8		Dada 10
Kaka 7	Grandchildren 7	Shangazi 7
Mjomba 7	Mdogo 3	Wife 6
Grandfather 5		Grandmother 4
		Shemeji 4
		Mkwe 4
Baba mkbwa 2		Mama mdogo 2
Baba mdogo 2		Mama mkubwa 1
42	41	53

Neighbors	33
Friends	18
Anyone	10
Others in the village	9
Others outside the village	7
Mlombo	3

Majority of the respondents answered that they help their family and relatives (87), followed by neighbors (33), friends (18), and anyone (10). Within the family, children are most helped (31), followed by the mother (15) and the father (11). Although more women answered that they depend on their husbands in previous questions, more women answered that they help their husbands in comparison to men answering that they help their wives.

### 24. Do you help other people pound grain (*twanga*)?

Yes	63
No	43
Other	8

Over half of the respondents answered that they help others pound grain. Almost all of the women (54) answered that they do, and a few men (9) answered that do as well (Table 24). Pounding grain is considered a women's job, and in the period of my 4 weeks stay, I have seen many women helping each other in various units and occasions to pound grain, but seen only twice where men were helping the family pound grain.

Table 24: Do you help other people pound (*twanga*) grain? By sex and age

Sex	Age	Yes	No	Other	Total
Male	20s	2	6	2	10
	30s	1	8	1	10
	40s	3	7		10
	50s	1	6	1	8
	60s		8	1	9
	70s-&?	2	5	3	10
Male Total		9	40	8	57
Female	20s	13			13
	30s	12			12
	40s	9			9
	50s	3	1		4
	60s	11	2		13
	70s-&?	6			6
Female Total		54	3		57
Total		63	43	8	114

Within those who answered "Yes"...

### A) When?

Funerals	45
<i>Hitima</i>	44
Weddings	39
<i>Jando/unyago</i>	45
Anytime	7
Other	20

The most frequent occasion to help pound grain was for funerals (45), *hitima* (44), and *unyago/jando* (45). This was consistent with my observation during the harvest season in 2006. Before the celebration for *unyago*, women were invited to help pound grain, and since many participate in *unyago* at the same time, many women go to multiple houses to help pound grain in the same day. Women also went to help pound grain for funerals.

### B) Who do you help?

Neighbors	45
Family	42
Friends	27
Other	5
Any one	5
Groups	4
<i>Mlombo</i>	3

They help neighbors (45), family (42), and friends (27) pound grain. This also corresponds with my observation during my stay, but the occasion to help family, neighbors, and friends differ. Family and

close neighbors help each other in pounding casually, for example when an old mother/women is sick. This is also a rare occasion that men may decide to help his wife/mother pound grain. Relatives, neighbors, and friends are requested help for special occasion such as *unyago* or funerals. A relatively larger number of people help pound grain, and in return they are served food.

25. When is it sufficient/relevant to help each other?

<b>1. Sickness</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>2. Hunger</b>	<b>61</b>
3. To send children to school	25
4. <i>Jando/unyago</i>	45
5. Weddings	40
<b>6. Funerals</b>	<b>55</b>
7. <i>Hitima</i>	39
<b>8. Flood</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>9. When the house is burned</b>	<b>46</b>
10. Other	12
11. Anytime	15
12. Rainy season ( <i>kifuko, masika</i> )	15
13. Dry season ( <i>kiangazi</i> )	10
14. In time of trouble	10

It was answered that in times of hunger (61), sickness (59), funerals (55), flood (49), and when the house is burned (46), it is relevant and/or sufficient to help others. Other occasions were *jando/unyago* (45), weddings (40), and *hitima* (39). Rainy

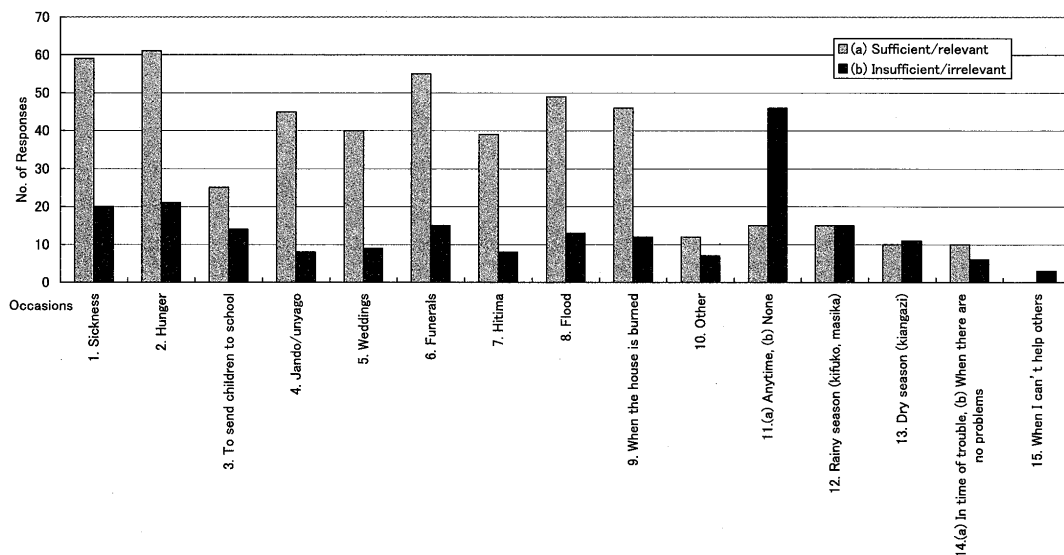
seasons (15) when people are in hunger had more answers as a relevant season to help each other, but those who answered dry season (10) felt that helping each other is sufficient only in the season with ample food. There were also answers such as "anytime" (15) or "in time of trouble" (10).

26. When is it insufficient/irrelevant to help each other?

1. Sickness	20
2. Hunger	21
3. To send children to school	14
4. <i>Jando/unyago</i>	8
5. Weddings	9
6. Funerals	15
7. <i>Hitima</i>	8
8. Flood	13
9. When the house is burned	12
10. Other	7
<b>11. None</b>	<b>46</b>
12. Rainy season ( <i>kifuko, masika</i> )	15
13. Dry season ( <i>kiangazi</i> )	11
14. When there are no problems	6
15. When I can't help others	3

Less people selected occasions irrelevant/insufficient to help each other, and the most frequent answer was that there were no occasion that is irrelevant to help each other (46). But some felt the mutual assistance is insufficient in times of hunger (21),

Graph 25/26: When is it sufficient / relevant or insufficient/irrelevant to help each other?



sickness (20), funerals (15), rainy season (15), and to send children to school (14).

Comparing the answers with the previous question (Graph 25/26), people consider that it is relevant to help each other in most of the occasions, and there is no occasion irrelevant to help each other. However, less people consider helping others to send their children to school, which may be considered an individual problem.

27. Do you help each other compared to before?

Yes	47
No	36
Same	30

Relatively more people evaluate that they help each other compared to before (47). Men in most age groups (except the 60s) consider the mutual assistance as improved from before (Table 27). On the other hand, women show a mixed picture, and many women in the age group of 30s and 40s consider that they help each other less these days.

Table 27: Do you help each other compared to before? By sex and age

Sex	Age	Yes	No	Same	Other	Total
Male	20s	5	1	4		10
	30s	5	3	1	1	10
	40s	9	1			10
	50s	5	2	1		8
	60s	3	4	2		9
	70s-&?	2	1	7		10
Male Total		29	12	15	1	57
Female	20s	5	3	5		13
	30s	3	7	2		12
	40s	2	4	3		9
	50s	2	1	1		4
	60s	6	5	2		13
	70s-&?		4	2		6
Female Total		18	24	15		57
Total		47	36	30	1	114

There was general tendency of strong mutual assistance, and that it has not diminished substantively. The most important mutual assistance was in time of hunger, followed by sickness and funerals, and the assistance was provided beyond the family to neighbors and friends. The contents of assistance differed, and women were exclusively helping each other pounding grain. The overload of the middle aged women may be one of the reason that they feel mutual assistance has decreased in

comparison to before.

### Summary and Conclusions

From the results of the interviews supplemented by observations, the following summary and conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, people have a dimension that they live in subsistence from the perspective that they farm their own food. However, there is also a dimension that the need for money has increased over the years, especially for sickness and hunger. This confirms the influence of the cash economy, but in combination with the subsistence economy.

Secondly, there were confirmations that mutual assistance continued to exist, and relatively more recognized it as increasing. For the problem of food insecurity during the rainy season, most people survive with help from family, relatives, and neighbors. The *kibarua* phenomenon previously reported by Sugimura as a transformation of the moral economy under the influence of the cash economy<sup>14</sup> was also confirmed in southeast Tanzania. The method of getting money by selling future crop (*mkopa*) was also identified, although not as popular.

People helped each other in times of hunger, sickness, and also death (funerals). One of the respondents explained that they used to help each other for food, but now they help each other for food and money. In other words, the case study indicates the continuation of mutual assistance transforming under the influence of the cash economy.

Thirdly, gender differences in mutual assistance at various levels were also identified. When asked who respondents depended on, most mentioned their family and neighbors, and more women specified their husband, whereas some men extended his network also outside of the family and neighborhood to groups and friends. However, in reality, women have a rich set of social network such as mutually assisting in pounding grain. They help family and

<sup>14</sup> Sugimara 2005 (footnote 1).

close neighbors on daily basis, and they help relatives, neighbors, and friends on special occasions such as *unyago*, funerals, and weddings.

Fourthly, the different style of ownership of land and livestock pointed at the absent husband at the rural household. More rural men owned land and livestock with their wives that they lived with, but more rural women owned land and livestock alone because they did not live with their husbands at home. This may be an area to be further analyzed whether this leads to independence or vulnerability of women.<sup>15</sup>

The fifth point is on the agricultural division of labor. The farming system of the area had both consistent and contradicting areas in comparison to previous studies of African agriculture considering women to be responsible for food crop and men for cash crop. The consistency was that men dominated traditional cash crops such as cashew and coconuts, whereas women farmed vegetables such as beans and spinach. The contradictory part was that mainly men farmed food crops such as maize, millet, and cassava, whereas both women and men farmed rice which was a food and cash crop.

This agricultural division of labor may be explained as following. Coconut was introduced by the Arabs along with the Islam religion. Ilife argued that women in the regions of Islam influence were "spared the agricultural drudgery which was their lot in most inland societies."<sup>16</sup> This Islam influence may have decreased the women's role in the food crops such as maize, cassava, and potatoes that were introduced to Tanzania during the proceeding Portuguese rule, and also in coconuts.<sup>17</sup> In addition, cash crop such as the cashew introduced during the colonization was dominated by men. The women's role in rice is based on assumption, but may be a

relatively new crop that both women and men take part in. The gender division of labor in agriculture has dynamically changed over the course of history, and is likely to change in the future based on daily negotiations.

Lastly, the gender divisions of labor under the influence of the cash economy also have a mixed picture. Relatively more men engage in more work for money, and all women engage in housework indicating gender division of labor between productive and reproductive sphere. However, both men and women engage in farm work for food, and consider it the most important work. In this respect, the shared responsibility of men and women in food production is an important area not only for food security, but also in linking production and reproduction creating a space of endogenous gender relationships. In this respect, the proposal by IMF for households to switch from food crop to (exportable) cash crop for (economic) poverty reduction<sup>18</sup> should be criticized from the perspective of food insecurity *and* segregation of gender roles.

In conclusion, the case from southeast Tanzania provides an example where mutual assistance and subsistence are sustained even under the influence of the cash economy. When we turn to the gender relations that have been accumulated through the history including the influence of the cash economy, there are explicit area that the influences of the cash economy have further segregated the men to the productive sphere and women to the reproductive sphere. This is a worldwide phenomenon of human deprivation as a result of the capitalist economy. From this perspective, the shared responsibility of men and women in food production links reproduction and production, corresponding to the direction of endogenous development that I have previously envisaged.<sup>19</sup> Under the influence of the cash economy, will African societies continue further

<sup>15</sup> The influence of the matrilineal tradition in southeast Tanzania may also need to be considered.

<sup>16</sup> Iliffe, John, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p.38.

<sup>17</sup> Sakamoto, Kumiko, *Social Development, Culture, and Participation*, Waseda University, 2003, Table 2-1.

<sup>18</sup> International Monetary Fund, United Republic of Tanzania: Ex Post Assessment of Longer-Term Program Engagement, 2006, p.8 (<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2006/cr06198.pdf>).

<sup>19</sup> Sakamoto 2005 (footnote 2).

segregation of productive and reproductive spheres, or will they be able to indicate examples of endogenous development overcoming human alienation? I would like to keep my attention to the choices of the women, men, and societies.

### **Acknowledgement**

Many thanks to respondents for their co-operation, my "family" in the village who treated me like a real family, interviewers for the assistance, and Katsunori Tsuda for assistance in input of the data. Thanks to village, ward, district, and regional officials for their understanding, Dr. Servious Likwelile for his supervision, and COSTECH for the permission to continue my research on "Social Development and Culture". The field research trip and the interviews were funded by a research project "Endogenous Development in Rural East Africa: Characteristics and its global relevance" funded by Grant-in Aid for Scientific Research (Kakenhi), Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). I would also like to thank Utsunomiya University for additional funding to allow observation in the same village.

## アフリカにおける貨幣経済の浸透と相互扶助・ジェンダー —タンザニア南東部農村の事例から—

阪本公美子

### 要 約

本論文は、アフリカにおいて貨幣経済の影響を受け、相互扶助の形態やジェンダーがどのように変容したかをタンザニア南東部農村の事例において考察したものである。リンディ州の2つの農村で行なった男女に対するインタビューから以下の6点が明らかとなった。

第1に、人びとは食べ物の生産など自給自足的な側面も保持している。しかし、過去と比較して、生活において病気に対処するためなど貨幣の必要性が増した状況となりつつある。

第2に、貨幣経済の影響を受けその形態は変容しつつも、相互扶助関係は現存している。過去には食糧を中心とした相互扶助関係であったが、現在は食糧不足に陥った場合、現金のある者が臨時に雇用するなど、現金と食糧による相互扶助関係へと変化している。

第3に、そのような相互扶助の関係は男女によって異なり、一面においては女性が家族・近隣関係に限定され、男性が家族・近隣関係とともにグループ、友人関係にもネットワークを広げている。しかし、女性独自に展開している相互扶助関係もある。

第4に、土地や家畜の所有方法は、女性が個人で所有しているのに対し、男性は妻と所有していることが多い。この背景には、農村に住んでいる殆どの男性が妻と住んでいるが、女性は必ずしも夫と住んでいるとは限らない事があげられる。その理由はさまざまであるが、このことが女性の独立に繋がるのか、脆弱性に繋がるのかは、注意が必要な点であろう。

第5に、農業における男女分業は、イスラム教の伝授、植民地などを経て現在に至っており、男性が換金作物、女性が野菜の栽培を担当していることは従来の先行研究に沿う結果であった。しかし、男性が主にモロコシ・雑穀・キャッサバなどの穀物を、男女がともに米を栽培している点は、従来の研究と必ずしも一致しない。

最後に、貨幣経済の浸透に伴い男性が換金作物や商売、女性が家事を担当している傾向があり、男性を生産活動、女性を再生産活動に隔離している現状もみられた。他方、男女ともに食糧生産には従事しており、この点は、生産活動と再生産活動が一体化した経済のもと、男女の健全な関係を表している。

以上のことから、本事例では貨幣経済の影響を受け変容しつつも、相互扶助の機能及び自給自足的な側面も保持しており、もうひとつの内発的発展のあり方も示している。他方、男女分業については、貨幣経済の影響を受け、男性が生産活動に、女性が再生産活動に隔離されつつある状況がみられ、このことは、世界的にも見られる現象でもある。生産活動と再生産活動が一体化した自給自足的な活動における男女分業と異なり、貨幣経済の浸透による男女分業は生産活動と再生産活動が分離させられ、資本主義経済による人間性の剥奪とも深く関連している。今後、更なる貨幣経済の浸透による生産活動と再生産活動の分離をすすめるか、貨幣経済の影響を受けつつも人間疎外を克服し、アフリカ独自の内発的発展のあり方を示すか、過渡期にあると言えよう。

(2006年11月2日受理)