

**NEGOTIATING WOMEN'S LABOUR: WOMEN FARMERS, STATE, AND
SOCIETY IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS OF TANZANIA, 1885–2000**

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN
BY

NIVES KINUNDA

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SUPERVISED BY PROF DR REBEKKA HABERMAS

GOETTINGEN, AUGUST 2017

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that it has not been presented and will not be presented to any other University for a similar or any other degree award. The works of other people consulted for this dissertation are acknowledged in footnotes and bibliography.

Acknowledgements

This work has benefited from the support of many people and institutions, without which it would not have reached this stage. It is difficult to mention each one of them, but I would like to thank the following people and institutions in particular.

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor Prof Dr Rebekka Habermas for her tireless guidance and constructive criticisms. I benefited much from her constructive comments and critical questions in the process of writing this work. Her patience and commitment to this work will continue to inspire my intellectual and academic development. In addition, she extended care beyond academics which made my studies and stay in Goettingen convenient and pleasant. I am actually very proud of being supervised by Prof Dr Rebekka Habermas.

I am deeply indebted to Dr Richard Hoelzl for orienting me to the University environment upon my first arrival, and for his willingness to work so closely with me in this research. He read the manuscript of this dissertation tirelessly and provided an enormous contribution to the rules and procedures of the work. Moreover, I thank Prof Dr Roman Loimeier, a member of my oral dissertation defence committee, for his contribution.

My colleagues at the Department of Modern History in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Goettingen also deserve my appreciation. I would like to express my thanks to Ms Sandra Kirchner, Prof Dr Rebekka Habermas' secretary, for helping me to settle at the university. I also thank my colleagues and fellow graduate students in the Department who always gave me company during my study. Included in this group are Dr Philip Müller, Karolin Wetjen, Annika Dörner, Viktoria Morick and all participants of the colloquium under the supervision of Prof Dr Rebekka Habermas. I am so indebted to the organisers and members of the African Diversities Colloquium of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Goettingen who allowed me to attend the seminar and share with them several chapter drafts of this research. Their contributions and criticisms are highly appreciated. I

am also thankful to Leonie Newhouse, Elena Gadjanova, Peter Kankonde, Jannik Schritt, Sabine Mohamed, and Naluwembe Binaisa.

I am indebted to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of Tanzania (MoEST), both of which offered the financial support for carrying out my PhD studies in Germany. The Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU) and Higher Education Students' Loans Board (HESLB) also offered a significant support to my study. My sincere gratitude goes to the Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE) for granting me a study leave and research fund. I particularly thank Dr Sengulo Albert Mselem and Dr Emiliana Mwita for their positive recommendations that enabled me to win the scholarship. I further thank my PhD student colleagues under the DAAD and MoEST scholarship team in Germany. Although we went through various challenges while working together as students from different academic backgrounds, they were a strong motivation for my success and, in fact, they helped me realise the richness of my academic and social life. Special mention goes to Angelus Mnenuka, Deogratius Shayo, John Mpemba Lekanangule, Samwel Mhajida, and Yovita Vakolavene. I acknowledge the support of Prof James Giblin and Mama Blandina Giblin for helping me access materials, which I needed from the University of Iowa. I thank Dr Oswald Masebo, the head of Department of History at the University of Dar es Salaam who helped me to find some relevant sources for this study.

I thank the University of Dar es Salaam for granting me a Research Clearance which I used to secure research permits from respective Regional Administrative Secretaries in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. I am particularly grateful to the Regional Administrative Secretaries of Mbeya, Njombe, and Ruvuma regions; and District Administrative Secretaries of Makete, Mbinga, and Mbozi districts for granting me permission to conduct research in their districts. I would like to mention Mr Haji Hatuna, the Division Officer of Iyula; Mr Loveluck Kitte, the Agricultural Officer of Mkumbi Ward; and Reverend Denis Sinene of Makete District, for their tireless support during my fieldwork in their respective areas. I am grateful to Dr Edwin Babeiya, Maria Andrew, and Mr Emmanuel Kihongo, my colleagues at DUCE, who made several follow ups at DUCE in my absence. I acknowledge the support I got from the administration of Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam and Mbeya Zonal offices, the Tanzania Library

services located in the regions in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, the archivist Brother David OSB and Fr Roman Botta of the St Ottilien Abbey in Munich, Germany. I appreciate the cooperation I was accorded by the University of Goettingen library where I spent most of the time doing my research. I also thank the respondents who I interviewed during my fieldwork in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania in 2014 and 2015. Their names appear in the reference section of this dissertation. I convey my word of appreciation to Bishop Shadrack Manyewa and Mama Magdalena Sanga of Makete; Baba Anthon Kinunda, Mama Suzana Komba, Baba Paschal Kapinga, and Mama Hilda Komba of Mbinga; and the Shula family of Iyula – Mbozi, for providing me with safe accommodation and different guidelines during my fieldwork in their respective districts and villages.

Finally, I am highly indebted to my family. I thank my mother Pendesi Kapinga, my father Ngunda Kinunda, my sisters Enid and Lilian, my brothers Kayo, Dickson, Filbert, and Anthony for taking care of my daughters when I was away for studies. I thank my daughters, Amabilis and Amara for their sacrifice, love, patience, and understanding that facilitated the accomplishment of my study. They continuously supported and encouraged me throughout my studies. They gave me hope and reasons to move forward with my studies.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my parents, Pendesi Kapinga and Ngunda Kinunda, who brought me up, nurtured me carefully, encouraged me throughout my studies, and took care of my daughters during my absence.

List of Abbreviations

AISCO	Agricultural Industrial Supplies Company
CU	Cooperative Union
DAS	District Administrative Secretary
DOAG	Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft (German East Africa Company)
DUCE	Dar es Salaam University College of Education
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
ESAP	Economic and Social Action Programme
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
NAPB	National Agricultural Product Board
NESP	National Economic Survival Program
NGOMAT	Ngoni Matengo Cooperation Union
NMC	National Milling Corporation
RAS	Regional Administrative Secretary
RDA	Ruvuma Development Association
RTC	Regional Trading Company
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policy
SDR	Special Drawing Right Facility
TANSEED	Tanzania Seed Company Ltd
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TFC	Tanzania Fertilizers Company
TNA	Tanzania National Archive
TZS	Tanzanian Shilling
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UVP	<i>Ujamaa</i> Village Policy
UWT	<i>Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania</i> (National Association of Women)
WB	World Bank
WWI	World War One

List of Maps

Map 1: The Southern Highlands of Tanzania – Study Areas	9
Map 2: Makete District– Iwawa and Isapulano Wards.....	15
Map 3: Mbinga District– Kigonsera and Mkumbi Wards	18
Map 4: Mbozi District– Igamba and Iyula Wards	20
Map 5: Tanzania– Pre-Arusha Declaration Settlements.....	183

Abstract

The study analyses the interaction of women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania in their daily undertaking of agriculture and other socioeconomic activities, covering the period from 1885 to 2000. Historically, women farmers have been the main food producers in Tanzania. They also offer a large percentage of labour power for the cultivation of cash crops. However, socioeconomic prominence and reputation of women farmers have historically remained low compared to that of men. Therefore, this study aims at examining the historical explanation that accounts for this situation. The research findings show that women farmers' socioeconomic prominence and reputation are a negotiated historical fact. It is a negotiated history between women farmers, powerful local classes, pre-colonial, colonial, postcolonial political and economic institutions, and various actors at the local level, including men. In various historical epochs, women farmers were strong and confident to negotiate their labour power via various institutions and individuals. They were able to act as complements as well as substitutes for different socioeconomic atmospheres they confronted. In some cases, women farmers decided to protest actively or passively against the detrimental historical events they faced in the process of implementing agriculture and other socioeconomic activities. The study, therefore, analyses the points of interactions and negotiations between and among the mentioned parties in the stated period.

A case study strategy was adopted to address the research problem. Interviews, focus group discussions, and documentary reviews were the main instruments of data collection. Furthermore, gender analysis was used to guide the research process through gender roles and gender relations as the major gender framework. Although data collection was carried out in Makete, Mbinga, and Mbozi districts, related examples from other areas in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania were used to complete the historical record of the region.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Dedication.....	v
List of Maps	vii
Abstract.....	viii
Table of Contents	ix
1 Coming to Terms with the History of Women Farmers’ Labour Negotiations in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania 1885–2000	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the Study Area	7
1.2.1 Makete District	14
1.2.2 Mbinga District.....	16
1.2.3 Mbozi District.....	19
1.3 Literature Review	21
1.3.1 The History of Political Institutions in Africa.....	21
1.3.2 The Gender Histories.....	31
1.3.3 Women Farmers’ Labour in Agricultural Histories	38
1.4 Research Methodology.....	45
1.4.1 In-depth Interviews.....	48
1.4.2 Focus Group Discussions	52
1.4.3 Documentary Review	58
1.4.4 Ethical and Legal Requirements Associated with Data Collection.....	65
1.5 The Structure of the Dissertation	67
2 Women Farmers’ Roles in Indigenous Forms of Soil Fertility Management, Crop Systems, and Food Security in the Southern Highlands to about 1900	72
2.1 Introduction	72
2.2 Geographical and Political Features of the Pre-colonial Southern Highlands	73
2.3 Women and Agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Southern Highlands.....	77

2.3.1	Local Farming Methods and Techniques	81
2.3.1.1	The Nkomanjila, Miwanda, Masanso, Esiamba, and Masuve Farming Systems.	82
2.3.1.2	<i>Ngolo</i> Local Farming System	86
2.3.1.3	<i>Mandi, Ivinondo or Mitombela</i> (Ridging of field) Farming Systems.....	89
2.3.1.4	<i>Kijungu, Kinyungu and Vilimbika</i> (Valley bottom) Farming Systems.....	91
2.3.1.5	Local Storage Systems.....	92
2.4	The Relation between Women, State and Society in the Negotiations of Women Farmers' Labour in the Pre-colonial Southern Highlands	93
2.5	Mechanisms and Customs Used by Women, the State, and Society in the Negotiations of Women Farmers' Labour.....	102
2.6	Trade, Invasions, Migrations and their Impact on Women Farmers' Labour in the Southern Highlands before Colonialism	105
2.7	Conclusion.....	112
3	Women Farmers' Strategies and Engagements in the Colonial Southern Highlands, 1900–1960	115
3.1	Introduction	115
3.2	Background to the Colonial History of the Southern Highlands 1885–1960	116
3.3	Strategies and Engagements: Women Farmers Participation in the Colonialism.....	121
3.3.1	Women Farmers' Strategies and Engagements during the Initial Colonial Penetration, and Occupation of the Southern Highlands, 1885–1907	122
3.3.2	Women Farmers' Strategies and Engagements during German and British Colonial Rule 1898–1960	133
3.3.3	The Differences: Women Farmers Engagements under German and British Colonial Rule	155
3.3.4	Social and Cultural Consequences of Colonial Economy on Women Farmers	160
3.3.5	Women Farmers' Strategies to Accommodate Colonial Economy Accumulation.	164
3.4	The Relationship between State, Society and the Negotiation of Women Farmers' Labour during Colonialism	165
3.5	Conclusion.....	175

4	Communal Work, Authority, and Crisis: Women Farmers during the era of Self Reliance and Ujamaa in Southern Highlands, 1966–1980	178
4.1	Introduction	178
4.2	Historical Background to the Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance Policies	179
4.3	Historical Development of Human Settlements in Tanzania	181
4.3.1	Post-Independence Period after 1961 and the Pre-Arusha Declaration Settlement Scheme 1962–1967s.....	183
4.4	The Policy of Ujamaa Villages and the Post-Arusha Declaration Settlement 1967–1980.....	187
4.5	The Development of Ujamaa Villages in the Southern Highlands: Ideas, Plans, and Practices	195
4.5.1	Ujamaa Villages in the Study Area	200
4.5.1.1	The Coming Together Phase: Ideas, Plans, and Practices	201
4.5.1.2	The Working Together Phase: Ideas, Plans, and Practices.....	213
4.5.1.3	The Full-Fledged Phase: Ideas, Plans, and Practices.....	217
4.6	Relationship between State and Society and the Negotiations of Women Farmers’ Labour during the UVP	219
4.7	Insights and Vision that Women in the Southern Highlands Developed in their Survival during UVP	228
4.8	Conclusion.....	230
5	“Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustments” Policies: Encounters, Roles, and Relationships of Women Farmers in the Southern Highlands, 1980s–2000	232
5.1	Introduction	232
5.2	The Background to “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” Policies in the Southern Highlands	233
5.2.1	The Background to “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustments” Policies in Agriculture.....	239
5.3	Strategies and Engagements of Women Farmers during the Period of “Stabilisation”, and “Structural Adjustment” Policies in the Southern Highlands	246

5.3.1	Consequences of the Implementation of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” Policies on Women Farmers.....	259
5.4	The negotiation between State, Society and Women Farmers during the Era of Structural Adjustment Policies in the Southern Highlands.....	270
5.5	Conclusion.....	275
6	Conclusion.....	278
7	Oral Collection	286
8	Archival Materials	289
9	Bibliography	290

1 Coming to Terms with the History of Women Farmers' Labour Negotiations in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1885–2000

1.1 Introduction

The dissertation provides a historical construction of the negotiations between women farmers,¹ state,² and the society³ in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania covering a historical period between 1885 and 2000. The negotiations researched in this project are those which focus on the historical labour practices of women farmers in an agricultural setting and other socioeconomic participations. Women farmers have been active members of society since ancient times. They have been working actively as both complement and substitute characters in their respective socioeconomic locations. They have been realising their potentials, in terms of maintaining their personal health and exercising choices, developing skills, and getting experiences which enabled them to participate fully in their respective communities.⁴ Women farmers have been providing labour power in agriculture for the sustenance of their households as well as for exchange transactions in their respective communities as a whole. Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Margaret Strobel argue that women farmers in Africa have been playing important roles in the agricultural production sector. In some cases, women farmers controlled the entire agricultural process. They

¹ "Women farmers" in this study are the women who have decision making power over an arable plot or plots of land and/ or the resulting harvest. Decision making includes the question of how to prepare land, sow crops, weed, harvest, process produce or sell a surplus; Michael O'Sullivan et al., 'Levelling the Field: Improving Opportunities for Women Farmers in Africa', *World Bank, Washington, DC*, 2014: 17.

² "State" in this study means the whole apparatus of public institutions and bureaucracies, civil service and armed forces, through which the government exercise its rule; Frank Ellis, *Agricultural Policies in Developing Countries* (Cambridge University Press, 1992): 8.

³ "Society" as used in this study refers to various kinds of social structures available in the research area at a respective historical time. It includes small groups, formal organizations, institutions, and whole social systems, as well as beliefs, values, norms, sanctions, relationship patterns among individuals, and many other phenomena. A society is something more other than the individual human beings who comprise it at any given time; Earl Babbie, *What Is Society?: Reflections on Freedom, Order, and Change* (SAGE Publications, 1993): 12.

⁴ Frank Ellis, *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries* (Oxford university press, 2000); Anselm Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Precolonial to Colonial Times* (A. Tambila, 1981).

owned, ploughed, planted, and harvested their own fields. Even where women did not cultivate, they often performed other roles associated with agricultural production.⁵

In Sub-Saharan Africa,⁶ agriculture accounts for more than 40% of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Furthermore, agriculture is the source of employment for more than two-thirds of the population in the region.⁷ In other words, agriculture is the foundation of various forms of livelihood in Sub-Saharan Africa. Accordingly, Tanzania follows the same social and economic trends and the reliance upon the agricultural sector is enormous. About 80% of its population lives in rural areas, cultivating communal and small family farms. Women form the majority of the rural labour force. About 70–80 percent of them use indigenous local tools for cultivation.⁸ These women are not only cultivators but also peasants who are engaged in other activities without payment, such as preparing food for the family, taking care of children and the sick, and fetching water or firewood. All these activities contribute significantly to the family income and the national economy as well.⁹ Several studies on agricultural labour indicate that women farmers' labour activities on average contribute to more than 50% of the total hours needed for farm operations.¹⁰

Even though women farmers form a large share of agricultural producers, a high percent of them are locked out of land ownership, access to credits and productive farm inputs, support from

⁵ Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Margaret Strobel, 'Conceptualizing the History of Women in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East', *Journal of Women's History* 1, No. 1 (1989): 31–62.

⁶ Sub-Saharan Africa refers to the area of African continent which lies south of the Sahara Desert; Dhaneshwar Ghura and Michael T. Hadjimichael, 'Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Staff Papers* 43, No. 3 (1996): 605–34.

⁷ Michael O'Sullivan et al., 'Levelling the Field: Improving Opportunities for Women Farmers in Africa', *World Bank, Washington, DC*, 2014.

⁸ Cuthbert K Omari, *Rural Women, Informal Sector and Household Economy in Tanzania* (World Institute for Development Economics Research, 1989).

⁹ Elise Boulding, *Handbook of International Data on Women* (Sage Publications, 1976); Marjorie Mbilinyi, 'Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania', *African Perspectives on Development: Controversies, Dilemmas and Openings*, 1994: 166–82.

¹⁰ Edward Mhina, 'Improving Information on Women's Contribution to Agricultural Production for Gender Sensitive Planning', *Dar Es Salaam, FAO*, 1997; John Rouse, 'Promoting Sustainable Producer Group Enterprises: A Review of FAO Experience (1981–2006) Lessons Learned and Ideas for the Future', *Rome, FAO*, 2008; Alexander Sarris et al., 'The Role of Agriculture in Reducing Poverty in Tanzania: A Household Perspective from Rural Kilimanjaro and Ruvuma', *FAO Commodity and Trade Policy Research Working Paper*, No. 19 (2006).

extension services, and access to markets. Except for a few cases, the majority of women farmers experience low social and economic status, especially in their daily living conditions. Rewards they get do not reflect their participation in the agricultural sector and other activities that contribute to their history and that of the community. Furthermore, some scholars have shown that there is an alarming trend with potentially devastating economic, social and environmental consequences. As a result, more than two-thirds of the rapidly growing and poverty-stricken population consist of women farmers residing in rural areas. The lives of poor women and their dependent families are characterised by poor shelter, diseases, illiteracy, overwork, short life expectancy, as well as high maternal and infant mortality rates.¹¹ They further show that one of the reasons that have led to the low status of women farmers is the existence of the belief that only men could perform the best in agricultural activities while women's role is just to assist the men. Moreover, this also has to do with the inherited indigenous division of labour based on sex whereby men were heads of the family and all members of the family social unit were under their control. As a consequence, agricultural production, in which most activities were carried out by women, was considered belonging to men, leaving women empty handed and depending on the goodwill of the male heads of the families. As a result, men possessed a large percentage of the total income emanating from agriculture. Despite the fact that women provided a big share of the agricultural labour force, they were not recognised and rewarded accordingly.¹²

Furthermore, evidence shows that throughout history, women farmers had limited prospects of administering and governing social and political institutions at various levels of society. The administration of the public sphere has been largely in the hands of men.¹³ Although the female population involved in agriculture had been growing, the number of women involved in the

¹¹ O'Sullivan *et al.*, 'Levelling the Field: Improving Opportunities for Women Farmers in Africa'; Omari, *Rural Women, Informal Sector and Household Economy in Tanzania*; Daphne Topouzis and others, 'Feminization of Poverty', *Africa Report* 35, No. 3 (1990): 60–63; Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, 'The State of Women in Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 6, No. 2 (1972): 371–77.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Jane L. Parpart and Kathleen A. Staudt, 'Women and the State in Africa', 1989; Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, "'This Is an Unforgettable Business': Colonial State Intervention in Urban Tanzania', 1989; Margot L. Lovett, 'Gender Relations Class Formation and the Colonial State in Africa', 1989.

administrative capacities related to agriculture had not increased in similar proportions.¹⁴ This has consequently narrowed the possibility of changing and solving problems encountered by women farmers in various historical epochs. Scholars have indicated that it was difficult to have policies that could promote women farmers' interest in rural areas where the majority of women lived, while, throughout history, the state administrative bodies were largely composed of men. largely composed of men.¹⁵ According to these studies, since women perform the majority of agricultural productions, improvement of agriculture would only be successful if programs cared for the needs of women farmers. Historically, this has not been the case. Men dominated the leadership positions as the number of women in public and agricultural sector administration remained limited.¹⁶

Women farmers interacted with different elements of the social structures in diverse ways. Since society and its social structures were not static, women farmers had to confront and accommodate a variety of changes in values, norms, and relations that emerged, dominated and subsided in their daily life.¹⁷ They interacted, negotiated and compromised with those elements impacting their labour power in different historical epochs and contexts. The rules and principles that governed agriculture in terms of planning, hoeing the land, harvesting, storage, consumption, and sometimes the exchange of agricultural produce were important in the negotiation processes. Women farmers interacted with society and its social structures in different forms, such as formal and informal organisations, private and public institutions, most of which were governed and organised by men. The modes of interaction ranged from compliance to protests, and were often guided by a particular political and economic setting of society.¹⁸

¹⁴ Boulding, *Handbook of International Data on Women*.

¹⁵ Valentine U. James and M. James Melanie, 'The Current and Future Directions for African Women Farmers', *Women and Sustainable Development in Africa*, PRAEGER, 1995: 15–34.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Babbie, *What Is Society?: Reflections on Freedom, Order, and Change*; Edward A. Alpers, 'Trade, State, and Society among the Yao in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of African History* 10, No. 3 (1969): 405–20; Deniz Kandiyoti, 'Bargaining with Patriarchy', *Gender and Society* 2, No. 3 (1988): 274–90.

¹⁸ Deborah Fahy Bryceson and Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, *The Changing Role of Tanzanian Women in Production* (publisher not identified, 1980); Mbilinyi, 'The State of Women in Tanzania'; Judy C. Bryson, 'Women and

Throughout history, women farmers have experienced different forms of administration in the agricultural sector. As explained above, the functioning of an agricultural community depended on the kind of state in power at a particular epoch. In the pre-colonial Tanzania, for example, different small political units existed in the Southern Highlands. These units led the society in farming as well as the consumption of agricultural produce. In that era, political units were small and scattered in a vast area of the territory. These were branded in different categories, and were administered by different political leaders of different levels, ranging from clan leaders, lineage leaders, rainmakers, religious and spiritual leaders, to headmen and chiefs.¹⁹ The precolonial period also experienced the intrusion of the Arabs from Asia and the Ngoni from Southern Africa. Their political and economic organisations played part in the negotiations of women labour as it will be explained in the subsequent sections. Women farmers interacted in their daily work with the functioning of these political units at their different levels. Sometimes, women farmers experienced relatively right and fair administration which facilitated good performance and pleasant outcome. But on some occasions women farmers faced some challenges which made them fail to deliver their products of labour and to benefit from them.

These historical details are in line with Ellis Frank who recommends that in order to obtain good access to community benefits, farmers must be able to actively participate in agricultural socioeconomic ventures.²⁰ Therefore, women farmers' access to the benefits in pre-colonial times was more dictated by their level of negotiations with political units or other local social classes which existed during that time. Sometimes, they benefited and thrived, but occasionally, they produced and paid more tributes to the political systems and their access to agricultural benefits decreased.. Women farmers thus confronted various political administrations differently in accordance with the rules and organisation of a particular administration in power.

Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Development (an Exploratory Study)', *The Journal of Development Studies* 17, No. 3 (1981): 29–46.

¹⁹ Juhani Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania: History and Structures', 1988; Paul Bjerck, 'The Allocation of Land as a Historical Discourse of Political Authority in Tanzania', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46, No. 2 (2013): 255–82; P. H. Gulliver, 'Political Evolution in the Songea Ngoni Chiefdoms, 1850–1905', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 37, No. 1 (1974): 82–97; Andrew Roberts, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century', *Kimambo & Temu, A History of Tanzania*, 1969: 57–84.

²⁰ Ellis, *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*.

As it will be demonstrated in this study, women farmers negotiated their labour power and their products of labour with the society and state which they contacted in their respective communities. The political states/institutions that existed in Tanzania in various historical epochs were characterised by different structures and styles of administration. The current study examines women farmers' interactions with state and society in various epochs, including pre-colonial period, colonial period, immediate post-colonial period, and the era of Stabilisation and Structural Adjustment Policies. All these historical structures created social and economic arrangements that operated in various sectors, such as agriculture, which concerned women farmers.²¹ The functioning of state structures at various historical times affected women farmers both positively and negatively. Whether women farmers emerged as confident or subdued was a result of their interaction with the changing social structure throughout the period of the study.

This study argues that the historical negotiations between women farmers on the one hand, and the historical bond between the state bureaucrats, powerful local classes, local actors, male farmers at the local level, as well as various institutions, on the other hand, have determined the changing rights and duties of women farmers in different historical epochs. The changing history of women farmers' involvement in the agricultural setting from the pre-colonial period through the era of colonialism, immediate post-independence era, villagisation era (*Ujamaa Vijijini*), and the "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" era was a result of these negotiations. As Karl Marx puts it, "a woman makes her own history, but she does not make it under conditions of her own choosing".²² In this regard, the history of women farmers reconstructed by this dissertation is a product of the negotiations between various historical agents, practitioners and the structures they created in different historical periods.

²¹ James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 1998); Ernest J. Wilson, 'Strategies of State Control of the Economy: Nationalization and Indigenization in Africa', *Comparative Politics* 22, No. 4 (1990): 401–19; O. van Cranenburgh and others, *The Widening Gyre: The Tanzanian One-Party State and Policy towards Rural Cooperatives*. (Eburon, 1990); Oswald Masebo, 'Society, State, and Infant Welfare: Negotiating Medical Interventions in Colonial Tanzania, 1920–1950' (University of Minnesota, 2010).

²² An argument of Karl Marx as cited in John S. Saul, 'The Role of Ideology in the Transition to Socialism', *R.R. Fagen, C.D. Deere and J.L. Corragio, Eds.*, 1986: 212–30.

The general objective of the study is to understand the historical relationship between women farmers, the society, and the state in the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania from 1885 to 2000. The study has four specific objectives: 1) to examine pre-colonial historical conditions which impacted the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the area; 2) to explore the ways that were used by women farmers, colonial governments, and society to reinforce and shape women farmers' labour in the colonial Southern Highlands; 3) to find out how women farmers navigated the new challenges by post-colonial state, society, or women farmers' labour during the *Ujamaa* village settlements period; and 4) to identify changes in the women farmers' labour processes during the period of "stabilisation" and "structural adjustment" economic reforms in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

The above research objectives were realised through four research questions: 1) what were pre-colonial conditions which impacted the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands? 2) How did the women farmers, colonial governments and the society reinforce and shape the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands? 3) How did the postcolonial *Ujamaa* village settlement policies change the women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands? 4) How did women farmers' labour adapt to the Stabilisation and Structural Adjustment Policies in the Southern Highlands?

1.2 Background to the Study Area

This study was carried out in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. When the research began in 2014, the region was comprised of five administrative regions, namely Iringa, Mbeya, Njombe, Rukwa, and Ruvuma. But during the last quarter of 2015, the government of the United Republic of Tanzania made some alterations in the administrative regions. In these changes, new regions of Katavi and Songwe were formed. Therefore, the Southern Highlands zone is made up of seven administrative regions, namely Iringa, Katavi, Mbeya, Njombe, Rukwa, Ruvuma, and Songwe. The zone is bordered by Malawi and Zambia to the West, Mozambique to the South, Kigoma and Tabora regions to the Northwest, Singida and Dodoma regions to the Northeast, and Morogoro, Lindi and Mtwara regions to the East.

The zone is located between latitudes 7° and 11.5° and Longitudes 30° and 38° E, with a population of about 7.2 million, 90% of which engage in agriculture.²³ It covers an area of about 250,000 square kilometres (more than 28% of the Mainland Tanzania) and the elevation ranges between 400 and 3,000 metres above sea level (henceforth *masl*). The climate varies from tropical to temperate in areas higher than 2,000 *masl*.²⁴ The temperature is warm in the lowlands and cool in the highlands. The mean annual rainfall ranges from 750 to 3,500 mm. The rainfall pattern is usually unimodal from November to May.²⁵ The soils are highly weathered and leached, largely acidic and of relatively low quality. According to Bisanda *et al.*, this range of climatic and other conditions explains the diversity of agro-ecological zones in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, which enables more than 70 types of crops to be grown, including fruits and vegetables. The climate also allows livestock keeping by smallholders.

There are three major farming systems being practised in the area. The first one is the maize based farming system, which is practised at elevations ranging from 700 to 2900 *masl*. Other crops grown in this system apart from maize include beans, sunflower, potatoes, finger millet and assorted vegetables. The second farming system is the rice-based system, which is found in isolated areas of the zone where the altitude is between 400 and 700 *masl*. These areas include Kyela, Usangu, Pawaya, and Mbinga along Lake Nyasa; Kirando and Karema along Lake Rukwa valley. Other crops produced in this system apart from rice include cassava, maize, groundnuts, bananas and legumes. The third farming system is the agro-pastoral farming system which is dominated by the Sukuma immigrants from the Lake Zone who arrived in the area since the 1980s. They settled in Usangu valley, Lake Rukwa valley, and Chunya in search of pasture for their cattle. In addition to keeping animals, these people produce crops such as maize, sorghum, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins. The fourth farming system is the Coffee/Banana based farming system. This is found in Rungwe, Mbozi and Mbinga districts where the climate is cool

²³ The United Republic of Tanzania, Population Distribution by Age and Sex, National Bureau of Statistics Ministry of Finance Dar es Salaam and Office of Chief Government Statistician President's Office, Finance, Economy and Development Planning Zanzibar, September, 2013.

²⁴ Shekania Bisanda *et al.*, *Adoption of Maize Production Technologies in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania* (CIMMYT, 1998).

²⁵ Yassin Mbululo and Fatuma Nyihirani, 'Climate Characteristics over Southern Highlands Tanzania', *Atmospheric and Climate Sciences* 02, No. 04 (2012): 454–63.

and rainfall is reliable. Apart from banana and coffee, other crops grown in these systems are legumes, maize and horticultural crops.²⁶ In general, the Southern Highlands region is endowed with an environment which accommodates various food and cash crops as well as livestock.



Map 1: Southern Highlands of Tanzania – study areas

The selection of this study area was based on various reasons. First of all, it provides specific environmental and climatic conditions. Compared to other regions in Tanzania, the region has an appropriate environment for smooth agricultural activities to take place because it receives reliable annual rainfall which ranges from 750 to 3500 mm. This is confirmed by the excellent yield from agricultural activities as the area accounts for nearly 90% of the maize purchased for the national food security granary. On top of that, over 80% of the yield obtained in the area is produced by smallholders under wide-ranging management practices. This situation provided a valid and reliable prospect for this study which depended on data from smallholders. Moreover,

²⁶ Bisanda et al., *Adoption of Maize Production Technologies in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania*.

it enabled a correct investigation of women farmers' labour involved in such kind of intensive agricultural process since the data shows that smallholder agriculture depends more on women farmers' labour.

Second, the area was historically a victim of the migration process of the Ngoni from South Africa between 1820 and 1880. This migration involved the movement of the Ngoni from the Southern part of Africa northwards. When the Ngoni warriors arrived in the Southern Highlands, they first looked for areas to settle, which led to war against indigenous people. As a consequence of the defeat, the indigenous people fled. The Sangu, for example, were forced to take temporary refuge in Usavila, a chiefdom in Western Uhehe. The Ngoni also plundered the resources and properties of the people in this area. This is explained clearly by Edje *et al.*, in the account of the plundering of the Matengo by the Ngoni: "the Wangoni raided the Wamatengo for properties and foodstuff. Women were protected in the caves and on the mountain tops. Foodstuffs were made available to raiders in the most accessible and fertile valley bottoms".²⁷ Thus, the Matengo cultivated twice as much land as was needed; half of it was expected to be lost to the raiders and the other half was for their own use. The Ngoni also organised a political and more sophisticated military order which involved the recruitment of many individuals from Southern Highlands into Ngoni military service and integrating them into the Ngoni society. For example, when the Ngoni arrived in the area around 1850, their population increased from less than one thousand to what has been estimated to be 36,000 towards the end of the century.²⁸ This historical process leads to many questions as to how women's social positions were historically shaped and affected in terms of labour provision in the uptake of the family when men were involved in the fighting with the Ngoni and eventually recruited into the Ngoni society and military. Therefore, this historical event provided a good reason for the area to be valid for the investigation of women's labour in agriculture.

²⁷ OT Edje, JMR Temoka, and KL Haule, 'Traditional Forms of Soil Fertility Maintenance', *Soil Fertility Research for Bean Cropping Systems in Africa*, 1988: 7–29.

²⁸ Patrick M. Redmond, 'Maji Maji in Ungoni: A Reappraisal of Existing Historiography', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8, No. 3 (1 January 1975): 407–24.

In addition, historical literature shows that the Southern Highlands region of Tanzania was historically characterised by frequent inter-tribal wars.²⁹ These were mainly motivated by political reasons like the expansion of the territory or acquisition of the leadership of a certain throne or political unity. For example, between 1878 and 1879, one of the political leaders in Uhehe known as Muniyigumba planned to transfer the leadership through inheritance to his son Mkwawa, but the plan was disrupted when Mwambambe, a ruler from the North-western boarder of Nyamwezi origin, attacked the area soon after Muniyigumba's death. Mwambambe seized the power in Uhehe through war. Some people of Uhehe were killed in the process. Mkwawa fled to Ugogo and Mwambambe ruled Uhehe. Later on, some of Mkwawa's followers persuaded him to return to Uhehe and they fought Mwambambe. Mwambambe and many of his followers were killed. As a result, Mkwawa became an unchallenged ruler of all Uhehe from 1883.³⁰ Furthermore, despite the fact that Sangu people who lived in the region, mainly on the Ruaha plains in the East of Mbeya, were a small group, they had raided a large area around them between 1830 and towards the end of the century. The Sangu's occupation of Ruaha plains was later on disturbed by their neighbours, the Hehe. As a result, the Sangu fled to the hills of Usafwa where they built a fort with a stone wall at the place known as Utengule Usongwa.³¹ This situation of frequent wars and disrupted attempts of state building characterised the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Consequently, women were subjected to dealing with agricultural activities. Women dealt with production of foodstuff for the fighters and for those at home while men fought in wars.

Furthermore, the area is historically characterised by slave trading activities. Historical literature on the Southern Highlands of Tanzania shows that most of the political leaders of the area enriched themselves from resources emanating from slave trade. Jan-Bart Gewald explains:

²⁹ Alison Redmayne, 'Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars', *The Journal of African History* 9, No. 3 (1 January 1968): 409–36; Jan-Bart Gewald, *Colonial Warfare: Hehe and World War One, the Wars besides Maji Maji in South-Western Tanzania*, 63 (African Studies Centre, 2005); W. O. Henderson, 'The War Economy of German East Africa, 1914–1917', *The Economic History Review* 13, No. 1/2 (1 January 1943): 104–10; Juhani Koponen, 'War, Famine, and Pestilence in Late Precolonial Tanzania: A Case for a Heightened Mortality', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21, No. 4 (1 January 1988): 637–76.

³⁰ Alison Redmayne, 'Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars'.

³¹ Knut Pipping and H.F. Chale, 'Land Holding in the Usangu Plain: A Survey of Two Villages in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania', 1976.

“[B]eginning in the 1830s, the Southern Highlands of Tanzania which lay crossways of the trade route that led from the African interior i.e. Zambia to the Indian Ocean, came to be directly affected by the demand for slaves emanating from the expanding slave plantation along the East African coast. The demand for slaves, the desire for safety and security coupled with attempts to control and to regulate trade led to the centralization of states, such as Uhehe”.³²

Furthermore, the evidence of slave trade in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania is provided by Juhani Koponen, who argues that the extent and intensity of fighting in pre-colonial Tanzania varied from region to region and that level of organised violence in the southern and the south-western part was relatively high. Slave trading and raiding intensified in the early decades of 19th century and reached a climax in the late 1860 and early 1870, slacked in the 1880s and continued on a small scale after the colonial conquest.³³ This indicates the degree of slave transactions in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania from the pre-colonial era onwards. In most cases, such a historical event places the social and cultural burden of taking care of the family on women farmers who remained in villages after raidings. As it is historically known, people who were taken or raided from families into slavery were those of strong personalities and responsible for production in their communities. The deprivation of a society of its strong working men subjected women to more agricultural activities and other works in order to make it survive and continue.

On top of that, colonial authorities carved the Southern Highlands to be a labour reserve area which served to provide labour power to colonial plantations and other sections that required human labour. This involved taking away strong men from the region and placing them in other areas for colonial production. According to Gewald, most of the people involved in this historical event from the Southern Highlands of Tanzania were the Bena from Njombe and the Hehe from Iringa. Referring to Lwoga, Gewald argues that Iringa was established as a labour reserve in the German colonial period. This was due to the fact that the area did not form one of the principal extraction areas of the plantations that were being developed in the lowlands along the coast.

³² Gewald, *Colonial Warfare: Hehe and World War One, the Wars besides Maji Maji in South-Western Tanzania*, p. 8.

³³ Koponen, ‘War, Famine, and Pestilence in Late Precolonial Tanzania: A Case for a Heightened Mortality’.

Therefore, they were obliged to provide labour power to other areas.³⁴ Likewise, writing on migrants in the mining sector, Jordan Nyenyembe holds that “the colonial labour system ensured that some places were more developed than others. This prompted people from less developed areas to migrate to those further regions to work there. Places like Mbinga, Songea and Njombe provided labour to plantation estates located in the northern part of Tanzania.”³⁵ Another historical evidence of labour migration from Southern Highlands is provided by Lambert Doerr who observes that “a very considerable number of young men were absent in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, having gone to the coast to look for jobs, particularly in the sisal plantations. There were some who abandoned their families and never returned.”³⁶ Historical evidence shows how men from the Southern Highlands of Tanzania were involved in labour migration. It is clear that women farmers had a noticeable role to play in order to make their families survive during the absence of men. Women farmers were therefore responsible for the production of various food and cash crops. They were also responsible for undertaking other important activities which were supposed to take place at home to make life go on.

Additionally, more evidence indicates that the Southern Highlands began to experience the coming and settlement of missionaries from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Constructions of houses, offices, churches, schools, and other missionaries’ buildings involved a considerable number of men from the region.³⁷ Writing on the migrant labour in Mbinga, Nyenyembe indicates how missionaries praised the Matengo men as hard workers. This characterization is noticed as he argues, “the settlers preferred the workforce from among the Wamatengo people preferably so because the Benedictine missionaries praised them for being hard workers.”³⁸ So, it is noteworthy that missionaries had enough interaction with indigenous people in various works, and that is why they were in a position to comment on them. Although

³⁴ C.M.F. Lwoga, ‘From Long-Term to Seasonal Labour Migration in Iringa Region, Tanzania: A Legacy of the Colonial Forced Labour System’, *Forced Labour and Migration: Patterns of Movement within Africa*, 1989: 180–210.

³⁵ Jordan Nyenyembe, ‘Migrants at the Mining Sector’ (University of Vienna, 2012).

³⁶ Lambert Doerr, *Peramiho: In the Service of the Missionary Church* (Benedictine Publications, 1998): 117.

³⁷ Ibid; David Pizzo, *To Devour the Land of Mkwawa: Colonial Violence and the German-Hehe War in East Africa to about 1884–1914* (ProQuest, 2007).

³⁸ Nyenyembe, ‘Migrants at the Mining Sector’.

the number of workers and the extent to which missionaries utilised local people is not clearly shown, it is obvious that women were in one way or another affected by this historical event.

Although the Southern Highlands region of Tanzania comprises seven administrative regions, due to space and time limitation, the study covers only three regions, namely Njombe, Ruvuma, and Mbeya. Again, only one district from each region was chosen, namely Makete, Mbinga, and Mbozi respectively. Despite the fact that Mbozi district is now part of the newly established Songwe region, this study continues to refer to the district as part of the Mbeya administrative region, as this was the case during the data collection period. Moreover, although the study mainly concentrated on the three mentioned districts, various examples from other locations in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania are included in order to make the study more representative of the region.

1.2.1 Makete District

Makete district covers a total land area of 5,800 km². It is located in the western part of Njombe, about 110 km from the regional headquarters. The district is topographically characterised by undulating plains. Makete has two distinct zones: the highlands with altitudes ranging from 1,500 to 3,000 meters above sea level, and the lowlands located in a small northern part of the district. The highlands zone occupies the greater part of the district. This area receives high amounts of rainfall each year, ranging from 1,500 to 2,800 mm. Cultivation takes place in the valleys and on mountain slopes. The highland plateaus are covered with grass, and to a minor extent, used for livestock production. Although all areas within the highland zone share a relatively similar natural environment, farming systems, main crops, and labour forms are locally characterised.³⁹ The area is sparsely populated.⁴⁰ According to the Tanzanian population census carried out in 2012, Makete district has a total population of 97,622. The data for this study was

³⁹ Mari Koizumi, 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective', 2007: 3.

⁴⁰ Kerbina Moyo, 'Women's Access to Land in Tanzania: The Case of the Makete District' (Kungliga Tekniska högskolan, 2017): 7.

collected in Iwawa and Isapulano wards. Iwawa ward has a population of about 10,176 and Isapulano has a total population of about 3,191.⁴¹



Map 2: Makete District – Iwawa and Isapulano wards

There are three kinds of cultivation practised in the district. First, the riverbanks are often cultivated in dry seasons to provide a food bridge between the main seasons. This type of riverbank field is called *kinyungu* in the Kinga language and is used to cultivate vegetables,

⁴¹ The United Republic of Tanzania, Population Distribution by Age and Sex, National Bureau of Statistics Ministry of Finance Dar es Salaam and Office of Chief Government Statistician President's Office, Finance, Economy and Development Planning Zanzibar, September, 2013: 202.

maize, and beans. Secondly, the valley slopes consist of hilly areas with gentle slopes which can be prepared simply by clearing and hoeing an arable field with or without ridges. This type of field, known as *esiamba* by the local people, is mainly used to cultivate maize, wheat, and sorghum. Animal manure is occasionally spread. However, the use of chemical fertilisers in *esiamba* is increasingly becoming common. It is on such grounds that some farmers abandoned the fallow system. Thirdly, the mountain slopes are cultivated to grow Irish potatoes, beans, maize, wheat, and sorghum. Of all the crops, potatoes and beans are predominantly cultivated on the slopes. A field in this type of area is locally called *mgunda* and is prepared using a slash-and-burn technique by burning mounds of vegetation cuttings on the slopes. Such a mound is called *msuve* (pl. *masuve*).⁴² These types of local indigenous cultivation systems are explained in detail in chapter two of this dissertation. The major ethnic group residing in Makete district are the Kinga (calling themselves Wakinga). In the villages, however, inhabitants include other ethnic groups such as the Hehe, the Bena, the Sangu, the Nyakyusa, and others who migrated to the district for various reasons, including the timber trade, formal employment (teaching, nursing, or other civil services), community services, marriages, and so forth.⁴³

1.2.2 Mbinga District

Mbinga district is located in the northeast of Lake Nyasa. The district is characterised by steep mountains and rolling hills, ranging from 600–2000 above sea level.⁴⁴ It covers an area of 11,396 square kilometres, about 18 percent of the land area of the Ruvuma Region and about one percent of the land mass of Tanzania. It is bordered by Njombe region to the north, Songea rural and urban districts to the east, Mozambique to the South, and Lake Nyasa to the west. According to the 2012 Tanzania National Census, the population of Mbinga district was 353,683. The data collection was carried out in Kigonsera and Mkumbi wards. Kigonsera had a total population of about 10,275, while Mkumbi had 11,583.⁴⁵ Mbinga district comprises three ethnic groups: the

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Moyo, 'Women's Access to Land in Tanzania: The Case of the Makete District'.

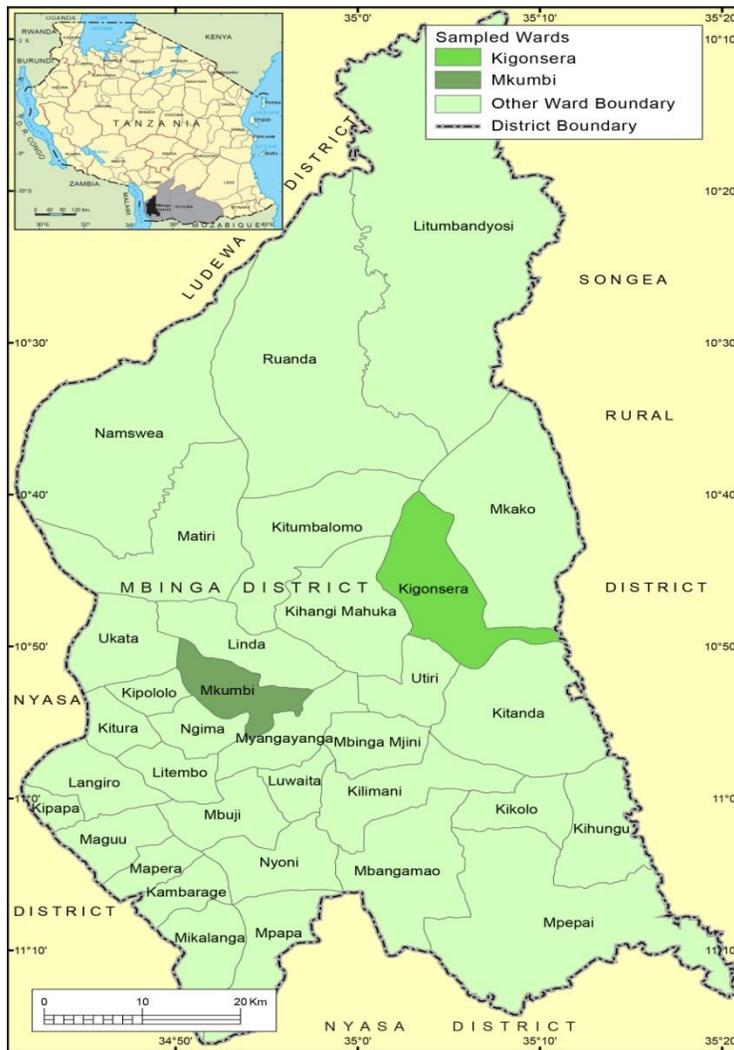
⁴⁴ Masahiko Kato, 'Intensive Cultivation and Environment Use among the Matengo in Tanzania', 2001: 75.

⁴⁵ The United Republic of Tanzania, Population Distribution by Age and Sex, National Bureau of Statistics Ministry of Finance Dar es Salaam and Office of Chief Government Statistician President's Office, Finance, Economy and Development Planning Zanziba, September, 2013: 99.

Matengo, the Ngoni and the Nyasa. The Matengo occupy the highland areas in the central part of the district located from 900 to 2000 m above sea level. The Ngoni reside in the northeastern lowlands, while the Nyasa are found along the coast of Lake Nyasa.⁴⁶ Mbinga district is historically characterised by high population growth. The population is unevenly distributed. The high concentration in the mountainous areas where population densities reaches 120 persons per square kilometre⁴⁷ resulted in the intensification of agriculture practices.

⁴⁶ Richard Y.M. Kangalawe, James G. Lyimo, and A.A. Komba, 'Local Knowledge and Its Role in Sustainable Agriculture in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: A Case of the Matengo Pit Cultivation System of Mbinga District', *Sustainable Development and the Environment in Tanzania: Issues, Experiences and Policy Responses*, 2006: 99–116, pp. 260–261.

⁴⁷ A.E.M. Temu and S. Bisanda, 'Pit Cultivation in the Matengo Highlands of Tanzania', 1996; A.Z. Mattee and others, 'A Review of the Agricultural Sector in Ruvuma Region, Tanzania', *A Report Submitted to SNV. Dar es Salaam*, 1991.



Map 3: Mbinga District – Kigonsera and Mkumbi wards

Mbinga district is divided into three agro-ecological zones with a combination of unique altitude ranges, namely mountain areas, plateau, and the rolling hills. Agriculture is the main economic activity in the district with a wide range of crops being grown. Maize, beans, and cassava form staple food crops of the district. Other important crops include millet, sweet potatoes, bananas, peas, wheat, and sunflower. Arabica coffee is the major cash crop of the district, especially in the mountains. The source of income in low altitude areas is obtained from the sale of food crops such as maize, beans, finger millet, and sunflower. The growing seasons in the lowland range from six to seven months, while in the highlands and plateaux it ranges from seven to ten

months.⁴⁸ The history of local practices of agriculture in Mbinga district is presented in detail in chapter two.

1.2.3 Mbozi District

Mbozi district is located in the southwestern corner of Mbeya region, between latitudes 8° and 9° 12' South of the Equator and longitudes 32° 7' 30" and 33° 2' 0" East of Greenwich Meridian. The district lies at an altitude ranging from 900–2750 metres above sea level. Mbozi district is boarded by the Songwe River, and Chunya district to the north, whereas to the West it shares borders with Rukwa region and the Republic of Zambia. The district occupies a total area of 9679 square kilometres.⁴⁹ According to the 2012 Tanzania National Census, the population of Mbozi district was 446,336. The data collection was carried out in Iyula ward which has a total population of 30,784.⁵⁰

Major ethnic groups in terms of their numbers are Wanyiha and Wanyamwanga. The latter are the main ethnic group in the lowland areas, which include Kamsamba, Msangano and Ndalambo divisions. They account for 30% of the total population. Wanyiha are the dominant ethnic group in the highland which include Igamba, Iyula and Vwawa divisions. Wanyiha accounts for 50% of the total population. Other ethnic groups are Wawanda, Wanyakyusa, Wandali, Walambya, Wamalila and Wasafwa. However, in recent years, the immigration of pastoralists like Wamaasai and Wasukuma into the district has been observed.⁵¹ About 65% of the district's total population is concentrated in Unyiha highlands (coffee growing area). These highlands are very fertile with more arable land and reliable rainfall, which makes the area suitable for crop production. Crops grown in the district include coffee, sunflower, maize, beans and groundnuts. As noted above, Igamba, Iyula and Vwawa divisions are the most densely populated areas, while Msangano,

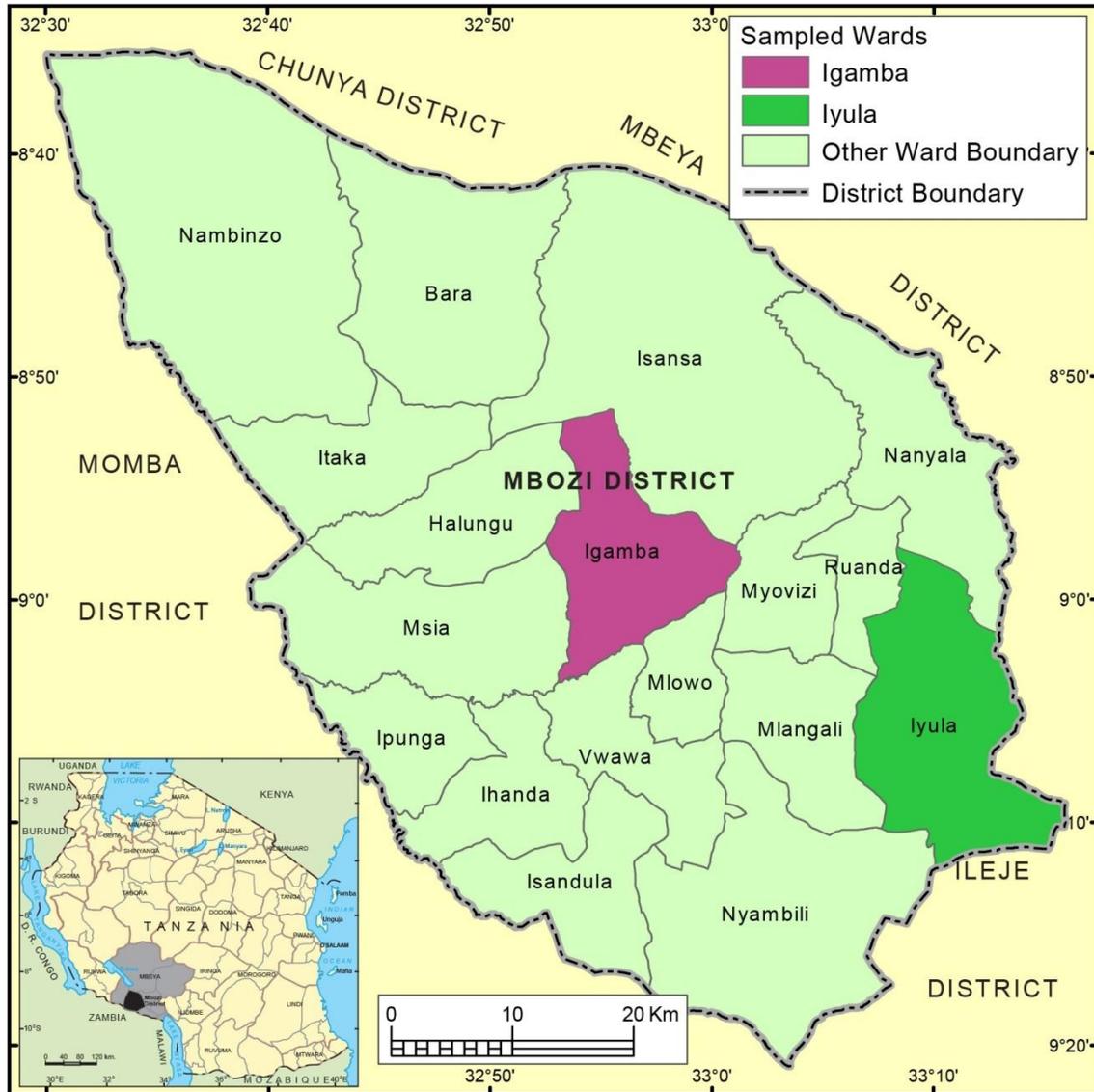
⁴⁸ Kangalawe, Lyimo, and Komba, 'Local Knowledge and Its Role in Sustainable Agriculture in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: A Case of the Matengo Pit Cultivation System of Mbinga District'.

⁴⁹ The United Republic of Tanzania, Mbozi District Socio-economic Profile, the Planning Commission, Dar es Salaam, and Mbozi District Council, Mbeya, 1997.

⁵⁰ The United Republic of Tanzania, Population Distribution by Age and Sex, National Bureau of Statistics Ministry of Finance Dar es Salaam and Office of Chief Government Statistician President's Office, Finance, Economy and Development Planning Zanzibar, September, 2013: 117.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Kamsamba and Ndalambo divisions have a low population density. Some parts of these divisions are covered with water and natural forests. The soils are sandy, and rains are unreliable.⁵²



Map 4: Mbozi District – Igamba and Iyula wards

The district land area can be divided into two distinct zones as follows: The lowland or the Rift Valley covering Msangano and Kamsamba divisions which lay between 900–1400 metres above sea level, characterized by deep-well drained volcanic soils. The second zone includes the

⁵² Ibid., p. 11.

highlands rising between 1400–2750 metres. This is comprised of Iyula, Vwawa Igamba and Ndalambo divisions. The highlands are characterised by loam and redish soil with less natural fertility regeneration.⁵³

In concluding this section of background to the study area, one can say that the Southern Highlands of Tanzania region is characterised by various historical events which justifies the validity of the study. Issues like slave trade, Ngoni migration, pre-colonial wars, missionary settlements, colonial conquest and administration, as well as the postcolonial state's policies form the basis for the area to be studied. The intensity of agricultural activities carried out in this region by women make the area a right place to investigate women's labour negotiations.

1.3 Literature Review

This study makes use of three different approaches and strands of research as its theoretical framework, namely *African political and institutional history, gender history, and agriculture history in relation to women farmers*. The study intends to grasp the entire relationship between women, state, and society in the negotiations of women farmers' labour within the specified period. It is important to understand the correlation between these variables: the state which includes various institutions; gender history frameworks which provide the social attributes of roles and relationships between women and men; and women farmers' history in agriculture over time. The following section provides a review of the mentioned variables.

1.3.1 The History of Political Institutions in Africa

The development and functioning of political institutions in Africa and Tanzania in particular, has a great impact on the history of African women farmers' labour. Goran Hyden argues that political institutions are an integral part of the existing production system in any social setting. They are the ones who regulate and control productive accomplishments as required by the practice of the means of production. They organise and regulate the access to the means of production. The distribution of land, labour, security, and end products were under their

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

administration.⁵⁴ Women farmers operated under an umbrella of different political structures in their local communities. Their negotiations were strongly influenced by the kind of political units which existed in their respective socioeconomic settings. Therefore, it was significant to review various studies on political institutions concerning Africa and the study area in order to grasp the social and political roles and relations that regulated the negotiations of women farmers' labour. Studies on the evolution, development, and functioning of political institutions in Africa and Tanzania in particular have been carried out by various scholars. They have written about the African political institutions in terms of chiefdoms, kingdoms, principalities, indigenous polities, segmentary states, politico-religious centralised political systems, and early states. This section builds a conceptual framework of state and political institutions as understood in the African context and how they are historically related to the negotiations of women farmers' labour over time in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

Various scholars agree on the notion that African political institutions have their own characteristics which are different from other societies. African political units or states are historically different from those of Asia, Europe, or in other locations in the nature of their evolution, development, and functioning. Peter Skalnik has pointed out that Africans themselves, through their environment and participation, invented African political institutions. African political leaders, supported by their people, managed to lead for centuries, and to administer and defend their populations in areas comprising at least a number of villages but sometimes reaching up to a population of several hundred thousand people.⁵⁵ He also argues that African people produced original forms of political culture. Their politics were not predominantly based on power, that is, use of threat or physical force, like western states. They nevertheless successfully fulfilled political, economic and ideological expectations of their members.⁵⁶ According to some scholars, political institutions in Africa were also comprised of centralised

⁵⁴ Göran Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Univ. of California Press, 1980): 23.

⁵⁵ Peter Skalnik, 'Authority versus Power: Democracy in Africa, Must Include Original African Institutions', *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 28, No. 37–38 (1996): 109–21.

⁵⁶ Peter Skalnik, 'Questioning the Concept of the State in Indigenous Africa', *Social Dynamics* 9, No. 2 (1983): 11–28.

decision-making, but decisions of leaders were subject to various rules and conditions imposed by the population which they led. The conditions were formulated following local entities like rituals, religious, supernatural, and sometimes economic or kinship consequences.⁵⁷ Although some kind of local tributes or taxation existed in African communities, political systems much depended on the slave labour, revenue from political conquest from other societies, or on the participation in the precolonial long distance trade. The political institutions did not depend much on the revenue rendered by the local indigenous people.⁵⁸

Scholars have also studied the theme of political power in African political institutions. They argue that political power in Africa was a collection of authority that emerged from the local arrangements of different segments of society. This ensured that the whole population of a particular area shared ideas and practices related to public arrangements. Moreover, residents recognised their leaders who in turn respected the rules and accepted their influence on public affairs. This was due to the fact that the origin of political institutions was formed out of resources which are syncretic in nature. Thus, politics was automatically integrated with economics, kinship and religion, which together formed an undivided whole. Various elements of leadership had their roots in different backgrounds, sectors of the population, and localities.⁵⁹ In short, political power was used for the benefit of all members of the community and not for the domination for the ruled ones, except slaves, tribute paying groups, or other targets of raids. The source of power were material resources produced within a social and political setting. Institutions were designed to include all acknowledged and approved members of society in decision making and distribution of benefits.

⁵⁷ Georges Balandier, 'Political Anthropology', 1967; Kofi Abrefa Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti* (International African Institute, 1951); Kofi Abrefa Busia and KA Busia, *Africa in Search of Democracy* (Routledge and Kegan Paul London, 1967); Peter Skalnik, 'Questioning the Concept of the State in Indigenous Africa 1', *Social Dynamics* 9, No. 2 (1983): 11–28.

⁵⁸ Dirk Berg-Schlosser, 'African Political Systems Typology and Performance', *Comparative Political Studies* 17, No. 1 (1984): 121–51, p. 125.

⁵⁹ Vaclav Havel and Paul Wilson, 'The Power of the Powerless', *International Journal of Politics* 15, No. 3/4 (1985): 23–96; Carla Pasquinelli, 'Power without the State', *Telos* 1986, No. 68 (1986): 79–92; Peter Skalnik, *Outwitting Ghana: Pluralism of Political Culture in Nanun* (Transaction Publishers, 1989).

Besides, information on political institutions concerning the precolonial Africa and Tanzania in particular contributes to the understanding of how those establishments worked in various African communities. Different scholars show that African political institutions comprised various structures and functions within one framework. There were no clear or sharp separations between politics, religious, social, or economic functions. All of those functions were controlled and regulated by one office. According to various scholars, this was one of the reasons which made African societies work together in their respective localities. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown argues that in some precolonial African societies, a political leader performed various functions which fell into different structures like the legislator, the judge, the commander in chief of the army, the chief priest, supreme ritual head, and the principle capitalist of the whole community.⁶⁰ Furthermore, after studying the precolonial societies of Tanzania, Juhani Koponen argues that political institutions were a platform for the advancement of common interests of a wider group of people regardless of the constitution of the group or degree of autonomy of the institution concerned. According to Koponen, a council of elders, a descent group of lineage, an age set, or a ritual were included in the political institutions in Africa and Tanzania in particular. Maintaining order and cohesion in the society and securing the conditions for its reproduction was the main purpose of political institutions.⁶¹

Likewise, the working of precolonial African political institutions depended on different local structures which existed in respective societies. Several scholars argue that ritual or religious dimension was strongly connected to the political actions in the making and carrying out of decisions affecting the community as a whole.⁶² Studying political institutions in Kenya, Günter Wagner argues that laws and customs were believed to have been handed down from unknown times, from ancestor to ancestor, and it was the cumulative weight of ancestral authority which served as the most general sanction for the observance of traditional norms. It was feared that deviation from the established norms would result in penalties by ancestral spirits. Such punishments were not thought to be limited to the action of the immediate ancestors from whom

⁶⁰ A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'Preface', in Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, eds, *African Political Systems*, p. xxii; Edward Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes, *African Political Systems* (Oxford University Press, 1950).

⁶¹ Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania: History and Structures', pp. 192–193.

⁶² *Ibid.*

one normally had to fear unfriendly acts but to consist in a general, displeasure of the spiritual world which might have disastrous consequences of some kind.⁶³ In this regard, the control and regulation of peace and harmony in African societies as one of the roles of political institutions was strongly embedded in African religious and spiritual beliefs.⁶⁴

Studies conducted in Tanzania concerning the political institutions show that before the mid-19th century, political structures were connected to the religious and spiritual power. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ritual leaders such as rainmakers were the ones to acquire political importance as territorial chiefs with judicial powers over the people in a given area.⁶⁵ Isaria Kimambo argues that during this period, the political institutions in Tanzania were characterised by small chiefdoms dominated by certain royal lineages whose function was more ritualistic than administrative. For example, the Gweno chiefdom of North Pare in Tanzania was dominated by an ironsmith family whose main role was to control the supply of iron for agricultural implements and for the defence of their community.⁶⁶ Around those activities revolved ideas connected with divine ritual functions to insure the continuity and success of the community. The administrative roles were handled to the appointed commoners and clan heads.⁶⁷ The political organisations or institutions were also rooted in kinship. Leadership was hereditary in the sense that a person succeeded to a position because his/her parent or guardian had held the post before.⁶⁸ Several examples of chieftains or political units that existed in the Southern Highlands before colonial rule were found in several societies. For example, in Ufipa there were the Twa, the Lyangalile, and the Nkansi chiefdoms while in Usangu there were the

⁶³ Günter Wagner, 'The Political Organization of the Bantu of Kavirondo', *African Political Systems* 197 (1940): 236.

⁶⁴ Dirk Berg-Schlosser, 'African Political Systems Typology and Performance', *Comparative Political Studies* 17, No. 1 (1984): 121–51; Jeffrey Fleisher, 'Rituals of Consumption and the Politics of Feasting on the Eastern African Coast, AD 700–1500', *Journal of World Prehistory* 23, No. 4 (2010): 195–217; Patrick Chabal, Gary Feinman, and Peter Skalník, 'Beyond States and Empires: Chiefdoms and Informal Politics', *Grinin et al.* 2004 (2004): 46–60.

⁶⁵ Roberts, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century'; Edward A. Alpers, 'The Coast and the Development of the Caravan Trade', *A History of Tanzania*, 1969, 35–56; Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration & Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare, 1860–1960* (James Currey, 1991).

⁶⁶ Isaria Kimambo, 'The Interior before 1800', *A History of Tanzania*, Ed. I. Kimambo and A. Temu. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969: 14–33.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Roberts, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century', p. 58.

Nguluhe, and the Lungemba chiefdoms. The Hehe chiefdom was ruled by chief Munyigumba and later Mkwawa, while in Ubena area there was the Kinamanga dynasty. The Matengo area was under Mandawa in Umatengo, and the Nyakyusa chiefdoms were under the age regiment system in the Mbeya area.⁶⁹

Tanzanian political institutions experienced speedy expansion during the beginning of the nineteenth century. Increasing external contacts multiplied the opportunities for leaders to obtain manpower and weapons with which to enforce their authority. The period witnessed political leaders becoming deeply involved with the external world through the spread of trade in ivory or other commodities. They sought to rule by using economic and military strength. They commanded respect as genuine innovators who, in varying degrees, saw the need for change and did what they could do to control political authority themselves rather than leave the initiative to the outsiders. The spread of firearms and other trading items enabled political institutions to gain more authority and confidence in the expansion and control of their areas. The immigration of the Arabs from Oman in 1840 to the coast of Tanzania facilitated further trading activities as well as wealth of different political institutions in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.⁷⁰

Furthermore, the introduction of colonial economy on the continent and Tanzania in particular caused significant changes in African political systems. Historically, several scholars have been studying and providing reports on the impact of colonial administration to the African local political institutions. Dirk Berg-Schlosser argues that colonial economy has caused African political culture to change and show some significant participatory elements of the European origin, and that the African indigenous forms of local decision making have been transformed

⁶⁹ Alison Redmayne, 'Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars', *The Journal of African History* 9, No. 3 (1 January 1968): 409–36; Alison Redmayne, 'The Hehe', *Tanzania before, 1900*, 37–58; Arthur Theodore Culwick, Mrs G.M. Culwick, and Towegale Kiwanga, *Ubena of the Rivers* (G. Allen & Unwin, Limited, 1935); Roy G. Willis, 'The Fipa', *Tanzania before, 1900*: 82–95; Eginu Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo* (East African Literature Bureau, 1972).

⁷⁰ Roberts, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century'; Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch and Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The Workers of Trade in Precolonial Africa', *The Workers of African Trade*, 1985, 9–24; Richard Gray and David Birmingham, *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (Oxford UP, Nairobi, 1970); Akosua Perbi, 'Slavery and the Slave Trade in Pre-Colonial Africa', 2001.

toward foreign networks. In other African regions, stronger subject-orientation seemed to exist.⁷¹ Within the same historical conception, Skalník argues that with the introduction of colonial administration, African political institutions were drawn spontaneously into the western orbit.⁷² Likewise, A.B. Emile *et al.* argue that colonial administrations transformed African political institutions into their intermediary, administrative institutions. Works and connections of African political institutions during the colonial rule represented the objectives and aims of the colonial states. Various European colonial powers sought to impose a more homogeneous pattern of political structure by utilising local chiefs as part of the process of building the new colonial states.⁷³ Trutz von Trotha argues that chiefs continued to draw their strengths from their local roots, to defend local culture and social order, and to be at the centre of local political life. Yet chiefs continued to be subjected to the pressures of the colonial state, especially pressures to encourage local people to conform to the colonial state's administrative policies, to accept the regime's politics, and to recognise the colonial state.⁷⁴ Emile points out various activities which the local African chiefs performed during the colonial administration. These included tax collection, assistance with public works, the improving of infrastructure, the recruiting of labour, the promotion of improved agriculture, and a recorded and registered administration of justice with the appeal to the district commissioners.⁷⁵ Holleman argues that for a meagre salary local African chiefs were given the tasks of collecting taxes, recruiting workers and soldiers for the forced labour system, maintaining a simple level of civil registration, and implementing a variety of unpopular measures. Besides, Holleman points out that a local chief regularly came into

⁷¹ Berg-Schlosser, 'African Political Systems Typology and Performance', p. 125.

⁷² Skalník, 'Authority Versus Power: Democracy in Africa, Must Include Original African Institutions', p. 110.

⁷³ Donald I. Ray and E. Adriaan B. van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, 'The New Relevance of Traditional Authorities in Africa: The Conference; Major Themes; Reflections on Chieftaincy in Africa; Future Directions', *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 28, No. 37–38 (1996): 1–38; Emile A.B. Van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, 'Chiefs and African States: Some Introductory Notes and an Extensive Bibliography on African Chieftaincy', *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 19, No. 25–26 (1987): 1–46.

⁷⁴ Trutz Von Trotha, 'From Administrative to Civil Chieftaincy: Some Problems and Prospects of African Chieftaincy', *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 28, No. 37–38 (1996): 79–107.

⁷⁵ Van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, 'Chiefs and African States: Some Introductory Notes and an Extensive Bibliography on African Chieftaincy', p. 12.

conflict, not only with his immediate superior, the District Officer but also with his own people.⁷⁶

Changes that African political institutions experienced during the colonial rule made a substantial historical mark in Africa as well as in Tanzania. The political institutions which existed during colonial administration in Africa were of two kinds: local African political institutions led by local chiefs, and the colonial state under the European colonial rulers which controlled and regulated the political and economic life of the colony. Although local African political institutions had undergone fundamental historical changes, the gist, the objectives, and the interactions with the local people remained substantially African. Thus, African political institutions displayed flexibility in the handling of their power, which was demonstrated not only by the variety of individual choices in the face of political change, but also the local collective powers shared by local people and institutions. Studies also show that the flexibility displayed by the local African rulers was restricted by a unifying administrative structure as part of the process of state building. These were set in motion and shaped primarily by the colonial conquerors to build one territory. All diverse local chiefs in a colony were structured in a hierarchical order to report to one territory leader.⁷⁷ However, the early colonial rule by District Officers, who ruled from the boma, relied on local middle men and occasionally punished and raided groups suspected of being in opposition. That is much different from the late colonial rule. But the administration of colonial economy in Africa did not totally transform the structures and functioning of local African political institutions. Various scholars argue that the colonial/capitalist economy did not destroy the African institutions but it rather modified them to some extent to facilitate the accumulation of economic wealth.⁷⁸ The local African social structures were still at work and influenced, among many sections, the agricultural economy. In this case, there existed a controversial relationship between the local African political structures

⁷⁶ Johan Frederick Holleman, *Chief, Council and Commissioner: Some Problems of Government in Rhodesia* (published, 1969).

⁷⁷ Trotha, 'From Administrative to Civil Chieftaincy: Some Problems and Prospects of African Chieftaincy'.

⁷⁸ Charles Bettelheim, 'Theoretical Comments', *A. Emmanuel*, 1972, 271–322; Jairus Banaji, 'Backward Capitalism, Primitive Accumulation and Modes of Production', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 3, No. 4 (1973): 393–413.

and the colonial/capitalist system.⁷⁹ Thus, these historical political processes are correlated with the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. A detailed account of this is provided in chapter three.

Scholars have also studied the development and functioning of African political institutions during the postcolonial period. They argue that the political organisations that developed after independence were influenced by the colonial states. Structures of colonial states were inherited and adopted by independent African nations. In most cases, the polyarchic states were initiated by colonial powers at independence following either the Westminster or the French presidential model.⁸⁰ The concept of polyarchy means that political leaders responded to the majority of the population, using regular and fair elections, freedom of political thought and organisation, the possibility of legal opposition, a certain separation of power with an independent judiciary, and institutionalised guarantee of the rule of law.⁸¹ Like many other independent African countries, Tanzania adopted the system of polyarchy after independence in 1961. Most of the local political institutions were eliminated immediately after independence, which showed clearly the accommodation of the inherited colonial political structures. Chiefs and other local political units were abolished by law in 1962.⁸² Political institutions took the structure of the multiparty system, which allowed the registration of different political parties. Later, in 1967, Tanzania changed to socialism with the announcement of a rural development programme and a one party system.⁸³ The functioning of socialism as a system of national administration was altered in 1986 with the signing of different economic agreements with the World Bank and the International Monetary

⁷⁹ Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*; Henry Bienen, *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development* (Princeton, 1967).

⁸⁰ Is a political regime in which opportunities for public contestation are available to the great bulk of population; Robert Dahl, 'Polyarchy. New Heaven', *CT: Yale University*, 1971.

⁸¹ Berg-Schlosser, 'African Political Systems Typology and Performance', p. 129.

⁸² Henry Bienen, *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development* (Princeton, 1967) ; Van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, 'Chiefs and African States: Some Introductory Notes and an Extensive Bibliography on African Chieftaincy'; Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945–1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (Cambridge, Eng.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

⁸³ Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism* (Dar es Salaam: Government Press, 1962); Gerald K. Helleiner, 'Socialism and Economic Development in Tanzania', *The Journal of Development Studies* 8, No. 2 (1972): 183–204; Dean E. McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies University of California, 1979).

Fund. The authorisation signified the introduction of ‘stabilisation’ and ‘adjustment’ policies, which liberalised the political and economic structures of the country. The reintroduction of the multiparty system was carried out during this period. Thus, the whole system and functioning of political institutions in Tanzania went through those historical transformations. This theme is further analysed in detail in chapter four of this dissertation which shows the historical negotiations between women farmers, state, and various actors at the local level.

From the foregoing literature review on the evolution, development and functioning of African political institution, it is evident that different scholars have historically revealed the evolution, development, and functioning of African political institutions in Africa and Tanzania in particular. This research makes use of those studies to shed light on the understanding of how African political institutions negotiated with women farmers’ labour. The contribution lies in producing the understanding of women farmers’ labour as another site of negotiation not only with different local social actors but significantly with the local African political institutions as well as colonial and postcolonial states. The current study argues that the performance of various political institutions in Tanzania in different historical epochs has a diverse impact on the negotiations of women farmers’ labour in the Southern Highlands region. Various structures of political institutions described by different scholars are further correlated with the interplay of the different local social, economic, and political actors in the negotiations of women farmers’ labour in the Southern Highlands.

Chapter two of the dissertation examines the functions of the precolonial political institutions. Chapter three describes how African political institutions collided with the colonial state in the negotiations of women farmers’ labour. Chapter four comprises the functions of the socialist political system in the Southern Highlands. Chapter five shows how the liberalised African political institutions negotiated with women farmers’ labour during the period of “stabilisation” and “structural adjustment” policies.

1.3.2 The Gender Histories⁸⁴

To understand the way in which gender roles⁸⁵ and relations⁸⁶ are used to construct gendered cultures in the agricultural setting, this section includes a review of various approaches to study gender. The section reviews studies about how women and men participated and related in an agricultural setting. The review includes various sociological gender study frameworks, with a particular emphasis on factors relevant to the African context. The application of sociological frameworks in this historical study is motivated by the fact that history and sociology are interdependent.⁸⁷ Scholars argue that societies' culture, structures, and actions contribute to the making of history and sociology together. Cultural understandings and social institutions are continually made and remade by social actions occurring over time.⁸⁸ Thus, although the research processes differ, history and sociology end up doing or studying the social actions and relations in communities. As John C. McKinney writes:

...it is obvious that the research tasks of sociology and history are different as disciplines, for their procedures answer to their respective research purposes. Nevertheless, since all data are historical in one sense, the data of history and sociology are the same. The logical difference lies in what they do with the data. The research task of the sociologist is to generalize; that of the historian, to individualize. . . . The historian is concerned with processes and structures that are singular in their space-time occurrence; hence he does not conceive of them as being repeatable, whereas the sociologist adopts the opposite view. The sociologist is concerned with the repetitive and constant factors, or tendencies to regularity, of human society...⁸⁹

⁸⁴ The concept of Gender is used to describe all socially given attributes, roles, activities, and responsibilities connected to being a male or a female in a given society. Gender identity determines the perceptions, and expectations of a man or women according to the organisation of a particular society; Candida March, Inés A Smyth, and Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks* (Oxfam, 1999): 18.

⁸⁵ In all societies, men and women are assigned different assignments, tasks, and responsibilities according to their sex. Gender roles vary from one society and culture to another, and within each culture, it also changes with external circumstances and overtime; Candida et al., *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*, p. 18.

⁸⁶ Gender relations are social relationships between men as a sex and women as a sex. These are simultaneously relations of cooperation, connection, and mutual support, and of conflict, separation, and competition of different and inequality. They create and reproduce systematic differences of men's and women's positions in a given society; Candida et al., *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*, p. 18.

⁸⁷ Larry J Griffin, 'How Is Sociology Informed by History?', *Social Forces* 73, No. 4 (1995): 1245–54; Kurt H Wolff, 'Sociology and History; Theory and Practice', *American Journal of Sociology* 65, No. 1 (1959): 32–38.

⁸⁸ Griffin, 'How Is Sociology Informed by History?'

⁸⁹ John C McKinney, 'Methodology, Procedures, and Techniques in Sociology', *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change* (New York: Dryden Press, 1957): 228–29.

Sociological frameworks, among other things, are useful to such techniques as content analysis, concepts findings, and the relevance of grasping contemporary phenomena for studying past periods. Similarly, they help in the maintenance of analysis of principles which only sociology and other theoretical social sciences can disclose.⁹⁰ Thus, scholars argue that in some cases historians need some sociological basis to write and analyse history. Rich information can be found in sociological theories as indicated in this research. Sociological gender frameworks have been used to study the roles and relations of women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania and the negotiations of women farmers' labour. The following section explains the processes of those sociological frameworks as used in this research.

It is argued that various scholars from different backgrounds have often used several perspectives to construct an African identity. This view is based on the conception that African local patterns gave a big portion of work to women, especially those connected with the production of food crops. However, it was necessary for the study to review these constructions using different gender perspectives so as to embrace their significances to this study and gendered discourses in general.

Studies of gender inequality in various projects have recently gained a significant concern. Globally, scholars started to explore and study the participation and contribution of women and men in different social production and reproduction processes. This new focus responded to the increasing realisation that roles and relations of men and women develop differently.⁹¹ As a result, the analysis of gender gained a historical stand in academic and development contexts. According to various publications, scholars started to develop gender studies in the 1950s through various stages.⁹² Gender studies began as a welfare approach in which scholars acknowledged the reproductive role of women like caring and maintenance of the household and

⁹⁰ Maurice Mandelbaum, *The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corp, 1938): 265.

Griffin, 'How Is Sociology Informed by History?', p. 1248.

⁹¹ Hannah Warren, 'Using Gender-Analysis Frameworks: Theoretical and Practical Reflections', *Gender and Development* 15, No. 2 (1 July 2007): 187–98.

⁹² Caroline O. N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice, and Training* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1993); March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

for its members. However, the approach remained silent on the side of women's participation in the development activities and their relation to men.⁹³ The second development of gender studies featured as equity approach. The approach dominated in the 1970s, and it connected the research on women's roles and relations to the women's United Nations decade. In short, the equity approach recognised women as active participants in economic and social development activities. It shows how women participated in reproduction, production, and the community management as a whole.⁹⁴

Further development of gender studies appeared as an efficient approach which dominated in the 1980s. Its main purpose was to ensure that women's skills and experiences were connected to different development projects in order to ensure effectiveness and efficiency.⁹⁵ The efficiency approach seeks to meet women's practical gender needs in their daily activities like caring and maintenance of their households, production of goods and social services, and in the management of their respective communities. The empowerment approach was another development of the gender studies. The approach focuses on empowering women through supporting their practical activities. Furthermore, the approach notes that the subordination of women does not stem from the oppression of men only but is also a consequence of colonialism and neo-colonial oppression. It advocates that women's status differs in various ways. Thus, it is necessary to take actions at various levels to encounter the problems of the varied situations.⁹⁶ Occasionally, the development of historical gender accounts coexisted in one and the same work as a single policy for a particular project, or mixed and matched with a single project in the hope that they form a coherent whole.⁹⁷

⁹³ March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

⁹⁴ Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970); Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen, 'Accumulation, Reproduction, and "Women's Role in Economic Development": Boserup Revisited', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7, No. 2 (1981): 279–98; Caren Levy, 'The Process of Institutionalising Gender in Policy and Planning: The Web of Institutionalisation', 1996.

⁹⁵ Naila Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought* (London: Verso, 1994); Diane Elson, *Male Bias in the Development Process* (Manchester University Press, 1995).

⁹⁶ Moser, *Gender Planning and Development*; March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

⁹⁷ Cecilia Andersen, 'Practical Guidelines', *Gender and Development: A Practical Guide*, Routledge, London, 1992: 165–97.

This study has considerably benefited from the light provided by the historical development of gender studies reviewed above. Socioeconomic connections, interrelationships, mutual dependence, confrontation, and conflicts between men and women highlighted by these studies from the evolution of welfare approach to the development of empowerment approach has contributed significantly to the analytical framework of this study. The examination of several important elements of gender history features in each chapter of this dissertation, along with the analysis of the correlated subject of women farmers' labour.

Carrying out research or development projects based on the gender perspective has historically centred in various gender frameworks. Different pioneers and scholars have developed various gender frameworks to help researchers and other practitioners to execute their projects efficiently. The frameworks are practical instruments designed to help researchers and other practitioners to integrate gender analysis into research and planning. The frameworks help to understand issues, facts and relationships that affect women's and men's life in a given society.⁹⁸ Candida March *et al.* has outlined six gender frameworks for analysis of research or other development projects: Harvard Analytical Framework and People-Oriented Planning; Moser Framework; Gender Analysis Matrix; Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis Framework; Women's Empowerment (Longwe) Framework; and Social Relation Approach.⁹⁹

There are several similarities among the above-mentioned gender analysis frameworks. For example, all frameworks agree that elements of reproductive works go along with production works. However, the gender analysis frameworks differ in their scope and emphasis. In this case, the use of one or more of the frameworks in the research activity depends on the context and resources available for a particular project. This study used the guidelines from the gender role/analysis framework as well as the social relations gender framework. This is in line with the advice that more than one framework can be used to study and analyse research or development

⁹⁸ March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; Tina Wallace and Candida March, *Changing Perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development* (Oxfam GB, 1991).

projects. The combination of the frameworks facilitates the study's exploration of details. In addition, it removes limitations or weaknesses of each framework. Therefore, combining the two frameworks makes them complement each other. Since this study focuses on the negotiations of women farmers' labour, it is necessary to analyse the roles and relations existing between and among multiple local social actors in the studied communities in order to explore clearly the way negotiations were carried out.

The Gender roles framework or Harvard Analytical Framework was published in 1985. It is also referred to as gender analysis framework. To make use of the gender role framework in this study, various works have been consulted.¹⁰⁰ The framework was designed to demonstrate that there is an economic case for allocating resources to women as well as to men. It puts an emphasis on the mapping of works and resources of women and men. It also highlights the main gender differences at work in the community. The framework has four main elements that should be observed to produce better research outcomes: The first element is the activity tool which comprises all activities carried out by men and women. The second element is the access and control profile of resources and benefits which comprises the list of resources that women and men have access to and are in control of, and the way they benefit from them. The third element includes influential factors, and it allows the researcher to chart the factors which influence differences in the division of labour between women and men in a particular society. The last element is the checklist for the project which consists of the list of questions to help the researcher to capture social change between women and men.¹⁰¹

Gender role analysis framework mainly concentrates on the division of labour and the distribution of resources across sexes. It looks at the community mainly in terms of who does what, who has what, and so on.¹⁰² However, according to Naila Kabeer, gender role framework

¹⁰⁰ March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*; Hannah Warren, 'Using Gender-Analysis Frameworks: Theoretical and Practical Reflections', *Gender and Development* 15, No. 2 (1 July 2007): 187–98; Catherine Overholt et al., 'Gender Roles in Development Projects. A Case Book', 1984; Andrea Cornwall, 'Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development', *World Development* 31, No. 8 (2003): 1325–42.

¹⁰¹ March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

has some limitations as in some cases, it may encourage users of the framework to think of women and men as separate groups, and so, they can be isolated from each other. One may end up dividing gender relations instead of creating a big picture in which different aspects fit together, including conflicts and cooperation between women and men. Furthermore, gender role framework does not analyse how power is structured and negotiated between women and men in the society.¹⁰³ To accomplish this study's objective, it was necessary to use the guidelines from gender relations framework to complement the limitations experienced in gender roles framework. Gender relations framework analyses the relationship between two main categories, namely women and men, and power related to gender, age, and class. Thus, the use of the two frameworks of gender roles and gender relations helps to connect the community's roles and relations in the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

The Social Relations framework was developed by Naila Kabeer at Sussex University in collaboration with other academicians and policy makers.¹⁰⁴ Most of the points used to generate knowledge concerning the social relations framework stem from the work of Naila Kabeer on the one hand, and Candida March, Ines Smyth, and Maitrayee Mukhopadhy on the other hand.¹⁰⁵ Social relations as an approach to research, planning, and development aims at designing policies and development projects as well as analysing the distribution of resources, responsibilities, and power between and among women and men. The framework's focus is to facilitate women and men to be agents of their own developments.¹⁰⁶

The Social Relations framework uses concepts rather than tools to analyse relationships between people and their relationship to resources and activities. There are five concepts in this framework. First, development is deemed as an aspect of enhancing human wellbeing. Viewed

¹⁰³ Naila Kabeer, *Triple Roles, Gender Roles, Social Relations: The Political Sub-Text of Gender Training* (University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, 1992).

¹⁰⁴ March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

¹⁰⁵ Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*; Naila Kabeer and Ramya Subrahmanian, *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: Framework and Tools for Gender-Aware Planning* (Institute of Development Studies Brighton, UK, 1996); March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

¹⁰⁶ March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*.

from this perspective, development is considered as survival, security, and autonomy. Autonomy means the ability to participate fully in personal decisions of own choices. This means that social development does not only depend on the market economy but also on the wellbeing and security of individual women and men. Secondly, social relations is the concept that is concerned with structural relationships that create and reproduce differences in positioning different groups of individual women and men. The third concept is the institutional analysis, which focuses on the concept that gender inequalities do not only stem from the households but also from a range of institutions. The fourth concept is institutional gender policies. In this concept, Kabeer mentions two gender policies, namely gender-blind and gender-aware policies. Gender-blind policies recognise no distinctions between sexes, while gender-aware policies recognise that women and men are development factors and are constrained in different ways. The last concept encompasses immediate, underlying and structural causes. This concept explores the factors which cause problems as well as the effects on the actors involved.¹⁰⁷

The most important part of the gender relations framework which guides this study, is the realisation that social relations in a particular setting provide cross-cutting equalities or inequalities which places an individual to a position in a structure or hierarchy in their society. It is the way in which individuals and institutions interact and negotiate that determines the position of and the allocation of benefits to a particular woman and man. Furthermore, the approach claims that social relations are not fixed or immutable, but that they are influenced by policies over time. The framework also points out how institutions in respective communities play a part in creating social and economic relations. Kabeer defines institutions as the framework of rules for achieving social and economic goals. Institutions ensure production, reproduction, and the reinforcement of social relations in a particular setting, and therefore perpetuate social differences and social inequalities. The mentioned institutions are the state, market, and the community.¹⁰⁸ These variables of gender relations framework were very

¹⁰⁷ Kabeer and Subrahmanian, *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: Framework and Tools for Gender-Aware Planning*.

¹⁰⁸ Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*.

significant in shedding light on the negotiations of women farmers labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

1.3.3 Women Farmers' Labour in Agricultural Histories

Over recent decades a number of scholars have studied and detailed the history of women farmers in Africa and Tanzania in particular in changing historical contexts.¹⁰⁹ The history of women farmers has been interpreted differently according to different stances of scholars. Although there are numerous historical studies on agricultural labour, covering a considerable period of time, the research on the history of African women farmers is insufficient and almost new. In recent years, however, a number of scholars have devoted their profession and time to study the women farmers in Africa. While some of them have just mentioned the work of women farmers in their studies, other scholars have dedicated their whole attention to research on lives and works of African women farmers. They have studied the history of African women farmers in different contexts, including female childhood and adulthood; various social activities performed by women farmers in their communities; economic activities which include agriculture, trade, and other off-farm activities; political activities like political leadership at their local and regional levels; and their cultural activities like settlements, shelter, clothing, food habits, local associations and dances. The following section reviews some of the works carried out by various scholars concerning the lives and works of African women farmers in various historical epochs in Africa and Tanzania in particular.

In reviewing various studies of women farmers in Africa, it is worth noting here that Africa itself is not homogenous. There are different sources and materials for African women's history. All the literature referring to African women farmers was examined on the basis of its suitability to this study. However, only the sources that provide information on African women farmers in the respective period under study were consulted. The review concentrates mainly on works written about sub-Saharan Africa taking into account that Arab countries like Egypt and others in North

¹⁰⁹ Women farmers referred to in this study are the women who have decision making power over an arable plot or plots of land and/ or the resulting harvest. Decision making includes how to prepare land, sow crops, weed, harvest, process produce or sell a surplus (levelling the Field, p. 17).

Africa, the Maghreb region including Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria differ considerably from the study area.

The literature on African women farmers published in the early 1900s was mainly anthropological. Such sources have played a prominent role in positioning the African women farmers in history. The history documented during this period largely depicted the roles and relations of African women farmers in the pre-colonial era. Despite the fact that the literature on women covering this period is plenty, only a few works which relate to this study are reviewed. For example, there are some scholars who portray African women farmers as victims of their social and economic settings while others depict them as strong and confident subjects. There are also others who show African women as weak and tender like children that need support from their husbands or male relatives to survive.¹¹⁰ However, this study focuses only on common features of women farmers in the aforementioned literature.

The first feature observed in the literature of this period is that African women farmers performed an important role in African agriculture. Women played an essential part in the production of food crops in the subsistence economy of pre-colonial Africa.¹¹¹ African women farmers were occupied with such activities as planning, organising, preparation of land, cultivation, seed sowing, weeding, harvesting, transporting the harvests from fields to homes, and storage.¹¹² Moreover, women farmers played an important role in food preparation and cooking for their families in their domestic settings. They were the ones who took care of their households in terms of food and survival.

¹¹⁰ George Peter Murdock, 'Social Structure', 1949; Godfrey Wilson and Monica Hunter Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change: Based on Observations in Central Africa* (CUP Archive, 1945); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 194. 'Social Character of Bride-Wealth, with Special Reference to the Azande', *Man* 34 (1934): 172–75.

¹¹¹ W Bryant Mumford, 'The Hehe-Bena-Sangu Peoples of East Africa', *American Anthropologist* 36, No. 2 (1934): 203–22; John Roscoe, *The Baganda*. (Macmillan, 1911); George Peter Murdock, 'Social Structure', 1949; Lord Hailey, 'An African Survey Revised', 1957.

¹¹² von Anna Waldow, 'Mwali Custom: Uzaramo Transformation', *Manuscript of an Article 'Madchenerziehung Bei Den Zaramo' Later Published in Africa Und Ubersee* 45 (1935): 292–306.

The second important historical point observed from the scholars of the early 20th century, concerns African women farmers' interactions with society in their respective communities. Most of the scholars point out that African women farmers encountered adversities in their daily workings. According to them, the hardships women farmers encountered in their socioeconomic performance were mostly emanating from their cultural contexts, the gender norms, and the class stratifications of their respective societies. Thus, according to these scholars, African women farmers faced complicated interactions from their social settings. Often this type of scholarship carries a colonial and patronizing overtone in relation to African women farmers.

Although the works display different themes concerning the history of African women farmers, these scholarly works are an important accreditation to African women farmers. The current study has benefited in various ways from the insights provided by these scholars. But the study further explores the role played by the historical bond between the ruling class and various powerful classes at local levels on the one hand, and the women farmers in the negotiations of women farmers' labour during this pre-colonial historical era on the other hand.

African women farmers' information from the 1950s to 1970s came from various scholars with different professional backgrounds. Some of the materials were produced by anthropologists, historians, and sociologists, but all have an important role in placing African women farmers in history. Details produced in this era depict African women farmers during the late pre-colonial and early colonial period. Like in the previous time, scholars from different backgrounds provide different interpretations of the rights and duties of African women farmers in their respective communities. But the main interpretation which holds the various interpretations together is the view that African women in the late pre-colonial and early colonial times were different from and complement to male farmers. Scholars argue that "whatever the system may be, the position of women within is neither inferior or superior to that of male farmers, but simply different and complementary".¹¹³ Scholars point out an example from the Hadzabe, a hunter and gatherer community in northern Tanzania. Although historically the Hadzabe consume more vegetables and fruits collected by women, they call themselves consumers of meat hunted by men. The

¹¹³ D. Paulme, *Women in Black Africa* (London, 1963).

works that are carried out by men are what characterise their community. Men often hunt in pairs, and spend entire nights lying and waiting by waterholes, hoping to shoot animals that approach for a night-time drink. They use bows and arrows treated with poison. Similarly, in their neighbouring agricultural communities, though they consume a vast quantity of meat, three-quarter of their food intake is made of vegetables and fruits which are produced by women farmers.¹¹⁴ However, although women farmers produced a large part of the food consumed in their communities, they depended on men for security services and other amenities.¹¹⁵ The information provided above shows how African women farmers were interpreted as different and complement to men farmers.

Furthermore, the scholars describe the economic and cultural characteristics of African women farmers in this period. They point out that women farmers resided in somewhat permanent settlements but they were still connected to pastoralist men who used to herd their cattle from one grazing area to another. In some areas, African women farmers resided in classless societies with communal life, while in other areas they resided in complex and stratified societies headed by chiefs ruling their subordinates.¹¹⁶ Women farmers were also involved in other economic activities. They were also obliged to take care of family food, clothing, shelter, and the management of food storage for future use during food shortages or war. They were also concerned with preparing weapons and tools of war for their husbands and other male relatives.¹¹⁷

Scholars further show how African women farmers' duties contributed to significant development of their families, communities and their political units in general. Women farmers mostly delivered the payment of tributes to political authorities in terms of agricultural produce. The development of trade in various parts of Africa was further facilitated by the work performed by women farmers. Men were able to trade and control political units because of the

¹¹⁴ James L. Brain, 'Down to Gentility: Women in Tanzania', *Sex Roles* 4, No. 5 (1978): 695–715, p. 697.

¹¹⁵ Peggy R. Sanday, 'Toward a Theory of the Status of Women', *American Anthropologist* 75, No. 5 (1973): 1682–1700, p. 1696.

¹¹⁶ Darryll Kilian et al., 'Human Settlements', 2005.

¹¹⁷ Sanday, 'Toward a Theory of the Status of Women.'

support they received from women farmers. While men were fighting to protect and to acquire wealth for their communities, women farmers continued to cultivate food crops for the sustenance of their communities at home.¹¹⁸ Thus the interdependence between women farmers and men farmers is portrayed in various materials produced by scholars reflecting the late pre-colonial era and the early colonial period. The diversification of women tasks is one among various themes mentioned in this period. Apart from agriculture, women farmers were also involved in other economic activities in order to add value to their livelihood. Some women farmers were involved in trade, craft, rituals, and various associations which helped them and their families to thrive. During this period, there were relative movements of women farmers in search of economic wealth. Women travelled to distant areas to exchange their agricultural products and help their husbands acquire wealth for the upkeep of their households.¹¹⁹ The participation of women in a variety of economic activities is further depicted by Margret Strobel who, in her study conducted in Mombasa, provides an anecdote of a woman who was engaged in business to rescue the property of her father which was forfeited due to debts.¹²⁰

Scholars writing in the mid-20th century also explained how women fared in the late pre-colonial period, and early colonial period. Although there are scholars presenting women farmers as losing their previous social and economic powers,¹²¹ various scholars explain the colonial period as the period which helped women farmers to raise awareness about their social position and to develop strong social and economic outlooks.¹²² At this time, women farmers were introduced to the colonial economy culture. They participated actively through different social and economic settings of the time. Women farmers in the colonial period are described as the

¹¹⁸ Coquery-Vidrovitch and Lovejoy, 'The Workers of Trade in Precolonial Africa'; Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, (Boston: BackBay Books [u.a.], 1980); Gwyn Campbell, 'The East African Slave Trade, 1861–1895: The "Southern" Complex', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 22, No. 1 (1989): 1–26.

¹¹⁹ Jane I. Guyer et al., 'The Multiplication of Labor: Historical Methods in the Study of Gender and Agricultural Change in Modern Africa', *Current Anthropology* 29, No. 2 (1988): 247–72.

¹²⁰ Margaret Strobel, 'Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1890–1975', 1979.

¹²¹ James L. Brain, 'Down to Gentility: Women in Tanzania', *Sex Roles* 4, No. 5 (1978): 695–715; Deborah Fahy Bryceson, 'The Proletarianization of Women in Tanzania', *Review of African Political Economy* 7, No. 17 (1980): 4–27; Omari, *Rural Women, Informal Sector and Household Economy in Tanzania*.

¹²² Boulding, *Handbook of International Data on Women*; Bryceson and Mbilinyi, *The Changing Role of Tanzanian Women in Production*.

main contributors to farming activities for their households' consumptions, and producers of food for the men who worked for colonial ventures. They also helped their husbands and male relatives to pay tax and other colonial fines. Scholars further indicate how women farmers gained substantial local political authority when their husbands and other male relatives were away to work in colonial ventures.¹²³

Since the late 20th century, researchers have been recounting the African women farmers' history in different ways. Some scholars represent women farmers as losing their previous social and economic power due to the waves of economic changes that happened in the late colonial period, immediate post-independence, and the era of 'Stabilisation' and 'Structural Adjustment' policies.¹²⁴ According to these scholars, the period came with difficulties which made women farmers socially and economically weak. The historical epoch continued to impoverish the African women farmers, and saw their continued decline in socioeconomic rights and benefits. They argue that women farmers had inadequate economy and human capital to do well during this era. But a number of substantial scholars do view women farmers as developing the strength to accommodate changes of the era.¹²⁵ The following are various points which hold together the scholarship during this period concerning women farmers. First, they show women farmers as developing strength during the late colonial period to accommodate the challenges of the period. These include the strength to resist colonial administration delivered in either open resistance or via hidden protests. Also, women farmers did not only resist the economic hardships of the era, but they also resisted the social and cultural sanctions which they thought were not doing them well. Marjorie Mbilinyi recounts the story of a woman farmer in the rural area of Southern

¹²³ Jane Guyer, 'Female Farming in Anthropology and African History', *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, 1991: 257–77.

¹²⁴ Anna Tibaijuka, 'The Cost of Differential Gender Roles in African Agriculture: A Case Study of Smallholder Banana-Coffee Farms in the Kagera Region, Tanzania', *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 45, No. 1 (1994): 69–81; Marjorie Mbilinyi, 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania', *Focus on Gender* 1, No. 3 (1993): 26–29; Roberto De Vogli and Gretchen L. Birbeck, 'Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, 2005: 105–20.

¹²⁵ M. Patricia Connelly, 'Gender Matters: Global Restructuring and Adjustment', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 3, No. 1 (1996): 12–31; Jun Ikeno, 'Tanzanian Agriculture under the Structural Adjustment Programmes: With Special Reference to Two Villages in Kilimanjaro Region', *Africa Project Team, Ed.) African Political Economy in Transition*, 1992: 82–111.

Highlands of Tanzania who chose to be jailed rather than getting married to a man not of her choice.¹²⁶ The following quotation from Stephen Rocker shows how women resisted various events which were not wealth to them:

...for political and economic reasons and, hence, control female independence. Young women, however, frequently resisted family, kin, and official controls, evading attempts by male elders and colonial officials to immobilize them through the invention and recognition in law of neo-traditional marriage customs.¹²⁷

The information above indicates the strength of women portrayed by various scholars in this period. There is also some information portraying women farmers joining to support nationalist movements which later led to the independence of their respective societies from the colonial rule. Women farmers gained strength via social and cultural associations which existed in their environment. Cultural groups of dances and initiation ceremonies were among the ways used by women farmers to develop unity and power among themselves.¹²⁸

Another point observed in the writings of the scholars since the late 20th century is the travelling of women farmers from their local communities to distant areas to conduct social and economic activities. Works produced during this period noted the development of trade enterprises among women farmers. Scholars indicate that this period was characterised by the development of entrepreneurial skills among women to accommodate the economic and social challenges which emanated in the era. The details include women farmers who travelled long distances to conduct trade after the harvest of their agricultural products, and others who travelled a short distance to exchange their produce for other industrial or local products. This historical change led to the development of interactions among women farmers and people from distant areas.

¹²⁶ Marjorie J Mbilinyi, 'Runaway Wives in Colonial Tanganyika: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage in Rungwe District, 1919–1961', *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 16, No. 1 (1988): 1–29.

¹²⁷ Stephen J Rockel, "'A Nation of Porters": The Nyamwezi and the Labour Market in Nineteenth-Century Tanzania', *The Journal of African History* 41, No. 02 (2000): 173–95, p. 749.

¹²⁸ Aili Mari Tripp, 'Gender, Political Participation and the Transformation of Associational Life in Uganda and Tanzania', *African Studies Review* 37, No. 1 (1 April 1994): 107–31; Susan Geiger, 'Women and African Nationalism', *Journal of Women's History* 2, No. 1 (1990): 227–44; Susan Geiger, 'Umoja Wa Wanawake Wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor', *African Studies Review* 25, No. 2/3 (1982): 45–65.

To conclude this section on the review of works concerning women farmers in Africa and Tanzania in particular, one could observe two main themes. First, for a long time, scholars writing about women farmers in those different historical epochs under study have rendered the role of African women farmers invisible. One of the bypassed activities of women is shaping their active role in the evolution, the development and the negotiations of women farmers' labour between and among various multiple social and political actors. Second, even though some more recent studies framed women farmers as the active and key players in the agricultural setting, especially in the cultivation of food crops, they do not show clearly the advantages and disadvantages which resulted from their active involvement in the social, economic, and political relations with other local actors like male farmers, traders, chiefs, and other institutions. Consequently, they missed complex socioeconomic and political negotiations that unfolded among themselves, and between them and other actors in the society. This study, therefore, addresses these limitations by conceptualising the negotiations of women farmers' labour as a ground of complex negotiations between African women and men, colonial administrators, postcolonial administrators, local leaders, religious institutions, and other social actors.

1.4 Research Methodology

This section provides an overview of research methods and design employed in the study. It starts by explaining the research method and various research instruments used in the data collection. Subsequently, it describes the fieldwork carried out in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The fieldwork consisted of a variety of activities, namely the review of different documents, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions that involved women and men farmers, village leaders, government agricultural workers, and other actors at the local level. The aim of this part of the study is to provide the knowledge on how the research project was practically undertaken in the field. It shows the way the research data was collected via various interactions in the field, for example, the interactions between the researcher, the research instruments, and the informants.

This research project employs a qualitative approach to achieve its objectives. The qualitative research method is linked with two gender frameworks which focus on social roles and

relations.¹²⁹ The qualitative research aims at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants. It does this by exploring their social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories (actions, decisions, beliefs, or values).¹³⁰ The way in which individuals understand and interpret their social reality is one of the central themes of qualitative research.¹³¹ The researcher followed the principles and rules of the qualitative research process during data collection. The first principle or rule is termed as taking the perspective of the people being studied by penetrating their frames of meaning. In this particular study, this meant describing and explaining the purposes and meanings women farmers perceive in their pursuit of agriculture. In accordance with the second principle, the researcher viewed social life in terms of processes rather than in static terms. In addition, the researcher provided a holistic perspective in the contexts of the research area. The researcher also maintained a neutral position and used personal insight while taking a non-judgemental stance.¹³² Information about the informants covering such aspects as their beliefs, experiences, views, opinions, and values were treated to explain the research output as will be presented in the subsequent chapters of this study.

Besides, the researcher used techniques of data collection which connected informants and the researcher in the field. Scholars have advised on the nature of data generation techniques when using qualitative research method. These include using methods of data generation which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data is produced, and using instruments which usually involve close contact between the researcher and the people being studied, where the researcher is the primary instrument. This means that the research instruments used must primarily be qualitative instruments like observation, in-depth individual interviews, focus group discussions, analysis of documents and texts, and biographical methods such as life histories and

¹²⁹ March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*; Warren, 'Using Gender-Analysis Frameworks: Theoretical and Practical Reflections'; Kabeer and Subrahmanian, *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: Framework and Tools for Gender-Aware Planning*.

¹³⁰ Rachel Ormston et al., 'The Foundations of Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, 2014: 1–25, p. 3.

¹³¹ Alan Bryman and others, *Quantity and Quality in Social Research* (Routledge, 1988), p. 8.

¹³² Ormston et al., 'The Foundations of Qualitative Research'; David J. Harper, 'Choosing a Qualitative Research Method', 2011.

narratives.¹³³ Furthermore, the outcome of qualitative research data collection must be analysed using trends and values related to the nature of analysis or interpretation. For example, even when it happens that a large number of participants of the focus group discussion agree to the posed argument, the researcher must also consider a small number of the participants who disagree with the point. This is because research values are more important than numbers. The researcher further used the methods of analysis and explanation which reflect the complexity, detail and context of the data provided by informants. The researcher also identified emergent categories and theories from data instead of imposing a priori categories and ideas. In order to respect the uniqueness of each case, the researcher conducted a cross-case analysis and developed explanations at the level of meaning as presented by the participants. The researcher also produced detailed descriptions and summarised understandings based on the perspectives of the participants in the social setting.

In short, the qualitative method of data collection usually involves close contact between the researcher and research participants. These contacts are interactive and developmental, and allow for emergent issues to be explored. They provide data which is very detailed, rich in information and extensive. Finally, they enable an analysis which is open to emergent concepts and ideas that produce detailed description and classification. They also help to identify patterns of associations or develop typologies and explanations. Moreover, they produce outputs which tend to focus on the interpretation of social meaning through mapping and 'representing' the social world of research participants.¹³⁴

The project used three kinds of research instruments, namely documentary review, in-depth interview, and focus group discussion. A combination of research instruments provided valid and reliable information because it was possible to compare, contrast and complement information from various sources. This was carried out based on the understanding that no single research instrument is adequate in itself in collecting reliable historical information. As observed by

¹³³ Ormston et al., 'The Foundations of Qualitative Research', p. 4.

¹³⁴ Sarah J. Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact* (John Wiley & Sons, 2012).

Bogdan and Biklen, exclusive reliance on one instrument might bias or distort the researcher's picture of a particular investigated reality.¹³⁵ In order to avoid the bias or distortion resulting from using one research instrument, and in order to gain advantages of using a combination of research instruments, this study used multiple research instruments. Scholars argue that the combining of different instruments within the same study design gives more research validity. The purpose of such a combination may serve an additive function of addressing different sub-topics sequentially or interactively, with the same sub-topic being approached from different angles.¹³⁶ Likewise, specific research instruments are more appropriate for earlier periods of history. For example, oral data collection is important in the collection of unrecorded history such as pre-colonial history, while other methods like documentation review suit the more recent past.

1.4.1 In-depth Interviews

Michael Bloor and Fiona Wood argue that interviews are research instruments that bring out research data through the questioning of respondents. They further explain that while quantitative interviews (structured) have a semi-formal character and are conducted in surveys using a standardised interview schedule, qualitative interviews (or semi-structured, or in-depth, or ethnographic) are a more informal, conversational in character, and are shaped partly by the interviewer's pre-existing topic guide and partly by concerns that emerge during the interview.¹³⁷

This research project used the qualitative in-depth interview as one of its research instruments. Carolyn Boyce and Palane Niale clarify that in-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, programme or situation.¹³⁸ They further hold that in-depth interviews provide more detailed information than what is made

¹³⁵ Robert Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education* (Allyn & Bacon Boston, 1997).

¹³⁶ Michael Bloor and Fiona Wood, *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts* (Sage, 2006): 116.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹³⁸ Carolyn Boyce and Palena Neale, 'Conducting in-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting in-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input', 2006: 3.

available through other data collection instruments. They also provide a more relaxed atmosphere which makes informants feel more comfortable to give information. It is these advantages which made the researcher use in-depth interviews as a research instrument in the current study. The researcher was able to get detailed historical information concerning the participation of women farmers in agricultural activities as well as other socioeconomic and political activities. In-depth interviews also enabled the researcher to collect useful and comprehensive information about women farmers' thoughts and behaviours concerning agriculture and other activities over time. The technique was also important in exploring new issues brought to attention by the respondents. Through this technique, women farmers were free to explain their relations with various social and political networks and strategies of survival.¹³⁹ Women farmers also explained their interaction with local administrators and actors, and with religious, political, and social institutions which existed in their respective communities. Likewise, women farmers were able to provide information concerning their parents' and grandparents' participation in their historical encounters in various historical epochs.

In summary, the use of semi-structured interviews allowed respondents to express their complex and deep issues regarding their experiences. The method also gave them an opportunity to express themselves beyond what was initially asked. For instance, some women farmers explained the challenges they faced in their households, such as unequal distribution of responsibilities, lack of consensus in the use of household capital, and lack of agricultural incentives. One participant in the in-depth interview from Iwawa became very emotional during the discussion on local leaders' practices.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, the researcher had to constantly ensure that the order of the discussion was in control.

In addition, the instrument was used to gather information regarding the historical negotiations between women farmers and various other actors, which facilitated the division of labour and resources between men and women. Data relating to the difference in time spent in fields by men and women, methods of farming, and kinds of agricultural technology used were also revealed

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Mama H.L. of Iwawa village on 12 November 2015.

using this instrument. Interviews were administered to bring out several historical compromises between women farmers and various authorities which happened in the community. These concessions in different ways shaped the historical visibility of women farmers as observed in this study.

The process of interviewing had various steps. It began with the development of an interview protocol. These were the rules that guided the administration and implementation of the interviews. They included instructions that were to be followed for each interview, to ensure consistency between interviews, and thus increase the reliability of the findings.¹⁴¹ The second step was crafting of the interview guide. The guide comprised a list of questions which were prepared in accordance with the situation of the study and informants. The setting and composition of interview guides incorporated gender guidelines to produce the intended gender sensitive results. It represented questions asked during interview sessions as well as the manner and the order in which they were to be asked. This was carried out following the research guidelines provided by various scholars.¹⁴² It included various elements like what the interviewee should say at the beginning of the interview, during the interview and at the end of the interview. Also, they included different responsibilities of the researcher during interviewing work, for example taking notes and audio-recording of data.

The third step of the in-depth interview involved the actual collection of data. In this step, the researcher began by explaining the purpose of interview, why the informants had been chosen, and the expected duration of the interview. The researcher further explained that the information would be used for the purpose of the research only. When interviewees had consented, the process of data collection started. The researcher asked questions and encouraged discussions using the interview guide. Information was recorded using a voice recorder and notebooks. The recorded information was summarized immediately after the interviews. Thereafter, the

¹⁴¹ Boyce and Neale, 'Conducting in-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting in-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input', p. 5.

¹⁴² Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact*, p. 143; Boyce and Neale, 'Conducting in-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting in-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input'.

information obtained in the interviews was verified by relating to other historical information where it was possible. For example, when a woman farmer said that a clinic has a policy of not providing free health services to pregnant women, the verification of that information was carried out by reviewing health policies during the mentioned historical period. This was carried out in adherence to the rules and principles of the practical methods of qualitative research.¹⁴³

The last step of the management of in-depth interview was the analysis step. In this step, the researcher started by transcribing and documenting the collected information. She then checked responses and looked for patterns or themes among the participants. Varieties of themes were arranged in various categories to fit in different chapters of the dissertation. The responses were further grouped according to different criteria, such as informant type, age and sex. For example, the responses from younger participants were categorised differently from older ones, men, and women. The responses that seemed to have been given much emphasis, as opposed to those that the participants answered in only a few words, were also identified and categorised accordingly, as advised by field study experts.¹⁴⁴

The interview participants were purposefully selected with the help of the key informants as well as local village leaders according to characteristics and criteria that were agreed upon. Important variables that were considered during the selection of interviewees were sex, age, experience in farming activities, duration of stay in respective villages, and character of participation in other socioeconomic activities. The information obtained from the informants was oral. It has been explained by scholars that oral information includes accounts of past events from either eyewitness participants or subsequent families of eyewitnesses for historical reconstruction. Oral history includes the collection of stories and narratives concerned with historical events that have

¹⁴³ Boyce and Neale, 'Conducting in-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting in-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input'; Robert Bogdan and S. Biklen, 'Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Practice', *Alien and Bacon, Inc., New York*, 1982; Robin Legard, Jill Keegan, and Kit Ward, 'In-depth Interviews', *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, 2003: 138–69.

¹⁴⁴ Boyce and Neale, 'Conducting in-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting In-depth Interviews for Evaluation Input'; Legard, Keegan, and Ward, 'In-depth Interviews'; Greg Guest, Arwen Bunce, and Laura Johnson, 'How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability', *Field Methods* 18, No. 1 (2006): 59–82.

been handed down from generation to generation in a continuous oral tradition.¹⁴⁵ The reliability of the interviewee's narratives depended on the information retrieved with regard to the relevant historical time-span. The second, third, and fourth generations were all accommodated depending on the individual's family history. People who remembered the last half of the 19th century were 80–90 years old or older during the interviews. When they retell their parents' or grandparents' stories, vivid descriptions of personal experiences are sometimes passed on orally from 1860 or earlier. Nevertheless, challenges have been raised that oral sources do not necessarily conform to different measures of reliability and accuracy.¹⁴⁶ This criticism is often directed to oral history projects that claim to make generalisations about broader cultural processes, but not to those that focus on qualitative descriptions of their particular case studies like the current research. Thus, women and men farmers, local actors, and leaders who were interviewed in the Southern Highlands provided significant data for this dissertation.

1.4.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion is one of the qualitative research instruments that was used to collect data for this study. According to Helen Finch and Jane Lewis, the instrument usually collects data that is generated by the interaction between group participants. Through focus group discussions, participants present their own views and experiences, and get a chance to hear from other people. They also listen to, reflect on what is said, and consider their own standpoint. Additional material is thus triggered in response to what they hear. Participants pose questions to each other, seek clarification, comment on what they have heard and prompt others to reveal more information. As the discussion unfolds (backwards and forwards, round and round the group), individuals' responses become sharpened and refined and the discussion moves to a deeper and more considered level.¹⁴⁷ Focus groups rely on the interaction or cooperation of individuals to produce a combined effect which is greater than the sum of their separate effects.

¹⁴⁵ Bloor and Wood, *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts*, p. 125.

¹⁴⁶ Nadya Foty and Andriy Nahachewsky, 'The "Local Culture and Diversity on the Prairies" Project', *Folklorica* 13 (2008).

¹⁴⁷ Helen Finch and Jane Lewis, 'Focus Groups', *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, 2003: 170–98, p. 171.

Therefore, a focus group discussion is synergistic¹⁴⁸ in the sense that the group works together: the group interaction is explicitly used to generate data and insights.¹⁴⁹ As all this emerges from discussions within groups, the perspective is less influenced by interaction with the researcher than it might be in a one-to-one interview. In that sense, the group participants take over some of the 'interviewers' roles, and, at times, the researcher at times is more in the position of listening. The focus group presents a more natural environment than that of the individual interview because in the former, participants influence and get influenced by others just like in real life.¹⁵⁰ Thus, the information generated by this instrument can be a great asset to the study. The agreed information in the focus group discussions was based on the existing norms and values of the respective communities. This shows the reflection of what happened in the society.

The implementation of focus group discussions during the fieldwork in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania followed several steps as advised by research scholars.¹⁵¹ The first step was the formation stage. In this stage, the researcher and assistant researcher welcomed participants and thanked them for coming. They then introduced themselves to group participants and let participants introduce themselves. The researcher further introduced the research topic and explained the reasons for the meeting. Confidentiality of personal data and information provided by participants was highlighted. The researcher gave an explanation of what would happen to the collected data and how it would be reported. The researcher's clarification linked the processes of discussion to the procedure of research for academic uses. It was at the first stage of the discussion that the consent of participant was asked and when informants agreed, the process of data collection started. The topic concerning "Negotiating women's labour, women farmers, state, and society in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1885 – 2000" was presented, along

¹⁴⁸ D.W. Stewart, P.N. Shamdasani, and D.W. Rook, *Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 20. Focus Groups: Theory and Practice* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1990); D.W. Stewart, P.N. Shamdasani, and D.W. Rook, 'Analysing Focus Group Data', *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*, 1990.

¹⁴⁹ David L. Morgan, *Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 16. Focus Groups as Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997).

¹⁵⁰ Richard A. Krueger and Mary Anne Casey, *Focus Groups* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000).

¹⁵¹ Sue Wilkinson, Helene Joffe, and Lucy Yardley, 'Qualitative Data Collection: Interviews and Focus Groups' (Sage Publications, 2004; Finch and Lewis, 'Focus Groups'; Donna Ambler Peters, 'Improving Quality Requires Consumer Input: Using Focus Groups.', *Journal of Nursing Care Quality* 7, No. 2 (1993): 34–41.

with its brief historical background in order to make participants conversant with it. Background information was collected, and participants came to be familiar with the subject of study.

The second stage is what Finch and Lewes call a 'Storming stage'. According to them, it is a period of tension or criticism that may occur in a number of ways. This stage involves dominance or one-upmanship (the technique or practice of gaining a feeling of superiority over others) from some individuals, or silent aloofness from others, or by the adoption of particular roles like the expert as a defensive position.¹⁵² The practical event that featured the field work in the Southern Highlands during this stage was the collection of strong data. Although there were differences in arguments between participants in this phase, such differences helped to enrich the materials of the study. It was at this initial stage group that participants were enthused to share their views and experiences. The researcher and the assistant researcher used this time to record responses by using a voice recorder and notebooks. At this stage data concerning the history of women farmers' labour background was discussed. The data included information on rights and duties of women farmers at local level overtime, and how historically men farmers and other actors at local level faired in the agricultural setting. Lastly, there was a discussion on how administration or political leadership at local level managed the agricultural sector. There were some disagreements during the discussions, but at the end, participants were able to distinguish between the main and minor historical trends which dominated their communities throughout history. The points which did not gain enough support from participants were also noted, and later examined in the analysis in the respective chapters of the dissertation.

The third step was the "settling down to a calmer phase".¹⁵³ In this step, participants of the group discussion entered a calm phase where consensus on contradictory arguments was reached. The norms of the group were also established at this stage. At this stage, groups began to work cooperatively and reached common ground. They agreed with each other and reinforced what others said. It was at this stage that the group participants began to put into practice the 'ground rules' that the researcher established for discussion in the initial stage concerning the negotiations

¹⁵² Finch and Lewis, 'Focus Groups.'

¹⁵³ Ibid.

of women farmers' labour. The researcher was able to note down the points that were agreed and disagreed by the participants. Controversial issues like the history of land ownership, the control of agricultural input and output, processes of labour interactions, exchange of the agricultural output, tax payment to the local and central governments, and general social events came to be agreed upon.

Finally, groups worked towards the end. Participants took the opportunity to reinforce some of the points they had said earlier and cement their final thoughts. The researcher thanked the participants for discussions and for what they achieved. At this final step, the researcher again reaffirmed confidentiality, especially in the sensitive issues covered. She also reiterated the purpose of the research and explained more on how its results will be used. Finally, refreshments were served to the participants before they dispersed.

The administration of focus group discussions in the Southern Highlands was carried out during the first phase of research, from October 2014 to March 2015. Focus groups were administered in three districts, namely Makete, Mbinga, and Mbozi. Two wards were visited in each district, and in each ward, five villages were selected. In Makete the wards of Iwawa and Isapulano were selected. From those wards, five villages were earmarked: Iwawa, Isapulano, Ivilikinge, Ivalalila, and Luvulunge. In Mbinga district, Mkumbi and Kigonsera wards were selected for the research. Five villages selected from Mbinga districts were Mkumbi, Kilindi, Matumba, Kipegei and Longa. In Mbozi district the wards of Igamba and Iyula were selected, but due to various reasons, only five villages from Iyula ward were visited. These were Iyula, Ilela, Igale, Ipyana, and Ilomba.

The selection of focus group participants considered all rules and principles spelled out by research methodology scholars. Five to six women farmers, and five to six men farmers were selected from each researched village. The selected informants formed a focus group of that particular village. The discussion for each group was conducted in one agreed day. The conversation was organised in such a way that it comprised three sessions. The first session comprised the discussion of women farmers only, the second session included men farmers only, and the final session included both women and men. But the same members formed the

discussions within those arranged three alternations. The selection of members of the group discussion was based on a purposeful sampling. This means that the researcher selected the most productive sample of women and men farmers, leaders at the village level, and other actors to participate in the research. This involved developing a framework of the variables that influenced individual's contributions to the topic. It was typically based on the participants' practical knowledge on research topic and area.¹⁵⁴ Therefore the participants' knowledge of agriculture and their duration of stay in the respective researched areas were among the criteria for the selection. The age of the participant was another criterion. Although women and men farmers who were above 80 years of age were principle informants of this study, in some cases, participants of 60 years were included. This sampling technique was used in accordance with research scholars who argue that sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researcher wishes to study. The characteristics were based on socio-demographic characteristics, specific experiences, behaviours, and roles.¹⁵⁵ Some scholars term this sampling technique as judgemental sampling while others term it as criterion-based sampling.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the sample of women and men farmers from the Southern Highlands was selected in the assumption that it would pour out experiences and skills in the history of agriculture, particularly in the aspect of women farmers' labour. The negotiations of women farmers' labour was conceptualised from those various group interactions.

The number of participants who formed the focus group discussions in the Southern Highlands varied according to their availability and accessibility in a particular area. It was difficult to get an identical number of participants in all of the focus group discussions administered in different places. Since the rules of focus group discussion allow flexibility in the number of group participants, the study accommodated the participants according to convenience. Some scholars

¹⁵⁴ Martin N. Marshall, 'Sampling for Qualitative Research', *Family Practice* 13, No. 6 (1996): 522–26.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Burgess, 'Conversations with a Purpose: The Ethnographic Interview in Educational Research', *Studies in Qualitative Methodology* 1, No. 1 (1988): 137–55; John J. Honigmann et al., 'The Personal Approach in Cultural Anthropological Research', *Current Anthropology* 17, No. 2 (1976): 243–61.

¹⁵⁶ Honigmann et al., 'The Personal Approach in Cultural Anthropological Research'; M.D. LeCompte and J. Preissle, 'With Tesch, R. (1993)', *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research* 2 (81); Jane Ritchie et al., *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (Sage, 2013).

suggest that a proper focus group should comprise six to twelve members,¹⁵⁷ while other scholars mention five to eight participants.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, this study accommodated the number of participants within the range of numbers mentioned by the scholars.

Five women farmers aged 80 years and above were selected in each village to form a focus group discussion. But in some cases, women farmers aged 60 years were included. The selected participants attended two different sessions: the session of women farmers only, and the mixed session which comprised both sexes. The same technique was applied in the selection of men farmers. The mixed focus group discussion comprised ten to twelve members, which means five women farmers and five men farmers, or six women farmers and six men farmers respectively. The rationale for this range of focus group size is that focus groups should include enough participants to yield diversity in the information provided. Nevertheless, they should not include too many participants because large groups can create an environment where participants do not feel comfortable sharing their thoughts, opinions, beliefs, and experiences.¹⁵⁹ Some research scholars have endorsed the use of small focus groups which they term “mini-focus groups.” These are composed of three¹⁶⁰ or four¹⁶¹ participants who have specialised knowledge and/or experiences to discuss in the group. Since it was anticipated that some participants might not be available on the day of discussion, the researcher opted for the mini focus group discussion to collect data from agricultural experts and village leaders. These were small in number but also

¹⁵⁷ T.A. Baumgartner, C.H. Strong, and L.D. Hensley, *Conducting and Reading Research in Health and Human Performance with Power Web: Health and Human Performance* (New York: McGraw-Hill Humanities, 2002); A Krueger Richard and Casey Mary Anne, *Focus Groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994); Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie et al., ‘A Qualitative Framework for Collecting and Analyzing Data in Focus Group Research’, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, No. 3 (2009): 1–21.

¹⁵⁸ Marshall, ‘Sampling for Qualitative Research.’

¹⁵⁹ Krueger Richard and Anne, *Focus Groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research*; Onwuegbuzie et al., ‘A Qualitative Framework for Collecting and Analyzing Data in Focus Group Research’.

¹⁶⁰ Morgan, *Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 16. Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*.

¹⁶¹ Krueger Richard and Anne, *Focus Groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research*, p. 17.

less available during the administration of data collection. The focus group discussions took one to two hours of the conversation as advised by research scholars.¹⁶²

1.4.3 Documentary Review

Various documents were carefully examined to draw conclusions about social and economic circumstances in which women farmers' labour was negotiated in the Southern Highlands. Scholars argue that documentary analysis does not display a straightforward methodology but it rather encompasses a variety of approaches to documentary sources. A document may be defined as an artefact that has a written text regardless of its physical embodiment.¹⁶³ Researchers may use a wide variety of documents, including letters, official reports, administrative records, web pages, diaries and newspaper articles.¹⁶⁴ This research has enormously benefited from a variety of written documents, including archival records written by colonial and post-colonial government officials, missionary archives in Tanzania and Germany, records of government and non-government institutions, and written sources from pre-colonial travellers and explorers. The documents were accessed at various institutions, including the State and University Library in Goettingen, Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania National Archive for the Mbeya Zone, the archive of the Missionary Benedictines in St Ottilien (Germany), and the Tanzania Library services in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

Various historical sources of materials were consulted in the mentioned archives, including district books, annual reports, district agricultural notes, development plans, forced labour reports, agricultural policies and instructions, and monthly agricultural reports. The archives also contained correspondence of government officials at different administrative levels such as district, province, and territorial headquarters. The content of these letters provides important insights into the negotiations among the colonial and post-colonial government officials over

¹⁶² Onwuegbuzie et al., 'A Qualitative Framework for Collecting and Analyzing Data in Focus Group Research'; Morgan, *Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 16. Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*; Krueger Richard and Anne, *Focus Groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research*.

¹⁶³ Bloor and Wood, *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts*.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 57; David J. Harper, 'Choosing a Qualitative Research Method', 2011; Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact*.

agricultural labour. The letters reveal the agreements, disagreements, conflicting ideas, and debates between colonial and post-colonial officials holding different positions in the hierarchy of administration and power. The analysis of these documents and other files is presented in the subsequent chapters of the dissertation.

This study uses data obtained from three archives which were visited during fieldwork. These are the Tanzania National Archive in Dar es Salaam, the Mbeya Zone Archive located in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, and the Benedictine Missionaries Archive of St Ottilien in Germany. The Tanzania National Archive was consulted in two phases. The first phase took place from October 2014 to March 2015. The permission to access the archives in the first visit was obtained through the research clearance issued by the University of Dar es Salaam. The second phase of the documentary review was carried out during the second field work which took place from October 2015 to January 2016. The permission to access the archives during the second phase was obtained via the letter written by Professor Rebekka Habermas of the University of Goettingen. Examples of the documents consulted in the Tanzania National Archives are the microfilms documents containing the history of indigenous people located in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. These sources were useful in obtaining data that produced the introductory and background history of the people studied in this project. In these archives, information on some indigenous people who reside in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania was obtained. Such indigenous people include the Bena, the Nyakyusa, the Nyiha, the Pangwa, the Hehe, the Matengo, the Kinga, the Ngoni, and the Nyasa. The information provided some insights on cultural elements, traditions, value, norms, and various social, economic, and political networks formed in their respective communities. The analysis of these data is provided in section 1.2 of this current chapter.

Other files that were consulted in the Tanzania National Archive are the Annual Agricultural Reports for districts, provinces, and the territory which have detailed information on the administration of agriculture in the respective areas. These helped to gather data about the planning, organisation, and execution of the agricultural projects. The information also reveals the division of labour among the indigenous local people, procurement and distribution of the agricultural input and output throughout the studied period. Samples of these documents which

were accessed in the national archive are Mtwara Regional Book (which comprises information on Ruvuma region), Southern Regional Commissioner Annual Report, Mbeya Regional Commissioner Annual Report, Iringa Regional Commissioner Annual Report, Mbozi district book, Njombe District officer's report, Njombe District Book, Songea District Book, Ufipa District Officer Annual Report, and a List of Tanganyika Secretariat Record of Native Affairs; Labour. The analysis of data from these documents is presented in respective chapters since the information straddles through the whole period under study.

The Tanzania National Archive also contains documents which were shared among government officials at different administrative levels. The content of these documents provide important insights into the negotiations among the government officials over the agricultural administration. They reveal agreements, disagreements, conflicting ideas, and debates between officials holding different positions in the hierarchy of administration and power. The other set of documents accessed in the National Archive is a handful of letters revealing communication between education administrators, parents, local chiefs, and the colonial administration. They depict the education status for girls during the British colonial period in Tanzania. They also give a historical view of how women were somehow purposefully settled in agricultural setting. Most of them negotiated whether a girl should continue to learn or be sent away from school. In most cases the latter was the concurrence. Other letters were from parents sent to education administrators indicating their reluctance to pay for their daughter's education. But other letters reveal communication between administrators themselves, negotiating the situation. For example, a section of the letter dated 2nd March 1956, from the headmaster of Tukuyu Government Primary school to the District Commissioner states as follows:

...with honour, I reply you letter number E1/30/54 dated 02.02.1956 from African School Supervisor that Lyagane Kabiki's father does not will to send his daughter for further education there at Lutheran Girls' School Lutengano as you needed her...from that reason I ask you to write off her name...¹⁶⁵

Another letter was written on 22nd February 1956 by African School Supervisor of Tukuyu to the Headmistress of Lutengano Girls' School. The contents were as follows:

¹⁶⁵ TNA, E.1/30, N.D.

...referring to your letter dated 30.01.1956 addressed to the District Commissioner of Tukuyu, the following girls, Monika Paulo, and Pyelesya Angasisye they are full grown and they are going to be married soon...¹⁶⁶

The analysis of these letters, which has mainly informed the content of Chapter Three and Four, provides a historical basis for the varied structures which determined women farmers' negotiations in those historical epochs. Correspondence among administrators contains different historical information. Some of the information concerns prices, taxation and marketing of the agricultural labour and produce. Letters concerning girls' education reveal some historical causes as to why most of the women in rural areas were subjected to early marriages and agricultural activities which did not require much education. However, various scholars disagree by arguing that for agriculture to be more productive educated farmers were required because these could manage the know-how of the sector and they could implement technological and chemical input.¹⁶⁷ Again Frank Ellis points out that the value of human capital is determined by the education level. That is to say, the higher the education level, the higher the value of human capital, and vice versa.¹⁶⁸ In this regard, the status of women farmers was undermined in various ways and by various actors. The negotiations of women farmers' labour also depended on a kind or quality of education they had. Through this kind of information on women's education, it is clear that women farmers did not have a strong educational bargaining power to benefit from the advantages emerged from their social setting. Further analysis of the data obtained from archival letters is provided in the subsequent chapters.

The Mbeya Zone regional branch of the National Archive is located in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. It is the second archive consulted during the fieldwork. The archive was consulted in the second phase of the fieldwork from October 2015 to January 2016. The permission to visit the archive was obtained through a letter written by Professor Rebekka Habermas of the

¹⁶⁶ TNA, E.1/30/60, N.D.

¹⁶⁷ Abel G.M. Ishumi, 'The Place of Education in the Economy', *International Journal of Educational Development* 3, No. 3 (1983): 337–49; Marjorie J. Mbilinyi and Patricia Mbuguni, 'Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective', 1991; Julius K. Nyerere, 'Education for Self-Reliance', *The Ecumenical Review* 19, No. 4 (1967): 382–403.

¹⁶⁸ Ellis, *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*.

University of Goettingen to the Director of the archive. The application was accepted, and thus the information was consulted in the above-mentioned duration. Various important files were consulted. These files provided significant historical contents of agriculture in general, and women farmers in particular in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The material consulted in this archive include a variety of records, for instance, the districts' agriculture notes, Makete rehabilitation centre minutes, agricultural policy and instructions, development of *vijiji vya ujamaa* (villagisation by resettlement), Iyula coffee growers, Iyula farm service central project, Southern Highlands Trade Council, *Duka la Ushirika la Walaji Mbozi* bylaws (Mbozi Cooperative Shop bylaws), Unyiha Coffee growers, *Maendeleo ya wanawake na watoto* general (Women and Children's Development), *Duka la Ujamaa la Wanawake Tukuyu* (Womens' Ujamaa Shop in Tukuyu), Mbozi district plan, forced labour, Iringa and Njombe district general correspondence, *Kitengo cha Wanawake*, *Idara ya Utumishi* (The Department of Work, Women Unit), *Kamati ya Nguvukazi* (The Commission of Labour), *mafunzo ya akina mama* (Women's Training), control of crops and movement permit, cultivation correspondence, monthly reports in agriculture, and five year development plans-general. These archival documents provided important historical data concerning various issues in the communities where the project took place. The data provided significant insight on the negotiations between various local actors concerning the labour of women farmers. The actual analysis of information from these documents is provided in relevant chapters of this dissertation.

The Benedictine Missionaries' Archive of St. Ottilien in Germany is the third archive consulted for this study. The archive materials were accessed through efforts made by Dr Richard Hoelzl of the University of Goettingen to communicate with the archivist Brother David, requesting the permission that the researcher uses the archive for data collection purposes. The permission was granted and the archive was consulted in August 2015. Sample of the materials consulted in this archive include "Chronik von Kigonsera 1898–1915", "Peramiho Chronik Notizen 12 July 1898–05 November 1932", "Peramiho Chronik Notizen 1962–1966", and "Religiöse Anschauungen und Gebräuche der Heiden in unserer Ostafrikanischen Ungoni-Mission". Some books from the library of St Ottilien were studied, which included "Ndanda Abbey: The Church Takes Root in Difficult Times 1932–19752" and "Aufbau der Kirche in Tansania" both written by Siegfried Hertlein; "Afrika: Die Kirche Unter den Völkern" written by Walbert Bühlmann;

and “Maji-Maji Blut für Afrika” written by Hubert Gundolf. I am grateful to Fr. Roman Botta who pointed out useful books to me. Although the information acknowledged in these documents was intended to be kept for missionary use, details consulted were very important to this study. Some of the information shows the lives and activities of missionaries during their stay in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Their intermingling with the local communities, in terms of religious and social activities, had a different impact in the social, economic, and political life of the local people, particularly women farmers. For example, there are some information concerning agricultural activities of the indigenous people and missionaries, the acquisition of agricultural labour to service the plantations set by the local administrators for the purposes of military and management consumptions, and the constructions of missionary stations in various parts of the Southern Highlands including Ukinga, Ungoni, Nyasa, Liuli, Umatengo, and Mahanje Mission in Ubena. All these activities required labour and means of livelihoods from the local population. Missions helped to introduce the wage labour system; they introduced crafts (carpentry, mechanics) for men only; and they had a particular way and ideal of education for girls (towards chastity, early marriage and farm labour). They also provided clearing houses for marriage troubles particularly for women, and they offered some women a way into sisterhood. The analysis of these activities and interactions from these documents is provided in the respective chapters of this dissertation.

The written accounts of early European missionaries, explorers, and colonial officials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have also contributed information to this dissertation. Early European explorers and missionaries who visited late pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania and left documentation of what they witnessed in the region include D. Kerr-Cross,¹⁶⁹ Dr Merensky,¹⁷⁰ J. F. Elton,¹⁷¹ Joseph Thomson¹⁷², and H. B. Cotterill.¹⁷³ Although their reports

¹⁶⁹ David Kerr Cross, ‘Notes on the Country Lying between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika’, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, 13, No. 2 (1 February 1891): 86–99; D. Kerr Cross, ‘Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyasa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika’, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 6, No. 6 (1890): 281–93.

¹⁷⁰ Dr Merensky, ‘The Konde Country’, *The Geographical Journal* 2, No. 4 (1893): 321–23.

¹⁷¹ James Frederick Elton, *Travels and Researches Among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern & Central Africa: From the Journals of the Late J. Frederic Elton*, 31 (J. Murray, 1879).

¹⁷² Robert I. Rotberg, *Joseph Thomson and the Exploration of Africa* (Chatto & Windus, 1971).

indicate clearly that their intended audiences were Europeans who were expecting to colonise the region during the second half of the nineteenth century, their rich and sometimes detailed documents remain the only available written evidence that shed much light on the historical contexts of the region before colonial time. For example, they help in understanding the historical context of slave raiding, colonial penetration, diseases and famines, and local responses to them. This kind of information has helped in revealing women farmers' situation and participation in their respective communities before the arrival of Europeans in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

A set of ethnographic accounts also forms an evidential basis for this dissertation. Various ethnographic works were consulted for this study. These included different works carried out in Mbeya Region by Monica Wilson and Godfrey Wilson¹⁷⁴ from 1934 to 1938; ethnographic works carried out in Ubena by Arthur Culwick,¹⁷⁵; the works by Phillip Gulliver¹⁷⁶ who studied the Ngoni of Songea District; and the works by Maria Kecskesi¹⁷⁷ and Egino Ndunguru¹⁷⁸ who studied the Matengo of Southern Tanzania. Taken together, these scholarly works provide an understanding of local peoples' moral systems, cosmologies, social structures, legal systems, common diseases, as well as their experiences of labour migration, commodity production, and missionary influence. The work by Phillip Gulliver on the Southern Highlands gives a clear picture of the way colonial officials conceptualised women farmers' labour. Gulliver, who was a colonial government sociologist, advised the colonial government to stop worrying about food

¹⁷³ H. B. Cotterill, 'On the Nyasa and a Journey from the North End to Zanzibar', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 22, No. 4 (1877): 233–51.

¹⁷⁴ Monica Hunter Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa* (London, Oxford U. P., 1957); Monica Wilson and Monica Wilson, *Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages*, 170 (International African Institute, 1951); Wilson and Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change: Based on Observations in Central Africa*.

¹⁷⁵ Arthur Theodore Culwick, Geraldine Mary Culwick, and Towegale Kiwanga, *Ubena of the Rivers* (G. Allen & Unwin, Limited, 1935); G. M. Culwick and A. T. Culwick, 'The Functions of Bride-Wealth in Ubena of the Rivers', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 7, No. 2 (1 April 1934): 140–59; Geraldine Mary Culwick, 'Pottery among the Wabena of Ulanga, Tanganyika Territory', *Man*, 1935, 165–69; G. M. Culwick and A. T. Culwick, 'What the Wabena Think of Indirect Rule', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 36, No. 143 (1937): 176–93.

¹⁷⁶ Pamela H. Gulliver, 'History of the Songea Ngoni', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 41 (1955): 16–30.

¹⁷⁷ Maria Kecskési, *Die Matengo in Südwest-Tansania* (Verlag des Staatl. Museums für Völkerkunde, 2007).

¹⁷⁸ Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo*, 1972.

and other social problems in the rural areas when the male population is away to work in colonial ventures because women farmers were strong and could take care of the community in the absence of male population.¹⁷⁹ Although these ethnographic works rarely addressed the internal dynamics of the social systems or communities, they provide some insights on how women farmers intermingled and negotiated their labour within those local historical contexts. Various historical, cultural elements and habits which relate to the negotiations of women farmers' labour have been explored via these ethnographic studies.

Data generated through a critical reading and analysis of the documents authored by government officials and institutions, private officials and institutions, and different actors at the local level in different periods, have shed some light on government's policy formulation, propositions, and implementation of the government initiatives. They also provide insights into the changing content of the interventions, particularly a change from one policy of agriculture to the next. In addition, while economic reasons, such as expanding the government budget and expanding markets motivated the governments at various epochs to concentrate women farmers in the rural areas so that they could produce and reproduce for the community, different preserved documents reveal how women farmers created techniques for survival in various historical epochs. The analysis of this documentation, therefore, provides important insight into the practices and outlooks of multiple actors like government officials, local chiefs, and peasants whose social engagements helped to shape the dynamics of agricultural administration, particularly the aspect of women farmers' labour.

1.4.4 Ethical and Legal Requirements Associated with Data Collection

As mentioned in the sections above, data collection was conducted in two phases. The first phase was carried out for five months from October 2014 to March 2015. It involved documentary reviews, and administration of focus group discussions and interviews in the three selected districts of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The second phase was also administered for three months from October to December 2015. Although the second phase comprised some

¹⁷⁹ Philip Hugh Gulliver, 'A Report on the Migration of African Workers to the South from the Southern Highlands Province, with Special Reference to the Nyakyusa of Rungwe District', 1955.

interviews and focus group discussions, the main task was to perform the documentary review in the mentioned areas. These areas included Makete district of Njombe region, Mbinga district of Ruvuma region, and Mbozi¹⁸⁰ district of the then Mbeya region. Other areas visited during this phase included the Tanzania National Archive in Dar es Salaam, the Mbeya Zone National Archive, and the Tanzania library services in the Southern Highlands regions. These areas of research were accessed after obtaining specific permission from respective regional authorities. This section describes the procedures followed to obtain research permission.

Research clearance was sought for the three regions in which the study was conducted. According to regulations governing the conduct of research in Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam is mandated to provide research clearance for its members of academic staff. The researcher is an employee of the Dar es Salaam University College of Education which is a constituent college of the University of Dar es Salaam. Thus, the University of Dar es Salaam granted the research clearance for the researcher. The research clearance was used to request research permits from various research fields where the research was conducted. These included document centres, such as the Tanzania National Archive (TNA) in Dar es Salaam and Mbeya zones; Tanzania Library services in Ruvuma; and St Benedictine Mission Archive in Peramiho. Field research was further conducted in three regions, namely Mbeya, Njombe, and Ruvuma. Regional Administrative Secretaries (RAS) of these regions issued research clearance to submit to three District Administrative Secretaries (DAS) of Makete, Mbinga, and Mbozi. The research permits obtained from the district administrative secretaries were then used to seek research permission from ward leaders and village government leaders in whose wards and villages the interviews and focus group discussions were conducted.

The research clearance was submitted to the respective authorities together with the consent forms which had been prepared for the participants. The researcher, with the help of the village leaders and key informants, was responsible for contacting interviewees requesting their approval to participate in the project. This is the formal system of protocol necessary for securing

¹⁸⁰ When the research for this study started in 2014, Mbozi district belonged to Mbeya region of Tanzania. In 2015 there were some alternations of the regions. Mbozi was allocated to Songwe region. But this study places Mbozi to Mbeya region as the data was collected when the district belonged to Mbeya region.

research clearance and permit in Tanzania. After obtaining acceptance from the interviewees, the researcher negotiated with respondents on the suitable time for them to fit in the research undertakings in their tight agricultural schedules.

1.5 The Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation has six chapters. The current chapter provides the argument of the dissertation; the general introduction to the topic of the dissertation; historical background to the people studied; introduction to the physical and the environmental location of the study area; the review of literature which is used as the theoretical basis for the study; the methods of data collection; and it finally provides the structure of the dissertation. The main argument put forward by the dissertation is that historical negotiations carried out between multiple social, economic and political actors, including the local chiefs, the government officials and bureaucrats at different historical epochs, government and private institutions, and the rural women and men farmers, shaped the historical dynamics of the visibility of women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. More specifically, they impacted on various issues like the question of women farmers' expansion of access to social entitlements and opportunities; constraints to women farmers' development in historical perspective, and changes in gender roles and relations. The importance of this argument is that it brings the historical understanding of the relationship between women farmers, state, and the society in the history of women farmers' labour in the agricultural sector. The chapter also provides the evidence of the sources of materials used for data collection which formed the basis of the dissertation, particularly the documents authored by different government officials at various historical epochs, documents authored by various government and non-governmental institutions, missionaries' documents, accounts provided by early travellers and explorers, ethnographic accounts, local chiefs' letters, and the oral recollections of the women farmers and various rural actors through their participation in the in-depth interviews and focus groups discussion. In short, chapter one provides a synopsis of all processes which led to the completion of the study.

Chapter two examines the historical negotiations among multiple social, economic, and political actors concerning the women farmers' labour in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands. The main actors examined in the negotiations are women farmers, the state, and the society. It provides the

history of women farmers engaged in the indigenous forms of soil fertility management, cropping systems, and food security assurance. On top of the account on how women farmers participated in the organisation of agricultural production, the chapter examines the division of labour in relation to class and gender during the era. Furthermore, it examines how the political systems and women farmers negotiated women farmers' labour through indigenous local norms, values, class, and gender responsibilities. The chapter also explores different ways adopted by women farmers to cope with the circumstances in question and efforts towards their survival. Also, the chapter unfolds mechanisms used by women farmers, the state, and local actors to negotiate women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands. In addition, it shows the relationship between the state (various forms of local rural political administration) and society in the negotiation of women farmers' labour in those respective communities. All these historical facts are examined in depth in the rural areas where agricultural activities have been dominant. In these areas, pre-colonial administrators, elites, farmers' households, and individuals were the main focus of the study. Specifically, the chapter explores roles played by each group of historical actors in the pre-colonial rural surroundings, roughly from the 1850s. The chapter argues that the negotiations carried out among multiple social economic and political actors in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands shaped women farmers to adopt diverse techniques to accommodate the socioeconomic situation which existed. Although the research covers the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, particularly the Makete, Mbinga and Mbozi districts of Njombe, Ruvuma, and Mbeya respectively, the chapter also cites examples from other parts of the region to about 1900.

Chapter three explores how the labour power of women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania was negotiated between women farmers, the colonial state, and society from the 1900s to 1960s. It encompasses the participation of women farmers in the German and British colonial periods. It looks on the intercession of women farmers' labour and the processes of colonial economy accumulation which was made possible by the alliance of colonial state and other powerful classes in the region. It specifically focuses on how women farmers compromised with the colonial state and society concerning their labour in various sectors of colonial economy. They participated from colonial intrusion, resistance, settlements, taxation, and labour migration, to cash cropping. The chapter also examines the mechanisms by which the colonial state and

society reinforced particular roles for women in the region. Through the whole process of the colonial system, women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania have been active members of the colonial economy, making it evolve and expand. Within their daily lives, through their families and their communities, women farmers as historical subjects were active agents of making the colonial economy function properly.

The chapter argues that an alliance between colonial state and other powerful local classes of people in the Southern Highlands region in negotiating for women farmers' labour has vast implications for women farmers. The position of women farmers declined under the operation of colonialism due to various factors, including gender biases, colonialist economic changes, and simply because women were members of the politically and economically dominated territory. But the chapter further argues that although women farmers were always victims of colonialism, they sometimes took initiatives both in resisting colonial policies which they viewed as harmful to them and in using the new situation to their advantage. Sometimes, women farmers used the changing production relations created by the colonial experience to construct alternative roles and techniques for the benefit of themselves and their respective communities.

Chapter four provides historical analysis of the relationship between the state and the society on the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania during the post-independent phase. It covers the period from the 1960s to 1980s to incorporate the Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance policies. Among many social and economic policies which reigned during this period, Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance policies are explored in some detail, precisely, looking at the ways through which they intermingled with women farmers' historical activity in agricultural settings. Different collaborations between government organs and certain social groups towards policies affecting women farmers' labour in agriculture like taxation of agricultural products, distribution of land, seeds, and dissemination of fertilisers to women farmers are discussed because they were directly related to the women farmers' agricultural work. Various work interactions between women farmers with the government organs and specific social groups in society are also investigated. The chapter further examines how women farmers were involved in the planning, organisation, participation in communal and individual farms, the distribution of farm outputs, selling of

harvests, controlling of the income obtained from the sales of the communal and individual farms' products. The central argument of this chapter is that of the Government policies of Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance. Despite the fact that these policies aimed at increasing the country's economic and social welfare together with their implementations by different stakeholders, practitioners and other social groups, they had a rather mixed outcome for women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Furthermore, the participation of women farmers in the implementation of *Ujamaa* policy at various levels and stages had brought significant historical transformations on women farmers. This was demonstrated by the increase in confidence among women farmers in relation to their contribution to the economy in terms of decision making, organisation of the society, and managing the resources available to some advantages of women.

Chapter five examines the historical relationship between women farmers, state, and society and the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania under the influence of the 'Stabilisation' policies of the World Bank and the 'Structural Adjustment' policies of the International Monetary Fund. The chapter starts by exploring the historical situation which existed before the 1980s and which necessitated the adoption of the 'Stabilisation and Structural Adjustment' policies in the region. It further shows how women farmers actively participated in that historical era by confronting the manifestations of the policies and how they accommodated the difficulties and the opportunities of the era. More importantly, the chapter shows how women farmers negotiated their labour power in the context of a coalition of state, powerful local classes, and male actors at the local level. The chapter thus argues that the historical bond that developed between the state, powerful local classes, male farmers, and other institutions during the reign of 'Stabilisation', 'Structural Adjustment' policies, and economic liberalisation in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania resulted in wide-ranging outcomes for women farmers' practices. Many women farmers, married and unmarried, transformed and accommodated various prospects and challenges of the time. While in some cases women farmers were not capable of accessing and capturing the new economic opportunities that came with the era, in other cases, women farmers were proficient enough to confront and engulf the opportunities and to upgrade their status using local and interlocal social, political, and economic openings.

Chapter six presents a concluding remark for the dissertation. It summarises the main themes explored in the entire dissertation. Looking at various historical epochs covered in the study, the chapter provides a general view of the dissertation through various theoretical stands consulted in the study.

2 Women Farmers' Roles in Practising Indigenous Forms of Soil Fertility Management, Crop Systems, and Food Security in the Southern Highlands to about 1900

“...a woman was supposed to make sure that she is productive in order not only to show she is capable of doing work on the farm but also to fit and meet the obligations as a wife and mother...”¹⁸¹

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the historical reconstruction of how women farmers in rural agricultural settings of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania negotiated their labour with society and state. It provides explanations on how women farmers engaged in local forms of soil fertility management, cropping systems, and food security assurance. On top of explaining how women farmers interacted with the agricultural production organization, this chapter examines how women farmers negotiated with political systems concerning various procedures of agriculture and their labour implementation. The chapter also discusses different ways adopted by women in coping with circumstances in question and efforts towards their survival and sustenance. In addition, the chapter unfolds the mechanisms used by women farmers, society and the state in the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Furthermore, it shows the relationship between state (including the various forms of rural political administration)¹⁸² and society in the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the respective communities. All these historical facts are examined profoundly in rural areas where historically agricultural activities are dominant, and in which pre-colonial administrators, elites, farmers' households, and individuals were the focus of the study. Specifically, the study explores roles played by each group of historical actors in the pre-colonial rural contexts, roughly from the

¹⁸¹ Interview with Mama T.M. of Ilela village on 07 December 2014; Mama K.S. in Mkalanga Village on January 10 October 2014; Mama H.K. of Mkumbi village on 18 October 2014.

¹⁸² In pre-colonial Tanzania, societies were moulded in a complex interaction of forces that were ethnic, political and economic. Political power was used in many different kinds and functions in varying ways, for example a council of elders, a descent group or age set could be as much a political institution as a king. (Juhani Koponen, 1988: 192).

1850s to about the 1900s.¹⁸³ Although the dissertation covers the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, particularly the Makete, Mbinga and Mbozi districts of Njombe, Ruvuma and Mbeya regions respectively, it also cites examples from other parts of the region.

Substantial historical studies and corresponding works concerning the economy of communities located in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania demonstrate that the basis of human life in all fields of society's economy and politics was agriculture.¹⁸⁴ Contrary to urban settings, all other activities, including leadership, religion, education, relationships, manufacturing, trade, construction, craft, and mining could not be carried out without being closely and directly related to agriculture.¹⁸⁵ In a nutshell, agricultural activities, which encompass cultivation and livestock-keeping, were a chief source of livelihood in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Factors such as reliable and fertile soils, alongside adequate rainfall were among the driving forces for intensive and extensive agricultural activities in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania.¹⁸⁶

2.2 Geographical and Political Features of the Pre-colonial Southern Highlands

Precolonial Tanzania was a geographical unit, not a nation. Tanzania as a nation has passed through different phases which also affected the names. In the pre-colonial era, land was inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups. During the German rule, Tanzania was named German

¹⁸³ Apart from the early trade intrusions done by the Arabs or the Portuguese, Tanzania was formally colonised by Germany on 23 February 1885 by the decision to create a German colony in East Africa by the then Imperial Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. (John Iliffe 1979: 88).

¹⁸⁴ Bisanda et al., *Adoption of Maize Production Technologies in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania*. Also information obtained from interviews and Focus Group discussions conducted in the Southern Highlands in Makete, Mbinga and Mbozi Districts from October 2014 to March 2015; Davis Mwamfupe, 'Changing Village Land, Labour and Livelihoods: Rungwe and Kyela Districts, Tanzania', 1998; M Kennedy Leavens and C Leigh Anderson, 'Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania', *EPAR Brief* 134 (2011): 1–14.

¹⁸⁵ Jacob Festus Ade Ajayi, *General History of Africa: Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s* (Paris: UNESCO, 1989).

¹⁸⁶ ANK Mussei and JK Shiyumbi, "Review of the Studies of the Farming Systems of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1970–1990", in *Proceedings of an International Conference on Agricultural Research, Training and Technology Transfer in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: Past Achievements and Future Prospects*, 1992, 5–9; C Gregory Knight, *Ecology and Change: Rural Modernization in an African Community* (Elsevier, 2013); John Sender and Sheila Smith, *Poverty, Class, and Gender in Rural Africa a Tanzanian Case Study* (Routledge, 2011); Yassin Mbululo, Fatuma Nyihirani, and others, 'Climate Characteristics over Southern Highlands Tanzania', *Atmospheric and Climate Sciences* 2, No. 04 (2012): 454.

East Africa (*Deutsch-Ostafrika*), which included Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi and some areas in the Northern part of Mozambique, but not Zanzibar (i.e. Unguja and Pemba islands). After World War One, the Germans lost the colony. British forces had occupied the territory in 1917, and the League of Nations (later the United Nations) handed over the territory to British rule in the form of an international mandate. As a result, the name was changed from German East Africa to Tanganyika Territory (excluding Rwanda and Burundi, which were Belgian mandate territories). In 1961, Tanzania became independent. Three years later, in 1964, Tanganyika united with Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania.¹⁸⁷ Given the historical context above, pre-colonial Tanzania was not a nation as it is today. Owing to the situation pointed out above, detailed information concerning the agricultural activities in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania concentrates on the diverse societies in the region, focusing on the functioning and moulding of their institutions, traditions, customs, political, and economic forces.

Early missionaries, travellers, traders, and explorers who passed through or visited the area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provide historical details on the study area.¹⁸⁸ Examples of these forerunners include David Livingstone, James Elton, Henry Cotterill, Joseph Thomson,¹⁸⁹ David Kerr-Crosse, and Friedrich Fuelleborn.¹⁹⁰ Their works give rough and tough explanations in various instances concerning people, geology, geography, zoology, history, and other features to about 1900. Using the information supplied by the explorers, travellers, and missionaries

¹⁸⁷John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, African Studies Series 25 (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Juhani Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures', 1988: 179.

¹⁸⁸C. Gillman, 'South-West Tanganyika Territory', *The Geographical Journal* 69, No. 2 (1 February 1927): 97–126.

¹⁸⁹Robert I. Rotberg, *Joseph Thomson and the Exploration of Africa* (Chatto & Windus, 1971); H. R. Tate, 'Two African Explorers', *Journal of the Royal African Society* 37, No. 149 (1 October 1938): 449–63; Joseph Thomson, 'Journey of the Society's East African Expedition', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, 2, No. 12 (1 December 1880): 721–42.

¹⁹⁰Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyassa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika'; David Kerr Cross, 'Notes on the Country Lying between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, New Monthly Series, 13, No. 2 (1 February 1891): 86–99; Friedrich Fülleborn, *Das Deutsche Njassa-und Ruwuma-Gebiet* (Reimer, 1906).

mentioned above, Gillman Clement¹⁹¹ describes the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania as belonging to the major geographical unit of Africa.¹⁹² Therefore, historically speaking, therefore, the area is of great importance as far as agricultural activities are concerned, as Ryuga Kurosaki puts it:

As the area is located at the edge of the Great Rift Valley and contains several mountainous areas, including the Kipengere (Livingstone) range, plentiful rainfall has made the area a major breadbasket for domestic consumption.¹⁹³

The Southern Highlands of Tanzania comprises the following areas: the northern part, which consists of the plateau block of Uhehe, Ubena and Ukinga; the northwestern part which comprises Uwawanda, Uwawungu, and Unyamwanga; the southwestern part which holds the southwards ever-widening strip of coastal hinterland to include the Usangu plain, and the northern-south part which comprises the Mukondokwe Valley and the Ruaha Gorge. The region has five streams: Kihanzi, Mpanga, Mnyera, Ruhuji, and Pitu.¹⁹⁴

In the West, the region is characterised by a mountain system, the Livingstone Mountains with altitudes over 2900 metres. It dips into Lake Nyasa in the South, while to its North the lines of Mount Rungwe begin. The region also includes the Upangwa, Ukisi, Usangu plains, and the Konde land.¹⁹⁵ Looking at the South West of the region, scholars describe a wide and low depression, which runs to the West between much higher ground and rises to a height of 400 to 500 metres above lake level. The area passes on to the southern narrow part of the highland plateau about midway between the north end of the Lake Nyasa and the Ruvuma River in the South. The Matengo fertile block also features in this part. The South-West includes the low plateau of Ungoni with its covered residual granite ridges from which springs the source stream

¹⁹¹Clement Gillman was a man of Anglo-Germany descent, a geographer and an engineer working in railway construction for German East Africa and later on for British Tanganyika; Brian S Hoyle, 'Clement Gillman, 1882–1946: Biographical Notes on a Pioneer East African Geographer', *East African Geographical Review* 1965, No. 3 (1965): 1–16.

¹⁹²Gillman, 'South-West Tanganyika Territory'.

¹⁹³Ryugo Kurosaki, 'Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania', 2007: 20.

¹⁹⁴Gillman, 'South-West Tanganyika Territory'.

¹⁹⁵Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyasa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika'.

of the Ruvuma River. It also comprises the Warao area and the wild and intensive dissected escarpment by which the Ubena block slopes southward. The central part of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania includes the Matumbi, Mapore, Mpepo, and Parangu areas. In short, the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania comprised the drainage areas of the Kilombelo and upper Ruvuma, the mountainous East coast of Lake Nyasa, the volcanic region to the North of Lake Nyasa, and the westwards adjoining highlands of the Nyasa-Tanganyika divide. That is roughly the land between S. lat. 8° and 11° and E. long 33° and 37°. ¹⁹⁶ This long list of geographical features is purposefully presented to show how the area was valid and reliable for agricultural activities. Consequently, it attracted the negotiations of women farmers' labour, which was connected to agricultural activities in the region under study.

David Kerr-Cross, a medical missionary of the Free Church of Scotland who worked at the short-lived Mweniwanda Mission (sometimes called Ncherenje) in the present-day Chitipa and other mission stations in the Lake Nyasa region, ¹⁹⁷ documented the characteristics of the Nkonde land, which lies on the western coast of the Southern Highlands as a densely populated area, fertile and beautiful. He further explains that the area has carpets of luxuriant pasture with clean villages. Also, the land is acknowledged to be one of the richest in the region. In the coastal area, the land is flat and somewhat marshy, while in the mountains it consists of high hills, rich valleys and undulating pasture. Regarding food, he reports that the area has abundant food such as bananas, sweet potatoes, cassava, yams, corn, beans, peas, millet, wild fruits, wild grapes, tobacco, milk, fowls and beef. ¹⁹⁸ Although the region possesses different environmental and climatic features, general characteristics and natural features of Southern Highlands of Tanzania make the region special for agricultural development.

It is worth noting that women had a significant contribution to all the facts noted above about agriculture in its wide and complex structures in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of

¹⁹⁶Gillman, 'South-West Tanganyika Territory', p. 98.

¹⁹⁷ Owen J. M. Kalinga, 'The Establishment and Expansion of the Lambya Kingdom to about 1600–1750', *African Studies Review* 21, No. 2 (1 September 1978): 55–66p. 55.

¹⁹⁸Cross, 'Notes on the Country Lying between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika', pp. 87–88.

Tanzania.¹⁹⁹ Women farmers administered and practised all processes, structures, and institutions of agriculture. The following sections concentrate on how women grew up historically to be farmers in their respective communities and how they fitted in the agricultural settings with special reference to Makete, Mbinga and Mbozi districts.

2.3 Women and Agriculture in the Pre-Colonial Southern Highlands

Women in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania played a vital role in agricultural activities and other accountabilities similar to women in other African societies. A woman played two important roles in social economic production in the community. First, a woman played a great role in the social reproduction for family development, lineage and population in general (biological responsibility). Secondly, a woman participated in political and economic development whereby she took part in agricultural and administrative responsibilities, including leadership in various positions in the society. A woman's status was socially constructed right from her birth. When a woman gave birth to a baby girl, she was praised for bringing potential wealth and labour force to the family and society. This is because when the baby grew up, she helped her mother and the household in farming activities and later when she got married, her household obtained wealth through the bride price.²⁰⁰

A baby girl initially and practically grew up under the care of her mother and under the guidance of her aunts or grandmothers, and later by the society. In her upbringing, she was educated on how to fit in a defined social setting by adapting to roles and responsibilities expected of a woman. She learned various roles, which included the broad unpaid household duties such as taking care of children, cooking, house cleanliness, and fetching water. She also participated in agricultural activities. She learned to cultivate and produce enough consumable crops to feed her family, and to exchange surplus crops for other needs of the family. Bryant Mumford explains about the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzanian girls among the Bena, Sangu and Hehe:

A daughter shares the household tasks and therefore lessens the mothers' domestic burdens: she works in the plantations and therefore increases the family's potential

¹⁹⁹Sender and Smith, *Poverty, Class, and Gender in Rural Africa a Tanzanian Case Study*; Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, 'The State of Women in Tanzania', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 6, No. 2 (1972): 371–77; Ester, *Women's Role in Economic Development*.

²⁰⁰ Mbilinyi, 'The State of Women in Tanzania.'

wealth. Furthermore, a time will come when someone will wish to marry the daughter: this will mean an alliance with another family power and further increase in the wealth of the family through the receipt of the bride price.²⁰¹

The quotation above provides a historical representation of how a woman participated and contributed to the development of her community. She was, from the initial stage of her development, a potential pillar of the family on both, the family where she was born and later the family to which she was married. The upbringing of a woman farmer went through various stages, from a baby, a small child, an initiated girl, a married women, to a mother or other ranks she held in the community. She went through different roles of early education, initiation processes, and trial periods. Before marriage, her abilities were tested in advance for marriage by the husband's family, and later she was introduced to the work practices in the new family.

The following part provides historical information regarding how a girl grew up from childhood to adulthood in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The various activities that she performed to become a woman farmer who engaged actively in agricultural activities are revealed. The historical information confirms different farming tasks and roles performed by women farmers in the pre-colonial era. Moreover, different tasks and roles were assigned to women based on age and status. There were different categories of women who participated differently in agriculture to fulfil obligations placed upon them in their respective societies.²⁰² These included unmarried girls, junior wives, active adult women, retired women, divorced women, and widows. Hence, women had different roles, opportunities and responsibilities. This part will not indulge itself to explore the roles played in each specific category. It will rather provide general historical information concerning a woman farmer in a particular research area. However, married women will be frequently referred to because the historical information also mentions them.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Mumford, 'The Hehe-Bena-Sangu People of East Africa'.

²⁰² Cheryl R Doss, 'Twenty-Five Years of Research on Women Farmers in Africa: Lessons and Implications for Agricultural Research institutions—With an Annotated Bibliography', 1999: 5.

²⁰³ Mbilinyi, 'The State of Women in Tanzania'; Mumford, 'The Hehe-Bena-Sangu People of East Africa'; Elizabeth Schmidt, 'Farmers, Hunters, and Gold-Washers: A Reevaluation of Women's Roles in Pre-colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe', *African Economic History*, No. 17 (1 January 1988): 45–80.

Written historical information together with oral historical collections gathered in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania indicates that from the beginning of her life, a baby girl and a baby boy grew up differently. A baby girl's family carried out various efforts to make her a potentially healthy and responsible woman. Locally, when she first entered the world, her family was supposed to introduce her to their God based on their appropriate religious beliefs. Different scholars have explained the notion of God in the Southern Highlands of pre-colonial Tanzania in detail.²⁰⁴ In the introduction processes, a family had to offer some agreed articles as a tribute to God so that the daughter is welcome to the community and gets accepted by it. The tribute was also meant to ask for God's blessings so that a girl becomes a productive member in her life. Furthermore, she was given specific local medicines for her growth and development. These medicines were initially poured into the water in which she was bathed; the medicine was mixed in the drinking water for the baby to drink. The medicines were of diverse kinds geared towards a range of purposes like strong womanhood, prevention of diseases, casting away bad spirits and keeping her happy.²⁰⁵ Before the age of five, the girl remained in the close care of her mother. She slept and followed her mother everywhere. Her mother and/or other close relatives carried her, and sometimes she learned to help with some duties carried out by her mother and sisters. She learnt obedience and respect and to be cheerful and appreciative. She also learned how her mother respects her husband, and how her father protected the family by providing security interactions. From the initial stage of her life, a girl became aware of the social interaction between various members of her household. She learnt about her fathers' power concerning the household's protection as well as other security engagements. Her mother played an active economic role such as fulfilling the outlined responsibilities placed upon her as a wife, a mother, a grandmother, a sister, and aunt.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴Mumford, "The Hehe-Bena-Sangu Peoples of East Africa", p. 221; Knight, *Ecology and Change: Rural Modernization in an African Community*, 2013: 38; Egino Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo* (East African Literature Bureau, 1972).

²⁰⁵ Interview with Mama T.M. in the Ilela village on 07 December 2014; Mama K.S. of Mkalanga Village on January 10 October 2014; Mama H.K. of Mkumbi village on 18 October 2014.

²⁰⁶Doss, 'Twenty-Five Years of Research on Women Farmers in Africa: Lessons and Implications for Agricultural Research institutions—With an Annotated Bibliography'; Schmidt, 'Farmers, Hunters, and Gold-Washers: A Reevaluation of Women's Roles in Pre-colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe'; Ester, *Women's Role in Economic Development*.

From the age of five, a girl was to leave her mother's room to her sisters' where she started to interact, learn girl's duties and responsibilities. At this point, she started to assist in different activities, such as farm activities, grinding grains, drawing water, and cooking. In addition, the girl started a more serious kind of training.²⁰⁷ As far as farm activities were concerned, she participated in the field activities either with her mother or with her sisters at her tender age. When she was able to till the land by herself, a piece of land was allocated to her in the large land owned by her father's family. The harvest from her private farm partly belonged to the family and partly to her.²⁰⁸

When a woman was married, she was able to cater for food and other necessary services to the new family. The workload to a woman married to a nuclear family was slightly less than a woman married to a husband living in an extended family. However, it was usual and in most cases true for a woman to enter into a new marriage within an extended family.²⁰⁹ As explained previously, a woman was trained from her childhood to serve adult men and older women in the homestead where she entered as a young bride.²¹⁰

There were differences in obligations and responsibilities between women farmers married to monogamous and those married to polygamous marriages. Women farmers married to polygamous marriages encountered large work load compared to those in monogamous marriages. The findings indicate that the former experienced less support from their husbands in agricultural work and other household chores. While co-wives were responsible to cultivate for the livelihood of their children and other duties, the husband rotated between the co-wives' households providing only a part of the labour power to them. The agricultural produce by each wife was in some ways regulated and controlled by the husband. The husband ensured the availability of farms to cater for all his wives. Each woman was responsible for the development

²⁰⁷Mumford, 'The Hehe-Bena-Sangu People of East Africa'.

²⁰⁸Leavens and Anderson, 'Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania'; Mbilinyi, 'The State of Women in Tanzania'.

²⁰⁹Schmidt, 'Farmers, Hunters, and Gold-Washers: A Reevaluation of Women's Roles in Pre-colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe'; Ester, *Women's Role in Economic Development*; Mbilinyi, 'Runaway Wives in Colonial Tanganyika: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage in Rungwe District, 1919–1961'.

²¹⁰John Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent*, 2nd ed., New ed., African Studies 108 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 119.

of the children and the community as a whole. A woman depended more on her unmarried children than on her husband for labour power. In some cases, the husband cultivated his own farm, but in other cases, he would participate in other economic activities rather than agriculture.²¹¹

A woman farmer in a monogamous marriage had a close relationship with the husband in social and economic activities. This reduced work stress compared to a woman in a polygamous marriage.²¹² However, in both monogamous and polygamous marriages, a woman was supposed to make sure that she is productive in order not only to show that she is capable of doing work in farm but also to ensure all required obligations are fulfilled. Women farmers' ability to participate and contribute to the agricultural economy in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania was a learned skill and experience. They attained agricultural skills and experience via various practical activities. Women farmers participated in various agricultural activities, such as cultivating, sowing, weeding, harvesting, transporting the harvest, and storing the harvest for future use.²¹³

2.4 Local Farming Methods and Techniques

Although cultivation methods in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania, like other parts of Africa, used local technology and knowledge, they experienced change over time. Historical information indicates that initial cultivation activities to a large extent relied on hand tools and human labour. The basic tool for tilling the land was the hand hoe, which required a considerable input of human energy.²¹⁴ Later, individuals developed techniques that facilitated agricultural work. These included the formation of group works and use of animals in the

²¹¹ Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania: History and Structures'; Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

²¹² Amparo Palacios-Lopez, Luc Christiaensen, and Talip Kilic, 'How Much of the Labor in African Agriculture Is Provided by Women?', *Food Policy* 67 (2017): 52–63.

²¹³ Judy C Bryson, 'Women and Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Development (an Exploratory Study)', *The Journal of Development Studies* 17, No. 3 (1981): 29–46; Benjamin Asare, 'Women in Commercial Agriculture: The Cocoa Economy of Southern Ghana', *Women and Sustainable Development in Africa*, 1995: 101–12.

²¹⁴ Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures', p. 220.

cultivation.²¹⁵ Individual women and men applied different local ways of cultivation and taking care of the land and agricultural routines. Different crops were cultivated, including various local and new crops introduced in the area by explorers, missionaries, travellers and traders. Examples of crops cultivated include bananas, sweet potatoes, sorghum, beans, cassava, finger millet, maize, wheat, rice, Livingstone potatoes, yams, taro, castor-oil plants, sesame, garden peas, bambara groundnuts, and pumpkins.²¹⁶ On top of that, the agricultural procedures and development depended on the cultural and local ways of conducting it. For example, *Nkomanjila* was one of the agricultural systems in the Unyiha area. Individual women and men practiced *Nkomanjila*, *Nkule* and *Ntemele* or *Itemwa* in Mbozi.²¹⁷ In the Ukinga area, they developed the same kind of agricultural systems but with different names, such as *Masuve* and *Esiamba* cultivation,²¹⁸ while in the Matengo highlands *Ngolo* and *Mitombela* systems were developed.²¹⁹ These systems will be explained in the following section. Both men and women participated in the cultivation in this region. However, this study focuses mainly on women participation, particularly on how their participation exceeded that of men.

2.4.1 The Nkomanjila, Miwanda, Masanso, Esiamba, and Masuve Farming Systems

Pre-colonial farmers of Southern Highlands of Tanzania were organic farmers. They did not use chemical fertilizers or pesticides; instead, they used different local methods to make the land fertile. One of those methods was the fallow system. This method involves leaving a field for a

²¹⁵AZ Mattee, *Change and Stability in the Indigenous Farming System of the Matengo*, 2007; OT Edje, JMR Temoka, and KL Haule, 'Traditional Forms of Soil Fertility Maintenance', *Soil Fertility Research for Bean Cropping Systems in Africa*, 1988, 7–29; Mari Koizumi, 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective', 2007.

²¹⁶C. Gregory Knight, *Ecology and Change: Rural Modernization in an African Community* (New York: Academic Press, 1974): 85–96; Mwamfupe, 'Changing Village Land, Labour and Livelihoods: Rungwe and Kyela Districts, Tanzania'.

²¹⁷Knight, *Ecology and Change*, pp. 97–113; Juichi Itani, 'Effects of Socio-Economic Changes on Cultivation Systems under Customary Land Tenure in MBozi District, Southerzania', 2007.

²¹⁸Koizumi, 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective'; Moyo, 'Women's Access to Land in Tanzania: The Case of the Makete District'.

²¹⁹Kurosaki, 'Multiple Uses of Small-scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania'; A.H. Pike, 'Soil Conservation amongst the Matengo Tribe', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 6 (1938): 79–81; Juichi Itani, 'Evaluation of an Indigenous Farming Systems in the Matengo Highlands, Tanzania, and Its Sustainability', 1998.

considerable period of time to maintain and gain natural fertility after a reasonable time of its use.²²⁰ Women and men farmers used the above-mentioned cultivation systems in various areas in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania like Unyiha, Ukinga and Umatengo. Despite the fact that farming systems had different names and slightly different procedures, they all fall under the fallow system. In this specific technique, men carried out initial activities which mainly involved clearing the land using local tools such as cutlasses, axes, and hoes. Useful trees were left standing and other trees and shrubs were pruned down to stump for quick regeneration.²²¹ Men cleared the land in the mid dry season to facilitate the natural drying by the sun.²²² Either men or women, with the help of their unmarried children collected, the cut wood, stacked it around together, and burned it just before the rain season. If a large amount of unburned material remained, it was gathered and re-burned. There was usually a delay of a month or more between burning, hoeing and planting.²²³

²²⁰ Charles Wortmann (ed.), Workshop on Soil Fertility Research for Bean Cropping Systems in Africa, Proceedings SADCC, Addis Ababa, 1988, p. 7.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 7.

²²² Itani, 'Effects of Socio-economic Changes on Cultivation Systems under Customary Land Tenure in Mbozi District, Southern Tanzania', : 63.

²²³ Koizumi, 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Socio historical Perspective'; Knight, *Ecology and Change*, p. 99; Itani, 'Effects of Socio-economic Changes on Cultivation Systems under Customary Land Tenure in Mbozi District, Southern Tanzania.'



Burning the cut trees (Source: Agricultural Regions Project)

Women farmers were the ones who mainly carried out the task of hoeing the field, but in some cases, men also helped. There were different forms of hoeing and planting seeds in pre-colonial time. Women and men farmers in Unyiha, using the *Nkomanjila* style, spread ashes more evenly through the field, and the weed growth was hoed into the soil. Seeds were then broadcasted, and the field hoed lightly.²²⁴ Using the *Masuve* cultivation, women and men farmers in Ukinga hoed the surface of the field after the rain and broadcasted seeds. Farmers applied the *Masuve farming system* mainly along the mountain slopes and they performed the work by making mounds. This activity is historically known as *usagala*.²²⁵ Crops were then planted in those mounds. By so doing, the second step had officially come to an end.

²²⁴Knight, *Ecology and Change*, p. 99.

²²⁵ Koizumi, 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective', 2007, p. 6.



A Sample of Mounds (Source: Australian Centre for International Agriculture)

The next step was weeding. This took place after weeds had grown. Women farmers carried out the major part of weeding. It was carried out once or more depending upon the growth of the weeds. Women farmers also carried out the harvesting, transporting and storage activities.²²⁶

While there were some relative changes and dynamics overtime in the methods and techniques of cultivation, crops planted in Unyiha using *Nkomanjila* technique included finger millet, sorghum, beans, pumpkins, and gourds.²²⁷ In Ukinga, crops like maize, wheat, sorghum and beans were grown using the *Masuve* technique. The fallow technique was usually practised in grain crop cultivation. Intercropping was also a common system practised in various parts of the Southern Highlands of pre-colonial Tanzania.²²⁸ Locally, intercropping systems served a number of beneficial functions in comparison with mono-cropping. A crop mixture provided a better

²²⁶ Schmidt, 'Farmers, Hunters, and Gold-Washers: A Revaluation of Women's Roles in Pre-colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe'; Knight, *Ecology and Change*; Pike, 'Soil Conservation amongst the Matengo Tribe'.

²²⁷ Knight, *Ecology and Change*.

²²⁸ Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures'.

coverage of the soil, minimised weed growth, and provided protection against soil erosion.²²⁹ In Ukinga, for example, there was evidence of a mixture of maize, peas and pumpkins.²³⁰

In fallow cultivation systems, as described above, women of the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania participated in various stages of farming, namely hoeing, broadcasting seeds, weeding, harvesting, transporting and storage of the harvest. Of central historical importance is not only the number of stages in which women farmers took part, but also how they participated in the local forms of maintaining soil fertility and food security management. By being part of the whole process of the fallow system, and by agreeing to fully participate in various stages of hard work, like tilling the virgin land for the sake of letting the former land regain fertility, women were keen on getting the best they could from the agricultural patterns acknowledged in their respective societies. They believed that fallowing enabled the farm to produce more when cultivated in the future. This in return would ensure food security and availability of surplus crops. Furthermore, the historical information indicates the immense participation of women in various stages of this system compared to men. Women, and not men, participated in almost all stages in the fallow system.

2.4.2 Ngolo Local Farming System

Ngolo is a local system of tilling the land practised in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, specifically in the Umatengo area. The Umatengo area is located on the Matengo highlands which are the southern extension of the Livingstone's mountains from which they are cut off by the deep valley of the Ruhuhu River.²³¹ Historically, the Matengo people developed the *Ngolo* system in order to cultivate on the slopes of hillsides of the highlands without causing soil erosion. The main purpose of the system was to break a large volume of water running through the hills during the rainy season into sufficient small parts to reduce the rate of speed and hence to control soil erosion. Women farmers carried out this activity by constructing Matengo pits

²²⁹Ibid.

²³⁰Koizumi, 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective', 2007.

²³¹Pike, 'Soil Conservation amongst the Matengo Tribe', p. 79.

called *Ngolo*, which facilitated the long standing of the rainwater into those pits for a sufficient period until finally the water gradually sunk into the ground. In addition, plants on the ridges used the preserved water in the pits.²³² Although there are some changes over time in the application of the *Ngolo* system, this pre-colonial farming technique employed local tools and associations. The first stage was the clearing of the field. This was undertaken in the end of February and in beginning of March whereby men cut the grass as close to the ground as possible using billhooks, the action which is commonly known as *kukyesa* in Matengo language. After cutting the grass, it was left to dry for some time and later gathered and arranged into rows forming grid all over the land intended for cultivation, one set of rows across the slope, running roughly along the contour and another set running up and down the slope perpendicular to each other. This process of arranging the grass in the grid shape is locally known as *kubonga*.²³³

Women farmers exclusively carried out the second step, which is called *kujali*, whereby the grass was covered by the topsoil that was extracted from the square area bound by grass grids. After women had covered the grass completely, seeds (e.g. beans, wheat, and peas) were broadcasted on top of the soil. The seeds were then covered by sub soils. This process is known as *kukuli*. In this action, using a hand hoe, women started hoeing the earth out and put the soil on top of the arranged grass in a bare ground in the middle of the square. The woman worked around the square following the practice of putting the hoed ground behind her and using her hoe as a shovel. Finally, this task ended by making round pits or holes of about three feet in diameter. Such pits or holes are referred to as *ingolu*. The final result was a series of pits or *ingolu*, each one separated from the next by the bed on which crops were planted. Nothing was planted inside the pits that generally reached the subsoil.²³⁴

The following step was weeding. In this step, a woman weeded alone or with the help of her unmarried children. Weeds were thrown into the pits to form compost with accumulating silts. A woman mostly did the harvest, transport and storage. At the end of the season, crop residues

²³²Ibid.

²³³ Charles Wortman (ed.) 1988.

²³⁴Pike, 'Soil Conservation amongst the Matengo Tribe'.

were put inside the pits. The old soil beds were split and new beds were formed over the old pits using the composted grass. New pits occupied the place where the old beds intersected, and maize was planted in November/December.²³⁵



Ngolo Pits (Source: Centre for Training & Integrated Research for ASALs Development)

Ngolo farming system was important in the traditional soil fertility maintenance because it had two significances. Firstly, it allowed crop rotation. Through this type of farming, beans, wheat, and peas were planted in March and harvested in June and July. The field stayed fallow for four or five months until November or December when maize was planted. This simple rotation was followed until the soil fertility declined and the land was fallowed on natural grass. The fallow period ranged from eight to ten years.²³⁶ The second significance was to control soil erosion as

²³⁵Kurosaki, 'Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania', 2007.

²³⁶Stenhouse, Agriculture in Matengo Highlands. The East African Agricultural Journal, July, 1944: 22–24.

an overflow from one *ngolo* was trapped by the next. The field that had been cultivated by using *ingolu* system could withstand the heaviest downpour without allowing soil erosion. Water could stand for considerable time in the pits depending on the nature of the soil, but it eventually soaked away.

The participation of the women farmers in agricultural work in the Umatengo area especially in Ngolo local farming system shows clearly that women farmers had a larger workload compared to men. Various studies provide evidence that women had an immense contribution in Ngolo farming system. Z.A. Mattee argues that, in farm work, women's labour input was substantial in the Ngolo system, which included cultivation, planting, weeding, harvesting and threshing (about 125 hours were required per ha) while men contributed in land preparation, pruning, mulching, and marketing (about 40 hrs. per ha).²³⁷ Mattee's argument, together with other historical literature and oral recollections concerning the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania, shows clearly how historically the negotiations concerning the women farmers' labour were based in patriarchal stands. Women farmers' participation in the agricultural system through Ngolo local farming system and other systems that existed during the time, contributed more time to the system compared to men. The negotiations between women and men farmers concerning the division of labour distributed to the *ngolo* system favoured men compared to women as far as time and labour power were concerned.

2.4.3 Mandi, Ivinondo or Mitombela (Ridging of field) Farming Systems

Various scholars document the evolution and development of ridging fields as one among the kinds of cultivation systems in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania. According to them, the technique was one of the most popular methods of tillage.²³⁸ Juhani Koponen provides the names of the pre-colonial societies of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania that practised this kind of farming method. The list includes the Nyasa, the Nyakyusa, the Kinga, the Ngoni, the Mbunga, and the Pangwa. They used this method because ridges facilitated weeding and enabled

²³⁷Mattee, *Change and Stability in the Indigenous Farming System of the Matengo*, pp. 3–4.

²³⁸C. Gregory Knight, *Ecology and Change: Rural Modernization in an African Community* (Academic Press, New York, 1974); Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures'.

the soil to ventilate. The ridges also acted as drains under waterlogged conditions and as water retainers under dry conditions. It was also a handy method of green manuring – returning the organic matter from weeds and legumes into the soil. During the hoeing season, people stand in long rows swinging enormous long handled hoes with both hands and throw up ridges about two metres wide that are then sown.²³⁹

Although there are historical changes and dynamics in the ridge farming system, the system in Unyiha region was generally referred to as *mandi* or *ivinondo*. This system mainly involved cultivation of legumes and root crops. The local ridges known as *ivinondo* were small while *mandi* were large. These were constructed from the fallow grassland or old fields by hoeing soil along one elongated strip on top of the vegetation of an adjacent unhoed strip.²⁴⁰ This system was used to plant varieties of crops such as cassava, potatoes, maize, Livingstone potatoes, peas, and beans. Explaining the role of women in this local method in Umatengo area (*Mitombela*), Ryugo Kurosaki holds that:

The Matengo also practise conversional ridge cultivation during rainy season. Every year men slash grass before rains begin, and after grass dries, they burn it, women then make ridges and sow maize seed and beans immediately after rains start. Commonly, maize, beans and sometimes cassava were mixed in those fields. Weeding is then carried once. Beans were harvested in March while maize in June or July.²⁴¹

From the quotation above, it is evident that there was division of labour. The part of work carried out by women and men farmers in *Mitombela* ridge is evidently presented. Men did the slashing and burning while women did the tilling, sowing, and weeding. Further information shows that women also did the harvesting, threshing, transporting as well as the storage part.²⁴²

²³⁹Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures', p. 224.

²⁴⁰Knight, *Ecology and Change*, p. 112.

²⁴¹Kurosaki, 'Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania', 2007: 24.

²⁴²Schmidt, 'Farmers, Hunters, and Gold-Washers: A Revaluation of Women's Roles in Pre-colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe'.



Ridges (Source R.B. Madulu and B.N. Chalamila 2008)

2.3.4 *Kijungu, Kinyungu and Vilimbika (Valley bottom) Farming System*

Local farming systems in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania also incorporated the use of valley bottomland known as *kijungu* in Umatengo.²⁴³ The society invented and developed the farming system over time. It also experienced some changes in terms of techniques and adoption. Nevertheless, there are prominent features that offer the gist of the system as a whole. In explaining this system, Ryugo argues that the Matengo classify the riverine lands into two types of moisture conditions, namely a relatively dry flat land in the riverside called *libindi* and places where the river band retains sufficient water for crop cultivation even in dry seasons called *kijungu*. People began to cultivate *kijungu* in dry seasons after completing the harvests of *Ngolo* and *Mitombela*. As the water levels decreased in the mid of the dry season men cut grass, dry and burn it. Women turned over the soil to dry, and broke up soil clumps in preparation for seed broadcasting. Normally, maize and beans were mixed and the weeding was done once or twice before harvesting.²⁴⁴ Other crops cultivated in *kijungu* were some leafy vegetables, pumpkins, taro, and tomatoes.

²⁴³Kurosaki, 'Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania', 2007.

²⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 27.

In the Unyiha area, the valley bottom land system was used under the name of *Vilimbika*, where the farming was done by mounding soil in swamps and stream bottom alluvium. Year-around cultivation of vegetable and maize was possible in this area especially in the perennial streams.²⁴⁵



Valley bottom farming (Source: Kurosaki, 2001)

Valley bottom lands are also historically found in the Ukinga area. Here, they are called *Kinyungu* in Kinga language. This local farming system in Ukinga was mainly performed in the riverbanks, which were often cultivated during the dry season to provide the food bridge between the main seasons. They were used to cultivate vegetables, maize and beans.²⁴⁶ The methods of preparation of the field, tilling, sowing and harvesting in the valley bottom land systems were almost the same in the Southern Highlands of pre-colonial Tanzania, with women performing most of the tasks.²⁴⁷

2.3.4.1 Local Storage Systems

Historically, women farmers played an important role in the storage of the harvest in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. After finishing cultivation and weeding the farms, women farmers started to prepare the storage that would accommodate the harvested crops. In most

²⁴⁵Knight, *Ecology and Change*, p. 114.

²⁴⁶Koizumi, 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective', p. 6.

²⁴⁷Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures'.

cases, women farmers themselves, or with the help of men, constructed food crop storage facilities outside the main house. They used tree/wood poles and mud to construct the storage facilities. At the top, the storage facilities were covered either by mud or thatched woods. In some areas, women farmers stored the harvested agricultural crops inside their houses.²⁴⁸ They selected one room to function as storage of crops. Quoted by Koponen on how good the Safwa were at food storage, Kootz-Kretschmer explains:

Women participated in the short-term storage, this was more a storage of one season or so and the political leaders did the long-term storage. This was mainly because production system was based on the yearly cycle of cultivation, storage was needed to ensure the availability of food as well as seed grain from harvest to the next.²⁴⁹

Generally, the storage of harvest was very important for the households and community as a whole. Since individual women and men cultivated food crops once a year, it was necessary to store enough food to cover the period before the next harvest. Women and men farmers stored the food not only for use during famine or drought but also for consumption during wars and other emergency historical events.

2.4 The Relation between Women, State and Society in the Negotiations of Women Farmers' Labour in the Pre-Colonial Southern Highlands

The historical information identifies a variety of classes in pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania.²⁵⁰ The first class is made up of political or state leaders, a class which scholars like Juhani Koponen and others describe as being difficult to define, as there was no clear demarcation between it and other institutions in the pre-colonial time. During the pre-colonial era, political power was vested in various institutions like clan leaders, councils of elders, age or grade systems, chiefs, spiritual leaders, and rainmakers.²⁵¹ These leaders were responsible for

²⁴⁸Schmidt, 'Farmers, Hunters, and Gold-Washers: A Revaluation of Women's Roles in Pre-colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe'.

²⁴⁹Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures', p. 278.

²⁵⁰Cross, 'Notes on the Country Lying between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika'; Allen Isaacman, 'Peasants, Social Protest and Africanists', *Journal of Social History* 22, No. 4 (1 July 1989): 745–65; Sam Maghimbi, 'Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production in Tanzania: Reference to Modes of Production in the Old Ugweno State of North-Eastern Tanzania', *Utafiti NS* 1 (1994): 20–35.

²⁵¹Marc J. Swartz, 'Continuities in the Bena Political System', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 20, No. 3 (1 October 1964): 241–60; Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures'; Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes, *African Political Systems* (Oxford University Press, 1950).

administration and control of the pre-colonial societies. Furthermore, there existed a class of artisans, craftsmen and iron makers whose functions and status rested on the making of various hand products for the society's use.²⁵² These classes were powerful in the society because they owned more notable authority and properties compared to farmers. The different classes had the power to negotiate women farmers' labour for their advantages in terms of tributes paid in kind, labour, as well as the exchange of other products depending on the agreed procedures.²⁵³ The following sections present the historical evidence on the ways women farmers, society, the state, and other powerful local classes in pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania negotiated women farmers' labour. Precisely, the sections show the alliance or relationship between the different classes and the state on the one hand, and women farmers on the other hand in the negotiations of women farmers' labour and other resources.

The iron works in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania before colonial rule were connected with the leadership and political authority. Oral traditions and other historical information show that the development of many political units and kingdoms in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania was a result of iron technology.²⁵⁴ The political history of the Fipa Kingdom, North of Lake Nyasa, for example, is said to have been connected to the iron working. While the iron technology emerged before the organization of political units in Ufipa, it is reported that the founding chiefs were iron workers. Oral accounts for the *Fipa* maintain that the first immigrants (about 1700) who founded the *Millanzi* kingdom were the ones who brought iron working in the area.²⁵⁵ These immigrants settled in the village communities, produced their own agricultural tools, including *adzes* (some sort of axe) and other implements for building. They also manufactured weapons such as arrows and spears.²⁵⁶ This historical information evidences the

²⁵²Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures'.

²⁵³Maghimbi, 'Pre-capitalist Modes of Production in Tanzania: Reference to Modes of Production in the Old Ugweno State of North-Eastern Tanzania'.

²⁵⁴B. Mapunda, 'Fipa Iron Technologies and Their Implied Social History', *East African Archaeology: Foragers, Potters, Smiths, and Traders*, 2003: 71–85.

²⁵⁵Bertram Mapunda. An Archaeological View of History and Variations of Iron Working in Southeast Tanzania. University of Florida, Gainesville; Roy G. Willis, 'The Fipa', *Tanzania before 1900*, p. 82–95.

²⁵⁶Bertram B.B. Mapunda, "Water, Iron and Soil in a Matrix of Culture: Analysis of the Prosperity of Milansi and Karagwe Kingdoms, Tanzania", *Water, Culture and Identity*, 2009: 95.

existence of political units, which emerged because of iron technology in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania before the colonial period. The development of the kingdoms in Ufipa went hand in hand with the formation of other social economic classes. One of the classes was a ruling class which was cemented by the possession of iron technology and tools, and could negotiate the extraction of women farmers who depended solely on iron tools as advanced technology for their agricultural work to prosper. Negotiations were carried out mainly in two ways: through the exchange of farmers' agricultural produce with the iron tools, and through provision of women farmers' labour power to the ruling class, in both domestic and agricultural activities. In most cases, women were supposed to provide more than the appropriate value of the iron tool exchanged.²⁵⁷ Negotiations between the ruling class and women farmers were asymmetrical, as the iron makers controlled a central instrument for production. Therefore, women farmers' room for negotiations and bargaining for their advantage in the transactions was minimal. Women farmers had to obey the order from the above, that is, from the ruling class. However, women farmers were able to accommodate the situation and they managed to acquire the agricultural implements by either exchanging with their agricultural produce or by providing their labour power into ruling class' farms.

Further instances of co-existence between political development and iron technology are seen in Unyiha where historical information shows the relationship between the development of iron technology and political authority.²⁵⁸ The dominant clans that mastered iron technology, such as Harare Simbaya of the Mwamengo chiefdom and Nkota Pima of the Nzowa chiefdom and others, also formed the ruling class.²⁵⁹ These clans with political authority dominated the technology, skills as well as the iron tools. Common tools made in Unyiha included axes, hoes, spears and knives. The iron tools were exchanged for goats, agricultural produce and other valuable products.

²⁵⁷Beverley P.W.G. Brock, 'Iron Working amongst the Nyiha of Southwestern Tanganyika', *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 1965: 97–100.

²⁵⁸*Ibid.*; Beverley Brock, 'Environmental Change in Tanganyika', *Man*, 1965: 155–155.

²⁵⁹Brock, 'Iron Working amongst the Nyiha of South-western Tanganyika'.

In Umatengo, there existed clans and lineages of few families possessing the skills and the experience of making iron tools. For example, the clan from Upangwa known as Putuka was one among the powerful clans that dominated the Iron technology.²⁶⁰ They were the masters who organised the labour process from the initial stages to the end product where tools could be sold for the final use. They were the ones who organised trade and controlled the marketing of the products. The main demand for the iron tools came from farmers. The farmers were supposed to pay for the iron tools in terms of farm produce, animals, labour in kind or other agreed articles. Iron tools were also intended to be sold outside the particular communities or villages as far as the masters had enough energy and capital to do so.

The ownership of technology and iron tools in pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania was not confined to political leaders only. Some people learned the skills of making iron through payment of agreed value to the masters of iron and hence came to possess the skills.²⁶¹ Learning enabled some people to be specialists in iron works. These iron specialists later came to dominate the trade and the exchange of iron tools that led them to control various groups through a mixture of ways. However, the question in this particular context is how this class interacted with women farmers in their negotiations. As already mentioned in previous paragraphs, women farmers needed iron tools for tilling their farms. In order to possess such tools, they created relationships or interactions with iron specialists. The interaction was of various forms, namely through the provision of labour power in different capacities, through the exchange of iron with their agricultural produce, paying through cattle, and intermarriage or other agreed articles.²⁶² While most of the information indicates that women farmers negotiated to their detriment to obtain iron agricultural implements, the owners of iron technology and implement sometimes

²⁶⁰Harry W. Basehart, 'Traditional History and Political Change among the Matengo of Tanzania', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 42, No. 2 (1 April 1972): 87–97.

²⁶¹Brock, 'Environmental Change in Tanganyika'.

²⁶²Maghimbi, 'Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production in Tanzania: Reference to Modes of Production in the Old Ugweno State of North-Eastern Tanzania'.

gave in during the negotiations in order to obtain agricultural produce or labour power from the women farmers.²⁶³

It is worth noting that iron specialists in Umatengo area had a strong bond with the Matengo ruling class. For example, the ruling class among the Matengo received iron implements and offered pieces of land to iron specialists who migrated from Upangwa and settled in Mbinga. When selling iron tools, the iron specialists had to pay tribute to the ruling class. This was carried out due to the fact that it was the ruling class that facilitated the exchange of iron tools and implements in terms of provision of market places, security, and supervision.²⁶⁴ In this case, there existed an alliance between those in power (the ruling class) and the owners of iron technology in the negotiation of women farmers' labour. Furthermore, the ruling class obliged women farmers to pay tribute to the local political units, or administration for the transactions made. Thus, the ruling class collected tribute from both the iron owners and women farmers.²⁶⁵ The process of negotiations between the ruling class, the owners of iron technology and implements, and women farmers was carried out in such a way that women farmers had to settle the demands of both rulers and iron smiths. Women farmers' production was supposed to accommodate various demands of different classes in their respective communities.

The pre-colonial Southern Highlands region of Tanzania was also endowed with artisans and fishermen. An example of a locally specialised craft in the region was cloth making. Cotton weaving took place mainly in the area between Lake Nyasa, Rukwa and Tanganyika, and the major concentration of the manufacturing was in the Ufipa Valley and Unyiha.²⁶⁶ In the case of pottery, the Kisi played a major role. The Kisi organised themselves into clan system and

²⁶³Mapunda, 'Fipa Iron Technologies and Their Implied Social History'; Richard Y.M. Kangalawe, James G. Lyimo, and A.A. Komba, 'Local Knowledge and Its Role in Sustainable Agriculture in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: A Case of the Matengo Pit Cultivation System of Mbinga District', *Sustainable Development and the Environment in Tanzania: Issues, Experiences and Policy Responses*, 2006: 99–116; Maghimbi, 'Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production in Tanzania: Reference to Modes of Production in the Old Ugweno State of North-Eastern Tanzania'.

²⁶⁴Basehart, 'Traditional History and Political Change among the Matengo of Tanzania'.

²⁶⁵Maghimbi, 'Pre-capitalist Modes of Production in Tanzania: Reference to Modes of Production in the Old Ugweno State of North-Eastern Tanzania'.

²⁶⁶Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures', p. 265.

pursued two main economic activities, namely fishing and pottery. Agriculture was, to them, a peripheral activity. Pottery had, for many years, played an important role in the provision of goods for domestic use and exchange for grain and food.²⁶⁷ Since the Kisi did not participate in the agricultural activities, they instead maximized their income by exchanging their pots with agricultural produce from women farmers in the area. The Kisi led their life through the sale of their pots. Although it was for the interest of the Kisi to maintain their supplies of food from women farmers, this meant also that, women farmers were to negotiate for this transaction because they were the main buyers of pots as food cooking utensils. They had no choice but to give out their agricultural produce to the Kisi and get pots in return.

Furthermore, historical information shows that the exchange practice which was regarded as the wholesale transaction was conducted between the Kisi and the Kinga. The Kinga bought the products in large quantities and resold the pots to various areas in the Southern Highlands for profit. In his argument, Simon Waane points out that:

The most buyers of Kisi's pots were either Nyakyusa or Kinga. The Nyakyusa normally bought a few pots at a time for domestic use. But the Kinga bought them in quantities to go and sell them in other Lembukas in Unyakyusa and the rest of Mbeya region.²⁶⁸

The existence of an intermediary class of traders/peddlers in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania is one among important historical phenomena that had a direct relationship with women farmers' life. The Kinga middlemen bought pots from the Kisi at low prices and sold them out at higher prices which in turn meant significant compromise to women farmers' labour. It follows that buying pots from the Kisi was cheaper than from the Kinga middlemen. However, the Kinga middlemen made advantage of their strategic geographical location to make profits because Ukinga is located between the Matengo and the Kisi. In this case, the Kinga middlemen were in the position to negotiate the business with women farmers from a wide range of areas in the Southern Highlands region.

²⁶⁷Eginald P.A.N. Mihanjo "Transformation of the Kisi Pottery Enterprise in Southwest Tanzania" in Patrick O. Alila and Poul O. Pedersen, eds., *Negotiating Social Space: East African Microenterprises* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2001): 275.

²⁶⁸ Simon Waane, *Pottery Making Tradition of the Ikombe Kisi of Kyera District: An Anthropological paper*, National Museum of Tanzania. 1976: 27.

Women farmers' negotiations of their labour and agricultural produce were not only confined to economic and political state of affairs. Social and biological factors exposed women to further negotiations in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Women farmers negotiated their labour power as well as produce for a whole range of ritual and health specialist, and a large number of occasions (initiations, marriages, burials, rainmaking, sickness etc.). For example, women farmers paid the midwives for the service offered during child deliverance. In most cases, it was the prospective mother, her mother, or her mother in law who paid the midwives. The payment was in different forms, such as articles of produce or other agreed valuable items.²⁶⁹The coming of a new child in a family was among valuable moments and was celebrated by both, father and mother as well as other relatives. Explaining the situation among the Bena, Sangu and Hehe of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, Bryant Mumford writes:

Towards the end of the pregnancy, it was customary to call two or three adult women with a reputation for skills in these matters to help. These midwives placed the expectant mother in a comfortable room and position and made sure she safely delivered. If the labour process proceeded with difficulty, the midwives gave her the medicine to assist the delivery, which owing to the potency of the medicine, usually then proceeded without more difficulty.²⁷⁰

Women farmers paid the implied costs of midwives' skills, medicine, and reputation incurred during child deliverances.²⁷¹ Since the payment to the midwives was in most cases in form of farm produce which was chiefly a product of women labour, this was an aspect that indicates more negotiations of women farmers' labour and agricultural produce.

After the safe delivery of a child, the child was welcomed to the family by a feast. Individuals and relatives from both sides, the maternal and paternal families, joined and celebrated the arrival of a new born in the family. The important feature to note here is the items spent in the feast. Bryant Mumford mentions items used in the feast which included local beer made from crops, and different kinds of food, all of which being a woman's properties in terms of labour.²⁷²

²⁶⁹Mumford, 'The Hehe-Bena-Sangu People of East Africa'.

²⁷⁰Ibid., p. 216.

²⁷¹Linda W. Nelms and June Gorski, 'The Role of the African Traditional Healer in Women's Health', *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 17, No. 2 (2006): 184–89; Kenneth L. Leonard, 'African Traditional Healers and Outcome-Contingent Contracts in Health Care', *Journal of Development Economics* 71, No. 1 (2003): 1–22.

²⁷²Mumford, "The Hehe-Bena-Sangu Peoples of East Africa", p. 216.

Society's customs and local celebrations were built in and around the output produced from the work of a woman farmer.

Furthermore, African mothers in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania spent a considerable amount of their farm produce in paying for the education of their daughters and sons. As indicated earlier, a woman underwent a variety of socialisation stages in pre-colonial Tanzania from childhood to adulthood. One among such socialisation stages was local education provided to girls.²⁷³ In this aspect, a woman was supposed to pay specialist old women for the education of her daughter(s), and son(s). The payment, as usual, was made in kind by using agricultural produce, cattle, or provision of labour in the farm or in the domestic area of the mentor. Explaining the kind of education among the Bena, Hehe and Sangu, Mumford writes:

When a girl showed the first signs of approaching adolescence, her mother sought out for an elder woman to arrange for the girl's instructions and thereafter the ceremony. This was done essentially to insure the directions in sex matters both in preparation for marriage and to prevent accidental pregnancy.²⁷⁴

The quotation above substantiates the role played by a mother in the introduction of her daughter into adulthood. There is a role of seeking an educator, but also the role of preparation of the feast after the end of the local education. The spending of farm produce or women farmers' labour in connection to the pre-colonial local education for girls and sometimes for boys was inevitable. The same procedure would take place for boys in which only old men were educators who would also expect to be paid and fed.

Local education in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania is further documented from the Umatengo through the pre-colonial traditional *Sengu* structure. *Sengu* was a Matengo customary structure designed for the people of the same ancestor's meetings and gatherings for discussing various important issues regarding families, marriage and work.²⁷⁵ Gongwe Mhando explains the significance of *Sengu* in the traditional education as follows:

²⁷³Michael Bamidele Adeyemi and Augustus Adeleke Adeyinka, 'Some Key Issues in African Traditional Education', *McGill Journal of Education/Revue Des Sciences de L'éducation de McGill* 37, No. 002 (2002).

²⁷⁴Mumford, 'The Hehe-Bena-Sangu People of East Africa', p. 218.

²⁷⁵Basehart, 'Traditional History and Political Change among the Matengo of Tanzania', Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo*.

The Sengu gathering was for both women and men although they were held differently. Women prepared food which was consumed by all members of the clan. It was said that Sengu structure was very good because orphans were given food and were raised without problems. Usually, men taught boys on the matter relating to the tradition of the tribe and how and what it takes to be a man, while women taught girls on women responsibilities and how to manage their home after marriage.²⁷⁶

It is obvious from Mhando's explanation above that among different purposes, the *Sengu* local meeting was geared towards youth's local education in Umatengo. One also observes the consumption of food by all participants. Apart from the fact that the food on this particular day is prepared and served by women, cost implication of the agricultural products and labour power for preparation and serving were borne by women farmers as well.

Most of the local events and gatherings in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania utilised farm produce obtained from women farmers' labour. Events like weddings, burials, pilgrimages and others used food and other resources that were the properties of women's labour. There is no evidence of payment to women for such provisions. Although women farmers individually or as groups participated in those events and negotiations, evidence shows how negotiations were carried out to the detriment of women farmers. The negotiations compromised the women farmers' labour through the public use of their produces and labour power. George Park explains how the pilgrimage of priests in Ukinga consumed many agricultural products in a range of time. As he puts:

The first ritual of the Kinga priests began in July and it could not end until October. Sacred hoes and many gift hoes and food offerings had to be collected from each part of land and properly accounted for. The movement of such goods had to be engendered by a sense of needs; and the movement must properly express the precise mystical order that united the entire King polity.²⁷⁷

Women farmers were active throughout the pre-colonial time, contributing their support in various occasions by giving food and other resources needed in a particular local event. The cost implication was notable when women continued to work in order to contribute labour power and other products without limit. Local arrangements made women farmers participate in various

²⁷⁶David Gongwe Mhando, 'Dynamics of Indigenous Organisation: The Sengu Gathering of the Matengo People of Mbinga District, Tanzania', *International Journal of Education and Research*, 2014: 270.

²⁷⁷George Park, "The Kinga Priests: Politics Pestilence" in Marc J Swartz, Victor Witter Turner, and Arthur Tuden, *Political Anthropology* (Transaction Publishers, 1972), p. 136

works and provisions to facilitate the continuation of their communities' social and economic engagements.

2.5 Mechanisms and Customs Used by Women, the State, and Society in the Negotiations of Women Farmers' Labour

The local socio-economic organisation of the pre-colonial Southern Highlands depended on the agreed historical local practices that regulated and controlled the daily life of the respective communities. Although those local practices changed over time, there were notable rules and principles that were historically known for making the social setting stable. The following section examines some of those mechanisms and methods used by inhabitants of respective communities in the Southern Highlands, including women farmers, to negotiate various matters regarding socio-economic and political life of their communities. Furthermore, the section shows specifically how women farmers, various local actors, and the state negotiated women farmers' labour in those respective areas.

Various communities agreed on the provision of a range of punishments to the individuals who did not obey rules and principles of the society. This was normal in different societies in the whole region of the Southern Highlands. Issues such as payment of tributes, participating in public physical works like construction of public properties, participation in the neighbouring burial ceremonies, working in the fields of the ruling class, and others similar to those were common, and every individual who was physically fit was supposed to play part. If an individual failed to participate in the pronounced public work with no strong reason, a local meeting pronounced a punishment for the individual according to common practice. Marc Swartz who documents the power of the pre-colonial Bena political units evidences this point:

...Bena political officials could enforce their decisions with fines, beatings, executions and exile, but the last two, were always very rare, and fining by far the most commonest technique, is and was generally done only with agreement by a person to be fined. Although Bena society has been under six different suzerainties in the past, this pattern of political power has been maintained...²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸Swartz, 'Continuities in the Bena Political System', p. 243.

Women farmers negotiated their labour power and agricultural produce within the lines of the above fact. They interacted with the state or leader of their respective political system, local actors, as well as male farmers in their daily life. Information indicates that women farmers were ready to obey the states' needs and commands compared to men. It was certain for women farmers to consent with the political and social system. Thus, it was difficult for women to disobey orders from the ruling class, especially when those orders were attached to the punishments and the like. In this case, therefore, women farmers participated more in public work by either provision of their labour power or their agricultural outputs.

The belief that political leaders possessed religious and ritual powers in administering their respective political units acted as one mechanism of social and economic control in the pre-colonial era. Religious and spiritual powers acted as one of the pillars for governing. The mechanism made individuals obey the demands of the social and political system and cooperate on the works for the development of their communities. This was more notable in the areas where strong religious beliefs were embedded in the political system. In most cases, it was impossible to separate political duties from ritual or religious matters. The findings reveal that in the pre-colonial Tanzania, political institutions collaborated with other worldly forces that were able to communicate with natural forces. In agricultural societies, such forces were, as a rule, ancestral spirits and natural spirits. Their collaboration was sought in public rituals and political leaders were responsible to maintain the processes.²⁷⁹ Therefore, individual women and men believed that it was a must to do right than bad things in the society in order to have a continued survival of the family, clan, and the village or community as a whole.

Writing about the Kinga of Makete area, George Park explains the common myth in Ukinga area concerning the power that their spiritual ancestor (*Lwembe*) possessed. People were supposed to be good and to obey the institutions and customs, which governed the social setting; otherwise, misfortunes would happen in their life.

Lwembe was a marvel who could make things sprout and grow wondrously, when he died his powers were turned to working vengeance upon the establishment that had

²⁷⁹Koponen, 'People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures', p. 193; Evans-Pritchard and Fortes, *African Political Systems*.

banished him, he was the source of major tribulations that beset the Kinga in their mountainous land. All the people were taught that they must pay tribute to Lwembe, through the Prince, if they would hope to survive.²⁸⁰

Pre-colonial myth and spiritual understandings acted as mechanisms or techniques to negotiate various social sanctions between individual women and men, and between different local actors and the state. Individual women and men gave labour power and they participated in public works with the confidence that religious and spiritual power pour amenities to the society when individuals act well. These tendencies and actions had more impact on women farmers, who were the main producers in pre-colonial farms. The *Lwembe* myth was very important for the acquisition of tributes obtained from the land produce, in which women farmers had a lot to produce. Besides, it is observed that the tribute of land in Ukinga and its tribulations belonged pre-eminently and mystically to the Kinga Prince. He was the Vessel of land's fertility and virtue. Tributes filled his kraal, feasting filled his court and his house was filled with his progeny and his favourites.²⁸¹

The negotiation of women farmers' labour in this regard was carried out to fulfil the public works and to provide the agricultural produce in various occasions like tributes, and festivities. The social relations connected women farmers to the fertility of the society; they were supposed to act well so that the spirits could react blamelessly to their communities as well.²⁸² Women farmers as the source of continuity and expansion of the social settings acted positively to make sure the local religious spirits do not become angry and consequently delay the development of their respective communities.

The negotiation of women farmers' labour between various classes of people in the Southern Highland is further documented through individual local women and men's provision of labour power and agricultural tribute to their leaders. This was observed among the Bena societies

²⁸⁰ George Park, "Kinga Priests: The Politics of Pestilence" in Swartz, Turner, and Tuden, *Political Anthropology*, p.231.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

where people paid tributes to the leaders of Sangu who conquered their territory in the 1870s. Swartz documents this as follows:

The Sangu under the leadership of Melele conquered all the northwestern Bena. Sub-chiefs rulers took over all the power the *Vatwa* had had and had to remain loyal to Melele and make semi-annual visit to Usangu, bringing tribute in form of livestock, corn, beer and salt. They were also supposed to send groups of Bena citizens to work on Melele's fields in Usangu and to provide fighting men in Melele's wars. Citizens were obeying the orders because of fear of what Melele would do to them if they disobeyed.²⁸³

The quotation above shows that the negotiations between women farmers, various local actors, and the state depended more on the agricultural output in which women farmers contributed their labour power immensely. The quotation further provides more information on how men provided their labour power in wars not only in their respective communities but also in the vassal or main states that were located far away from their villages or communities. In this case, women farmers continued to participate in the agricultural and other works of community management when men were away to participate in war ventures.

2.6 Trade, Invasions, Migrations and their Impact on Women Farmers' Labour in the Southern Highlands before Colonialism

The Southern Highlands of Tanzania encountered various historical external interactions and dynamics from several nationalities in the world. The contacts had been in form of peaceful immigrations, invasions and military conquests.²⁸⁴ The intrusions have taken place since ancient times.²⁸⁵ The main historical events connected to this case were the immigration of Shirazi people from the West Indian Ocean,²⁸⁶ the Portuguese, the Oman Arabs,²⁸⁷ the Ngoni from Southern Africa,²⁸⁸ and other minor groups, such as the Bemba, the Kyungu and the Lambya all

²⁸³Swartz, 'Continuities in the Bena Political System', p. 247.

²⁸⁴Tony Waters, 'Social Organization and Social Status in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Rukwa, Tanzania', *African Studies Quarterly* 11, No. 1 (2009).

²⁸⁵Erik Gilbert, 'Coastal East Africa and the Western Indian Ocean: Long-Distance Trade, Empire, Migration, and Regional Unity, 1750–1970', *The History Teacher* 36, No. 1 (2002): 7–34.

²⁸⁶*Ibid.*

²⁸⁷Alpers, 'The Coast and the Development of the Caravan Trade'.

²⁸⁸Elzear Ebner, *The History of the Wangoni and Their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes* (Peramiho: Benedictine Publications Ndanda, 1987).

from the Luba-Lunda region.²⁸⁹ Although at first the interactions began mainly in the coastal areas of Tanzania, except for the Ngoni who penetrated from the hinterland of South Africa, later, this historical process spread to the Southern Highlands of Tanzania via trade routes created by the local people as well as other routes created by intruders themselves to meet their purposes.²⁹⁰

The undertakings implemented by these immigrants and invaders for their livelihood and expansion in the land of Tanzania, in economic, political and socio-cultural form, had in one way or another, some impact on women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.²⁹¹ Sometimes these historical processes involved the use of power and military endeavours.²⁹² Since this chapter intends to explore the use of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania before the colonial era, and the fact that the pre-colonial era covers a vast duration, the main focus, therefore, will be on examining the impact of these interactions since the 1850s.

The Swahili Arab traders were among the first foreigners to enter Tanzania. Historical information shows that the Southern Highlands of Tanzania had accommodated mainly two different types of Swahili Arab Traders. The first type involved those who established permanent settlements in the region and conducted trade activities. As it appears, these later became part of the residents who interacted with and were trusted by the indigenous people on their daily life basis.²⁹³ These traders conducted various kinds of trade, such as retail shops where immediate consumable goods were sold to the population. The negotiation of women farmers' labour with this retail trade was carried out in three ways, namely the exchange of women farmers' farm products with the Arab's industrial manufactured goods, the exchange of women farmers' labour

²⁸⁹Neville Chittick, 'The "Shirazi" Colonization of East Africa', *The Journal of African History* 6, No. 3 (1965): 275–94; Isaria N. Kimambo and Arnold J. Temu, *A History of Tanzania* (Published for the Historical Association of Tanzania, East African Publishing House, 1969): 17.

²⁹⁰Waters, 'Social Organization and Social Status in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Rukwa, Tanzania'.

²⁹¹Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

²⁹²Ebner, *The History of the Wangoni and Their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes*.

²⁹³Doerr, *Peramiho: In the Service of the Missionary Church*.

power with the Arab's industrial manufactured goods, and the exchange of women farmers' reproductive labour with the Arab's industrial manufactured goods.²⁹⁴ Furthermore, these Arab traders engaged themselves in exchange for ivory and slaves. In this case, they played a role of agents or middlemen of taking indigenous valuable items, such as ivory and slaves, from this region to the coast for further transactions.²⁹⁵ This second type of transaction affected women farmers' labour in two ways: first, loss of their close counterparts, that is, husbands or unmarried sons and daughters who would support them in daily economic activities. Second, women themselves were taken to slavery where they were robbed of their productive and reproductive labour power.²⁹⁶ These traders were found in various parts of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania like Rukwa region, Lake Nyasa area, Ujena, Uhehe, Unyiha, and Unyakyusa.

The second kind of Swahili Arab traders included those who just visited the area for trading purposes after which they went back to the coastal area. The majority of these had no friendly interactions with the natives because in most cases they were raiding and taking booty from the indigenous people. People captured by these traders were used as slaves in the plantations in the coastal areas.²⁹⁷ Although the main beneficiaries of the slave trade in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania were the Swahili Arabs, the main facilitators and dealers were local Africans who involved themselves in actual raiding and selling of the slaves to these Swahili Arab Traders. Tony Waters indicates that the Arab traders reached Ufipa since the 1830s while searching for slaves and ivory. The Arab traders travelled by caravans that carried not only trade goods and provisions needed to feed the porters, but also the arms to protect ivory, and prevent slaves from escaping.²⁹⁸ In this kind of trade, the Arab traders needed the collaboration with indigenous leaders whose authority provided them with the protection, staffing, and provision of trading caravans which would walk from the Southern Highlands of Tanzania to Zanzibar on the Indian

²⁹⁴Alpers, 'The Coast and the Development of the Caravan Trade'.

²⁹⁵Ibid.

²⁹⁶MeredethTurshen, *The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa*, 2001.

²⁹⁷Alpers, op. cit.

²⁹⁸Waters, 'Social Organization and Social Status in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Rukwa, Tanzania', p. 65.

Ocean Coast.²⁹⁹ Further evidence of slave trading in the Ufipa area is documented by Andrew Roberts who noted that “The Fipa were famous for their grain and they produced enough to sell to their neighbours, the Lungu, in exchange for slaves which were sold in turn for imports from the coast.”³⁰⁰

Trade exchange emanating from Swahili Arab traders was also present in Ubena. Among many examples, there is a case from the most famous Swahili Arab trader Tippu Tip, who conducted trade with different leaders in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Historical information reveals that, among several trade transactions he had made, in 1863 Tippu Tip was able to trade in Ubena area with the Bena paramount chief, Mtema Mtengere, goods which valued between four to seven thousand dollars.³⁰¹ Other trading transactions of ivory between the Bena and Arabs are documented by Andrew Roberts, showing that the trade dealings between the Bena and the Arabs took place during the second half of the 19th century.³⁰² Within the same area, there is information which indicates the existence of trade transactions between Swahili Arab traders and one among the powerful leaders in the areas, chief Munyigumba. By 1840s the areas of Uhehe, Usangu and Ruaha plain were dominated by this aforementioned leader who controlled the trade with the Arabs from which he obtained firearms which enabled him to lead his earlier expeditions to the far west up to the valleys of Ruaha, Njombe rivers, Usangu and the Southern Ukimbu.³⁰³

Additional historical records of slave trading in the Southern highlands of Tanzania are provided by Elzear Ebner. Writing about the Southern interior of Tanzania, he explains how chief Mchemba, the leader of the Makonde area, involved himself in the raiding of people for slave trade, including the people of Songea. Mchemba threatened almost all the people around these areas, including those living along the River Ruvuma, Uyao and other neighbouring regions.

²⁹⁹Ibid.

³⁰⁰Andrew Roberts, “Political Change in the Nineteenth Century”, *Kimambo & Temu, A History of Tanzania*, 1969: 57–84, p. 78.

³⁰¹Alpers, ‘The Coast and the Development of the Caravan Trade’, p. 47.

³⁰²Roberts, ‘Political Change in the Nineteenth Century’, p. 71.

³⁰³Ibid., p. 69.

Many people migrated further inland to avoid the processes of raiding waged by the agents or followers of Mchemba. Captured people were taken to the coast of Tanzania for later transactions.³⁰⁴

Swahili Arabs' trade transactions brought significant dynamics to the question of women farmers' labour. In times when these raids were taking place, women were supposed to secure food for their children and other members of their families. As most of the time was spent in hiding especially in caves located in the mountainous areas which raiders could not reach easily, food and other basic needs of livelihood were supposed to be carried to the hidings.³⁰⁵ This kind of work was done mostly by women as men were involved in the protection of the families and society as a whole since men played mainly the political and military roles. When powerful members of the family, i.e. a husband, a father, or a brother were captured into slavery, a wife was supposed to take care of the family in both, protection and feeding.³⁰⁶ When the situation became worse, women were supposed to arrange for migration to safe places. The emigration was organised in a way that it incorporated all necessities for the family, and sometimes women experienced the change in the patterns of labour in order to attain family needs and safety. Cultivation activities were stopped when there was little or no security. In the case of food shortage as a result of the slave trade, women were supposed to find other alternatives to rescue their children from dying.³⁰⁷ Women had a huge responsibility in times of slave and ivory trade in the region. Production activities that were once done by men now came to be undertaken by women.

Another key external historical event that entered the Southern Highlands of Tanzania was the Ngoni invasion which took place during the 1820s to 1850s. The Ngoni entered the Southern Highlands of Tanzania while escaping the political conflicts in the Southern part of Africa.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁴Ebner, *The History of the Wangoni and Their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes*, p. 94.

³⁰⁵Masebo, 'Society, State, and Infant Welfare: Negotiating Medical Interventions in Colonial Tanzania, 1920–1950'.

³⁰⁶Thomson, 'Journey of the Society's East African Expedition'.

³⁰⁷Ebner, *op. cit.*

³⁰⁸*Ibid.*

These people were warriors who fought their way northwards from Natal in South Africa to as far north as Ufipa in south-western Tanzania.³⁰⁹ The most affected area in Tanzania by the Ngoni invasion was the Southern part, which includes the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The Ngoni warriors were powerful as they had superior fighting techniques and firearms compared to the indigenous people, which helped the Ngoni to defeat and control in whatever way the people they met when arriving in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. In the Southern Highlands, the Ngoni were able to conquer and settle in various areas like in Ufipa, Ungoni, Nyasa and some areas of Unyiha.³¹⁰ The Ngoni were notorious dealers in slave trade. They destroyed everything in areas that they passed, leaving villages or communities devastated and depopulated. They killed people, robbed of their belongings, and abducted women, to mention but a few.³¹¹ At one point, however, they settled down and established rule over tribute-paying people. They also took in many of the captured men as warriors (Wasutu). They were checked in their expansion in the 1870s by the Hehe.

The information of the Ngoni invasion in Songea area is provided by several scholars: Ebner Elzear, for instance, points out the dispersion and disorder that occurred after the Ngoni invasion. "...in 1886 the Wangoni were again on a raid on the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa, the inhabitants had been dispersed, some having taken refuge with chief Chingomanji, others having hidden in the reeds of rivers. A baby that had been thrown away by a retreating mother so that she could walk more quickly was found lying in the bush."³¹²

Another historical evidence of the Ngoni dealings in this area is provided by Andrew Roberts when he notes that "the Ngoni met little or no resistance from the small unwarlike of the south-east. Whole countries were depopulated as the Mshope Ngoni seized captives for their own armies and for selling them as slaves to the Arabs from Kilwa. They were essentially full-time

³⁰⁹Roberts, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century', p. 26.

³¹⁰Waters, 'Social Organization and Social Status in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Rukwa, Tanzania'; Ebner, *The History of the Wangoni and Their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes*.

³¹¹Doerr, *Peramiho: In the Service of the Missionary Church*, p. 9; Ebner, *The History of the Wangoni and Their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes*.

³¹²Ebner, *The History of the Wangoni and Their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes*, p. 12.

warriors; they lived mainly by plunder, especially of cattle, and despised cultivation.³¹³ The dealings of the Ngoni in Songea were an external intrusion which provided a hard time for the indigenous, including women farmers, whereas these actions were advantageous to the Ngoni who were powerful enough to take any valuables for their own purposes.

Another account of the Ngoni invasion in Southern Highlands of Tanzania is shown in Ufipa area. This is explained by various scholars like Tony Waters, Andrew Roberts and others. As the Fipa were specialists in various economic activities like livestock keeping, agriculture, and iron works, when the Ngoni warriors invaded Ufipa, they plundered several valuable items. Andrew Roberts shows that the Ngoni invaded Ufipa area in about 1840s, and they encountered little resistance from the indigenous people. They plundered many herds of cattle while the indigenous had taken refuge in caves.³¹⁴ Tony Waters gives details on how the Ngoni arrived in Ufipa, conquered the area and obtained a section of land for settlement by force. In doing so, they also dispossessed the indigenous people of their valuable items including women. The Fipa strong men were captured and sold to Arab slave traders on the coast. The Ngoni invasion in the Southern Highlands has also been documented by Patrick Redmond and Alison Redmayne.³¹⁵

Analysing the consequences the Ngoni invasion had to the women's labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, one would find the burden which fell on women farmers. Meredith Turshen explains that invasions and wars implicated and affected women mainly in two ways. They were first deprived of their productive labour and reproductive labour, and secondly they were deprived of their assets and belongings.³¹⁶ The women in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania experienced several losses; one being the loss of their produce after the Ngoni had plundered. The Ngoni did not engage in food production activities; instead, they plundered from the owners who were the women farmers. Furthermore, women farmers lost their family

³¹³Roberts, 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century', p. 69.

³¹⁴Ibid., p. 77.

³¹⁵Waters, 'Social Organization and Social Status in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Rukwa, Tanzania'; Redmond, 'Maji Maji in Ungoni: A Reappraisal of Existing Historiography'; Alison Redmayne, 'Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars.'

³¹⁶Turshen, *The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa*.

members as the Ngoni captured individuals and sold them for the slave trade and more than that, women were captured and sold as slaves, used as workers or they became wives of the warriors. In this case, they were deprived of their labour power. The negotiations of women farmers' labour during the interaction with the external historical events were carried out in various ways as explained above. Most of the negotiations were to the detriments of women farmers' labour. However, women farmers were able to survive through various ways and means.

2.7 Conclusion

Examining the history of women farmers' and their contribution to agricultural work, economic development and institutions to about 1900 in the Southern Highlands of pre-colonial Tanzania, a variety of facts are evident. There were wide and complex sets of cultural processes that were used to inculcate societal roles and responsibilities about agriculture to women farmers. Women in those respective societies did a large part of the agricultural work. The agricultural sector served the purpose of providing food and sometimes for the exchange with commodities and ritual or medical services. The process of inculcating agricultural responsibilities to women was done from their childhood throughout their adulthood via their day-to-day duties and practices. They learned from their parents, guardians and society as a whole and particularly through local education. Girls, and later, women farmers accepted those roles and responsibilities because this was the rule and culture of their respective societies. To them, the roles were to be respected, conserved, and transmitted to subsequent generations. Besides, women farmers were aware and conscious of how difficult and hard the work in farm settings was, but still, they were able to do and accommodate it throughout their life. The societal norms, customs, and regulations were instruments in the negotiation of women farmers' labour. Women were proud to responsibly cater for the farm activities even if they constituted hard and continuous tasks throughout their life.

Moreover, different classes like iron owners, craftsmen, ritual experts, and other powerful local classes and actors had properties that enabled them to negotiate women farmers' labour. The negotiations of women farmers' labour were facilitated by the ruling class which secured the markets and other places for exchanging products. The negotiations carried out between the craftsmen and women farmers were not on equal terms since women farmers in most cases paid

more than the actual value of iron or other products they demanded. Middlemen/retailers who were involved in the selling or exchanging of products added more burden to women farmers. This was done by adding selling value on top of the purchases cost. The Kinga traders of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania are the best example of this historical fact.

In addition, different local political systems as overall administrators and controllers of the society applied rules and regulations that had been evolved historically and were accepted by members of respective societies. Principles and regulations that governed the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania were silent as far as women labour in agriculture was concerned. Although in some communities there existed some efforts to try to ensure the obedience of men to their family duties – like providing shelter, opening up the fields, and others, there were no specific rules and regulations to control and regulate women farmers' agricultural products and labour power. Those rules that existed did not spell out what a woman farmer got from her shared energy in the polygamous setting, nor did they point out the right and shares of a woman in the father-daughter relationship. These historical processes showed open relationships between the society and the administrative organs in negotiating the women farmers' labour in an agricultural setting as a whole to the disadvantage of women farmers. Different women farmers were treated differently in the same society as far as the distribution of farm inputs and outputs was concerned. Some had a lesser load than others in the process of acquiring what they deserved from the farm's output. Women from the ruling classes and other powerful local classes were better off compared to women farmers from common classes. In short, the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands was carried out in most cases to the detriments of women farmers.

The negotiations of women farmers' labour were also carried out in various marketplaces. Women farmers interacted in various ways during the tax payment processes. They paid tax when buying farm tools and implements; they also did so when buying other items for their daily use like pots and other craft articles like weavings. Payments made by women farmers were not confined to taxes only but also to the healers, traditional educators as well as the builders of houses and huts for their cattle and other livestock. Although in some instances taxes and tributes were paid in iron tools like hoes. The point to be underlined here is that those iron tools were

obtained through the exchange of farm produce which was in most cases produced by women farmers.

The negotiation of women's labour in the pre-colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania is further characterised in the use of the produce of women farmers in various events like weddings, burials, pilgrimage, and other local functions. This was carried out by the society as a whole in most cases without acknowledging and paying the produce and labour carried out by women farmers. In this case, women farmers had been negotiating their labour power in different ways in the agricultural system in the pre-colonial period on various occasions and to a different extent. In all those events, women farmers interacted with the society, state, and various local actors at different levels in their respective communities.

3 Women Farmers' Strategies and Engagements in the Colonial Southern Highlands, 1900-1960

“...it was difficult to fulfil all the requirements of the colonial government... When the tax collector arrived, our mother used to put herself in between the mats, when the officer set off, she resumed a normal life...”³¹⁷

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania negotiated their labour power with the colonial state and society from 1900 to 1960. It further encompasses the participation of women farmers in the German and British colonial periods. It looks on the intercession of women farmers' labour and the processes of colonial economic accumulation which was made possible by the alliance between the colonial state and other powerful classes³¹⁸ in the region. It focuses on how women farmers compromised with the colonial state and society concerning their labour in various sectors of the colonial economy which was accompanied by the colonial intrusion, settlements, taxation, labour migration, cash cropping, and women farmers' colonial protest. The chapter also examines the mechanisms with which women farmers, the colonial state and the society negotiated particular roles for women farmers' labour in the region. Through the whole process of colonialism, women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania have been active members of the colonial economy, thus making it alive. Within their daily lives, through their families and their communities, women farmers, as historical subjects, were active agents in making the colonial economy function properly.

The chapter further argues that administrative bond between colonial state and other powerful classes in the region worked to the detriment of women farmers. Women farmers' subsistence agricultural production helped and satisfied the low wages paid to male migrant labourers who worked in the colonial investments. The investments were mainly based on plantations, mining, processing industries, and the colonial administration itself (police, education, public works).

³¹⁷ Interview with mama T. M. of Iyula village on 20 October 2014.

³¹⁸ At local level, there were varied classes of Chiefs, private owners of plantations, traders, rural creditors, headmen, and clan leaders who were overwhelmingly men.

Women continued with the production of subsistence crops at home while participating in the colonial investments that were based on the peasant's export crop production. This meant that the women farmers contributed labour to the production of the export peasantry and farm crops, which were crucial factors in the lowering costs of production of various cash crops like coffee, tea, wheat, rubber, cotton, groundnuts, and the like. Women farmers, in addition, produced food crops which were used to nourish male migrant labourers. This means that women farmers in one way or another participated in both the subsistence economy and cash crop production.

This chapter argues that an alliance between colonial state and other classes of people in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania in the negotiation of women farmers' labour had vast implications for women farmers. The position of women farmers declined under the operation of colonialism due to various factors like the gender bias of colonial rule, colonially induced economic changes, and also because women were the members of a politically and economically dominated territory. However, the chapter further argues that although women farmers were often victims of colonialism, they sometimes took initiatives both in resisting those colonial policies that they viewed as harmful to them and in using the new situation to their advantage. Sometimes the colonial socioeconomic environment and the changing production relations created by the colonial experience allowed the constructions of alternative roles for the benefit of women farmers.

3.2 Background to the Colonial History of the Southern Highlands, 1885–1960

This section explores the historical process of integrating the region into the colonial economy and its impact on women farmers. It provides historical details on how women farmers' negotiations for their labour power were implicated by the colonial administration's action of curving the region as a labour reservoir. Women were involved in this historical process from its initial stage of the colonial construction onwards. For example, women formed a part of the group of people who accompanied Major Hermann Wissmann³¹⁹ in his campaign of establishing

³¹⁹ Major Hermann Wissmann was a German Commander who commanded the troops which put down the first colonial resistances on the coastal area of Tanzania; he then established some of the first German colonial military outpost stations in various areas of the territory. He later on came to be the third German colonial Governor in

earliest colonial posts in the Southern Highlands. Women fulfilled various social and economic responsibilities as will be further revealed in the subsequent sections.³²⁰ In short, the section illustrates how colonialism designated the Southern Highlands as a labour reservoir and the consequences this had for the rural women farmers.

The colonial Southern Highlands of Tanzania were part of the colonial territory of Tanzania. The territory of Tanzania came to be under formal colonial rule from 1885 to 1961. The territory was formally proclaimed the German East Africa in 1885 and the Southern Highlands were part of the territory claimed by the German Empire. The region's colonial period is divided into two phases: the German colonial phase which straddled from 1885³²¹ to the end of world war one, and the British colonial phase which spanned from the period the territory was taken by the British under the League of Nation arrangements and later, after the end of World War Two under the United Nation arrangements. The German East Africa Company (DOAG), which existed from 1885 to 1890, initially carried out the German colonial rule. The German government took over the reign from 1891 up to the end of the First World War. The colonial conquering of the various areas of the territory was not an event but it was a process. It took gradual steps as the territory was large and the colonial governing machine was small. In reality, it took several years until the German colonial power penetrated the Southern Highlands of its vast territory. It began from the coast and proceeded along the old caravan routes inland. Military stations were set up at strategically and economically important junctions. The process involved three phases. The first phase was the suppression of the coastal resistance, the second was the controlling of different caravan routes, and the last phase was the extension of German rule from the focal stations to the various districts throughout the territory.³²² In this case, therefore, the various parts of the Southern Highlands were also formally conquered in a gradual manner.

German East Africa, 1895–1896; Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*, Vol. 49 (distributor, Tiedekirja, 1994), p. 114.

³²⁰ Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa* (James Currey; Islington, London, 1993); Marcia Wright and Peter Lary, "Swahili Settlements in Northern Zambia and Malawi", *African Historical Studies* 4, No. 3 (1971).

³²¹ John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, African Studies Series 25 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 88.

³²² Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*, pp. 87–88.

Women farmers were involved in all the three phases in different styles and capacities as will be revealed in the subsequent sections.

Iringa region was one of the areas located in the colonial Southern Highlands of the territory. It comprised the Ubena, Ukinga, and Uhehe areas. This means that one of the study areas, Makete which comprises the Ukinga area, was located in this colonial region. The German colonial district office in Iringa, the *Boma*,³²³ was built in 1896, but the area was formally conquered in 1898 after the death of Chief Mkwawa, the ruler of the area who resisted fiercely the occupation of the area by the German colonial administrators from 1891 to 1898.³²⁴ Iringa was one of the colonial stations that were established as military stations. It was not transferred to the civilian rule until 1905. It was also one of the colonial districts that Europeans liked to live. At the end of the 1890s, Iringa, with its fertile soil and agreeable climate, had seemed the promise land to many settler enthusiasts.

The British began to administer Iringa in 1916, taking over from the Germans during the course of WW1, and in 1926 they re-established the Uhehe chiefdom under Chief Sapi, Mkwawa's son, in accordance with their policy of Indirect Rule. Indirect rule incorporated three issues: the Native Authority, Native Court, and Native treasury.³²⁵ The British inserted a layer of sub-chiefs between the Chief and the many autonomous territorial *Wajumbe* (mostly former subordinate rulers) on whom the Germans had relied. There was a difference in the native authority's responsibilities executed by local chiefs and those of the District Officer who was the overseer of the whole district. Chiefs administered revenues derived from all direct taxation, collected by them. They also attended local court cases. The collected revenues were planned to finance the native courts, as well as sundry public works such as local roads, native dispensaries, maternity and child welfare centres. However, the British District or Provincial Commissioners supervised the proceedings, records and accounts of the Native Governments. The District Commissioners

³²³ Boma were colonial fortresses built by a colonial office in the districts, located in easily defensible places. They were surrounded with strong walls up to three meters high and planned for a degree of self-sufficiency with gardens and cattle of their own; *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³²⁴ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

³²⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 318–322; Ralph A. Austen, *Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889–1939* (Yale University Press, 1968): 147–233.

concentrated on responsibilities of the colonial administrative service. They acted as co-ordinators of all the technical departments operating in native areas, including agricultural, educational, and public works departments. Therefore, they were the essential link between all aspects of European administration and the native local government authority. Cases of appeal continued from the native courts to the District Commissioner's court. The native court lighted the work of court to District Commissioners, thus enabling them to find more time to act not only as the general eyes and ears of the Government, but also to act preferably in the background as the counsellors and advisers of the constituted native authority.³²⁶ Between 1926 and 1961, when Indirect Rule ended, a unified, hierarchical Native Authority under the Uhehe Chief thus governed Iringa – as the Iringa District of the Southern Highlands Province.³²⁷ Although Iringa's location was acknowledged to be remote without suitable transport connection to the coast, a situation worsened by seemingly overwhelming marketing problems, there were dozens of European settlers in the district by 1913, mostly keeping cattle.³²⁸

Another region which was located in the colonial Southern Highlands of the territory was Ruvuma area. During the colonial period, it was known as Songea district. This region included Mbinga area (the Umatengo area), which is one among the three districts where this study was conducted. The occupation of Ruvuma area by the colonial administrators took much time compared to other areas due to various reasons. One of the outstanding reasons is mentioned as the long distance from Tanga and Dar es Salaam, the cities where political and economic colonial activities were centred.³²⁹ Historical information shows that there had been some early German expeditions into the region, but they all passed without leaving permanent marks. This lasted until 1897, when five Germans led by Lieutenant Philip Engelhard³³⁰ accompanied by

³²⁶ Lord Harlech, 'British Native Policy and Administration in Tropical Africa', *South African Institute for International Affairs*, 1941: pp. 6–11.

³²⁷ Elizabeth Daley, 'Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 5, No. 3 (2005): 363–404.

³²⁸ Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*. p. 632.

³²⁹ Alexander Sarris et al., 'The Role of Agriculture in Reducing Poverty in Tanzania: A Household Perspective from Rural Kilimanjaro and Ruvuma', *FAO Commodity and Trade Policy Research Working Paper*, No. 19 (2006).

³³⁰ Lieutenant Philip Engelhardt was a German Colonia official administering Songea District in 1897. Kelvin Haule, *Mission und Kolonialherrschaft: With reference to the German Benedictine Missions in Southern Tanzania*, Paper read to the participants of Workshop on 100th Anniversary of Majimaji War, Wuppertal, November 5, 2005.

Nubian soldiers, left the Lindi Region for the Ruvuma interior in order to deal with the Ngoni³³¹ slave raids. When in Ruvuma Region, they picked some elders from each village to assist them in identifying people who had been captured by the Ngoni. At the same time, the officers hoisted the German flag in every village they passed as a symbol of German imperial supremacy. They left it in the hands of an elder, whom they thus appointed a *Jumbe* (headman).³³² When the group arrived in the *Njelu* chiefdom³³³, they discussed with the ruler of the chiefdom, *Nduna* Songea, concerning the release of slaves captured by the Ngoni, and when *Nduna* Songea tried to refuse, the Germans shot down five of the Ngoni nobles. This was called the *boma massacre*.³³⁴ From then onwards, the Ngoni had to accept the German rule. The fort was expanded into a major station and named Songea after the *Nduna*. The *Boma* in Songea was officially built in 1897.³³⁵

Mbinga area, which is resided by the Matengo people, met the German colonial powers in 1898. At first, the Matengo accepted the German colonial rulers. However, when they were summoned to do hard work on construction projects in 1902, they rose in a revolt against the Germans. The colonial administrators used military action to suppress the resistance. During the confrontation, a colonial military squad drove the Matengo from Litembo area (their central area) into remote mountains. Finally, the Matengo gave up. However, they were not formally conquered until 1904.³³⁶

On the side of Mbozi, the actual conquest appeared when the Germans built a fort at Itaka in Mbozi on their road connecting the regional headquarters at Langenburg and later Neu Langenburg (now, Tukuyu) with Ufipa. Mbozi Mission, a German Moravian institution with

³³¹Ngoni were Warriors who arrived in Tanzania in 1840s coming from home land South Africa, they settled in various areas in Tanzania including in Ruvuma region, among many things they did in the area was slave trading.

³³²Doris Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania* (Bayreuth: Bayreuth University, 1989).; TNA, Tunduru District Book, n.d., 24.

³³³Njelu Chiefdom was one among the powerful political organizations in Ruvuma region dominated by migrant Ngoni warriors from South Africa who arrived in Tanzania in 1840s.

³³⁴Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989: 63.

³³⁵Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*, p. 114.

³³⁶Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989: 63; Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 117.

hospital and school, was established in the late 1890's, but it was in 1927 under the British that a settler community took up land. There were both Germans, most of them of limited financial means, who undertook general farming, and British, many from Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa, who established large coffee plantations. There was also a scattering of Europeans of other national origins – Danish and Swiss among them. The Germans were detained and their farms confiscated at the outbreak of the Second World War.³³⁷

In another area of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, the Rukwa region, colonial conquest was much felt through the presence of missionaries. From the initial stage, German colonial officials carried their activities through missionaries who were there since 1880.³³⁸ They used missionaries who had already been established there as liaisons between the Europeans and the Africans.³³⁹ This is because European Missionaries in Rukwa area arrived shortly before colonialists. Missionaries facilitated a close cooperation between missionaries and colonial officials, particularly in the economic agenda.³⁴⁰ Although missionaries and colonial officials did not always share the same goals, they often had to pursue the similar actions, including the establishment of European authority and development to achieve their aims.

3.3 Strategies and Engagements: Women Farmers Participation in Colonialism

Historical information shows that women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania have been involved in colonial activities from the time of its intrusion to its end.³⁴¹ The German colonialists started working in Tanzania from 1885, and women participated in their regime on various sectors ranging from colonial intrusions' resistance, settlements, taxation, labour

³³⁷C. Gregory Knight, 'Fieldwork and Local Government: An Example from Tanzania', *African Studies Review* 12, No. 03 (1969): 265–73.

³³⁸Kathleen R. Smythe, *Fipa Families: Reproduction and Catholic Evangelization in Nkansi, Ufipa, 1880–1960* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006).

³³⁹ David Pizzo, 'To Devour the Land of Mkwawa': *Colonial Violence and the German-Hehe War in East Africa ca. 1884–1914* (ProQuest, 2007): 164.

³⁴⁰ Smythe, *Fipa Families: Reproduction and Catholic Evangelization in Nkansi, Ufipa, 1880–1960*.

³⁴¹ Shekania Bisanda et al., *Adoption of Maize Production Technologies in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania* (CIMMYT, 1998); R. Kayombo, J. Ellis-Jones, and HL Martin, 'Indigenous Conservation Tillage System in East Africa with an Example of Their Evaluation from South West Tanzania', *Conservation Tillage with Animal Traction: A Resource Book of the Animal Traction Network for Eastern and Southern Africa*. ATNESA, Harare, 1999.

migration, peasant cash cropping, and the like. The following section is going to provide historical reconstruction on the women farmers' engagement in various colonial patterns and settings in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. It also shows how women farmers negotiated concerning their labour power with the colonial administration and other classes in the era.

3.3.1 Women Farmers' Strategies and Engagements during the Initial Colonial Penetration, and Occupation of the Southern Highlands, 1885-1907

This section provides a historical overview on how women farmers responded to the German invasion and penetration of the Southern Highlands. Women farmers individually or in groups participated actively in different ways during this historical period. In areas that local people reacted by fighting the colonialists, women offered their active and concrete contributions. In areas with non-participatory responses or hidden protests, women also contributed. Furthermore, historical information shows that in some settings, women farmers provided labour and support to help the colonialists to establish new settlements and projects during the time of colonial penetration in various areas in the Southern Highlands, often in form of wage labour.

The colonial invasion, conquest, and occupation of Tanzanian territory were not without resistance and confrontations from the local residents. People resisted the colonial operations from the beginning to the end. The acts of resistance unfolded in different historical patterns as they were responding to colonial confrontation in varying locally and in time. There were acts of resistance that were conducted during the initial colonial invasion and penetration, while others were waged during the period of implementing colonial administration (e.g. taxation, forced labour, and relocation).³⁴² Women farmers participated in all these kinds of colonial resistance but in different ways. Women resisted the initial penetration of colonial rulers in the Southern Highlands, the colonial organization, and control of labour. Women farmers further responded to the conflicts and confrontations that happened in their households as results of the colonial

³⁴² David Pizzo, *"To Devour the Land of Mkwawa": Colonial Violence and the German-Hehe War in East Africa ca. 1884–1914* (ProQuest, 2007); Gilbert C.K. Gwassa, "The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania," *A History of Tanzania*, 1969, 85–122; Allen Isaacman et al., "'Cotton Is the Mother of Poverty': Peasant Resistance to Forced Cotton Production in Mozambique, 1938–1961", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, No. 4 (1980); Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique: The Zambesi Valley, 1850–1921*, Vol. 18 (Univ. of California Press, 1976).

economy. In all these historical reactions, women farmers participated actively and passively. The following section shows how women farmers in the Southern Highlands reacted actively to the colonial invasion and penetration in their respective societies.

Historical documentation and evidence about women farmers' passive resistance in the beginning or during the initial intrusion of colonial rule in Tanzania is limited. This does not mean that women farmers did not provide hidden protest during the colonial initial entrance but there are no recorded or noted evidence giving credit to it. However, active resistance carried out during the initial stage of colonial intrusion, and the passive protests that were notable during the organisation and control of colonial economy are well documented. Therefore, women farmers' protests shown here are grouped into two historical periods: active resistances that happened during the initial stage of the colonial intrusion, and passive or hidden protests, which were noted during the period of colonial administration of agriculture in the colonial economy.

The beginning of Tanzanian active resistance to German colonial invasion dates from 1888 in the coastal belt, through the main caravan routes between 1890 and 1894, to the west, and Southern Highlands in 1898.³⁴³ It is evident that in most cases frontiers of Tanzanian resistance occurred at the frontiers of German intervention. The Germans occupied the coast first and that was the area of the first resistances against them. As the Germans occupation tended to move along the trade routes inward, most of the early resistance against them followed a similar route.³⁴⁴ The Southern Highlands of Tanzania experienced the German colonial penetration from the 1890s, as the region is located several hundred miles from the East African coast. In the whole process of colonial penetration and active resistance, women farmers of the Southern Highlands participated actively in various engagements that made the historical event complete.

The Germans' colonial penetration to the Southern Highlands encountered various vigorous resistances, including those in the Rukwa area. The resistances that are documented in the Rukwa area were those which came from people living in the south-east of Lake Rukwa under

³⁴³Gwassa, 'The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania'.

³⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 121–127.

chief Sunda; and the resistance of Wemba people living in the southern end of Lake Tanganyika under the chieftainship of Chief Nondo Kitimukulu. The German met and suppressed those resistances between February and June 1893 under the command of Major Hermann von Wissmann.³⁴⁵ Furthermore, the Germans encountered and covered up the active resistances of people of Rungwa who were under the chieftainship of Ndula Sigela. They also encountered the people of Rungwa under the command of Captain Tom von Prince. In addition, they encountered another resistance from the area of Rukwa valley in Gongwe and Mpimbwe where they engaged the forces of Kimalaunga about the mid of 1893.³⁴⁶ Women were among the people experienced and victimised by the war of resistance in the Rukwa area located in the Southern Highlands. In one of the confrontations, Major Wissmann explained how the German colonial troops encountered the people of the area, including the women as follows:

.....as the German commander saw that the enemies, who occupied the mounds behind which there was a larger number of prisoners, women, and children had exposed themselves as if ready to catch bullets, and the huge mass of spearmen wanted then to charge, he fired a grenade in to thick pile of what looked like a section of commanders of chiefs.....success was immediate and very effective; many fell down dead, many maimed of wounded; the whole front line fell back.....³⁴⁷

German colonial penetration to another area of the Southern Highlands, Iringa, met with the Hehe resistance. The resistance was under the local chieftainship of Chief Mkwawa. The confrontation started in 1891 and ended in 1898 with the death of Mkwawa. The occupation of Iringa met massive resistance from the local residents. It produced loss of life and material, and saw women participation before the Germans were able to put the Iringa region under their complete control. The following two paragraphs from Marcia Wright explain the historical context for the Iringa resistance and its occupation by the Germans:

...the colonial history of the Iringa district had begun with a fiasco for the Germans when the Zelewski expedition was wiped out by Mkwawa in 1891. Two punitive expeditions in 1894 and 1896 preceded the administrative occupation of the area...Mkwawa was still at large when Iringa was founded as district headquarters...³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Anselm Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times* (A. Tambila, 1981).

³⁴⁶ TNA, Ufipa District Book Vol. II & III, Note on Kimalaunga.

³⁴⁷ Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 123.

³⁴⁸ Marcia Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Clarendon Press, 1971): 68.

...Iringa was founded as a colonial stronghold in the second half of 1896, when German expeditionary forces under Captain von Prince occupied the center of Hehe country... The conquest of the Hehe required two years...³⁴⁹

Further German colonial resistances in the Southern Highlands arose from the Nyakyusa people. According to Marcia Wright, the Nyakyusa resistance grew from popular hostility, above all against forced labour for construction of the district headquarters. A large number of princes banded together to withstand punitive expeditions.³⁵⁰ The German district officer of the time was Captain von Elpons, nicknamed *Hamusini* (Fifty) for the number of strokes he imposed in physical punishment.³⁵¹ The Nyakyusa resistance was done in collaboration with the Kinga of Makete. These scheduled up a resistance in 1897. They planned to rise against the public outrage, threatened the extinction of princely privileges, and the prospect of German regime lead by the district officer, von Elpons.³⁵² The organisation was carried out at Mwankenja's village with the main aim to proceed to the district office located at Langenburg to meet the district officer. The resistance was then suppressed by the German troops under the leadership of von Elpons as explained below:

...the report of four hundred Kinga warriors in league with the Nyakyusa camped within an hour to the station, von Elpons seized the initiative ... the Germans' maxim guns wreaked havoc with their first blasts, the Nyakyusa quickly dispersed, giving the Germans a decisive military victory. Among others, the revered Mwakalinga Kirota was killed...³⁵³

Another resistance that the Germans faced in the Southern Highlands was that of the Matengo people of Mbinga district. The contact between the Matengo and the Germans started in 1897 when the German Flag was given to one of their leaders, Mandawa, at Songea district. The relationship between the German colonial rulers and the Matengo was a friendly one for the first two years. In 1899, the colonial pressure increased higher demand for labour. As a result, the Matengo protested against the German rule. One of the documented historical quarrels happened when the Matengo were required to carry lime on foot from Mbinga to Songea, more than 100 kilometres distance for boma construction. This resulted in a physical confrontation whereby

³⁴⁹Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*, p. 204.

³⁵⁰Marcia Wright, *Nyakyusa Cults and Politics in the Later Nineteenth Century*, 1970.

³⁵¹Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*.

³⁵²Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*, p. 61.

³⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 62.

some houses were burnt and more than 40 men lost their lives.³⁵⁴ In 1902, the Matengo finally submitted to the colonial rule and the labour was delivered accordingly as planned by the administration.

The most aggressive resistance against the German colonial rule in the Southern Highlands was the Majimaji war of 1905-1907. This comprised various ethnic groups, including the Bena, the Ngindo, and the Ngoni, to mention but a few. The Majimaji resistance cost both the Germans and the local people a lot in terms of time, life, and material. The Germans were able to put the Majimaji resistance down and continued with the administration of the southern Highlands.³⁵⁵

People of the region reacted to the colonial penetration in various ways, but historical evidence shows that most people in the region reacted actively through physical fighting.³⁵⁶ Local political leaders reacted because they wanted to retain their independence and political authority. They wanted to continue controlling economic and political gains from their respective societies. This is evidenced by a quotation from a study conducted in the Southern Highlands in the Rukwa region:

...Chief Sunda who lived to the S.E. of Lake Rukwa and who, with his people, had become very prosperous through agriculture and trade in ivory, put up a stiff resistance. The German Flag which was sent to him and the acceptance of which was supposed to show submission to German rule was trampled in dirt and mud and its carriers escaped only with their lives... the German forces were sent against him...in spite of the use of a maxim gun and small canon, Sunda's army was not defeated. It simply retreated and moved away to leave the Germans to retire...³⁵⁷

The local population resisted the colonial invasion as they wanted to continue enjoying their freedom and functioning of the society in normal acknowledged ways without dealing with new

³⁵⁴ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 117.

³⁵⁵ O.B. Mapunda and G.P. Mpangara, *The Maji Maji War in Ungoni*, 1 (East African Pub. House, 1969); James Leonard Giblin and Jamie Monson, *Maji Maji: Lifting the Fog of War*, Vol. 20 (Brill, 2010); John Iliffe, 'The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion', *Journal of African History* 8, No. 3 (1967): 495–512.

³⁵⁶ Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*; Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*; Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

³⁵⁷ Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*.

ways of colonial administration and domination.³⁵⁸ They did not want to work for or to pay tributes to the colonial administration. This kind of historical circumstances accounts for the engagement of society in the resistance against the penetration and occupation of the colonial rule. The reactions of local residents against colonial rule are evident from the research conducted in the Southern highlands as people were expected not to agree on the new form of life designed by the colonial rulers:

...German official, Captain Sigl, declared Mkajala as paramount chief for the Bende, the Saa, the Tongwe who had no paramount chief, setting one all of a sudden above all others was a definite invitation to trouble because problems were going to arise as regards chiefly rights and privileges and the duties of the subjects who were going to have extra labour and tribute demands upon them....³⁵⁹

The reactions against colonial penetration and occupation in the Southern Highlands accommodated various manifestations. They encompassed psychological³⁶⁰ and physical responses. Different local residents of the region carried out these actions differently. The following section shows how women farmers in the region participated actively within the historical context of colonial rule resistances.

Women farmers in the Southern Highlands adopted colonial resistance in various active ways. They acted as the producers and reproducers of the historical situation experienced during the wars of resistance in the region.³⁶¹ Women farmers' role during the period of resistance intensified in various ways in response to the increased concentration of the multiple activities in

³⁵⁸Gwassa, 'The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania. '; Heike Schmidt, '(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, No. 1 (2010): 27–62; Doris Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania* (Bayreuth University, 1989).

³⁵⁹Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 127.

³⁶⁰ Local people decided not to incorporate in colonial economy through passively ways, showing non-participation or not supporting the colonial activities.

³⁶¹Jamie Monson, "Relocating Maji Maji: The Politics of Alliance and Authority in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1870–1918", *The Journal of African History* 39, No. 1 (January 1, 1998): 95–120; Schmidt, '(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916'; Jean Marie Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Judith Carney and Michael Watts, 'Disciplining Women? Rice, Mechanization, and the Evolution of Mandinka Gender Relations in Senegambia', *Signs* 16, No. 4 (1991): 651–81; Margaret Strobel, 'African Women', *Signs* 8, No. 1 (1982): 109–31.

their communities. For example, women farmers intensified agricultural activities to respond to the rise in demand for agricultural products, especially foodstuffs. These were needed for the provision of war parties and other uses in the societies.³⁶² Women farmers increased production and reproduction activities during the active colonial confrontations and supported local men in their physical fighting against colonial intrusion and administration.

Historical evidence shows that during active wars of resistance most women farmers stayed at home, continued to look after the fields, and exchanged crops for the consumption of their communities and for those in war. In addition, if the confrontations happened during dry seasons, they went further to attempt wetland cultivation to make sure food supply continued to satisfy the community during this vital time.³⁶³ Women made sure they produced more as the food was used not only for the local people but also in most cases the enemies took the food and livestock from the villages during the fighting. This is also evident from the research carried out in the Southern Highlands which reveals that the German troops went ahead and took the available stock of food around the battlefield. The action implied more work for women farmers to compensate the loss incurred during the war. It also implied more production for any emergency in the future. This historical practice is evident from the war of resistance that occurred in the Southern Highlands in Rukwa region between the local people under their chief Sunda and the German troops under Major Wissmann:

....the damage was great because Wissman and his officer Dr Bümiller could count on neighbouring auxiliaries who increased the power of the invader since he could play on and magnify common local disagreements to his own advantage. Secondly, the loss of food crops and domestic animals taken by the German mercenary troops meant immediate or eventual hunger for the locals...³⁶⁴

Women farmers went further to offer their labour power in exchange for food to the neighbouring areas that were not affected by wars of resistance. Women did this for the survival of themselves as well as for their families. Historical evidence indicates that in most of the areas

³⁶²Arthur Theodore Culwick, Mrs G.M. Culwick, and Towegale Kiwanga, *Ubena of the Rivers* (G. Allen & Unwin, Limited, 1935); Monson, 'Relocating Maji Maji: The Politics of Alliance and Authority in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1870–1918'; Chima J. Korieh, "The Invisible Farmer? Women, Gender, and Colonial Agricultural Policy in the Igbo Region of Nigeria, ca. 1913–1954", *African Economic History*, No. 29 (2001): 117–62.

³⁶³Schmidt, '(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916.'; Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*.

³⁶⁴Georg Richelmann, *Meine Erlebnisse in Der Wissmann-Truppe* (Creutz, 1892).

local people resisted through armed forces, the colonial troops reacted by destroying fields of food crops and livestock, which resulted in many problems to the local people, including local food shortage. Historical suggestions further indicate that the confiscations of local items by the German mercenaries and troops were a normal action in the Southern Highlands. For example, a research carried out in Ubena by Seth Nyagava shows that German troops and Sangu auxiliaries had taken both cattle and food items during the extended guerrilla campaign against Mkwawa of Uhehe.³⁶⁵ Again, in the Ungoni area, John Iliffe shows that Governor von Götzen instructed Johannes, as commander of relief forces to implement a famine strategy and show no mercy towards the resisters. The tactics involved the destruction or confiscation of all foodstuffs and the burning of fields and homestead, which soon proved to be effective since the area suffered famine and starvations.³⁶⁶ The destruction of the life and food during the war of resistance in the Southern Highlands is further proved by the following historical information:

...the German authorities with massive reprisal, villages were burnt down, men were unscrupulously murdered or arrested, food was confiscated or destroyed, and the cultivation of certain crops was prohibited. All these factors caused a disastrous famine, which lasted for two years...³⁶⁷

To solve the problem of famine for themselves and their families, women farmers offered their labour power for food exchange until the food production resumed the normal supply.³⁶⁸ Heike Schmidt indicates how women in Ungoni went to work in unaffected areas of Umatengo and Nyasa for food to serve their families from hunger.³⁶⁹ Furthermore, one of the women informants interviewed by Marcia Wright in the Usafwa of the Mbeya region area explained how she went away from her local home during confrontations and cultivated in the nearby area for the food of her family.³⁷⁰ These historical details shed insight into how women farmers participated actively during local colonial resistance and confrontation in the Southern Highlands.

³⁶⁵Seth I. Nyagava, 'A History of the Bena to 1980' (PhD Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1988)p. 280

³⁶⁶Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. PAGES.

³⁶⁷Mapunda and Mpangara, *The Maji Maji War in Ungoni*, p. 27.

³⁶⁸Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. PAGES.

³⁶⁹Schmidt, '(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916'.

³⁷⁰Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*.

Women farmers' participation during the time of colonial resistance and confrontations could be further viewed from the different ways the colonial administration was planned and implemented. The German's colonial arrangements and operations during the resistances and confrontations in the Southern Highlands triggered women farmers of the Southern Highlands to participate in that historical epoch in various styles. In some local areas, the German colonial administration allowed the capturing and retaining of women by their troops. The captured women were set to work in various sections during their captivity. One evidence from the southern highlands indicates that German colonial officers at Songea allowed their troops to capture women as the way to force local resisters to surrender, but when the response was not what was anticipated, women were held in captivity and were forced to work for the troops in different practices. One of the Swahili traders, a resident of Songea at the time of resistance, by the name of Rashid bin Masoud, together with his troop fought on the side of the Germans. His troops captured hundreds of women and children during the confrontations and used them for his advantages. The following quotation indicates how Rashid's involvement in the war implicated women of the area:

....after the decisive battle in Namabengo on October 20 to 21, 1905, Rashid sent his slave army out to capture rebels. When Major Johannes arrived a month later, he authorized the trader to deploy his troops as auxiliaries in the scorched earth campaign that involved food requisitioning and taking of women and children as war slaves. The German administration provided him with ammunition and weapons...³⁷¹

Likewise, historical facts show that in most cases, women and children were not the targets of war. However, it was different during the confrontation between the German troops against the colonial resisters in the Southern Highlands. The troops purposely aimed at capturing women and children. The following quotation clearly explains how women were targeted during the confrontations between the German troops and the local people in the southern Highlands of Tanzania:

....in Ngoni warfare the mobile units of warriors, often travelling large distances, usually left women, children, and the old behind in the agricultural production areas; if attack was imminent, they were to hide in safe places, such as caves. During Majimaji, the situation was aggravated by the German counter-insurgency campaign, which

³⁷¹Schmidt, "(Re) Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916," p. 47.

clearly aimed at their capture. They thus became the most vulnerable members of the society in Ungoni.³⁷²

Another evidence of capturing of women and children during local protests and resistance to colonial authority is cited from south east in Mahenge. Lorne Larson shows that during the rebellion, missionaries became very hostile to von Hassel³⁷³ because he allowed his auxiliaries to carry off women and children as booty during reprisal raids.³⁷⁴ Further examples of women captives during the war of resistances in the Southern Highland are drawn from Iringa region. In Image, an informant recalled that rebel groups from Usagara, called *Vahonga*, attacked Hehe homes and granaries, taking women as captives. On the Udzungwa escarpment, southern Uhehe, Mbunga and Pogoro, raiders looted livestock and burned houses and granaries. They frequently captured women in retaliation against communities that refused to support or join them.³⁷⁵ This evidence drawn from various confrontations in the Southern Highlands show how women farmers suffered the attacks from both, the German troops, and from other rebels. Some historical sources go further showing sexual abuses and violations which women encountered during their captivity.³⁷⁶ Women farmers' involvement in the resistance provides vast historical significance.

Women who were held as captives by German troops did not stay idle in their captivity. They continued to work and produce to cater for the troops and administrators. There is a historical proof that some women were held captive for more than three years by the German troops after

³⁷² Ibid., p. 53.

³⁷³ Von Hassel was a Germany district colonial officer in the south east area of the German East Africa from 1905; Lorne Erling Larson, 'A History of the Mahenge (Ulanga) District, Ca. 1860–1957' (University of Dar es Salaam, 1976): 99.

³⁷⁴ Lorne Erling Larson, 'A History of the Mahenge (Ulanga) District, Ca. 1860–1957' (University of Dar es Salaam, 1976): 101.

³⁷⁵ Interview with K.M. conducted by Carlo Ngalekumtwa, Dar es Salaam, 1968; Monson, 'Relocating Maji Maji: The Politics of Alliance and Authority in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1870–1918': 116.

³⁷⁶ Thaddeus Sunseri, "Colonial Troops in the German Colonies" Askari Und Fitafita: 'Farbige' Söldner in Den Deutschen Kolonien (Askari and Fitafita: 'Colored' Mercenaries in the German Colonies). By Thomas Morlang. Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag, 2008: 204," *The Journal of African History* 51, No. 02 (2010): 273–74; Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, 'The Role of Women in the Liberation of Mozambique', *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 13, No. 2–3 (1984).

the end of the Majimaji resistance in Songea³⁷⁷ district and in the German-Hehe war.³⁷⁸ The distribution and ownership of women captives by German troops during and after the Majimaji resistance enabled some people to own wealth in terms of labour and political power. This led to the increase in class divisions among people in the Southern Highlands during the post-Majimaji time.³⁷⁹ During captivity, these women continued to serve the troops, workers, and administrators in different ways. In this study, the production and provision of food are earmarked.

...social memory indicates that the war, and in particular the ruthless German counter-insurgency campaign, including the food requisition, and the use of captives as forced labour are still remembered...³⁸⁰

...German troops took significant numbers of women during the repression of Majimaji in the Southern Highlands. Many Hehe warriors fought in the German army under the Captain Nigmann, some because they saw an opportunity to advance themselves and acquire war booty, especially female captives.....in Ubena the casualties were; 340 Bena killed, 40 men taken prisoner, and 1,400 women taken prisoner³⁸¹

In their captivity, women continued to perform their role as food providers. As women are historically connected to fertility and food, in most cases, they were used to find food for the troops and other parties involved in the war. Further details indicate that in the aftermath of Majimaji resistance, Songea district experienced famine as a result of resistance and confrontation. One of the captive women was sent from Songea district to find food in Mbinga district for the consumption of troops. The woman went with her one-year old child on her back. The woman collapsed and died on the way before she could reach the destination.³⁸² Women's work as food procurers and providers in and around the war of colonial resistance is further evidenced by various historical sources that indicate that many dead bodies of women were

³⁷⁷Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*; Schmidt, "(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916"; Thaddeus Sunseri, 'Famine and Wild Pigs: Gender Struggles and the Outbreak of the Majimaji War in Uzaramo (Tanzania)', *The Journal of African History* 38, No. 02 (1997): 235–59.

³⁷⁸ Pizzo, *To Devour the Land of Mkwawa: Colonial Violence and the German-Hehe War in East Africa ca. 1884–1914*, p. 183.

³⁷⁹Nyagava, 'A History of the Bena to 1980', p. 280.

³⁸⁰ St. Otilien Archive, Kigonsera Chronik, 1905.

³⁸¹Monson, 'Relocating Maji: The Politics of Alliance and Authority in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1870–1918', p. 115.

³⁸²Schmidt, "Renegotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, Ca. 1905–1916", p. 54.

found along the way to the missionary stations where they believed to be the only places of food availability during the difficult times. Peramiho and Kigonsera mission stations located in the Southern Highlands were safe from famine as they managed to secure some food supplies during and after Majimaji war of colonial resistance. By early 1907 the roads leading to these mission stations were still lined with corpses of people, most of these were of women, who were most affected.³⁸³ Women continued to work for the availability of food after the Majimaji war in the Southern Highlands since many historical sources indicate that many areas recovered from famine in 1908, three years after the war, but the food situation did not fully stabilise until 1910.³⁸⁴

3.3.2 Women Farmers' Strategies and Engagements during German and British Colonial Rule, 1898-1960

This section provides a historical reconstruction on how women farmers in the Southern Highlands negotiated their labour power with the colonial government and other powerful classes during the German and British colonial rule. Women farmers' role in agriculture continued to be vital to the people in their proximity, and to the socio-political institutions that developed during the era. The historical facts indicate that women farmers' local agricultural role adapted to the social, political and economic situation that dominated the era. This was because agriculture was one of the most important economic sectors that the colonial accumulation depended on. In that case, therefore, all colonial structures that were designed to alter agriculture also altered the women farmers' local strategies and engagements. Likewise, colonial administrative machinery in alliance with powerful local classes changed women farmers' agricultural economic autonomy and power. This was carried out mainly through the introduction of the colonial economy which was comprised of cash cropping, a plantation system, taxation, and communal labour. All these not only benefited largely men and the upper classes but also excluded women from profitably participating in the colonial market arrangements that dominated the era. In colonial challenges that transpired during the era,

³⁸³Ibid.

³⁸⁴Felicitas Becker, 'Traders, "Big Men" and Prophets: Political Continuity and Crisis in the Maji Rebellion in Southeast Tanzania', *The Journal of African History* 45, No. 1 (2004): 1-22; Mapunda and Mpangara, *The Maji Maji War in Ungoni*; Giblin and Monson, *Maji Maji: Lifting the Fog of War*; Sunseri, 'Famine and Wild Pigs: Gender Struggles and the Outbreak of the Majimaji War in Uzaramo (Tanzania)'.

individual women farmers and their associations resisted colonial arrangements which they saw as destructive to their welfare in various ways. They also cooperated with one another to protect their interests and those of their families. Women correspondingly entered new careers to help provide for themselves and their families.

Not all parts of the Southern Highlands saw the establishment of colonial rule at the same time. In some parts, the colonial offices were built in the 1890s, while in other places it was from 1902. Thus, the initial participation of women farmers in the colonial economy also differed accordingly. This dissertation provides dates for the beginning of the colonial rule in each region under study. It also indicates the time when women farmers started to participate in those colonial ventures.

German East Africa had by 1912 become a colonial economy with two main features:³⁸⁵ one dominated by African peasant farmers producing cash crops for export, and the other on agro economy sector owned by Europeans³⁸⁶ growing export crops on huge plantations and farms that depended on cheap African labourers for their existence. Plantation areas developed along the coast, mainly in Tanga and Lindi, producing sisal, rubber and cotton. The second area was in the north-east, stretching from lower Usambara in the east to Arusha in the west, producing coffee in the mountains and sisal in the flat land along the Ruvu River. A later development involved the coffee and tea growing areas of Southern Highlands. By 1895 already, there were 13 plantations in Tanga, 2 in Pangani, 1 near Bagamoyo, and 1 in the south near Kilwa. The number of plantations increased steadily and by 1914, there were more than 100 coffee plantations in the Moshi and Arusha area, and sisal production reached 19,698 tonnes by 1913.³⁸⁷ The African cash crop production sector developed later slowly in various areas, like Bukoba, to the west of Lake Victoria, on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, in Usukuma, i.e. south of Lake Victoria and much

³⁸⁵ There were also other varied sectors of colonial economy like small scale industries based on processing and extraction, but in addition, commerce section which was dominated by Asian merchants.

³⁸⁶ By 1912 European undertakings produced 57% of export value. This means African peasant farmers producing cash crops for export accounted to 43% ; Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 148.

³⁸⁷ Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, pp. 142–145.

later in the Southern Highlands in Tukuyu, Mbeya region to the north of Lake Nyasa. All these areas grew coffee except for Usukuma where cotton was produced.³⁸⁸

There were various reasons that led to the late development of colonial investment in the Southern Highlands. One of the reasons provided by historians was the region's location at a long distance from the colonial headquarters and harbours in the coastal area. Lack of transport infrastructures that could connect the Southern Highlands and the coastal area was another reason documented. For example, the Mbinga district is located more than 1200 km³⁸⁹ away from Dar es Salaam where the centre for colonial administration was situated. Various historical sources, in addition, indicate that the major obstacle for the establishment of European investments in the Southern Highlands was the peripheral situation of the region.³⁹⁰ Every activity based on the colonial economy demanded a good transport link to the coast, which the Southern Highlands lacked.³⁹¹ The Southern Highlands were served only by two ports of Kilwa and Lindi located in the south-east of the territory. Therefore, the residents of the area had a distance to walk to meet those ports in order to satisfy the demand of transportation. These two ports were served by the coastal steamer of the German East Africa line, thus having an indirect connection to Europe via Dar es Salaam.³⁹² Thus, the area lacked the early colonial plantation economy as well as the rapid expansion of an African producer based export production.

There are also political reasons for the weak development of colonial investment in the Southern Highlands. The region participated actively in the resistance against colonial occupation and domination of the area. The region is documented to have actively resisted the colonial administration via armed resistance.³⁹³ Some examples of these are the Hehe's German colonial

³⁸⁸Ibid.

³⁸⁹Jordan Nyenyembe, 'Migrants at the Mining Sector' (University of Wien, 2012).

³⁹⁰Schmied et al., *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989.

³⁹¹Ibid., p. 66.

³⁹²Ibid.

³⁹³Michael Pesek, 'The Boma and the Peripatetic Ruler: Mapping Colonial Rule in German East Africa, 1889–1903', *Western Folklore* 66, No. 3/4 (2007): 233–57.

resistance under the leadership of chief Mkwawa which started in 1895 and ended in 1898, and the massive resistance, the Majimaji war, which lasted almost for two years from 1905–1907. Thus, this participation hindered the region to acquire colonial economic investments. One of the historical details explains how the Majimaji war resulted in the weak development of the Songea district as follows:

...since many people died during the war or famine and other migrated to other areas, Songea district suffered great depopulation and consequently great economic decay. The cultivated area shrank drastically, the *miombo* wood spread and the tsetse fly penetrated into the area. All these consequences of Majimaji cemented the North-South discrepancy within the colony. All the plans to open up the areas for transport and infrastructure were dropped. Ruvuma had become a peripheral region...³⁹⁴

Since the Southern Highlands started to experience plantations and other physical colonial investment late, people started to participate in the colonial economy via other activities, particularly portage. Historical sources indicate that by 1903, there were more than 8,300 men participating in the colonial portage between the Songea district and the ports at Kilwa and Lindi.³⁹⁵ The number of people involved in carrying cargo between the Songea district and Kilwa rose steadily from the establishment of the ports onwards. The main export items from Kilwa and Lindi ports were cereals, groundnuts, timber, copra, tobacco, ivory, rubber, and wax. The items imported to the interior were mainly cotton cloth, salt, beads, and provisions. On average duration, it took a caravan 20 days to cover the 550 km from Kilwa or Lindi to Songea and 28 days to cover 670 km to Wiedhafen (Manda) on Lake Nyasa. The porters were paid eight or twelve rupees respectively for their service.³⁹⁶ The following paragraph also provides some statistical data on the number of people involved in the portage activities in the Southern Highlands:

...the rubber trade greatly intensified caravan traffic in the Southern regions and effectively integrated the area into the colonial economy. According to a calculation, while some 12,000 porters had left Kilwa and Lindi for the interior in 1899, the total was over 26,700 by 1903, by which time more than 6,000 had travelled as far as Songea...³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989: 69.

³⁹⁵Paul Fuchs, *Die Wirtschaftliche Erkundung Einer Ostafrikanischen Südbahn* (publisher not identified, 1905), p. 228; Pamela H Gulliver, 'History of the Songea Ngoni', *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 41 (1955): 16–30.

³⁹⁶Fuchs, *Die Wirtschaftliche Erkundung Einer Ostafrikanischen Südbahn*.

³⁹⁷Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*. p. 212

Another sector by which the people from Southern Highlands participated in the colonial economy was wage labour.³⁹⁸ Wage labour formed a very important method of joining the colonial economy on the part of people of the Southern Highlands. Even where people did not have to work to earn wage money, there were hundreds of public work projects which needed local labour. These were activities connected with the building of public houses, offices, bomas (forts), roads, bridges, and waterways. All these works required hundreds of labourers.³⁹⁹ The colonial archive provides some evidence for this:

...in the second class (i.e. mass of Africans living in rural areas), tax can be paid "in natural", acceptable as payment, "in natural" are oil products: groundnuts, coconuts, sesame seeds, etc..... and labour... The half-yearly tax can only be worked in a stint of consecutive days without stoppage...

...the local administrative personnel can use the manpower presenting itself as they see fit in the interest of their district, but foremost in road building...

...the local administrative personnel must collect tax by force when it has not been paid. In such cases forced labour is allowed...⁴⁰⁰

Individuals of the region started to participate in the colonial economy from the initial stage of the colonial conquest of the territory. Various colonial works began in the area even before the development of the tax ordinance of 1898.⁴⁰¹ The tax ordinance just gave legal power to colonial forced labour. It permitted the collection of tax in form of unfree labour.⁴⁰² For example, the

³⁹⁸M.J. Mbonile, 'Towards Breaking the Vicious Circle of Labour Migration in Tanzania: A Case of Makete District', *Utafiti* 3, No. 1 (1996): 91–109; Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*; James D. Graham, "A Case Study of Migrant Labor in Tanzania," *African Studies Review* 13, No. 1 (April 1, 1970): 23–33.

³⁹⁹Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*; Walter Rodney, Kaepewa Tambila, and Laurent Sago, *Migrant Labour in Tanzania During the Colonial Period: Case Studies of Recruitment and Conditions of Labour in the Sisal Industry* (Institut für Afrika-Kunde im Verbund der Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-Institut, 1983).

⁴⁰⁰The Tax Ordinance in Zentrales Staatsarchive der DDR, Postsdam, Reichskolonialamt, fol. 45, cited in Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 177–178.

⁴⁰¹The discussion about the introducing of taxes in German East Africa started in the year 1894. The Ordinance was signed on 01.11.1897, and took effect on 01.04.1898. Three reasons were provided for the introduction of Taxes: (a) to make the colony financially independent, (b) to educate the citizens to become good tax payers contributing to the development of the colony, and (c) to make citizens produce oil products for export to Germany. Initially, the goods were to be groundnuts, coconuts, and sesame seeds; Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 149.

⁴⁰²Thaddeus Sunseri, *Vilimani: Labor Migration and Rural Change in Early Colonial Tanzania* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002); Bernd Arnold, *Steuer und Lohnarbeit im Südwesten von Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1891 bis 1916: Eine*

Roman Catholic Mission Station – Tosamaganga was established under the protection of Prince's *askari* and was built with mostly unfree labour as part of the ever-more systematic practice of extracting *corvée* (tax-labour) from local people in areas under colonial administration.⁴⁰³ Evidence indicates that the numbers of people demanded by the colonial state through this exercise were massive compared to the practice of tribute in the pre-colonial societies. Likewise, the amount of work demanded of the men was enormous.⁴⁰⁴ This historical fact is supported by various historical scholars who indicate that the early period of German colonial rule in Tanzania was characterised by gathering workers who were forced to work on plantations. Furthermore, the colonial economy needed labourers to work in farm production for settlers and railway construction which facilitated settler rather than peasant production.⁴⁰⁵ An example of colonial ventures which were carried out by forced labourers in the Southern Highlands was the construction of the road from Tabora passing through Karema and Kala to Kassanga in the Southern Highlands, covering a distance of over 500 kilometres. Another big project was the construction of a telegraph line passing through the Southern Highlands by the African Transcontinental Telegraph Co. Ltd. This project was also carried out using the same methods. Evidence shows that cases of forced labour were common and most of the road constructions depended on forced labour because the authorities did not have the necessary fund to pay decent wages.⁴⁰⁶ This is further evident through the work of Thomas Spear and historical information from Tanzania National Archives:

.....forced labour on caravan, public work and plantation had accompanied German rule from the very beginning of conquest, initially people were drafted to work on the *boma* and road works as part of their punishment for opposing conquest, but the

historisch-ethnologische Studie (Münster: lit Verlag, 1994); and Jan Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa ca. 1884–1914* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2006): 220.

⁴⁰³ Pizzo, *'To Devour the Land of Mkwawa': Colonial Violence and the German-Hehe War in East Africa ca. 1884–1914*, p. 221.

⁴⁰⁴ Rodney, Tambila, and Sago, *Migrant Labour in Tanzania During the Colonial Period: Case Studies of Recruitment and Conditions of Labour in the Sisal Industry.*; Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*.

⁴⁰⁵ Thaddeus Sunseri, 'Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography', *African Affairs* 95, No. 381 (1996): 581–98.

⁴⁰⁶ Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 178–179.

German administration continued to use *corvée* thereafter as a means of extracting labour from the local economy when the head tax alone proved insufficient...⁴⁰⁷

...legally the use of forced labour is for portage and the maintenance of existing works and services providing in each case that the work is not for the purpose of economic development...⁴⁰⁸

...there are 200 miles trunk roads in sub-districts, the upkeep of which entails enormous labour and expense. Most of the bridges have to be rebuilt entirely every year, and owing to no expert labour being available, considerable delay occurs before the roads are opened to wheeled traffic after rains...⁴⁰⁹

On top of forced labour, the migrant labour sectors further developed in the Southern Highlands. The sector manifested itself as a result of the location of the colonial investments along the coast and in the north-east of the territory. This facilitated the carving of the Southern Highlands to be a labour reservoir area. Areas like Mbeya, Rukwa, Njombe, Songea, Makete, Mbinga, and others participated in the colonial economy via wage labour as migrant labourers.⁴¹⁰ Central to the development of the migrant labour system was the fact that labour could not be provided in local plantations and other colonial investments, and therefore labourers from distant areas were recruited.⁴¹¹ Goran Hyden further points out that the plantation sector in Tanzania depended on hired labourers often recruited from far away to ensure that family demands would not easily interfere with their work. Thus, workers for the colonial coastal sisal plantations and other sectors were recruited in the western and southern areas of the country.⁴¹² The Southern Highlands poured out labourers to various areas like the Tanga sisal plantations and the Lupa Goldfields.

⁴⁰⁷Thomas T Spear, *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land & Agricultural Development in Arusha & Meru* (Univ of California Press, 1997): 85.

⁴⁰⁸TNA, Lab.12/40 No. Mb/ 389, Forced Labour, p. 89.

⁴⁰⁹ TNA, District Officer's Report, Njombe District, 1924–1937, p. 9.

⁴¹⁰Nyenyembe, "Migrants at the Mining Sector"; Mbonile, "Towards Breaking the Vicious Circle of Labour Migration in Tanzania: A Case of Makete District"; Graham, "A Case Study of Migrant Labor in Tanzania"; Sunseri, "Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography"; Rodney, Tambila, and Sago, *Migrant Labour in Tanzania During the Colonial Period: Case Studies of Recruitment and Conditions of Labour in the Sisal Industry*; Pamela H. Gulliver, "The Nyakyusa Labour Migration", *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 21 (1957): 32–63; H.A. Luning and J.J. Sterkenburg, *An Executive Plan for Agricultural Development in Rungwe District*, Leiden (Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1971).

⁴¹¹Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*.

⁴¹²Göran Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Univ. of California Press, 1980): 47.

Others were conscripted as forced labourers into the colonial armed forces which heavily depended on portage or into civil employment in essential industries. Later on, male migrants went south to the Copperbelt in Zambia and to the South African gold mines.⁴¹³ The immediate consequence of this was the decline of a number of the male population in the area. According to the 1932 annual report of the Southern Highland Province, there were 70,905 women and 37,573 men, compared to 41,959 girls and 44,625 boys.⁴¹⁴ The withdrawal of male labour from the peasant agriculture intensified female labour. The land came to be more intensively than extensively cultivated, and this led to the overall reduction of the cultivated land.⁴¹⁵

To sum up, we can say that male inhabitants of the Southern Highlands began to join the migrant labour flows in the early 1900s for two main reasons. The first reason is the colonial taxation pressure which was legally introduced in the colony in 1898. The second reason documented is the introduction of labour recruiters in the region.⁴¹⁶ Male migrant Labourers from Songea district which included people from Mbinga area went mostly to the sisal estates of Kilosa, Tanga, Korogwe and Pangani. Some inhabitants of the lake shore went abroad for road, railways, and mining work to Nyasaland or Rhodesia.⁴¹⁷ Historical records show that more than a quarter of adult men left the Songea district for labour in other places, and some of them did not return to their home.⁴¹⁸ The estimated number of labour migrants in Songea district, which includes Mbinga, was 19,365 annually.⁴¹⁹ Labour migration was a common experience shared by almost all men in the region.

⁴¹³ Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, 'Women's Resistance in Customary Marriage: Tanzania's Runaway Wives', 1989.

⁴¹⁴ TNA, Southern Highlands Province, 23/1/32 cited in *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Sunseri, "Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography"; Sunseri, 'Famine and Wild Pigs: Gender Struggles and the Outbreak of the Majimaji War in Uzaramo (Tanzania)',

⁴¹⁶ Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*.

⁴¹⁷ Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989: 81; Gulliver, 'History of the Songea Ngoni'.

⁴¹⁸ TNA, Songea District Book, Vol. II, no date; Gulliver, 'History of the Songea Ngoni'; Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989; Lambert Doerr, *Peramiho: In the Service of the Missionary Church* (Benedictine Publications, 1998).

⁴¹⁹ TNA, Songea District Book, Vol. II, no date.

Male population from Njombe district started to join labour migration in 1906 when the German colonial government started to seriously collect cash taxes from all adult males for public purposes. At this juncture, local people started to feel the strains and fluctuation of colonial demands to be fulfilled using cash money. Some of the plantations of Europeans located in the Southern Highlands included cotton plantations in the present day Iringa rural, tea plantations in the present day Mufindi district, pyrethrum and wattle plantations in Njombe, and pyrethrum and tea plantations in the present day Ludewa district.⁴²⁰ Although there were such plantations located in the Southern province, Njombe adult men banded together and travelled northwards to find work. This is partly explained by the fact that settlers in Njombe and other areas in the Southern Province paid low wages to the migrant labourers compared to other places. For example, in the 1930s, employers in Njombe districts paid 4 shillings per month, while 30 shillings were paid in the sisal industry in the northern part.⁴²¹ The difference in the wages together with other reasons like unattractive working conditions motivated male migrant workers to choose places other than the Southern Highlands Province. At first, their motivation for setting out such long journeys was to earn money for paying family taxes, but later on, it was for an accumulation of cash for buying imported items and for paying bridewealth.⁴²² More historical information concerning male labour migration of Njombe that covered Ubena and Ukinga areas come from the Tanzania National archives as follows:

...it is estimated that at any one time 20% of the able-bodied Wakinga and Wabena are working outside the district. The larger number of these men never returns home. There is no doubt that the Upangwa and the Wakinga are gradually lying depopulated and this is probably the cause...⁴²³

.....very few natives are actually recruited in the district but a very large percentage of able bodied men go to the coast annually. The state they prefer to do this as on arrival there they are at liberty to work where and when they like...⁴²⁴

⁴²⁰ C.M.F. Lwoga, 'From Long-Term to Seasonal Labour Migration in Iringa Region, Tanzania: A Legacy of the Colonial Forced Labour System', *Forced Labour and Migration: Patterns of Movement within Africa*, 1989: 180–210, p. 185.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Graham, 'A Case Study of Migrant Labor in Tanzania', p. 26; James L. Giblin, 'Divided Patriarchs in a Labour Migration Economy: Contextualizing Debate About Family and Gender in Colonial Njombe', 2000; Claude Gasper Mung'ong'o, 'Coming Full Circle: Agriculture, Non-farm Activities and the Resurgence of Out-migration in Njombe District, Tanzania', 1998.

⁴²³ TNA, District Officer's Report, Njombe District 1924–1937: 10.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

....I doubt whether it would be an exaggeration to say that 70% or more of the labour employed on farms in Iringa comes from the Njombe district. It is usually estimated that at any time 20% of the able bodied men of the three tribes (Bena Pangwa, and Kinga) are away from their homes working in other districts. I am now inclined to think that the percentage of absentees is higher...⁴²⁵

The colonial migration pattern in Mbeya district which includes Mbozi is documented by various historical sources. They show that male adults migrated to various areas to find cash money in order to pay taxes and to buy imported items. The migration pattern included areas inside the territory as well as outside. People of Mbeya migrated southward to Zambia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa where they worked in gold and copper mines. Others migrated within the territory to work in plantations located along the coast as well as to the north-east of the territory and to the mines like the gold mine in Chunya.⁴²⁶

Various scholars document the historical development of labour migration in Makete district. They point out that Makete started to experience labour migration during the German colonial period. The Germans carved Makete district as a labour reservoir area to serve the established plantations and other colonial investments along the coast and in the north-east area of the territory. This was reinforced through the introduction of taxation that promoted labour migration of male population to the plantations, mines, and other economic activities linked with the metropolitan economies of developed countries.⁴²⁷ During the colonial period, most male migrants from Makete District migrated in the reaction to poor economic conditions; they migrated over long distances to the plantations and mining areas. This involved rural to rural migrations to the plantation areas as well as international migration to the mines in Zambia and South Africa.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁵Ibid., p. 68.

⁴²⁶Davis Mwamfupe, "Changing Village Land, Labour and Livelihoods: Rungwe and Kyela Districts, Tanzania," 1998; Luning and Sterkenburg, *An Executive Plan for Agricultural Development in Rungwe District, Leiden.*; Gulliver, 'The Nyakyusa Labour Migration'.

⁴²⁷Mbonile, 'Towards Breaking the Vicious Circle of Labour Migration in Tanzania: A Case of Makete District'.

⁴²⁸Ibid.

Rukwa region is another part of the Southern Highlands which experienced labour migration during the colonial period. The main areas where outmigration occurred in Rukwa region are reported to be those from the lake shores. People along the lake preferred to fish and sell the products for cash which supplied them with the money they wanted for tax payment and other consumptions.⁴²⁹ A number of sources illustrate the characteristics of migration in the Rukwa region:

...Rukwa: many young men go to the coast for two years. Many return, others die down there. A few from Isangwa return healthy. They brought clothes, umbrellas and others...⁴³⁰

...Kirando: people move to Ujiji, Mwanza, and Kilimatinde in dry season in search of money...⁴³¹

...the favourable influence of the railway is already making itself felt even in the far off Bismarckburg district. The numbers of workers who were recruited in the administrative district of the Bismarckburg substation in the months of July and August 1911 is as follows: 111 for the central railway, 47 for Usambara railway, and 425 for the plantations in the Tanga and Pangani hinterland, making a total of 583 labourers.⁴³²

...our people have had the reputation of being busy-bodies of all times. They of course have absolutely no desire to lose it! Tabora, Tanga, Dar es Salaam are veritable colonies of the Pimbwe. Furthermore, they do not get satisfied with one year of this unsettled life. Only too often do they pass five or six years without returning to their own country. This life of travelling begins at the age of thirteen or fourteen years and does not stop till their strength begins to diminish...⁴³³

The Southern Highlands depended more on agricultural activities as the economic source during the colonial period. These activities were dominated by peasant farming rather than plantation and settler farming. Other colonial activities like the portage and migrant labour depended further on peasant section to get labourers. In this historical context, it was true that the colonial administration was employing gender bias, ultimately apprehended peasant areas, pumped out male labour to be used in other colonial activities, and preserved peasant societies (mostly

⁴²⁹Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*.

⁴³⁰Archivo Padri Bianchi, Roma, Notes on Rukwa, 1908, cited in Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 185.

⁴³¹Ibid. Archivo p. 185.

⁴³²Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 186.

⁴³³Archivo Padri Bianchi, Roma. 1913 cited in Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 196.

women farmers) for the benefit of colonial accumulation. Rural women farmers were retained at a low level of development in order to subsidize men's wages. In the absence of men, women were compelled to increase their labour output for food production or for merchant activity in order to make up for the loss of men's labour. This meant that women were integral to plantation systems as producers and reproducers of the social amenities needed to support male labour migration.⁴³⁴ Andrew Coulson argues that the colonial administrators were aware of the importance of peasants for the progress of the colonial system, thus they did what they could to make the peasant section survive. This meant that although the colonial system drew upon male population from rural areas to work as migrant labourers in the coastal plantations and other economic engagements, they created other means to carry on the development of the peasant sector in the rural areas. One of these was the colonial development of women farmers' section in the rural area. The following quotation from Andrew Coulson explains the details vividly:

...for bureaucrats the peasants were an important section of the economy which they cannot fully control, but which they must attempt to manipulate to extract a surplus of food to feed the cities and export crop to extract the foreign exchange to maintain or expand states...⁴³⁵

The following section shows some of the historical data concerning women farmers' involvement in economic works during the colonial accumulation in the Southern Highlands. One of the most notable colonial waves that made women farmers work more in the colonial economy was the impact created by the male labour migration. Male labour migration from Southern Highlands to various locations prompted women farmers to toil more in order to compensate the labour power vacuum caused by the absence of their migrant husbands and their male family members. Women were supposed to make sure their families at home got enough materials for survival as well as for their development. Life at home was supposed to continue as usual even if male family members and migrant husbands were not there. Various women's activities have been already explained in the aforementioned sections: for instance processing food items for immediate and prolonged use, as well as cooking, washing, and cleaning, fetching water, making pottery, baskets, and mats, raising and caring for the children, and the elderly, taking care of the sick, etc. On top of that, women farmers were forced to increase their attention

⁴³⁴Sunseri, 'Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography'.

⁴³⁵ Andrew Coulson, 'Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania', *Review of African Political Economy* 4, No. 10 (1977): 74–100, p. 74.

in food cultivation to satisfy their families; they could no longer depend on their husbands and male family members to clear the land for farming. The emigration of men to colonial plantations and mines left women farmers to take responsibility for both domestic duties and farming activities alone. This historical fact was mentioned on various occasions during the interviews and Focus Group Discussions conducted in the research area.⁴³⁶ Mama T.M. of Iyula village explained some of the events that she remembers having encountered during colonial rule:

...our father did not stay at home. He did not stay in one place; he always wandered to find jobs in various places. Most of the time we remained home alone with our mother, and we had to cultivate the farms...

...it was very difficult for our family to fulfil all the requirements of the colonial government. For example, when the tax collectors visited our home, our mother hid in the field where we used to dry meal flour. In many occasions, she used to put herself in between the mats, when the officer set off, she resumed a normal life...

...sometimes our mother went to Lulwahi where there was less pressure from the local rulers or tax collectors. She liked Lulwahi because there she did her works and other projects peacefully without the pressure of thinking of official follow-ups. When the food crops became ready, she sent it to us for consumption...⁴³⁷

In other cases, historical data is showing that the colonial administration created some administrative techniques to make women farmers produce more in order to speed up colonial economic accumulation. Details illustrate that women farmers were made to pay taxes for their absent migrant husbands and male relatives.⁴³⁸ Women farmers thus were prompted to labour more in various sections to acquire the extra value that enabled them to pay in order to avoid colonial penalties. This kind of obligation was put on to women during both, the German and British colonial times. The German district officer Waldemar Zencke of the Rukwa district in the Southern Highlands district ordered women farmers to sell their sorghum to obtain money to pay for their absent husbands.⁴³⁹ Information concerning the British engagements on this issue shows

⁴³⁶ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 Decembers 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikinge Village on 26 February 2015.

⁴³⁷ Interview with mama T. M. of Iyula village on 20 October 2015.

⁴³⁸ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Igale village on 12 January 2015; Isapulano Village on 20 March 2015.

⁴³⁹ Archivo Padri Bianchi, 1911–1912, p. 482–3, cited in Tambila, A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times, p. 192.

that they taxed women for their absent husbands even as the First World War was still being fought. “The British taxed the inhabitants of the region even as the war raged to the extent of forcing women to pay tax for their absent husbands”.⁴⁴⁰ Colonial administrators further formulated a policy which prohibited women farmers from leaving the rural areas so that they remain in the villages and continue to participate in the colonial economies there. This restricted unmarried women’s migration and settlement in towns, mines and plantations. Unmarried women were targeted as undesirables. They were rounded up, and repatriated to their home and tribal areas.⁴⁴¹ These and other kinds of colonial administration techniques targeted the women farmers to produce in the rural areas. The following quotations add more information concerning the historical context of women and colonial taxation:

...our father was too old to do work which could pay for his tax. We worked for his tax. My husband was not much cooperative to pay the tax for our father, he paid only his tax. Thus, we worked for our uncle’s tax. We did not like him to be a victim of the colonial government. Therefore, we children organised the work among ourselves for the case...⁴⁴²

...our headman protected us from the colonial penalties. Sometimes when he was in good mood he accepted our half payment, especially when in problems. When he was in need of the money or valuable items like goats, and others, we gave him like an advance payment, and when the time of tax inspection reached, he asked us to go somewhere and we returned when the time was over...⁴⁴³

The historical evidence further shows that during colonial rule women farmers in the Southern Highlands engaged in the extra labour in order to get an extra value to repay loans and loan interests. Loans were incurred in the process to sustain their family life during the absence of their migrant husbands or male relatives. One of the researches carried out in the region covering the colonial labour migration indicates that women were forced by the economic situation to acquire loans to solve social and economic difficulties they faced during the absence of their migrant husbands. Women were obliged to participate in various local economic works and other social activities to earn money so that they could repay the loans. Most of these women were not able to get the money to pay the loans, which resulted in other social sanctions. Information

⁴⁴⁰ TNA, Ufipa District Book, Vol. III, 1921.

⁴⁴¹ Mbilinyi, ‘Women’s Resistance in ‘Customary Marriage: Tanzania’s Runaway Wives’, p. 213.

⁴⁴² Interview with Mama K.K. of Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014.

⁴⁴³ Interview with Mama A.M. of Luvulunge Village on 18 February 2015.

during German colonial period shows that cases of forced polygamy were common in Kirando and Kala from 1911 because young women who had borrowed money and failed to pay back were forced to marry the providers of the loans, usually some wealthy men who did not have to emigrate or some old men with many domestic animals.⁴⁴⁴ This historical information is further cemented by the following historical data collected from the field focusing on the British colonial period:

...I was a widow with five children. The economic situation of the era was not friendly to me, since I was to work for the school fees of my children and for their food. I was also accountable to pay for the tithe and offerings in the church...In our neighbourhood there was an Arab trader who owned a shop... Initially, I used to borrow some of the important items like kerosene, salt, and soap for our home use, and repay the debt using agricultural crops during the harvest season. But one year the harvest were not good, I could not afford to repay the debt. When I asked the shop owner to wait for the next harvest he refused. As a result, I got the sixth child. Although it added me more work, he helped to care for the child...⁴⁴⁵

...my daughter A.K. did not succeeded in education, so she went to work in the domestic works. The Arab found her a job to his relative living in Songea. Although she was not getting much, it helped us in some of the consumptions since she used to send us some of the money which she obtained from her work...⁴⁴⁶

...I also used to work in our neighbour's farm during the weeding and picking seasons. The money helped me to pay the school fees for my children. I was not able to keep the coffee farm alone, since the work needed more concentration. The time of taking care of coffee farm overlapped with the season of food crop cultivation, so I could not afford to risk the cultivation of food crops for my children...⁴⁴⁷

The recruitment process of migrant labourers in some areas in the region depicted the nature of violence, in both German and British colonial times. In some locations, women farmers were responsible for rebuilding their huts which had been burnt or destroyed during the colonial labour migrant recruitment processes. People were required to work within the framework of colonial labour migration by force. They were enrolled in migratory labour without their consent. In some locations, the colonial government discouraged the development of cash crop cultivation so that people could participate in the labour migration sector. As a consequence, it resulted in more work for women farmers in the rural areas. This will be more evident in the following

⁴⁴⁴Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, p. 199.

⁴⁴⁵ Interview with Mama C.N. of Mkumbi Village on 15 October 2014.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

section. The first quotation represents historical details from the German colonial time while the second and third quotations portrays the British colonial time:

...the act of recruitment itself was not as innocent as it might sound. Abuses were recorded in the process. People were dragged out of their huts at night and were thus deemed “recruited”. Others were beaten up in order to force them to register; at other times huts were burnt to force people out...⁴⁴⁸

...in Tanganyika recruitment for work in the capitalist sector had to be done by compulsion. There was no shortage of land that forced peasants to seek wage employment on the plantations...⁴⁴⁹

...in other districts, it was African resistance which ensured that cash crops remained a permanent feature. For instance, it was only after clashing with white settlers that people continued cultivation. The Nyakyusa of Rungwe district in the Southern Highlands also achieved the same distinction with regard to the growing of Arabica coffee in the face of official discouragement. Those Nyakyusa and Sukuma who continued to engage in migration during the 1930s did so mainly because the domestic production of coffee and cotton did not offer sufficient opportunities to their numerous populations...⁴⁵⁰

Supplementary historical data concerning the participation of women farmers in the colonial period came from women who were not directly connected to colonial labour migration, but contributed to the colonial system in one way or another. Undertakings that the women farmers implemented for their survival and for the existence of the society in general also operated within the historical context of the colonial rule. Women farmers carried out casual and seasonal labour in colonial plantations and in other colonial sectors where they received their wages either on a day-to-day basis or seasonally. Marjorie Mbilinyi provides information from one area of the colonial Southern Highlands, Rungwe, regarding this historical fact. She indicates that women farmers provided casual labour in offices and in tea production on estates that were owned by settlers. Others worked as peasants in coffee production for export, and in cheap food crops to feed wage labourers in the mines and colonial plantations in Rungwe and nearby districts.⁴⁵¹ Day labour was more prominent during the weeding and picking seasons of coffee. Other women participated in the era by selling foodstuff in local markets or selling cooked meals to the

⁴⁴⁸Report of the District Officer, Tabora, to the Government of German East Africa, 15–06.1907, in Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*, pp. 192–3.

⁴⁴⁹Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*, p. 47.

⁴⁵⁰Walter Rodney, ‘Migrant Labour and the Colonial Economy’, *Migrant Labour in Tanzania during the Colonial Period*, 1983: 4–28, p. 15.

⁴⁵¹Mbilinyi, ‘Women’s Resistance In ‘customary’ marriage: Tanzania’s Runaway Wives’, p. 215.

workers of coffee farms. Some brewed local beer and sold it to the Sunday markets. The money was used to pay school fees for their children or to buy the low priced manufactured items since they could not afford the expensive goods. Many women admitted to have participated in those works.⁴⁵² The following historical information from mama A.M. of Luvulunge village expounds more on the work carried out by women farmers during the British colonial time:

...our father did not participate in the colonial labour as he was ill most of his lifetime. But our mother and we children were supposed to work in various activities to make sure the tax is paid to the Government. Our mother provided labour to mission station to get money to pay the tax...

...we had no wealth or livestock through which we could pay the tax; we were to work hard to get money elsewhere in order to rescue our family from being victims of tax penalties. Most of the works were done to private individuals not directly to the colonial engagements since our area did not host any physical colonial investments...

...we could not travel far away to look for good money, which was a disadvantage to us. The money we received in nearby areas was very small compared to our neighbours who got more money from working in the far away locations of colonial investments...⁴⁵³

The participation of women farmers in various British colonial economic engagements for the purpose of fulfilling the tax obligation for their families is revealed through various work techniques in the region. The demand of colonial taxation meant more work for women farmers as compared to the time before 1898. Women in polygamous marriages sometimes were supposed to work for money or other valuable items to help their husbands with the plural wives taxation.⁴⁵⁴ The following information from mama M.N. of the Pilikano village tells more:

...our husband was very hard. He would threaten us that he won't pay the plural wives' tax and that he was ready to go to the colonial prison. He told us if we wanted him to stay with us, everyone had to work for her tax. Although we helped him with the tax payment, in fact it was also for our benefit since we were afraid of what would happen if our husband was taken to the colonial prison...⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵² Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁴⁵³ Interview with Mama A.M. of Luvulunge Village on 18 February 2015.

⁴⁵⁴ Plural wives Tax was paid by native male local dwellers who had more than one wife during colonial period; Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Precolonial to Colonial Times*.

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with mama M.N. of Pilikano village on 20 November 2014.

The significance of taxation was not felt in the government activities alone. Even in religious institutions, followers were supposed to show the evidence that they have paid tax to the government so that they could be given the religion services. Mama M.N explained more on this when she said that:

...the tax document served our family for various purposes. In the church, we were supposed to show the tax document in order for us to be received as qualifying and trustful followers. One could not get baptism, education or other services from the church for his/her family members if she/he had not shown the tax document from the tax authority...⁴⁵⁶

Historical information obtained from the interview with Mama M.N. of Mkumbi village together with the information from the different Focus Group Discussions provided historical details of seasonal migration of women farmers during British colonial time.⁴⁵⁷ The interviewees explain the seasonal movement of women farmers from their homes to other parts of the region in order to find places which satisfied the cultivation requirements of particular agricultural products. The places were those which fitted the agricultural production required by the colonial arrangements. Some areas were better for certain agricultural crops while others were not. Mama M.N. explains how she, her mother, and other members of her family were forced to move occasionally and went to cultivate to other places in order to fulfil the requirements of the colonial system.

...the environment of our area was not good to accommodate the needs of wheat cultivation. Our uncle gave us a plot in Ngima where we could cultivate wheat which was marketable during the colonial rule. Wheat was introduced as a cash group by the colonial authority. The cultivation was supervised by local Jumbe...The crop helped us to gain money which we used to pay tax for our family. Although the price was very small that sometimes the whole plot could not produce enough harvest which could fetch adequate money to pay for the tax, it helped to reduce the stress. We used to travel from home and spend the some days at Ngima for cultivation before we again returned home to resume our normal schedules...

...sometimes it was very bad with the work of wheat cultivation. The wheat market was neither good nor stable. In some seasons, we failed to sell the whole amount of wheat we had produced. That was very bad for us; the crop was new to us and we were not used to it that much, we were not able to incorporate it into our normal meals. When such an event occurred, we counted the work as a loss since we could neither get money nor eat the crop, but we had to continue working because we had no other means to solve the problem at hand...⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

⁴⁵⁸ Interview with Mama M.N. of Pilikano Village on 20 November 2014.

Women farmers in the Southern Highlands were further strained by colonial economic policies, including the introduction of cash crop cultivation in the region. These crops were coffee, tea, tobacco, sesame seed, and other agricultural crops which were introduced for the purpose of sale. Coffee was introduced in the area as a cash crop during the British period, in the 1920s.⁴⁵⁹ All three districts under study, namely Makete, Mbinga, and Mbozi cultivated coffee as their main cash crop. Although the cultivators had various needs to use the money coming from the sale of coffee, the main goal was to obtain the money to pay colonial government tax. The introduction of coffee in the area was pioneered either by individual farmers or by leaders with the support from the colonial government. The colonial government favoured chiefs for the introduction of new crops, hoping thereby to diffuse the innovation in a particular area. Sometimes the government provided a free tree of seeds to the leading chiefs and a small number to the headmen.⁴⁶⁰ This motivated local leaders to carry on the support for the colonial economy.

Individual labourers as well as leaders undertook the introduction of coffee cultivation in Mbinga area in 1929.⁴⁶¹ The individual labourers brought coffee seeds home from Arusha and Moshi where they worked. Other individuals who were involved in this initial development were the new people from mission schools.⁴⁶² On the side of leaders, Chrisostomus Makita, the educated member in Kigonsera mission school who came from a chiefly family which dominated central Umatengo in the German times, was one among those who pioneered the coffee development in the district. He toured the district, creating coffee nurseries, distributing seedlings, and supervising plantations.⁴⁶³ People of Mbinga chose their local chairmen in 1934 and these later formed the Ngaka Coffee Society, which sold coffee through the Ngoni Matengo Cooperation Union (Ngomat). Ngomat was one of the farmers organisations designed to protect prices against Asian buyers who tried to form rings and deals with individual growers. Early entrepreneurs who

⁴⁵⁹ David Gongwe Mhando, "Farmers' Coping Strategies with the Changes of Coffee Marketing System after Economic Liberalisation: The Case of Mbinga District, Tanzania", 2005; Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

⁴⁶⁰ TNA, 11969/1/85, Young to Ngara, 1931; *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁴⁶¹ Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989: 73.

⁴⁶² Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

⁴⁶³ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, pp. 291–192.

held office for many years usually founded the organisations.⁴⁶⁴ The participation of women farmers in this area was noted in form of manual labour. Women farmers helped their husbands and male relatives in cultivation using hand hoes since the introduction of the plough and other means of cultivation in Mbinga did not feature in this era. Other works that women did in coffee projects included the picking of coffee beans and carrying the dried coffee beans to the cooperative societies for sale.⁴⁶⁵

The introduction of cash crops in the Mbozi District in the 1930s⁴⁶⁶ was pioneered by educated people from mission schools, chiefs' families, and headmen's clans. These were the first to put emphasis on the importance of the introduction of the marketable crops in the area. Educated people were responsible for the initial orientation, for raising of awareness, for the supervision of seedlings, the distribution of the implements, and the like. The first Nyiha coffee farmers were found around the mission stations, the chief's headquarters, and European farms.⁴⁶⁷ This historical evidence indicates that the early positive response of local people to the introduction of the cash crops started near the places of the pioneers of the economic projects. Nyiha cash crop growers began to use ploughs in 1934 because they were cheaper than hiring additional labour.⁴⁶⁸ Early Nyiha coffee growers bought pulpers,⁴⁶⁹ fermenting tanks, and drying trays, and profited by selling seedlings to later growers. Nyiha coffee growers built a central store in 1934 and sold at a fixed rate to a single purchaser.⁴⁷⁰ Men carried out the task of ploughing and using technologies since in most cases they were the ones to gain access to agricultural training,⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁴ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

⁴⁶⁵ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; David Gongwe Mhando, 'Farmers' Coping Strategies with the Changes of Coffee Marketing System after Economic Liberalisation: The Case of Mbinga District, Tanzania', 2005.

⁴⁶⁶ C Gregory Knight, *Ecology and Change: Rural Modernization in an African Community* (Academic Press, New York, 1974).

⁴⁶⁷ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 295.

⁴⁶⁸ TNA, 33/A/3/13/615, Agricultural Assistant, Tukuyu to Mbeya, 1944.

⁴⁶⁹ Machines for removing the external pulp or rind from the coffee bean.

⁴⁷⁰ TNA, Eustace to District Agricultural Officer Tukuyu, 1934.

⁴⁷¹ Caroline O. N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice, and Training* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1993); ANK Mussei and JK Shiyumbi, 'Review of the Studies of the Farming Systems of the Southern

although in some few incidences women also helped.⁴⁷² The participation of women farmers in coffee production in the Mbozi area is noted in various ways, including their support to their husband and male relatives through weeding the farms, picking ripped coffee beans, and carrying the beans to the cooperative societies for sale.

The introduction of cash crops followed the same trend in other places of the Southern Highlands. Local leaders were the forerunners of the cash crop projects. This was because chiefs and headmen were in a better place to innovate. With superior access to information, they were often able to introduce innovations successful elsewhere. Two chiefs pioneered the introduction of rice growing in Unyakyusa at the end of the 1920s. The seeds were obtained from coastal traders living in Malawi.⁴⁷³ The Nyakyusa grew rice in the lakeshore plains and coffee in the highlands.⁴⁷⁴ By 1931, the Lupa goldfield provided the Nyakyusa with a reliable demand for their rice. The Nyakyusa also used the plough in the cultivation of rice. Fifteen years after the introduction, more than 700 ploughs were in use in the rice fields.⁴⁷⁵ Women participation in rice farming was notable from the initial stages of seeding, removing of weeds from the rice field using hands, bird scaring, storage, and preparation of food for workers of farms.

Historical sources show that coffee was the most profitable cash crop in the area compared to other crops. This motivated the big population of men to stop concentrating on food crops cultivation and opt for the cultivation of coffee. Information from various focus group discussions and interviews conducted in the area reveal that men were more attracted to the cash crop than to the food crop cultivation. The participants explained that the main reason that

Highlands of Tanzania, 1970–1990', in *Proceedings of an International Conference on Agricultural Research, Training and Technology Transfer in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: Past Achievements and Future Prospects*, 1992, 5–9.

⁴⁷² Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁴⁷³ TNA 176/47/11/244, The Rungwe Cooperative Union, First Annual Report, no date.

⁴⁷⁴ TNA, 77/2/19/68, Tukuyu Monthly Agricultural Report, 1933.

⁴⁷⁵ Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 293.

triggered men to concentrate more on coffee production than food crops cultivation was that food crops management was the responsibility of women and not men. Most of the men who participated in the discussions argued that; men were responsible for providing the families with cash amenities rather than food. Therefore, it was the responsibility of men to concentrate on cash crop cultivation while women concentrated on food crops.⁴⁷⁶ This historical detail is further supported by different scholars who argue that for cultural reasons women were more attached to the food and fertility of the family than to the money economy which attracted men.⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, the interview with mama M.N of Pilikano village of Mbinga revealed how women were more involved in food production as the coffee cultivation started in Mbinga district.

...I was responsible to cultivate food crops for the consumption of my children. My co-wife also cultivated her farm for her children. When we finished cultivating our separate food crops farms, we were responsible to work together on the coffee farm which belonged to our family. Our husband participated mostly in the coffee farm. The coffee farm needed more care compared to our food crop farms. We weeded the coffee farm three times in one season. We participated also in the coffee pecking and all other activities up to the end when we sent the coffee beans to the cooperative union for sale...⁴⁷⁸

...the issue of coffee farm was the concern of our father; he was very busy dealing with it. All his money and efforts were directed to the coffee production. He also paid local people to help in the farm. We as children also worked on the coffee farm of other farmers for payment, but not on the farm of our father. The money we obtained from the work helped us in various consumptions, like the purchasing of clothes, etc...⁴⁷⁹

...During the introduction of a coffee plantation in our area, our father travelled frequently to learn how to develop the coffee farm. Most of the time he was absent from home, he kept emphasising that coffee production was very important for him and for our wellbeing. Finally, he was able to settle down and establish a good farm of coffee which really gave us the hope for money...⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁶ Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men conducted in Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Igale village on 12 January 2015; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015.

⁴⁷⁷ Deborah F Bryceson, "A Century of Food Supply in Dar Es Salaam: From Sumptuous Suppers for the Sultan to Maize Meal for a Million", 1987; Jane Jaquette, J. Monson, and M. Kalb, "Women, Population and Food: An Overview of the Issues," In *Women as Food Producers in Developing Countries*, Jamie Monson and Marion Kalb (eds.). Los Angeles: UCLA African Studies Center, 1985, 1–10; Gregory H. Maddox, "Njaa: Food Shortages and Famines in Tanzania between the Wars," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19, No. 1 (1986): 17–34.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Mama M.N. of Pilikano Village on 20 November 2014.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Mama H.L. of Iwawa Village on 12 March 2105.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with Mama A.C. of Luvulunge Village on 12 February 2015.

Men provided more reasons as to why they diverted their labour power from the cultivation of food crops to the cultivation of coffee. They associated coffee with colonial tax payment. Men were directly required to pay for colonial tax, thus their involvement in cash crop cultivation meant the facilitation of tax payment. Another reason was the collision of seasons of cultivation. Both coffee and food crops cultivation and maintenance were carried out during the rainy season. Furthermore, the picking of coffee beans was carried out during the dry season which also coincided with the harvesting of the food crops. These reasons, together with others, were provided by men to explain why they left the food production to be done entirely by women farmers. These historical details explain why women were further subjected to more work on subsistence agriculture to make the family satisfactory in food supply while male labour power shifted to the cash crop production.

3.3.3 The Differences: Women Farmers Engagements under German and British Colonial Rule

The change from German colonial rule to British colonial rule in Tanzania was caused by the defeat of the Germans in the First World War. By article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, the Germans renounced the possession of their colony East Africa. All former German colonies were placed under mandates which were administered under the League of Nations. While Belgium received the Mandate for the areas of Rwanda and Burundi, Britain received a mandate for the part of Germany East Africa referred to as Tanganyika territory, a name that was given to the British area in January 1920.

The magnitude of women farmers' participation in the colonial economy in the Southern Highlands depended on the policies of respective colonial administrators. The techniques of colonial organisation and control between German and British administrators had some differences and similarities. According to various historical sources, it is true that the German colonial policies played a significant role in both the German and British colonial era. The policies that the Germans drafted were later used by the British to administer the colony in Tanzania with slight changes. As Catherine Fourshey argues, "British policy in Tanganyika was not drafted whole cloth. Rather the British built their own economic and development plans on the German precedent of what had and had not worked. Thus, German plans provide a useful

context or understanding of the development of British policy.”⁴⁸¹ Before this historical background, it is obvious that women farmers’ participation in the colonial economy in both the German and British periods saw some continuity as well as change.

Early German economic policies under the leadership of Governor Gustav Götzen focused more on the scientific development of agricultural cash crop plantations based in the coastal area of Tanzania. The main crops planted in those plantations were cotton and sisal. In the years 1890 to 1914, the colonial administration constructed railways which enabled the access of the interior of Tanzania.⁴⁸² This kind of economy depended strongly on migrant and forced labourers as explained in the previous sections. After Majimaji colonial resistance, the German colonial officials under the governorship of Georg Rechenberg changed the system to expand on the peasant economy where farmers were free to choose their own agricultural style so as to develop agriculture and avoid resistance.⁴⁸³ In all these German policy formulations, the British later came to shape their colonial policies to accommodate their political and economic purposes in the colony.

The differences in the women farmers’ participation in those two colonial regimes stem from the application of colonial policies in respective areas. The intensification of women labour was more notable in specific historical events. For example, women farmers worked more during the development of agriculture based on plantation economy on the coast, the construction of railway lines from 1890 to 1914, and the rise of the First World War during the era of German colonial rule. Other historical events were the Economic Depression and the World War Two during the British colonial rule. These historical events intensified women labour which was needed for the provision and maintenance of the social and economic settings during the respective periods as shown in detail in the aforementioned sections.

⁴⁸¹ Catherine Cymone Fourshey, “The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back’*: Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920–1960,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 2 (2008): 233.

⁴⁸² John Iliffe, *Tanganyika under German Rule 1905–1912* (Cambridge University Press, 1969); Sunseri, “Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography”; Austen, *Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889–1939*.

⁴⁸³ Iliffe, *Tanganyika under German Rule 1905–1912*.

The participation of women farmers in the colonial resistance did not always have an active character. While women farmers' involvement in active colonial resistance was more notable during the initial colonial invasion and penetration, the passive colonial resistance or protest was more notable during the administration of the colonial economy in the Southern Highlands. Their response to the colonial organisation and control of the Southern Highlands differed with various pace and levels of colonial control. As women farmers were not that powerful in showing strong and open rebellion or revolution, their actions of protests were mostly featured in a hidden day to day form of resistance.⁴⁸⁴ As Allen Isaacman argues, "what these daily or hidden protests were presumed to share is that they were not rebellions, revolutions, or other broad-based social movements, instead, they tended to be individual, localized forms of insurgency".⁴⁸⁵ Women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania passively resisted the colonial authority using forms of day to day actions like selling their agricultural crops to unauthorized markets, migrating to the less controlled areas, evading tax payments in various ways, and planting different crops as opposed to the directions of the colonial government.⁴⁸⁶ This kind of women farmers' resistance was more profound during the periods of colonial organisation and control of the agricultural economy in the respective Southern Highlands' communities. The protests were carried out against the colonial accumulation of women farmers' labour, taxes and other concrete items like agricultural crops, livestock, and others.

Historical information from the Southern Highlands indicates the evidence of movements of women farmers from one area to another, escaping from the control of the colonial authority.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ Allen Isaacman, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa," *African Studies Review* 33, No. 2 (September 1, 1990); Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, 'Runaway Wives in Colonial Tanganyika: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage in Rungwe District, 1919–1961', *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 16, No. 1 (1988): 1–29.

⁴⁸⁵ Isaacman, 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa'.

⁴⁸⁶ Marcia Wright, "Technology, Marriage and Women's Work in the History of Maize-Growers in Mazabuka, Zambia: A Reconnaissance," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, No. 1 (1983): 71–85; Fourshey, "'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back': Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920–1960".

⁴⁸⁷ Mbilinyi, 'Runaway Wives in Colonial Tanganyika: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage in Rungwe District, 1919–1961'; Pamela H. Gulliver, "History of the Songea Ngoni," *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 41 (1955): 16–30; Fourshey, "'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back': Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920–1960".

Women farmers went to settle and reside in the areas where the colonial power did not frequently visit and had less control.⁴⁸⁸ Historical information articulates that the colonial administration and control was limited and that most remote parts of the colony were not reachable.⁴⁸⁹ This colonial flaw facilitated women farmers to protest and resist by migrating to those unreachable parts of the colony to temporarily evade the colonial control and start a new permanent life there.⁴⁹⁰ This historical detail is confirmed further by the advice provided to the colonial government by the then colonial government sociologist. The sociologist conducted a research in the Southern Highland concerning the labour migration, and afterwards, he recommended that the government should block women' migration to urban areas. According to the sociologist, women farmers had to be kept in the villages to produce when their husbands were in the labour migration.⁴⁹¹ This technique of day to day resistance in other historical details is regarded as the flight of women farmers from the villages to avoid the colonial organisation and control. The flight took various forms. Some women farmers moved permanently with their families, while others moved alone temporarily during the season of tight colonial control and returned to their former area after the season had gone.⁴⁹²

Colonial tax evasion was another form of hidden protest carried out by the women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Women did various unseen arrangements to evade the colonial tax. Since the colonial administration allowed tax to be paid in the form of crops and labour, by evading the payment, women farmers saved their agricultural crops, livestock, and labour power. Some women negotiated with the local rulers in exchange for items so that they help the women

⁴⁸⁸ Mbilinyi, "Runaway Wives in Colonial Tanganyika: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage in Rungwe District, 1919–1961"; Interview with mama T.M. of Iyula village on 20 January 2015; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingo Village on 26 February 2015.

⁴⁸⁹ Michael Pesek, "The Boma and the Peripatetic Ruler: Mapping Colonial Rule in German East Africa, 1889–1903," *Western Folklore* 66, No. 3/4 (2007): 233–57; Ochonu, *Colonial Meltdown: Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression*.

⁴⁹⁰ Giblin, 'Divided Patriarchs in a Labour Migration Economy: Contextualizing Debate About Family and Gender in Colonial Njombe'.

⁴⁹¹ Paul H. Gulliver and others, 'Labour Migration in a Rural Economy', *Labour Migration in a Rural Economy.*, 1967.

⁴⁹² Allman, Geiger, and Musisi, *Women in African Colonial Histories*; Isaacman and Isaacman, 'The Role of Women in the Liberation of Mozambique'.

to stay safe from colonial forces.⁴⁹³ Other women farmers hid themselves and came out after the tax collectors had gone.⁴⁹⁴ This was one of the actions carried out by women farmers showing the non-participation and protest during the colonial administration in the area.

Women farmers went further sold their agricultural products to informal markets where they hoped to get more money or profit from than by selling to the colonial controlled markets with lower prices and higher taxes.⁴⁹⁵ Besides, information obtained from focus group discussions and interviews showed that women farmers sold their maize, groundnuts, and other products mostly to either individual rich farmers or across borders to nearby countries, not to the controlled colonial markets. They did that in order to get more money or to solve urgent needs of their families. In some cases, women sold their agricultural crops to the mission stations illegally. This historical fact is evidenced by a letter of warning dated 23 August 1956, written by one of the district commissioners of the Southern Highlands to the priest in charge of the Roman Catholic Mission at Kyela as follows:

...It has been reported to me that you have been buying African maize... But all maize grown on African land that is sold must be sold in Native Authority markets – e.g., Ipinda and it is an offence under the markets ordinance to buy or sell such maize except at an established market...⁴⁹⁶

Despite the colonial regulations and control over the sales of agricultural crops, women farmers continued to divert and sell their agricultural products to informal markets. This also helped them to evade colonial tax charged in those formal markets, and to negotiate the best price for their produce outside the context of the regulated colonial markets. Women farmers saw an opportunity to gain reasonable profit outside the colonial state controlled markets.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹³ Interview with Mama A.M. of Luvulunge Village on 28 February 2015.

⁴⁹⁴ Interview with Mama T.M. of Iyula Village on 20 January 2015.

⁴⁹⁵ Fourshey, "'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back': Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920–1960".

⁴⁹⁶ TNA, Accession 18 L6/12/187 P.H. Johnson DC to Priest Roman Catholic Mission Kyela, 23 August 1956, cited on Fourshey, "'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back': Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920–1960", p. 255.

⁴⁹⁷ Fourshey, "'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back': Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920–1960".

Women farmers' hidden protests during colonial rule were not directed only against colonial control but also against their husbands, male relatives, and powerful classes in their respective social settings. In various historical scenes, women farmers sold agricultural products without the permission of the husband or male relatives who were the head of households. Further information indicates how women farmers were forced by local needs to sell their crops or family crops in order to solve their family or personal cash needs. Likewise, historical evidence shows how women farmers protested against their local ruler. Women farmers did not always agree with the directions of chiefs and headmen, but they acted in opposition to them and negotiated agricultural arrangements according to their own ways.⁴⁹⁸ Women farmers sometimes protested against the local authorities and deprived the authority of several benefits; for example, they denied them tax revenues, gifts, and tributary labour. In this case, therefore, women farmers were able to maintain their autonomy and some of their resources for the enhancement of themselves and their families.

3.3.4 Social and Cultural Consequences of Colonial Economy on Women Farmers

The setup of the administration of colonial economy in the Southern Highlands led to the transformation in social and cultural lives of women farmers in the region. Women farmers came to embrace relative social and cultural powers as a result of the operation of colonial economy in the area. Historical information from the region shows that the male labour migration did not only lead to consequences for women farmers' labour situation, but also for the political, social and cultural (ritual) organisation. The positions of women farmers were changed and cemented in different ways in their local areas and in the regional and national levels.

Women farmers were able to obtain political and spiritual authority through the implementation of colonial economic policies. Political and spiritual powers were gained during the realization of numerous labour practices which were formerly exclusively reserved for men. The act of clearing the land during the beginning of the cultivation season symbolised the power of

⁴⁹⁸ Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Mbilinyi, "Runaway Wives in Colonial Tanganyika: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage in Rungwe District, 1919–1961"; Marjorie Mbilinyi, 'Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania', *African Perspectives on Development: Controversies, Dilemmas and Openings*, 1994: 166–82.

initiating fertility and richness in the family. Previously these blessings were believed to be endowed merely to a man or head of the family who performed or sponsored the initial clearing of the land.⁴⁹⁹ During the absence of the male population in the villages, women farmers took the responsibility of clearing the land. Women farmers who performed or financed the clearing of land in the absence of male labour gratified themselves by believing that they were powerful and spiritually blessed in their daily lives. They could lead and care successfully for the needs of their families just as the male population did.⁵⁰⁰ This belief and the self-esteem derived from it was genuine in the colonial Southern Highlands when women performed most of the clearing works which had been carried out exclusively by the male population in the pre-colonial era. Cases provided by mama A.H. of Iwawa Village and mama A.C. of Luvulunge village provide a strong evidence. This cultural belief is also highlighted by the study of women farming in Africa carried out by Jane Guyer, who argues that:

...in its most literal meaning this refers to the two points at which an important man, a real man participates in the food economy at the beginning and at the end. The act of clearing the land set powers of creativity in motion analogous to marriage and impregnation, establishing claims that reached forward into indefinite future...⁵⁰¹

Connected to clearing new land for farming was the fear of a decline of the family and of social fertility. In the absence of male population, the clearing of new land for cultivation decreased in some cases, and the fallowing of land diminished to some extent, leading some women farmers to cultivate on old farm lands. In addition, the frequency of using the same farms increased as compared to the pre-colonial era. The implication of this historical development rested in the spiritual context. It caused the deterioration of production and reproduction of the society. Agricultural production went down and also the population development was curtailed.⁵⁰² Although women continued to sponsor the clearing of land during the absence of male population, the extent of it could not equal the levels that were attained during pre-colonial

⁴⁹⁹ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

⁵⁰⁰ Interview with Mama H.L. of Iwawa Village on 12 March 2015; Interview with Mama A.C. of Luvulunge Village on 12 February 2015.

⁵⁰¹ Jane Guyer, 'Female Farming in Anthropology and African History', *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, 1991, 257–77, p. 268.

⁵⁰² Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

times. Repetitive farming on an old unfallowed farm was associated with weak and low social and spiritual status, which resulted in poor harvests.⁵⁰³

The performance of local healing was also mentioned to be carried out by some women farmers on behalf of their absent husbands or male relatives. Mama N.N. of Igale village explained how her mother healed her neighbours during the absence of her father, who was a local medicine man. Her father was at home on and off during the colonial time fulfilling the colonial demands. Thus her mother took charge of some of his responsibilities when he was away. Some of the most important functions that her mother performed were the provision of medicine when a person was ill due to various fevers, tending to children with medicines, and providing medicines which were supposed to be available for women during their pregnancies and deliverance.⁵⁰⁴ These historical events and incidences went together with providing local knowledge and education to children during their transition from youth to adulthood.⁵⁰⁵ Women took more responsibility for keeping the society together on various occasions by taking care of young people more than before. Monitoring and guiding young people towards the required skills and knowledge of their respective societies became a more female task.⁵⁰⁶ These cultural and spiritual functions had to be taken care of by women in order to preserve the social setting during the absence of male population.⁵⁰⁷

Furthermore, women farmers explained how their family and social status increased and remained at high levels within the family settings during the colonial era compared to the previous times. Women farmers disclosed the increase in respect and love from their husbands. The improvement of the social status in marriages was caused by the male dependence on women's work when it came to the issue of colonial taxation. Most men were able to obtain their

⁵⁰³ Guyer, 'Female Farming in Anthropology and African History'.

⁵⁰⁴ Interview with Mama N.N. of Ilela Village on 08 December 2014.

⁵⁰⁵ Monica Hunter Wilson, *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa* (London, Oxford U. P., 1957); Marja-Liisa Swantz, *Ritual and Symbol in Transitional Zaramo Society with Special Reference to Women* (Scandinavian institute of African studies Uppsala, 1986).

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Marcia Wright, 'Maji Maji: Prophecy and Historiography', *Revealing Prophets*, 1995: 124–42.

tax money with the help from their wives. Unmarried men had difficulties in obtaining enough money to pay for their tax, even if the tax for unmarried men was small compared to that of married men. The work that was done by women enabled married men to work for their tax easily and comfortably while their wives continued to produce through other means for their families' survival. The unmarried men were responsible to produce in order to earn money to pay tax, and for subsistence.⁵⁰⁸ In this social circumstance, men were very careful in handling their wives and family affairs in order to meet the needs of the family.

Besides, historical information points out that some women farmers obtained more skills on personal authority and family management during the colonial period. Women farmers acquired these aspects and others through the policies and conditions set by religious institutions. Church policies on marriage and position of women in most cases lead to the abandonment of polygamy. In various places where the church dominated, the position of co-wives died a natural death. In polygamous families, the obligation of maintaining family food storage and family status was a responsibility of the first or chief wife, while the co-wives played subordinate roles.⁵⁰⁹ With the emphasis and practice of monogamy only, every wife was responsible and acted on the management for the family. This enabled many women to adapt and execute all the functions which the chief wife of the family had hitherto performed. The development of laziness and dependence on other women among husbands were removed through the monogamous system of marriage. This was also explained as the main reason which facilitated many women farmers in the Southern Highlands to be followers of the church during the colonial era. The church acted as one of the main glue which cemented rural families together.⁵¹⁰ Women farmers saw the missions as a clearinghouse for marriage troubles. In fact, they used the institution for their own advantage without the missionaries realising this.

⁵⁰⁸ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

⁵⁰⁹ Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*.

⁵¹⁰ Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*.

3.3.5 Women Farmers' Strategies to Accommodate Colonial Economy Accumulation

The challenges that the colonial economy brought to women farmers in the Southern Highlands triggered their initiative to resort to other social and economic activities to accommodate to the new situation. Historical data collected from the study area shows that although women farmers experienced new kinds of economic arrangements which abruptly changed their common ways of economic and social life towards a complex position, they did not give up. Instead, they created alternative techniques to survive in their daily lives. Most women farmers explained that they were no longer able to obtain surplus output from their agricultural work during the colonial era as compared to the previous times. The food storages that used to store harvest for feasting, exchange, and for future emergencies were no longer full. Most of the surplus from agricultural outputs was used in their social setting to serve colonial demand rather than their families. This was not only because of the colonial demands of tax payments and other colonial fees, but it was more due to the withdrawal of male agricultural labour from the food cultivation section.⁵¹¹ Each agricultural season started with new uncertainties, they could no longer plan or determine the expenditure of their agricultural output.

Petty economic activities like selling food and participation in day labour in the region were used by women farmers to serve as a cure to the economic deficits. Other women resorted to working with individuals in the domestic area in order to bear the difficulties encountered in the situation.⁵¹² Cases of women negotiating with local rulers to evade the colonial tax are reported as one among many ways used by women in order to survive the colonial system.⁵¹³

New social and economic relations were sometimes formed in order to persist in the social and economic situation which existed during colonial rule. Information obtained via the focus group discussions, interviews and documentary reviews indicate that some women farmers formed intimate, patron and client relations, and other relations in order to get social and financial

⁵¹¹ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

⁵¹² Interview with Mama C.N. of Mkumbi Village on 15 October 2014.

⁵¹³ Interview with Mama A.M. of Luvulunge Village on 18 February 2015.

support during the era. Evidence presented in the preceding sections concerning Mama C.N. of Mkumbi village who formed an intimacy bond with an Arab trader, information concerning women of Rukwa region who obtained loans from rich men, and the information concerning the women who allied with local rulers in escaping the colonial tax underline this historical development.

Besides, women farmers formed local women's associations which were used to help each other in agricultural activities like tilling the land, harvesting, and transporting the harvests to the home storages. Women farmers' associations further helped them in doing local and inter village trade of their agricultural products and products from crafts. Focus group discussions and interviews further reveal that these group associations alleviated merely the economic and social burdens which belonged to the women farmers' members.⁵¹⁴

3.4 The Relationship between State, Society and the Negotiation of Women Farmers' Labour during Colonialism

The previous paragraphs have provided information on the historical background of the German and British colonial settings and functioning in Southern Highlands of Tanzania. More crucially, it has also provided historical information concerning the variety of work performed by women farmers during the era. Women farmers were active historical subjects in various historical activities. The labour of women farmers has served in various ways for the benefit of women themselves, their families and their respective societies. This section provides an analysis of how women farmers negotiated their labour with the colonial state and the society in relation to various powerful classes that dominated the era. Apart from the colonial government, women farmers interacted with various classes of people, these ranged from clan leaders, headmen, traders, craftsmen, spiritual leaders, chiefs, and others. The interactions or collaborations of these dominant and powerful classes with the colonial state facilitated the negotiation of women farmers' labour more for the benefit of the colonial system than that of women farmers.

⁵¹⁴ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

Historical records point out that the administrative connection that existed between colonial government and other powerful classes in the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands emanated from the fact that the colonial state depended on the local rulers and other powerful classes who serves as fundamental local agents connecting colonial administrators and the masses of local population.⁵¹⁵ This kind of strategy was not used by the Germans alone, but also by the British who took the territory after the First World War, as they employed the local agents to serve their intentions. The historical information further highlights that colonial administrators were not powerful or willing enough to spend massive resources to govern the area through an entirely alien administrative staff, which implied to place a European administrator in every ward or chiefdom. Instead, they used the local agents to link them to the local population.⁵¹⁶ The colonial agents varied according to the colonial power in the reign. In most cases the German colonial rulers destroyed the local pre-colonial African Chieftainship and replaced them with the members of the Coastal commercial stratum, the Akida and Jumbe (African agents of German administration).⁵¹⁷ When the British took over the territory, they changed the German colonial system of administration. While in various locations they continued to use German chiefs, in other places they restored the local chieftainship which existed before the German colonial rule. They returned the former chief and leaders, but to function not in the same way as before colonisation.⁵¹⁸ The colonial administrators employed all these strategies in order to simplify the economic accumulation.

The bond that was created between the colonial administrators and the local powerful classes was further cemented to administer the local colonial economy. The accomplishment of this

⁵¹⁵Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Owen J.M. Kalinga, "Colonial Rule, Missionaries and Ethnicity in the North Nyasa District, 1891–1938", *African Studies Review*, 1985: 57–72; Spear, *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land & Agricultural Development in Arusha & Meru*.

⁵¹⁶Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*.

⁵¹⁷Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*; John Iliffe, *Tanganyika under German Rule 1905–1912* (Cambridge University Press, 1969); Helmut Stoecker, *German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until the Second World War* (Hurst & Co., 1986).

⁵¹⁸Michael Havinden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and Its Tropical Colonies, 1850–1960* (Psychology Press, 1993); G.W. Hatchell, "The British Occupation of the South-Western Area of Tanganyika Territory, 1914–1918," *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 51 (1958): 131–55; J. Forbes Munro, *Britain in Tropical Africa, 1880–1960: Economic Relationships and Impact* (MacMillan Publishing Company, 1984).

bond built a close relationship between the colonial state and the local powerful classes to facilitate, among many things, the negotiation of women labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. This was necessary for the colonial system to survive. The essence of the efforts made by the colonial administrators to build the colonial bond with the local powerful classes is well explained by scholars in the following quotations:

...The Europeans lacked the knowledge of African society to control day-to-day affairs on a practical basis. They did not understand African culture from within, and therefore could not reason with local Africans to convince them of the wisdom, or even the acceptability, of particular policies. They chose African agents who used their own words to support the colonial policies they administered...⁵¹⁹

...In some cases, the colonial rulers co-opted the pre-existing leaders from within African society, as when they used chiefs or coastal Muslim traders as agents of colonial rule. In other cases, they trained Africans to learn the traditions of European intellectuals, of Christian teachers or evangelists, for example. In any event, the African agents of European rule brought with them historically conditioned patterns of behaviour, understandings of social reality, and definitions of the good society...(ibid.)

...the physical vastness of the country and of most districts was the part of the problem. What ultimately made local administration complex was that the colonialists were forced to find indigenous middlemen and create frameworks in which to work with them...⁵²⁰

...commercial system that had spread before the coming of missionaries or the German occupation, proved too useful to the colonial state to be set aside or readily supplanted. Collaboration with Muslim was a hallmark of the early colonial state...⁵²¹

The functioning of the bond between colonial administrators and various powerful classes in the Southern Highlands was evident in different settings, including in the mission stations. The rules and regulations that were created in the mission stations to direct the local population were set in such a way that they also contributed to the smooth colonial accumulation. Works that were carried out by local populations at the missions supported the colonial administration. People who lived in the mission stations produced and paid tax to the colonial government. Also, missionary education was directed to producing male wage workers and tax payers on the one hand, and female household and farm workers on the other hand. Women farmers were thus stuck in between this tight bond. They were supposed to function within the rules and regulations that prevailed in the mission stations. In this scenario, we have the cases of Meli and Mulondyelwa in the Southern Highlands presented in the aforementioned section. The following

⁵¹⁹Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, p. 120.

⁵²⁰Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*, p. 117.

⁵²¹Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*, p. 182.

quotation provides historical details concerning the redeemed slave woman who carried out agricultural and other work while living at the mission station:

...she did so much, she was a potter, and in her spare time she dug clay, and moulded and baked cooking pots and water jars. These she sold or bartered for something else, which she sold again, taking care of the profit. She cultivated and planted, and disposed of the produce. She kept fowls and sold eggs and chicken. She bought breeding goats and tended them, and traded the surplus...⁵²²

Historical data prove that women who resided in the mission stations produced and serviced the mission stations as well as the social settings around them. This was facilitated by the alliance that existed between the colonial state, missionaries and the local rulers. The connection between those powerful classes in the region enabled smooth operation of the sound colonial system. The bond between the colonial state, the mission stations, and the local rulers in the usage of labour power of the local population is further evident in the rules and regulations that were set to control the people who resided in the mission stations. The following quotations provide some conditions which were created to regulate local people who worked and resided in the missions. They are retrieved from mission stations in Bena and Hehe in the Southern Highlands:

...people who wish to join must bring evidence that their tax has been paid to the government. Those who have been in the service of Europeans or have lived on another mission station shall bring with them a reference from their master or the respective missionary as to their department. If possible their chiefs shall be asked about people who have lived under native chiefs...

...regarding coloured authorities over the Christian community, the *Jumbe* of the mission station will be appointed by the military station; functioning as any other *Jumbe*. The taxation of the coloured Christians is made through the *Jumbe*. Each native pays the *Jumbe* to whom he belongs...

...Transient labourers at the mission (not Christians and not regular labourers); these remained under the administration of their chiefs, and they were supposed to pay government tax, to work 14 days or 1 Rupee, to participate in maintaining public paths, or provide a substitute or pay compensation...⁵²³

From the initial stage of penetration of the colonial power in the Southern Highlands, the collaboration between colonial authority and powerful classes in the society were evident in the negotiation of women farmers' labour. Marcia Wright shows clearly that in the early times the

⁵²² Descriptions about Bwanikwa, a free slave woman working at Johnston Fall Mission Station, *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁵²³ Appendix B. printed in Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*, pp. 222 and 224.

German East Africa colonial regime built an alliance with Swahili speaking agents in order to make possible the availability of women in various colonial works. From the beginning, women were gathered to perform various works which concerned the commencement of the colonial hegemony. The following quotation provides more details:

...the women attached to caravans and expeditionary forces were more numerous than much of the literature on the nineteenth-century transport system has allowed. Their presence and functions varied according to the ownership and leadership of the expedition/caravan. In some cases, they were taken along to establish outpost on a new or uncertain frontier...others were slaves newly acquired in the locality of an established base...⁵²⁴

The alliance between the colonial state and the Arabs and Swahili traders has a big historical impact on the local women population redeemed from the slave transactions. This population of redeemed women was used in the colonial economic production. Most of the women who were exchanged through the collaboration between colonial administrators and the Arab or Swahili traders were later used in the colonial settings. Although they were redeemed from slave transactions, these women continued to provide labour in many colonial activities, including agricultural labour. The products obtained from such women's labour were used in the colonial system to meet colonial objectives. From such alliances and collaborations, the colonial state and other powerful classes were capable of acquiring many gains. Among those gains was the benefit of labour power obtained from women farmers. The cases of labour power obtained from women farmers like Chisi, Meli, and others that are mentioned in the preceding sections do fit into this situation.

Besides, the historical fact about various works performed by Mulondyelwa, a woman redeemed from slave transactions and set to live in the mission station in the Southern Highlands, indicates the collaboration between colonial state, local slave traders, and the missionaries.⁵²⁵ The woman was rescued from the slave trade, bought by the colonial administrator and sent to the mission station at Utengule, where she was given a place to stay and work. At the station she cultivated, harvested and serviced the social setting that prevailed. The historical fact further shows how her agricultural products were consumed not only by herself, but also other people around her,

⁵²⁴ Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*, p. 182.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*

including her fiancé who was by then working particularly at the mission station and colonial settings in general.

In some of her historical information, Marcia Wright mentions that mission stations in the Southern Highlands were colonial outposts.⁵²⁶ Thus, among many activities accomplished within the stations, the colonial accumulation was facilitated; women farmers who were sent to the stations were used to produce in order to make the colonial system, of which missions were an integral part, survive. The colonial administration made possible the purchasing of slave women from the slave traders and sent them to the missions where they were to produce for the colonial arrangements. The colonial administration abolished the slave trade, but it did not abolish the possession of slaves. When slave traders were brought up, the slaves were taken away and were often brought to the mission. Here they lived and worked without payment. Most of the women who were involved in those transactions participated in various production tasks which helped the development of colonial accretion overtly and covertly.

The collaboration between colonial administrators and the slave dealers in using the labour power of women farmers is detailed in the work of Juhani Koponen. He clearly points out that as the Europeans were prevented from owning slaves as labourers, other means were created to solve the problem of labour shortage. Freed slaves were again bought and then were obliged to work for the buyer. The practice continued throughout the German period.⁵²⁷ This historical fact was clearly supported by the then German Governor, Friedrich von Schele, who explained that “the abolition of slavery in the territory is impractical. It would have entailed too great economic drawbacks since the land is cultivated for the most part by slaves and that the abolition would be brought almost to a halt if they were freed”.⁵²⁸ This historical piece of information supports the fact that women who were rescued from the slave dealers by colonial administrators were further

⁵²⁶Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*.

⁵²⁷Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*, pp. 332–333.

⁵²⁸*Ibid.*; Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa, to about 1884–1914* (James Currey Publishers, 2006).

obliged to work for the colonial system. The historical details of women in the Southern Highlands like Chisi and Meli explain this phenomenon.

Steven Feierman further argues that the colonial administration relied on the African agents to link them to the local population. The colonial administrators depended on the local agents to facilitate their social and economic interaction with the local population.⁵²⁹ Thus, the building of the colonial bond with the local rulers was vital to the development of the colonial patterns. This designates the importance of the powerful local classes to the colonial accumulation. The collaboration between colonial machinery and the various powerful local classes was used among many tasks designed to negotiate the women farmers' labour. The collaboration was not meant only for economic purposes but also for political goals. The colonial administrators relied on the local rulers, and Arab/Swahili traders for the support of colonial strength and administration. Cases of Masoud the Arab trader in Songea and the Mwando shop owner of Mkumbi village in Mbinga fit to explain this phenomenon. Moreover, colonialism increasingly created new African classes like soldiers, low-level administrators, government and mission teachers.

Additional historical facts from Southern Highlands point out that colonial administrators cemented their bond with local classes by providing promotions and gifts to local rulers who performed well in colonial accumulation. This motivated the local rulers to continue to tighten the bond which benefited the colonial system. Cases presented in the previous sections concerning the colonial administrators who provided free coffee trees to chiefs and to the leading headmen in the Southern Highlands are examples of this historical fact. This had a positive impact on the raising of cash crop production to the colonial economic system but it added more work to the women farmers in the region as the burden of producing food crops increased in order to compensate the absence of men who turned their attention to cash crop production. The historical details obtained from the interviews with Mama T.M. of the Iyula village and

⁵²⁹Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*.

information from various focus group discussions provide a strong evidence of this historical phenomenon.⁵³⁰

Local rulers who gained confidence through their relations with colonial administrators carried out colonial activities that affected women farmers. These activities included foraging, tax collection, and brutal recruitment of labour through the burning of huts. Male populations were taken to the colonial estates while women remained at home trying to reconstruct their huts that had been burnt. Historical evidence shows that labour recruiters were given security and mandate from the colonial government. Their actions towards the local population were legally protected.⁵³¹ Women suffered from these actions as they were the ones who remained at home, absorbing the shocks that had been caused by the colonial system through the alliance with the local rulers.

Women farmers were additionally forced to pay the tax for their absent husbands and male relatives. The colonial district officers and the local rulers supervised this. Despite many other social and economic obligations that women farmers performed at home during the absence of their husbands and male relatives, the administration and local elites bonded together and added to the workload of women. This historical fact is evident in various areas in the region as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Women farmers were obliged to produce more in order to fulfil the colonial requirement.

The colonial compulsion that women farmers should pay tax for their absent migrant husbands and male relatives implied that in some locations colonial administrators collected tax from the local population twice. Historical information shows that the migrant labourers were obliged to pay tax at their respective workplaces. Furthermore, historical details show that women farmers paid tax for their absent husbands or male relatives who were migrant labourers at their

⁵³⁰ Interview with Mama T.M. of Iyula village on 07 December 2014; Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 20 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

⁵³¹ Rodney, Tambila, and Sago, *Migrant Labour in Tanzania During the Colonial Period: Case Studies of Recruitment and Conditions of Labour in the Sisal Industry*.

respective homes. The following section of a report by the colonial district officer in one of the Southern Highlands districts provides evidence:

...it is estimated at any one time 20% of the able-bodied men of the three tribes (Bena Pangwa and Kinga) are away from their home working outside of the district. Every year approximately 3,000 of these men pay their hut and poll tax in other districts...⁵³²

Historical information from the Southern Highlands also shows that the local rulers detained some women in different ways when their husbands or their male relatives failed to pay tax. Sometimes local rulers confiscated women farmers to pay the tax for their husbands or male relatives. All these were carried out under the supervision of the colonial government and the local rulers. The local tax collectors used brutal methods while the colonial administration safeguarded it. Historical evidence shows that the tax collectors in the Southern Highlands were escorted by colonial troops during their work of taxation.⁵³³ This historical fact highlights the strong bond that existed between the colonial administrators and the powerful local classes during the colonial era in the use of women farmers' labour.

The colonial administration's quest for women farmers' labour is further illustrated by the report provided by the colonial district officer of Njombe explaining that women farmers were indispensable in cultivation activities. He stated that the missionaries' policy of enforcing monogamy for converts would result in insufficient labour power and would have a negative impact on the environmental patterns:

...following the order from Tosamaganga, the mission headquarters, the Madibira estate has been cleared of those natives, who though professing Christianity, openly flout its tenet that a man shall have only one wife. This move though sound from a disciplinary point of view, means that portions of the exceedingly fertile valley will be uncultivated & reverted to bushes, with the consequent danger of the return of flies...⁵³⁴

The above historical fact commented by the colonial district officer concerning the importance of women farmers' labour in agriculture is further cemented by Elias Mandala who explains the importance of plural wives in agriculture during colonial rule:

⁵³² TNA, District Officer's Report, Njombe District 1924–1937: 47.

⁵³³ Tambila, *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) Ca. 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Pre-colonial to Colonial Times*; Rodney, 'Migrant Labour and the Colonial Economy.'

⁵³⁴ TNA, District Officer's Report, Njombe District 1924–1937: 7.

...in polygamous families, each co-wife maintained her own garden of maize, sorghum, or millet in which her independent children helped with the cultivation. She alternated with her co-wives in preparing food for the husband; furthermore, she assisted with the work in husband's cash crop farm. The more wives a man possessed, the more land he was able to farm. Co-wives were characterised as a permanent labour force in husband's cash crop farm. They did not possess legal rights to remuneration. It was expected that a husband would reward their direct and indirect work with presents of cloth or by allowing them to the right to market the lower grade cotton.⁵³⁵

Moreover, the connection between colonial administrators and the local leaders created the confidence in local chiefs and other powerful classes in the region. This generated selfish authority in the minds of the powerful local class; it led them to take advantage of the local population for their benefit. Local rulers turned out to be closer to the colonial administrators than to the local population. They served the colonial administrators more than their fellow Africans. They associated themselves with the colonial administrators and kept a distance from the subjects that they administered. They started to accumulate wealth for themselves instead of associating it with the society's advantages. Local social and economic development came to be curtailed in such a historical situation. Thomas Spear further comments on this historical fact as follows:

...while chiefs were given their authority by the colonial administration and were ultimately responsible for it, they found numerous ways to use that authority for their own purpose. Long-serving chiefs soon became the wealthiest and most powerful men...under the strictures of Indirect rule, chiefs were given the power to collect tax, recruit labour, and try case, thus increasing their formal authority...⁵³⁶

The aim of colonial administrators to give powers to the local rulers in order to ease the colonial economic accumulation is further exposed by historians. They observed that the colonial administrative system of indirect rule added more power to the local rulers to facilitate the build-up of a strong colonial system in the colonies. The structure of indirect rule which was spearheaded by the British colonial administration put more stress on women farmers as the arrangement continued to acknowledge the pre-colonial system of women as the major producers in the rural areas. The following quotation provides evidence for this:

...indirect rule marked an ideological change in British Africa, away from liberal and market-oriented policies toward social conservative ideas protecting rural Africans from modernity...it partly aimed to consolidate the pre-capitalist structures. By giving greater

⁵³⁵Elias Mandala, 'Peasant Cotton Agriculture, Gender and Inter-Generational Relationships: The Lower Tchiri (Shire) Valley of Malawi, 1906–1940', *African Studies Review* 25, No. 2–3 (1982): 27–44. p. 31.

⁵³⁶Spear, *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land & Agricultural Development in Arusha & Meru*, p. 112.

powers to local authorities, it aimed to thwart class formation... It, therefore, preserved the past and promoted economic development...⁵³⁷

On top of that, Marcia Wright argues that “in Africa, it was colonialism that raised lineage to dominance as a staple of local politics. The commercial conditions of the late nineteenth century gave power to chiefs and merchants whose wealth allowed them to control unrelated people”. Although the colonial administrators gave power and obtained support from the local rulers, the backing and alliance they received depended on the local situation and on the capacities and aspirations of the allied classes. The local classes comprised people with different interests and different capacities. Thus, the women farmers faced different impacts depending on the kind of local leader they dealt with. The Southern Highlands had different lineages with different rules and regulations, thus as the colonial administrators cemented the power of the lineages, the local lineages acted powerfully in relation to the control of their localities, including women farmers.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the historical negotiations between women farmers, the colonial state, and powerful local classes in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The examined negotiations concerned the practices of women farmers’ labour in the agricultural settings during the German and British colonial era. The role of women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania during the colonial rule was very important to make the colonial system triumph. Various patterns of work carried out by women farmers in various sections of colonial rule have been shown in the chapter. The functioning of the whole system that involved women farmers’ performance during the era was facilitated through the historical bond that existed between the colonial administrators and various powerful local classes.

Women farmers’ surplus work in the agricultural sector and other colonial and local sectors had an impact on the economic conditions which were set by the colonial strategy for the purpose of colonial economic accumulation. Women farmers’ plans and expectations were to a certain extent altered to meet economic demands of the colonial economy. The working environments

⁵³⁷ Erik Green, ‘Indirect Rule and Colonial Intervention: Chiefs and Agrarian Change in Nyasaland, Ca. 1933 to the Early 1950s’, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44, No. 2 (2011): 249–74.

were dictated by the plans which were set forward by the colonial administrators in collaboration with the powerful local leaders. In this historical context, the local cultural background played a great role in shaping the performance of colonial accumulation.

The chapter has further shown that the colonial state discriminated between men and women in the administration of the colonial economy. Men were made the main producers of colonial profit in the plantations and other colonial investments while women were made to produce and reproduce in the rural areas for the social and economic development of the colonial accumulation. Food surplus, support of tax payments, taking care of families, and the like were left mainly to be carried out by women farmers in the rural areas. Colonial administrators emphasized a patriarchal ideology, which often led to the new gender and class relations in the area. The system contrasted with the precolonial system and transformed the roles women had previously played. In pre-colonial times, men and women were complementary to each other in the agricultural performance, but now some of the agricultural roles of men were left to women farmers alone. But women participated in various other parts of the colonial economy like the subsistence agriculture, the colonial peasant cultivation, and casual labour. All these changes were negotiated between the colonial state and the powerful local classes who were largely men.

Although women faced various challenges in the processes of colonial life, they continued to negotiate their social and economic participation through various techniques found in their respective societies. Women farmers played an important role in sustaining peasant farming and household food security despite the constraints imposed by the colonial rule. They accommodated the situation by accepting the sceneries which were possible to them, but resisted some of the colonial demands which they could not accommodate. Women protested actively and in day to day hidden protests. This enabled them to remain with labour autonomy for their development. They continued to actively participate in the production and reproduction of the society and they adopted new strategies to meet the demands of the changing colonial economy. They acquired new skills and took over social roles from men, such as healing or clearing the field at the beginning of an agricultural cycle. Sometimes these new roles were accompanied by more self-esteem and an improvement of social positions in local settings.

4 Communal Work, Authority, and Crisis: Women Farmers during the Era of Self Reliance and Ujamaa in the Southern Highlands, 1966- 1980

“Our shrines and local family institutions were abandoned and disintegrated in former households; many people who could not keep up with the new policy were frustrated. What was carried out was to accept the move and work harder”⁵³⁸

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a historical analysis of the relationship between women, state and society on the negotiations of women farmers’ labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania during the post independent phase. It covers the period from the 1960s to 1980 to incorporate the Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance policies. The Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance policies are explored in some detail, with a particular focus on the ways through which they intermingled with women farmers’ historical activities in agricultural settings. Different collaborations between government organs and other classes of people which interacted with women farmers’ labour in agriculture in various aspects, such as taxation of agricultural products, and distribution of land, seeds and of fertilizers to women, are discussed in relation to women farmers’ agricultural work. Various work interactions between women farmers with government organs and other classes of people in the society are also investigated. The chapter also examines how women farmers were involved in the planning, and organisation of agricultural work. Moreover, it looks on how women farmers participated in the communal and individual farms of the era. Again, the chapter explores the contribution of women farmers to the distribution of farm outputs, selling of harvests, and how they controlled the income obtained from the sales of the communal and individual farm’s products at various levels and under changing circumstances. The central argument of this chapter is that although the government policies of Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance, together with their implementations by different stakeholders, practitioners and other classes of people, aimed at

⁵³⁸ Interview with Mama M. N. of Pilikano village on 20 November 2014.

mounting the country's economic and social welfare, they surprisingly resulted into some historical fundamentals that worked for the dynamics of women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania in varied ways. Furthermore, the participation of women farmers in the implementation of *Ujamaa* policy at various levels and stages had brought significant historical transformations for women farmers. This is particularly demonstrated by the development of women's confidence regarding their contribution to the economy in terms of decision making, organization of the society, and managing the available resources. In addition, the chapter shows how women farmers developed new insights and visions on how to cope with shortcomings of the *Ujamaa* policy, which affected their daily lives and that of their families.

4.2 Historical Background to the Rural Development and Education for Self-Reliance Policies

After independence, Tanzania witnessed a wide-range of efforts carried out by political leaders and citizens of Tanzania. These efforts aimed at developing the country's economy and social welfare by using methods, resources and programs from within the country in order to avoid the dependence on external resources. The political leadership intended to run the country by using Tanzanian ways and strategies to achieve the intended goals of social, economic and political independence.⁵³⁹ Thus different laws, policies, and programs that were formulated during this period were prepared in such a way that they would promote sustainable development and reduce external dependence.⁵⁴⁰

After independence, the larger percentage of the population of Tanzania resided more in rural than in urban areas.⁵⁴¹ The laws, policies, and programs created at this particular time, therefore, were mostly directed towards developing rural areas. The whole process of creating development strategies and plans at this time was spearheaded by the Government of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) under Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922–1999), the first president of Tanzania. The initial stage began in April 1962 after the publication of the president's pamphlet on "*Ujamaa – the Basis of African Socialism*". The pamphlet underscored the proposed

⁵³⁹Nyerere, 'Education for Self-Reliance.'

⁵⁴⁰Nyerere, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism*.

⁵⁴¹C. K. Omari, 'Tanzania's Emerging Rural Development Policy', *Africa Today* 21, No. 3 (1974): 9–14.

development plans and strategies which were to be based on the attitude of the African extended family (*Ujamaa*).⁵⁴² According to Nyerere's pamphlet, meaningful development of all Tanzanian citizens should be based on African socialism, an extension of the extended family, in which a man and woman regard all men and women as his/her brethren and members of his/her ever broad family.⁵⁴³ This kind of social system was later termed as familyhood, in which men and women live together as members of the same family, loving one another and caring for each other. It was from this context of familyhood that the three principles were adopted to build the Tanzanian mode of *Ujamaa*/familyhood, namely living together and taking care of each other communally, owning the means of production communally, and distributing the products of labour accordingly.⁵⁴⁴ By building on the principles of the extended family system, with its emphasis on cooperation, mutual respect, and responsibility, a society was ideally expected to build on the values that all members would have equal rights and opportunities, without exploitation of one another.

The argument that the *Ujamaa* policy to be based on the foundations of an African extended family gave women an essential role to play. An extended family is a family that extends beyond the nuclear family, consisting of grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles and cousins, all living nearby or in the same household. It sometimes comprises a married couple living with either husband or the wife's parents.⁵⁴⁵ In this kind of relationship a woman, who was a member or had married into such a family, had a lot to accomplish in order to satisfy the family with respect to food, and other household services. As it is known in African societies, a marriage is a historical and social institution, and thus, a society expects to realise some goals beyond the immediate interests of the particular husband and wife. Those goals included the acquisition of the

⁵⁴² Andrew Coulson, 'Peasants and Bureaucrats', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 3 (1975): 53–58.

⁵⁴³ Nyerere, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism*.

⁵⁴⁴ Omari, 'Tanzania's Emerging Rural Development Policy', p. 13.

⁵⁴⁵ Niara Sudarkasa, "'The Status of Women' in Indigenous African Societies', *Feminist Studies* 12, No. 1 (1986): 91–103; Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (Routledge, 2015); Nhlanhla Mkhize, 'African Traditions and the Social, Economic and Moral Dimensions of Fatherhood', *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, 2006, 183–98.

production and reproduction capabilities and capacities of a woman.⁵⁴⁶ Therefore, the *Ujamaa* policy, being based on the foundations of the extended family, provided explicitly what a woman should contribute to the *Ujamaa* to cater for the requirements of a society that was conceived of as an extended family. In this case, a woman produced food supplies, she decided on how much should be used to feed the extended family, and how much should be used by the husband and the society to expand economic wealth. Moreover, she was supposed to accomplish all other household chores like taking care of the children, cooking, cleaning the house, taking care of the sick, fetching water, collecting firewood, and the like for the extended family.⁵⁴⁷ The participation of women in *Ujamaa* villages displayed vital covert and overt roles that facilitated the smooth functioning of the society's new system.

The plan to direct the economy towards the rural setting through communal arrangements and villages was developed by the state. More emphasis was put forward by Nyerere himself in his inaugural speech in 1963 when he said that "the first and absolutely essential thing to do if we want to be able to start using tractors for cultivation, is to begin living in proper villages".⁵⁴⁸ The improvement of the national economy was thought to be obtained in the rural areas through the maximization of work in agriculture. Thus, the issue of settling people into concentrated villages in rural areas was aimed at attaining the national economic development goal. However, establishment of settlements in Tanzania did not begin with the policy of Rural Development of the 1960s; it had its historical roots in pre-colonial Tanzania as the following section shows.

4.3 Historical Development of Human Settlements in Tanzania

Human settlements mean the totality of the human community, whether city, town, or village with all the social, material, organizational, spiritual and cultural elements that sustain it. Human settlements define people's existence. Settlement places may be large and small, urban and rural,

⁵⁴⁶ Toyin Falola and Nana Akua Amponsah, *Women's Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa* (ABC-CLIO, 2012) ; Thandabantu R Nhlapo, 'African Family and Women's Rights: Friends or Foes, The', *Acta Juridica*, 1991: 135.

⁵⁴⁷ Margaret Strobel, 'African Women', *Signs* 8, No. 1 (1982): 109–31.

⁵⁴⁸ Julius K. Nyerere. "President's Inaugural Address". In *Nyerere, Freedom and Unity* (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 184.

formal and informal; everywhere people live, learn, work and create.⁵⁴⁹ Collected settlements in Tanzania reach back in pre-colonial times. The development of settlements in Tanzania is well documented throughout the chapters. The evolution and growth of collected settlements in the pre-colonial Tanzania are well shown in chapter two while the development of collected settlements during the colonial era is also precisely revealed in chapter three. Therefore, in this chapter, the settlements which are going to be presented are those that developed after independence. They are grouped into two: the Pre-Arusha Declaration and Post-Arusha Declaration settlements.

⁵⁴⁹ Darryll Kilian et al., "Human Settlements," 2005.

4.3.1 The Pre-Arusha Declaration Settlement Scheme, 1962–1967s



Map 5: Pre-Arusha Declaration Settlements

(Source: Idris S. Kikula, 1997)

Centralised collected settlements in Tanzania expanded after independence in form of planned human settlements supervised by the Tanzanian independent state geared towards attaining rapid economic growth. The first planned human settlements during this period started to develop in 1962, one year after independence. In the historical literature, these planned settlements are

sometimes referred to as the pre-Arusha declaration schemes.⁵⁵⁰ These were initially cemented by public policies and acts. Besides, these initially planned villages were organised to provide an experience which would then gradually be applied throughout the country. These were primarily blessed and pronounced by the then president Nyerere in a speech before parliament on 10th December 1962, when he said: “Before we can bring any benefits of modern development to the farmers of Tanganyika, the very first step is to make it possible for them to start living in village communities”.⁵⁵¹ In 1963, President Nyerere made further steps by announcing the program for the rural settlement schemes. This program was designed to practically gather together people in rural settlements where they were supposed to grow agricultural crops within the planned and organised settlement schemes under the sponsorship of the government and other non-governmental agencies.⁵⁵² There was also a Settlement Schemes Commission Act which was passed by the Parliament in December 1963 to supervise the settlements. This act established the Rural Settlement Commission which was supposed to promote, develop, and control the settlements in the country.⁵⁵³

These schemes, which were established during the early years of independence, were also intended to absorb landless people from more densely populated areas and unemployed people from the urban areas.⁵⁵⁴ In addition, the schemes were regarded by the authorities as pilot schemes. The aim of the pilot schemes was to provide an experience which would then gradually be applied throughout the country. This was more explained by the speech of the then Vice President, Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, when addressing participants of the seminar about agricultural settlements:

...to replace the existing pattern of shifting cultivation and living in scattered villages by the introduction of improved farming techniques and the provision of essential

⁵⁵⁰Gerrit Huizer, ‘The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development’, *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)* 8, No. 2 (1973): 183–207; McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania’s Ujamaa Villages: The Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*.

⁵⁵¹Quoted in Abel Jacob, “Foreign Aid in Agriculture: Introducing Israel’s Land Settlement Scheme to Tanzania”, *African Affairs* 71, No. 283 (1972): 186–94.

⁵⁵²*Ibid*; Niko-Ilaus Newiger, ‘Village Settlement Schemes: The Problems of Cooperative Farming’, (1968): 273.

⁵⁵³S.M. Kulaba, ‘Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania’, *Habitat International* 6, No. 1 (1982): 15–2; Huizer, ‘The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development’.

⁵⁵⁴Newiger, ‘Village Settlement Schemes: The Problems of Cooperative Farming’.

services. To achieve this it was planned to regroup and resettle farmers from the uneconomic semi-desert areas on more favourable soils, and to introduce supervised crop rotation and mixed farming. The policy aimed at the creation of villages which would become centres of social and commercial development.⁵⁵⁵

This initial creation of centralised settlement schemes was comprised of more than 23 schemes throughout the country which were set up as models to be diffusion centres of modern farming. The total population was about 20,000 men and women and most schemes had around 200 families. They received considerable capital investment in machinery and services. Settlers were paid an incentive agricultural wage, and they worked under close supervision.⁵⁵⁶ These were heavily capitalised by the government and some international agencies with little self-reliance among the farmers. There were different schemes that were established following the call. First, the schemes that were facilitated by Israel were called Israel Schemes,⁵⁵⁷ such as Kalamera, Nyatwali, and Mbarika schemes, located in Mwanza Region. The second group consisted of the assisted schemes,⁵⁵⁸ located in the various regions as follows: Galu and Buyombe schemes in Mwanza, Kipembawe Scheme in Mbeya, Amani Scheme in Tanga, and Mkata Scheme in Morogoro. The third group of schemes consisted of the Ex-Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation schemes⁵⁵⁹, also distributed in different regions: Kichangani, Ichonde, and Sonjo schemes in Morogoro; Matangoro Scheme in Arusha; Kongwa Scheme in Dodoma; Lupatingatinga Scheme in Mbeya; and Urambo Scheme in Tabora. The last category was for the Pilot Village schemes,⁵⁶⁰ located in different regions, such as the Upper Kitete Settlement in Arusha Region, Rwamkoma in Mara, Kabuku in Tanga, Kiwere in Iringa, Kerege in Coast, Bwakira Chini in Morogoro, Kingorongundwa in Lindi, and the Mlale Settlement in Ruvuma.⁵⁶¹ These settlements

⁵⁵⁵ Kawawa, Rural Development Planning Seminar, 4 April 1966 quoted in Jacob, 'Foreign Aid in Agriculture: Introducing Israel's Land Settlement Scheme to Tanzania'.

⁵⁵⁶ Michael McCall and others, *Environmental and Agricultural Impacts of Tanzania's Villagization Programme* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK, 1985).

⁵⁵⁷ Jacob, 'Foreign Aid in Agriculture: Introducing Israel's Land Settlement Scheme to Tanzania'.

⁵⁵⁸ Idris S. Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment: The Case of Villagisation in Tanzania* (Nordic Africa Institute, 1997).

⁵⁵⁹ Len Berry and Janet Townshend, 'Soil Conservation Policies in the Semi-Arid Regions of Tanzania, a Historical Perspective', *Geografiska Annaler. Series A. Physical Geography*, 1972, 241–53.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶¹ Newiger, 'Village Settlement Schemes: The Problems of Cooperative Farming'; S.M. Kulaba, "Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania", *Habitat International* 6, No. 1 (1982): 15–29; P.S. Maro, 'Land Settlements and Population

were spread throughout the country to fulfil the intended purpose of serving as the model of the expected agricultural production.

By 1963 there were more than 1000 settlement schemes. About half of those were under the leadership of the TANU Youth League, the youth organisation of the ruling party. But these settlements proved of no profit as they consumed more cost than expected. By December 1965, there were seven highly capitalised settlement schemes (seven were highly capitalised and many others were not). Each covered between 6,000 to 10,000 acres, with a population of up to 250 or 1200 persons.⁵⁶² The state could not supervise thousands of projects, and agriculture proved tougher than many settlers had expected. So, the government abandoned the spontaneous schemes and concentrated on supervised settlement schemes of which there were never more than 40.⁵⁶³ This challenging way of growth of the programme led to the abandonment of this programme in 1966. The stop was announced by the then Prime Minister and the First Vice President, Rashid Mfaume Kawawa in April 1966, when he said that no more village settlements would be established, mainly because of their excessive costs, as their existence and maintenance had proved uneconomic and a burden to the nation.⁵⁶⁴

After stopping public sponsored settlement schemes, the establishment of a rural development scheme which would depend mainly on peoples' own initiatives and resource was thought of as the solution to this setback. The Prime Minister then pointed out that an improvement approach for the agriculture through villagisation and creation of *Ujamaa* villages, in particular, would

Redistribution in the United Republic of Tanzania', 1988.

Tony Waters, "Africanists and the Challenge of the Mission Veranda," *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 23, No. 1 (1995): 31–34.

Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism* (Dar es Salaam: Government Press, 1962).

Andrew Coulson, "Peasants and Bureaucrats," *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 3 (1975): 53–58.

Julius K. Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance," *The Ecumenical Review* 19, No. 4 (1967): 382–403.

⁵⁶² The rural settlement Commission: A Report of Village Settlement Programme from the Inception of Rural Settlement Commission to 31st December 1965, Ministry of Lands, Settlements and Water Development, Tanzania.

⁵⁶³ Kulaba, 'Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania'.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

present a programme which would aim at modernising⁵⁶⁵ agriculture and villages using minimum injected resources from outside the village with heavy reliance on the people's own recourses and initiatives.⁵⁶⁶ The programme of villagisation which was affiliated to the Arusha declaration put the emphasis on rural development which depended mainly on the local resources and the initiation of people in their respective areas.

4.4 The Policy of Ujamaa Villages and the Post-Arusha Declaration Settlement 1967-1980

The Arusha Declaration was prepared by the then President Nyerere and submitted to the TANU National Executive Committee at the end of January 1967 and it was published as a party document on 5th February 1967.⁵⁶⁷ The first section of the declaration composed of TANU creed which specified the key values expected of TANU members and the second section contained the definition of the policy of socialism in terms of the absence of exploitation, peasants and workers control of the means of production and exchange, and the existence of democracy.⁵⁶⁸ The most important aspects of the Arusha Declaration involved putting an emphasis on agriculture development and the indication that the principal means of production would be brought under the control of organised men and women workers and peasants. Greater emphasis was placed on self-reliance of the country. There were different resources for development of the Arusha Declaration, namely the people, the land and agriculture, policies of socialism and self-reliance, and good leadership, all brought together by hard work.⁵⁶⁹ The Arusha Declaration outlined the long term Tanzanian government policy for people to live in organised settlements in order to facilitate development.⁵⁷⁰ The policy re-emphasised the need for development that is based on the people's own effort and resources. In reality, the Arusha declaration set a stage for the formal inauguration of various policies, like Education for Self-Reliance, Nationalisation, and Rural

⁵⁶⁵ Modernisation of Agriculture was taken to mean the introduction of tractors and other machines to facilitate agriculture rather than using the handhoe.

⁵⁶⁶ Kulaba, 'Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania', pp. 20–12.

⁵⁶⁷ McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*; Elizabeth Daley, "Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 5, No. 3 (2005): 363–404.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 102–110.

⁵⁶⁹ Huizer, 'The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development', p. 7.

⁵⁷⁰ Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment: The Case of Villagisation in Tanzania*, p. 21.

Development. The Nationalization policy was adopted for the industrial and financial sectors. The policies of Education for Self-Reliance were geared towards educating Tanzanians to be self-reliant, and the development of the rural areas respectively and they linked education, rural development and socialism.

The policy of Education for Self-Reliance, among many things, interconnected education with work, replaced the European educational contents in schools with the African educational contents,⁵⁷¹ and made the primary education complete in itself. It was structured in such a way that when young people finished primary school education, they would be able to properly fit and integrate themselves into a society at any sector without a problem. This meant primary education was to prepare an individual for work not as a transition tool to the secondary and tertiary education. The policy also introduced agriculture into the education curriculum. Every school was supposed to have a farm in which teachers and students would learn by practical, hands-on activities. A school would have an agriculturally skilled worker and a farm manager. And from the sale of the farm's harvest, the school could obtain cash for its uses and development and thus be independent in some matters rather than depend solely on the funds from the government and other resources. Besides, the introduction of agricultural components in the primary school curriculum was intended to make pupils conversant with agricultural practice as the nation's main source of its social and economic development. Therefore, although there were other subjects taught in schools, agriculture was done by teaching theoretical lessons in classrooms and by practice in the farms to inculcate in the youth the spirit of agriculture. Furthermore, the Education for Self-Reliance policy was interconnected with the policy of *Ujamaa* in such a way that *Ujamaa* villages were seen as the most important units for the provision of social resources to the majority of the people, under the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. These villages became very important centres for the promotion of literacy among both adults and children. By the end of the 1980s, Tanzania was one of the countries with the highest literacy rates in Africa with every village hosting at least a primary school.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷¹ The Education for Self-Reliance Policy removed from the educational curriculum all Topics which covered European contents and replaced them with African and Tanzanian contents.

⁵⁷² Bonny Ibhawoh and Ji Dibua, 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for Social and Economic Development in Africa', *African Journal of Political Science* 8, No. 1 (2003): 59–83, p. 71.

The government's objective of developing the rural areas was more directly noted in the Socialism or *Ujamaa* policy outlined in the Arusha declaration. The policy emphasised rural development. It stressed the need to adopt education, investment programmes and political thought more to the need of the rural areas. The policy of *Ujamaa* involved two programmes, namely villagisation and communal work. Villagisation meant that people were supposed to move into planned villages and live together around or near social services, like water, hospitals, and schools, rather than living in the scattered settlements which impeded the distribution of social and public services to people. Communal work meant that people living in the *Ujamaa* villages were expected to work in the communal farm and produce together for the benefit and good of the whole village community. The government planned that the first step towards the implementation of the rural development programme was to make sure people live in the planned village. The second step would be focusing on development, of both the government and the individual citizens. The government should fulfil its responsibilities through administration and the provision of social services to the public while the individual citizens should fulfil their responsibilities of production for the social economic welfare. Indeed, villagisation policy was a central goal of rural development and *Ujamaa* of African socialism. According to the policy statement of *Ujamaa Vijijini*, "Socialism and Rural Development," the aim of the scheme was to initiate the upgrading of the rural society to enhance the rural economy and social communities where people would live together for the good of all.⁵⁷³ It advocated the development of *Ujamaa* villages in which people would have their homes around a common service centre instead of living on scattered homestead plots, and have land farmed by cooperative groups rather than by individual farmers. Nyerere legitimised the villagisation scheme with reference to the African practices of communal living and social equity.⁵⁷⁴ This was confirmed by his speech when addressing the leaders of the TANU party and the state as follows:

We shall not be able to use tractors; we shall not be able to provide schools for children; we shall not be able to build hospitals or have clean drinking water; it will be quite impossible to start small village industries and instead we shall have to go on depending

⁵⁷³ Julius K Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (London, 1968): 337.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibhawoh and Dibua, 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for Social and Economic Development in Africa', p. 67.

on the town for all our requirements; and even we had a plenty supply of electric power, we shall never be able to connect it up to each isolated homestead.⁵⁷⁵

The planning towards the social and economic development in the rural areas of Tanzania was the major aspect to concentrate on. The efforts and resources were calculated towards developing the villages in the countryside of Tanzania. Villages were designed and people were supposed to move into those villages where they would access social services like health services, schools, and water, instead of settling in the scattered settlements.

The objective of *Ujamaa* villages was to farm the village land collectively with modern techniques of production⁵⁷⁶ and share the proceeds according to the work contributed. It was expected that men and women would be farming together to obtain the economic advantage of larger scale farming through the good utilisation of machinery, purchase of supplies, and marketing of crops. It was also thought that this would simplify technical advice through agricultural extension officers who could teach a group more easily in one place, rather than travelling from one field or agricultural plot to another. It was also thought that it would be easier for the government to provide social facilities like water supplies, medical and educational services to farmers who resided in groups rather than in scattered holdings.

The *Ujamaa* villagisation programme as a development strategy was committed to raise Tanzania from the “level of dependence” to a level of “self-reliance”. In short, it intended to increase labour productivity through working together with a division of labour and specialisation of functions. It aimed at more profitable forms of marketing, purchasing, at providing services and forms of mechanisation and at spreading technical innovation through education and extension services. Self-reliant rural communities would be able to determine their own future, to avoid the exploitation of one peasant by another and of excessive differentiation

⁵⁷⁵ Julius K. Nyerere. “President’s Inaugural Address”. In Nyerere, Freedom and Unity (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 184.

David M Edwards, “Matetereka: Tanzania’s Last Ujamaa Village”, 1998.

⁵⁷⁶ The State Planned to introduce tractors, water pumps, etc. in cultivation to facilitate rapid growth of agricultural production.

of wealth and power, and also to reduce the gap between urban and rural life through improving rural social services.⁵⁷⁷

The implementation of the *Ujamaa* Village Policy (UVP) started immediately after the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration. People responded in a relatively positive way to the policy and started to move slowly into villages located in the rural areas.⁵⁷⁸ The great facilitator for the implementation was TANU, the party which was created in 1954 under the leadership of Julius Kambarage Nyerere, built a massive base among the population, particularly the peasants. TANU was the only political party in Tanzania during the time of *Ujamaa* policy.⁵⁷⁹ It enabled a network of village organisations to be created throughout the country. With its structure of the ten house cell, it was easy to mobilise people to live together in *Ujamaa* villages. The ten house cell of TANU comprised ten houses which were close to each other. Initially, these cells were established all over the country, united in TANU branches to bring people together at the base level, and used to mobilise members and socialise non-members in attempting to take the TANU party from town to rural areas, and involving local people into the decision-making process.⁵⁸⁰ But later, the cells were used to mobilise people into *Ujamaa* villages via TANU leaders and the TANU Youth League.⁵⁸¹ This was possible as their leaders were most influential and respected men and women in the villages. These were the people who were known beyond the borders of their villages. They had a degree of skills in harmonisation which could draw important people towards their goals. They fostered cooperation among members and mobilised people for campaigns such as digging, spreading literacy, and other common undertakings.⁵⁸² For this case,

⁵⁷⁷ David M Edwards, 'Matetereka: Tanzania's Last Ujamaa Village', 1998.

⁵⁷⁸ The move from scattered settlements to the planned Ujamaa villages was responded by a mixture of actions. Some individuals did not move until the government's militias moved them by force which included some destruction of living. This is shown by various scholars like: Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.*; Daley, 'Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990'.

⁵⁷⁹ Tanzania was a one-party-system from 1965 to 1992. In 1992 a multi-party system was reintroduced again in the country.

⁵⁸⁰ Huizer, 'The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development', p. 5.

⁵⁸¹ McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*, p. 112.

⁵⁸² Clyde R. Ingle, 'The Ten-House Cell System in Tanzania: A Consideration of an Emerging Village Institution', *The Journal of Developing Areas* 6, No. 2 (1972): 211–26.

it was easy when it came to *Ujamaa* village settling to use the same cells to organise people to form a unit among themselves in the villages throughout the country.

On top of ten house cells, the TANU Youth League groups were among the units that initiated *Ujamaa* groups or transformed their existing settlements into a communal village. This led to the genuine transformation towards a more socialist form of the relation of production.⁵⁸³ Youths were the active and powerful organisation to mobilise the coming together of people to form *Ujamaa* villages. This group was among the three initial groups of TANU, others being the Women's Organization, and Parents' Organization.⁵⁸⁴

Besides, women had a vital role to play in the initiation and development of the *Ujamaa* policy in Tanzania. Through various women's associations and organisations, they had a role of uniting and mobilising women all over the country from the grass-roots to the national level to participate in the social and economic development which was related to the policy.⁵⁸⁵ These associations included welfare associations, dance groups, religious groups, sewing groups, beer brewer associations, and other self-help groups.⁵⁸⁶ The largest association which accommodated a national character was the Tanzanian National Association of Women (*Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT)*). This was a mass association of women, formed within the TANU, as one of its important elements. UWT's roots laid in the special "*women section*" mandated in the first constitution of TANU.⁵⁸⁷ TANU's women section was established in 1955 in Dar es Salaam under the leadership of Bibi Titi Mohamed, a Matumbi woman.⁵⁸⁸ Bibi Titi Mohamed, who enrolled herself in TANU membership in 1954, was residing in Dar es Salaam and leading a

⁵⁸³Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. p. 101.

⁵⁸⁴Bienen, *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development (Princeton, 1967)*.

⁵⁸⁵Susan Geiger, "Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor," *African Studies Review* 25, No. 2/3 (1982): 45–65.

⁵⁸⁶Aili Mari Tripp, "Gender, Political Participation and the Transformation of Associational Life in Uganda and Tanzania," *African Studies Review* 37, No. 1 (April 1, 1994): 107–31; Geiger, 'Women and African Nationalism'; Ann P McCauley, Sheila West, and Matthew Lynch, 'Household Decisions among the Gogo People of Tanzania: Determining the Roles of Men, Women and the Community in Implementing a Trachoma Prevention Program', *Social Science & Medicine* 34, No. 7 (1992): 817–24.

⁵⁸⁷Geiger, 'Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor'.

⁵⁸⁸Illiffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

women dancing group called *Bomba*. She was already experienced in politics and she used to train women who were later sent to various parts of the country to mobilise and awaken women for TANU membership.⁵⁸⁹ In short, the UWT took the task of mobilising and unifying women in order to help in transforming the society's system to the needed development.

From the above historical information of women's associations and organisations, it is obvious that Nyerere saw the importance of women in the functioning and development of the nation. The incorporation of a women's association into TANU from the beginning presupposed the need to have their capacities and innovations in the social and political setting. Scholars tell how women members participated from the beginning in the launching of TANU branches throughout Tanzania, which were later used as pillars of *Ujamaa* villages.⁵⁹⁰ Furthermore, women members used their membership income for the founding activities and development of the party throughout Tanzania, the party which was the main supporter of the development of the *Ujamaa* policy.

In addition, various links acted as an inducement toward the formation of *Ujamaa* villages. Organs like tribal associations, labour units, and village leaders acted as channels of communication between TANU leaders and villages in the formulation of the *Ujamaa* villages. Furthermore, there were some government and state organised efforts towards persuading people to move into *Ujamaa* villages. One of these involved promising the availability of social services in the villages.⁵⁹¹ Therefore, the movement started slowly by forming individual model villages in the first two years and later accelerated with state facilitation through various ways which enabled the formation of *Ujamaa* villages throughout Tanzania.

The program of settling people into *Ujamaa* villages was successful as the statistics show that most of the rural population was able to settle in the planned villages as expected. The administration managed to settle and resettle where necessary. The majority of the country's

⁵⁸⁹ Geiger, 'Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor'.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Huizer, 'The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development', p. 4.

population was relatively big in compacted villages compared to the scattered homesteads in which they previously lived. In 1980, Tanzania had a population statistics of 18,674,100. The rural population was 16,059,726, which constituted 86% of the total population. The rural population living in *Ujamaa* villages was 15,365,800, which was equal to 95.7% of the total population living in rural areas. This means only 4.3% of the rural population lived in the scattered homesteads.⁵⁹² The government was able to make considerable achievements in providing community facilities and social services, especially clean piped water supply, health services, schools, roads, and survey of the physical layouts of many villages in the rural areas.

The above statistics are very important in explaining the process towards the rural development programme during the UVP. The policy involved both, the settling, and the working together in *Ujamaa* villages.⁵⁹³ Historical information reveals that the settling together in *Ujamaa* villages was more successful than the working together.⁵⁹⁴ People were able to move successfully into planned *Ujamaa* villages, but they were unable to work together on the communal works like farming, and cattle herding which were carried out in those villages. Most of them worked on individual plots or other works, rather than communal ones.⁵⁹⁵ The state of settling into villages was seen as a vital stimulant to the social and economic development. As Nyerere initially said, the programs geared towards rural economic development could be more easily implemented on planned and collected settlements than on unplanned and scattered settlements.⁵⁹⁶ Social services like education, health, clean water, and others were easily provided by the government in those planned and collected settlements which stimulated and guaranteed stable economic production. The *Ujamaa* policy accommodated both, the settling, and working together in monitored

⁵⁹² Kulaba, 'Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania', p. 17.

⁵⁹³ McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibhawoh and Dibua, 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for Social and Economic Development in Africa'; Huizer, 'The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development'; Julius Kambarage Nyerere and Tanzania President, *The Arusha Declaration Ten Years after*, 9 (Government Printer Dar es Salaam, 1977).

⁵⁹⁵ Nancy Spalding, 'The Tanzanian Peasant and Ujamaa: A Study in Contradictions', *Third World Quarterly* 17, No. 1 (1996): 89–108.

⁵⁹⁶ Nyerere, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism*.

villages. Therefore, it is generally said that the government's post-Arusha settlement scheme carried out from 1967 to 1976 showed a successful result.

The three studied districts of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania (Makete, Mbinga and Mbozi) experienced policies of villagisation just like all other parts of the country. The planning, organisation, and implementation of these policies were mostly locally administered through appropriate channels. This area experienced both, the pre-Arusha declaration village settlement schemes which obtained support from the government and other international agencies,⁵⁹⁷ and the post-Arusha declaration *Ujamaa* and villagisation policies which mainly depended on the initiatives of people and their resources from the local environment.⁵⁹⁸

4.5 The Development of *Ujamaa* Villages in the Southern Highlands: Ideas, Plans, and Practices

Ujamaa villages were an important historical development in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The area experienced both the pre-Arusha declaration settlement schemes and the Post-Arusha Declaration *Ujamaa* villages. In pre-Arusha settlement schemes, there had been pilot schemes established by the Rural Settlement Programme, which was pronounced by the then President of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere in March 1963. In December 1963 the Parliament of Tanzania passed the Rural Settlement Commission Act. It established the Rural Settlement Commission which was empowered to initiate, maintain and develop rural settlements, and allocate priorities for the establishment of rural settlements.⁵⁹⁹ The Village Settlement Agency was set up at the same time to function as an executive arm of the Rural Settlement Commission. The Southern Highlands of Tanzania experienced various pre-Arusha Declaration Village Settlement Schemes like the Lupatingatinga settlement scheme which was located to Chunya District in the Mbeya Region; the Mlale settlement scheme which was located in the Songea District, in the Ruvuma Region; the Kipembawe Assisted Settlement Scheme

⁵⁹⁷ Jacob, 'Foreign Aid in Agriculture: Introducing Israel's Land Settlement Scheme to Tanzania'; Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989.; Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment: The Case of Villagisation in Tanzania*.

⁵⁹⁸ Edwards, 'Matetereka: Tanzania's Last *Ujamaa* Village.'; McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's *Ujamaa* Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*; Zaki Ergas, 'Why Did the *Ujamaa* Village Policy Fail? – Towards a Global Analysis', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 18, No. 3 (1980): 387–410.

⁵⁹⁹Kulaba, 'Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania', p. 20.

located in the Mbeya region; and the Kiwere Pilot Village Scheme located in the Iringa region. Progressive farmers⁶⁰⁰ were selected to settle in the chosen areas for the programme. Each scheme covered 6,000-10,000 acres with a population of up to 250 families or 1,200 persons.⁶⁰¹ Farmers in those settlements received free food rations supplied by the World Food Programme. They also received a subsistence allowance of TZS 30 per family each month. In addition, they obtained credit facilities to buy agricultural machinery and inputs. These costs were covered by both, nongovernmental sources (external sources) and the government sources from the Tanzanian Treasury.⁶⁰² What was practised in these settlements was a kind of progressive improvement in the methods of crop and animal husbandry by presenting the peasant farmers with both psychological and technical plans to induce an increase in the productivity without any radical changes in social and legal systems.⁶⁰³

The Mlale settlement scheme set its economic goals at producing Virginia fire-cured tobacco, groundnuts, and maize in 200 ha of land and grass for grazing 200 ha. The scheme was well equipped in terms of finance, staff and the technological equipment needed for agricultural development. The bulk of the finances were provided by the Irish Freedom from Hunger campaign, and the rest was provided by the Tanzanian Village Settlement Commission. The staff included an expatriate manager, an assistant manager, a clerical officer, a works supervisor, a survey assistant, and a chief mechanical supervisor. Furthermore, there were semi-skilled workers, including three drivers, two junior clerks, one mechanic, one storeman, one plumber/fitter, and one expatriate volunteer. The machinery part comprised seven tractors with

⁶⁰⁰ Progressive Farmers were selected from a set of criterions like being within an age range of 18–40, having a relatively good performance in agriculture, and having good interpersonal relationships in the villages; Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989; Jacob, 'Foreign Aid in Agriculture: Introducing Israel's Land Settlement Scheme to Tanzania'; Kikula, *Policy Implications on Environment: The Case of Villagisation in Tanzania*; David Edwards, 'Settlement, Livelihoods and Identity in Southern Tanzania: A Comparative History of the Ngoni and Ndendeuli', 2003.

⁶⁰¹ *The Rural Settlement Commission: A Report of the Village Settlement Programme From the Inception of the Rural Settlement Commission to 31st December 1965*, Ministry of Lands, Settlement and Water Development, Tanzania.

⁶⁰² Kulaba, 'Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania', pp. 201–21.

⁶⁰³ The government emphasized local initiatives in the implementation of agricultural projects in those schemes, farmers were educated and counselled by agricultural specialists on how to go about towards achieving the planned objectives.; Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989, p. 92.

implements, one water pump, one car, one electric generator, four bulldozers, and seven lorries.⁶⁰⁴ Men and women who participated in the scheme were endowed with all necessary goods and implements for the agricultural activities to be carried out. The cultivation and other related works were facilitated and motivated via services provided by the government and other agencies. The merged efforts between farmers and other agencies played an important role in the scheme model.

Village Settlement Schemes sought to facilitate radical changes in the agricultural production from “low level” to the “higher level” of production in the peasant economy. These were expected to raise the quality and the quantity of the agricultural yields. Men and women farmers were motivated to work using selected technology depending on machines, equipment, and advanced methods. All these were to happen in the villages where individual men and women were supposed to participate in group mechanisms to ease and inspire production. The results were expected to improve the social and economic quality of households, groups, and the community as a whole.

On top of the Village Settlement Schemes, which were fully sponsored by the government, there existed locally established schemes in the Ruvuma Region which depended largely on men and women’s resources. One of these constructions was the Ruvuma Development Association which originated from the TANU Youth League Farmers’ Scheme in Litowa. Its leader was called Ntimbanjayo Millinga who was the local secretary of the TANU Youth League. He founded the scheme with other 14 other youths in November 1960.⁶⁰⁵ By 1963 the association had grown to three settlements involving 70 families who decided to form the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA). By 1969, the RDA comprised 18 villages of different sizes, of which 13 were located in Songea, 3 in Mbinga, and 2 in the Tunduru Districts, involving approximately 400 families.⁶⁰⁶ The organisation acted like a lineage group in the traditional society, and indeed in many cases, the families were related by blood ties or marriage. Twice a

⁶⁰⁴Ibid., p. 93.

⁶⁰⁵Huizer, ‘The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development’, p. 9.

⁶⁰⁶Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989: 94.

week all adult men and women gathered for a common evening meal plus discussion, in which all village plans and problems could be discussed by everyone. Once in a year, the village community elected a leadership team, a manager and assistant manager, a treasurer, a part-time dresser and a storeman. These functions were honorary and not linked to the financial advantage. Everybody was supposed to work according to his or her ability. Most works were done in working groups and even office holders participated in the field work when time permitted. The targets were communally set in the bi-weekly meetings, and every member was to fulfil his or her duty according to the plan. If the duties were not fulfilled the defaulters were punished by fines.⁶⁰⁷

Economically the RDA relied solely on agriculture as its backbone. Some of the crops grown were maize, millet, cassava, common beans, pigeon peas, oil fruits, vegetables, and fruits. Many fields were run communally by men and women, while few were smaller private plots. Agricultural practices were high level comprising ridge cultivation methods, weeding, application of manure and artificial fertilizer. Export crops like tobacco and coffee were also cultivated. Livestock farming also took place, and this included chicken, pigeons, pigs, cattle and sheep. This was handled differently in individual villages.⁶⁰⁸ RDA was among the most successful associations not only in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania but also in the country as a whole.

The post-Arusha declaration witnessed the promulgation of the *Ujamaa* Village Policy after the failure of Village Settlement Schemes due to their extraordinary costs. The *Ujamaa* Village Policy not only emphasised men and women as the centre of development but also clearly spelt out that people should live and work together in villages for the benefit and good of all members. It strongly stressed a development strategy which is largely based on men and women's own efforts and resources. This marked a big shift from the capital and money intensive efforts of the Villages Settlement Schemes of pre-Arusha declaration era to a labour intensive approach of the

⁶⁰⁷Ibid., p. 95.

⁶⁰⁸Ibid.

post-Arusha *Ujamaa* villages.⁶⁰⁹ Thus, men and women moved into *Ujamaa* villages to live and work together using various methods and styles.

An *Ujamaa* village was explained as an economic and social community where men and women live and work together for the good of all, and a place where men and women live and work together for the benefit of all its participants.⁶¹⁰ It was made up of a group of men and women who had willingly joined together in order to carry out their activities which would bring about change in their own lives together.⁶¹¹ Again, a village was started by men and women peasants and workers on their own free will. They did their economic and developmental activities together in cooperative socialist ways for the common good, under the guidance, and with the aid of the TANU.⁶¹² Furthermore, an *Ujamaa* village was defined as a registered multipurpose production and marketing association. Additionally, an *Ujamaa* village had to prove that it included a substantial portion of the economic activities of the village which were being undertaken and carried out on a common basis.⁶¹³ In this case, therefore, an *Ujamaa* village was a conjunction of living and working together for the good and benefit of all. Moreover, President Nyerere pointed out that an *Ujamaa* village would be a group of men and women large enough to take account of the agricultural methods to fit in the needs of the period. An *Ujamaa* village thus was expected to have at least a minimum of 250 and a maximum of 600 family households with demarcated and recorded boundaries.⁶¹⁴

The administrative structure of the *Ujamaa* village comprised all village men and women members aged 18 years and above who formed the village assembly. The village assembly elected 25 persons every year for the village council. The councillors nominated five members of each

⁶⁰⁹Kulaba, 'Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania', p. 22.

⁶¹⁰Julius Kambarage Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: Uhuru na Ujamaa; a Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965–1967* (Oxford University Press, 1968): 155.

⁶¹¹McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*, p. 94.

⁶¹²*Ibid.*

⁶¹³Villages and Ujamaa Village Act 1975, Section 16 (1) (Copied in Schmied, p. 99).

⁶¹⁴Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: Uhuru Na Ujamaa; a Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965–1967*. p. 351.

committee from among themselves. The committees included the Finance and Planning Committee; the Production and Working Committee; the Education Committee, the Culture and Welfare Committee; the Work and Transport Committee; and the Security and Defence Committee. Furthermore, they elected among themselves the Village Chairperson who also became the Chairperson of the party branch in the village. The Chairperson and the Secretary had the highest authority in political and administrative matters in the village. In economic matters, the Chairperson and the Secretary were assisted by the Village Manager, Bookkeeper and the Shopkeeper under the control of the small committee of Finance and Planning.⁶¹⁵ The government and administrative organs responsible for the maintenance of the *Ujamaa* village were supposed to make sure the village had important social and economic services to cater for the needs of the people living in the villages. Some of the important elements that were provided to the villages were health services, primary school, water taps, a village shop, a mill, cattle dip, and recreational centre. In some cases, where the village had reached a good stage, it contained also an artisan school, an ambulance, a better housing scheme, a garage, a godown, a bus or alorry, and a tractor. On top of these, there was expertise to make the village function well, which included an agricultural extension officer, a livestock extension officer, and a land surveyor.⁶¹⁶

4.5.1 *Ujamaa* Villages in the Study Area

The studied areas (Makete, Mbinga, and Mbozi Districts) experienced villagisation policy in different capacities. The studied wards in all the three districts have some villages that were created or turned into *Ujamaa* villages following the promulgation of the policy in 1967. In Makete district, the studied wards were the Iwawa and Isapulano. The *Ujamaa* villages which were formed using different methods and styles in these wards included Isapulano, Luvulunge, Ivilikinge, Iwawa, Matamba, Lupila, Ivalalila, and Ndulamo. In Mbinga district, the studied wards were Kigonsera and Mkumbi, and the villages included in the study, which were former

Juhani Koponen, "People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures", 1988.

⁶¹⁵Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*, 1989: 99.

⁶¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 100.

Ujamaa villages, were Pilikano, Kipegei, Longa, Matumba, Kilinda, and Mkumbi. In the Mbozi district, the studied wards were Igamba and Iyula. Here the villages of Iyula, Ipyana, Igale, Ilela, and Ilomba were *Ujamaa* villages and were consulted during the research time. All these villages comprised individuals who lived and worked following the principles and rules of UVP, although in different ways and capacities. The following parts show how the *Ujamaa* policy was implemented in the mentioned villages and how women specifically participated in each stage of the *Ujamaa* village development.

4.5.1.1 The Coming Together Phase: Ideas, Plans, and Practices

The making of Tanzanian rural areas along *Ujamaa* village principles was planned to be accomplished through various stages which this section describes. Women were very important actors in each step of the progress. In most of the settings, the routine entailed three stages while in other locations it took four or more stages depending on the political and social economic environment, and the functioning of local administrative organs.⁶¹⁷ This involved plans and practical procedures from the commencement to the final stage of a village's construction where a village was supposed to be pronounced as a complete qualified *Ujamaa* village. In planning and building the villages, President Nyerere advised that the developmental stages must not base on communal farming only, but also on all other activities which would emerge in a village community.⁶¹⁸ Thus, the stages embraced in the building of *Ujamaa* villages consisted of not only agricultural events but also other social and political activities that prevailed in the villages at large. Every member of the village was supposed to participate in community activities. The first step or stage in building up *Ujamaa* was called "villagisation" or "coming together". At this stage, President Nyerere foresaw that villages would be started by TANU cell leaders, an agricultural officer, the community development officer, a primary school teacher, a sheikh or priest or any Tanzanian who understood the objectives of an *Ujamaa* village. The main responsibility of leaders and administrators in the first stage was to persuade people to move

⁶¹⁷McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages: The Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*.

⁶¹⁸Nyerere, *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism*.

from their houses scattered over the wide area into planned villages where they could enjoy common facilities such as school, water, and health services.⁶¹⁹

Furthermore, the leaders were supposed to mobilise people, arouse their enthusiasm, and help them to move from talk to action. In some literature, the first stage is also identified as a “formative stage”, viz. the stage when the village has not yet attained social and economic viability. This was more directed to forming a political consciousness in which the farmers decide to cooperate. The stage occurred only when the individuals forming the community agreed to live together in an *Ujamaa* village.⁶²⁰ It involved mass meetings at which government and TANU officials explained the *Ujamaa* ideas to the ten-house cell leaders or to the population in general. Persuasive measures were used to motivate the people to participate in the *Ujamaa* program. In initiating *Ujamaa* villages, the ten-house cell formed the basis of common effort rather than the group of neighbours and kinsmen and women who were chosen to participate in mutual aid and joint actions by a sponsor of a work party. The first stage mainly meant coming together, and in some instances, it included the preparation of villagers’ name lists and so on. In the initial years of the policy implementation, from 1968, in the Southern Highlands, this process was more of voluntary action, but from the year 1973 to 1975 the process of moving into *Ujamaa* villages became obligatory. In some cases, coercive measures were taken for those who were unwilling to join the villages.⁶²¹ All individuals were supposed to move into *Ujamaa* villages regardless of class, gender or age.

The formation of *Ujamaa* villages in the research areas was more a question of conformity than of government force. Only a few areas experienced local militias working alongside the army and national service troops to secure compliance of the move to the new settlement sites.⁶²² The

⁶¹⁹Huizer, ‘The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development’, p. 12.

⁶²⁰McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania’s Ujamaa Villages: The Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*, pp. 111–112.

⁶²¹Daley, ‘Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990’; Interview with Mama C.N. on 15 October 2014 at Mkumbi Village; Focus Group Discussion with Longa Women and Men on 20 October 2014; Focus Group Discussion with Ilela Women and Men on 12 December 2014.

⁶²²*Ibid.*, p. 383; Interview with Mama M.S. of Iwawa on 15 February 2015; Focus Group Discussion with Luvulunge Women and Men 24 February 2015; Edwards, ‘Matetereka: Tanzania’s Last Ujamaa Village’.

method of persuasion was more active in the areas than the compulsory and forced method. The larger parts of the villages were formed using the voluntary means and group accord, rather than violence. Normal discussions and negotiations were carried out between the leaders and individuals about the establishment of *Ujamaa* villages. The *Ujamaa* villages in the areas under study were of two kinds. The first kind of *Ujamaa* villages were those formed in the virgin land,⁶²³ where individuals were supposed to clear the land for the purpose of creating new *Ujamaa* villages to get a space for building houses and for getting plots of cultivation.⁶²⁴ The second kinds of *Ujamaa* villages were founded in the already established villages. These were the scattered settlements at the time of promulgation, and what was done was just to change the status of the village from the old village with scattered settlements to the new status of *Ujamaa* village. The procedure carried out, in this case, was to incorporate new *Ujamaa* elements needed for the village to qualify as a proper *Ujamaa* village. This included the creation of leadership structure of the party (TANU) and government, and various infrastructures planned for the development as mentioned above, like the village's constitution and other elements. Thus, people who were united in this second kind of villages were of two kinds: those who were already residing within the area, and those who were brought from nearby areas to form the new *Ujamaa* villages. This second kind of *Ujamaa* villages was more common in the research area compared to the first kind, although there were some of the villages formed using the first method.⁶²⁵

Moreover, the formed villages had one of the following three different statuses: a normal village which had not started cooperation of *Ujamaa* and was referred to as “a village”; a village which had been registered as a cooperative, referred to as “a Cooperative village”; and a village which

⁶²³ The meaning of virgin land used here is of various perspectives, some land was owned and used by individuals or communities in old times and left unfarmed for a long time which enabled big trees and bush to develop, while others were not owned and thus free for distribution. This kind of different ownership led to some conflicts during the distribution of plots in some parts; Daley, 'Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyambo, 1920s–1990'.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.; Interview with Bishop S.M. on 10 February 2015 at Iwawa Village, Makete District; Focus Group Discussion with Iwawa women and Men on 22 February 2015; Focus Group Discussion with Luvulunge Women and Men on 24 February 2015.

⁶²⁵ Interview with the chairperson of Iyula village on 06 December 2014; Interview with Bishop S.M. of Iwawa on 10 February 2015; Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014.

did all its activities on an *Ujamaa* basis, referred to as “an *Ujamaa* village”.⁶²⁶ The villages in the Southern Highlands acquired different status with regard to the works they conducted either individually or communally. This depended on the kind of social and economic undertakings of a particular area. For example, in the Mkumbi ward, many villages were registered as cooperatives as they also dealt with the cultivation of coffee as a cash crop, among other crops. Coffee procedures were processed through cooperative units.⁶²⁷

The organisation and physical planning of the villages in the research area depicted different structures and appearances. The difference in the physical planning of the *Ujamaa* villages stemmed from the reasons that each local administrative organ had its own authority of ruling the program depending on the environment and the availability of the resources. In Mkumbi ward, the style was designed in such a way that plots to build houses of all members were planned and arranged together in one compound with small spaces for a vegetable garden and other activities of their interests, like coffee plantations, while farms for food crops were located some distance away from houses’ compound. In most cases the close relatives or people belonging to the same lineage settled together or in neighbouring locations. This technique enabled people to live close to each other and form security bonds in times of danger.⁶²⁸ The technique involved building houses more closely together with small gardens, while the individual plots were all located in a special field on the village outskirts. This was more motivated by the idea that it would be easier to merge the individual plots into collective farms with mechanical cultivation when the time was ripe for such a decision.⁶²⁹ Moreover, the area experienced more transformation of villages into *Ujamaa* villages during the promulgation of the UVP rather than the creation of new villages.⁶³⁰ This means that the old villages remained intact without notable changes in the form of structure and appearance. The incorporation of *Ujamaa* principles into the old villages was the main procedure applied to those villages to make them meet *Ujamaa* goals and objectives.

⁶²⁶McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania’s Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*, p.100.

⁶²⁷ Interview with chairperson of *Shamba Darasa* of Matumba Village Mr F.M. on 12 October 2014.

⁶²⁸ Interview with Mama K.K. of Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014.

⁶²⁹ Interview with the Mkumbi Chairperson on 10 November 2014.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*

In the villages located in the Iwawa and Iyula wards of the Makete and Mbozi districts respectively, the plots were divided in such a way that a house and a farm were situated in one area. That means men and women were given large plots of land at their respective homes to serve for both purposes, cultivation and residence. Therefore, individuals lived on their farmland, creating a relative distance from one family's household to the next. This implies that houses were at a larger distance from each other and that a village as a whole somewhat spread out. Individual households were only mobilised to work on their plots and sell their produce together in the cooperative unions using *Ujamaa* village principles and rules.⁶³¹

Given this kind of procedure in the launching of *Ujamaa* villages in the Southern Highlands, women participation could be divided into two main groups of work. The first group was the group of women who participated on the side of the government to persuade men and women to move from the scattered settlements to the planned *Ujamaa* villages, or to agree to the transformation of the existing villages. The second group was the group of women farmers who participated on the side of agricultural participants and these were the ones who were supposed to move to *Ujamaa* villages.⁶³² Women who participated on the side of the government were mostly members of various women's associations, including the TANU women's association.⁶³³ Various women's associations sponsored their members to travel throughout the rural areas to mobilise men and women to join TANU and later to move to *Ujamaa* villages.⁶³⁴ In the Southern Highlands, the persuasion and mobilisation was carried out via public meetings and house to house campaigns.⁶³⁵ In various interactions, benefits of participation in *Ujamaa* villages were explained to men and women of a particular area.

⁶³¹ Interview with the Chairperson of Igale Village on 14 December 2014; Interview with Mr U.F. of Iwawa Village on 13 March 2015; Interview with the Secretary of Iyula Ward on 15 December 2014.

⁶³² Interview with Mama K.K. of Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Interview with Mkumbi Village Chairperson, op. cit.

⁶³³ Susan Geiger, 'Tanganyikan Nationalism as "Women's Work": Life Histories, Collective Biography and Changing Historiography', *The Journal of African History* 37, No. 3 (1996): 465–78.

⁶³⁴ Geiger, 'Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor'.

⁶³⁵ Focus Group Discussion with women and men of Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2015; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015.

The study concentrates more on the second group, which consists of women farmers who participated in various ways in this formative stage of construction of the *Ujamaa* villages. Women farmers who participated more in this first step of formation of the *Ujamaa* villages were those whose families or households moved from old residential areas to join the new *Ujamaa* villages somewhere else. Women performed the initial works of planning arrangements and packing of the individuals' properties to be carried from old households to the new households in *Ujamaa* villages. These undertakings were largely carried out by women while men were busy making arrangements for accommodation or building houses at new residential areas.⁶³⁶ Women were responsible for making proper provisions that would enable the smooth transfer of the children and/or other family members, properties, and making sure that enough food and other necessities were available for their family during the whole transfer period. Women were responsible to check whether the supplies of food stuff were properly packed and kept to make sure they arrive at the new residence safely. This was carried out with keen devotion in order to make sure the family would be free from hunger within the whole period of settling in a new home, and before the next season of cultivation and harvesting the new food crops. Mama C.N. explained her experience during the transfer period as follows:

...I used more than a week to prepare and pack our things. The food was the first important item to take care of and protect as we were advised to be very careful, as the vagaries of weather during the transition period were not known. Our husband joined other men in the village to attend various meetings for the purpose of planning the clearing of plots for distribution to all village members. But at the end our husband joined us in the carrying of the luggage. We carried our luggage on our heads in various trips until we finished...⁶³⁷

The family of Mama C.N. shifted from their old residential area at Udembe and moved to the new area of Nzigiri located in Mkumbi village in 1969. However, they still own and cultivate the old area because it was not given to other people: they decided not to abandon it. They use it to implement a crop rotation farming system. During the farming season, the family walked between the two villages for the purpose of cultivation and other economic activities.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁶ Interview With Bishop S.M. of Iwawa Village Makete District 10 February 2015; Interview with Mama K.K. op. cit., Daley, 'Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990'.

⁶³⁷ Interview with Mama C.N. of Mkumbi Village on 15 October 2014.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

When the possibility of moving within a short period from old to new home proved too difficult, women were supposed to make arrangements for temporary accommodation for the children and other members, while the adults went ahead to the new residences. This kind of organisation happened where the transfer involved long distances. When the movement covered a long distance between the new and the old sites, the family members continued to live in an old place while working in the new residential area until when they were comfortable or self-reliant in terms of food supplies and security. In such kinds of historical circumstances, women had to make sure that food supplies and other necessities were available in both residences: the old residence where children and other members of the family were waiting, and the new residence where adults were working to complete the new home. Women were responsible for the movements between the old residential area and the new one, which involved going to and from the original places for food and other necessities. This was explained by Mama M.N. of Pilikano village as follows:

...my husband decided to join the Lulwahi village where his relatives also joined, which is located more than ten kilometres from here. I asked my mother to stay with our children since our place at Lulwahi was not yet a good place to live. My husband constructed a small hut at Lulwahi for two of us to live while continuing cultivating and building our new home. I walked every Sunday between Lulwahi and Pilikano to bring food and other necessities for our children. We spent more than a year to build Lulwahi...⁶³⁹

The family of Mama M.N. shifted from Pilikano village to Lulwahi in 1975. She stayed with her husband at Lulwahi village for five years and returned back to Pilikano village in 1981 when her husband married a second wife. She explained that women played a very significant role during the transfer to *Ujamaa* villages. Women participated actively in various capacities in the formation of *Ujamaa* villages. The whole process of transfer was mostly carried out by women. According to her, men were mainly dealing with clearing the land for home and plots, but the actual transfer of properties and children was done by women.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁹ Interview with Mama M.N. of Pilikano village on 20 November 2014.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

On top of that, family households that decided to move immediately with their children and other members of their extended family to *Ujamaa* villages in most cases faced the problem food shortage during the transfer period. The problem was caused by various losses incurred in the process of moving their belongings from the old residential area to the *Ujamaa* villages. One of the strategies used by women to overcome the lack of food was to work on the farms owned by rich farmers. They cultivated in the farms for pay in order to get money to buy food to sustain their family during the transfer period. It took one or more years for the new plots in the new *Ujamaa* villages to produce sufficient food stuff for subsistence. Women were the ones who were to work for pay since men were either not willing to do work for food since food supplies were regarded as women's work, or they were busy making the new home for the family. During the transfer period, women focused on the provision of family food security and other social forms of upkeep while their husbands were doing other activities. Mama H.K. and Mama N.N. were among those many women who participated in tilling the land of rich farmers in order to get money to buy food. The following were their experiences:

...the food we brought with us during the transfer could not be enough in our new home. Everything was new, we were not yet ready even to identify where we can find *bwoga*⁶⁴¹ to add for our food as we used to do in our old home. My neighbour introduced me to Mr. A.A. who was having big farm cultivation for beans. The payment was made by counting ridges. Every ridge had its value cost. The more the ridges you cultivate the higher the money you receive. I used to spend Three days of the week to work on the farm of Mr Apaka. The remaining days I spent on our farm...⁶⁴²

...*Numbu*⁶⁴³ was a very important crop to me. It was my peace maker. I used it to complement our meal. Our family used to get one different meal and one from *Numbu*. We used also other sources of natural food for the case. This continues for a length of time until we were able to harvest enough food which sent us back to normal food schedule...⁶⁴⁴

Another kind of transfer from an old residential area to an *Ujamaa* village was carried out in a more gradual way. Historical information and oral recollections point out that some members of various families' households in the Southern Highlands continued to live in the old residential areas with their families while proceeding to cultivate new farms and build new houses at

⁶⁴¹Local variety of Food found in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania collected from bush.

⁶⁴²Interview with Mama H.K. of Kilindi village on 18 October 2014.

⁶⁴³Tanzanian local food found in the Southern Highlands.

⁶⁴⁴Interview with Mama N.N. of Igale Village on 08 December 2014.

Ujamaa villages. This situation happened mostly in the areas where the move did not entail long distance between the new and the old residential areas. Thus, people were able to sleep at their old residential areas and, in the morning, would walk to the new areas where they worked during the day and in the evening returned to the old homes. This process was carried out until the new homes at the *Ujamaa* villages were sufficient to accommodate the family life without the problem of foodstuff and other social services.⁶⁴⁵ In this situation, women had a somewhat simpler task as compared to the two cases explained above where women worked to make sure the family was secured with food supplies and other resources when dealing with the transfer from the old residential area to the new *Ujamaa* village areas.

Additionally, there was a task of forming *Ujamaa* villages by only distributing plots of farmland to individuals' households without shifting their houses.⁶⁴⁶ This task involved the establishment of farms belonging to a village. Every household in a village was given a plot within an *Ujamaa* village's farm. The individuals were supposed to cultivate various products as agreed by members and, at the end, the crops were sold together via the cooperative union owned by the *Ujamaa* village. The values obtained through the sales were individually owned but some percentage was deducted to service the cooperative union.⁶⁴⁷ This kind of *Ujamaa* village did not involve much effort of women farmers' labour since the distribution of plots was mainly comprised of the interaction between the leaders and the head of households who were in most cases men. There were only a few cases in which the heads were women.⁶⁴⁸ The principle work carried out during this action was the marking of boundaries of plots demarcating between the individual households' plots to avoid collisions. This strategy, sometimes involved men's communal work of clearing the bush before plots were distributed to members.

⁶⁴⁵ Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Longa village on 22 October 2014; Interview with Mama K.K. of Mkumbi village on 20 October 2014; Ergas, 'Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail? – Towards a Global Analysis', p. 404.

⁶⁴⁶ Interview with the Chairperson of Igale Village on 14 December 2014; Interview with B.M. of Iwawa village on 10 February 2015; Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Matumba village on 24 October 2014; Edwards, 'Matetereka: Tanzania's Last Ujamaa Village'.

⁶⁴⁷ Daley, 'Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990'; Interview with the Chairperson of Igale village on 14 December 2014; Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Luvulunge village on 24 February 2015.

⁶⁴⁸ Interview with M.S. of Iyula villager on 16 December 2014.

Women farmers located in the areas that experienced the transfer from old residential areas to *Ujamaa* villages by force had a more strained work to perform compared to those who did not. This was due to the fact that women were supposed to create secured modalities to accommodate their families to survive the forced eviction and resettlement.⁶⁴⁹ In these cases, the transfer was usually carried out by the government transportation, where the individuals and their properties were carried from the old residential areas to the new *Ujamaa* Villages. Sometimes the transfer was done even if the housing in the new *Ujamaa* villages was not yet in the shape required to provide accommodation to the families; women were presumed to make sure the family gets a place for temporary accommodation while waiting for adequate or permanent accommodation to be finished. One example of the area that experienced a pressured transfer in the Southern Highlands was the Kinyanambo village located in the Mufindi district. Kinyanambo was a normal village before the promulgation of the UVP. When the policy started to be implemented, people were mobilized to form and to move into the *Ujamaa* village in order to live and work together following the principles of *Ujamaa* villages. Some individuals and families moved in by themselves before the given time lapsed, but others were transferred to the area using government transportation after the period of voluntary transfer had expired.⁶⁵⁰ For the families whose transfer was carried out by the government transport, they faced various kinds of strains and tensions. This was caused by the reason that the transfer was carried out by the government militias and acts of violence⁶⁵¹ were involved in the process of eviction. People were evicted without accommodation being prepared beforehand at the new area. Women with their families experienced the difficulties of sleeping outside under trees or in the squeezed accommodation offered by their neighbours while waiting for the fine housing to be completed. Women were supposed to make sure that normal life continued in such an environment using the available means. Sometimes women asked for the help of their neighbours who were already settled in a new residential area. In some cases, they worked together with other colleagues in the village to get quick temporary accommodation to secure the family's health.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Daley, 'Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990'.

⁶⁵¹ Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, p. 235.

Women who were involved in the forced transfer explained how they faced the acute shortage of food upon arrival at the new *Ujamaa* villages. The situation happened when families were not given time to prepare food and other important necessities for the purpose of transfer. Even when given time for preparation, some of the properties were destroyed since it was not possible in all cases to handle the property with care when the militias were involved in carrying of the belongings. In this case, they would arrive at the new residential area only with few things in good condition for use.

...the Government told us to leave the Magunzi. We were forced to move, we did not decide for ourselves. Some houses of people who refused to move were burnt in Magunzi. We chose Rungemba because we thought it was easy to go back and farm our old farm at Magunzi, but after we left, the Government planted trees there so we could not use our land...⁶⁵²

The quotation above shows how people were moved by force from their former places and sent to the new villages. Houses in the former residences were burnt, and former fields were taken by the government to prevent villagers from returning to their former places, thus forcing them to remain in the new villages. This forced eviction caused various problems to women farmers as many of them were not ready to move. Food and other important items for life in new villages were not prepared beforehand. Women farmers turned to do other economic works like tilling in the farms of rich farmers or selling their handmade products like baskets, mats, rugs, and cooking pots as a response to the destructions of their family properties. They did this to fulfil their responsibilities as mothers to their children and other members of extended families. The participation of women in other economic activities was rampant for they needed money to buy food for the family and other important properties which were lost during the transfer.⁶⁵³

Families that owned livestock experienced more difficulties during the forced transfer. Women explained how the task of finding accommodation for their families, livestock and other properties was carried out in tense and sometimes hostile environment. Although in some cases the government provided the assistance of transportation of livestock, it was not for one

⁶⁵² Interview information conducted in 1999–2000 in Kinyanambo village of Mufindi District copied from Daley, “Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990”, p. 384.

⁶⁵³ Daley, ‘Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990’.

individual but it was a collective transport. Thus, different animals belonging to different families were packed in one lorry. This meant additional work for women when they arrived at the new residential area. Women were supposed to make sure that the livestock was available and safe. Furthermore, women were to confirm the availability of a safe place for the family to live and sleep, and to ensure there is a place for the livestock. But in some cases, the areas had no buildings or temporary huts for the arrivals. Under such circumstances, families spent considerable time outside in camps or even under trees while waiting for the temporary accommodation to be created for the families to settle.

...the Government came with lorries and carried people. People were brought here when there were no houses, so we slept under the tree until we had built ourselves houses, and all the cattle were put together in a fenced area down by the river. I was forced to move. No one dared to refuse. There were no soldiers, only village and district leaders... The village leaders were against us and were not our friends anymore...⁶⁵⁴

The above section concentrated on the provision of historical information on how women farmers participated in the first step of the establishment of *Ujamaa* villages in the Southern Highlands. This step (the coming together step) did not involve direct agricultural activities in the *Ujamaa* villages, but it involved the practical action of starting to form or moving into a new *Ujamaa* village. Women farmers worked with other members of the family and society at large to adhere to the call from the government to start forming the *Ujamaa* villages. This step comprised various tasks which needed the active participation of women to make ends meet. One of those tasks was the provision of food for the families. Historically, tasks which entailed the feeding of the families were conferred upon women. Forming the *Ujamaa* villages required more than normal or usual portions of food needed by a household. The need for an extra portion of food was caused by the extra work carried out by family members or sometimes by the division of a family into two residences when preparing to move to the *Ujamaa* villages. Sometimes an extra portion of food was needed to compensate the loss incurred during the (forced) transfer. The pressure that was absorbed by women in the process of maintaining the food balance within their family households is explained in different ways. Women decided to work for rich farmers to get money, which was used to buy food to feed their families.⁶⁵⁵ Women were also involved in

⁶⁵⁴ Interview information conducted in 1999–2000 in Kinyanambo, op. Cit.

⁶⁵⁵ Interview with Mama H.L. in Iwawa village on 13 March 2015; Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Isapulano village on 20 March 2015.

the selling of some of their valuables, like weaved items and other belongings in order to get money to buy food for their families.⁶⁵⁶

In extreme cases, women were engaged in the collection of fruits and other natural foods in order to satisfy family needs. Besides the responsibility of food provision for the family, women were also responsible for planning, arranging and organizing the transfer of their families from the old residence to the *Ujamaa* village. These more administrative tasks challenged the capacities of women in making sure that household members, as well as the belongings and property of the household, were properly secured and arrived safely at the *Ujamaa* villages.

4.5.1.2 The Working Together Phase: Ideas, Plans and Practice

The next step in the formation of an *Ujamaa* village was to persuade people to start communal plots that would be cultivated and harvested communally. The proceedings of which would be shared. The second stage was reached when the community had gained experience of living and working together as a unit, had a workable constitution, and had become economically viable. Again, this stage was reached when a producer cooperative society was formed, and members understood well the meaning of living and working together for the benefit of all. The village constitution was well known to all and it initiated some village economic activities.⁶⁵⁷ Once sufficient confidence in the community farm had been gained, all the land could be pooled that way, with the exception of individual gardens around the houses for vegetables. In this step, the land was communally cleared, and divided into individual plots to facilitate cooperation between neighbours and common mechanical operation of certain aspects of cultivation. This stage mainly meant that communal and other self-help activities had started, the building of houses in one place had begun, and the village had a constitution and a committee. In short, this stage meant “working together”.

⁶⁵⁶ Interview with Mama N.M. of Ilelea village on 08 December 2014; Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Ilelea village on 17 December 2014.

⁶⁵⁷ McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*. p. 111.

Women farmers in the Southern Highlands participated in various ways in the second or “working together stage” of the development of *Ujamaa* villages. The second step comprised practical cultivation and other related works inside the *Ujamaa* villages. Various historical information and oral recollections from the study area show active and positive work performed by women in the *Ujamaa* villages during this step. The participation began from the initial stages of planning to the implementation of the cultivation, harvesting, storage, carriage, sale and the receipt of the payments from the sales of the agricultural products from the cooperative shops or other buyers.

The cultivation of various crops during the UVP in all the three districts, to a greater extent, involved the “households”, not the “communal” farms.⁶⁵⁸ Communal farms during *Ujamaa* villages lacked the socio-economic incentives like feasts, and locally brewed beer, which were served in collective farming before. This reduced the motivation to participate in communal farming during the time. The result was the development of individual farms which were owned by individual household families. The selling of crops was done through village cooperative unions. All the three districts produced both, food and cash crops. In the Makete district, individuals produced pyrethrum (a plant based insecticide) as a cash crop in addition to various food crops. In the Mbinga, and Mbozi districts, in addition to different food crops, coffee was produced as a cash crop. Although cooperative unions also dealt with the marketing of food crops, cash crops were the main economic backbone of the respective associations, because they brought greater exchange value compared to the food crops.⁶⁵⁹

An interview with Bishop S.M. and a focus group discussion in Iwawa village revealed that communal farms in the area only existed during the initial stages of *Ujamaa* villages but later individuals resorted to working in their individually owned farms. The participation in the communal farm was recorded using the name of the head of the household who was in most cases a man. The plan and the functioning of the communal farm were designed in such a way

⁶⁵⁸Interview with Bishop S.M., op. cit.

⁶⁵⁹Focus group discussion with Women and Men of Matumba village on 24 October 2014; Focus Group Discussion with women and Men of Iwawa village on 22 February 2015.

that every household as a member was supposed to participate in the village communal farm at least twice a week. One member was supposed to represent the household when on duty at the time of tilling the farm, weeding, harvesting and on the selling of the crops. The attendance was checked after the work had been delivered. Women participated in communal farming using the name of their husbands if married, and of their father's name if unmarried. Only a few households were headed by women. But this kind of organisation did not live to materialize the goals and objectives in the study area as it only last for a short time.⁶⁶⁰ But mama M.S. who was among the women whose efforts were integrated into such projects explained her experience:

...it was very nice to work together although as women we were not given rights to participate independently. The names used were those of our husbands, and even when the remaining income arrived at the cooperative union, it came on the names of our husband, but in reality it was we, his wives who arranged some duties among us to participate in communal farming...⁶⁶¹

Information from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions held in the study area revealed the varied structures and the functioning of family ties during agricultural production in *Ujamaa* villages.⁶⁶² One of the prominent structures was the household with polygamous marriage. In this structure, every wife, just like before the *Ujamaa*, formed an independent separate production unit whereby she cultivated her own food crops with her unmarried children. The polygamous family joined together in the cultivation and took care of the cash crop farm. The husband was the overseer of the larger production unit. Women participated in both, food crops and cash crops farming. This involved the participation in all processes from tilling the land, weeding, harvesting, and transporting the crops from the farm to the storeroom. The difference during the *Ujamaa* period was the participation in the communal farms for those areas which developed the farms. Women farmers provided labour in the communal farms in addition to their normal duties of food and cash crop farming. Mama M.N. explained one among various procedures as follows:

⁶⁶⁰Focus Group Discussion with Women and men of Iwawa village on 22 February 2015.

⁶⁶¹Interview with Mama M.S. of Iwawa on 15 February 2015.

⁶⁶²Focus Group Discussion with Women and Men of Ilela village on 17 December 2014; Interview with Mama T.M. of Ilela village on 20 January 2015; Interview with Mama M.N. 20 November 2014.

...I was responsible to cultivate food crops for myself and my children. My co-wife also cultivated her farm for her children. When we finished cultivating our separate food crop farms, we were responsible for working together on the coffee farm which belonged to our family. Our husband participated mostly in the coffee farm only. The coffee farm needed more care compared to our food crop farms. We weeded in coffee farm three times in one season. We participated also in the coffee picking and all other activities up to the end when we sent the coffee beans to the cooperative union for sale...⁶⁶³

Women who participated in the focus group discussion at Isapulano village, in the Makete district, explained how they were involved alone in all processes of farming when their husbands were not at home. In most cases, men of Isapulano village were out of the village, dealing with timber business, which was one among the main economic activities of the area. Men were involved in the heavier tasks, such as clearing the bush, which was usually done once a year, and then left for business in other locations. Women did the more routine, year-round cultivation, weeding, harvesting, transporting and the storage of the crops. Therefore, in most cases, women dealt with farming activities alone in the *Ujamaa* villages. Moreover, taking care of the family remained in the hands of women. Women were also responsible to represent their absent husbands in the arranged village meetings and other communal works that they were required to attend.⁶⁶⁴ Furthermore, women of Isapulano village were responsible for taking care of the pyrethrum which was the cash crop owned by the husbands. The husband returned home during the season of selling and receiving the money from the cooperative union. The money obtained from the sale of timber and pyrethrum was used either to expand the capital of their business or for the modification and constructions of home.⁶⁶⁵

The case of Isapulano village provides historical information on how women of the area carried heavy workload in all economic and social activities when their husbands were away, marketing their timber for almost the whole year. Women took charge of both, the workload of their husbands or their male relatives and theirs. Makete district is historically prominent for timber production, which involved more men compared to women. Although the forests are cultivated in Makete, the market for timber is found throughout the whole Southern Highland and other

⁶⁶³Interview with Mama M.N. of Pilikano village on 20 November 2014.

⁶⁶⁴Focus Group discussion with Women of Isapulano Village on 20 March 2015.

⁶⁶⁵*Ibid.*

parts of the country. The timber production was not incorporated in the *Ujamaa* policy in the area, but rather it was individually managed. The involvement of women in *Ujamaa* villages was extraordinary as a result of this kind of work arrangement between men and women in the area. Women represented their husbands as the household heads in the *Ujamaa* meetings, as well as in cultivation and other programmed *Ujamaa* activities in the village.

Women participation in the cultivation of cash crops in *Ujamaa* villages was further noted in the Iyula village located in the Mbozi district. Here, women were involved in carrying the crops to the market area. Explaining her own experience in the selling of their family's coffee in 1975 in the Iyula cooperative union, Mama T. M. had the following to say:

...when our selling turn at the village cooperative union arrived, we were supposed to carry our coffee to the cooperative union. Since the coffee was in various bags, we used to go in various trips until all of our coffee reached the cooperative union office. After bringing the coffee to the station, our work was over. We were supposed to go back home since our husband was the one supervising the weighing process. When the money came to the union, our husband went to collect the money and distributed part of the money to us. We did not know what were the total kilograms or the total amount of money he obtained from the sale of our coffee...⁶⁶⁶

The second stage of development of *Ujamaa* villages in Southern Highlands was the “working together” stage. Historical information has indicated how women at various capacities participated in the *Ujamaa* villages. The working together entailed that women participated in various activities, such as tilling the land, weeding, harvesting, transporting, and storage of the food crops. In some circumstances, women played an active role when the crops were supposed to be sold. Women provided labour to carry the crops from their respective home to the cooperative societies for the purpose of selling. Furthermore, women took charge of all activities during the absence of men at home.

4.5.1.3 The Full-Fledged Phase: Ideas, Plans, and Practice

The third stage of *Ujamaa* village development began when a village had achieved the ability to form associations or/and cooperatives. It was the stage when village had matured to the extent of relying wholly on the communal plot for livelihood. At this stage, the village became a “full-

⁶⁶⁶Interview with Mama T.M. of Igale Village on 20 January 2015.

fledged” multi-purpose cooperative and had adequate security to attract commercial credit from any source. It was supposed to be reached when those engaged in the communal farm and the producers’ cooperative began to engage in other joint activities such as opening a shop, a flour mill, and so on. Furthermore, it was the stage when the villagers showed signs of economic success and developed politically while doing all activities on a cooperative basis. At this stage, the constitution and development plans were implemented further, and all went as planned. It was at this stage that an application was made to become a registered producer cooperative.⁶⁶⁷ This final stage of *Ujamaa* development which was expected to achieve a radical transformation of social relations of production did not appear in the region under study. Historical information and oral recollections in the Southern Highlands show that the third stage of development of *Ujamaa* villages’ policy did not materialise in full, but only a few features were notable in villages.⁶⁶⁸ Although the villages at each stage of development to *Ujamaa* (coming together phase, the working together phase, and the full-fledged phase) were termed as *Ujamaa* villages,⁶⁶⁹ only a few villages were able to display at least a few features of the final stage, which included establishment of cooperative unions, cooperative shops, and mills. In these developments, individuals in the respective areas benefited in various ways. For example, in Mbozi district, there was a development of a cooperative shop by the name of *Duka la Ushirika la Walaji Mbozi*. This was a cooperative shop established following all legal steps. The shop served as the retail shop for food supplies.⁶⁷⁰ In addition, there developed the *Iyula Coffee Grower Cooperation Society Ltd*. The society dealt with coffee marketing, offering of credits to support the agricultural activities, and provision of fertilisers and pesticides.⁶⁷¹ Besides, the Matetereka *Ujamaa* village located in the Southern Highlands experienced some features of the third stage of *Ujamaa* development. Matetereka was able to develop to the level of creating a cooperation whose dividends were issued annually to members. The Matetereka village was able

⁶⁶⁷ McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania’s Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*.

⁶⁶⁸ Ergas, ‘Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail? – Towards a Global Analysis’.

⁶⁶⁹ McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania’s Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*.

⁶⁷⁰ TNA File No. “MBZ” 2. Duka la Ushirika la walahi Mbozi.

⁶⁷¹ TNA File No. /063/1Cs8/98.

to purchase and own maize grinding and husking machines.⁶⁷² These and other assets enabled members to benefit from the unity among themselves.

In the third stage, women participation continued to be active. The sales of agricultural crops obtained either from individual plots or communal farms were marketed via the formed cooperative societies and companies. Women continued to participate in the marketing of the agricultural products using names of either their husbands or fathers. The selling of the farm crops in the cooperative societies was done using the name of the member of the cooperative union. The registration of the membership was carried out using the name of the male head of the household. This meant the income obtained from the sale was allocated to the male head, not the woman. Only a few women, mainly widows and singles were allowed to register in the cooperative union as members using their own names.

4.6 Relationship between State and Society and the Negotiations of Women Farmers' Labour during the UVP

The participation of women farmers of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania in the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy has been explained in the chapter. Women farmers were actively involved from the initial stage of the formation, development, and to the full-fledged stage of *Ujamaa* villages. The central theme of this chapter is to examine the relationship between the state and the society in the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the period dominated by the UVP.

The "state", in this case, is conceptualised as all administrative structures, patterns, and organs from the levels of family, clan, village, district, region, and nation that participated in the *Ujamaa* policy. All individuals who supervised the application and implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy in the respective areas are regarded as the governing representatives and/organs, and in other words, the state. As Juhani Koponen explains, Tanzanian political leadership is difficult to demarcate and it straddles in various organs, including spiritual leaders.⁶⁷³ The

⁶⁷²Edwards, 'Matetereka: Tanzania's Last Ujamaa Village'.

process of leading the implementation of *Ujamaa* villages was ruled from the bottom level in the ten house cell, where a cluster of ten houses was put under the leader of a local branch of the TANU/Youth League who reported to the village council.⁶⁷⁴ The “society” on the other hand, is taken as all other non-governmental institutions, classes of powerful individuals and personalities other than women farmers in the *Ujamaa* policy. Thus, the relationship between these two groups, that is, state and society, in the negotiation/exploitation of women farmers’ labour is analysed in this section.

As the farmers’ “household” continued to be utilised as the main site of economic production and labour process, women farmers continued to lose economic benefits due to the lack of direct relationship with the market. Their production and products passed through the household to get to the market. The government could have made the *Ujamaa* program a healthier structure of economic development by freeing the production from the “household” which was mainly under the domination of men and make the production to be conducted through individual men and women. The *Ujamaa* policy could have been better if it had affected the position of women by removing the economic foundations from the patriarchal authority to arrange and supervise production and control property and labour. Women should have been registered individually as members of the *Ujamaa*, and consequently, their labour could become visible, individually remunerated, and a source of economic independence.⁶⁷⁵ Historical information shows that although women’s input increased, men continued to control the resources and market production both at household and at village level.⁶⁷⁶ This historical phenomenon is clearly explained by Croll as follows:

...in Tanzania as women have pointed out, although the Marriage Law establishes the wife’s right to own over all properties acquired since the time of marriage, her

⁶⁷³Juhani Koponen, “People and Production in Late Pre-colonial Tanzania: History and Structures”, 1988; Richard E. Stren, “Ujamaa Vijijini and Bureaucracy in Tanzania”, ed. Jannik Boesen et al., *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 15, No. 3 (1981): 591–98.

⁶⁷⁴McHenry Jr and others, *Tanzania’s Ujamaa Villages: The Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*.

⁶⁷⁵ Elisabeth J. Croll, ‘Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Tanzania: Case Studies’, *Signs* 7, No. 2 (1981): 375–99.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.; Louise Fortmann, ‘Women’s Work in a Communal Setting: The Tanzanian Policy of Ujamaa’, *Women and Work in Africa*, 1982: 191–206; Priya Lal, ‘Militants, Mothers, and the National Family: Ujamaa, Gender, and Rural Development in Postcolonial Tanzania’, *The Journal of African History* 51, No. 01 (2010): 1–20.

contribution to peasant subsistence production leaves her with no tangible products. Because the rural household remains a primary corporate unity of ownership, production, and consumption, it is in the household's interests to increase labour resources, material inputs, and opportunities for marketing and exercise influence in the political affairs of the collective- all of which have contributed to the power base of the male household head...⁶⁷⁷

The *Ujamaa* policy continued to apply to the patriarchal system in implementing the programme of rural development. There was no alteration of the gendered division of labour which existed before in order to make the *Ujamaa* policy operate as an equal system.⁶⁷⁸ The Government's provision of *Ujamaa* plots, allocation of labour and control of production and products remained in the hands of men through the household. Even if a woman grew her own cash crops, she usually sold her harvest to the local cooperative society through her husband or male head of her household.⁶⁷⁹

The procedures implemented through the *Ujamaa* policy practically removed women from the programme and pretended as if women were not qualifying and that they were less intelligent and less reliable than men. The procedures also assumed that women could not handle major economic and political responsibilities that were required in implementing the policy. In doing so, the system continued to burden women farmers with subsistence and domestic responsibilities while they continued to provide their labour power in the rural development program of *Ujamaa*. In reality, women's intensified labour subsidised the government's programmes without appropriately allocating the returns to them.

The initial stage analysed in this section is the distribution of plots to the individual members of an *Ujamaa* village. In the study area, the plots were distributed to the household using the name of the head of a particular household or family. The information shows that a large percentage of

⁶⁷⁷ Elisabeth J. Croll, 'Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Tanzania: Socialist Development Experiences', *Signs* 7, No. 2 (1981): 361–74, p. 369.

⁶⁷⁸ Sabbath Uromi, 'No Development without Better Life for Rural Women – A Case of Tanzania', *International Journal of Emerging Trends in Science and Technology* 1, No. 05 (2014); Croll, 'Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Tanzania: Case Studies'; Fortmann, 'Women's Work in a Communal Setting: The Tanzanian Policy of Ujamaa'.

⁶⁷⁹ Croll, 'Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Tanzania: Case Studies'.

heads of the household during the period were men. Only few households were headed by women. The women who were registered as head of households were mainly widows. The policy discriminated women in the distribution of plots. In most cases, women could not own plots for themselves, and instead, they worked in the plots owned by either their fathers or their husbands. The dominant economic relations manifested in this situation emanated from the coalition between the local bureaucrats and the party leaders in the constructions of the class of men and other economically powerful individuals who owned the plots inside the *Ujamaa* villages.⁶⁸⁰ The planning and distribution of land was executed at the local level where the state was represented by the administrators in the villages and other government workers. There is historical evidence in the Tanzania National Archive which shows how the distribution of land in the Southern Highland favoured men. Of the 20 letters received in Sumbawanga district on 24 September 1971 applying for land distribution, for instance, only one came from a woman, Mrs M.M. Alexander.⁶⁸¹ Women were not given support with respect to land ownership by both, the society, which included family members, and the state, which included government officials and other state bureaucrats.

Another important element analysed in this context is the work of tilling the plots located in the *Ujamaa* villages. Information in the Southern Highlands shows that women farmers participated more in the *Ujamaa* work compared to men. The awards and remunerations that emanated from the plots were distributed using the registered names of heads of households which in most cases were men. There is substantial historical information supporting the conclusion that women in the Southern Highlands contributed more labour than men in *Ujamaa* villages. For example, Louise Fortmann, who studied *Ujamaa* villages in the Iringa region, argues that women provided more communal labour than men. Women tended to turn up for communal work more regularly than men.⁶⁸² Furthermore, Roger Lewin, who studied Bena women, concluded that women

⁶⁸⁰ There were powerful women who owned valuable capital in terms of trade and political advances whose position utilised women farmers's labour. Information from Focus group discussion and in depth interviews revealed the facts; Focus Group Discussion with Women of Ilela Village on 17 February 2015; Focus Group Discussion with Women of Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015.

⁶⁸¹ TNA File No. 67566 CW.1/8 Vijiji vya Ujamaa.

⁶⁸² Fortmann, 'Women's Work in a Communal Setting: The Tanzanian Policy of Ujamaa'.

contributed more in communal farming than men.⁶⁸³ In addition, information from Zaki Ergas indicates that in the Njombe district, a large number of *Ujamaa* villagers were women, the husbands staying outside, either dealing with their different trades or working on the big Uhuru railway that the Chinese were building to link the port of Dar es Salaam to the Zambian Copperbelt.⁶⁸⁴ All this information shows the extent to which women participated in *Ujamaa* villages. Still, the leaders and administrators did not bother to change the local arrangements so that women could be rewarded accordingly. Men's authorities in the villages continued to dominate over women farmers.

Besides all this, the extension services were more staffed by men than women. This structure reduced the likelihood that women could be reached by the respective services. The main source of this problem was that the policy designed did not consider women as the major agricultural producers. No woman in the administration could voice the need for women as far as the women farmers were concerned. A letter written by the community development officer of Mbeya dated 3rd February 1970 may illustrate this. It invites various officers to a meeting to discuss the implementation of *Ujamaa* on 6th February 1970. But all eight higher administrative officers representing various important departments of the government were men.⁶⁸⁵ Furthermore, evidence from agricultural workers in Mbeya region in 1976 shows the availability of 34 agricultural extension workers, all of them being men.⁶⁸⁶ The bureaucrats' performance did not facilitate women farmers' participation in various levels to enable them to voice out their capacities in the agricultural section. This cemented the development of the men's authority which worked to the detriment of women.

Seema Arora-Jonsson argues that "women's absence in committees and associations, which are the formal spaces for decision-making, is often explained as a result of women's lack of power in relation to, and subjugation by, men in those committees. These formal spaces are seen as centres

⁶⁸³Ibid.; Roger Lewin, 'Matetereka', *Mbioni: The Monthly Newsletter of Kivukoni College* 5, No. 3 (1969): 13–34.

⁶⁸⁴Ergas, 'Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail? – Towards a Global Analysis', p. 397.

⁶⁸⁵TNA File No. 67566 CW.1/8 Ujamaa Vijijini.

⁶⁸⁶TNA File No.A3/1.D.O.1/178 Orodha ya Mabwana Shamba Mkoa wa Mbeya.

of power and decision making”.⁶⁸⁷ The argument explains well what happened in the Southern Highlands during the *Ujamaa* era. The absence of women farmers in various meetings and important positions in administration structures blocked women farmers from voicing their demands and priorities, which could have enhanced chances for women to prosper in social and economic spaces. Furthermore, the domination of men in various organs of production and structures affected women’s confidence negatively in the whole process of social and economic development. This made women farmers continue to accept what was carried out in the *Ujamaa* villages without questioning and seeing it as a normal system of life.

Evidence from Iyula Coffee Growers Cooperative Society Limited shows the domination of men in the running of the company at various levels. Women farmers at Iyula village have provided for greater participation in the coffee production in various capacities. But the files in the national archives do not show any element of women farmers’ participation. Only men are mentioned in the files as owners, leaders, and members.⁶⁸⁸ Therefore, work that was carried out by women farmers at Iyula village is not evident in the files at Tanzania National Archive. One would expect that government and party officials working in the particular *Ujamaa* village would have checked the development and functioning of the company in equal terms for both male and female participants, but to the detriment of women farmers, the company holds only the names of men.

Furthermore, the documents in the Tanzania National Archive indicate that the district commission monitoring the development of the *Ujamaa* villages of Mbozi consisted of male members only.⁶⁸⁹ This exclusion of women in the commission was a disadvantage to women farmers who participated in the *Ujamaa* villages. Government officials at all levels, from the village up to the district level, together with other members of the society seemed to agree on this arrangement. Since historical information points out the domination of men in the state and

⁶⁸⁷ Seema Arora-Jonsson, *Gender, Development and Environmental Governance: Theorizing Connections*, Vol. 33 (Routledge, 2013): 21.

⁶⁸⁸TNA File No. 063/1Cs8/98 Iyula/Ruanda Coffee Growers Cooperative Society Ltd.

⁶⁸⁹TNA File No. 67566 CW.1/8 Vijiji vya Ujamaa.

administration positions, the interactions and relations prevailed were against the benefits of women farmers.

The collaboration which was carried out between government organs and other classes against women farmers also affected the nomination of teamwork leaders. The leadership team was selected by local leaders and government bureaucrats who were in most cases men. The selected team was composed mainly of men. This is considered to play out to the disadvantages of women farmers. There were no separate women production teams and when there was a women's team, the leader was male. This continued to undermine the female public power in the *Ujamaa* villages. Various work groups which existed in the area under study showed men as providers of administrative work on different farming groups. Women were regarded as unqualified for the leadership positions and the work related to it.

The exclusion of women farmers from the frequent communal interaction with village leaders and local government staff barred them from asserting their rights fully. Historical information in the study area indicates that village leaders purposefully isolated local staff from frequent interaction with farmers of the village in order to hide their weakness, particularly their harsh leadership during the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy.⁶⁹⁰ The interaction between local staff and women farmers would have made the problems and challenges more visible and would possibly have provided for more permanent solutions. This was not given priority in the Southern Highlands, and therefore, women farmers were pushed away from social and economic advancements.

The government created opportunities for farmers to get trained in the farming techniques and development. One of the main training centres was located in the Iringa region, the "Farmers Training Centre". The staff members of this centre were exclusively men, and a large number of the students were men.⁶⁹¹ The number of women enrolled did not correspond to the share of labour women contributed in the agricultural sector compared to men. Furthermore, the gender

⁶⁹⁰ Stren, 'Ujamaa Vijijini and Bureaucracy in Tanzania,' p. 596.

⁶⁹¹TNA File No. R3/3D.0.1/184 Farmers Training Centre.

imbalances in the staffing of the college provide a picture of the historical background of low levels of education among women. This meant that women were not educated enough to fit the enrolment and employment in the college.

The relationship between state and society with regard to the negotiation of women farmers' labour is further evident in the work of women farmers on the land of rich farmers. The system allowed rich farmers to own larger portions of land within the vicinity of small farmers. This, in turn, enabled rich farmers to acquire labour from women who were affected by the whole process of transfer. One would expect straight regulations to control the acquisition of labour in farms located in *Ujamaa* villages, but rich farmers were free to use labour power and determine the payment as they wanted. This affected women farmers in various ways. Some women decided to divide the work days between their own farms and those of rich farmers, while others decided to work exclusively on the rich farmers' farms until when they received enough income to start their own farming. There are various historical records which give evidence to the cooperation between leaders and rich farmers in the negotiation of small farmers, including women farmers. Women did not realise the appropriate value when tilling the land which belonged to the rich farmers during the time of UVP.⁶⁹²

Most of the women farmers who were interviewed in the Southern Highlands showed their dissatisfaction about *Ujamaa* policy as a whole. The programme removed women from their common production patterns and referred to them to the new patterns of production without enough preparation. Although the government bureaucrats made efforts to explain to them the advantages that would have been obtained, the results did not turn out as expected. To most women, the policy added more burden as they worked on their individual plots as well as in the communal enterprises. This kind of production pattern reduced their productivity. Most of the development programmes that were introduced in various settings came with new strategies which were not accepted by women as they brought disastrous effects to them. Women were

⁶⁹² Stren, 'Ujamaa Vijijini and Bureaucracy in Tanzania'; P. L. Raikes, 'Ujamaa and Rural Socialism', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 3 (1975): 33–52; Michaela Von Freyhold and John S Saul, 'Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: Analysis of a Social Experiment', 1981; Jannik Boesen, 'On Peasantry and the "Modes of Production" Debata', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 15/16 (1979): 154–61.

victims as most of the programmes did not fit to their structures. Vandana Shiva argues that, in many cases, national governments introduce new development policies which destroy the basis of what women depended on for their survival. Most of these newly introduced development policies emanate from patriarchal bases which exploit and dominate women.⁶⁹³

Furthermore, scholars have argued that most of the newly introduced national development policies refer only indirectly to men and women farmers. They are patriarchal in nature. Women are only touched by those policies incidentally⁶⁹⁴ In the *Ujamaa* villagisation policy, there is no specific strategic answer to women farmers' interests and demands. Although the propounder of the policy, President Nyerere, mentioned and praised women farmers as the main producers in the agricultural sector, he did not specify strategies to benefit women in the UVP. The administrators at the local level were left free to implement the policy as they wanted because there were no directives in the national policy on how to accommodate women farmers. The patriarchal powers continued to dominate the *Ujamaa* policy through its structure of the "household". Women were marginalised and exploited by the administrative organs intentionally or unintentionally. All these shortcomings subjected women to the disadvantages detailed above.

On top of that, women farmers lost their social and economic authority during the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy. Women farmers were the main producers and controllers of agricultural food products before the introduction of the *Ujamaa* policy. The administration of the *Ujamaa* policy was set in such a way that the distribution, cultivation and the sale of agricultural products used the name of the head of the household, who in most cases, was male. This implied that the values and power that the women farmers possessed were now transferred to men. Women farmers provided different opinions about this fact. Mama C.N. explained two things which are connected with the change in power and authority. One aspect she mentioned concerned the missing of tombs of their ancestors in the *Ujamaa* villages which were left at their

⁶⁹³ Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development* (North Atlantic Books, 2016) p. xiv; Vandana Shiva and others, *Ecology and the Politics of Survival: Conflicts over Natural Resources in India*. (Sage Publicans, 1991).

⁶⁹⁴ UROMI, 'No Development without Better Life for Rural Women – A Case of Tanzania'; Anjala Kanesathasan, 'Cultivating Women's Participation: Strategies for Gender-Responsive Agriculture Programming', 2013.

old home. Mama C.N. believed that the power to protect the agricultural production was left at their old home with those tombs. Thus, the shift from the old residential area to the new *Ujamaa* village made her and her family lose power and protection of their ancestors. This also had implications on women's power and ability in social and economic aspects. Second, she explained the decrease in agricultural productivity during the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy as being the result of a change in the agricultural system from the "free farming" to that of *Ujamaa*. She explained that the production under *Ujamaa* was not free, but it incorporated a lot of rules which made women powerless and inferior to the system as a whole. The system prevailed favoured male producers rather than female producers.⁶⁹⁵

4.7 Insights and Vision That Women in the Southern Highlands Developed in their Survival during the UVP

Collected oral information and historical information show the active involvement of women farmers in the individual and communal work enterprises. Women farmers 'status' changed and incorporated various characteristics and relationships to fit the economic processes during the period under study. The range of power and independence of women farmers depended on the shape of the dominant economic endeavours. In coping with various inflictions of the *Ujamaa* policy, women farmers resorted to other activities to solve the challenges they faced. New activities mentioned were weaving, trading, and working on the rich farmers' plots. Although women farmers incurred some detriments from the *Ujamaa* Village policy, they established some economic autonomy from a number of new capacities. Women farmers did not only produce, but also they controlled and managed some of the output which made them survive with their children and other members of their extended families. Oral historical recollection shown above from women farmers like mama M.N., Mama M.M. and Mama C.N. provide experience on how they invented alternative strategies for their family to survive during hard times of the implementation of the *Ujamaa* Village Policy.

Although in most cases the *Ujamaa* Village Policy has worked to the detriment of women, in some instances it created confidence and freedom for women in social and economic matters.

⁶⁹⁵ Interview with mama C.N. of Mkumbi village on 15 October 2014.

Women were enabled to gain control over their own life. For example, in Iringa, a man who had beaten his wife for going to work on the communal farm was jailed. This established the freedom of a woman to participate fully in the communal farm on her own.⁶⁹⁶ This case assured women of their security and that they had the capacity to participate freely in their own social and economic development without fearing the domination of a male patriarchal system.

In addition, women farmers who participated in the communal and collected work in *Ujamaa* villages gained some new skills and abilities. These were later used in accommodating various challenges in their families. Information collected from the study area indicated that women farmers gained skills from the communal setting and when they went back to their family they utilised the knowledge to benefit their families. Knowledge about farming techniques like seeding and the like was applied in the family farms as learnt from teachers and other professional workers who were employed in the collective village works. Other social skills like how to cooperate with others in the villages were also learnt during the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy.

Likewise, women who were heads of households were able to secure private income when registered in the cooperative unions/societies using their names. Although these were few cases, they provided hope for other women farmers that they could stand for themselves in the new policy and gain some economic advantages for themselves and their families at large. Few women farmers who experienced these advantages wished the system could apply to all women individually without depending on the household that did not provide equal opportunities not only to women farmers but also to the grown up children who could perform rural agricultural production personally.⁶⁹⁷

In addition, in some cases, women farmers were able to obtain extra farmland through the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy. The cases of Mama M.N. of Pilikano village and Mama

⁶⁹⁶Fortmann, 'Women's Work in a Communal Setting: The Tanzanian Policy of Ujamaa'.

⁶⁹⁷ Interview with Mama K.K. of Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Interview with Mama H.K. Of Mkumbi Village on 18 October 2014; Interview with Mama T.K. of Mkumbi Village on 17 October 2014.

C.N. of Mkumbi village show how women farmers were able to get new fields through *Ujamaa* while keeping the old ones for agricultural activities. This created a kind of historical phenomenon which did not occur before. This was different from other areas where the old residential area was taken by the state and used for other purposes. At Magunzi village in the Mufindi District people were moved from Magunzi area and sent to Kinyanambo Ujamaa village. The Magunzi area was taken by the government and was used to plant trees for the state expenditure. In this case, women farmers and others were not able to own the Magunzi area anymore.⁶⁹⁸ Women farmers like Mama M.N. and Mama C.N. benefited through the new arrangements of continuing to own the old fields.

More importantly, there emerged a new cultural image of a more independent woman through an emphasis on working for the society rather than the domestic sphere. This was contrary to the African cultural heritage which appeared to propose the notion of the social and legal subordination of women, since in addition to being responsible for growing food and weeding of cash crops, women must also fetch water, go to the market, raise children, cook, and take care of the house. This notion was to some extent removed during the UVP. Women farmers were able to go further and participate in communal work and sometimes own cash for their own use.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania during the era of UVP at various stages of its implementation. The role of women farmers in the *Ujamaa* policy, and that of the state in planning, organising and controlling the society during the era have been highlighted. The collaboration between the state and other classes in the society, for example, the bureaucrats in the practical work within the *Ujamaa* village settings has also been explained. The chapter has revealed that throughout the practical implementation of the policy, the state, the bureaucrats and village leaders maintained the structures of patriarchal authority which cemented the domination and negotiation of women farmers' labour.

⁶⁹⁸ Daley, 'Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990'.

Arturo Escobar characterises an assumption that seems to pervade development programmes: “There is a sense in which economic progress is impossible without painful adjustment. Old social institutions have to be disintegrated, many people who cannot keep up with the progress have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated...”⁶⁹⁹ The quotation from Escobar fits the Southern Highlands where women farmers experienced various troubles through the introduction of the *Ujamaa* policy. As a result of the policy, many of their previous economic settings were abandoned, and their homes and farms were left behind during the shift to other places. Some women farmers experienced broken marriages and families through the implementation of the *Ujamaa* policy. All these and other problems had to be held by women farmers during the 1960s and 1970s.

The *Ujamaa* policy aimed to benefit all segments of the society, but the implementation proved it to be a biased project. Women farmers’ participation from stage one to stage three of the implementation was not properly remunerated. The policy seemed to benefit the heads of the households and not all individuals as proposed before. Vandana Shiva argues that a development approach should liberate all segments of the society; it should not be based on a polarised view of social reality, such as men over women, or the majority over minority. Also, it should not create a centre over periphery, which will make it unreal.⁷⁰⁰ Though officially focused on social and economic advantages for all Tanzanians, the *Ujamaa* policy as a development strategy, bred results which were not expected. When asked for their opinion, most women farmers were not satisfied with the policy.

⁶⁹⁹ Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton University Press, 2011): p. 4.

⁷⁰⁰ Shiva and others, *Ecology and the Politics of Survival: Conflicts over Natural Resources in India.*; Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development*.

5 “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustments” Policies: Encounters, Roles, and Relationships of Women Farmers in the Southern Highlands, 1980s-2000

*"Take the fertilizer when he is not around"*⁷⁰¹

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the historical relationship between women, state, and society in the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania under the influence of the World Bank's "Stabilisation"⁷⁰², and the International Monetary Fund's "Structural Adjustment"⁷⁰³ policies. The chapter starts by exploring the historical situation that existed before the 1980s, which motivated the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to impose the administration of the "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies in the region. It further shows how women farmers actively participated in that historical era by confronting the manifestations of the policies and by illustrating how they accommodated the difficulties as well as the opportunities of the era. More importantly, the chapter shows how the women farmers negotiated their labour power in relation to the coalition of state, powerful local classes, male actors at local level, and other institutions.

The chapter thus argues that the historical bond that developed between the state, powerful local classes, male farmers, and other institutions continued and produced far-reaching outcomes for women farmers' practices during the period of "Stabilisation", "Structural Adjustment" policies, and economic liberalisation in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. In some cases, women

⁷⁰¹ Focus Group Discussions with women farmers conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014.

⁷⁰² "Stabilisation" Policies comprise all actions imposed by the World Bank in low developed countries to carry out the reduction of balance of payment deficit. They focused on the demand side, planned to reduce government budget deficit, and the rate of inflation. Primarily it concerned the short term management of the demand side of the economy, and typically involved periodic squeezes on purchasing power in order to control the rate of inflation; World Bank, *Making adjustments for the Poor: A framework for Policy Reform in Africa*, Washington, D.C., 1990a; Ellis, *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*, p. 161; Ruth A Meena, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania', 1991: 169–90.

⁷⁰³ "Structural Adjustment" Policies comprise actions imposed by the International Monetary Fund to carry out the improvement of resource allocation. These focused on the supply side of the national, in order to increase economic efficiency, expand growth potential, and enhance the resilience of the economy shocks; World Bank, *Making adjustments for the Poor: A framework for Policy Reform in Africa*, Washington, D.C., 1990a.

farmers' quality of life deteriorated. Often, women were unable to use the economic conditions to their advantage, to seize the opportunities, and to solve problems that came with the era. In other cases, women farmers were proficient enough as they invented strategies to confront the difficulties, and used the available prospects to improve their status using local and inter-local social, political, and economic openings.

Scholars point out that adjustment means change, and change means that costs and benefits produce losers as well as winners. The administration of these policies in Tanzanian agriculture and other social and political sectors affected women farmers through various patterns like changes in the level of wages; changes in the price of consumer goods, especially food; changes in public expenditure, particularly those in social services; and changes in working conditions. Nevertheless, scholars do emphasise that “Stabilisation” and “Structural adjustment” changes did not affect all women farmers and households in the same way; some lost and some won through different means and tactics.⁷⁰⁴ Thus, this chapter examines women farmers' efforts and contributions along the lines of prospects and difficulties, and of costs and benefits.

5.2 The Background to “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” Policies in the Southern Highlands

The implementation of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” Policies in Tanzania and in the Southern Highlands was preceded by an epoch of economic socialism. This included Tanzania's *Ujamaa*⁷⁰⁵ policy and the villagisation programs which began in 1967. However, the internal and external economic shocks throughout the 1970s led the country into economic crisis in the early 1980s. It compelled the country to accept the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustments” policies imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁴ Diane Elson and others, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues” (University of Manchester, School of Economics, International Development Centre, 1988); Christina H. Gladwin, *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers* (University of Florida Press, 1991).

⁷⁰⁵ *Ujamaa* is the Kiswahili word for familyhood and relationship and became a synonym for Tanzania's socioeconomic system after 1967.

⁷⁰⁶ E Cromwell et al., “Case Study for Tanzania”, *Structural Adjustment, the Environment, and Sustainable Development*, 1996, 107–27; Peter Wobst, *Structural Adjustment and Intersectoral Shifts in Tanzania: A Computable General Equilibrium Analysis*, vol. 117 (The Institute for Food Policy Research, 2001); Paul J. Kaiser, ‘Structural Adjustment and the Fragile Nation: The Demise of Social Unity in Tanzania’, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, No. 2 (1996): 227–37.

The crisis was a result of a combination of various factors such as drought and the first oil crisis in 1973/74; the destruction of cooperative unions in 1976; the collapse of the East Africa Community in 1977; the war against Uganda in 1978; the second oil crisis of 1979; the East African drought of 1982; and the African continental drought of 1983/4.⁷⁰⁷ These problems and others led to the deterioration of the terms of trade and the decline of agriculture. Declining terms of trade (giving the relation of export value and import value) indicated the decline of national wealth. From 1977 to 1981, the term of trade fell from 133 to 85 percent. The situation worsened by the expenditure of 500 million Dollars in the Tanzania-Uganda war which was equal to 10 percent of the annual GDP.⁷⁰⁸ The government sought some means to cure the crisis. Under the leadership of the first president, Julius Nyerere, the government reacted to the economic breakdown with self-guided economic adjustment efforts dated from 1981. The first Self-Guided adjustment programme was the National Economic Survival Program (NESP) of 1981 which set an export target of 6.000 million Tanzanian shillings that all government ministries and parastatal organisations were obliged to pursue.⁷⁰⁹ The second internal effort was the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of 1983. Neither of these programmes mobilised sufficient external resources to recover from the crisis.⁷¹⁰

The government agreed to the external “Stabilization” and “Structural Adjustment” Programmes of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1986. This interchange happened under the leadership of the second president, Ali Hassan Mwinyi. In this initial agreement, Tanzania was granted an 18-month standby credit of 64.2 million by the IMF’s Special Drawing Right facility (SDR).⁷¹¹ Because of the implementation of the policies from the mid-1980s,

⁷⁰⁷ Jun Ikeno, “Tanzanian Agriculture under the Structural Adjustment Programmes: With Special Reference to Two Villages in Kilimanjaro Region”, *Africa Project Team, Ed.) African Political Economy in Transition*, 1992, 82–111; Meena, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania”, 1991; Mbilinyi, ‘Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania’.

⁷⁰⁸ Meena, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania’, 1991.

⁷⁰⁹ Deborah Fahy Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania’s Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*. (Mkuki na Nyota, Dar es Salaam, 1993): 22.

⁷¹⁰ Cromwell et al., ‘Case Study for Tanzania’.

⁷¹¹ Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania’s Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*.

Tanzania started to experience a remarkable economic and political transition from a socialist country with a centrally planned economy to a multiparty democracy with a liberalised free market economy.

Tanzania was supposed to comply with conditions from the donor institutions when implementing the policies. Measures relating to “Stabilisation” policies of the World Bank included the devaluation of the currency; privatisation of banks; liberalisation of trade; government budget cuts; withdrawal of subsidies for producers and consumers; retrenchment and abolition of wage controls; and credit squeezing, that is, raising of interest rates. Some of the government's efforts to balance the budget included a general cut in social services, “cost-sharing” of remaining services, increased sales taxes, and privatisation of government enterprises.⁷¹² “Structural Adjustment” policies related to the IMF involved the changes in policy so as to increase exports. These changes included shifting of resources to the most productive sectors and regions; privatisation and sell-outs to multinational corporations; tax and tariff adjustments; and shifts in responsibility from central to local governments, families, and individuals.⁷¹³

Therefore, in agreement with those measures, the government of Tanzania did the following: It liberalised crop marketing and the distribution of most inputs, it introduced freehold lease in land ownership, and liberalised investment policy in favour of private investments. It also deregulated exchange and interest rates, reformed the fiscal and monetary policies, removed all subsidies or agricultural inputs and foodstuffs, reintroduced school fees in schools; and reintroduced the poll tax. Other measures taken include reform policies to allow private banking, free transactions in foreign exchange by opening bureaux de change, restructuring parastatal statutes to allow private

⁷¹² Ellis, *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*; Marjorie Mbilinyi, “Gender and Structural Adjustment,” in *Paper for Symposium on Gender and Structural Adjustment: Empowerment and Disempowerment. Dare Salaam (February, 26), 1994*; Elson and others, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues”.

⁷¹³ Ibid.

shareholder or private ownership, and finally, the government abandoned the leadership code of the Arusha Declaration that constrained capitalist tendencies among political leaders.⁷¹⁴

The process of economic “Stabilisation” and “Adjustments” in Tanzania went through various phases. It commenced with the Economic Recovery Program (ERP). This programme lasted officially from 1986 to 1989 and was replaced by the Economic Recovery Program II. The Economic and Social Action Programme (ESAP) which lasted until 1992 followed as the third programme. Furthermore, in 1992 IMF support was established under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility, which lasted until 1993.⁷¹⁵ The Agricultural Adjustment Program was formally signed with the World Bank in 1990. These economic reforms were accompanied by political changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the introduction of a multiparty system.

In 1995, Benjamin William Mkapa was elected the third President of Tanzania. Mkapa approached the IMF for assistance in launching the 1996/97–1998/99 ERP under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility, called the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility. In April 2000, the International Development Association (IDA) and the IMF “agreed to support a comprehensive debt reduction package for Tanzania under the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative.”⁷¹⁶ The assistance was given alongside demands to fulfil several conditions, including the adoption and implementation of a participatory poverty reduction strategy paper. This was the beginning of a strong participation of Tanzania in the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies under the supervision of the World Bank and the IMF. Under this regime, the image of Tanzania changed. The IMF considered Tanzania the second best adjuster in Africa, after Ghana.⁷¹⁷ Adjustment Policies or Programmes studied in this chapter refer to “Stabilization” Policies and “Structural Adjustment” policies implemented by the

⁷¹⁴ Chambi Seithy Chachage and Chachage Seithy L. Chachage, ‘Nyerere: Nationalism and Post-Colonial Developmentalism’, *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 2004: 158–79, p. 166–167.

⁷¹⁵ Stefano Ponte, ‘Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania’, *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des études Africaines* 32, No. 2 (1998): 316–48.

⁷¹⁶ Cromwell et al., ‘Case Study for Tanzania’.

⁷¹⁷ Marjorie Mbilinyi, “Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania”, *African Perspectives on Development: Controversies, Dilemmas and Openings*, 1994, 166–82; Barbara Earth, ‘Structural Adjustment and Its Effects on Health and Education in Tanzania’, *Canadian Woman Studies* 16, No. 3 (1996): 122.

World Bank and the IMF respectively. The two international financial institutions designed the policies with the philosophy that they would reduce imbalances in the economy of Tanzania. According to them, “Stabilisation” policies were meant to reduce imbalances in the external accounts, i.e. to reduce imports and limit demand; while “Structural Adjustment” policies were designed to reduce imbalances in domestic resource use, i.e. to increase the supply for export.⁷¹⁸ In reality, the policies failed to fulfil their primary objectives. For example, women farmers’ basic needs were not met as expected. This was in direct contradiction with the policies’ stated objectives of economic growth promotion, enhanced economic efficiency, and domestic resource mobilization.

The implementation of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies in Tanzania resulted from severe limitations for women farmers. The policy documents did not display any consideration of women. In short, the policies were gender blind. The policies mentioned priorities, conditions and practical techniques which were elaborated for various areas like currency evaluation, increasing capacity utilisation in industry, redressing budget deficits, carrying out parastatal reforms, and redirecting government money from non-productive to productive activities.⁷¹⁹ None of those priorities mentioned women farmers, who were still the group with the largest share of labour input in the largest economic sector of the country. The main essence of the policies was to increase production and reduce public expenditure without pointing out who was going to produce and who was going to benefit from that production. As a result, the implementation of those policies in various areas in Tanzania had burdened women farmers in terms of their health and economic prospects.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁸ United Republic of Tanzania, Economic Recovery Program, (Government Print, Dar es Salaam, 1986), Cite in Meena, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania”, 1991; De Vogli and Birbeck, ‘Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa’.

⁷¹⁹ United Republic of Tanzania, Economic Recovery Program, (Government Print, Dar es Salaam, 1986), Cite in Meena, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania’, 1991.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

Furthermore, the programmes did not take into account the question of women's unpaid labour in the reproduction and maintenance of human resources.⁷²¹ The policy documents did not point out the effect of "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies on reproduction and maintenance of human capital. Most of the applications of the policies triggered the shifting of costs from the paid economy to the unpaid economy, which was typically performed by women. When the government of Tanzania finished the implementation of the various phases of the policies, there was no report or information indicating how women in general and women farmers, in particular, had benefited or contributed to the "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies. In addition, there was no creation of indicators to measure the performance or the effects of the policies to various sections of the population, especially on women farmers.

Various scholars argue that for the agricultural policy to touch the local people or specific groups of people, it must specifically focus on closely circumscribed situations. The policies must be local in scope in order to raise standards of life of a specific group such as small women farmers. They must provide ways and means to explicitly deal with the policy's procedures towards achieving the specified goal of that specific group of people.⁷²² However, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund's "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies seem to focus on the national scope, such as overcoming the national balance of payment deficits. They did not provide any explanation on how to deal with women farmers' problems in the villages.

Even though the policies pretended to address essentials of men and women equally, in reality, the policy documents did not target and accommodate women. The absence of strategies to accommodate women farmers' needs in the policy documents meant that women formulated their own ways and techniques of doing and surviving during the era for the benefit of their families and communities in general. Although women farmers constituted the majority of the

⁷²¹ Elson and others, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues'.

⁷²² Frank Ellis, *Agricultural Policies in Developing Countries* (Cambridge University Press, 1992); McCalla, Alex F., and Timothy Edward Josling. *Agricultural policies and world markets*. Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985; Alex F. McCalla, "Impact of Macroeconomic Policies upon Agricultural Trade and International Agricultural Development", *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 64, No. 5 (1982): 861–68.

work force in agriculture, they continued to work without concrete support from the policies that governed the era.⁷²³

5.3 The Background to “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustments” Policies in Agriculture

From the perspective of agriculture, the World Bank and the IMF’s policies promised to open new market opportunities for farming households to help farmers to diversify their crop cultivation, and to improve farmers’ terms of trade, and therefore raise their farm incomes.⁷²⁴ Thus, leaders and institutions at various levels in Tanzania carried out various processes to create a relevant background to accommodate the policies in the agricultural sector. Administrative and physical infrastructures were created in order to lay out important conditions to facilitate the functioning of the policies.⁷²⁵ However, small local groups at lower levels like women farmers did not benefit directly from the execution of the policies. The sources show that private traders were increasingly expanding to get good access to agricultural profit in rural areas as compared to farmers themselves.⁷²⁶ To cope with the structural changes, farmers, particularly women farmers, employed various techniques. For example, they shifted from cultivating crops that were not easily tradable to cultivating fast selling crops. They also shifted from crops that required high financial input to crops that could be produced with low-cost input. In addition, farming households achieved lower net farm incomes because of higher crop expenditures and lower gross incomes from crop sales.⁷²⁷ Women farmers faced various challenges, including the change of cultivation patterns, transformations in the sales of their crops, confrontations with

⁷²³ Ibid; De Vogli and Birbeck, “Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa”; Mbilinyi, ‘Gender and Structural Adjustment.’

⁷²⁴ Stefano Ponte, “Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania”, *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des études Africaines* 32, No. 2 (1998): 316–48; Ngila Mwase and others, “Economic Liberalization and Privatization of Agricultural Marketing and Input Supply in Tanzania: A Case Study of Cashewnuts,” 1998; Louis Putterman, ‘Economic Reform and Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania: A Discussion of Recent Market Liberalization, Road Rehabilitation, and Technology Dissemination Efforts’, *World Development* 23, No. 2 (1995): 311–26.

⁷²⁵ Putterman, ‘Economic Reform and Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania: A Discussion of Recent Market Liberalization, Road Rehabilitation, and Technology Dissemination Efforts’.

⁷²⁶ Gladwin, *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers*; Meena, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania”, 1991; Ponte, ‘Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania’.

⁷²⁷ Ibid; Mbilinyi, ‘Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania’.

public and private brokers, and fluctuations in their agricultural income.⁷²⁸ In all these patterns of the structural policies, women farmers participated either confidently or adversely, i.e. persisting in the historical context.

To implement precisely the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustments” policies in the agricultural sector, the government of Tanzania introduced a special programme to deal with agriculture. The main objectives of the programme were: to liberalise the marketing and pricing of food grains; to initiate the liberalisation of the major export crop markets; to remove the monopoly export power of the crop marketing boards; to restructure parastatals in agriculture; and to improve the efficiency of export crop tenders and auctions and crop processing industries.⁷²⁹ Most domestic markets’ control of food crops was abolished in 1989, including the restrictions on the marketing and transportation of food grains. Producer prices for the main agricultural products were liberalised between the financial years 1991/92 and 1993/94. The marketing of non-major export crops was also liberalised in the late 1980s.⁷³⁰ In 1990, this liberalisation was extended to the major export crops such as coffee, tobacco, cashew nuts, and cotton. During the 1991/92 marketing season, private traders were allowed to buy cashew nuts, and in 1993, private marketing of all major traditional export crops was permitted. In addition to price and market liberalisation of agricultural commodities, subsidies for agricultural inputs such as fertiliser were phased out.⁷³¹

The marketing and liberalisation of agricultural outputs and inputs in independent Tanzania resulted in historical transformations. This comprised changes in three different categories of

⁷²⁸ Elson and others, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues”; De Vogli and Birbeck, “Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa”; Ruth A Meena, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania’, 1991.

⁷²⁹ World Bank, Tanzania: Agriculture sector memorandum, Vol. 2, main report. Washington, D.C, 1994b, Cited in Peter Wobst, *Structural Adjustment and Intersectoral Shifts in Tanzania: A Computable General Equilibrium Analysis*, Vol. 117 (The Institute of Food Policy Research, 2001): p.17.

⁷³⁰ Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania’s Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*.

⁷³¹ World Bank, Tanzania: The challenge of reforms: Growth, incomes and welfare, vol. 2. Washington, D.C. 1996b, Cited in Wobst, *Structural Adjustment and Intersectoral Shifts in Tanzania: A Computable General Equilibrium Analysis*, p. 17,

agricultural policy, namely food crops, export crops, and agricultural inputs. In all the three categories of agriculture, women farmers played a significant role. The following section analyses the historical changes in management and control of the marketing of agricultural crops and inputs from the immediate post-independence Tanzania to the period when the country adopted the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies.

From 1963 onwards, the market for most food crops in Tanzania was organised and controlled by the National Agricultural Product Board (NAPB). The regulation of agricultural products was under the state’s single channel marketing agent through cooperative unions and societies that were subordinated to NAPB. It encompassed government control. All agricultural products throughout the country were to be marketed almost exclusively through a directed channel. Thus, private traders were not allowed. This structure included the control of prices and quality of the produce.⁷³² Due to various economic and political reasons, the powers of NAPB were terminated in 1976 when the government replaced it with the National Milling Corporation (NMC).⁷³³ This meant the abolition of cooperative unions and societies with which the NAPB worked. The leadership was of the opinion that it was necessary to eliminate the many cooperative intermediaries whose localised interests were regarded as an impediment to national development.⁷³⁴ NMC was formally based in urban areas but it was later extended to cover the whole country. Through the establishment of pan-territorial producer prices⁷³⁵ and the directives that NMC could bypass inefficient cooperative unions and purchase directly from the Cooperative Societies, it was thought that the marketing chain would be simplified. This marketing of agricultural crops was thought possible through the newly formed *Ujamaa* villages that served as procurement centres. The NMC purchased agricultural produce directly from the

⁷³² O van Cranenburgh and others, *The Widening Gyre: The Tanzanian One-Party State and Policy towards Rural Cooperatives*. (Eburon, 1990); Margareth R Msonganzila, “Women and Co-operatives in Tanzania: Separatism or Integration?”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1994, WS86–96; Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania’s Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*; Frank Ellis, ‘Agricultural Price Policy in Tanzania’, *World Development* 10, No. 4 (1982): 263–83.

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania’s Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*.

⁷³⁵ Pan-territorial pricing meant that farmers received the same price for a particular crop regardless of their location in the country. This provided a subsidy on transport costs, which benefited farmers in remote locations.

village government. The only area that the private sector played a role at this time was at retail trade level.⁷³⁶

Various economic and political difficulties that the NMC faced during its operation led to its disbandment in 1982. As the marketing operations of NMC struggled to survive, pressure grew from the public for the government to do something about it. The government responded by phasing out the NMC and reinstating the cooperative unions. The parliament passed the Cooperative Bill in 1982.⁷³⁷ At this juncture, cooperative unions were seen as the only possible means for achieving national development objectives through people themselves. It was thought that people at the local level would participate in decision-making and practical marketing of their produce through the re-established Primary Cooperative Societies and Cooperative Unions. Various amendments were made to attract local participation in cooperative processes like the voluntary membership.

Throughout this whole period, the government had prohibited almost all private commercial sales of food crops. Retail sales were only allowed at local markets, and individuals were free to transport a limited quantity of foodstuffs.⁷³⁸ Although there were official regulations on the trading of food crops, a noticeable amount of grain and other food crops was marketed through outlawed channels. The government tried to crack down the illegal marketing of the food crops but it failed. In 1983, it decided to lift up the prohibition which went in the form of lifting the limit for transporting foodstuffs to five hundred kilograms.⁷³⁹ When the government launched the Economic Recovery Programme in 1986, by signing credit agreements with IMF and the

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

⁷³⁷ Van Cranenburgh and others, *The Widening Gyre: The Tanzanian One-Party State and Policy towards Rural Cooperatives*.

⁷³⁸ Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania's Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*; Mwase and others, "Economic Liberalization and Privatization of Agricultural Marketing and Input Supply in Tanzania: A Case Study of Cashewnuts"; Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania'.

⁷³⁹ Initially the limit for transporting foodstuffs was 30kg, later on the limit was increased to 360 kg; Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania's Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*. Aili Mari Tripp, *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania* (Univ. of California Press, 1997); T. Luta Maliyamkono and Mboya S.D. Bagachwa, *The Second Economy in Tanzania* (Currey London, 1990).

World Bank, it lifted all restrictions on the transport and movement of grain.⁷⁴⁰ Private traders were allowed to buy from Cooperative Unions. In 1987, private traders were further permitted to purchase food crops from the National Milling Corporation, and in 1989, they were allowed to procure grain directly from producers.⁷⁴¹ Agricultural activities were formally signed and integrated to the Structural Adjustment Policies in 1990.⁷⁴²

Historically, food crop farmers had been receiving government support in the agriculture activities. The government began subsidising fertilisers in the early 1970s, after poor harvests in 1973/74 and 1974/75 respectively. Fertiliser was distributed free of charge in 859 villages. Later on, it was subsidised at a seventy-five percent level through the National Maize Project in order to boost food production in the country. Pan-territorial fertiliser pricing was also started in 1973 and in 1976. A uniform rate of fifty percent subsidy was applied throughout the country.⁷⁴³ Thus, in the 1980s, farmers had easy access to credit for fertiliser and other inputs through the Primary Cooperative Societies system as explained above. However, in the early 1990s, Primary Cooperative Societies started to provide credit only for inputs to be used in export crop cultivation. Although some level of substitution was possible, for example, fertiliser obtained for tobacco cultivation could be used for maize instead, overall credit availability had decreased. Furthermore, in 1989 the government agreed with the donor community, namely the World Bank and IMF, to remove subsidies starting in 1990/91. By 1994/95, the subsidies had been

⁷⁴⁰ Tony Waters, "Beyond Structural Adjustment: State and Market in a Rural Tanzanian Village", *African Studies Review* 40, No. 2 (1997): 59–89; Wobst, *Structural Adjustment and Intersectoral Shifts in Tanzania: A Computable General Equilibrium Analysis*; Meena, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania', 1991.

⁷⁴¹ Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania's Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*; Toni Haapanen and others, 'Rural Food System Change in Tanzania during the Post-Ujamaa Era. A Case Study from Western Bagamoyo District', 2011.

⁷⁴² World Bank. "Memorandum and Recommendation of the President of the International Development Association to the Executive Directors on a Proposed Development Credit of SDR 150.4 million to the United Republic of Tanzania for an Agricultural Adjustment Program." Washington DC, 1990, cited in Stefano Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania," *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des études Africaines* 32, No. 2 (1998): 316–48. P 319–320

⁷⁴³ Florens Martin Turuka, *Price Reform and Fertiliser Use in Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania. Vol. 51, Rural Development in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag Munster, 1995).

completely eliminated.⁷⁴⁴ Higher prices, coupled with the more difficult provision of fertiliser in remote areas by the private sector, and the falling availability of credit for input purchase, made farmers' access to fertiliser increasingly problematic in the 1990s.

The marketing of export crops after independence remained under the control of Crop Marketing Boards until 1993 when the Parliament passed the Crop Boards Act. According to the Act, the private traders were allowed to participate in the procurement, price determination, processing, and export of the four main export crops grown by smallholders in Tanzania: cotton, cashew nuts, coffee, and tobacco.⁷⁴⁵ The Act was officially implemented in the 1994/95 purchasing season. However, in some areas of the country, it was not implemented until the 1995/96 season, and private traders had to overcome political and administrative obstacles placed against them by local governments and Cooperative Unions.⁷⁴⁶

The management of agricultural inputs was carried out separately by three varied organisations in independent Tanzania. The marketing structure was different in the sectors of fertiliser, agrochemicals, and seeds. Fertiliser was produced and imported only by the publicly owned Tanzania Fertilizer Company. While the import and distribution of agrochemicals was carried out through the Agricultural and Industrial Supplies Company, the production, importation, and distribution of seeds were confined to the Tanzania Seed Company Ltd.⁷⁴⁷

Before the economic liberation, fertilizer was produced and imported only by the publicly owned Tanzania Fertilizer Company.⁷⁴⁸ The company controlled the primary distribution of fertiliser to

⁷⁴⁴Tanzania. The Study of Input Supply, Distribution and Performance of Liberalisation of Input Distribution System. Volume 2: Fertilizer, Ministry of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam 1992, cited in Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"

⁷⁴⁵ Tanzania, The Impact of Market Liberalisation of Export Crops (A Review of Coffee, Cotton, Cashewnuts and Tobacco), Marketing Development Board, Dar es Salaam, 1995. Cited in Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"

⁷⁴⁶ Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania.'

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁸ Florens Martin Turuka, *Price Reform and Fertiliser Use in Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania. Vol. 51, Rural Development in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag Munster, 1995; Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash:

both the Cooperative Unions and parastatal institutions, which distributed it to farmers on credit and at a subsidised price.⁷⁴⁹ Because of the financial difficulties faced by the Cooperative Unions and other parastatal companies in the late 1980s, the Tanzania Fertilizer Company started recruiting private stockists for primary distribution as early as 1988/89.⁷⁵⁰ By 1990/91, private stockists were already controlling 61.3 percent of the primary distribution of fertiliser in the Southern Highlands.⁷⁵¹ Formal liberalisation of the marketing of agricultural inputs took place officially in 1987/88.

By 1988, the import and distribution of agro-chemicals, although open to public and private institutions, had to be channelled through the Agricultural and Industrial Supplies Company (AISCO). Up to the end of the 1980s, the company had only three branches in Tanzania located in Iringa, Mwanza and Tanga. In regions where there were no branches of AISCO, its functions were conducted by the Regional Trading Companies (RTC). However, for the 1983/84 season, AISCO, started to sell hand tools and ox equipment. AISCO mainly bought for sub-wholesale prices from RTC and sold at fixed retail prices. After adjustments and economic liberalisation, importers and other businessmen could procure agrochemicals directly and unrestrictedly on the national and international market.⁷⁵²

In the case of seeds, their production, importation, and distribution immediately after independence were confined to the Tanzania Seed Company Ltd. (TANSEED). TANSEED was responsible for financing and distributing seeds directly to the Regional Trading Companies

Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"; Philip Raikes, 'Agrarian Crisis and Economic Liberalisation in Tanzania: A Comment', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 17, No. 2 (1979): 309–16.

⁷⁴⁹ Turuka, *Price Reform and Fertiliser Use in Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania. Vol. 51, Rural Development in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.*

⁷⁵⁰ Tanzania, The Study of Input Supply, Distribution and Performance of Liberalisation of Input Distribution System. Volume 2: Fertilizer. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Agriculture, 1992, cited in Stefano Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania," *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des études Africaines* 32, No. 2 (1998): 316–48

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵² Tanzania, The Study of Input Supply, Distribution and Performance of Liberalisation of Input Distribution System. Volume 4: Agrochemicals. Ministry of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, 1992c.

(RTC). It also distributed seeds to Cooperative Unions and other larger commercial firms. The economic liberalisation of 1989/90 enabled the liberalisation of prices, and consequently, private traders and institutions could then enter the market.⁷⁵³

Women farmers were the main group connected directly to the transformations in the marketing and liberalisation of agricultural inputs and outputs. The liberalisation of important agricultural variables, i.e. food crops, export crops, and agricultural inputs affected women farmers in various ways. Women farmers were supposed to confront new techniques of acquiring the agricultural inputs and accommodating new prices connected to the new private system of marketing of their agricultural produce and labour power. The subsequent sections provide more information concerning these agricultural variables.

5.5 Strategies and Engagements of Women Farmers during the Period of “Stabilisation”, and “Structural Adjustment” Policies in the Southern Highlands

This section analyses historical information on how women farmers negotiated their labour power with the state, powerful classes, and male actors at the local level, and several institutions during the period of World Bank’s “Stabilisation” and IMF’s “Structural Adjustment” policies. The section reveals that women farmers were active historical subjects, planning and confronting changing situations; playing both as complements and as substitute actors in countless historical encounters in the era. The role played by women farmers during the era contributed immensely to the historical existence of the social, political, and economic communities of the Southern Highlands. Women farmers encountered both the opportunities and new adverse conditions during this era.

The implementation of principles and measures directed by the policies of “Stabilisation”, and “Structural Adjustment” in the Southern Highland is what determined the involvement of women farmers during the era. The policies imposed various conditions and arrangements that the nation and its citizens had to follow when carrying out their daily social and economic activities. For

⁷⁵³Tanzania, The Study of Input Supply, Distribution and Performance of Liberalisation of Input Distribution System. Volume 3: Seeds. Ministry of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, 1992b.

example, the policies called for the government to withdraw support and subsidies from the agricultural sector. Extension (applied sciences) and training programmes were reduced, especially in the food production sector.⁷⁵⁴ Before the implementation of the policies, farmers in the Southern Highlands enjoyed government support for input and extension services in agriculture. Thus, the government pulling out from those services made inhabitants of the region seek alternatives from elsewhere to substitute the gap. Women farmers had to perform numerous activities to help their households to acquire agricultural inputs. Evidence shows the involvement of women farmers in off-farm work, petty trade, barter trade, and other community negotiations in order to solve the problem. When they failed to negotiate enough inputs for their agricultural projects, women farmers, together with other members of families, resorted to other means, like moving to new pieces of land where the fields were not yet exhausted, or reducing the amount of farmland in order to reduce input. Although there existed some relative conflicts in the distribution of land between and among various peoples of different economic categories, like pastoralists and farmers in new areas, farmers decided to go there instead of remaining in the old land where the competition for land was more acute. Interviews with mama M.N. of Pilikano village, and mama N.N. of Ilela village explained how people decided to go to new areas to save the resources which were formerly used for purchasing fertilisers and other agricultural inputs.⁷⁵⁵

...the virgin or fallowed land does not need industrial fertilizer to produce enough harvest. We advised our children not to lose their energy competing with powerful individuals for expensive fertilizer which they could not afford. Instead, they should go to Kiombagu or other places where there was enough, ample land, which was distributed to individuals freely. People there paid only the administration costs during the distribution. Although not all of our children accepted the advice, our elder son and his wife shifted to Kiombagu, and they were very successful without using expensive agricultural inputs...⁷⁵⁶

Information obtained from the Southern Highlands further reveals that women farmers who failed to procure farm inputs for the cultivation of food crops attempted other methods to solve

⁷⁵⁴ Wobst, *Structural Adjustment and Intersectoral Shifts in Tanzania: A Computable General Equilibrium Analysis*; Bert Meertens, "Agricultural Performance in Tanzania under Structural Adjustment Programs: Is It Really so Positive?," *Agriculture and Human Values* 17, No. 4 (2000): 333–46; Waters, 'Beyond Structural Adjustment: State and Market in a Rural Tanzanian Village.'

⁷⁵⁵ Interview with Mama M.N of Pilikano Village on 20 November 2014; Interview with mama N.N of Ilela Village on 08 December 2014

⁷⁵⁶ Interview with mama M.N of Pilikano Village on 20 November 2014

the problem. One of the methods mentioned by them was the “cheating technique”.⁷⁵⁷ Through this technique, women farmers made hidden efforts to hold back part of the fertiliser that was reserved exclusively for cash crop cultivation and used it for the cultivation of food crops. In most cases, small farmer households were not capable of obtaining enough farm inputs to satisfy both food and cash crops cultivations. This meant that the households agreed to use fertiliser in cash crops cultivation in order to get good harvests that would later provide them with cash income. As male farmers were attracted more to the cash crop farms, the fertilisers were exclusively intended for the cash crop farms. Since women farmers were the supervisors of food crop cultivation, they sought to increase the harvest of food crops. Women farmers employed this “cheating technique” without the knowledge of their husbands or male relatives who were, in this case, the owners of fertiliser. Marjorie Mbilinyi further supports this assertion when she argues that:

Women peasants led the way in shifting labour, land and farm inputs like fertilizers from export crops to local high-value domestic crops such as maize, beans and peas in the Highlands and in other commercial agrozones. Food crops were preferred because women had more control over their proceeds, and more flexibility and autonomy vis-à-vis male household heads and the state with respect to markets and timing of sales.⁷⁵⁸

Evidence from the Southern Highlands further demonstrates the increase in female non-farm activities during the era in order to cope with the new challenges. For example, research carried out in Rungwe indicates that there was a change in the rural landscape, as male villagers in 1989 insisted that “the wealthy people in Rungwe were women!” Women became active in long-distance trade in bananas and other foodstuffs, and in “down market” smuggling and trade of manufactured commodities like sugar, soap, and second-hand clothing.⁷⁵⁹ They dominated home brewed beer manufacture and sale, at a time when beer-drinking was the major recreational activity in most rural areas. The rural demand for prepared meals and snack food was met by

⁷⁵⁷ Focus Group Discussion conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁷⁵⁸ Mbilinyi, ‘Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania’, p. 175.

⁷⁵⁹ Mwiseje Polisy, “Banana Trade and Position of Women in Rungwe District”, *Unpublished MA Dissertation, IDS, University of Dar-es-Salaam*, 1984; Marjorie Mbilinyi, “Agribusiness and Women Peasants in Tanzania”, *Development and Change* 19, No. 4 (1988): 549–83; Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, ‘Big Slavery: Agri Business and the Crisis in Women’s Employment in Tanzania’, 1991.

mini-enterprises situated in people's homes and at the small tea and food stands set up in market places and on plantations and other centres of wage employment.⁷⁶⁰ The following quotation shows how women farmers in Mbinga district participated in petty trading during the era under study:

...roasted maize was sold at roadside stands in Mbinga. Women peddlers visited offices with buckets of boiled maize.....Maize that was consumed as roasted and boiled was produced mainly by kijungu cultivation carried out in bottom farming... The increased demand for immature maize provided an economic opportunity for households...⁷⁶¹

Women farmers also allowed their daughters and sons to engage in various works to increase resources for the survival of their families in the era. Some of the mentioned activities were domestic duties, such as working as houseboys and maids in houses of rich and middle-income earners; working as hawkers, such as selling small items at trading centres; participating in farming activities on the farm of well to do or rich farmers; and doing other small business activities like selling local beer. Money obtained from these engagements were used by the households for different purposes, including purchasing food to fill the gap created by the vagaries of the era or paying for important social services.

The policies also promoted the gradual commercialisation of agricultural activities and motivated more cultivation of export crops. They emphasised that the integration of the agricultural sector into the market liberal course would increase economic efficiency. This involved the transformation of smallholder farmers into modern producers supplying a liberalised market. The need for foreign exchange values in order to meet the requirements of export trade and to pay for the debt shifted the priority in agriculture towards the export market rather than local markets. This meant a reallocation of resources such as land, capital, and other incentives towards export crops. It also restructured the way cultivation was organised, for example, the advice on the use of capital inputs, and hired labour to produce for export.⁷⁶² Data on women farmers in the

⁷⁶⁰ Mbilinyi, "Agribusiness and Women Peasants in Tanzania"; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingo Village on 26 February 2015.

⁷⁶¹ Ryugo Kurosaki, 'Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania', 2007: 33.

⁷⁶² Meertens, 'Agricultural Performance in Tanzania under Structural Adjustment Programs: Is It Really so Positive?'; Waters, "Beyond Structural Adjustment: State and Market in a Rural Tanzanian Village"; Elson and others, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues'.

Southern Highlands relating to this condition shows various techniques and ways for implementing this policy. Women farmers initiated trade ventures of various size and quality. While there were small-scale women farmers who introduced small vegetable gardens in the low lands, there were women farmers who started average farms for grain in the highlands.⁷⁶³ Some rich women farmers started big timber farms in collaboration with their husbands or male relatives.⁷⁶⁴ The few who were able to gain credit from banks operated relatively larger businesses of grain, vegetables, and fruit by transporting them to large centres of business transactions. In some cases, women farmers went further to establish relatively larger farms that employed casual labour.⁷⁶⁵ Information from the study area shows an increase in the tendency of hired labour in the agricultural activities during the era.⁷⁶⁶

Furthermore, the commercialisation of the agricultural activities triggered the introduction of different inventions like private sector participation in the crop markets; changes in the pricing system, credit provision for agricultural inputs; and change in the minimum acreage by the law of export crops, to mention but a few.⁷⁶⁷ The entrance and participation of private traders in agriculture increased women farmers' interaction with external systems. Women farmers gained new friends and allies in agriculture. They also interacted with new ideas and technology brought to their local setting by private traders from other locations. Some women farmers were able to travel to distant places in order to trade their agricultural produce and handmade items. Besides,

⁷⁶³ Polisy, "Banana Trade and Position of Women in Rungwe District"; Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania," *Focus on Gender* 1, No. 3 (1993): 26–29; Marjorie Mbilinyi et al., "Structural Adjustment', Agribusiness and Rural Women in Tanzania.," *Food Question: Profits versus People?.*, 1990, 111–24; Kurosaki, 'Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania', 2007.

⁷⁶⁴ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

⁷⁶⁵ Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"; De Vogli and Birbeck, "Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa"; Gladwin, *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers*.

⁷⁶⁶ Andrew Adam Mwanselle, "Economic Analysis of Contract Farming for Small-Scale Tobacco Producers in Songea District, Ruvuma Region." (Sokoine university of agriculture, 2010); Mbilinyi, "Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania"; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingo Village on 26 February 2015.

⁷⁶⁷ Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania', p. 322.

private traders from different areas of Tanzania and from other countries were able to penetrate the interior of the Southern Highlands to sell agricultural inputs and to buy agricultural produce.⁷⁶⁸ Focus group discussions and interviews from the study area revealed women farmers' inter-regional interactions through buying and selling labour input and output, i.e. the exchange of agriculture tools and agriculture produce. The interactions in some cases brought about social and economic integration. People of various ethnic groups were able to settle in the Southern Highlands.⁷⁶⁹

...did you see the modern beer club building near market ground when you were coming? That building belongs to Mpangwa;⁷⁷⁰ it was built in 1990s and played a vital role in introducing young and old men and women in new ways of life. The club not only sells beer but also provides music entertainment services to young men and women during weekends. The Mpangwa came here from Ludewa only as a young man, but he married a Matengo woman here and now has several children and grandchildren...⁷⁷¹

The government went ahead implementing the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies by lifting the compulsory acreage cultivation in local areas. Women farmers and households, in general, started to participate in a wider range of social and economic engagements than was possible when they were still obliged to cultivate a certain size of land for certain crops in their local area.⁷⁷² Women farmers went ahead to cultivate the crops of their preference that fitted the marketing conditions of the era. They changed from the cultivation of crops that required expensive input and longer time to grow to the cultivation of crops that

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid; Mbilinyi, “Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania”; Manfred Bienefeld, “Structural Adjustment and Tanzania’s Peasantry: Assessing the Likely Long-Term Impact,” 1995; Rekha Mehra, ‘Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers’, *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 73, No. 5 (1991): 1440–47.

⁷⁶⁹ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁷⁷⁰ The Pangwa are an ethnic and linguistic group based on the eastern shore of Lake Malawi, in the Ludewa District of Njombe Region in Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

⁷⁷¹ Information provided by Baba F.M during the Focus Group Discussion conducted at Matumba Village on 24 October 2014.

⁷⁷² Doris Schmied and others, *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania* (Bayreuth University, 1989); Andrew Adam Mwanselle, “Economic Analysis of Contract Farming for Small-Scale Tobacco Producers in Songea District, Ruvuma Region.” (Sokoine university of agriculture, 2010); Johann Kirsten and Kurt Sartorius, “Linking Agribusiness and Small-Scale Farmers in Developing Countries: Is There a New Role for Contract Farming?,” *Development Southern Africa* 19, No. 4 (2002): 503–29; Coulson, ‘Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania’.

needed a short time to grow. The social and economic conditions of the era forced on them different choices in terms of which crops to grow, how to market them and to whom. Research carried out in the Southern Highlands reveal that products like coffee, cotton, maize, and millet decreased in the level of their cultivation as compared to new crops like potatoes, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables or other short time crops which gave farmers frequent and fast return.⁷⁷³ The increase of export for cash crops like coffee worked better to men farmers and other rich people. Women farmers depended more on the fast crops. Women farmers in the study area explained their willingness to cultivate crops that served several purposes, crops that functioned as a food and at the same time as a cash crop.⁷⁷⁴ Thus, they improved food security while retaining the option to sell.

Women farmers further changed their modality of work following the government's implementation of health policies during the era. Before the implementation of the new policies, Tanzanian government had been experiencing a decline in health service facilities. For example, the health budget decreased from 9 percent in 1973/74 to 5 percent of the state budget in 1984/85. It further decreased to 4 percent in 1985/86.⁷⁷⁵ This problem of inadequate provision of health services was further worsened by the introduction of "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" Policies whereby The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund advised the government to redirect the resources from non-productive to productive sectors. This meant that the community had to take a greater role in the responsibilities and provision of its health rather than depending on government facilities. The interview conducted by Ruth Meena in 1988 with the Director of Medical Services in the Ministry of Health revealed that most of the regional and districts administrative units did not have sufficient funds to purchase necessary medication for their hospitals.⁷⁷⁶ The decline of the budget of the Ministry of Health affected women farmers in

⁷⁷³ Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalisation and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"; Sarris et al., 'The Role of Agriculture in Reducing Poverty in Tanzania: A Household Perspective from Rural Kilimanjaro and Ruvuma', 2006.

⁷⁷⁴ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Illela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingo Village on 26 February 2015.

⁷⁷⁵ Kjell Havnevik, *Tanzania: Country Study and Norwegian Aid Review* (Universitetet, Senter for utviklingsstudier, 1988), Cited in Meena, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania', 1991.

⁷⁷⁶ Meena, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania', 1991: 178.

various ways. Women farmers were obliged to produce more during the era to fill the financial gap of the health service produced by the challenges of the policies. They intensified work in both productive and reproductive roles. In some cases, they were obliged to look for alternative local solutions in order to access health services for their family members.⁷⁷⁷ Women farmers were also affected in their health as the energy used in the intensified production could not be fully restored due to insufficient food and health services.⁷⁷⁸

Research conducted in Tanzania during the period under study showed that hard work, low income, and stress increased the rate of certain diseases and malnutrition among women. These factors, coupled with deteriorating health services, have led to a high maternal mortality rate, which increased from 190 to 215 maternal deaths per 100,000 births in 1990 and 1991. Furthermore, medical costs for the treatment of malaria, the major killer disease of children, consumed half the monthly wage on average.⁷⁷⁹ Thus, according to this body of evidence, women were immensely affected and were under a strong obligation to work more to cover the gap. Several studies show that agricultural inputs and outputs depended more on women farmers' labour. Women farmers provided more than 79 percent of manual labour, men provided 19, and children 9 percent.⁷⁸⁰ Therefore, the deterioration of health services to women meant more work and risk to them.

There are various pieces of evidence which indicate that women farmers were not able to pay the costs of health services during the era under study due to the reduced contributions of the state. Women farmers in that category applied various techniques to solve and endure the situation.

⁷⁷⁷ Mbilinyi et al., "'Structural Adjustment', Agribusiness and Rural Women in Tanzania"; Mbilinyi, "Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania"; Ruth Meena, Alice Nkhoma, and Asseny Muro, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania', (WRDP Research Report 22, 1993).

⁷⁷⁸ De Vogli and Birbeck, 'Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa'.

⁷⁷⁹ Mbilinyi, 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania'.

⁷⁸⁰ Havnevik, *Tanzania: Country Study and Norwegian Aid Review*; Msonganzila, 'Women and Co-operatives in Tanzania: Separatism or Integration?'; M. Kennedy Leavens and C. Leigh Anderson, "Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania", *EPAR Brief* 134 (2011): 1–14; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilea Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

Research carried out in the Southern Highlands shows that some women farmers resorted to the local ways of treatment and healing. For example, a study conducted in Mbinga indicated that some women farmers who could not afford the costs of child deliverances in hospitals turned to indigenous healers for special attention.⁷⁸¹ The findings from Mbinga are in line with the information collected through the interviews with women farmers in Makete and Mbozi who underlined that indigenous healers played an important role when households failed to acquire enough resources to pay for the service of hospitals. The indigenous health services were not limited to child deliverance only; local healers attended and treated various diseases found in their respective resident communities.⁷⁸²

Besides, the implementation of cost sharing for education services called women farmers to shoulder the newly introduced costs. This was because among various conditions the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies urged the government to cut the expenditure on education services. Before the launching of these policies, the government of Tanzania was already experiencing deficits in the budget for education amenities. The amount of government budget allocated for the education sector had been declining due to economic and political reasons. For example, in 1982/83 the government allocated 18 percent of its total budget to education, but the budget decreased to 8 percent in 1984/85.⁷⁸³ One of the conditions provided by the International Monetary Fund was that the education sector had to pursue the policies for “adjustments”, and “expansion” in order to reduce government expenditure on social services and to create a good balance of payments.⁷⁸⁴

The costs that citizens were supposed to share in the education sector included participation in the construction of school infrastructures. The measures also encouraged self-reliance activities

⁷⁸¹ Meena, Nkhoma, and Muro, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania’.

⁷⁸² Interview with mama T.M. in the Ilela Village in Iyula Ward on 07 December 2014; Mama K.S. in Mkalanga Village in Mkumbi Ward on 10 October 2014; Mama T.N. of Mkumbi Village on 05 November 2014.

⁷⁸³ Earth, “Structural Adjustment and Its Effects on Health and Education in Tanzania”; Mbilinyi and Mbuguni, ‘Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective’.

⁷⁸⁴ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: A world Bank policy study, (Washington, DC, 1987).

and promoting private involvement in education facilities.⁷⁸⁵ This policy afflicted women farmers in several ways. In areas where a significant section of the male population had migrated to other areas to look for wage labour, women farmers provided labour in the self-reliance activities and in constructions of school infrastructures on behalf of their households.⁷⁸⁶ In areas where school fees were introduced in educational institutions, women were supposed to shoulder the cost by involving themselves in finding supplementary income to pay the school fees for their children or for other family members. Sometimes women farmers used the income of their household in order to help their husbands or male relatives to pay the cost of education.⁷⁸⁷ Information obtained from the study area concerning education during the period under study describes the decrease in general enrolment. For example, the enrolment figures in primary schools dropped from nearly 100 per cent universal enrolment in the mid-1980s to 65-70 per cent. Individuals and communities were expected to pay more for social services and local infrastructures, according to cost sharing principles, in spite of reduced incomes.⁷⁸⁸ Data further shows the decrease in the enrolment for girls as many families decided to use the small portion of available income to educate boys. Many girls went to help the family in income generation activities.⁷⁸⁹ This was harder for individuals and women farmers in particular as in the previous time they were used to the Universal Primary Education principles whereby the government provided almost free education to all primary school goers.⁷⁹⁰ The prompt change in the

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁶ Gladwin, *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers*; Meena, "The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania", 1991; Putterman, 'Economic Reform and Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania: A Discussion of Recent Market Liberalization, Road Rehabilitation, and Technology Dissemination Efforts'.

⁷⁸⁷ Meena, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania', 1991: 180; Earth, "Structural Adjustment and Its Effects on Health and Education in Tanzania"; Elson and others, "The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues"; Mehra, 'Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers'.

⁷⁸⁸ Mbilinyi, 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania', p. 26.

⁷⁸⁹ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Iglea Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁷⁹⁰ Julius K Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance," *The Ecumenical Review* 19, No. 4 (1967): 382-403; Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (Cambridge, Eng.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Ahmed Mohiddin, "Ujamaa: A Commentary on President

modalities of education expenditure made women farmers prone to more work. Accordingly, women adopted new techniques for coping with the new social and economic setting of the era.

In addition, women farmers were obliged to find solutions for food scarcity created by the increased food prices. The new policies directed the government to reduce subsidising food prices and the production of food crops. The implementation of these policies resulted in the increase of food crops prices to cover the gap left by the absence of government subsidies. This affected the households, particularly women farmers in various ways. As shown in the previous chapters, due to the low level of technology applied to agriculture, most women farmers and their households of the Southern Highlands produced mostly for their livelihood, and when the surplus value in food crops was obtained it was used for exchange and acquisitions of necessary items like soap, kerosene, salt and the like. However, some of the households were not able to produce enough for their home consumption, let alone for surplus value.⁷⁹¹ Women farmers bought food from neighbouring households or from the markets to fill the gap that had been left by the shortage of farm produce.⁷⁹² In some cases, women farmers were obliged to work on bigger farms or in off-farm activities in order to sustain their families with food supplies. In short, when the government removed subsidies from agricultural production, especially food crops, it induced women farmers to work more to fill the gap left by government withdrawal.

Likewise, the information reveals that some women farmers resisted different adverse economic conditions. Marjorie Mbilinyi argues that the commodification of female labour during the period under study increased women farmers' consciousness of gender and class oppression. She provides an example from the Southern Highlands where women protested low wages and other unsatisfactory conditions. In the Rungwe smallholder tea scheme funded by the World Bank, for instance, women protested and escaped the low returns, hard labour, and humiliation of unpaid

Nyerere's Vision of Tanzanian Society," *African Affairs* 67, No. 267 (1968): 130–43; Nyerere and President, *The Arusha Declaration Ten Years after*.

⁷⁹¹ Mbilinyi, "Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania"; Bryceson, 'The Proletarianization of Women in Tanzania'.

⁷⁹² Interview with Mama C.N. of Mkumbi Village on 15 October 2014; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingo Village on 26 February 2015.

family work by becoming seasonal casual labour on plantations and large farms.⁷⁹³ Women farmers did not protest the institutional mistreatments only, but they also resisted various unfriendly social and economic relations in their households, local and village political units as the next paragraph indicates.⁷⁹⁴

Another kind of women farmers' protest was directed against the household heads who were not paying their wives and children for their work on the family tea farms. Although the farms belonged to the family, they used hired labour, but when wives and children participated in those family farms, they were not paid. Women farmers did not accept this kind of arrangement. Because of their "strike" actions, wives and children successfully forced household heads to pay them on a piece-rate basis for harvesting "family" tea. Village leaders intervened in support of family workers when household heads refused to pay for tea harvesting or failed to provide household needs.⁷⁹⁵ In explaining women farmers' protests during the era, Marjorie Mbilinyi further argues that:

... women's resistance, in particular, grew against many of these crop programmes because of low returns; delayed payments; corruption and inefficiency of market agents and village leaders; the authoritarian relations between the state (including donor functionaries) and the peasants; and gender-based oppression and exploitation of women and youth in peasant household farming and on large farms.⁷⁹⁶

Likewise, women farmers explained how they played the role of assistant workers when helping their husbands or male relatives to accomplish certain paid work in order to get cash for their families' expenditures, including food. As casual wage labourers, the husbands or male relatives displayed the character of "head of household" by bringing their own workers to work to assist, usually the wife/wives and children. The husband received the payment for work carried out by his family. In such a situation, women played a subsidiary role or an extension of their husbands'

⁷⁹³ Mbilinyi, 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania'.

⁷⁹⁴ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁷⁹⁵ Mbilinyi, 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania'.

⁷⁹⁶ Mbilinyi, 'Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania', p. 171.

at certain stages in the production process.⁷⁹⁷ In some cases, men changed their preference from cash crops to food crops in order to survive. The social and economic conditions during the era forced men to join energy with their wives and other female relatives to confront the challenges. This role of women farmers, assisting husbands or male relatives, displayed strong family ties in supporting the solution of problems during the era of stabilisation and adjustment policies.⁷⁹⁸ Women farmers had differing views concerning working together with their husbands and/or male relatives. Nevertheless, many of them said that the economic currents of the time helped them to build good social and economic relations with their husbands and/or male relatives. The following quotation from a study in Senegal explains an aspect of a family's social and economic ties during the era:

...for most women farmers, the era has brought the ground for gender negotiation and conflicts resolutions. Although substantive details of household production and consumption have radically transformed, most of the family ties and interactions had remained relatively stable...⁷⁹⁹

Another strategy that women farmers used during the time of market economy was the formation of women associations. The most common associations were related to farming; handicrafts and cottage industries; shops, bars, restaurants, and home brew beer clubs; hotels; agro processing mills; and vocational training. These associations had a historical background in pre-colonial times. In 1979, more than 7,500 organised women's economic associations were identified in mainland Tanzania alone.⁸⁰⁰ During the era, these associations played the role of addressing women's problems resulting from the implementations of the principles of liberal economy. Various studies have discovered many advantages and benefits of these associations to women farmers. In many cases, members prioritised on increased access to productive resources such as land, financial credit, imported inputs, raw materials and equipment, education, and travel. Meetings provided them with a chance to discuss common problems that supported women.

⁷⁹⁷ Donna L. Perry, "Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal," *Ethnology* 44, No. 3 (2005): 207–26; Interview with Mama C.N. of Mkumbi Village on 15 October 2014; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingi Village on 26 February 2015.

⁷⁹⁸ Mbilinyi, 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania'.

⁷⁹⁹ Perry, 'Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal', p. 209.

⁸⁰⁰ Deborah Fahy Bryceson, Mary Kirimbai, and others, "Subsistence or beyond? Money Earning Activities of Women in Rural Tanzania," 1980; Mehra, 'Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers'.

Female solidarity was the most frequently mentioned as an advantage of being an association member.⁸⁰¹ However, during the period of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies, these associations went further by introducing women to national and international markets, where women were able to pursue their economic and social interests.⁸⁰²

5.6 Consequences of the Implementation of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” Policies on Women Farmers

The implementation of the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies in the Southern Highlands incorporated women farmers in the policies’ socioeconomic practices. The policies directed the social and economic settings towards a market economy and the liberalisation of agriculture. According to women farmers in the Southern Highlands, challenges and problems that came together with the policies led to creating ways to increase their economic bargaining power within their households and local society.⁸⁰³ Women farmers participated in the system by selling their labour power and their agricultural and non-agricultural products. This produced individual cash income to reduce their relative dependence on their husbands and male relatives as compared to the previous era when most of the marketing transactions were made through the household heads who were overwhelmingly men. Access to an independent source of income tended to be highly valued by women farmers, not only for what it brought in terms of cash or valuable items but also for the greater self-esteem it brought to them. This underpins Diane Elson’s argument that market forces do not always act against the interests of women. Markets tend to treat women as independent individuals in their own right. Markets also provide opportunities for women to sell their labour power and the product of their labour that gives them self-confidence and value in their households and increases their negotiating power in the society.⁸⁰⁴ Women farmers were able to enter trade and business transactions. This allowed

⁸⁰¹ Mbilinyi, ‘Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania’.

⁸⁰² Maria S. Floro et al., ‘The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Women’s Economic Empowerment’, *Swedish International Development Agency Çalışma Metni Serisi, (Erişim Tarihi: Ekim 2010)*.

⁸⁰³ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁸⁰⁴ Elson and others, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues’, p. 13–14.

women to value themselves, as it tended to reduce the economic and social dependence on their husband and other male relatives. Access to independent income and valuable items gave women more confidence as compared to previous times. The argument by Ruth Meena *et al.* that one of the positive impacts of the era on women was the development of entrepreneur skills also supports this fact. Although the economic setting of the era deprived women farmers of the agricultural credit support, they became active in planning, establishing and developing various kinds of trades using other sources. The difficulties brought about by the policies provided women with the ability to create and develop various projects that later became reliable to their households and community.⁸⁰⁵

While the problems and challenges brought by the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies had caused relative confidence of women farmers in their problem solving capacities, they have also produced a shift in patriarchal power in the Southern Highlands. Before the implementation of the policies, different scholars have shown the authority of rural men in operating the social and economic activities. Scholars have revealed the male achievements in the years from 1960 to 1985. This was the time when various state programs supported patriarchal power.⁸⁰⁶ Due to transformations initiated by the social and economic changes of the 1980s, scholars developed a concern to examine the decline of male dominance in the aftermath of free market reforms. The challenges to African/indigenous masculinity were also scholarly noted during the colonial period when local male rulers saw male colonial administrators replacing African authority. Furthermore, the challenges of African male authority were noted when women farmers were said to gain powers in local villages during the absence of their husbands and male relatives who were working in colonial enterprises.⁸⁰⁷ In the economic liberalisation era, scholars termed the process as a crisis of masculinity caused by World Bank

⁸⁰⁵ Meena, Nkhoma, and Muro, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania’.

⁸⁰⁶ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Bargaining with Patriarchy,” *Gender and Society* 2, No. 3 (1988): 274–90; Kathleen Staudt, “The Impact of Development Policies on Women,” *African Women South of the Sahara*, Longman, Essex, 1995; Mbilinyi, “Gender and Structural Adjustment”; Fortmann, ‘Women’s Work in a Communal Setting: The Tanzanian Policy of Ujamaa’.

⁸⁰⁷ Thaddeus Sunseri, “Famine and Wild Pigs: Gender Struggles and the Outbreak of the Majimaji War in Uzaramo (Tanzania),” *The Journal of African History* 38, No. 02 (1997): 235–59; Guyer, ‘Female Farming in Anthropology and African History.’

and IMF economic reforms.⁸⁰⁸ As the state implemented “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies, men were to a certain degree forced by the economic and social conditions to sever their ties with patriarchal and state authorities. They found themselves unable to sufficiently finance their households and the community at large, which undermined their provider status. As a result, men were compelled to permit their wives and/or female relatives to conduct petty trade in order to shoulder the financial challenges, which eventually compromised male authority.⁸⁰⁹

The era of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies further witnessed the establishment of weekly markets in various villages in the Southern Highlands. These markets functioned as centres for product and service exchange. Farmers joined the markets to exchange their agricultural products. Private traders from different areas brought industrial products to sell and buy agricultural products from farmers. Women farmers were the most active participants since they brought not only the agricultural produce to the weekly markets, but also other items like cooked food, beer, and handicraft items like mats, pots, and home decorations. Idiwili and Ruanda are examples of these markets found in the Iyula ward in Mbozi. In the villages located in Mbinga districts, these markets featured as Sunday markets which served the same purposes. In Mbinga district, further market interactions happened during weekly local dances. These developed during the dry season when people were free from agricultural activities. On this kind of local level, men had views to express about the weekly and Sunday markets. Men thought the markets destroyed the behaviour of their wives. They felt that the markets created a kind freedom to their wives, which threatened men’s authority. They argued that weekly markets had ruined women’s souls. According to them, what happened in those markets was not good for the community’s social customs and development. They further argued that people thought the

⁸⁰⁸ Donna L. Perry, “Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal,” *Ethnology* 44, No. 3 (2005): 207–26; Marjorie Mbilinyi, “Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania,” *Focus on Gender* 1, No. 3 (1993): 26–29; Leavens and Anderson, ‘Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania.’

⁸⁰⁹ Perry, ‘Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal’.

markets would fix up things but they spoiled them. According to them, new social tensions have risen in the households due to weekly markets.⁸¹⁰

Several more studies point out the feeling of men's jealousy or fear for their wives during the era of "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies. As the waves of economic liberalisation forced women farmers to interact deeply with the market economy, some husbands and male relatives were not happy about it. For example, Richard Schroeder describes how Gambian men complained that their wives had "gone to their second husbands" when their wives went out to cultivate their gardens. This means that during the era, men compared women farmers' engagement in the production and trading of fruits and vegetables with the dishonesty of extra-marital intimacy.⁸¹¹ Furthermore, Hans Seur quotes a Zambian man who said that "men felt they have lost power and it was true",⁸¹² explaining that women did the work that men used to do, and often did it better. In the case of women farmers in the Southern Highlands, men voiced "complaints" in reaction to their wives' participation in the market economy. During several focus group discussions which comprised only male farmers, they were free to explain the era as being one of the most difficult times for husbands. According to them, in some cases, women came home late from their petty trading activities. Those women who traded in local beer faced the challenges of confrontation with the drunken men. All these issues and others were explained as difficult experiences which men had to tolerate for the upkeep of their families during the era.

Women farmers explained the petty trade and other exchange activities of the era as an unrestricted gendered sphere of production. According to them, men and women were free to participate without government or individuals' restrictions or prohibitions. The petty trade enabled women farmers to restructure a sphere of production and exchange and to separate it

⁸¹⁰ Ibid; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁸¹¹ Richard A Schroeder, "Gone to Their Second Husbands": Marital Metaphors and Conjugal Contracts in The Gambia's Female Garden Sector', *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 30, No. 1 (1996): 69–87.

⁸¹² Han Seur, 'Sowing the Good Seed; The Interweaving of Agricultural Change, Gender Relations and Religion in Serenje District, Zambia', (Seur, 1992).

from the control of men. Women had gained control of their own income and could purchase items for themselves and their children, such as firewood, medicine, cooking ingredients, soap, and ceremonial gifts. They also purchased items for pleasure such as jewellery, toys, and decorative household items. Women enjoyed greater freedom during the market economy than they did in previous times in terms of travel, decisions about labour, control over personal income, and ability to forge alliances with individuals outside of the household.⁸¹³ Data obtained from interviews with mama C.N. of Mkumbi and mama A.M. of Luvulunge villages show that there was a substantially greater degree of freedom for women farmers in the pre-colonial era and during SAP than in the colonial and immediate post-colonial era. According to them, the colonial period and the immediate postcolonial period saw restrictions on women's freedom, especially in trading and other economic activities. Most of the economic ventures during those epochs were conducted under the control of men or within the framework of male activity.⁸¹⁴ Therefore, according to these narratives, the "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies had brought relative freedom to women farmers, which they enjoyed in the pre-colonial era, compared to the colonial and the immediate postcolonial periods.

In addition, the expansion of the agricultural market economy in the Southern Highlands forced some small households to sell their land to better-off households and migrate to remote areas. This was motivated by the increased demand for coffee cultivation, which was the main cash crop in the region. It caused rich farmers to demand more land located near their villages for the expansion of their coffee farms. Small farmers opted to sell their land and shift to remote areas to start new farms. Details obtained from several sources like different document records, oral interviews, and focus group discussions conducted in the Southern Highlands indicate that the liberalisation of prices of fertiliser and other agricultural input made the cultivation of nearby land in the villages too expensive for small farmers to afford the maintenance. They were not capable to acquire enough fertiliser and other inputs to satisfy the need of the exhausted land in

⁸¹³ Perry, "Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal"; Mbilinyi et al., "Structural Adjustment; Agribusiness and Rural Women in Tanzania"; Interview with Mama C.N. of Mkumbi Village on 15 October 2014; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingi Village on 26 February 2015.

⁸¹⁴ Interview with Mama C.N. of Mkumbi Village on 15 October 2014; Interview with Mama A.M. of Luvulunge Village on 18 February 2015.

their respective villages. As a solution to this, small farmers opted to shift to further remote areas where there was enough land to conduct shifting and crop rotation agriculture which did not need expensive fertiliser. Research shows that the soils of the region are very poor, and thus depend heavily on industrial fertilisers for good harvest.⁸¹⁵ The change in the provisions of agriculture inputs from government subsidies to individual finance acted as a limit to small farmers. This fact made women farmers, especially from small households, join their husbands or male relatives in migrating to new areas where they conducted shifting agriculture to compensate for the absence of fertiliser.⁸¹⁶

Besides, information from the area of the study reveals that the market economy has given rise to the habit of some farmers' households with diverse income to depend more on the market to satisfy the demand for consumer goods and farm inputs. This greater integration between households and market increased family vulnerability to market fluctuations. Data obtained from the Southern Highlands indicates that while local traders were able to develop business connections in their respective villages, distant private traders had immigrated to introduce shops and trade firms which supplied both food and industrial trade items.⁸¹⁷ In those cases, some women farmers and their households, having cash income sources, did not depend on their agricultural performance as the main source of income anymore. They could acquire goods and services from shops and other trade ventures established in their areas by local people and newcomers from distant areas. Those families did not perform the same serious work, and they

⁸¹⁵ Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"; Rayah Feldman, "Custom and Capitalism: Changes in the Basis of Land Tenure in Ismani, Tanzania", *The Journal of Development Studies* 10, No. 3–4 (1974): 305–20; A.N.K. Mussei and J.K. Shiyumbi, "Review of the Studies of the Farming Systems of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1970–1990," in *Proceedings of an International Conference on Agricultural Research, Training and Technology Transfer in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: Past Achievements and Future Prospects*, 1992, 5–9; Torben Rasmussen, "Tanzania Crisis and Struggle to Survive," in *The Green Revolution in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania*, ed. Jannika Boesen et al. (Scandinavian institute of African studies Uppsala, 1986), 191–216.

⁸¹⁶ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁸¹⁷ Waters, "Beyond Structural Adjustment: State and Market in a Rural Tanzanian Village"; Cuthbert K Omari, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes to Rural and Agricultural Development: Some Experiences from Tanzania', *Africa Project Team, Ed.) Structural Adjustment and African Agriculture*, 1994: 49–70.

did not show the same engagement in agriculture as in the past since they could satisfy their needs from the liberalised markets around. This habit sometimes produced constraints to the communities residing in the interior when goods and services were not supplied appropriately in the villages due to various social, economic, and political challenges. In times of bad weather, road congestions, or breakdown of infrastructures, the communities, even though they had money, lacked the supply of important goods and services, which were formally available through intensive agricultural activities.

The implementation of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies also enabled women farmers to change their economic activities from predominantly food crop cultivation to a kind of mixed agricultural economy. When the economic situation appeared to be difficult with only one type of agriculture, women farmers decided to add more farming categories to solve the problem. For example, during the time of economic uncertainties and recessions, women farmers turned their efforts to home production⁸¹⁸ and gardens to provide for food and other important needs. Women farmers explained various advantages they obtained from practising fast gardens. They said that fast gardens had a shorter production cycle, and they need less time from planting to harvesting. In one year, a fast garden can be harvested more than four times. The produce is easily marketable compared to long time crops like grains. This is because they obtained quick cash from the weekly and Sunday markets. They were also able to solve food shortages in households when waiting for the grain and other long time crops to ripe. Fast gardening included different kinds of farming, like bottom farming,⁸¹⁹ around home farming, and hillsides farming.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁸ These activities include pottery, making of mats, gardening, raising small livestock, vegetable and fruit selling and local beer brewing.

⁸¹⁹ Bottom farming systems is an indigenous farming system in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania practiced by smallholder farmers usually in valley bottoms or flood plains. Ideally, these areas are characteristically moist for a long period of the year, allowing the cultivation of multiple annual crops. These are usually cultivated during the dry season utilising natural moisture or water diverted from rivers/streams or harvested from rain to produce food and cash crops; Amos E. Majule, and Mwalyosi, R.R.B. and others, “The role of traditional irrigation on small scale agriculture in semi arid environment, southern highland Tanzania”, in International Water Management Institute Conference Papers, No. 037518, 2005.

⁸²⁰ Ryugo Kurosaki, “Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania”, 2007; Mussei and Shiyumbi, “Review of the Studies of the Farming Systems of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1970–1990”; Torben Rasmussen, ‘Tanzania Crisis and Struggle to Survive’.

Moreover, women farmers experienced temporary or permanent separation from their husbands or male relatives because of the economic difficulties of the era. This was the case, when men had to travel to other distant parts of the country to work in order to contribute to their families' livelihoods and development. Some women farmers explained how their husbands or male relatives moved to urban areas or to nearby centres to work for social and economic amenities. This became one among various important components of the rural households' survival strategy during the era.⁸²¹ However, it brought countless consequences to women farmers and the communities in general. One woman farmer of Makete explained how she lost her marriage when her husband did not return to the village after leaving for casual work in Mbeya in the late 1980s. She explained that at the beginning, the husband used to keep in touch by sending money and other consumption items to the family in the village, but later, he stopped. Finally she heard that her husband had remarried there. Although the husband came to visit the family occasionally in the 1990s, they did not live as husband and wife anymore; he just came to see the children and went back to Mbeya where he had another family.⁸²² Nevertheless, for other women farmers, the travelling of their husband to find economic sources in towns was a blessing to their families. Most of them were able to find casual labour and they returned home with relatively good job income for their family's consumption and development.⁸²³

Similarly, the challenges that emerged during the era of implementation of the "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies forced some male farmers to a certain extent to shift from the cultivation of cash crops, which required intensive care and implied higher costs. They started with the cultivation of food crops that required relatively small care. This led to the gradual relative decrease in the cultivation of cash crops because small farmers' households could not procure inputs sufficiently, such as seeds, ploughs, fertiliser, and other important materials for cash crop cultivation. Likewise, devaluation of the currency and policies demoting

⁸²¹Meena, "The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania", 1991; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingo Village on 26 February 2015.

⁸²² Interview with mama A.C. of Isapulano Village on 19 February 2015.

⁸²³ Interview with mama A.N. of Iwawa Village on 14 March 2015; Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Luvulunge Village on 24 February 2015; Ivilikingo Village on 26 February 2015.

import substitutions have made the costs of imported goods such as fertiliser, agricultural machinery, and others more expensive. These details triggered some small men farmers to take over the control of food crop cultivation in order to avoid the high costs of cash crop cultivation.⁸²⁴ This further affected some women farmers because not only it reduced their bargaining power in the markets and social settings, but it also increased competition in the families and in the lineages at large. Marjorie Mbilinyi explains this more as follows:

...men have tried to take over food crops once controlled by women, such as maize, beans, and horticultural produce, and women have lost their former autonomous position in food production in many places. Women's historical reliance on food production means they have been harmed the most by the policy shift in support of export crops...⁸²⁵

In addition, the integration of the agricultural sector into the market economy facilitated the expansion of a differentiated society in the villages of the Southern Highlands. Rich farmers were able to accumulate wealth and consequently dominate the market economy in the villages. They were capable of selling their grain and other agricultural produce to urban markets. This kind of transaction to some extent depleted local agricultural stocks and caused the price to rise during the rainy season. Throughout the difficult times, small farmers worked for cash loans from local rich farmers under hard labour conditions. In numerous occasions, small farmers were forced to sell their produce to rich farmers before it was ready to be harvested in order to obtain loans. Data from the Southern Highlands shows that in several cases, when a poor farmer needed cash, and coffee or other agricultural crops on his farms were not yet ready for harvest, he would negotiate with the rich farmer who would provide the poor farmer with cash. The local contract was then signed between the two that the small farmer should pay the rich farmer with a certain bulk of agricultural crops when they were ready for harvesting.⁸²⁶ This fact is in line with Stefano Ponte's argument that the promotion of exports and incentives for tradable goods lead to the replacement of food production for local consumption with the production of commodities for export, such as coffee, cotton, bananas, and tobacco. More competitive large-scale agricultural producers often displace small farmers, who have no access to modern equipment.

⁸²⁴ Tibaijuka, 'The Cost of Differential Gender Roles in African Agriculture: A Case Study of Smallholder Banana-Coffee Farms in the Kagera Region, Tanzania'.

⁸²⁵ Mbilinyi, 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania'.

⁸²⁶ Focus Group Discussion at Mkumbi Village on 20 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Iyula Village on 13 December 2014; Iwawa Village on 22 February 2015; Isapulano Village on 30 March 2015.

As rural subsistence production declined, small farmers were often forced to leave their families to migrate to urban areas for a long time in search of employment.⁸²⁷ These movements and trading transactions affected mostly the women farmers who were directly responsible for the family's food and nutrition. When crops were sold before harvest time, it meant only small quantities of crops remained for households' consumption. When the male population moves from villages to other areas for economic purposes, the women farmers toiled more to make sure the households stands and continues to develop.

Further information from the Southern Highlands shows that men reduced their contributions to family consumption as women farmers started doing trade activities during the market liberalisation. Women farmers described that kind of behaviour of their husbands or male relatives as selfish. They complained that when some women farmers started to do business, their husbands reduced their contribution to home necessities. They thought women had the ability to satisfy the needs of the household. The income that men obtained from their economic activities was spent for other accomplishments. In some cases, men invested the money in income generating events, like expanding farms, hiring labourers, and purchasing farm inputs. Nevertheless, in other cases, men used their income in luxurious undertakings like clothing, beer, or extra marital relations. This fact is in line with Diane Elson's argument:

....during slumps women were responsible for the family management; men's responsibilities were limited to the provision of some cash or productive asset required by women to carry out their household management tasks. Women thus, were forced to meet their family's needs by stretching the husbands cash contribution with good housekeeping, or earning an income themselves, or producing food and clothing themselves, or engaged in barter and petty trade. It was women who were forced to cope with and to devise survival strategies when household income fell and price rose".⁸²⁸

This kind of men's behaviour produced various consequences in farmers' families: conflicts in some families concerning income distribution; more work for women to fill the gap of male withdrawal; and family separations when women farmers could not tolerate extra marital relations conducted by their husbands.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁷ Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania'.

⁸²⁸ Elson and others, 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues'.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

Studies show further that the implementation of the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies produced a gender-differentiated impact to the farmers’ households. When some households were forced to reduce food consumption because of the raised prices and reduced income, available evidence points out that the consumption of women and girls were condensed more than that of men and boys. There is evidence, which shows that girls’ access to important social services was compromised due to the introduced and increased charges for education and health services.⁸³⁰ Furthermore, when attempts were made to compensate for the reduction in purchased resources by an increase in unpaid labour (e.g. buying cheaper foods which required more time in preparation); it was a woman who carried the burden.⁸³¹ This situation was evident in the farmers’ families where women farmers and girls carried out the big chunk of work in farms and gardens in order to provide for the family’s food and other consumer goods and services while men and boys were busy doing other activities.⁸³²

Women farmers were further shaken by the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies through the emphasis on the expansion of export crops. Different scholars have argued that the export crop system has not historically benefited women farmers very much, and has often made their position worse.⁸³³ Normally, such crops were grown under the control of men. Women farmers have been required to work in the fields, planting, weeding, and harvesting them. However, the income obtained from the sale of such crops has been under the control of their husbands or their male relatives. Women farmers have frequently lost access to land as it was

⁸³⁰ Mbilinyi et al., “‘Structural Adjustment’, Agribusiness and Rural Women in Tanzania”; Elson and others, “The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues”; Diane Elson and Nilufer Cagatay, “The Social Content of Macroeconomic Policies,” *World Development* 28, No. 7 (2000): 1347–64; Mehra, “Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers”; Maria Sagrario Floro, ‘Market Orientation and the Reconstitution of Women’s Role in Philippine Agriculture’, *Review of Radical Political Economics* 23, No. 3–4 (1991): 106–28.

⁸³¹ Elson and others, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues.’

⁸³² Torben Rasmussen, “Tanzania Crisis and Struggle to Survive”; Maria S Floro et al., “The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Women’s Economic Empowerment,” *Swedish International Development Agency Çalışma Metni Serisi: (Erişim Tarihi: Ekim 2010)*, 2009.

⁸³³ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

diverted from subsistence crop production under their control to the export crop production under men's control. Export crops have always been allocated better seeds, fertilizer, credits, and extension services, which implies discrimination against women.⁸³⁴ Some women farmers in the Southern Highlands have explained their experiences with the market situation of coffee and other cash crops during the era. They highlighted that the money obtained from the sales of coffee had always belonged to men, and that women participated in all phases and steps of coffee cultivation but they get only a small amount of money from their husband or male relatives after the sale of coffee.⁸³⁵ Marjorie Mbilinyi explains the situation as follows:

Inequalities grew at the household, village, district and regional level, reflecting in part the official bias towards export crops. Women received consistently less credit compared to men, including female heads of households...⁸³⁶

5.7 The Negotiation between State, Society and Women Farmers during the Era of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” Policies in the Southern Highlands

Historical information indicates the existence of a strong bond between the state, other powerful classes, male actors at the local level and other institutions during the era of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustments” policies. This historical bond manifested itself in various ways and used a variety of techniques to meet several ends in connection with the women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies that operated under the guidance of the World Bank and the IMF emphasised the privatised economy, but they failed to dismantle the described bond that existed between the State, economic institutions, and local (influential) men. For example, establishments like the farmers' Cooperative Unions that worked under the close supervision of the state apparatus manifested the bond, which continued to dictate women farmers in their operations during the era.⁸³⁷ Cooperative unions favoured only their members, and, therefore, gave credit almost exclusively to male farmers. This kind of procedure made a large percentage of women farmers subordinates

⁸³⁴ Mbilinyi et al., “‘Structural Adjustment’, Agribusiness and Rural Women in Tanzania”; Mbilinyi, “Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania”; Elson and others, ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues’.

⁸³⁵ Ibid.,

⁸³⁶ Mbilinyi, ‘Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania’, p. 171.

⁸³⁷ Msonganzila, ‘Women and Co-operatives in Tanzania: Separatism or Integration?’

to the heads of household and hampered their ability to engage in agricultural production effectively. The following quotation explains this well:

Government officials and peasant cooperative leaders excluded married women from membership in cooperatives and access to markets, farm inputs and farm proceeds. Resources were distributed to male household heads, including credit, extension advice, improved seeds, and farm machinery...⁸³⁸

The continuing existence of governmental structures to dominate and control the agricultural sector during the period of economic liberalisation also sustained the bond, which structured the negotiation of gender relations in farming households and communities. Stefano Ponte, who conducted a study in Songea, discovered that although the government had theoretically liberalised the agricultural sector from 1988, there were still local administrators who blocked private traders' access to trade in the villages in the early 1990s. The administration refused permission to private traders to penetrate the interior to perform trading transactions with farmers. Local farmers were still required to cultivate a minimum acreage to fulfil the local production targets in agriculture. The cooperative unions offered low purchase prices compared to the prices offered by private traders. In this regard, cooperative unions' management allied with the local political administrators to ban private traders from doing business transactions with village farmers.⁸³⁹ The following quotation explains this fact further:

Although tobacco and coffee marketing had been liberalised in late 1993, by the 1994/95 season, no private trader was allowed to purchase these crops in Songea. For this reason, the Cooperative Unions still managed to purchase 43.6 percent of total crop sales...⁸⁴⁰

All those arrangements deprived farmers and women farmers' right to participate fully in the liberalised economy. They further put burden on women farmers as they were supposed to comply with both, the public and the private requirements of the economic system. Various farmers in the Southern Highlands commented on this. They explained that there existed deliberate efforts by local rulers in collaboration with government institutions to hinder the

⁸³⁸ Mbilinyi, 'Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania', p. 168.

⁸³⁹ Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"; Bryceson and others, *Liberalizing Tanzania's Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*; Haapanen and others, 'Rural Food System Change in Tanzania during the Post-Ujamaa Era. A Case Study from Western Bagamoyo District'.

⁸⁴⁰ Ponte, 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania', p. 127.

smooth functioning of the free market during the era. This interference had affected women farmers negatively.⁸⁴¹

Studies have shown that in those areas, where the local cooperative unions' management allied with the local political administrators, farmers were forced to produce whichever cash crops the cooperative unions were buying at the time. Farmers also had limited choices in terms of adopting slow or fast crops because the cooperative unions and their predecessors, the crop authorities, preferred to market slow crops since fast crops can usually be harvested several times per year and some of them deteriorate quickly. The cooperative unions avoid marketing fast crops because they have neither the operational flexibility nor the administrative speed to market them properly.⁸⁴² This kind of administrative bond continued to compromise the decisions of farmers in the Southern Highlands in general and women farmers in particular. The women farmers were the ones providing the largest share of farm labour. The governments' and cooperative unions' actions against fast growing crops affected women farmers the most.⁸⁴³

The government accepted the conditions of "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies without questioning the policies' impact on equality in the local communities. This points out a discriminatory effect on women farmers. For example, various conditions of export procedures, or credit provisions worked against women farmers' interests. In order for a farmer to obtain a loan from a bank for agricultural development, he/she was supposed to own a loan's collateral, such as a land title deed. Most women farmers throughout the era were not entitled to land title deeds. Consequently, women farmers had no access to bank credits for agricultural development. Women continued to occupy a subordinate status throughout the era. More input benefits were directed to men farmers. The government did not make deliberate efforts to review the

⁸⁴¹ Focus Group Discussions conducted at Longa Village on 22 October 2014; Matumba Village on 24 October 2014; Kilindi Village on 26 October 2014; Kipegei Village on 28 October 2014; Ilela Village on 17 December 2014; Igale Village on 12 January 2015; Ipyana Village on 14 January 2015; Ilomba Village on 16 January 2015; Ivalalila Village on 22 March 2015.

⁸⁴² Ponte, "Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania"; van Cranenburgh and others, *The Widening Gyre: The Tanzanian One-Party State and Policy towards Rural Cooperatives*; Msonganzila, 'Women and Co-operatives in Tanzania: Separatism or Integration?'

⁸⁴³ Mbilinyi, 'Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania'.

conditions and gear them towards benefiting all people. Policies were not devised for restructuring gender relations in order to end discrimination against women farmers. In all processes of formulating the conditions for loans, benefits and other measures, which characterized the era, the administrative bond between the state, local administrators and various institutions played a vital role in negotiating women farmers' labour. Most of the decision makers were men.

The "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policy reforms called for the dismantling of the state and private monopolies as a way of making agriculture more productive and efficient, but they ignored the basis for the rigidities in the agricultural sector that stood in the way of structural and social change. For example, there were continuing patterns of land distribution in the villages and the local landed elite continued to operate as a powerful political and economic interest group. Women farmers could not compete in those local land arrangements where the council members were overwhelmingly men. In most cases, the distribution of land in the villages was still in the hands of clan heads. Furthermore, the major government regulatory commissions like the National Milling Corporation (NMC), the Tanzania Fertilizer Company (TFC), and the Tanzania Seed Company (TANSEED) continued to dominate the production and marketing of major agricultural crops. The procedure continued to operate against liberalised agricultural market economy. These powerful institutions had a negative impact on farmers' and women farmers' work.

Further information from the Southern Highlands reveals that local government continued to practice restrictions, which were directed against the liberalised market economy during the period under study. For example, the government of the Songea district still implemented minimum acreage bylaws that obliged farmers to cultivate a certain area with a particular export crop. Flexibility towards changing from one cash crop to another was difficult since non-compliance with bylaws did not become feasible for farmers in Songea until the early 1990s. As farmers had to comply with bylaws and ensure food security, they had neither enough time nor capital to engage in the cultivation of alternative cash crops. These kinds of local government enforcements were notable in all districts of the Southern Highlands, as private traders due to the

limitation of transport infrastructures did not easily penetrate the area.⁸⁴⁴ These deprived farmers of their freedom to practice in the market economy. Women farmers continued to abide by the conditions set by the local government when theoretically practising within a liberalised economy. The initial intention of integrating agriculture into the “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies was to make farmers benefit from the advantages of a liberalised market. However, government practices during this era geared the policies towards benefiting government affiliated institutions. They continued to tie farmers, particularly women to underprivileged economic conditions.

The bond between local government administrators and the cooperative unions’ management in the Southern Highlands was further strengthened when farmers were indirectly forced to produce crops that the cooperative unions wanted. This was carried out through the provision of input loans to farmers. In the early 1990s, the Primary Cooperative Societies in Songea district were still distributing most inputs at the local level, and farmers could receive them on credit. They tied the distributed input and credit to the choice of crop. For this reason, changes in cash crop choices remained minimal. Farmers continued to produce the cash crops, which were demanded by the cooperative unions. The top three cash crops were still slow ones with high input requirements (tobacco, coffee, and maize), representing 78.9 percent of the total sales of the top five cash crops.⁸⁴⁵ These arrangements were against the laws of the free market economy of the era. Thus, the functioning of the liberalised market economy in the Southern Highlands was curtailed by the strong political bond that stood in for the benefit of the public, but not for the small farmers in the Southern Highlands. Farmers were not free to practice the market economy as it was intended. Women farmers were caught in these kinds of relations. For them, it was more difficult since the operation of the system helped political and economic power to succeed, which women often lacked.

⁸⁴⁴ Putterman, “Economic Reform and Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania: A Discussion of Recent Market Liberalization, Road Rehabilitation, and Technology Dissemination Efforts”; Niklas Sieber, “Transporting the Yield: Appropriate Transport for Agricultural Production and Marketing in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *Transport Reviews* 19, No. 3 (January 1999): 205–20.

⁸⁴⁵ Ponte, ‘Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania’, p. 327.

The bond that existed between state and society also created an indirect compromise about women farmers' labour. Most of the benefits that were intended for farmers were designed to benefit agricultural companies and rich farmers. According to the plan, the provision of agricultural loans went only to those with collaterals, including companies, rich farmers and men. These groups continued to expand their agricultural ventures and employ casual workers. Nevertheless, many women farmers could not meet the conditions for loans. A large percentage of women farmers continued to concentrate on small farming and provision of casual labour to rich farmers. This is further explained as follows:

SAP in agriculture is structured around the rehabilitation of the large-scale plantations and large farm sector owned by foreign, and to a lesser extent, national entrepreneurs and TNCs, and the provision of a regular supply of cheap labour by impoverished peasants and farm workers...⁸⁴⁶

Although Tanzanian women farmers had somehow learned and benefited from the challenges and difficulties emanated from the implementation of the policies imposed by the World Bank and IMF, their involvement was marginalised to small enterprises and petty trading. The larger percentage of women farmers continued to participate in the era as labour providers and facilitators to other prominent agricultural actors. Only a few rich women farmers were able to thrive and move on to higher levels of agricultural investment. The majority of women farmers invented and created small trade ventures to cope with difficulties in food security and other economic categories created by the implementation of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies. These trade ventures helped women farmers survive and continue their lives and that of their respective communities.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the negotiations of women farmers' labour during the era of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies. The negotiations were conducted between women farmers on the one hand and the “bond” that existed between the state bureaucrats, local powerful classes, the influential actors in local communities, and men at the household level on the other hand. The policies and work arrangements emanating from this powerful bond produced numerous responses from women farmers in the region. The bond manifested itself in

⁸⁴⁶ Mbilinyi, 'Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania', p. 178.

various joint arrangements carried out by those in power. These arrangements included: policy formulation; distribution of land to farmers, which in most incidences prioritised men as the most powerful and influential classes; distribution of agricultural inputs and other extension services; and the provision of credit or other financial services.

Women farmers created strength and confidence in their daily responsibilities through active participation. They participated in the public and private implementation of the policies at different levels and in different forms of engagement. Women farmers changed their strategies and arrangements in order to accommodate the circumstances of the period. When male incomes declined due to various social and economic challenges, women farmers became significant “breadwinners”. Their consciousness concerning various responsibilities grew, leading to new arrangements over income generation, consumption, and distribution within peasant households and local communities.

The powerful section of the community, local male leaders, bureaucrats, and male head of households could not completely hinder the comprehensive forces that drew women farmers to the market places. Most women interviewed indicated that there is a growth of agreements and consensus between them, their husbands, male parents and other male relatives in accommodating the challenges and opportunities of the era. They explained that their husbands or male relatives, without reservation, accepted the income and other economic advantages that the women farmers acquired and brought to their families and communities in general.

Some women farmers were not able to cope fully with some challenges of the era. Systematic political and economic refinement in the access to resources for improved agricultural production resulted in failure, socioeconomic weakness, and dependency among some women farmers. However, they had various ways to survive when this happened: they depended on other members of the community and different social economic institutions for negotiations. Overall, the emphasis of “Stabilisation” and “Structural Adjustment” policies on the production of cash crops and non-food production for export to international markets and urban markets, confined many women farmers to continue living on lower social and economic levels.

The aggregated initial results of the liberal economic reforms for Tanzanian economy were positive as they brought some development in agriculture and an increase in GDP in general. For example, the agricultural sector registered an annual growth rate of 5.7 percent in 1986; 4.4 percent in 1987; and 4.8 percent in 1988, compared to an annual average of less than 3 percent during the 1981/85 period.⁸⁴⁷ Nevertheless, women farmers had mixed experiences in their daily lives and relations due to the implementation of the new policies. Some women farmers were forced by patriarchal ideology to provide for household and family needs from their cash earnings. Women farmers were often bound by patriarchal constructions of “motherhood” and “wifehood”. In contrast, men farmers were able to prioritise personal consumption desires more often, especially alcohol and extra marital relations. Furthermore, other women farmers were able to negotiate with their husbands and/ or male relatives about the use of the income generated from their petty trade. Likewise, those men farmers who were keen on development were able to plan for their income to start new agricultural investments while drawing on the income of their wives for their households’ consumption.

There were further structural limits to women farmers’ freedom evidenced in their inability to sever asymmetrical ties with men. These structural constraints included both, the local division of labour, which made each member of a society depend on the other, and patriarchal customs that made it difficult for women to own and control productive resources such as land, livestock, and agricultural equipment. Even though there were some changes in the laws of ownership, in general, still only men inherited land and there was no straight system of land purchase. In sum, most rural women farmers depended on men for their principal resources of production; petty trade did not remunerate them enough to supplant agriculture as the main source of food.

⁸⁴⁷ Ikeno, ‘Tanzanian Agriculture under the Structural Adjustment Programmes: With Special Reference to Two Villages in Kilimanjaro Region’.

6 Conclusion

This dissertation has examined historical negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania from 1885 to 2000. It has revealed that the dynamics and development of women farmers' prominence and reputation in the region were a result of negotiated processes between government officials, women and men farmers, pre-colonial chiefs, colonial institutions, postcolonial institutions, local actors of various degrees of influence who changed with time, and governmental and non-governmental organisations.

The research has indicated that the negotiations concerning women farmers' labour were dynamic. They transformed over time due to changes or modifications in political institutions and social economic strategies. For example, during the pre-colonial time, the research concentrated on studying the negotiations of the situation of women farmers and on the viability of local rules and regulations that controlled and administered the era. Pre-colonial political institutions and local actors had their own ways of administering, among many sectors, the agricultural sector. The era was characterised by such features as the organisation of agricultural activities, the division of labour among different participants in the communities, the contribution of labour power in public works, and the payment of tributes. Moreover, the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the region involved women's participation in various activities, including burials, initiations, marriages, and other ceremonial events. Women farmers on their side negotiated their labour power through socially and politically constructed ways in their respective communities. They challenged ways and techniques that they deemed insignificant and instead accepted those which fitted their social economic settings. In most cases, political institutions, powerful local classes, and local actors incorporated views and demands of women farmers in the administration procedures and the organisation of agriculture.

This research is important not only because it locates the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the context of Tanzanian history, but also because it takes it to the centre of the historical narrative. Although a significant number of historical studies have been carried out on gender, agriculture, state, or labour, the historical study of the negotiations concerning women farmers' labour among and between multiple social actors remained a significant gap in Tanzania and in the Southern Highlands in particular. Various scholars have studied women farmers'

participation in agriculture and other socioeconomic settings in Africa, particularly in Tanzania. However, understanding how multiple socioeconomic and political actors, male and female farmers negotiated the women farmers' labour is a significant historical inquiry, on which this current study has attempted to focus.

The study has further shown that the historical dynamics in the negotiations for women farmers' labour in various historical periods is not a result of the planning and creations of political administrators alone, but also the result of a relational interaction of various social actors, including the women farmers themselves. Through women farmers' resistances to various detrimental political institutions, arrangements, and demands to incorporate their agricultural needs in the social, economic, and political systems, they were part of the negotiations that shaped the development of their social role within the agricultural process and at local, regional and national levels. For this reason, women farmers were not passive agents but active and important participants in their own economic and social development. Women farmers in collaboration and in conflict with pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial officials, powerful local classes, and men in the households, shaped the dynamics of their labour powers and agricultural outputs.

This research has also analysed various historical ways that women farmers used to negotiate their labour power with society in order to access and use different types of land and land-use in the Southern Highlands. The distribution of land in the region is historically based on patriarchal arrangements. The access to land allowed the practice of different local farming systems. Women farmers conducted local techniques to maintain soil fertility and food security. Their negotiations contributed to the appropriate decision making at family, clan, and village levels. Their participation brought significant changes and development of the local rules and regulations that existed to control land, farming, harvest storage and distribution of community resources. These changes further led to the development of alternative strategies in the negotiations and operation of agricultural, and other socioeconomic activities. Mama N.N. of Ilela village explained the way she negotiated with the family of her husband concerning the use of house storage of sweet potatoes instead of the use of ground storage whereby the sweet potatoes were buried in the ground which led to the loss of taste. Although initially, the family

rejected the new style, eventually they changed the storage system following the advice of a new wife to their family.⁸⁴⁸

Women farmers' negotiations with foreign people like the Arabs, Swahili traders, travellers, explorers, and missionaries were also analysed. Women farmers participated in the Arab slave trading system and Swahili trading arrangements, and they worked in the mission stations in different ways. They laboured as workers at new stations and trading centres regulated and controlled by these new comers in their communities. Sometimes, they travelled to distant areas to help in the establishment and settling of these foreigners. The study has shown how women farmers negotiated within these alien cultural environments, and how they learned and accommodated themselves, socially, culturally, and economically. All these events were carried out through negotiations among women farmers, and between them and other groups of society and the institutions.

In addition, this dissertation has shown that various actors, including women farmers, state representatives, and members of society at the local level had their own agenda that motivated them to participate in the negotiation of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands. The agenda of women farmers were to defend their labour power, their agricultural products, and other products that they made through off-farm activities. Women farmers were engaged in development activities not only for the benefit of their households, but also for their respective communities as a whole. They negotiated with various social, economic, and political actors like leaders at their local communities, traders, artisans, intermediaries, healers, and hired workers. The agenda of local chiefs was to cement their economic and political positions as local authorities in the rural areas through various fundamental changes of the political conditions and power relations. In pre-colonial times, among various activities, they maintained their leadership through negotiations and acquisition of agricultural tributes and other amenities produced by women farmers. Their mediating role between women and men farmers and colonial administrators was part of their effort to consolidate their prominent position as local representatives of farmers and the colonial government at the same time during the colonial era.

⁸⁴⁸ Interview with mama N.N. of Illela village on 08 December 2014.

The agenda of powerful local classes like iron owners, artisans, traders, and fishermen was to cement their economic and political powers by negotiating with women farmers either to exchange with agricultural products or with women farmers' labour. The agenda of the nation state, that is, colonial and postcolonial state, was to negotiate with women farmers in order to make them produce not only for their households and local communities but also to make them produce a surplus to feed workers in the colonial migrant economy, urban areas and other non-farming sectors. The colonial state further wanted farmers for tax revenue, labour power for communal works, plantation and other colonial work schemes. Indeed, the system of colonialism increased inequalities among Africans by creating stable incomes for civil servants such as administrators, policemen, soldiers, teachers, nurses, clerks, and dressers. These employees enjoyed expanded opportunities of livelihood and had a better chance of securing food crops produced by women farmers because of their higher incomes.

On the other hand, colonialism constrained the economic opportunities of women and men farmers' households who lacked stable incomes. They were burdened with taxes, and lost manpower through labour migration and thus were limited to their ability to negotiate the basic needs from other production sectors.

Colonial imposition of western agricultural techniques did not dilute or displace an African understanding and implementation of agriculture. Women farmers resisted various new colonial agricultural techniques and relied on their local ways of doing agriculture which, to them, preserved and sometimes increased their agricultural output. They also resisted various colonial arrangements like taxation, public works, and the use of expensive colonial machines. Women farmers were able to negotiate with colonial rulers, and finally maintained their ways of agricultural management with slight changes. These facilitated the strength and development of their socioeconomic ventures.

Women farmers continued the negotiations with multiple social, economic, and political actors during the *Ujamaa* Village Policy (UVP) which was established in the Arusha Declaration in 1967. The UVP was directly connected to agricultural activities through communal farming. In this case, women farmers bore the greater share of the costs of resettlement and were the main

producers during the implementation of the UVP. Women farmers' negotiation was constrained by various elements of the policy. The land was mostly given to households' heads who were overwhelmingly men. Women had no rights to inherit land and were sometimes dispossessed by their male heirs. They also faced the problem of labour. Women farmers could not hire labour as compared to men when dealing with communal farming. The negotiations between women farmers, local leaders, government agricultural employees, and bureaucrats, centred around the distribution of communal land, agricultural inputs and outputs, and the distribution of money from the sale of the agricultural output to the participating households.

The practical impact of *Ujamaa* on women farmers has deviated substantially from its ideal. Women farmers had to negotiate with government bureaucrats in their respective local community in the administration of the agriculture. This was not beneficial to women farmers as it was conducted under the local male domination of the project. The implementation of *Ujamaa* did not follow the principle set up by the Arusha Declaration that advocated local initiatives and implementations. Often, local-bureaucracy implemented *Ujamaa* Policy in ways that undermined its credibility as an institution at the grass-roots level. Thus, women farmers negotiated their labour power in line with the rules and principles regulated and controlled by the government bureaucrats who were overwhelmingly men.

During the "Stabilisation" and "Structural Adjustment" policies, women farmers negotiated their labour power with internal and external agencies, primarily the World Bank and the IMF. The two international organisations dominated the negotiations through a set of objectives. In most cases, women farmers could not meet their needs within the framework set by these objectives, which did not clearly specify ways which furthered women's interests. Despite women farmers' eminent role in the production of food crops, they had to make more efforts to survive and develop during this era. Women farmers had to negotiate with various institutions concerning the limit of land ownership, credit provision, extension services, and various other forms of training. They negotiated with local, national and international agencies to access social and economic amenities. The agencies included both governmental and non-governmental bodies. They negotiated with these institutions through the creation and delivery of social and income-generating services to rural women farmers. Women farmers, through various associations,

collaborated with different projects at the local level to solve their local needs. They invented and created various off-farm activities in order to get enough resources to feed themselves and their families, and to generate some income to purchase other necessary commodities, which they did not produce. Through these efforts, women farmers were capable of generating economic security and gaining control over their lives.

The study has analysed the impact of gender differences in the negotiations of women farmers' labour in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The study followed the guidelines of two gender frameworks, namely gender roles, and gender relations. The use of these frameworks has revealed that gender differences in the negotiations of socioeconomic and political resources' management and distribution are a long-term historical phenomenon. The ownership and rights of women farmers' labour and agricultural resources and others are historically based on gender. This has played an important role in the negotiations of women farmers' labour and has often rendered policy changes futile and less effective, resulting in unintended outcomes, in particular because historical patterns were hardly integrated and paid attention to during policy making and implementation.

Investment in land, for example in the commercial farming of trees for timber production, was mainly owned and controlled by men even though women farmers played a significant role in the household's decision making, and labour power provision. Likewise, the intra-household land distribution is historically based on gender biased traditions of inheritance through the patriarchal system. This means that the land is historically distributed to the male children through their fathers or guardians, and the system derives legitimacy by referring to forefathers and male ancestors. Women or daughters were not entitled to the inheritance of land as it was believed that they would get land from their husbands' families when married. Thus, the negotiations of women farmers were weak from the fact that their limitations to the land ownership compromised their bargaining power and socioeconomic position in their households and communities.

The history of women farmers in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania has been characterised by continuities and changes. The period from 1885 to 2000 has been featured by several lasting

patterns and deep changes. One of the continuities that straddled throughout the researched period is the fact that women farmers have been the main producers of food crops at the families and community level. They have remained the ones playing a major role in the construction and reconstruction of the history of agriculture influenced by various dynamics in Tanzania. Their activities did not simply respond to the households' food and exchange needs, but they also shaped, and broadened the socioeconomic and political richness of the society as a whole. The agricultural sector in Tanzania has been serving as the backbone of the nation's economy, and women farmers have been playing significant roles in it. Women's lives and associations reflect what was going on in the agriculture sector over time. Women have been able to deliver a kind of power that is different from men's power in the control of agricultural activities. Men farmers have provided a notable hand in the agricultural setting in terms of security, land provisions, and sometimes, direct participation in farm activities. However, women farmers have carried out the work devotedly in various capacities and changes. The most important change that the research has explored is that women farmers have adopted technological changes throughout the period under study. They were not passive, but rather kept on actively adapting to new ways of agricultural development. For example, they adapted to new knowledge, associations, and socioeconomic and political institutions for their own development and that of the community over time. Furthermore, women farmers played other roles in their respective communities, such as healing, socio-political leadership, and provision of local education.

Women farmers' relationship with the state and society has been determined by their contribution to the public. Throughout the era under study, women farmers have been contributing to the public's socioeconomic and political capacities, depending on a kind of state in power. Historical processes and economic necessities have brought changes that had been very consequential in women's lives. Socioeconomic problems have opened up possibilities for women to negotiate their participation in various works, including previously male dominated spheres. Women farmers' participation in agriculture is continuously being negotiated through individual and social perceptions and actions. However, women farmers' power to negotiate was hindered by various factors, including land policies, education, and financial deficits. These had been playing different roles in limiting women's power in negotiation. Consequently, the majority of women farmers belonged to the poorest section of the population in Tanzania.

Thus, this research concludes that the historical dynamics of women farmers' labour power in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania is a historically negotiated process between and among women farmers, the state, various local actors, and male farmers.

7 Oral Collection

Oral Interviews

Interviews: Key Informants from Makete District: Iwawa, Isapulano, Luvulunge, Ivilikinge, and Ivalalila Villages, from February to March 2015

Bishop S.M. 10 February 2015, 11 February 2015, and 29 March 2015

Mama M.S. 15 February 2015, and 21 February 2015

Mama A.C. 12 February 2015, and 16 February 2015

Baba R.C. 14 February 2015, and 03 March 2015

Mama S.S. 13 February 2015 and 20 February 2015

Baba Z.S. 16 February 2015, and 04 March 2015

Baba F.C. 17 February 2015, and 02 March 2015

Mama A.C. 19 February 2015, and 19 February 2015

Baba D.S. 15 February 2015, and 20 February 2015

Mama H.L. 23 February 2015, and 12 March 2015

Baba F.U. 18 February 2015, and 13 March 2015

Mama A.N. 19 February 2015, and 14 March 2015

Baba B.M. 15 March 2015

Mama F.K. 15 February 2015, and 16 March 2015

Mama N.M. 10 March 2015, and 17 March 2015

Mchungaji S.D. 11 February 2015, and 28 March 2015

Mama E.L. 12 March 2015, and 13 March 2015

Baba N.W. 14 March 2015, and 15 March 2015

Mama M.B. 16 March 2015, and 17 March 2015

Interviews: Key Informants from Mbinga District: Mkumbi, Longa, Kilindi, Matumba, and Kipegei Villages, from October to November 2014

Mama K.S. 10 October 2014, 11 October 2014, and 06 November 2014

Mama N.K. 0 .November 2014, 02 November 2014, and 05 November 2014

Mama T.N. 05 November 2014, and 08 November 2014

Mama L.M. 03 November 2014, and 06 November 2014

Mama K.K. 07 November 2014

Mama F.M. 12 October 2015, and 13 October 2014
Baba N.K. 07 November 2014, and 09 November 2014
Mama K.K. 20 October 2014, 21 October 2014, and 20 November 2014
Mama H.K. 18 October 2014
Mama M.K. 12 October 2014, 14 October 2014, 15 October 2014, and 20 November 2014
Mama C.N. 15 October 2014, 21 October 2014, 23 October 2014, 01 November 2014, 02 November 2014, and 21 November 2014
Baba F.N. 16 October 2014
Mama T.K. 17 October 2014
Mama T.N. 15 October 2014, and 08 November 2014
Mama L.T. 14 October 2014, and 09 November 2014
Baba K.L. 13.October 2014, 11 November.2014
Baba P.P. 12.November. 2014, 15 November 2014, and 16 November 2014
Baba K.P. 13 November 2014, and 14 November 2014

Interviews: Key Informants from Mbozi District: Iyula, Ilela, Igale, Ipyana, and Ilomba Villages, from December 2014 to January 2015

Mama T.M. 07 December 2014, and 11 January 2015
Mama N.N. 08 December 2014, 13 January 2015
Baba L.C. 09 December 2014, and 21 January 2015
Baba B.M. 10 December 2014, and 19 January 2015
Baba M.M. 11 December 2014, and 19 January 2015
Baba H.H. 15 December 2014, and 20 January 2015
Baba Shula 16 December 2014, and 17 January 2015
Mama T.M. 20 January 2015
Mama T.N. 09 December 2014, and 23 January 2015
Mama M.M. 12 December 2014, and 24 January 2015
Mama B.M. 18 December 2014, and 24 January 2015
Mama G.N. 19 December 2014, and 15 January 2015
Mama K.D. 20 December 2014, and 17 January 2015
Baba K.N. 07 December 2014

Focus Group Discussions

Makete District, from February to March 2015

Iwawa village 22 February 2015

Luvulunge village 24 February 2015

Ivilikinge village 26 February 2015

Isapulano village 20 March 2015

Ivalalina village 22 March 2015

Mbinga District, from October to November 2014

Mkumbi village 20 October 2014

Longa village 22 October 2014

Matumba village 24 October 2014

Kilindi village 26 October 2014

Kipegei village. 28 October 2014

Mbozi District, from November to December 2014

Iyula village 13 December 2014

Ilela village 17 December 2015

Igale village 12 January 2015

Ipyana village 14 January 2015

Ilomba village 16 January 2015

8 Archival Materials

- Chronik von Kigonsera 1898–1915, St Otilien Archive.
- Peramiho Chronik Notizen 1898–1932, St Otilien Archive
- Peramiho Chronik Notizen 1962–1966, St Otilien Archive
- Religiose Anschauungen und Gebräuche der Heiden in unserer Ostafrikanische Ungoni-missen, St Otilien Archive
- TNA, File No. E.1/30, Headmaster of Tukuyu Government Primary School to District Commissioner, 02 March 1956
- TNA, File No E.1/30/60, African School Supervisor of Tukuyu to the Headmistress of Rutengano Girls' School, 22 February 1956
- TNA, Ufipa District Book Vol. II & III, Note on Kimalaunga.
- TNA, File No. Lab.12/40 and No. Mb/ 389, Forced Labour.
- TNA, Njombe District, District Officer's Report, 1924–1937.
- TNA, File No. 23/1/32, Southern Highlands Province
- TNA, Songea District Book Vol. II.
- Archivo Padri Bianchi, Notes on Rukwa, Roma, 1908.
- TNA, Ufipa District Book, Vol. III, 1921.
- TNA, File No. 11969/1/85, Young to Ngara, 1931.
- TNA, File No. 33/A/3/13/615, Agricultural Assistant, Tukuyu to Mbeya.
- TNA, Eustace to District Agricultural Officer Tukuyu, 1934.
- TNA, File No. 176/47/11/244, Rungwe Cooperative Union, First Annual Report.
- TNA, File No. 77/2/19/68, Tukuyu Monthly Agricultural report.
- TNA, File No. 18 L6/12/187, P.H. Johnson DC to Priest Catholic Mission Kyela, 23 August 1956.
- TNA, District Officer's Report, Njombe District 1924–1937.
- TNA, File No. "MBZ"2, Duka la Ushirika la walaji Mbozi.
- TNA, File No. 67566 CW.1/8, Vijiji vya Ujamaa.

TNA, File No. A3/1.D.O.1/178, Orodha ya Mabwana Shamba Mkoa wa Mbeya

TNA, File No. 063/1Cs8/98, Iyula/Ruanda Coffee Growers Cooperative Society Ltd

TNA, File No. R3/3D.0.1/184, Farmers Training Centre

TNA, Songea District Book, MF 38, 40; Handing and taking over Ungoni-Umatengo, 1926–1964

TNA, Njombe District Book, MF 21, 23; Laws, Manners, and Customs

TNA, Tribe Micro Films, Nyakyusa MF 23, 28; Nyasa MF 50; Nyiha MF 26; Pangwa MF 21, 23, Bena MF 17, 21, 23; Hehe MF 15, 21, 23; Kinga MF 21, 23; Matengo MF38; Ndendeule MF 38; Ngoni MF 17, 36, 38, 44

TNA, File No. LAB.12/55, Southern Highlands Trade Council

TNA, File No. C5.8/9, Duka la Ushirika la walaji Mbozi Bylaws

TNA, File No. C8.8/98, Iyula Coffee Growers

TNA, File. No. CW.1/8 Vijiji vya Ujamaa

TNA, File No. CW.1/16, Maps and Plan (standard drawings)

TNA, File No. RDD.13/16, Judicial court work Distribution

TNA, File No. RDD.13/118, District Books

TNA, File No. D.O.1/ 178/1 and 2, Agricultural policies and instructions

TNA, File No. D.O.1/184, Annual reports

TNA, File No. AGR.1/57 District Agricultural Notes

TNA, File No. D.30/12, Five-year development plans

TNA, File No. D.30/27, Development Vijiji vya Ujamaa

TNA, File No. D.30/91, Iyula Farm service central project

TNA, File No. 2/111/v.1, Makete Rehabilitation Centre Minutes

TNA, File No. 4/206, Five-year development plan general

TNA, File No. AR.58, Monthly report in agriculture

TNA, File No. MDC/A.30/7, Cultivation correspondences

TNA, File No. MDC/C.30/19, Control of Crops and movement permits

TNA, File No. MDC/C.30/6, Mafunzo ya kina mama

TNA, File No. MDC/C.50/7, Kamati ya nguvukazi

TNA, File No. MDC/S.20/23, Kitengo cha wanawake idara ya utumishi

TNA, File No. MDC/D.30/192, Isangati Agriculture

TNA, File No. LAB.12/23, Iringa and Njombe districts general corespondense

TNA, File No. LAB: 12/40, Forced labour

TNA, File No. C5.8/14, Mbozi district plans

TNA, File No. C8.8/21, Duka la ushirika la Ujamaa la wanawake Tukuyu

TNA, File No. CS.8/33, Maendeleo ya wanawake na watoto

TNA, File No. CS.8/95, Unyiha Coffeee growers

TNA, File No. C.20/21, Development Azimio la Arusha, 1967–72

TNA, File No. C.30/1, Development Famers Cooperative Society General, 1966–71

TNA, File No. C.30/1 Cooperative development, policy and instruction, 1954–71

TNA, File No. D3/7, Ubena Development, 1953–58

TNA, File No. D3/8, Ukinga Development, 1952–67

TNA, File No. R.30/19, Monthly report, agriculture and advisory service, Iringa region, 1970–71

TNA, File No.30/19, Community development and National Culture-monthly, 1968–70

TNA, File No. A.20/32 Experimental farms, 1959–68

TNA, Fle No. A.20/37, Village settlement schemes, 1963–69

TNA, File No. A.20/37/ Vijiji vya Ujamaa, 1971

TNA, File No. D.3/1, Agriculture development policy and instructions, 1949–63

TNA, File No. A.30/1, Agriculture development policy and instructions, 1964–72

TNA, File No. V.10/19, Grazing rights, 1942–71

TNA, File No. A.4/744, Lupalilo Farmers Cooperative Society Ltd, 1961–72

TNA, File No. A.23/1599, Iwawa Farmers Cooperative Society Ltd, 1965–72

TNA, File No. A.25/1625, Upangwa Farmers Cooperative Society Ltd, 1966–72

9 Bibliography

- Ade Ajayi, Jacob Festus. *General History of Africa: Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s*. Paris: UNESCO, 1989.
- Adeyemi, Michael Bamidele, and Augustus Adeleke Adeyinka. 'Some Key Issues in African Traditional Education'. *McGill Journal of Education/Revue Des Sciences de L'éducation de McGill* 37, No. 002 (2002).
- Alila, Patrick O., and Poul O. Pedersen, eds. *Negotiating Social Space: East African Microenterprises*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2001.
- Alison Redmayne. 'Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars'. *The Journal of African History* 9, No. 3 (1 January 1968): 409–36.
- Allman, Jean Marie, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds. *Women in African Colonial Histories*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.
- Alpers, Edward A. 'The Coast and the Development of the Caravan Trade'. *A History of Tanzania*, 1969, 35–56.
- Alpers, Edward A. 'Trade, State, and Society among the Yao in the Nineteenth Century'. *The Journal of African History* 10, No. 3 (1969): 405–20.
- Andersen, Cecilia. 'Practical Guidelines'. *Gender and Development: A Practical Guide*, Routledge, London, 1992: 165–97.
- Arora-Jonsson, Seema. *Gender, Development and Environmental Governance: Theorizing Connections*. Vol. 33. Routledge, 2013.
- Asare, Benjamin. 'Women in Commercial Agriculture: The Cocoa Economy of Southern Ghana'. *Women and Sustainable Development in Africa*, 1995: 101–12.
- Austen, Ralph A. *Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889–1939*. Yale University Press, 1968.

- Babbie, Earl. *What Is Society?: Reflections on Freedom, Order, and Change*. SAGE Publications, 1993.
- Balandier, Georges. 'Political Anthropology', 1967.
- Banaji, Jairus. 'Backward Capitalism, Primitive Accumulation and Modes of Production'. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 3, No. 4 (1973): 393–413.
- Basehart, Harry W. 'Traditional History and Political Change among the Matengo of Tanzania'. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 42, No. 2 (1 April 1972): 87–97.
- Baumgartner, T. A., C. H. Strong, and L. D. Hensley. *Conducting and Reading Research in Health and Human Performance with Power Web: Health and Human Performance*. New York: McGraw-Hill Humanities, 2002.
- Becker, Felicitas. 'Traders, "Big Men" and Prophets: Political Continuity and Crisis in the Maji Maji Rebellion in Southeast Tanzania'. *The Journal of African History* 45, No. 1 (2004): 1–22.
- Beneria, Lourdes, and Gita Sen. 'Accumulation, Reproduction, and Women's Role in Economic Development: Boserup Revisited'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7, No. 2 (1981): 279–98.
- Berg-Schlosser, Dirk. 'African Political Systems Typology and Performance'. *Comparative Political Studies* 17, No. 1 (1984): 121–51.
- Berry, Len, and Janet Townshend. 'Soil Conservation Policies in the Semi-Arid Regions of Tanzania, A Historical Perspective'. *Geografiska Annaler. Series A. Physical Geography*, 1972, 241–53.
- Bettelheim, Charles. 'Theoretical Comments'. A. Emmanuel, 1972: 271–322.
- Bienefeld, Manfred. 'Structural Adjustment and Tanzania's Peasantry: Assessing the Likely Long-Term Impact', 1995.
- Bienen, Henry. *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development*. Princeton, 1967.

- Bisanda, Shekania, W.M. Mwangi, Hugo Verkuijl, Alfred J. Moshi, and Ponniah Anandajayasekeram. *Adoption of Maize Production Technologies in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania*. CIMMYT, 1998.
- Bjerk, Paul. 'The Allocation of Land as a Historical Discourse of Political Authority in Tanzania'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46, No. 2 (2013): 255–82.
- Bloor, Michael, and Fiona Wood. *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts*. Sage, 2006.
- Boesen, Jannik. 'On Peasantry and the "Modes of Production" Debata'. *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 15/16 (1979): 154–61.
- Bogdan, Robert, and S. Biklen. *'Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Practice'*. Alien and Bacon, Inc, New York, 1982.
- Bogdan, Robert, and Sari Knopp Biklen. *Qualitative Research for Education*. Allyn & Bacon Boston, 1997.
- . *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods*. New Delhi, n.d.
- Boserup, Ester. *Women's Role in Economic Development*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970.
- Boulding, Elise. *Handbook of International Data on Women*. Sage Publications, 1976.
- Boyce, Carolyn, and Palena Neale. 'Conducting in-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting in-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input', 2006.
- Brain, James L. 'Down to Gentility: Women in Tanzania'. *Sex Roles* 4, No. 5 (1978): 695–715.
- . 'Down to Gentility: Women in Tanzania'. *Sex Roles* 4, No. 5 (1978): 695–715.
- Brock, Beverley. 'Environmental Change in Tanganyika'. *Man*, 1965: 155–155.

- _____. 'Iron Working amongst the Nyiha of Southwestern Tanganyika'. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 1965: 97–100.
- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy. 'A Century of Food Supply in Dar es Salaam: From Sumptuous Suppers for the Sultan to Maize Meal for a Million', 1987.
- _____. 'The Proletarianization of Women in Tanzania'. *Review of African Political Economy* 7, No. 17 (1980): 4–27.
- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy, Mary Kirimbai, and others. 'Subsistence or beyond? Money Earning Activities of Women in Rural Tanzania', 1980.
- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy, and Marjorie J. Mbilinyi. *The Changing Role of Tanzanian Women in Production*, Publisher not identified, 1980.
- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy, and others. *Liberalizing Tanzania's Food Trade: Public and Private Faces of Urban Marketing Policy 1939–88*. Mkuki na Nyota, Dar es Salaam, 1993.
- Bryman, Alan, and others. *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. Routledge, 1988.
- Bryson, Judy C. 'Women and Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Development (an Exploratory Study)'. *The Journal of Development Studies* 17, No. 3 (1981): 29–46.
- Burgess, Robert. 'Conversations with a Purpose: The Ethnographic Interview in Educational Research'. *Studies in Qualitative Methodology* 1, No. 1 (1988): 137–55.
- Busia, Kofi Abrefa. *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti*. International African Institute, 1951.
- Busia, Kofi Abrefa, and K. A. Busia. *Africa in Search of Democracy*. Routledge and Kegan Paul London, 1967.
- Campbell, Gwyn. 'The East African Slave Trade, 1861–1895: The "Southern" Complex'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 22, No. 1 (1989): 1–26.

- Carney, Judith, and Michael Watts. 'Disciplining Women? Rice, Mechanization, and the Evolution of Mandinka Gender Relations in Senegambia'. *Signs* 16, No. 4 (1991): 651–81.
- Chabal, Patrick, Gary Feinman, and Peter Skalník. 'Beyond States and Empires: Chiefdoms and Informal Politics'. *Grinin et al. 2004 (2004)*: 46–60.
- Chachage, Chambi Seithy, and Chachage Seithy L. Chachage. 'Nyerere: Nationalism and Post-Colonial Developmentalism'. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 2004: 158–79.
- Chittick, Neville. 'The "Shirazi" Colonization of East Africa'. *The Journal of African History* 6, No. 3 (1965): 275–94.
- Connelly, M. Patricia. 'Gender Matters: Global Restructuring and Adjustment'. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 3, No. 1 (1996): 12–31.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine, and Paul E. Lovejoy. 'The Workers of Trade in Precolonial Africa'. *The Workers of African Trade*, 1985: 9–24.
- Cornwall, Andrea. 'Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development'. *World Development* 31, No. 8 (2003): 1325–42.
- Cotterill, H. B. 'On the Nyassa and a Journey from the North End to Zanzibar'. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 22, No. 4 (1877): 233–51.
- Coulson, Andrew. 'Agricultural Policies in Mainland Tanzania'. *Review of African Political Economy* 4, No. 10 (1977): 74–100.
- . 'Peasants and Bureaucrats'. *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 3 (1975): 53–58.
- Cranenburgh, O. van, and others. *The Widening Gyre: The Tanzanian One-Party State and Policy towards Rural Cooperatives*. Eburon, 1990.
- Croll, Elisabeth J. 'Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Tanzania: Case Studies'. *Signs* 7, No. 2 (1981): 375–99.

- . ‘Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Tanzania: Socialist Development Experiences’. *Signs* 7, No. 2 (1981): 361–74.
- Cromwell, E. M. Bagachwa, F. Shechambo, H. Sosovele, K. Kulindwa, and A. Naho. ‘Case Study for Tanzania’. *Structural Adjustment, the Environment, and Sustainable Development*, 1996: 107–27.
- Cross, David Kerr. ‘Notes on the Country Lying between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika’. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, New Monthly Series*, 13, No. 2 (1 February 1891): 86–99.
- . ‘Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyassa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika’. *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 6, No. 6 (1890): 281–93.
- Culwick, Arthur Theodore, G. M. Culwick, and Towegale Kiwanga. *Ubena of the Rivers*. G. Allen & Unwin, Limited, 1935.
- Culwick, Geraldine Mary. ‘Pottery Among the Wabena of Ulanga, Tanganyika Territory’. *Man*, 1935: 165–69.
- Culwick, G. M., and A. T. Culwick. ‘The Functions of Bride-Wealth in Ubena of the Rivers’. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 7, No. 2 (1 April 1934): 140–59.
- Culwick, G. M., and A. T. Culwick. ‘What the Wabena Think of Indirect Rule’. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 36, No. 143 (1937): 176–93.
- Dahl, Robert. *Polyarchy. New Heaven*. CT: Yale University, 1971.
- Daley, Elizabeth. ‘Land and Social Change in a Tanzanian Village 1: Kinyanambo, 1920s–1990’. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 5, No. 3 (2005): 363–404.
- Davidson, Basil. *The African Slave Trade*. Boston, 1980.
- Deutsch, Jan-Georg. *Emancipation without Abolition in German East Africa, ca. 1884–1914*. James Currey Publishers, 2006.

- Doerr, Lambert. *Peramiho: In the Service of the Missionary Church*. Benedictine Publications, 1998.
- Doss, Cheryl R. 'Twenty-Five Years of Research on Women Farmers in Africa: Lessons and Implications for Agricultural Research institutions – with an Annotated Bibliography', 1999.
- Earth, Barbara. 'Structural Adjustment and Its Effects on Health and Education in Tanzania'. *Canadian Woman Studies* 16, No. 3 (1996): 122.
- Ebner, Elzear. *The History of the Wangoni and Their Origin in the South African Bantu Tribes. Peramiho [Tanzania]: Benedictine Publications Ndanda, 1987.*
- Edge, O. T., J. M. R. Temoka, and K. L. Haule. 'Traditional Forms of Soil Fertility Maintenance'. *Soil Fertility Research for Bean Cropping Systems in Africa*, 1988: 7–29.
- Edwards, David. 'Settlement, Livelihoods and Identity in Southern Tanzania: A Comparative History of the Ngoni and Ndendeuli', 2003.
- Edwards, David M. 'Matetereka: Tanzania's Last Ujamaa Village', 1998.
- Ellis, Frank. *Agricultural Policies in Developing Countries*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- . 'Agricultural Price Policy in Tanzania'. *World Development* 10, No. 4 (1982): 263–83.
- . *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford university press, 2000.
- Elson, Diane, and Nilufer Cagatay. 'The Social Content of Macroeconomic Policies'. *World Development* 28, No. 7 (2000): 1347–64.
- Elson, Diane, and others. 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues'. University of Manchester, School of Economics, International Development Centre, 1988.

- Elton, James Frederick. *Travels and Researches among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern & Central Africa: From the Journals of the Late J. Frederic Elton*. 31. J. Murray, 1879.
- Ergas, Zaki. 'Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail? - Towards a Global Analysis'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 18, No. 3 (1980): 387–410.
- Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan, and Meyer Fortes. *African Political Systems*. Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. '194. Social Character of Bride-Wealth, with Special Reference to the Azande'. *Man* 34 (1934): 172–75.
- Falola, Toyin, and Nana Akua Amponsah. *Women's Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa*. ABC-CLIO, 2012.
- Feierman, Steven. *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Feldman, Rayah. 'Custom and Capitalism: Changes in the Basis of Land Tenure in Ismani, Tanzania'. *The Journal of Development Studies* 10, No. 3–4 (1974): 305–20.
- Finch, Helen, and Jane Lewis. 'Focus Groups'. *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, 2003: 170–98.
- Fleisher, Jeffrey. 'Rituals of Consumption and the Politics of Feasting on the Eastern African Coast, AD 700–1500'. *Journal of World Prehistory* 23, No. 4 (2010): 195–217.
- Floro, Maria Sagrario. 'Market Orientation and the Reconstitution of Women's Role in Philippine Agriculture'. *Review of Radical Political Economics* 23, No. 3–4 (1991): 106–28.

- Floro, Maria S., Annika Tornqvist, Emcet Oktay Tas, and others. 'The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Women's Economic Empowerment'. Swedish International Development Agency Çalışma Metni Serisi, 2009.
- Fortmann, Louise. 'Women's Work in a Communal Setting: The Tanzanian Policy of Ujamaa'. *Women and Work in Africa*, 1982: 191–206.
- Foty, Nadya, and Andriy Nahachewsky. 'The "Local Culture and Diversity on the Prairies" Project'. *Folklorica* 13 (2008).
- Fourshey, Catherine Cymone. "'The Remedy for Hunger Is Bending the Back": Maize and British Agricultural Policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920–1960'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, No. 2 (2008): 223.
- Freyhold, Michaela Von, and John S. Saul. 'Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: Analysis of a Social Experiment', 1981.
- Fuchs, Paul. *Die Wirtschaftliche Erkundung einer Ostafrikanischen Südbahn*. Publisher not identified, 1905.
- Fülleborn, Friedrich. *Das Deutsche Njassa-und Ruwuma-Gebiet*. Reimer, 1906.
- Geiger, Susan. 'Tanganyikan Nationalism as "Women's Work": Life Histories, Collective Biography and Changing Historiography'. *The Journal of African History* 37, No. 3 (1996): 465–78.
- . 'Umoja Wa Wanawake Wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor'. *African Studies Review* 25, No. 2/3 (1982): 45–65.
- . 'Women and African Nationalism'. *Journal of Women's History* 2, No. 1 (1990): 227–44.
- Gewald, Jan-Bart. *Colonial Warfare: Hehe and World War One, the Wars besides Maji Maji in South-Western Tanzania*. 63. African Studies Centre, 2005.

- Ghura, Dhaneshwar, and Michael T. Hadjimichael. 'Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Staff Papers* 43, No. 3 (1996): 605–34.
- Giblin, James L. 'Divided Patriarchs in a Labour Migration Economy: Contextualizing Debate about Family and Gender in Colonial Njombe', 2000.
- Giblin, James Leonard, and Jamie Monson. *Maji Maji: Lifting the Fog of War*. Vol. 20. Brill, 2010.
- Gilbert, Erik. 'Coastal East Africa and the Western Indian Ocean: Long-Distance Trade, Empire, Migration, and Regional Unity, 1750-1970'. *The History Teacher* 36, No. 1 (2002): 7–34.
- Gillman, C. 'South-West Tanganyika Territory'. *The Geographical Journal* 69, No. 2 (1 February 1927): 97–126.
- Gladwin, Christina H. *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers*. University of Florida Press, 1991.
- Graham, James D. 'A Case Study of Migrant Labour in Tanzania'. *African Studies Review* 13, No. 1 (1 April 1970): 23–33.
- Gray, Richard, and David Birmingham. *Pre-Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*. Oxford UP, Nairobi, 1970.
- Green, Erik. 'Indirect Rule and Colonial Intervention: Chiefs and Agrarian Change in Nyasaland, Ca. 1933 to the Early 1950s'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44, No. 2 (2011): 249–74.
- Griffin, Larry J. 'How Is Sociology Informed by History?' *Social Forces* 73, No. 4 (1995): 1245–54.
- Guest, Greg, Arwen Bunce, and Laura Johnson. 'How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability'. *Field Methods* 18, No. 1 (2006): 59–82.

- Gulliver, Pamela H. 'History of the Songea Ngoni'. *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 41 (1955): 16–30.
- . 'The Nyakyusa Labour Migration'. *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 21 (1957): 32–63.
- Gulliver, Paul H et al., 'Labour Migration in a Rural Economy', 1967.
- Gulliver, P. H. 'Political Evolution in the Songea Ngoni Chiefdoms, 1850-1905'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 37, No. 1 (1974): 82–97.
- Gulliver, Philip Hugh. 'A Report on the Migration of African Workers to the South from the Southern Highlands Province, with Special Reference to the Nyakyusa of Rungwe District', 1955.
- Guyer, Jane. 'Female Farming in Anthropology and African History'. *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, 1991: 257–77.
- Guyer, Jane I., Michael L. Burton, Michael R. Dove, Carol Carpenter, Carol R. Ember, Stephen Gudeman, Karen Tranberg Hansen, et al. 'The Multiplication of Labor: Historical Methods in the Study of Gender and Agricultural Change in Modern Africa'. *Current Anthropology* 29, No. 2 (1988): 247–72.
- Gwassa, Gilbert C. K. 'The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania'. *A History of Tanzania*, 1969: 85–122.
- Haapanen, Toni, and others. 'Rural Food System Change in Tanzania during the Post-Ujamaa Era: A Case Study from Western Bagamoyo District'. 2011.
- Hailey, Lord. 'An African Survey Revised', 1957.
- Harlech, Lord. 'British Native Policy and Administration in Tropical Africa'. *South African Institute for International Affairs*, 1941.
- Harper, David J. 'Choosing a Qualitative Research Method', 2011.

- Hatchell, G. W. 'The British Occupation of the South-Western Area of Tanganyika Territory, 1914-1918'. *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 51 (1958): 131–55.
- Havel, Vaclav, and Paul Wilson. 'The Power of the Powerless'. *International Journal of Politics* 15, No. 3/4 (1985): 23–96.
- Havinden, Michael, and David Meredith. *Colonialism and Development: Britain and Its Tropical Colonies, 1850-1960*. Psychology Press, 1993.
- Havnevik, Kjell. *Tanzania: Country Study and Norwegian Aid Review*. Universitetet, Senter for utviklingsstudier, 1988.
- Helleiner, Gerald K. 'Socialism and Economic Development in Tanzania'. *The Journal of Development Studies* 8, No. 2 (1972): 183–204.
- Henderson, W. O. 'The War Economy of German East Africa, 1914-1917'. *The Economic History Review* 13, No. 1/2 (1 January 1943): 104–10.
- Holleman, Johan Frederick. *Chief, Council and Commissioner: Some Problems of Government in Rhodesia*. Publisher unidentified, 1969.
- Honigmann, John J., Mina Davis Caulfield, Simeon W. Chilungu, Raymond Eches, Paul Wald, Anna-Britta Hellbom, Charles Keil, et al. 'The Personal Approach in Cultural Anthropological Research'. *Current Anthropology* 17, No. 2 (1976): 243–61.
- Hoyle, Brian S. 'Clement Gillman, 1882-1946: Biographical Notes on a Pioneer East African Geographer'. *East African Geographical Review* 1965, No. 3 (1965): 1–16.
- Huizer, Gerrit. 'The Ujamaa Village Program in Tanzania: New Forms of Rural Development'. *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)* 8, No. 2 (1973): 183–207.
- Hydén, Göran. *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*. University of California Press, 1980.

- Ibhawoh, Bonny, and J. I. Dibua. 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for Social and Economic Development in Africa'. *African Journal of Political Science* 8, No. 1 (2003): 59–83.
- Ikeno, Jun. 'Tanzanian Agriculture under the Structural Adjustment Programmes: With Special Reference to Two Villages in Kilimanjaro Region'. *African Political Economy in Transition*, 1992: 82–111.
- Iliffe, John. *Africans: The History of a Continent*. 2nd ed., African Studies 108. Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. African Studies Series 25. Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- . *Tanganyika under German Rule 1905-1912*. Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- . 'The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion'. *Journal of African History* 8, No. 3 (1967): 495–512.
- Ingle, Clyde R. 'The Ten-House Cell System in Tanzania: A Consideration of an Emerging Village Institution'. *The Journal of Developing Areas* 6, No. 2 (1972): 211–26.
- Isaacman, Allen. 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa'. *African Studies Review* 33, No. 2 (1 September 1990): 1–120.
- . 'Peasants, Social Protest and Africanists'. *Journal of Social History* 22, No. 4 (1 July 1989): 745–65.
- Isaacman, Allen F., and Barbara Isaacman. *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique: The Zambesi Valley, 1850–1921*. Vol. 18. Univ of California Press, 1976.
- Isaacman, Allen, and Barbara Isaacman. 'The Role of Women in the Liberation of Mozambique'. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 13, No. 2–3 (1984).
- Isaacman, Allen, Michael Stephen, Yussuf Adam, Maria Joao Homen, Eugenio Macamo, and Augustinho Pililao. "'Cotton Is the Mother of Poverty': Peasant Resistance to Forced

- Cotton Production in Mozambique, 1938–961’. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, No. 4 (1980): 581–615.
- Ishumi, Abel G. M. ‘The Place of Education in the Economy’. *International Journal of Educational Development* 3, No. 3 (1983): 337–49.
- Itani, Juichi. ‘Effects of Socio-economic Changes on Cultivation Systems under Customary Land Tenure in Mbozi District, Southerzania’, 2007.
- . ‘Evaluation of an Indigenous Farming Systems in the Matengo Highlands, Tanzania, and Its Sustainability’, 1998.
- Jacob, Abel. ‘Foreign Aid in Agriculture: Introducing Israel’s Land Settlement Scheme to Tanzania’. *African Affairs* 71, No. 283 (1972): 186–94.
- James, Valentine U., and M. James Melanie. ‘The Current and Future Directions for African Women Farmers’. *Women and Sustainable Development in Africa*, PRAEGER, 1995, 15–34.
- Jaquette, Jane, J. Monson, and M. Kalb. ‘Women, Population and Food: An Overview of the Issues’. In *Women as Food Producers in Developing Countries*, Jamie Monson and Marion Kalb (Eds.). Los Angeles: UCLA African Studies Centre, 1985, 1–10.
- Johnson-Odim, Cheryl, and Margaret Strobel. ‘Conceptualizing the History of Women in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East’. *Journal of Women’s History* 1, No. 1 (1989): 31–62.
- Kabeer, Naila. *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso, 1994.
- . *Triple Roles, Gender Roles, Social Relations: The Political Sub-Text of Gender Training*. University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, 1992.
- Kabeer, Naila, and Ramya Subrahmanian. *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: Framework and Tools for Gender-Aware Planning*. Institute of Development Studies Brighton, UK, 1996.

- Kaiser, Paul J. 'Structural Adjustment and the Fragile Nation: The Demise of Social Unity in Tanzania'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, No. 2 (1996): 227–37.
- Kalinga, Owen J. M. 'Colonial Rule, Missionaries and Ethnicity in the North Nyasa District, 1891-1938'. *African Studies Review*, 1985: 57–72.
- _____. 'The Establishment and Expansion of the Lambya Kingdom c1600-1750'. *African Studies Review* 21, No. 2 (1 September 1978): 55–66.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. 'Bargaining with Patriarchy'. *Gender and Society* 2, No. 3 (1988): 274–90.
- Kanesathasan, Anjala. 'Cultivating Women's Participation: Strategies for Gender-Responsive Agriculture Programming', 2013.
- Kangalawe, Richard Y. M., James G. Lyimo, and A. A. Komba. 'Local Knowledge and Its Role in Sustainable Agriculture in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: A Case of the Matengo Pit Cultivation System of Mbinga District'. *Sustainable Development and the Environment in Tanzania: Issues, Experiences and Policy Responses*, 2006: 99–116.
- Kato, Masahiko. 'Intensive Cultivation and Environment Use among the Matengo in Tanzania', 2001.
- Kayombo, R., J. Ellis-Jones, and H. L. Martin. 'Indigenous Conservation Tillage System in East Africa with an Example of Their Evaluation from South West Tanzania'. *Conservation Tillage with Animal Traction: A Resource Book of the Animal Traction Network for Eastern and Southern Africa*. ATNESA, Harare, 1999.
- Kecskési, Maria. *Die Matengo in Südwest-Tansania*. Verlag des Staatl. Museums für Völkerkunde, 2007.
- Kikula, Idris S. *Policy Implications on Environment: The Case of Villagisation in Tanzania*. Nordic Africa Institute, 1997.
- Kilian, Darryll, Hazel Fiehn, Jarrod Ball, Mark Howells, Owen Crankshaw, Sharon Lewis, Rudi Pretorius, Donald Gibson, and Caroline Henderson. 'Human Settlements', 2005.

- Kimambo, Isaria. 'The Interior before 1800'. *A History of Tanzania*, Ed. I. Kimambo and A. Temu. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969: 14–33.
- Kimambo, Isaria N. *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare, 1860–1960*. James Currey, 1991.
- Kimambo, Isaria N., and Arnold J. Temu. *A History of Tanzania*. Published for the Historical Association of Tanzania [by] East African Publishing House, 1969.
- Kirsten, Johann, and Kurt Sartorius. 'Linking Agribusiness and Small-Scale Farmers in Developing Countries: Is There a New Role for Contract Farming?' *Development Southern Africa* 19, No. 4 (2002): 503–29.
- Knight, C. Gregory. *Ecology and Change: Rural Modernization in an African Community*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.
- . 'Fieldwork and Local Government: An Example from Tanzania'. *African Studies Review* 12, No. 03 (1969): 265–73.
- Koizumi, Mari. 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective', 2007.
- . 'Comparative Study of Farming Systems in Southwestern Tanzania: Agrarian Adaptation in a Sociohistorical Perspective', 2007.
- Koponen, Juhani. *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*. Vol. 49. Distributor, Tiedekirja, 1994.
- . 'People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania: History and Structures', 1988.
- . 'War, Famine, and Pestilence in Late Precolonial Tanzania: A Case for a Heightened Mortality'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21, No. 4 (1 January 1988): 637–76.

- Korieh, Chima J. 'The Invisible Farmer? Women, Gender, and Colonial Agricultural Policy in the Igbo Region of Nigeria, 1913-1954'. *African Economic History*, No. 29 (2001): 117–62.
- Krueger Richard, A., and Casey Mary Anne. *Focus Groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994.
- Krueger, Richard A., and Mary Anne Casey. *Focus Groups*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000.
- Kulaba, S. M. 'Rural Settlement Policies in Tanzania'. *Habitat International* 6, No. 1 (1982): 15–29.
- Kurosaki, Ryugo. 'Multiple Uses of Small-Scale Valley Bottom Land: Case Study of the Matengo in Southern Tanzania', 2007.
- Lal, Priya. 'Militants, Mothers, and the National Family: Ujamaa, Gender, and Rural Development in Postcolonial Tanzania'. *The Journal of African History* 51, No. 01 (2010): 1–20.
- Larson, Lorne Erling. 'A History of the Mahenge (Ulanga) District, 1860-1957'. University of Dar es Salaam, 1976.
- Leavens, M. Kennedy, and C. Leigh Anderson. 'Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania'. *EPAR Brief* 134 (2011): 1–14.
- LeCompte, M. D., and J. Preissle. 'With Tesch, R. (1993)'. *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research* 2 (81).
- Legard, Robin, Jill Keegan, and Kit Ward. 'In-Depth Interviews'. *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, 2003: 138–69.
- Leonard, Kenneth L. 'African Traditional Healers and Outcome-Contingent Contracts in Health Care'. *Journal of Development Economics* 71, No. 1 (2003): 1–22.
- Levy, Caren. 'The Process of Institutionalising Gender in Policy and Planning: The Web of Institutionalisation', 1996.

- Lewin, Roger. 'Matetereka'. Mbioni: The Monthly Newsletter of Kivukoni College 5, No. 3 (1969): 13–34.
- Lovett, Margot L. 'Gender Relations, Class Formation, and the Colonial State in Africa', 1989.
- Luning, H. A., and J. J. Sterkenburg. An Executive Plan for Agricultural Development in Rungwe District. Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1971.
- Lwoga, C. M. F. 'From Long-Term to Seasonal Labour Migration in Iringa Region, Tanzania: A Legacy of the Colonial Forced Labour System'. Forced Labour and Migration: Patterns of Movement within Africa, 1989: 180–210.
- Maddox, Gregory H. 'Njaa: Food Shortages and Famines in Tanzania between the Wars'. The International Journal of African Historical Studies 19, No. 1 (1986): 17–34.
- Maghimbi, Sam. 'Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production in Tanzania: Reference to Modes of Production in the Old Ugweno State of North-Eastern Tanzania'. Utafiti NS 1 (1994): 20–35.
- Maliyamkono, T. Luta, and Mboya S. D. Bagachwa. The Second Economy in Tanzania. Currey London, 1990.
- Mandala, Elias. 'Peasant Cotton Agriculture, Gender and Inter-Generational Relationships: The Lower Tchiri (Shire) Valley of Malawi, 1906-1940'. African Studies Review 25, No. 2–3 (1982): 27–44.
- Mandelbaum, Maurice. The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp, 1938.
- Mapunda, B. 'Fipa Iron Technologies and Their Implied Social History'. East African Archaeology: Foragers, Potters, Smiths, and Traders, 2003: 71–85.
- Mapunda, Bertram B. B. 'Water, Iron and Soil in a Matrix of Culture: Analysis of the Prosperity of Milansi and Karagwe Kingdoms, Tanzania'. Water, Culture and Identity, n.d., 83.

- Mapunda, O. B., and G. P. Mpangara. *The Maji Maji War in Ungoni*. 1. East African Pub. House, 1969.
- March, Candida, Inés A. Smyth, and Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay. *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*. Oxfam, 1999.
- Maro, P. S. 'Land Settlements and Population Redistribution in the United Republic of Tanzania', 1988.
- Marshall, Martin N. 'Sampling for Qualitative Research'. *Family Practice* 13, No. 6 (1996): 522–26.
- Masebo, Oswald. 'Societs, State, and Infant Welfare: Negotiating Medical Interventions in Colonial Tanzania, 1920–1950'. University of Minnesota, 2010.
- Mattee, A. Z. *Change and Stability in the Indigenous Farming System of the Matengo*, 2007.
- Mattee, A. Z., and others. 'A Review of the Agricultural Sector in Ruvuma Region, Tanzania'. Dar es Salaam, 1991.
- Mbilinyi, Marjorie. 'Agribusiness and Women Peasants in Tanzania'. *Development and Change* 19, No. 4 (1988): 549–83.
- . 'Gender and Structural Adjustment'. In *Paper for Symposium on Gender and Structural Adjustment: Empowerment and Disempowerment*. Dare Salaam, 1994.
- . 'Restructuring Gender and Agriculture in Tanzania'. *African Perspectives on Development: Controversies, Dilemmas and Openings*, 1994: 166–82.
- . 'Struggles over Patriarchal Structural Adjustment in Tanzania'. *Focus on Gender* 1, No. 3 (1993): 26–29.
- Mbilinyi, Marjorie, H. Bernstein, B. Crow, M. Mackintosh, C. Martin, and others. "'Structural Adjustment", Agribusiness and Rural Women in Tanzania'. *Food Question: Profits versus People*, 1990: 111–24.

- Mbilinyi, Marjorie J. 'Big Slavery: Agri Business and the Crisis in Women's Employment in Tanzania', 1991.
- . 'Runaway Wives in Colonial Tanganyika: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage in Rungwe District, 1919-1961'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 16, No. 1 (1988): 1–29.
- . 'The State of Women in Tanzania'. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 6, No. 2 (1972): 371–77.
- . "'This Is an Unforgettable Business": Colonial State Intervention in Urban Tanzania', 1989.
- . 'Women's Resistance In 'customary' marriage: Tanzania's Runaway Wives', 1989.
- Mbilinyi, Marjorie J., and Patricia Mbuguni. 'Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective', 1991.
- Mbonile, M. J. 'Towards Breaking the Vicious Circle of Labour Migration in Tanzania: A Case of Makete District'. *Utafiti* 3, No. 1 (1996): 91–109.
- Mbululo, Yassin, and Fatuma Nyihirani. 'Climate Characteristics over Southern Highlands Tanzania'. *Atmospheric and Climate Sciences* 02, No. 04 (2012): 454–63.
- McCall, Michael, and others. *Environmental and Agricultural Impacts of Tanzania's Villagization Programme*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1985.
- McCauley, Ann P., Sheila West, and Matthew Lynch. 'Household Decisions among the Gogo People of Tanzania: Determining the Roles of Men, Women and the Community in Implementing a Trachoma Prevention Program'. *Social Science & Medicine* 34, No. 7 (1992): 817–24.
- McHenry Jr, Dean E., and others. *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages; the Implementation of a Rural Development Strategy*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies University of California, 1979.

- McKinney, John C. 'Methodology, Procedures, and Techniques in Sociology'. *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change*, New York: Dryden Press, 1957: 228–29.
- Meena, Ruth A. 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania', 1991: 169–90.
- Meena, Ruth, Alice Nkhoma, and Asseny Muro. 'The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programs on Rural Women in Tanzania Dar'. WRDP Research Report 22, 1993.
- Meertens, Bert. 'Agricultural Performance in Tanzania under Structural Adjustment Programs: Is It Really so Positive?' *Agriculture and Human Values* 17, No. 4 (2000): 333–46.
- Mehra, Rekha. 'Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers'. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 73, No. 5 (1991): 1440–47.
- Merensky, Alexander. 'The Konde Country'. *The Geographical Journal* 2, No. 4 (1893): 321–23.
- Mhando, David Gongwe. 'Dynamics of Indigenous Organisation: The Sengu Gathering of the Matengo People of Mbinga District, Tanzania'. *International Journal of Education and Research*, 2014.
- . 'Farmers' Coping Strategies with the Changes of Coffee Marketing System after Economic Liberalisation: The Case of Mbinga District, Tanzania', 2005.
- Mhina, Edward. 'Improving Information on Women's Contribution to Agricultural Production for Gender Sensitive Planning'. Dar es Salaam, FAO, 1997.
- Mkhize, Nhlanhla. 'African Traditions and the Social, Economic and Moral Dimensions of Fatherhood'. *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, 2006: 183–98.
- Mohiddin, Ahmed. 'Ujamaa: A Commentary on President Nyerere's Vision of Tanzanian Society'. *African Affairs* 67, No. 267 (1968): 130–43.
- Monson, Jamie. 'Relocating Maji Maji: The Politics of Alliance and Authority in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1870-1918'. *The Journal of African History* 39, No. 1 (1 January 1998): 95–120.

- Morgan, David L. *Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 16. Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997.
- Moser, Caroline O. N. *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice, and Training*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Moyo, Kerbina. 'Women's Access to Land in Tanzania: The Case of the Makete District'. Kungliga Tekniska högskolan, 2017.
- Msonganzila, Margareth R. 'Women and Co-operatives in Tanzania: Separatism or Integration?' *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1994.
- Mumford, W. Bryant. 'The Hehe-Bena-Sangu People of East Africa'. *American Anthropologist* 36, No. 2 (1934): 203–22.
- Mung'ong'o, Claude Gasper. 'Coming Full Circle: Agriculture, Non-Farm Activities and the Resurgence of Out-migration in Njombe District, Tanzania', 1998.
- Munro, J. Forbes. *Britain in Tropical Africa, 1880–1960: Economic Relationships and Impact*. MacMillan Publishing Company, 1984.
- Murdock, George Peter. 'Social Structure', 1949.
- Mussei, A. N. K., and J. K. Shiyumbi. 'Review of the Studies of the Farming Systems of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1970–1990'. In *Proceedings of an International Conference on Agricultural Research, Training and Technology Transfer in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania: Past Achievements and Future Prospects*, 1992.
- Mwamfupe, Davis. 'Changing Village Land, Labour and Livelihoods: Rungwe and Kyela Districts, Tanzania', 1998.
- Mwanselle, Andrew Adam. 'Economic Analysis of Contract Farming for Small-Scale Tobacco Producers in Songea District, Ruvuma Region'. Sokoine University of agriculture, 2010.
- Mwase, Ngila, and others. 'Economic Liberalization and Privatization of Agricultural Marketing and Input Supply in Tanzania: A Case Study of Cashewnuts', 1998.

- Ndunguru, Eginu. *Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wamatengo*. East African Literature Bureau, 1972.
- Nelms, Linda W., and June Gorski. 'The Role of the African Traditional Healer in Women's Health'. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 17, No. 2 (2006): 184–89.
- Newiger, Niko-laus. 'Village Settlement Schemes: The Problems of Cooperative Farming'. 1968 249 (1968): 273.
- Nhlapo, Thandabantu R. 'African Family and Women's Rights: Friends or Foes'. *The Acta Juridica*, 1991: 135.
- Nyagava, Seth I. 'A History of the Bena to 1980'. PhD Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1988.
- Nyenyembe, Jordan. 'Migrants at the Mining Sector'. PhD Dissertation, University of Wien, 2012.
- Nyerere, Julius Kambarage. *Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism*. Dar es Salaam: Government Press, 1962.
- _____. 'Education for Self-Reliance'. *The Ecumenical Review* 19, No. 4 (1967): 382–403.
- _____. *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- _____. *Freedom and Socialism: Uhuru na Ujamaa; A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965–1967*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- _____. *Ten Years after the Arusha Declaration*. Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1977.
- Ochonu, Moses E. *Colonial Meltdown: Northern Nigeria in the Great Depression*. Ohio University Press, 2009.
- Omari, C. K. 'Tanzania's Emerging Rural Development Policy'. *Africa Today* 21, No. 3 (1974): 9–14.

- Omari, C. K. *Rural Women, Informal Sector and Household Economy in Tanzania*. World Institute for Development Economics Research, 1989.
- . ‘The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes to Rural and Agricultural Development: Some Experiences from Tanzania’. Africa Project Team, Ed.) *Structural Adjustment and African Agriculture*, 1994: 49–70.
- Onwuegbuzie, Anthony J., Wendy B. Dickinson, Nancy L. Leech, and Annmarie G. Zoran. ‘A Qualitative Framework for Collecting and Analyzing Data in Focus Group Research’. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, No. 3 (2009): 1–21.
- Ormston, Rachel, Liz Spencer, Matt Barnard, and Dawn Snape. ‘The Foundations of Qualitative Research’. *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, 2014: 1–25.
- O’Sullivan, Michael, Arathi Rao, Raka Banerjee, Kajal Gulati, and Margaux Vinez. ‘Levelling the Field: Improving Opportunities for Women Farmers in Africa’. Washington; World Bank, 2014.
- Overholt, Catherine, Mary B. Anderson, Kathleen Cloud, and James E. Austin. ‘Gender Roles in Development Projects. A Case Book’, 1984.
- Palacios-Lopez, Amparo, Luc Christiaensen, and Talip Kilic. ‘How Much of the Labor in African Agriculture Is Provided by Women?’ *Food Policy* 67 (2017): 52–63.
- Parpart, Jane L., and Kathleen A Staudt. ‘Women and the State in Africa’, 1989.
- Pasquinelli, Carla. ‘Power without the State’. *Telos* 1986, No. 68 (1986): 79–92.
- Paulme, D. *Women in Black Africa*. London, 1963.
- Perbi, Akosua. ‘Slavery and the Slave Trade in Pre-Colonial Africa’. Paper Delivered on 5th April, 2001.
- Perry, Donna L. ‘Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal’. *Ethnology* 44, No. 3 (2005): 207–26.

- Pesek, Michael. 'The Boma and the Peripatetic Ruler: Mapping Colonial Rule in German East Africa, 1889-1903'. *Western Folklore* 66, No. 3/4 (2007): 233–57.
- Peters, Donna Ambler. 'Improving Quality Requires Consumer Input: Using Focus Groups'. *Journal of Nursing Care Quality* 7, No. 2 (1993): 34–41.
- Pike, A. H. 'Soil Conservation amongst the Matengo Tribe'. *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 6 (1938): 79–81.
- Pipping, Knut, and H. F. Chale. 'Land Holding in the Usangu Plain: A Survey of Two Villages in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania', 1976.
- Pizzo, David. 'To Devour the Land of Mkwawa: Colonial Violence and the German-Hehe War in East Africa. 1884–1914'. ProQuest, 2007.
- Polisya, Mwiseje. 'Banana Trade and Position of Women in Rungwe District'. Unpublished MA Dissertation, IDS, University of Dar es Salaam, 1984.
- Ponte, Stefano. 'Fast Crops, Fast Cash: Market Liberalization and Rural Livelihoods in Songea and Morogoro Districts, Tanzania'. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des études Africaines* 32, No. 2 (1998): 316–48.
- Pratt, Cranford. *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945–1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Putterman, Louis. 'Economic Reform and Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania: A Discussion of Recent Market Liberalization, Road Rehabilitation, and Technology Dissemination Efforts'. *World Development* 23, No. 2 (1995): 311–26.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald, and Daryll Forde. *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. Routledge, 2015.
- Raikes, Philip. 'Agrarian Crisis and Economic Liberalisation in Tanzania: A Comment'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 17, No. 2 (1979): 309–16.

- Raikes, P. L. 'Ujamaa and Rural Socialism'. *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 3 (1975): 33–52.
- Ray, Donald I., and E. Adriaan B. van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal. 'The New Relevance of Traditional Authorities in Africa: The Conference; Major Themes; Reflections on Chieftaincy in Africa; Future Directions'. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 28, No. 37–38 (1996): 1–38.
- Redmayne, Alison. 'The Hehe'. *Tanzania before 1900*, 1968: 37–58.
- Redmond, Patrick M. 'Maji Maji in Ungoni: A Reappraisal of Existing Historiography'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8, No. 3 (1 January 1975): 407–24.
- Richelmann, Georg. *Meine Erlebnisse in der Wissmann-Truppe*. Creutz, 1892.
- Ritchie, Jane, Jane Lewis, Carol McNaughton Nicholls, Rachel Ormston, and others. *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. Sage, 2013.
- Roberts, Andrew. 'Political Change in the Nineteenth Century'. *Kimambo & Temu, A History of Tanzania*, 1969: 57–84.
- Rockel, Stephen J. "'A Nation of Porters": The Nyamwezi and the Labour Market in Nineteenth-Century Tanzania'. *The Journal of African History* 41, No. 02 (2000): 173–95.
- Rodney, Walter. 'Migrant Labour and the Colonial Economy'. *Migrant Labour in Tanzania during the Colonial Period*, 1983: 4–28.
- Rodney, Walter, Kapepwa Tambila, and Laurent Sago. *Migrant Labour in Tanzania During the Colonial Period: Case Studies of Recruitment and Conditions of Labour in the Sisal Industry*. Institut für Afrika-Kunde im Verbund der Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-Institut, 1983.
- Roscoe, John. *The Baganda*. Macmillan, 1911.
- Rotberg, Robert I. *Joseph Thomson and the Exploration of Africa*. Chatto & Windus, 1971.

- Rouse, John. 'Promoting Sustainable Producer Group Enterprises: A Review of FAO Experience (1981–2006) Lessons Learned and Ideas for the Future'. Rome: FAO, 2008.
- Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, Emile A. B. Van. 'Chiefs and African States: Some Introductory Notes and an Extensive Bibliography on African Chieftaincy'. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 19, No. 25–26 (1987): 1–46.
- Sanday, Peggy R. 'Toward a Theory of the Status of Women'. *American Anthropologist* 75, No. 5 (1973): 1682–1700.
- Sarris, Alexander, Sara Savastano, Luc Christiaensen, and others. 'The Role of Agriculture in Reducing Poverty in Tanzania: A Household Perspective from Rural Kilimanjaro and Ruvuma'. FAO Commodity and Trade Policy Research Working Paper, No. 19 (2006).
- Saul, John S. 'The Role of Ideology in the Transition to Socialism'. R. R. Fagen, C. D. Deere and J. L. Corragio, Eds., 1986: 212–30.
- Schmidt, Elizabeth. 'Farmers, Hunters, and Gold-Washers: A Reevaluation of Women's Roles in Precolonial and Colonial Zimbabwe'. *African Economic History*, No. 17 (1988): 45–80.
- Schmidt, Heike. '(Re)Negotiating Marginality: The Maji Maji War and Its Aftermath in Southwestern Tanzania, 1905–1916'. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43, No. 1 (2010): 27–62.
- Schmied, Doris, and others. *Subsistence Cultivation, Market Production, and Agricultural Development in Ruvuma Region, Southern Tanzania*. Bayreuth: Bayreuth University, 1989.
- Schroeder, Richard A. "'Gone to Their Second Husbands": Marital Metaphors and Conjugal Contracts in The Gambia's Female Garden Sector'. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 30, No. 1 (1996): 69–87.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press, 1998.

- Sender, John, and Sheila Smith. *Poverty, Class, and Gender in Rural Africa a Tanzanian Case Study*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Seur, Han. 'Sowing the Good Seed. The Interweaving of Agricultural Change, Gender Relations and Religion in Serenje District, Zambia'. Seur, 1992.
- Shiva, Vandana. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development*. North Atlantic Books, 2016.
- Shiva, Vandana, and others. *Ecology and the Politics of Survival: Conflicts over Natural Resources in India*. Sage Publicans, 1991.
- Sieber, Niklas. 'Transporting the Yield: Appropriate Transport for Agricultural Production and Marketing in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Transport Reviews* 19, No. 3 (January 1999): 205–20.
- Skalník, Peter. 'Authority Versus Power: Democracy in Africa, Must Include Original African Institutions'. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 28, No. 37–38 (1996): 109–21.
- . *Outwitting Ghana: Pluralism of Political Culture in Nanun*. Transaction Publishers, 1989.
- . 'Questioning the Concept of the State in Indigenous Africa'. *Social Dynamics* 9, No. 2 (1983): 11–28.
- Smythe, Kathleen R. *Fipa Families: Reproduction and Catholic Evangelization in Nkansi, Ufipa, 1880-1960*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006.
- Spalding, Nancy. 'The Tanzanian Peasant and Ujamaa: A Study in Contradictions'. *Third World Quarterly* 17, No. 1 (1996): 89–108.
- Spear, Thomas T. *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land & Agricultural Development in Arusha and Meru*. University of California Press, 1997.
- Staudt, Kathleen. 'The Impact of Development Policies on Women'. *African Women South of the Sahara*. Essex: Longman, 1995.

- Stewart, D. W., P. N. Shamdasani, and D. W. Rook. 'Analysing Focus Group Data'. *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*, 1990.
- . *Applied Social Research Methods Series*, Vol. 20. *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*. Thousand Oaks. Sage Publications, 1990.
- Stoecker, Helmut. *German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until the Second World War*. Hurst & Co., 1986.
- Stren, Richard E. 'Ujamaa Vijijini and Bureaucracy in Tanzania'. Edited by Jannik Boesen, Birgit Störgard Madsen, Tony Moody, and Michaela von Freyhold. *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 15, No. 3 (1981): 591–98.
- Strobel, Margaret. 'African Women'. *Signs* 8, No. 1 (1982): 109–31.
- . 'Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1890–1975', 1979.
- Sudarkasa, Niara. "'The Status of Women" in Indigenous African Societies'. *Feminist Studies* 12, No. 1 (1986): 91–103.
- Sunseri, Thaddeus. 'Colonial Troops in the Germany Colonial Askari Und Fitafita: "Farbige" Söldner in Den Deutschen Kolonien (Askari and Fitafita: "Colored" Mercenaries in the German Colonies)'. *The Journal of African History* 51, No. 02 (2010): 273–74.
- Sunseri, Thaddeus. 'Famine and Wild Pigs: Gender Struggles and the Outbreak of the Majimaji War in Uzaramo (Tanzania)'. *The Journal of African History* 38, No. 02 (1997): 235–59.
- . 'Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography'. *African Affairs* 95, No. 381 (1996): 581–98.
- Swantz, Marja-Liisa. *Ritual and Symbol in Transitional Zaramo Society with Special Reference to Women*. Scandinavian institute of African studies Uppsala, 1986.
- Swartz, Marc J. 'Continuities in the Bena Political System'. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 20, No. 3 (1 October 1964): 241–60.

- Swartz, Marc J., Victor Witter Turner, and Arthur Tuden. *Political Anthropology*. Transaction Publishers, 1972.
- Tambila, Anselm. *A History of the Rukwa Region (Tanzania) 1870–1940: Aspects of Economic and Social Change from Precolonial to Colonial Times*. 1981.
- Tate, H. R. ‘Two African Explorers’. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 37, No. 149 (1 October 1938): 449–63.
- Temu, A. E. M., and S. Bisanda. ‘Pit Cultivation in the Matengo Highlands of Tanzania’, 1996.
- Thomson, Joseph. ‘Journey of the Society’s East African Expedition’. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography, New Monthly Series*, 2, No. 12 (1 December 1880): 721–42.
- Tibaijuka, Anna. ‘The Cost of Differential Gender Roles in African Agriculture: A Case Study of Smallholder Banana-Coffee Farms in the Kagera Region, Tanzania’. *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 45, No. 1 (1994): 69–81.
- Topouzis, Daphne, and others. ‘Feminization of Poverty’. *Africa Report* 35, No. 3 (1990): 60–63.
- Torben Rasmussen. ‘Tanzania Crisis and Struggle to Survive’. In *The Green Revolution in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania*, edited by Jannika Boesen, Juhani Koponen, Kjell J. Havnevik, and Rie Odgaard, 191–2016. Scandinavian institute of African studies Uppsala, 1986.
- Tracy, Sarah J. *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact*. John Wiley & Sons, 2012.
- Tripp, Aili Mari. *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania*. Univ of California Press, 1997.
- . ‘Gender, Political Participation and the Transformation of Associational Life in Uganda and Tanzania’. *African Studies Review* 37, No. 1 (1 April 1994): 107–31.

- Trotha, Trutz Von. 'From Administrative to Civil Chieftaincy: Some Problems and Prospects of African Chieftaincy'. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 28, No. 37–38 (1996): 79–107.
- Turshen, Meredith. *The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa*. 2001.
- Turuka, Florens Martin. *Price Reform and Fertiliser Use in Smallholder Agriculture in Tanzania*. Vol. 51, *Rural Development in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag Munster, 1995.
- Uromi, Sabbath M. 'No Development without Better Life for Rural Women – A Case of Tanzania'. *International Journal of Emerging Trends in Science and Technology* 1, No. 05 (2014).
- Vogli, Roberto De, and Gretchen L. Birbeck. 'Potential Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerability of Women and Children to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, 2005: 105–20.
- Wagner, Günter. 'The Political Organization of the Bantu of Kavirondo'. *African Political Systems* 197 (1940): 236.
- Waldow, von Anna. 'Mwali Custom: Uzaramo Transformation'. Manuscript of an Article 'Madchenerziehung Bei Den Zaramo' Later Published in *Africa Und Ubersee*, 45 (1935): 292–306.
- Wallace, Tina, and Candida March. *Changing Perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development*. Oxfam, 1991.
- Warren, Hannah. 'Using Gender-Analysis Frameworks: Theoretical and Practical Reflections'. *Gender and Development* 15, No. 2 (1 July 2007): 187–98.
- Waters, Tony. 'Beyond Structural Adjustment: State and Market in a Rural Tanzanian Village'. *African Studies Review* 40, No. 2 (1997): 59–89.

- . ‘Social Organization and Social Status in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Rukwa, Tanzania’. *African Studies Quarterly* 11, No. 1 (2009).
- Wilkinson, Sue, Helene Joffe, and Lucy Yardley. ‘Qualitative Data Collection: Interviews and Focus Groups’. Sage Publications, 2004.
- Willis, Roy G. ‘The Fipa’. *Tanzania before, 1900*. 1968: 82–95.
- Wilson, Ernest J. ‘Strategies of State Control of the Economy: Nationalization and Indigenization in Africa’. *Comparative Politics* 22, No. 4 (1990): 401–19.
- Wilson, Godfrey, and Monica Hunter Wilson. *The Analysis of Social Change: Based on Observations in Central Africa*. CUP Archive, 1945.
- Wilson, Monica Hunter. *Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Wilson, Monica, and Monica Wilson. *Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages*. 170. International African Institute, 1951.
- Wobst, Peter. *Structural Adjustment and Intersectoral Shifts in Tanzania: A Computable General Equilibrium Analysis*. Vol. 117. The Institute for Food Policy research, 2001.
- Wolff, Kurt H. ‘Sociology and History; Theory and Practice’. *American Journal of Sociology* 65, No. 1 (1959): 32–38.
- Wright, Marcia. *German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891–1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*. Clarendon Press, 1971.
- . ‘Maji Maji: Prophecy and Historiography’. *Revealing Prophets*, 1995: 124–42.
- . *Nyakyusa Cults and Politics in the Later Nineteenth Century*, 1970.
- . *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories of East/Central Africa*. London: James Currey, 1993.

———. ‘Technology, Marriage and Women’s Work in the History of Maize-Growers in Mazabuka, Zambia: A Reconnaissance’. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, No. 1 (1983): 71–85.

Wright, Marcia, and Peter Lary. ‘Swahili Settlements in Northern Zambia and Malawi’. *African Historical Studies* 4, No. 3 (1971): 547–73.