Gender Equality in Tanzania



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Introduction

Progress towards gender equality and empowerment of Tanzania's women is taking place in a national context that has changed dramatically since 1995 and that offers new opportunities for initiatives to transform unequal gender relations. Specific national commitments towards gender equality were made at the 1995 Fourth Global Conference on Women in Beijing. The first democratic multi-party elections took place, and there is an increasingly vibrant civil society with NGOs addressing many specific gender equality issues. Reform of government institutions provides opportunity to address gender issues in the civil service and local government; and there is new and proposed legislation on sexual offences and land. At the same time Tanzania has experienced a widening of the income gap between rich and poor, increasing urbanisation, declining formal employment opportunities and deteriorating provision of health, education and water, all of which have significant gender implications.

There have been numerous gender profiles¹, overviews of the situation of Tanzanian women and statistical handbooks comparing women and men produced during the 1990s. Whether entitled "women" or "gender," these focus more on women's status and situation than they do on gender relations because of the gross disparities between the situation of women and men in nearly every aspect of life. These overviews cover women's disadvantaged position in social, political and economic life, analyse gender blindness and the resulting shortcomings in development interventions, and inventory the initiatives of government and civil society to challenge inequalities and improve women's situation. All make efforts to compare women's and men's respective situations in areas where sex-disaggregated data are available. The existing reports provide valuable overviews and detailed quantitative data which the present profile will not attempt to summarise or recapitulate.

A gender profile, however, can be more than a comparison of particular aspects of women's and men's situation. Gender refers to the social construction of people's identities as women or men, in specific times and places. A gender analysis, among other things, enables us to understand how not only women's but also men's social identities are constructed, and how men perceive and act out their roles AS men in particular contexts. In Tanzania, as in many other countries, we know more about the social construction of gender identity for women than we do for men.

A profile of gender relations can also go beyond comparing and analysing quantitative data on women and men's relative situation, in schooling or employment for example. Gender relations refer to the nuances of interaction between women and men that normally involve negotiation, bargaining and compromise as well as expressions of differing perspectives and conflict. In the existing Tanzanian profiles these issues have not been extensively covered, in part because the quantitative data used do not reveal the qualitative and more nuanced aspects of gender identity and relationships. In addition, socially constructed notions of gender also structure relations between people of the same sex as well as between women and men,

and in the Tanzanian overviews these same-sex gender relations are usually not covered.

This profile, therefore, focuses on gender relations as well as on women's situation per se. The profile was prepared using participatory methods in a workshop to identify and prioritise key issues. It is based on existing documentation about the current state of gender identities, gender relationships and inequalities in mainland Tanzania. There are many gaps in this information that will be mentioned.

Government agencies, researchers, activists and others are working to raise awareness of areas where gender relations are to women's disadvantage and to undertake initiatives for change. The existing profiles usually describe such initiatives, both government policies and programmes and NGO projects. Since these efforts are already documented, they will not be repeated here. Rather, in addition to focusing on gender relationships, this profile will highlight key areas which Tanzanian activists have identified as critical and where initiatives to transform gender relations are being taken.

This profile begins with a brief statement of context: the concept of patriarchy and challenges to patriarchy through transformation of gender relations. Because of the importance of customary law and ideas about women and men that are linked to customary law, these issues are treated in the subsequent section on gender relations and the law. Following sections deal with work and livelihoods; poverty; education, health and well-being; and public life, political participation and the media and information. The final section summarises the key issues covered in the profile by examining the opportunities for transforming unequal gender relations, empowering women and the challenges and constraints that remain. Selected quantitative information is presented in the Appendix.

The Terms of Reference for this profile are given in Annex I, the methodology used for preparing it in Annex II and explanation of gender concepts in Annex III. Context: Patriarchy and the Transformation of Gender Relations

This section establishes the conceptual context in which gender relations are understood by Tanzanian researchers and activists by explaining how gender relations are structured by a patriarchal ideology that can be transformed to bring about more equal relationships.

Patriarchy refers to a social system in which men are dominant and women subordinate, in which men have power, ownership and control over things of value such as land and in which women are powerless and have no or fewer ownership rights. Patriarchal relations, between men and women and between elders and young people, are explained and justified through an ideology of men's superiority and women's inferiority, in which the former have more social value and worth than the latter. Because patriarchal attitudes and practices prevent achievement of the goal of sustainable equitable human development, transformation denotes a qualitative shift in the national development paradigm, so that gender equality is recognised as a prerequisite for development.

All Tanzanian societies have proverbs on gender relationships. For example, an elderly man in Tarime, in the far north of the country, explained how women were valued: "The wife is the most important implement in the house. You are supposed to use it intelligently and wisely." A proverb from Kondoa, further to the south, describes a woman as being "like a walking stick which is always replaceable." These statements not only describe women but also reflect deeply rooted attitudes about gender relationships. Characterising women as objects ("implements") or stating that, like a walking stick, they are not highly valued because they are replaceable, are examples of Tanzanian patriarchal ideology.

Many Tanzania girls and boys grow up in households and communities that treat them differently and unequally. Boys learn that they have greater social value because they are permanent members of their families of birth. When they marry, their new wives leave their own families to join them; and when their fathers die, they – and not their sisters – inherit rights to clan land or valuable property such as cattle. Girls, by contrast, do not have such rights within their natal families. When they marry, their labour is lost by their parents and is gained by their husbands and in-laws. Girls and women do more than their fair share of the work to sustain household economies, and for

this women are valued as the Tarime elder said. But because they have no right to inherit clan land, girls learn early on that they do not "belong" in the same way or have the same social value as boys.

Tanzanian forms of patriarchy, which originally structured gender relations in diverse ethnic groups, have undergone many changes. Colonialism and the imposition of capitalist relations introduced European patriarchal ideas, that for example men should "work" ("breadwinners") and that women should ensure household maintenance ("housewives"). The resultant synthesis of an ideology of male superiority and female inferiority continues to structure gender relationships and is still changing today as Tanzania is drawn into the global economy. Whether one looks at access to higher education, or to opportunities in the small entrepreneurial economy, or even to control over one's own sexuality, women's and men's choices and opportunities continue to be influenced by structures in which patriarchal ideology about gender relations are embedded.

However there are challenges to patriarchal ideology and efforts to transform gender relations in Tanzania. Although these transformations, like patriarchy itself, have a long history, the focus here will be to show how changes in gender relations are related to economic changes, especially since the period of structural adjustment of the economy since the mid-1980s. No longer do all women accept without question a position of inequality. Not all men own property or are in positions of dominance. Age, educational level, economic status, rural or urban residence and other social characteristics interact with gender to influence relations between women and men, between persons of the same sex and between old and young.

Take, for example, the patriarchal "right" which privileges male children to inherit clan land when their fathers die. Today in many parts of the country fertile, cultivable land is not always available to allow all sons to inherit plots of sufficient size to support a family. In such situations young men may not feel able to marry, at least not at the age when this would normally be expected. In Morogoro district, for example, some young men said that without land, a house or a source of cash income, they could not marry. Some young women in the same area also chose not to marry, saying "who in their right mind would accept problems" – that is, taking on a husband whose prospects either in

Box 1: Tabata women organise

In Tabata, a peri-urban neighbourhood of Dar es Salaam, a community organisation, the Tabata Development Fund (TDF), agitated to force the City Council to move a solid waste dump away from their neighbourhood. This initiative earned them recognition, and they were invited to join the Council's Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, to improve the physical infrastructure and basic services and to maintain a clean environment through popular participation. During participatory problem analysis, residents ranked water shortage as the priority problem, with bad roads as second. Although Tabata residents were willing to mobilise financial resources, the water company was not co-operative. The Tabata leadership, all men, decided therefore to focus on road improvement until the water company was ready to provide technical support. When women in Tabata heard about this, they organised a petition against the men's decision, held a meeting to consider women's views and demanded representation

on the TDF Steering Committee. They took the lead in following up the issue with the authorities, mobilising the community and securing monetary contributions. In the end Tabata obtained a regular supply of water, but the roads - which the men were supposed to follow up - remained in a state of disrepair. After securing representation in the Steering Committee the women refused to hold meetings in bars, as previously, forcing the TDF to construct a building to house its office. Because of the women's intervention, gender issues are now included in all TDF programmes. Although women empowered themselves to participate with men in decision-making in TDF, they also organise separate meetings to address their own issues as a specific interest group. (Source: TDF documentation and verbal communications)

local agricultural production or in finding waged employment were so dismal.⁶ This is an example where patriarchal ideology about expected relations between women and men is being transformed because of delayed marriage, inability or reluctance to marry related to economic prospects and women's refusal to accept subordination.

Women are organising and empowering themselves as they work to transform gender relations in their communities. Box 1 gives an example of such organisation for transformation. In the following sections, we will see that patriarchal attitudes continue to play an important role in structuring gender relations in contemporary Tanzania. At the same time we will highlight, where information is available, diverse ways in which gender relationships of different types are changing. This dynamism in Tanzanian gender relations arises not only from the changes brought about by economic crisis during recent years. Patriarchal practices and ideology are also being questioned and challenged by ordinary individuals and by organised groups, such as coalitions of NGOs, and there are many initiatives towards greater gender equality.

Only the most common patterns are summarised here. There are many variations, both in one region and ethnic group and throughout the country and what was typical in the past has changed and continues to change.

Gender Relations and the Law

This section explains the relationship between various bodies of Tanzanian law and gender relations, focusing in particular on the way in which customary law is used to justify unequal gender relations.

The Constitution:

When young people and women challenge patriarchal ideology, there is often resistance. One man, for example, said that "the source of the whole problem [changes that threaten men's privileged position] is the national Constitution because it states that women are equal?." In fact, the 1984 Bill of Rights which was added to the 1977 Constitution guarantees all people equality before the law, but sex and gender are not mentioned as specific categories for which discrimination is prohibited.

One important initiative is constitutional reform. In 1998 as a response to civic pressure, government issued a White Paper on the reform process and appointed Commissioners to hear citizens' views. A Citizens' Coalition for a New Constitution, comprising 30 civic organisations, has challenged government's approach as restrictive and non-participatory. Their goal is to "establish a fully participatory approach in developing an engendered, democratic and non-discriminatory Constitution."8 An NGO promoting children's rights, noting the "Big Gap in the White Paper," asked in a two-page newspaper advertisement "why are women's rights not included among issues for public discussion? Shall Tanzania enter a new millenium with an outmoded constitution and bring shame to its children?"9

The laws that deal with gender relations are not unified, not consistent and allow for unequal treatment of women and men in practice.

Tanzania has three legal systems: customary law, supposedly deriving from ethnic-based traditional culture; religious law, in particular that from the Koran applicable to Muslims, and statutory law. Constitutional reform that includes specific clauses on gender equality will make the reform of certain aspects of these legal systems necessary.

An Example of Statutory Law:

An important statute is the Law of Marriage Act. When passed in 1971, it was seen as a milestone because it purported to unify the several legal systems and to override discriminatory aspects of customary and Islamic law. The Marriage Act

gives women who marry under it some specific rights, including the right in the event of divorce to property that they had acquired during the marriage. Even though this law is only relevant to a minority, mostly urban economically well-off couples who married under the statute, research into case law has shown that even these few women cannot use the Act to enforce their rights. Courts discriminate against the claims to property of women who were not in waged employment during the marriage, and even when women are able to put forward valid claims, the court does not believe them but tends to favour the man's claim that the property is his. Beyond this, public opinion blames a woman for behaving "inappropriately" according to patriarchal ideology if she dares to claim her rights before the court.10

The Marriage Act does not apply to inheritance, which is governed by customary or Islamic law. Islamic law allows women to own land in their own right, including after marriage, or to inherit land, albeit a smaller proportion than can be inherited by men. Customary law on the other hand is clearly discriminatory.

Customary Law:

What is today called customary law is not "traditional" in the sense of pre-colonial. Under colonialism diverse customary practices of the 80 per cent of Tanzanian ethnic groups which are patrilineal were codified and modified to incorporate European (mis)understanding of custom as well as their own patriarchal biases about men as heads of household. The formerly matrilineal societiesⁱⁱⁱ, mostly located along the coast and in the south, today follow patrilineal practices, for example recognising fathers rather than mothers or maternal uncles as the guardians of children after divorce.

Under customary law daughters cannot own or inherit clan land from a deceased father. If a daughter inherits, ownership would be alienated to her husband, an outsider. Nor can widows inherit land or other valuable property such as a house or cattle from a deceased husband. If a widow chooses to remain with her in-laws (whether she agrees to marry a relative of her deceased husband or not), in many parts of the country she has the right to continue using a portion of clan land. But she holds this right only through her sons, and if she is childless or has only daughters, her land use rights are not as secure (see Box 2).

Box 2: A widow's "choices"

"It is unbelievable that in this day and age we still have a law that says that a widow has a choice between three evils, to be inherited as a wife, or to go back to her people (who are these?) [or] to live where her children have decided, all of which require her to be a dependent irrespective of the number of years she has lived with her deceased husband and contributed to the family wealth." (Rwebangira 1996, p. 35)

Customary law is important in understanding Tanzanian gender relations because it provides a rationale for patriarchal ideology and practice. Although applicable in the strictest sense to such issues as rights to own and inherit clan land, in a broader sense customary law, rather than being a specific legal system, justifies community and individual practices that violate women's rights. For example, where the husband or his family on his behalf pays bridewealth to his in-laws, the wife is typically viewed as property, which can be used and exploited. And since, as the common saying in Tanzania goes, "property cannot own property," women's lack of ownership rights is therefore justified.

Many Tanzanian women are bitter about their insecurity within marriage, knowing that they will be left without property and therefore impoverished at divorce or widowhood. One woman who had a contract as "owner" of a dairy cow in a dairy development project in the southern highlands said that in reality she wasn't the owner. "I am just married and I have nothing." In other words if she were divorced, the dairy cow would belong to her husband, the "contract" which the project had insisted that she sign notwithstanding. Should her husband die, his relatives would take the animal as their right under customary law.

In general, customary law validates male superiority and therefore in a broader sense justifies a man's right to control everything in his family, even including food use and preparation, tasks which women everywhere are expected to undertake. The WaHaya in Muleba district, for example, say that a wife cannot give food to children from a cooking pot which contains the husband's share if he is not at home at meal-time. The children and

their mother must wait. ¹³ And in Lindi a woman said that in time of food shortage even if "there is rice stored in our house, I cannot just take it and cook it without my husband's permission." ¹⁴ Many women as well as men have internalised and accept as "natural" discriminatory practices and abuses of their rights. Some Maasai women in Ngorongoro, for example, insisted that when husbands beat wives, it must be because women have done something wrong. ¹⁵

Customary rules about inheritance and other practices that discriminate against women are widely discussed in "gender awareness" workshops which relevant government ministries, NGOs and civic groups hold throughout the country. Participatory discussions at such fora do solicit men's views. But often the intent by organisers is to convince men of the need to empower women rather than, in addition, to understand problems such as inability to support their families from men's point of view. Just as women have diverse experiences and points of view, so do men of different age groups and in diverse economic circumstances. However, most relevant developmentoriented research studies focus more on women than men.

Customary law and practice is a sensitive topic. For example, in 1987 the Law Reform Commission was asked to look into inheritance and in 1995 made recommendations; but in 1999 the Ministry of Justice had not yet taken action. NGOs say that despite a recommendation on equitable inheritance in every forum where women's rights are discussed, government "is dragging its feet" on the issue. 16

An initiative that may contribute to challenging inequalities under customary law and the justification which it provides for discriminatory practices, besides the long-awaited law of inheritance and succession, is the establishment of a Human **Rights Commission.** In 1997 the Ministry of Justice announced government's intention to create a Commission. Civic action in Tanzania is increasingly based on formation of coalitions of NGOs and civic organisations with respect to a particular issue. In this case a committee originally formed for the observance of the 50th anniversary in 1998 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has held workshops and submitted proposals, including gender relevant ones, to government on the proposed Commission's roles and functions. These include gender sensitivity as a necessary

qualification of Commission members and the establishment of a standing committee on the rights of the child, women, disabled and other disadvantaged groups in society.¹⁷ In this case, government has reacted positively.

Reforming the law, passing new bills and creating commissions are one thing. Enabling people to understand and use the law to claim and protect their rights is another. There are only a handful of legal aid clinics based in Dar es Salaam and a few other urban centres which assist women, primarily with matrimonial problems including domestic violence, divorce, inheritance, child custody and child maintenance payments from men. Men bring other problems to such clinics, such as work-related, tenant/landlord and property disputes and conflicts.

NGOs and local civic groups are very active in community-based dialogue and often use methods to facilitate participants to analyse their own situations. These gender awareness initiatives cover such diverse issues as gender-based discrimination in customary law, abuse of child labour, children's perceptions of human rights, adolescent and women's rights, gender sensitive land reform, eradication of female genital mutilation, women's participation in public life and voter education.¹⁸ Many of these initiatives are not led by "women's" or "genderbased" organisations and have male officers and facilitators. It is noticeable, however, that the target groups for awareness-raising on many gender issues are chiefly girls and women, rather than women, men and male youth. Changes in patriarchal ideology and discriminatory practices that are rationalised by customary law will not be easily accomplished, however, if men's perspectives are not solicited. There is clearly need to include male youth and men in community dialogue on such sensitive issues as that which caused the female dairy cow "owner" to say that she was married and therefore owned nothing.

[&]quot;Key issues such as constitutional reform, on which initiatives have been undertaken or are underway, are highlighted in the text for easy identification.

[&]quot;Matrilineality refers to transmission of family affiliation through women, not men. In matrilineal societies, maternal uncles — not fathers — were important figures and nephews inherited through them. The term is often confused with matriarchy, the supposed opposite of patriarchy, which did not exist in Tanzanian society or, so far as we know, anywhere else.

Work and Livelihoods

This section begins with an overview of Tanzania's economic situation to provide the context in which people work and earn incomes; it then covers reproductive work, sustainable rural livelihoods, land, out-migration and urban livelihoods.

Overview of the Economic Situation:

Tanzania's population was about 28 million in 1994, 76 per cent living in rural areas. Agriculture accounts for half of the gross domestic product and is the sector where 84 per cent of the population earn at least part of their livelihoods. The manufacturing sector is small, occupying only 5 per cent of the labour force. There is a high rate of rural to urban migration, and urban centres are growing rapidly, 6 per cent per annum compared to an annual population growth rate of 2.9 per cent. However, only 10 per cent of those who work have formal waged employment, largely concentrated in urban centres.19 Individual and household survival, therefore, is possible because many Tanzanians have diverse strategies to obtain livelihoods, depending in large measure on selfemployment, both in agriculture and in small-scale enterprises in both rural and urban areas.

Undertaking diverse activities to ensure livelihoods has become more common and necessary since 1985 when the country embarked on structural adjustment and economic reform. Liberalisation of the economy began in the mid-80s and has continued in various sectors such as agriculture where, in the 94-5 season, private traders were allowed to purchase commodities directly from farmers. Financial stabilisation measures such as privatisation of formerly state-owned enterprises including agricultural estates, withdrawal of food subsidies from consumers and of farm input subsidies from producers, among other measures, have had diverse consequences for ordinary Tanzanians. Although the World Bank finds evidence of national economic growth,20 most Tanzanians have experienced rising prices for basic necessities, reduced incomes due to inflation among other factors, inability to purchase farm inputs such as seed and fertiliser and exploitation by traders who buy crops cheaply at the farm gate.

Rationalisation of the numbers of waged workers in the civil service and previously government owned companies has resulted in retrenchment of employees who must find ways to earn income from other sources. Contraction of credit availability has meant that aspiring entrepreneurs must find sources of capital other than loans through previously available sources. Provision of social services so that people are educated and healthy to be able to work productively has worsened as the state has reduced its financial support to education, health and water provision, leaving individuals and families to "cost share" the expenses for these basic needs.

Tanzania is ranked according to gross economic and social indicators as one of the world's poorest countries. Although the World Bank finds evidence from household expenditure surveys that the incidence of rural poverty declined from 65 per cent in 1983 to around 50 per cent by the mid-90s,21 these gross figures mask substantial regional and other dimensions of variation. Rural households are said to account for more than 90 per cent of the poor, but urban poverty is increasing. Poverty is worse in localities that are isolated from markets (e.g. Lindi and Mtwara in the south) or do not produce export crops (e.g. Dodoma in the arid interior and Kigoma and Rukwa in the far west). The gender aspects of work and efforts to secure individual and household livelihoods in a general situation of economic crisis, reduced employment opportunities and widespread poverty have been analysed by a handful of gender-sensitive researchers and are invisible in most national macro-economic

This profile does not permit us to do justice to the great variation between Tanzania's urban and rural areas. The rural areas are very diverse as well: the cotton growing areas south of Lake Victoria; the densely populated coffee-banana-dairy areas of the northern highlands; the southwestern highlands which produce maize, legumes and coffee; the vast semi-arid plateau in the interior dominated by agro-pastoralists, and the low-lying coastal regions. Besides small-scale farmers, who grow a wide variety of food crops both for home consumption and sale as well as export crops, Tanzania has large agricultural estates on which people find permanent or casual work, pastoral, agro-pastoral and fishing communities. Much of the limited information on gender relations in work and livelihoods comes not from analysis of large-scale national surveys but from small-scale localised case studies. The information presented here, therefore, is not meant to be exhaustive or representative of the wide variations that exist but

rather to examine some aspects that reveal the relevance of gender roles and relationships to work.

Reproductive Work:

Work includes activities to sustain households so that their members can earn income. This is often referred to as "domestic work" but more accurately as reproductive work, i.e., activities necessary to reproduce the labour force from one generation to the next. These activities are unremunerated and therefore unrecognised in national accounts. Many Tanzanians, men and women alike, accept reproductive work as part of the "natural" order of things; and because women and children do it, it is taken for granted and not valued as important. However, the work of providing food from crops grown for home consumption, preparing food, provisioning the household with firewood and water, and caring for children, the sick and elderly, provides the basis on which remunerated work is

It is difficult to find examples of men's participation in reproductive work because the gender division of labour in this respect is rigid. In group discussions, men often acknowledge, even appreciate, women's contribution but are unable to propose solutions to reducing women's work burden – especially if this might involve their own participation in "women's activities." The gender division of labour is not "natural" however, and there are indications that negotiation already takes place in some homes and that reproductive responsibilities can be shared more equally in future. One woman in the far south of the country said, for example, that both girls and boys should be made to do household maintenance chores (see Box 3). Another said she refused to cook unless her husband did his share of agricultural work. To challenge customs that men must eat first, another

Box 3: How to change men

"If you want to change men, mothers have to start training their male children very early, when they are still learning to walk within the mother's feet. There the male and female children alike can learn all the chores regardless of their gender. Once the boys start following their fathers out of the mother's reach, it is already too late. They learn there the men's ways." (reported by M-L Swantz, 1998, pp. 188-9)

attempted to shame her husband from staying out late drinking by waking up the children and feeding them only when he finally came home.²² In some areas men and boys will fetch water or firewood if the distances are excessive and particularly if they can use a wheelbarrow or other means of transport.²³ Few are willing to head carry burdens, as women and girls throughout the country have no choice but to do. In general, however, there is little information from boys and men about the relation of reproductive work to their gender identities and how gender relations in reproductive work might be changed. Development interventions (e.g. domestic water provision and fuel-efficient stoves) are intended to alleviate women's work burden, not transform gender relationships.

Reproductive work takes a great deal of girls and women's time. In sample villages in Arusha and Iringa regions, firewood collection alone took as little as 4-6 hours per week in some areas but more than 30 hours in a few places, with 8-12 hours a week being common.²⁴ Many women said that such chores interfered with and limited the time available for other responsibilities. Other women, who had small-scale enterprises in small urban centres, said they could not estimate the number of hours per week which reproductive work took. They expressed amusement at the question, saying that this is just something that women expect to do. However it was clear that they had to juggle their various responsibilities: rushing home during slack business hours to do domestic work and feeding their children at their business premises.²⁵ Because women have no alternative but to continue to juggle their responsibilities and to somehow cope at whatever cost to their health, the state and its international development partners often accept the inevitability of women's reproductive work.

Development projects can inadvervently increase women's work burden by insisting that they "participate" (watering trees on land that they don't own, for example) and thus strengthen rather than transform accepted but unequal relationships.

Sustainable Rural Livelihoods:

There are significant gender differences in the ways rural women and men ensure household food security and meet basic needs through earning incomes. The larger patterns are reasonably well known and documented in the major farming and other production systems. Among small-scale farmers women and children, especially girls, do the larger share of work whether in production of food crops for home consumption or sale or export crops such as coffee and cotton. Among pastoralists and agro-pastoralists men and boys herd while girls and women process milk. Along lakes and rivers men are artisanal fishermen while women process the product and sell to male long-distance traders. For all types of production, whether men have made a sizeable labour contribution or not, men largely control the products and proceeds from sales.

Land degradation is a serious problem in many parts of the country, due in some areas to increasingly dense populations and soil exhaustion and in other areas to deforestation and over-grazing. Declining soil fertility and fragmented small fields make livelihoods from agriculture increasingly precarious. Especially since the 1990s it has been difficult for many small-holders to sustain farm production and to support families from this activity alone. But there are many variations. When returns from coffee decline, for example, coffee growers may reduce the costs of hired labour and increase/ exploit the labour input of wives and dependents. If markets are accessible, they may shift production from coffee to a food crop such as maize for the market. The gender relations in production patterns of these diverse types of farming systems that are changing rapidly, especially as globalisation effects Tanzania, have not been extensively researched.²⁶

A large part of the burden of work to ensure family livelihoods has fallen on women, male youth and children of both sexes, especially girls. Women have had to take on extra activities to earn income as times have become harder. Child labour has become increasingly important to household economies. Declining incomes, inadequate or infertile land, lack of agricultural inputs or money to buy them, inadequate markets, etc. are reported in recent case studies to increase family stress and conflict. Women become bitter about their work load, lack of own rights to land and control of income, and young women and men see no future for themselves as small-holders and seek other options. It is also reported that from the point of view of women, many men abrogate their responsibility to contribute to family livelihoods, drinking if they stay at home or abandoning their families altogether. As women work longer and search for ways to earn and control income, some

manage to increase their bargaining power with men.

There is little information on how adult men perceive their gender roles and family relationships in times of economic crisis and stress. There are undoubtedly situations where men are re-negotiating patriarchal relations within families and the dynamics of this require research. In Njombe district, Iringa region, for example the depression of maize and pyrethrum production forced men to cope in other ways. They entered niches typically dominated by women such as beer brewing and food selling; those who felt this was degrading drank and/or abandoned their family responsibilities. This has implications for women as they face competition from men in niches previously their own or lose control to men over income from food crops which they could previously market in small quantities. In the same area, female household heads sold charcoal and builder's sand, previously a male niche.27

Many households and their individual members are now forced by difficult economic circumstances to spread risk by undertaking diverse off-farm income earning activities, some on a permanent basis, others typically seasonal or changing from one point in time to another. In rural Lindi district, for example, it was easy, said the researcher, to identify more than fifty different small entrepreneurial activities in a single village, many of them conducted at the same time as agriculture or in the slack season. Men had more options than women, dominating the extraction and marketing of forest and other natural products, crafts such as brick making, carpentry, masonry, and smithing, and certain services such as bicycle repair. Women's options were fewer: collecting thatching grass, pottery and mat-making, midwifery, food and beer sales and local trading. It was not unusual for women to take up men's activities and vice versa.²⁸

For women, casual labour on plantations and farms owned by better-off farmers is an increasingly important income source. Although some women workers have benefited from privatisation of large estates through increased work opportunities and higher wages, most experience discrimination: low pay, few if any benefits and unequal access to permanent employment and higher positions.²⁹

World Bank sponsored nation-wide income and consumption surveys treat households as monolithic units, assuming that all income sources are used to sustain the entire family. However, the reality is that men not only control their own income but usually claim the right to that of other household members; typically they do not use income on household basic needs such as food purchases, medical and children's school expenses. This leaves women and young people to negotiate if they can or to find means to secure their right to what they have produced. The same dairy cow "owner," quoted earlier, revealed that she rose early in the morning to milk so that she could surreptitiously sell a few litres to friends without her husband knowing.³⁰

Associational activities are important to women throughout the country for many reasons, not least because they can secure their rights to income by lodging these with a group. For example, in Lindi and Mtwara village women organise rotating credit associations, work together in work groups, carry out group income generating activities and assist new groups to get started. Although such activities might not generate much income for individuals, within a group women find a sense of security and ownership to counter-balance the powerlessness many feel in their relations with men.³¹

Young men who remain in rural areas form associations around such activities as vegetable gardening and charcoal burning, but nothing is known about the gender relations of youth in such groups or within their households. Young women appear to have fewer associational activities, perhaps because their labour is increasingly necessary to support reproductive activities in the home as their mothers devote even more hours than previously to coping strategies necessary for their own and their dependents' economic survival.

Land:

Access to land and other natural resources such as water is one of the hottest issues today in Tanzania. Besides land degradation and fragmentation, large private estates have alienated better land tracts, pushing small-holders into less desirable areas or into other ways to earn income. Increasing conflict is reported between farmers in different economic strata, between pastoralists and agriculturalists and pastoralists and the state and between the generations.

Villagers in lower Moshi, Kilimanjaro region for example explained "how development aid underdeveloped us." When a donor-supported irrigation scheme, involving primarily immigrants into the area, alienated land and diverted the local river away from village use, there were serious environmental consequences, food insecurity and increasing poverty. Villagers gave examples of the negative impacts on family stability. Women turned to beer brewing, men and young people took to drinking, domestic violence, child sexual abuse (including of boys) and wife battering increased. Women became overworked and undernourished. Some men abandoned their families. Women who reported violent behaviour of men to the police "regretted having done so" when their cases were not objectively handled.³² A local NGO is using participatory methods to support people in this particular village to build partnerships to address some of their problems; but many villages with similarly desperate problems have no support.

Tanzania has different land tenure systems covering clan land, village land and public and urban land. Married women have rights of access to, but not control or ownership of, clan land; and a few are able to purchase land in their own right. Some female household heads can borrow or rent land, a few can buy, but most are dependent on the good will of community authorities or relatives for access to land. Women, whether married or not, have equal rights to allocation of village land. Even here, however, patriarchal attitudes limit their exercise of this right. Women's lack of security in land rights is, however, only part of a much larger problem of equity in access.

A civic coalition has been active since 1997 on **land issues**. A broad civic Forum for Defending the Rights to Land has facilitated advocacy by farmers, pastoralists and human rights groups; and government delayed tabling proposed bills on land issues in order to hear citizens' views and recommendations. The Gender Land Task Force, a sub-group of the Forum, was one of the earliest groups to organise around land reform. The key issues in debating and passing two new Land Acts in 1998-99 are that discriminatory customary law should be explicitly illegal and that administration of land matters should be in the hands of representative organs with equal female representation.³³

Out-migration:

The options for young women and men who see little future in village life and small-holder production are structured by gender. Male youth can earn

off-farm incomes by travelling for example. In Kwimba district, Mwanza region, boys less than 15 years old travel to other villages and weekly markets hawking items for sale. Slightly older youth travel farther afield, trading in food crops, livestock and livestock products and second-hand clothes. This gives them not only a source of income but economic independence from male elders, enabling them if they are successful to purchase or rent land, make a marriage and pay their own bridewealth without family involvement or approval.³⁴ Young single women, in addition to undertaking reproductive work for their families which often include their own young children, have fewer options: to brew and sell beer, engage in casual labour or reluctantly enter a polygamous marriageiv. Some said that they would rather migrate than marry locally.35

In a sample of 300 women in Dar es Salaam, older women had migrated because of marriage or to follow their husbands, young adult women went to continue their education or to look for work and adolescents to visit/help relatives and be domestic workers. ³⁶ Typically, young women who leave their villages to look for income in towns and the capital city have few employment options other than in domestic service or as bar girls. The experience of one is given in Box 4.

Box 4: A bar girl's tale

After finishing primary school in a village, she went to Iringa to visit a cousin and then got a job as a housemaid. The wife treated her well, but the husband tried constantly to seduce her and one day raped her. "I couldn't continue living under that roof with such a secret in my heart," so she want to Dar es Salaam where she got a job as a bar girl. "Sometimes we were not paid at all. We had to depend on men who seduced us. . . . The salary from this place alone cannot suffice." The men refuse to wear condoms and she has no power to negotiate, despite knowing well the risk of HIV infection. She tells her parents that she works in a factory and sends them money from time to time. (adapted from Mung'ong'o 1998, pp. 19-20)

Male youth, in contrast, often become Wamachinga, hawkers and petty traders who congregate to sell their wares at or outside of markets, bus and train terminals, on street corners and along frequented city or town streets. In 1993 the area around the capital's Kariakoo market contained about 3,000 such youth, from 15-25 years in age. The original hawkers in the early 1990s came from the southeastern districts and were referred to by others as Wamachinga, an invented ethnic label which now refers to the urban youth petty trading group generally, whether in Dar es Salaam or in other towns. The main reason why they left their villages was because of lack of access to land for farming.³⁷ We know nothing of how they live and work, their relationships with each other or with women, or how they perceive their gender identities – only that they report the petty trading life as preferable to a life of idleness and despair in the villages.

Urban Livelihoods:

Twenty-four per cent of Tanzanians live in urban areas where salaried work in the formal sector is concentrated but where small-scale entrepreneurial activities provide livelihoods for the majority. Both the formal and the so-called "informal" sectors are strongly segmented by sex. Although large-scale surveys provide quantitative data comparing the participation of women and men in these sectors and reveal clear labour market segmentation, there are almost no case studies that examine gender roles and relationships.

Although there are slightly more women than men in urban areas, fewer women (44%) than men (56%) are economically active.³⁸ The reverse is true in rural areas where women's agricultural activity is counted, giving them a higher economic participation rate than men. However, the urban statistics may not accurately reflect women's small, sometimes intermittent income-earning activities. The informal sector accounts for about 30 per cent of Tanzania's urban employed population; in Dar es Salaam 40 per cent of such own-account workers are women and 60 per cent men.³⁹ Only 10 per cent of employed people are in salaried employment, concentrated mostly in the civil service and private firms in urban areas, 40 and of these women comprise only 20 per cent.41 In all urban livelihood activities men have more and diverse income opportunities, more access to productive resources and higher incomes due, among other factors, to gender inequalities in educational attainment.

Male small-scale entrepreneurs undertake a wide variety of activities, including trade, services of many kinds, and manufacturing and construction that often require skills, some capital and security in land or business premises. The way in which class status interacts with gender, for example differences between the Wamachinga and more established entrepreneurs, is not documented.

Female small-scale entrepreneurs engage in far fewer activities, command fewer skills and capital and often have little or no security. Their work is labour intensive, takes place in bad working conditions as on roadsides, is usually unlicensed and therefore exposes women to official harassment, offers little scope for advancement and produces low incomes.43 In a large 1990/91 survey 57 per cent of women in the informal sector were in marketing or food vending.44 In a case study of urban women entrepreneurs, 42 per cent cooked or sold foodstuffs along the roadside, in makeshift or market stalls and in roadside or market restaurants. Less than 25 per cent were in tailoring, hair saloons, etc., some on the pavement and others in rented rooms. Another 20 per cent were vendors of cloth, soft drinks, charcoal, and other small items in small kiosks. These small gender-stereotyped business options of women with little or no formal education reflect the way in which women's reproductive work is carried over into the market context and results in competition between large numbers of women in few economic niches.

Some small entrepreneurs have been negatively affected by specific impacts of economic liberalisation. Large-scale fish processing firms, for example, take the market away from local women who specialise in processing fish and selling to long-distance male traders who transport the product to urban centres. Women who specialise in tie-and-dye fabric face competition from second-hand clothes traders. Imported khangas^{vi} are cheaper than those locally produced, and women engaged in textile trade therefore have lower profit margins. Most women operate with such low margins that they cannot shift easily to other alternatives.

Productive work is strongly influenced by gender relationships. Women complain that their husbands and children do not appreciate their economic contribution to the household and that some husbands forbid wives to work and are unaware that they do so, obliging women to keep their wares and money with trusted women friends. Other husbands dictate how much time a wife can spend on her business and insist that she return home early. Some husbands are supportive, assisting

wives with small start-up capital but often making subsequent claims on the income or thrusting more responsibility on wives to meet such expenses as children's schooling costs. ⁴⁵ Men's perspectives on these issues are not known since the focus of most case studies has been on women rather than on gender relations.

Women also report that mutual support among women, as in rural areas, is critical to the survival of their enterprises. They share skills, pass on relevant information, protect income and assets from men, assist each other with reproductive responsibilities, take over for someone who has to be absent from her place of work, share business locations and protect each other against abusive customers.⁴⁶

Most female and many male entrepreneurs as well are excluded from access to the country's major financial markets. Women in particular do not own property that can be used as collateral to guarantee a loan. There are large number of small-scale and usually localised projects, almost all donor-supported, that provide training and credit to both women and men entrepreneurs. Although women are usually deliberately targeted, the demand for credit exceeds the supply that such projects can provide. The **economic empowerment of**women, especially credit provision, is one of four commitments which government made in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women⁴⁷ and is a goal towards which many NGOs are also working.

As in small enterprises, there are gross disparities between women and men in salaried employment. Men are in a far greater range of occupations and dominate almost all high-level positions. Women are concentrated at the bottom of the job hierarchy in a narrow range of sex-stereotyped occupations such as nurses, teachers, secretaries, clerks, and sales persons, in repetitive and unskilled manual work and in low status services such as domestics and bar girls. Because women have fewer skills and less education, they earn smaller salaries. A gender analysis, however, reveals many other factors at work (see Box 5).

It has been assumed that working women have been disproportionately affected by retrenchment, i.e. reduction in certain types of jobs as part of economic reform. However, a study of public sector retrenchment in 1992-5 found that women were not disproportionately retrenched because positions in health and education, among the areas where they cluster, were not affected.

Gender influenced what happened to people after retrenchment however. More women than men used their compensation for purchasing food and paying children's school expenses rather than investing in small businesses. Men resettled in urban areas, but women moved to the peri-urban suburbs. More men than women reported problems in managing the income earning activities in which they had invested. Women who undertook diverse income earning opportunities felt that their loss of employment had empowered them. Others however experienced increased family conflict over use of their compensation and the increased burden of reproductive responsibilities.⁴⁸

Box 5: The low status of women workers

Discriminatory attitudes influence hiring and evaluation of women's job performance. They have unequal access to on-the-job training and courses. When their reproductive responsibilities interfere with work performance, they, not government or employers' failure to provide child care facilities, are blamed. Both sexes have stereotyped expectations about gender role behaviour in the work place, and women have negative images of their own capabilities and those of other women in the work place. In a contracting job market, the myth of "male breadwinners" privileges male employment. There is sexual harassment in the work place, and women who resist are discriminated against (adapted from Mbilinyi 1995, p. 48).

^{*}In Lushoto district, from which the data on young women's options come, the sex ratio of 84 adult men to 100 women means that women's marriage choices are narrowed. In surveys in two villages, 23% of households had male children who had migrated.

Data come from, in particular the 1988 Population Census, the 1991 National Informal Sector Survey and the 1990/91 Labour Force Survey, which are out of date.

[&]quot;A light-weight cotton cloth used as local clothing.

Poverty

The relationship between poverty and gender is complex, and our understanding of it is influenced by what data have been collected and the methods and concepts used. Large-scale quantitative surveys (such as the Tanzanian/World Bank 1993 Human Resource Development Survey), which establish an absolute poverty line based on income and consumption, treat households as monolithic units. In this survey, gender was considered only in terms of household headship, and female household heads (18% of urban and 10 % of rural households⁴⁹) were not poorer than male household heads. However, when male and female-headed households in two districts in Ruvuma region were compared, there was a correlation between poverty and female headship. Female heads had smaller households, less family labour and a higher dependency ratio, lower educational levels, less land and use of hired labour, more reliance on off-farm incomes such as casual labour and less experience with credit.50

Poverty is also relative, that is how people see themselves and others, and multi-dimensional. In a recent participatory poverty assessment (PPA), most female-headed households perceived themselves as poor and were seen by others as poor.⁵¹ Although they had a wide range of coping strategies to gain livelihoods, they were economically vulnerable and often socially isolated. They were less likely than male heads to use purchased agricultural inputs, to have seen an extension worker or to have bought land.⁵² However female heads also report that, although they experience significant economic hardship, they feel that they have more control over their lives, work, labour and income which gives them more self-confidence and less feeling of powerlessness than married women.

Women and men, when asked separately to rank their problems, give quite different lists, reflecting different gender-based priorities. In the national distribution of problems identified in the PPA, men's two most important problems were transportation and farming whereas women's were food shortage and water.⁵³ Both women and men identify factors which cause or reflect poverty. But "farming" for men means ability to engage in production of cash crops for sale whereas "food shortage" for women refers, inter alia, to constraints they face in growing sufficient food crops to ensure adequate household consumption levels.

Household gender relations often cause women to be poor when the households in which they live, classified according to an absolute poverty line, are not. When married women have no claim to property in their own right, cannot negotiate how a man uses his income and are held responsible for medical and educational expenses and for ensuring household food security, they are poor even if their households (namely husbands) are not. Divorce or death of a spouse impoverishes women more than men. Women can themselves constitute wealth for men, as with the Masaai and other pastoralists who rank other men as poor when they have no cattle, only one wife and few or no daughters to bring more cattle to them as bridewealth in the future.

This section on poverty has focused only on some key aspects of its relation to gender. However, most of the topics covered in this profile are poverty-related. Environmental degradation, land shortage and landlessness are closely connected to poverty and all have gender aspects, as has been noted. Although rural poverty may be more severe in general, many urban households and individuals within them, whose income opportunities are structured among other ways by gender, are also poor. Young women and men experience poverty in different ways and have different, often unequal, options for escaping it. Poverty influences the differential treatment of girls and boys in schooling opportunities, is thought to make women's health status worse because they are often under-nourished and overburdened with work by comparison with men, and is among the factors constraining their ability to take part in political processes. Because of the extent of poverty in Tanzania, poverty **reduction** is the current main national development goal that is also supported by concrete activities of development partners and civil society organisations. Many of these focus their interventions specifically on women's economic empowerment.

Education, Health and Well-being

The ability of Tanzanians to secure their livelihoods depends, among other factors, on their level of education, skills and training; their health status and general state of well-being; and their access to other basic needs such as clean water, sanitation, adequate housing and means of transportation. Tanzania's human welfare indicators have worsened during the past decade, in association with severe poverty and the state's inability to fund social services at previous levels. One-third of Tanzania's school age children are not enrolled in primary school, and the country has the lowest percentage (5%) of adolescents in secondary school in sub-Saharan Africa. Half the population does not have access to basic health care, and one out of seven children dies of preventable infectious diseases before the age of five. Less than one-fifth of the population has access to safe drinking water.⁵⁴ This section analyses some gender issues in education and health.vii

Education:

In the late 1970s Tanzania introduced seven years of free compulsory schooling and achieved one of the highest primary school enrolment rates (96%) in sub-Saharan Africa. Gender balance in primary school enrolment was attained in 1986 and has continued to be nearly equal.⁵⁵ Many boys and girls do not go to school however, have sporadic attendance or drop out completely. Abysmal schooling environments, with no or inadequate desks and books, rote teaching methods, inadequately paid and unmotivated teachers, and a lack of parental confidence that investment in education will enable their children to escape poverty in future affect both girls and boys, especially in rural areas.⁵⁶ Only 15 per cent of primary school pupils continue to secondary school.57

Discriminatory attitudes about the value of girls and boys and their future contribution to families influence differential access to or progress through primary school and into subsequent levels. Some fathers are reported to support daughters' schooling because girls are seen as more reliable and likely to support elderly parents in future. In some parts of the country and among certain ethnic groups, education for girls is positively de-valued because they will be married at a very early age, at 15 years or even younger. Puberty ceremonies disrupt some girls' schooling. Girls have more domestic responsibility than boys, which interferes with homework. Even at school

female pupils are expected to carry out domestic work for teachers, carrying water and cooking in their homes, exposing them to risk of defilement by male teachers. The curriculum contains gender stereotypes, and patriarchal ideology affects girls' self-perception and self-confidence (see Box 6).

Box 6: Customary attitudes internalised

"Girls reaching adolescence face conflicting role-expectations and fear being labeled as 'too smart' in school. At adolescence, girls think that to be female means not to be intelligent, ambitious and resourceful. Girls internalize these views of inferiority and lower intelligence. For example, many girls think that maths and sciences are subjects for males. . . "

(Z. Tumbo-Masabo and R. Liljeström 1994, p. 60)

Because girls score 31 per cent lower than boys in school leaving exams, affirmative action to reserve one-third of secondary school places for girls in government schools ensures gender balance in Form I. By Form V however only one girl for every three boys is still in school. Fewer girls are in government than in private secondary schools where standards of instruction and achievement levels are lower. The few private schools with excellent performance are religious-affiliated and mostly for boys only. Girls do better academically in boarding schools, but there are fewer such schools for girls. Although science and technology subjects are now mandatory for all secondary pupils, girls tend to have lower performance levels and do not pursue further training and careers in these fields. The schooling environment still largely supports gender stereotypes about "appropriate" subject/career choices for girls, and there are few positive role models for girls to emulate. There are both government and NGO initiatives to support affirmative action to get girls into school and to keep them there by making the schooling environment child-friendly in general and girl-friendly in particular.

Many gender factors influence the experiences of girls and boys in primary and secondary schools, their ability to stay in school and to proceed to higher levels. Ministry of Education statistics give pregnancy as the reason for 11 per cent of girls who dropped out of primary school in 1994.⁵⁹ This

reflects diverse types of gender relationships: girls drawn into sexual experimentation at an early age with their male peers; girls seduced by older men, and parents', especially fathers', expectations of girls' early marriage. The largest number of primary school drop-outs in 1994 (77% of girls and 88% of boys) is attributed to "truancy," a category which masks the differential experiences of girls and boys.

Many parents find it very difficult to pay for children's education, not only uniforms and other necessities but direct school costs in the current cost-sharing system. When a decision must be taken about which child will go to school and which will not, whose schooling expenses can be paid and whose cannot, the value of the individual child to household economy and welfare plays an important role. Boys may drop out of school to herd, fish, farm, hunt and – as shown in an earlier section – to engage in petty trade. Some of boys' work may benefit their households; in other cases parents may have little control over what male youth do, including what is widely reported as "idling about." Parents' assessment of the poor schooling environment may cause them to accept or support boys dropping out. In the case of girls, parental fears about lack of proper school toilet facilities, long distances and lack of security for girls on the way to school, or while at school, may make them less determined to keep girls in school.

In particular, the value of girls' labour time by comparison with boys contributes to girls leaving school. One study estimated that if a boy aged 13-15 years of age went to primary school, his household would lose 25 hours of his time in mostly productive work per week. For a girl of the same age however, her household would lose 37 hours per week of her time for both reproductive and productive work. "As the value of female labour increases (either inside or outside the home), the probability of a girl enrolling [in school] declines."60 Structural adjustment and economic reform have thus had multiple gendered impacts on schooling. They have increased schooling costs which women rather than men largely assume; resulted in more work for women which increases their reliance on girls' labour; and puts more pressure on girls to stay at home rather than to continue in school.

There are indications that some primary school leavers are hardly literate or quickly fall back into illiteracy. Adult literacy rates have declined from Tanzania's previous good record in the 1980s of

90 per cent, to the current situation of 57 per cent for women and 80 per cent for men.⁶¹

Only six per cent of students in technical and vocational training institutions are young women, concentrated in gender-stereotyped courses such as secretarial, nursing, mid-wifery, commerce, community development and social welfare. At the University of Dar es Salaam, women comprised about 15 per cent of the enrolment in 1996-97, concentrated in the liberal arts, education and commerce faculties. Twenty-seven women compared to 850 men were enrolled for a B.Sc. in engineering, 62 giving a clear example of the outcome of internalisation of negative patriarchal values by those few girls who manage, against many odds, to progress through the schooling system. The University is attempting to address this imbalance through a pre-entry programme to assist young women to qualify for admission to science faculties.

Patriarchal ideology structures the opportunities of women who make it through the education system, as well as those who drop out at early levels. At the University, women constitute only 10 per cent of the faculty, concentrated at the lower ranks in Arts, Social Sciences and Education. ⁶³ Box 7 describes the nature of gender relations in their work place from their point of view.

Government's 1995 Education and Training Policy contains strategies to promote girls' and women's education. **Improving women's access to education, training and employment** is one of four government commitments to support national implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. There are many government and NGO initiatives in this sector, including promotion of dialogue within families, communities and their

Box 7: Gender relations in the academy

"The environment is not women-friendly for academic and non-academic staff any more than students. To survive... you must develop a thick skin when confronting demands for sexual services, a macho atmosphere, gender typing in the curriculum, and pressure to conform to dominant middle-class models of appropriate 'feminine' behavior. Most male colleagues become hostile when female colleagues excel in teaching, research, writing or administration. They seem far more comfortable with 'nice,' 'feminine' women who maintain mediocre levels of work performance." (TGNP 1993, p. 89)

local schools to identify and remove gender biases, bursaries for girls in government secondary schools, and a new programme to transform the University, including its gender biases. These initiatives offer opportunities to understand diverse male perspectives on gender inequalities in education and training that are not documented. This understanding will facilitate identification of strategies to work with women and men, girls and boys, who have internalised negative patriarchal attitudes. Transformation towards gender equality in this sector depends, however, on redressing the current crisis in education generally.

Health and Well-being:

Most of the quantitative information available deals with reproductive issues, maternal and child health (MCH) and HIV/AIDS. Although sex-disaggregated data are given for some, though not all of these topics, many gender aspects and analysis of gender roles and relationships are not documented.

The Demographic and Health Survey 1996 gives the following information on key reproductive and MCH issues.⁶⁴ Tanzania's total fertility rate has declined from 6.3 births per woman (1989-92) to 5.8 (1993-96). Almost half of women are mothers by 18 years of age, and two-thirds by age 20. Although there is a continuing strong preference for large families, there are marked differences between women and men; of those with six children, for example, less than 20 per cent of women but 43 per cent of men said they wanted more. Use of modern contraceptive techniques increased during the 1990s but is still very low. Although both infant and under-five mortality have declined, one of every seven children die before their fifth birthday, primarily from diarrhoeal and respiratory infections. Forty-seven per cent of births take place in a health facility, the rest at home, with only 40 per cent assisted by medically trained personnel. Estimates from incomplete medical records previously put maternal mortality at 200-400 deaths for every 100,000 live births. New methods of collecting and analysing data give an increased rate of 529 per 100,000. This means that five of every 1,000 women die of pregnancy related causes; and from 1986-96, 27 per cent of deaths of all women aged 15-49 years were pregnancy related. Eighteen per cent of Tanzanian girls and women have been subjected to female genital mutilation (FGM), especially in Arusha, Dodoma and Mara regions.

More research is needed to understand the gender aspects of these gross indicators that obscure diverse views and changing practices. Some girls, especially in secondary schools, refuse to undergo FGM, for example, and some boys know that the practice is extremely harmful and support initiatives to eliminate it.65 Many young couples, especially those in urban areas with higher educational levels, negotiate their family size, and some men take more responsibility for reproductive decisions; but we know little about the dynamics of these aspects of gender relations. There are also causes of mortality which exhibit disparities by sex. In Dar es Salaam and two rural areas where 1993 data were examined, road accidents and liver disease accounted for more deaths of men than women and are perhaps related to men's mobility and drinking patterns respectively. More men than women died of strokes, and in the rural areas more women of cancer.66

Differential access to and use of health facilities influence women and men's health-related behaviour and health status. When female and male household heads were asked about their ability to pay for social service costs, including health care, the former expressed less ability to pay.⁶⁷ Even though MCH services are still "free," in reality many women are asked to pay and/or must take sterile gloves and other equipment with them when they deliver. Thus, women end up paying more than if they were asked to "cost-share" in the first place. Women's health and well-being are undoubtedly affected by increasing work loads and stress, including their responsibility for home care of sick family members and AIDS orphans. But they often have no money for transport to health facilities, the opportunity costs of other work foregone is great and their own health needs assume lower priority than those of other household members.

In 1997 there were an estimated 1,500,000 adults living with HIV/AIDS, out of an estimated adult population of 16 million in mainland Tanzania. Although the overall male to female case ratio is 1:1, the incidence of female AIDS cases, especially of girls and young women, is rising more rapidly than that of males. From 1987-97, 1.5 per cent of male cases were 15-19 years old (5.6 % for females), 7.9 per cent were 20-24 years old (20.3% for females) and 20 per cent were 25-29 years old (26.3% for females).⁶⁸

These stark disparities reflect girls' and young

women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS because of their powerlessness in sexual relationships, including marriage, and inability to negotiate for safe sex. Women occupy niches in the informal sector where they are susceptible to sexual harassment, reliant in some cases on sex work or dependent on a succession of partners with whom relations are structured by deep-seated patriarchal ideas which give little bargaining power to women.⁶⁹ Bar workers prefer their economic independence compared to the alternatives of an abusive marriage, dependence on elders, or being overworked in a village; but they are hardly "independent" when they are unable to negotiate condom use with regular partners, 70 even though some claim to demand this with casual partners. Some men, as in Musoma, are also vulnerable because they have no choice but to inherit a deceased male relative's wife.

Women believe that their greatest risk of HIV infection is from husbands, to whom they have been faithful, or from a current partner who can perhaps not be trusted but whose financial assistance gives him the right to refuse safe sex. Men, on the other hand, "never see risk as something to which they expose casual extramarital partners" but put their fears and blame squarely on women. This is one of the few areas in which masculinity studies, including men's views of, explanations for and contradictions in their sexual behaviour, have been carried out (see Box 8).

In contrast to blaming women for HIV transmission however, Chagga elders blame young men who have left the rural areas to "do business," which – besides trade – has the negative connotations of shirking customary adult responsibilities, having a rootless lifestyle and engaging in sexual excess. These are among the same youth who were earlier described as responding to population pressure and decreasing availability of land by leaving the

Box 8: A man's view of his sexuality

"I used to like going after women but since attending the clinic [where STD and AIDS prevention information is given] I have become afraid. I have changed, though I haven't stopped altogether. In the past I couldn't go three days without a woman. It was very difficult. Now I can go without for a whole month... Previously I could have more than five partners [at the same time], but these days I only have my wife." (R. Pool et. al. 1996, p. 212)

village to become market traders and hawkers.72

Abuse of children and women, including sexual violence, damages their physical health, threatens their mental well-being and is a violation of their rights. Violence and sexual abuse are related to customary ideas about male superiority and patriarchal "rights," afflict children and women in all economic strata and, for young girls, are linked to the common male perception that they are "AIDS free." The extent of all forms of violence is not known but is felt to be very high and increasing. A legal aid and human rights NGO identified 413 cases of child abuse in newspaper reports in 1996-97. Both girls and boys were subjected to defilement and rape, sodomy, incest, infanticide and child dumping, among other crimes.73 Another NGO active in publicising the problem states that reported cases of defilement, rape and domestic violence are "just the tip of the iceberg."74 Initiatives to publicise the extent of and damage caused by **domestic** and sexual violence, including FGM, has been one of the most important and successful civic initiatives in recent years.

"Sex-disaggregated statistics are available for the education sector but not as extensively for other social sectors. There is also considerable gender analysis of education data in other gender profiles and analyses of women's situation that will not be repeated here. Although there is health sector information on maternal and child health, some reproductive health issues and HIV/AIDS, there is inadequate gender data on a wider range of health issues where gender is relevant. Although there is extensive gender analysis of water provision, there is almost nothing on such issues as transport and housing which will therefore not be covered in this profile.

Public Life, Political Participation, and the Media and Information

This section covers gender activism in civil society; gender imbalances in political participation, public life and decision making; the contribution of the media, and the importance of gender relevant information more generally.

Tanzania's political reform process which began in the early 1990s has brought multi-party democracy, stimulated the development of diverse forms of independent media and has created space for civil society activism. Gender equality activists have been in the forefront of stimulating the development of a vibrant civil society, lobbying and advocating on particular issues, networking with like-minded organisations, participating in coalition building together with government agencies and at the same time taking government to task when necessary.

Advocacy by coalitions of interest groups in civil society can make a difference. During the 1990s numerous initiatives brought violence against women and children to public attention and demanded legal and other forms of redress. When NGOs learned that government was drafting a relevant bill, an already formed coalition led by activist media women undertook widespread publicity activities. These included a debate on the issues in Parliament which was broadcast live on the radio and generated much interest and further debate. The process provided an excellent model for building coalitions and strategically using media, and was successful. In 1998 Parliament passed the Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act, the first example of new, gender sensitive legislation in Tanzania.⁷⁵ The crimes of rape, attempted rape, sexual harassment, sexual exploitation of and cruelty to children, female genital mutilation and trafficking in human beings are defined and compensation for victims as well as strong penalties for offenders provided for.viii

There are over 350 civic organisations which are either women-specific or include women and gender issues in their activities. ⁷⁶ In addition, there are countless small, unregistered women's groups that provide space for some women to learn and use skills to increase their participation in public life and to claim their right to share in household and community decision-making. In general, however, democracy has not yet given poor people, not only women but youth and many men as well, opportunity to influence and challenge decisions that affect their lives. Beyond this, there are glaring

gender inequalities in participation in public life and in political processes. Decision-making, whether through politics or state organs, and control over development priorities, whether at community or national level, are dominated by men who occupy the vast majority of positions of power and authority.

Take, for example, local government. Although there is long-standing affirmative action that 25 per cent of village and district councillors should be women, this is not enforced. In 1993 only six per cent of more than 85,000 councillors were women.⁷⁷ Although there are initiatives to increase women's participation in village committees such as for water and sanitation management, it has not proved easy to get women to participate, or to participate actively. For example, in an area with a water and sanitation project that has stressed women's participation, women said that they rarely attended meetings, among other reasons because they needed their husbands' permission. In actual fact, they said, they were far too busy to attend such meetings, much less go to training sessions or be involved in day-to-day management of village water systems.78

Women hardly participate in contested electoral politics. There are 13 registered parties, some with "women's wings" but none with strong gender equality platforms. In the first multi-party election in 1995, women constituted only 67 (5%) of 1,335 persons contesting seats in Parliament in their local constituencies. Of these, eight were elected. Because there is a quota to give women 15 per cent of seats in Parliamentix, they currently comprise 16 per cent of MPs.⁷⁹ The quota system is hotly debated. Some men argue that women need not contest seats in their own right since they have reserved seats. Others, mostly women, say that setting the quota at fifteen per cent was arbitrarily decided, that the system through which women are nominated for these seats is party- and therefore male-controlled and that because of party-bloc voting women MPs are constrained by party loyalty. Nonetheless, gender activists argue to retain quotas until a more level playing field for women and men exists.

There are many barriers to women's active participation in politics. As the village women pointed out, they already have too heavy work burdens and responsibilities. The majority has no or low educational levels, little or no previous political experience and lack the financial resources which campaigning requires. Patriarchal ideology is

expressed in abuse and harassment of aspiring women candidates, unmarried women are particularly disparaged and campaigning at night or in drinking places as male candidates do is difficult and dangerous. Many women have little selfconfidence and do not easily enter a male domain such as politics, associated with "unfeminine" behaviour such as debate and confrontation (see Box 9). Because of inadequate awareness-raising, many prefer to elect men. Although women constitute 48 per cent of registered voters nationwide, in some constituencies they are only 30 per cent, more evidence that many women see politics and leadership as men's business.80 An NGO to strengthen women's political participation nationwide was intimidated by government, supposedly for being political and partisan.81 Nonetheless, the political empowerment of women is one of government's post-Beijing commitments. The national elections in the year 2000 will be an important event for gender activists.

Women's access to political and other information is a critical area. In a survey in connection with the 1995 elections, 37 per cent of those who said they had access to a radio were women.82 Many NGO/civic initiatives at local level use diverse methods to provide information to women and men, girls and boys: not only workshops, but drama and role plays, inter-active processes of dialogue and support, videos and general information, as on leadership, which has been made gender relevant. Onward dissemination of information is dependent on those who have themselves received new knowledge and choose to pass it on, and on the support of local, mostly male, leadership. Although political reform has opened space for diverse print media, the challenge of removing negative

Box 9: Gender power imbalance

"The root causes of this gender power imbalance are the socialisation process as well [as] the patriarchal property relations and inheritance rights which have reserved politics for males. [Women have] been socialized to [be] submissive, nurturing, non argumentative, compromising and putting herself second, hence denied the power to engage in 'real politics.' However, women may not necessarily be interested in 'male-dominated politics' where power is exercised 'over' somebody and not shared with others." (B. Koda and R. Shayo 1994, p. 6)

stereotypes about women in the media remains. Since women's literacy level is lower, they have less access to newspapers. NGOs have produced simplified versions of such important documents as the Beijing Platform for Action in kiSwahili, but again the readership is restricted and distribution difficult. However, civic coalitions around specific issues include women media activists and male allies and have deliberate information dissemination strategies.

Public officials as well as ordinary citizens also need information. Implementation of the new Sexual Offenses Act requires that not only women are informed of their rights and know how to seek redress but also that responsible authorities such as the police and judiciary know the law and apply it. Sensitising and informing key public officials mostly means men since they occupy the vast majority of key decision-making positions in the public arena. In the civil service women occupy 19 per cent of middle and senior level management positions; 12 per cent of the police force generally and three to four per cent as heads of departments or units; and five and seven per cent of primary and district court magistrates respectively.83 The reasons for employed women's lower position and lack of career advancement, including in the civil service, have been given earlier. Several government units have however begun work on equal opportunity policies to address, inter alia, women's career advancement and access to positions of authority.

Gender-relevant information not only needs to be disseminated; much of the information with which public officials work is "gender blind." This is because some data are not sex-disaggregated or analysed for gender relevance, and macro-economic data has always been treated as if gender issues are irrelevant. The national accounting systems, which do not accurately reflect women's sizeable contribution to the economy, are a case in point. The national budget gives details of expenditure by sector but does not state specifically who will benefit from particular expenditure items, as in health and education. Since gender needs differ, a national budget is not gender neutral. Important gender budget initiatives have been started, involving government (Ministry of Finance, Planning Commission, selected sectoral ministries and district authorities) and a gendernetworking NGO. The aim is not to make a separate "gender budget" but to include gender relevant information and analysis in government's

normal budgetary routines and outputs (government) and to lobby and support government's efforts as well as de-mystify these issues for ordinary people through simple explanations and dissemination of information (NGOs).

Although men are also involved in and support the initiatives described here, many male decision-makers remain to be convinced of how they, their families and communities and the country will benefit in creating space for women's active participation in leadership and decision-making. All too often, an important national planning document such as *The Tanzania Development Vision 2025*, which states what "all Tanzanians" want their society to be like in the year 2025, is drafted first and then efforts made by activists to "engender" it afterwards.⁸⁴

At regional as well as national level, women want opportunities to participate in political and peace-making processes in a region whose stability is threatened by civil wars involving several of Tanzania's neighbours.* Tanzanian activists, both government and NGO, have successfully lobbied for and are participating in gender initiatives in important regional organisations such as the revival of East African Cooperation and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), whose members including Tanzania signed a Gender and Development Declaration in 1997.

riiiActivists point out some flaws and discrepancies in the Act, however. Rape within marriage is not a crime. The Act is inconsistent with other legislation which gives the minimum age of marriage for girls as 15 (and in the Penal Code as 12) which means that girls' rights to protection against sexual violence are not consistently protected by the law.

^{*}A Cabinet decision to increase the quota from 15% to 30% has not yet been implemented.

^{*}As a reconciliator after the 1994 Rwanda genocide, Tanzania's negotiations team had three women and two men (Bureau of Statistics and MCDWAC 1995, p. 72).

Opportunities for Change and Transformation

Transformation towards more equal gender relations is taking place in Tanzania, albeit slowly. Individual women and men have negotiated new, more equal types of relationship, and women have gained self-confidence and skills. Throughout the country there are strong, able women who network with and support other women to challenge patriarchal attitudes and practices in their daily lives and in the institutions with which they have contact.

Government agencies, the media and numerous NGOs and community-based groups have been active in familiarising Tanzanians with gender issues and examples of gender-based discrimination. As a result there are many local NGOs and community-based groups, either composed largely of women or organised around issues of common concern, such as environment or land, which are sensitive to gender issues and increasingly include male gender equality activists and supporters among their number. It is not uncommon, now, for local groups of women to demand their right to question and challenge decisions taken by community leaders, often men, and in this they provide important models to others. At the regional and national levels, processes of networking, coalition building and dialogue bring activists into contact with local groups. In short, the voice of civil society in Tanzania is loud, and women, together with male allies, are among the diverse groups insisting to be heard and demanding change.

Although the state is sometimes ambivalent about the role of a strong civil society in a multi-party democracy, there has been substantial support at policy level for gender equality. The outdated 1992 policy on women in development⁸⁵ will be replaced in 1999 by a new policy on Gender and Development. Many of the country's sectoral policies, as well as policies on cross-cutting issues such as poverty eradication, reflect some awareness of the differing needs of women and men, female and male adolescents and of the rights of children, in particular girl children.

The government structure for implementing national policies includes a recently restructured Ministry for Community Development, Gender and Culture^{xi}. Other ministries and government agencies have gender desks or gender focal points which have the responsibility, though typically not the resources or access to decision-makers, to integrate - or mainstream - attention to gender equality issues throughout government's policies, programmes

and routine activities. Implementation of policy requires, among other things, relevant data on the basis of which the situation of girls and boys, women and men, can be analysed. In some sectors, but by no means all, there has been improvement in the provision of such sex-disaggregated data. Capacity for gender analysis, though improving, is still limited and data on men and on the qualitative aspects of gender relations are scarce. Notions of masculinity and the social construction of men's roles are new areas of interest, but more to non-Tanzanian researchers than to Tanzanians.

Government has attempted to redress some glaring gender inequalities by taking affirmative action, as with reserved seats in Parliament, on district councils, and in village committees, though sometimes - in the latter case - because a donor has included a target for women's representation in project design. In some sectors there have also been important gender-focused initiatives, for example to get girls into school and keep them there through provision of bursaries and creation of family and community awareness, or to support men to take responsibility for their own and their partners' reproductive health. Although government created a Law Reform Commission which identified discriminatory customary law in general and inheritance in particular as the most important issues to be tackled, these still top the NGO priority list because legislative reform has been long delayed.

Tanzania signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1980 and ratified it, without reservations, in 1985. In 1998 the government made its second and third periodic reports on the implementation of CEDAW, and an NGO coalition submitted a Shadow Report questioning some of government's claims, in particular the degree to which the "practical conditions of the lives of women in Tanzania" have substantially changed.86 Although government made four commitments to implement the Beijing Platform for Actionxii, NGOs note that the launch of the National Plan of Action⁸⁷ was long delayed and implementation appears to depend more on soliciting donor interest than on government commitment to provision of adequate resources. Tanzania was a signatory in 1997 to the Gender and Development Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community that, among other things, created a Gender Desk in

SADC for which Tanzanian activists and others in the sub-region had long advocated.

There are many foreign partners supporting work on gender issues in Tanzania. These include international NGOs with diverse development ideologies, ranging from traditional welfare approaches addressing women's practical needs to empowerment approaches facilitating women and men to identify strategic needs, including more equal gender relations. Bilateral and multi-lateral donors support micro-credit schemes, skills training, opportunities for secondary education for girls, household water provision, reproductive health, legal awareness and many other initiatives. Even the World Bank has joined the gender equality effort, by examining its investment portfolio in Tanzania and making a Gender Action Plan to increase the gender sensitivity of individual programmes and projects. Donors who formerly coordinated their own efforts to improve women's status and promote gender equality are now coordinated by the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Culture.

These achievements notwithstanding, there are formidable challenges which must be addressed in order to make progress towards more equitable gender relations in a transformed social, economic and political context.

Many gender equality initiatives are donorsupported; and worthwhile activities, such as more micro-credit schemes for small-scale entrepreneurs, are not implemented because of lack of funding. The state has very limited financial resources, which makes it all the more necessary to mainstream explicit attention to gender equality and to women's empowerment in all government policies, programmes, budgets and day-to-day operations. However, mainstreaming is not wellunderstood, and building capacity in gender analysis to support mainstreamingxiii processes is just beginning. There is no government-wide mechanism for mainstreaming and no action plan which gives clear role assignments, sets targets and indicators and provides for monitoring in order to map progress.

The concepts used in this profile are not yet widely understood in Tanzania. Gender is still thought to be synonymous with "women," and gender equality is confused with the now outmoded concept of "integrating women in the development process." The perception continues that

women are demanding additional activities in projects and programmes. Gender equality is therefore (mis)understood as a "women's issue" rather than a development issue. Because of this misunderstanding, mainstreaming as currently practiced in Tanzania typically means adding the words "and women" after the word "men," when target groups are identified for example, and setting targets for 50/50 participation whether this is appropriate or not. Because gender equality is thought to be about women, rather than the relationships between women and men, men's perceptions of their gender roles and relationships are not taken into account. There are few strategies to strengthen men's understanding of and commitment to gender equality as a goal to enhance personal, household and national development.

In a well-developed multi-party democracy, a certain degree of tension between state and civil society is necessary and healthy. Civil society activists in Tanzania, however, question whether government provides sufficient space for the voicing of diverse views on priority development issues. Major donor partners, it is felt, may also be ambivalent about this, perhaps - despite the rhetoric - seeing government, not civic groups, as their most important partner.

The complexities of gender equality issues tend to be blurred by rhetoric and slogans. That, for example, there is a "feminisation of poverty," implying that gender equality is solely a poverty issue and is not linked to other social, economic and political phenomena. Or that "people's participation" will ensure that women's as well as men's needs and views will be equally heard. Participatory strategies are empowering only when everyone has an equal voice to express their problems and to participate in identifying and implementing solutions. Too often, participation is implemented as a mechanical process, to rubberstamp at community level, decisions that have already been taken elsewhere.

Many of the initiatives to promote gender equality and women's empowerment tackle symptoms, rather than root causes. Affirmative action to increase women's participation in legislative bodies is a case in point. Although reserved seats have increased the number of women in Parliament, deep-seated patriarchal attitudes continue to be expressed in this institution, as elsewhere. For example, women MPs criticised

discrimination in treatment of married refugees: a Tanzanian man married to a refugee could take his wife to live wherever he pleased; a Tanzanian woman married to a refugee, on the other hand, was forced to live with her husband in a refugee camp. Instead of analysing the root cause of this example of gender-based discrimination, a male MP caused laughter in the house when he said that it was entirely normal for a woman to follow her husband when they married. The root cause is patriarchal ideology, expressed in application of so-called customary law and practices to situations where these have no meaning. Gender equality will not be a reality in Tanzania unless these root causes are examined and challenged.

xi Set up in 1990 and until early 1999 called the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children.

***These are to enhance women's legal capacity, to economically empower women and eliminate poverty, to politically empower women and improve their access to education, training and employment.

^{wii}Mainstreaming means paying attention to equality between women and men in all development policies, strategies and interventions.

Appendix

Data in this Appendix come primarily from quantitative surveys, most of which are out-of-date. In a few cases, there are discrepancies between figures given in the Appendix and those in the main body of the text. In the latter, efforts were made to find the most recent estimates, calculated for example by The World Bank but for which details were not given in Bank publications. The information and data are presented here not because they are necessarily "true." Much of the sex-disaggregated data does not accurately reflect women's contribution or rate of participation. The following data and tables do, however, give a very general picture of the overall situation. The reasons for gender imbalances that appear in quantitative data need analysis in order to be interpreted. Gender relationships are not revealed in a simple quantitative presentation. Except for the first section, below, the following tables cover topics in the order in which they are presented in the text.

Mainland Tanzania's ranking in the "world line-up"

Basic economic and social indicators, according to The World Bank: 3rd from the bottom of 49 low-income countries/economies:

- GNP per capita of \$120 per day
- 16.4% of people living on less than \$1 per day
- life expectancy at birth of 51 years
- poorest 20% of the population shares 6.9% of national income
- richest 20% of the population shares 45.4% of national income
- 49% of the population has access to safe water
- 748 of every 100,000 women die of pregnancy-related causes
- 43% of women and 21% of men are illiterate

Source: World Development Report 1997, Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

Human Development Index (HDI), according to UNDP:xiv

- Ranked as number 149, out of 175 countries, with #175 having the lowest HDI

Human Poverty Index, according to UNDP:xv

- Ranked as number 50, out of 78 countries for which this calculation was made

Gender-related Development Index (GDI), according to UNDP:xvi

- Ranked as number 123, out of 146 countries for which the GDI was calculated

Source: Human Development Report 1997, Oxford University Press for the United Nations Development Programme

^{xiii} The Human Development Index (HDI) is based on weighting and synthesis of 3 indicators: life expectancy at birth, educational attainment and standard of living.

^{xv}The Human Poverty Index (HPI) calculates deprivation, based on the indicators in the HDI.

xii The Gender-related Development Index (GDI) uses the same indicators as the HDI, but "adjusts the average achievement of each country in life expectancy, educational attainment and income in accordance with the disparity in achievement between women and men." The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) was not calculated for Tanzania because of insufficient information. The GEM is based on women's and men's percentage shares of administrative and managerial positions, of professional and technical jobs, and of parliamentary seats.

Table 1: Types of cases dealt with at a legal aid scheme for women (5/96-7/97)

Type of problem	Number of clients	
Matrimonial problems (e.g. domestic violence)	931	
Divorce	551	
Child custody	130	
Inheritance	30	
Civil (credit, land)	24	
Child maintenance	23	
Employment	11	
• •		

Source: Report on the Activities of SUWATA Legal Aid Scheme for Women 1996/97 As presented in URT, Report on the Implementation of CEDAW, 1998, p.3

Table 2: Division of labour in agriculture

	Women's participation (%)	Men's participation (%)
Crop production:		
General	56	44
Food crops	75	25
Specific tasks:		
Land tilling	56	44
Sowing	74	26
Weeding	70	30
Harvesting	71	29
Marketing	73	27

Source: National sample Census of Agriculture Vol. 3, 1996 As presented in C. Rugimbana and R. Jengo, 1998, p. 15

Table 3: Characteristics of female and male household heads

Feature/Characteristic	Female household head	Male household head
Dependency ratio	1.37	1.16
Access to rural land (acres)	3.74	6.08
Years of schooling	2.45	4.74
Has a pair of shoes	89.4	93.6
Has a book	34.8	51.4
Has a bicycle	1.6	24.0
Has a radio/cassette	1.6	11.4

Source: Human Resource Development Survey, 1993

Adapted from presentation in World Bank, 1996, p. 109 and 111

Industry	Women (%)	Men (%)
Agric./fishing/forest	53.6	46.4
Mining & quarry	4.0	96.0
Manufacturing	27.5	72.5
Electricity & gas	19.9	80.1
Building & construction	5.4	94.6
Trade	41.7	58.3
Transport	8.7	91.3
Finance	25.7	74.3
Personal services	30.0	70.0
TOTAL	49.9	50.1

Source: Human Resource Development Survey, 1993 Adapted from presentation in World Bank, 1996, p. 109 and 111

Areas	Women (%)	Men (%)
Dar es Salaam	39.5	60.5
Other urban areas	44.1	55.9
Rural areas	30.6	69.4
TOTAL	35.4	64.6

Educational level	Girls/Women (%)	Boys/Men (%)
Primary Std. I	49.2	50.8
Primary Std. VII	49.4	50.6
Secondary Form I	45.8	54.2
Secondary Form IV	43.4	56.6
Secondary Form V	31.6	68.4
Secondary Form VI	27.1	72.9
Teacher education training	50.8	49.2
Technical education	6.0	94.0
University education	21.8	78.2

Characteristic		Percentage who have begun child-bearing
Age:		
	15 years old	1.3
	16 years old	11.2
	17 years old	17.1
	18 years old	39.2
	19 years old	60.6 $^{\mathrm{xvii}}$
Education:		
	None	39.6
	Primary incomplete	16.1
	Primary complete	30.2
	Secondary+	9.4

Position	Number of women	Number of men
Elected & nominated Members of Parliament, 199	5 45	230
Ministers, 1995	3	21
Regional Commissioners, 1997	1	19
District Commissioners, 1997	18	79
Executive Directors (towns, municipalities), 1997	14	100
Court of Appeal Judges, 1990	0	5
High Court Judges, 1990	2	28
Ambassadors, 1993	2	29

Sources: Adapted from Bureau of Statistics and MCDWAC, 1995, p. 71-2; Bureau of Statistics, 1997, p. 44 & 47; and Civil Service Department 1997, presented in URT, MCDWAC, 1997/98 – 2003, p. 23

xiii The percentages by age are cumulative; that is, by age 19, 60.6% of girls/women are already mothers or are pregnant with their first child.

Endnotes

¹P. Mbughuni 1993; C. Rugimbana and R. Jengo 1998; TGNP 1993 ²CIDA 1998; TGNP and SARDC-WIDSAA 1997; URT, MCDWAC 1997/98 - 2003 ³Bureau of Statistics and MCDWAC 1995 and Bureau of Statistics 1997 ⁴UNICEF 1995, p. 87 ⁵Ibid., p. 23 ⁶M. Mbilinyi 1997, pp. 13-4 ⁷UNICEF op. cit., p. 2 ⁸Personal communication from and documentation provided by the Executive Director, Legal and Human Rights Centre, Nov. 9, 1998 Daily News, Nov. 12, 1998 ¹⁰M. Rwebangira 1996, pp. 15-20 ¹¹G. Gopal and M. Salim 1998, Chapter 2 and p. 50 ¹²V. Mugittu 1998, p 7 ¹³UNICEF op. cit., p. 18 ¹⁴B. Killian 1998, pp. 150-1 ¹⁵M. Mbilinyi and T. Nyoni 1998, p. 7 ¹⁶Tanzania NGOs 1998, p. 6, p. 24 ¹⁷Proposals towards a draft bill for the establishment of a Human Rights Commission in Tanzania c1998 ¹⁸Personal communication from and documentation provided by the Deputy Secretary General, United Nations Association of Tanzania, Nov. 10, 1998 ¹⁹Data come from World Bank, May 6, 1997, Annex A6 ²⁰World Bank 1996 ²¹Ibid., p. 59 ²²Swantz op. cit., p. 191 ²³UNICEF op. cit., p. 35 ²⁴B. Diyamett et. al., 1998 ²⁵J. O'Riordan et. al. 1997, p. 18 ²⁶Mbilinyi op. cit., 1997 ²⁷C. Mung'ong'o 1998, p. 16 ff. ²⁸P. Seppälä 1998, p. 236, pp. 238-40 ²⁹M. Mbilinyi 1995 ³⁰Mugittu op. cit., pp. 7-8 ³¹Swantz op. cit., p. 183 ff. ³²Envirocare 1998, Annex 5 ³³Personal communication from and documentation provided by the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, Nov. 1998; G. Gopal and M. Salim op. cit., p. 62 ³⁴N. Madulu 1998, p. 26 ³⁵G. Jambiya 1998, p. 24 ³⁶V. Knippel 1996 ³⁷E. Mihanjo and N. Luanda 1998 ³⁸Bureau of Statistics and MCDWAC op. cit., p. 51 ³⁹Ibid., pp. 62-3 ⁴⁰World Bank 1996, p. 128

⁴¹J. O'Riordan op. cit., p. 7

⁴²Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 1998, p.8

⁴³Bureau of Statistics op. cit., p. 64 ⁴⁴J. O'Riordan op. cit., p. 21 ff. 45Ibid., p. 25 46 Ibid., p. 32 ⁴⁷Government of Tanzania 1995 ⁴⁸R. Shayo 1998, pp. 333 ff. 49World Bank 1996, p. 107 ⁵⁰F. Turuka and D. Mwaseba 1998 ⁵¹D. Narayan 1997, p. 12 ⁵²Ibid., pp. 34-5 and 47-8 ⁵³Ibid., p. 31 ⁵⁴Oxfam 1998, p. 22 ⁵⁵Bureau of Statistics op. cit., p. 10 ⁵⁶UNICEF op. cit., p. 38 ff. ⁵⁷World Bank 1996, p. 74 ⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 42-3 ⁵⁹Bureau of Statistics op. cit., p. 11 ⁶⁰A. Mason and S. Khandker 1997, p. 27 ⁶¹CIDA op. cit., citing the 1995 statement of the Tanzania head of delegation to the Fourth World Conference on women, Part B, p. 3 ⁶²Bureau of Statistics op. cit., p. 17 ⁶³University of Dar es Salaam, 1997, p. 6 ff. ⁶⁴Bureau of Statistics and Planning Commission 1997; University of Dar es Salaam op. cit. ⁶⁵UNICEF op. cit., pp. 55-6 ⁶⁶Bureau of Statistics and MCDWAC op. cit., p. 121 67tadreg 1997, p. 14 ⁶⁸Ministry of Health 1997, p. 6 and Table 5 ⁶⁹M. Mbilinyi 1996, pp. 5-7 ⁷⁰Z. Mgalla and R. Pool 1997 ⁷¹R. Pool et. al. 1996, p. 213 ff. ⁷²P. Setel 1994 ⁷³Legal and Human Rights Centre 1996-7, parts 1 ⁷⁴Tanzania Media Women's Association 1998, p. 4 ⁷⁵Tanzania NGOs Shadow Report op. cit., p. 10 ⁷⁶URT, Report on the Implementation of CEDAW, 1998, p. 38 ⁷⁷TGNP and SARDC-WIDSAA op. cit., p. 34 ⁷⁸S. Rugumamu, 1998, p. 36 ⁷⁹Bureau of Statistics op. cit., pp. 44-6 80R. Meena, 1996, p. 39 81 Ibid., p. 40 82 Ibid., p. 29 ⁸³Bureau of Statistics and MCDWAC op. cit., pp. 69-71 ⁸⁴The Tanzania Development Vision 2025, 1998; **TGNP 1998** 85URT March 1992 86 Tanzania NGOs Shadow Report op. cit. ⁸⁷URT, MCDWAC 1997/98 - 2003

88The Guardian, 29 January 1999

Annex I: Terms of Reference

1. Background

Sida's Action Programme for Promoting Equality Between Women and Men (April 1997) takes its starting point in the priorities and initiatives for its partner countries. This requires development of considerable knowledge on the gender equality situation in Tanzania – policies, strategies, formal mechanisms, work of NGOs and civil society, research groups, etc.

The new Tanzania Gender Profile aims to facilitate the development of knowledge on gender equality which facilitates the implementation of Sida's Action Programme for Promoting Equality Between Women and Men. Sida has identified three other priority areas which need to be given a special focus in the profile: poverty; democracy, human rights and conflict; and environmental sustainability.

The first profile, called *Country Gender Analysis:* Tanzania was published in July, 1993. Developments which have taken place during the 90s make it necessary to update this profile. For example the impact of the increased attention to gender equality in the UN conferences on education, environment, human rights, population and social development need to be investigated. The increased knowledge of, and attention to, the linkages between equality and economy should be taken into account in the new profile, as well as the increasing focus on men in efforts to promote gender equality.

In particular there is need to give attention to the implementation of the Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration. Attention has to be given to the Critical Areas of Concern identified in the Platform for Action. Member countries were required by the General Assembly to prepare concrete plans for the implementation of the Platform for Action. On the 8th March, 1996, the Government of Tanzania launched its Commitment for the Implementation of the Platform for Action Conference -Equality, Peace and Development. A new Policy on Gender and Development in Tanzania is also on its way. Since these plans should be the basis of the cooperation between Sida and Tanzania on promoting gender equality, there is a need for information on the priorities and initiatives included in the implementation plans.

During the 90s the Convention on the Elimination of all Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was highlighted as an instrument for dialogue. The Government of Tanzania presented

its report in July 1998, and a coalition of NGOs prepared their shadow report which also was presented in New York. More information is needed on these reports and the implementation of the changes suggested.

2. Purpose of the new Tanzania Gender Profile

The Tanzania Gender Profile should facilitate development of gender-aware country strategies, programmes and projects, and policy dialogue, by providing a brief but comprehensive information on the comparative situation and status of women and men with particular reference to poverty and other economic, political, legal, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. Since women and men are not homogeneous groups it is important to consider other socio-cultural criteria as ethnic group, class and age. The document should highlight the inter-related causal factors, which contribute to the present situation while providing an analysis of the trends and forces contributing to ongoing changes.

Country Gender Profiles are also helpful in briefing of consultants undertaking assignments in Tanzania and for briefing of Sida personnel.

The Tanzania Gender Profile should not describe Sida's policies or programmes. The nature and size also prohibit more detailed attention to the sectors in which Sida is involved. The profile aims to improve a general overall background on the gender equality situation to facilitate development of Sida support. Detailed analysis of Sida's work should be done in other contexts.

3. Scope and Focus of the Gender Profile

The Tanzania Gender Profile should include genderspecific information on the following issues, including specific attention to girl children as relevant:

i) The three other Sida Programmes for Action

Poverty: Using as a guide Sida's recent document: Gender inequality and poverty: trends, linkages, analysis and policy implications, 1998,

Justice and Peace: Sida's programme for Peace, Democracy and Human Rights,

Sida's Poverty programme: Action programme to Promote Sustainable Livelihoods for the Poor and to Combat Poverty.

ii) Other factors

Gender specific information, including specific reference to girl children as necessary, to be provided. NB. Some of the factors presented below may not be relevant for the Tanzania Gender Profile. The initial workshop will identify the most relevant issues to be further explored in the Gender Profile.

Overall economic situation

Economic policies and reforms – including debt, balance of payment, inflation, public revenue, tax expenditures (and reviews), public investment, production (tradable and untradables), social sector spending, user charges policy, welfare subsidies, employment and labour in both the formal and the informal sectors, trade unions. Where possible the gender-specific impact of macro-level policy on micro-level should be highlighted.

Socio-economic situation

General poverty situation, income distribution, livelihoods, food security, demographic situation, provision and access to/use of services and resources, water, forestry, infrastructure, health (including HIV/AIDS), education, disability, communications, land and other resources, environment.

Socio-cultural situation

Ethnic and racial groups, family structure (including female-headed households), children (with a focus on girl children), youth, migration, traditional customs and laws (including where relevant female genital mutilation).

Legal situation and human rights

Inheritance, land tenure, family laws, violence, traditional versus civil laws, CEDAW. The presentation should focus on legislation, legal literacy and administration of law.

Political situation

Constitution, parliament (representation and participation), political parties, government, elections (participation and representation), representation and participation at various levels – regional/provincial, district and local government levels.

Media and IT

Freedom of expression, representation and

participation in media (including management levels), gender images in media, access to, utilisation and control of IT and modern communication methods.

Conflict

Where relevant, gender-specific information on causes, prevention, resolution and rehabilitation.

Girl children

Information on the specific constraints and problems faced by girl children.

iii) National policies and inputs on promotion of gender equality

An analysis of what is done within the country to promote gender equality. National policies, strategies (including sector-specific strategies) and mechanisms for promoting gender equality, including the specific plans for the implementation of the Platform for Action should be included. In addition information should be provided on the priorities and initiatives of NGOs, civil society, women's organisations and networks, men's groups, academic, media groups etc. Information should be included on the capacity of national actors to work with a gender equality perspective and opportunities for development of competence. The focus on and involvement of men in gender equality should be given priority attention.

iv) Inputs by external agencies

Information on the role of donors – multilateral and bilateral as well as external NGOs, including the role of co-ordination.

v) Key problems and opportunities

This section should pay special attention to the potentials and role of the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children and the role and potential of the Civil Society.

4. Methodology

The Tanzania Gender Profile should be prepared as a desk study supplemented by the information gathered through the initial workshop. No new research should be involved in the development of the Profile. It should build entirely on existing materials and interviews with key actors in ministries, NGOs, civil society organisations etc. The profile

may point to the need of further research in strategic areas

The profile should be no longer than 25 pages. Additional information can be provided in annexes, such as sex-disaggregated statistics, Tanzania GAD policy and Beijing Platform for Action, Commitments, reading lists, etc.

Particular attention should be given to providing sex-disaggregated statistics in all areas covered. Where such disaggregated statistics are not available this should be clearly pointed out.

Information should be obtained from government ministries, parliament, political parties, NGOs, civil society organisations, women's groups and networks, men's groups (where relevant), academic institutions and groups, statistical offices, private sector including law firms, etc., donors and other international organisations.

Annex II: Methodology for preparing the gender profile The gender profile is the result of collaboration between the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) and the consultant. TGNP organised and facilitated a gender profile workshop, identified one of its members to work with the consultant to interview key people and collect documents immediately after the workshop and thereafter to collect additional data and documents to fill identified gaps. The consultant wrote the profile on the basis of priorities identified at the workshop, interviews with key informants and desk review of collected data and documents.

The Gender Profile Workshop, 6-7 November 1998, had three objectives: to provide a framework of priority issues to be included in the profile, to identify/specify existing sources of information and to identify data gaps. About 25 women and men from government, NGOs, the university and donor agencies participated.

Current and emerging gender equality issues were identified through a structured brain-storming process. Participants wrote down issues on manilla cards, one issue per card. The cards were clustered into groups, covering similar topics. Participants then prioritised these cluster-topics, by choosing one priority per person. This resulted in identification of five focus areas: poverty, governance, economic management, social services and information access.

Participants formed five working groups, one for each focus area. Each working group produced a verbal/flip chart report covering the following topics:

- opportunities which exist to transform unequal gender relations;
- constraints to achieving gender equality and social transformation;
- changes that have taken place to create more space for transformation of unequal gender relations; and
- existing information, data, and documents (key informants, names and locations of documents, etc.).

This methodology produced good detail about priority issues to be included in the profile. To give one example, the group working on governance considered multi-party democracy, constitutional reform and violence. In discussing multi-party democracy, they identified opportunities such as creation of more space for political participation and debate in civil society, affirmative action to increase women's political participation, increasing public dialogue about gender equality and lobbying

for gender-relevant legislation. The group identified numerous constraints, such as: continuing patriarchal practices in state and other institutions; inadequate affirmative action; people's apathy and resistance to change which government is able to exploit; and poverty, unemployment and social malaise which impede development of a "culture of good citizenry." Changes that are taking place include an increasingly assertive media and networking and coalition building on specific issues, such as lobbying for the passage of the Sexual Offenses Act and working to ensure that draft legislation on land protects women's rights of access and control.

The priority gender equality issues identified by the five working groups at the workshop provided a sound basis for writing the gender profile. Annex III: Explanation of terms and concepts used

The following explanations are taken from the cover of a packet of information on **Sida's Action Programme for promoting equality between women and men in partner countries** (Department for Policy and Legal Services, April 1997).

"Equality between women and men refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality is not a 'women's issue' but should concern and engage men as well as women. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. . . Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for and indicator of sustainable people-centred development."

"Gender refers to the attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the socio-cultural relationships between women and men and girls and boys. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context-specific and changeable. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in activities undertaken, access to and control over resources as well as decision-making opportunities. Gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context. Other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis include class, race, poverty level, ethnic group, and age."

"Men and equality: Equality between women and men should not be treated as a women's issue. A gender approach implies that attention should be given to both women and men and their roles, responsibilities, rights, priorities, needs and potentials... In many societies [gender] analysis reveals that women and girls face serious inequalities. As a result efforts are made which focus on women and the redressing of these inequalities. Where analysis reveals that men or boys are disadvantaged inputs must be made to tackle these inequalities. A stronger focus on men is necessary to be able to identify and tackle structural and systemic causes of inequality between women and men. Experience has shown that efforts to redress gender inequalities through inputs directed to women can result in backlash unless men are informed and brought along in the process of change... Male allies of equality need to be identified and supported."

Empowerment of women concerns women gaining increased power and control over their own lives. It involves awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, and increased access to and control over resources. Empowerment comes from within; women empower themselves... Empowerment of women cannot occur in a vacuum. Men must also be brought along in the process of change...

It is important to ascertain the possible implications of the empowerment of women for men and the potential effects on their attitudes and behaviour... There are gains from women's empowerment for society and for men which need to be identified and disseminated."

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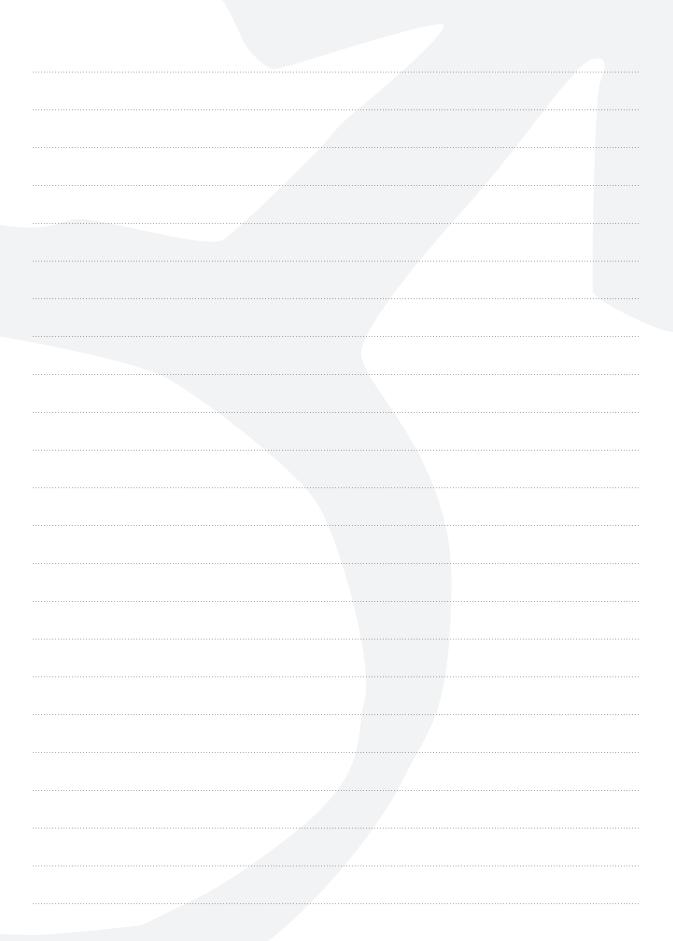
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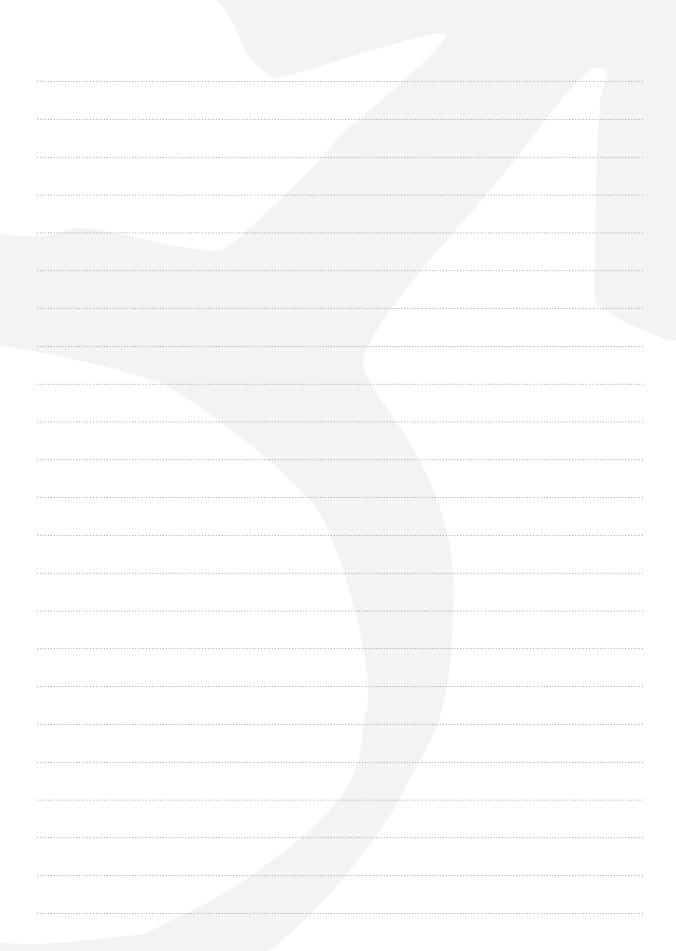
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