



Dissertation

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**Women in irrigation agriculture : a case study of
Batemi of Ngorongora district, in Arusha region**

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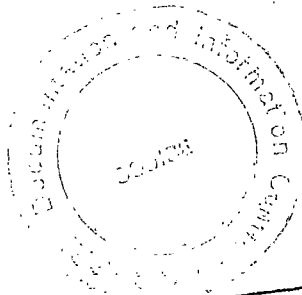


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WOMEN IN IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE: A CASE
STUDY OF BATEMI OF NGORONGORO DISTRICT, IN ARUSHA REGION



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BY

THEODORA A.L. BALI

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JULY, 1990

I, Dr. TUNGARAZA certify that I have read
this Dissertation and find it acceptable by the
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Signed: Tungaraza

Date: 20th May 1993

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the socio-historical origin of current women subordination and its effect on the development of small-holder irrigation agriculture. It examines the problem within the framework of inter and intra household relations of production. The study was centred around the Temi irrigation practice in three villages: Digodigo, Kisangiro and Samunge. It portrays the subordination of the Temi women despite the contribution they make to the reproduction of their community.

The study is presented in six chapters. Chapter one provides background information about the Temi people, their location and irrigation system. Chapter two reviews available literature on gender issues and irrigation agriculture in order to underscore the position of women.

Chapter three discusses methodological procedures and shows the difficulty in reaching the Temi women even when the research aims at getting their views most. Chapter four presents research findings as obtained from the field with particular attention to the contribution of women in household economy. This chapter proves the existence of gender

(ii)

inequality among Batemi.

Chapter five is the interpretation of the field findings with reference to study objectives and hypotheses. This chapter locates the origin of gender inequality in the explanation of anatomical difference between men and women in moral forms. Such explanation is meant to mystify the reality of exploitative relation of the majority by the minority wenamiji.

Reproduction of the Temi community depends on the women, yet, they are most disregarded, over-worked and oppressed social category. Women are deprived of the right to control scarce resources and product of their labour in the community, while they are required to work on the land more than men.

Women deprivation of means and forces of production is justified by the Temi religion system which is a creation of the wenamiji, a class that owns scarce resources - (irrigation water and irrigatable land). The said religion serves to isolate the bulk of producers from the control of the resources, hence concentrating power and authority on the owning class. The eradication of this deprivation of means of production of majority by the minority must

(iii)

be found in the total transformation of the Temi social structure - bringing about fundamental changes in the laws governing the Temi social life, including land tenure system.

The final chapter is summary and conclusions. It portrays a need for women to intensify the struggle for the cause for gender equality.

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Finally, I am dedicating this thesis to my mother whose life has always been inspiring me to work hard.

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DECLARATION

I, THEODORA AXWESO LUXUMA BALI, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other University.

Signed:.....*Th. Blali*.....
Theodora Axweso Luxuma Bali

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CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1: INTRODUCTION

This study is about the emancipation of women in Tanzania. It focuses on the women and their role in agricultural production and central to agricultural production among the Batemi is the irrigation agricultural system which is not only a technique but also the major means, second to land, of production. To that effect irrigation agricultural system has been interwoven into the whole traditional and social system of the Batemi community since time immemorial. Consequence of this integration to the Temi women is the difficulty of their emancipation in the contemporary Tanzanian setting. In order to understand this, there is a need to highlight its historical background.

1.2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE AMONG THE BATEMI

The Batemi or the Temi people are also known as the Sonjo or Wasonjo. They form a minority ethnic group among the ethnic groups, such as the Masai, of the Arusha Region. This ethnic group is

located in the northern part of Ngorongoro district within the Rift Valley. The Sonjo are about 12,335 out of 68,775 total population of the district (Population Census, Preliminary Report, 1988). The majority of the population live as nomadic cattle herding people. The Batemi, on the other hand are sedentary agriculturalists, practising also livestock keeping as secondary to agricultural production.

Available literature on the origin and classification of the Temi people shows some disagreements. Guthrie (1948) has classified Batemi with Bantu speaking Koma and Kuria of Northern Tanganyika. Jone (1948) has grouped them among the northern Nilotic Masai who lived on agriculture. Fosbrooke (1953), Gray (1963) and Fosbrooke (1966) say that the Sonjo (Batemi) are Bantu speaking agriculturalists albeit their youths claim of linguistic affinity with the Meru of Kenya than with other Bantu speaking tribes of East Africa (Gray, 1963: 26). So they say:

"The Rift Valley and adjacent grassland plateaus have remained essentially a non bantu corridor. Nevertheless at sometime and place it has been crossed by highland bantu. This is revealed by the Sonjo who lived by irrigated agriculture surrounded

by Masai grazing, linguistically they are regarded part of Kikuyu group (Bryan, 1959) and it is said they understand best the Kenya Meru (Gray, 1963)" (Fosbrooke, 1966, in Temu and Kimambo, 1969)."

Gray (1963) has earlier noted that:

"Within this essentially pastoral milieu, the Sonjo form an enclave of Bantu agriculturalists markedly different in their way of life from surrounding Masai (Gray, 1963: 26).

Although Batemi share some characteristics with their non-bantu neighbours, such as traits of physical resemblance (Gray, 1963), cultural similarity, etc. they still have manifest antagonistic relationship with the neighbours to such an extent that a possibility of inter marriage is doubtful (Gray, 1963: 38). The traits of physical resemblance is supposed to have been implanted through mixing with other indigenous people of the area before the two rival groups settled in that area (Gray, 1963: 39).

The antagonism between the two ethnic groups is perpetuated by the Masai tendency to look down on anything a Temi person does. Such a tendency has influenced people's attitude towards Batemi in the district at large though. Whereas the Temi people are regarded as backward and resistant to

change, their counterparts are seen as progressive. So a progressive Sonjo (Temi person) according to such an attitude is the one who looks more like a Masai, than he/she remains a Sonjo. As a result, the Sonjo men are always learning Masai language, while their counterparts never learn Batemi language. However, the underlying cause for such an antagonistic social relations must be found in the need to control scarce resources such as water and grazing land. The Masai pastoral activities require vast land for pasture while the Temi people's sedentary agriculture inhibits such a free grazing. Similarly, the nomadic pastoralists hardly spare irrigation water sources for watering their livestock but the Temi people strictly control the allocation of water for both domestic and irrigation use. Added to the Batemi's grievance is the Masai practice of cattle rustling that obliges the warriors an indefinite guard. The Masai warriors on their part are always on alert for either defence or raiding purposes. Consequently the two rival groups have a large number of warriors who are not involved in any productive activities besides defence of their respective communities. In most cases, these warriors just idle around, thence often are involved in cattle theft within or without their communities

as the English proverb has rightly expressed 'an idle mind is the devil's house'. The stolen animals are usually taken into the bush for a slaughter and a feast by the "defending" warriors. So cattle rustling is actually a common practice among both the Batemi and the Masai.

1.3: THE DISTRICT

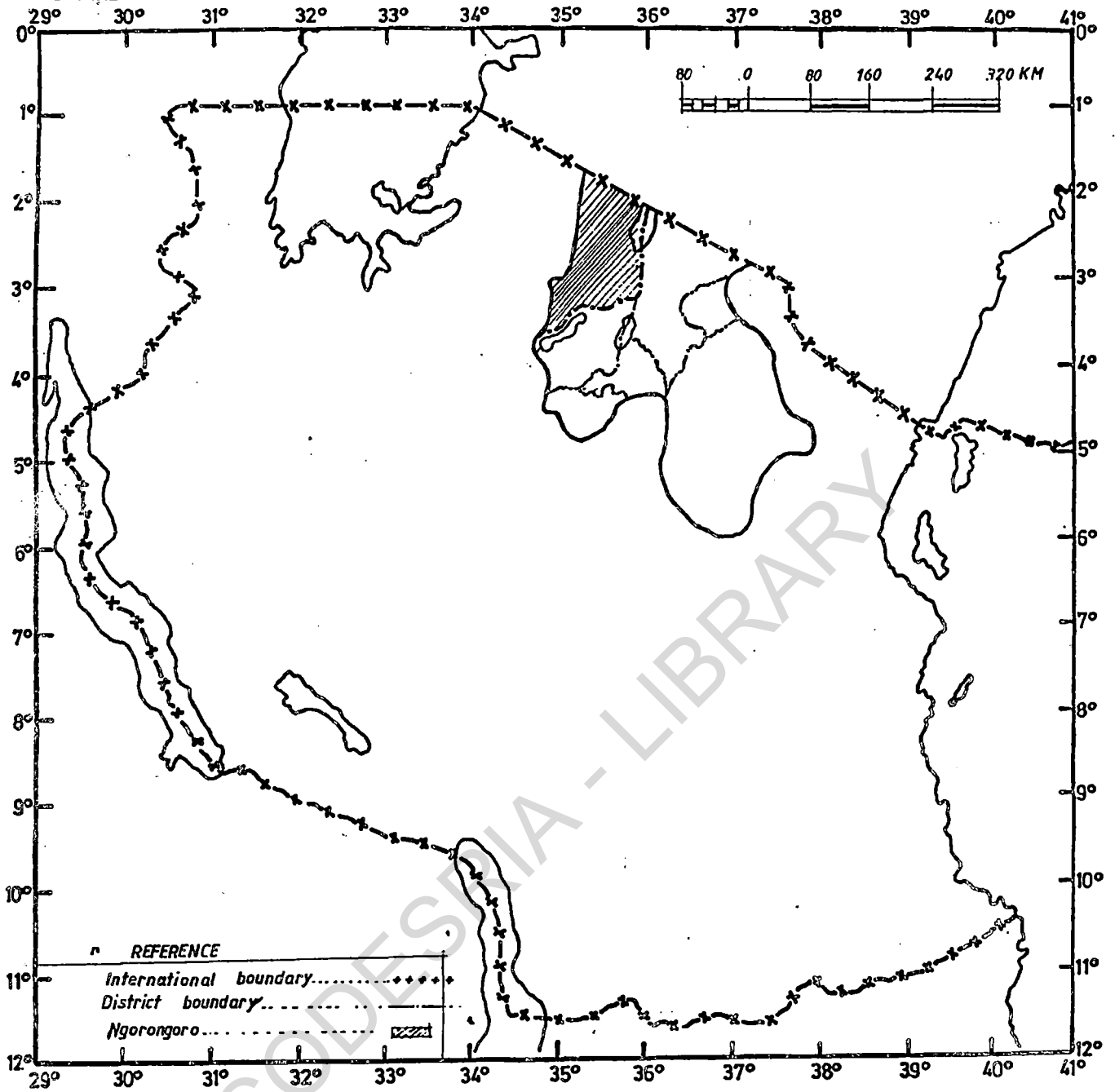
Ngorongoro is the northern district of the Arusha Region. Other districts are Aru-Meru, Arusha-Urban, Babati, Hanang, Kiteto, Mbulu and Monduli. Until 1978, Ngorongoro was part of Monduli district which was formally part of Masai district. The then Masai district was first divided into Kiteto and Monduli districts. The latter was then sub-divided into present Monduli and Ngorongoro districts for administrative purpose. The Loliondo division appeared too big to be administered from Monduli (the district headquarter). Furthermore, the communities on that northern part of the district, needed special government attention for development of infrastructure, both technical and social.

The (Ngorongoro) district has an area of 14,036 square kilometers and a total population of

68,775 people (35,622 women and 33,153 men), an average of 5 people per square kilometer (census' preliminary report, 1988), and a total number of 13,891 households; an average of 9 people in every 2 households (Census' Preliminary Report, 1988).

The northern part of the district borders with Kenya. On the east, the district borders with its 'mother' district - Monduli. On the South and South-Western end, there are districts of Mbulu and Bariadi of Arusha and Shinyanga regions respectively. On the west, the district borders with Mara region's Serengeti district, (See a Map provided below).

MAP 1 LOCATION OF NGORONGORO DISTRICT IN ARUSHA REGION TANZANIA



Administratively, the district is divided into three divisions - Loliondo, Ngorongoro, and Sale. The divisions are divided into twelve wards. These are subdivided into **twenty** nine villages. The divisions are administered by secretaries, so are the wards. The villages are headed by elected chairpersons who are assisted by appointed secretaries, usually party employees, but the division and ward secretaries are government employees who oversee the government functioning in their respective areas.

The district headquarter is Loliondo. The town was at first established by German colonialists. By then it was one of the administrative centres for the Masailand district. The British colonialists later inherited the town for more or less similar purpose - the centre of veterinary services for the then Masai district. After independence, the town was promoted to a division headquarter, and later (1978) to the district headquarter **without any alteration**, not even an expansion of the office facilities. Only now (ten years after the district authority was established) is the construction underway for the new district headquarter buildings some ten kilometers west of the old town.

Loliondo lies on the northwest of the regional headquarter - Arusha, some 423 kilometers away. It takes about 12 hours by road to reach Loliondo from Arusha, but only 30 minutes by air. The journey by road takes longer time due to the district's topography that ranges from volcanic mountains to grassland plains. This mountainous nature of the district had made it difficult to open a short cut that could have connected Arusha and Loliondo hence making easy communication between the two towns. Presently, the common route that goes to Loliondo from Arusha passes through four districts - Arusha urban, Monduli, Mbulu and Serengeti, in order to avoid the mountains. There is a shorter, but occasional route that tends to be impassable in rainy seasons. It goes through Monduli district to enter the Ngorongoro district from the east. Unless this route is constructed into a permanent road, the journey to Loliondo will remain exhaustive, and the **district** isolated from the rest of the region and the country at large.

The district authority, as stated above, was established in order to hasten infrastructural development among northern communities. Ten years later, there is no remarkable infrastructural

development. Communication networks are still poor - roads are not constructed at all, there is no reliable public means of transport, and radio call is the only means of telecommunication. This belongs to two institutions - police force and conservation authority. That means, only official matters get the radio attention. At the moment, public communication depends on inland mail that is highly dependent on an availability of postal private vehicle, since there is no reliable public transport.

In principle, there is a bus in every two weeks but the bus is very old such that it is rarely on the road. Even if the bus is on the road, during rainy season, the roads are impassable, so the passengers are often stranded on the roads. Only the flying doctors have so far been operating in rainy seasons, but their flights despite being very small, reach the place according to their scheduled clinics. At most, the flights can carry four passengers, and usually, priority is rightly given to patients.

The climatic condition of the district varies from cold and sufficient rains in the highlands to hot and dry rift valley plains. The well watered

highlands cover Loliondo, Ngorongoro and the rift valley escarpments and the dry plains include Serengeti plateaus and the bottom plains of the rift valley. The district's altitude ranges in between 6000 and 7200 feet above sea level in low lands and highlands. At times a temperature can fall as low as 05°C in cold seasons, (recorded temperature in Ngorongoro, 16th August, 1989).

The district lacks reliable source of water, except the highlands of Ngorongoro and Butemine (land of Batemi) area. These have spring water. However, Ngorongoro highlands are reserved for tourist, industry that also cover the Serengeti plateau and the famous Ngorongoro crater. Only nomadic pastoralism is tolerated in the reserved area for tourism. Sedentary agriculture is therefore practised in some parts of the Loliondo highlands and Butemine area. A common practice is mixed farming, cultivation of cereal grains (mainly sorghum and maize) and animal keeping goats, sheep, donkeys and cows. The beasts are kept for both an investment and supplementary subsistence - milk and blood. In case of any calamity, famine and so on, the animals are bartered with grain food. Presently they are exchanged with cash that is used for

purchasing other essential items-cloths, farm implements and veterinary medicines.

Organizational set up of the districts is similar all over Tanzania. There are usually two complementary organs, the party and the government, at the top district's hierarchy. Whereas the party has the task of mobilizing and politicizing the masses to take up responsibility for their own development, the government administers district development programmes. The party is led by an elected chairperson, and is assisted by a party employee - district party secretary. The government is headed by a senior civil servant, appointed by the president, the District Commissioner (DC). The Commissioner gets assistance from two other senior officials - the District Officer (DO) and the Executive Director of the District Council (DED).

The Party on its part is made up of three organs at district level - the District Conference, the District Executive Committee and the District Political Committee. The government can be divided into local and central governments for analytical purposes. The most supreme of all the Party organs

in the district, is the district conference. It receives and assesses implementation reports of the Party policy ensuing in given period; and is responsible for ensuring implementation of the Party resolutions coming from higher levels (CCM Constitution, 1982). Also it deliberates all matters concerning the district development, and is responsible for electing the district Party leadership - the chairperson, the executive committee and delegates to higher conference - regional and national (CCM constitutions, 1982).

The other two organs - District Executive Committee and District Political Committees guide and supervise implementation of the Party Policy on behalf of the District conference since they meet more oftenly. The District Executive Committee in particular, deliberates on proposals for development plan. It is assisted by the Political Committee on daily basis. The political committee actually performs the party functional leadership in the district (CCM Constitution, 1982).

The government activities in the district are performed by the council made up of 21 councillors, and chaired by an elected person. The councillors represent their respective organisations in the

council - administrative wards, party organizations, and some are appointed by the minister responsible for the local government. Under the council are government departments - education, health, water, community and cooperative development, Land, Natural Resources and Administration including financial control, manpower management and planning. Together with those departments under district council, are other government departments which are directly under the central government as represented by the Office of the District Commissioner. These departments are:- Agriculture and Livestock Development, Defence and Security forces - police, prison, immigration and the peoples militia.

The 1972 Decentralization Act and its amendment in 1982, states that although government departments performs the functions and duties for which they were established, the people have the power to challenge the government functioning, since they are empowered with the authority to make decisions that affect their lives (Decentralization Act, 1982).

The Local Government Act 7, 1982, stipulates district councils functions as following: First and foremost, to formulate, coordinate, and supervise implementation of all the district's development plans. Secondly, to monitor and control performance of duties and

functions of the district council by departments and staff. Lastly, to ensure collection, proper utilization of revenues, and to make by-laws for a smooth running of the government activities that are geared towards enhancement of productivity, acceleration of social and economic development in the village and towards amelioration of rural life (Local Government Act, 7, 1982).

A single person, the village chairperson, represents both party and the government at the village level; the situation that often leads to difficulties in accountability partly because the office bearing depends on the 'choice' of the villagers. So the leaders usually tend to implement programmes that would not jeopardize their relation with voters. On the other part, the village leaders regard themselves more of the Party men than they are the government functionaries at the village levels, thus creating a vacuum of authority at the grassroot level. The vacuum is manifest in the kind of complaints that come forward from the local people that the government has neglected their demands. This research attempted to analyse why such a vacuum exists with special reference to power relations in the communities of the district under study.

Age grade system is very much responsible for such a power vacuum among the Ngorongoro district people. Whereas the formal power and authority is vested with elegant young men, its success highly depends on the support they are provided with, by their respective clan elders. In other words the actual power at the grassroot level resides with the clan elders who do not qualify for formal leadership since they are not literate. Thus allocation of formal power do not conform to the rule of the game of the communities - age grade system. So formal politics has proved a failure in the district in this aspect, so are the development packages that are geared towards demotion of social practices of these communities which do not conform to the government's interests, e.g. destocking, emphasis on sedentary agriculture, development of women projects etc. This is because the communities are all out to defend their cultural values even when they are detrimental to their own development. This shows how people are yet uncritical on the relevance of cultural practices, especially when such practices concern women who are regarded as children who are incapable of making any contribution in decision making process. The government on its part only adopts development packages without laying any foundation for such a development package to thrive. For instance, since the emphasis world wide

is women development, the district authorities are inviting donor agencies to fund women projects, although the projects are not succeeding because women are not given the opportunity they require to undertake such projects since there are so many forces which undermine development programmes that are geared towards women development and hence perpetuate gender inequality in the district at large. The development constraint as exhibited by cultural practice of the communities in question is the subject matter of this research.

1.3.1: BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

In principle, Tanzania has adopted a policy of socialism and self-reliance based on fundamental rights of individuals regardless of their sex, race, colour and religion. It is stipulated in the party creed that all human beings are equal, and that every person is inherently entitled to respect and human dignity (CCM Constitution, 1982).

These fundamental rights are impliedly elaborated in the 1975 village Act that gives every individual (man or woman) whose age is at least 18 years, the right to village membership, to

involvement, in the village income generating activities, and the right to share the products of village joint labour. But villagisation exercise merely gave legal power to already existing traditional villages. Thus practical life remained guided by cultural values of the communities where there has not been any such kind of fundamental rights of individuals. All matters concerning social life were and continued to be men's domain. That means, implementation of the socialist policy only empowered men with more authority to decide the fate of the individuals in village settings. There was and is no way that the fundamental rights of individuals could be reflected in the tenure systems of village communities. Adoption of socialism and self reliance in the villages without making any effort to transform the cultural practices meant nothing else, but reinforcement of already existing gender inequality as one can see among Batemi, in Ngorongoro district.

The Temi women like other women in many African societies, contribute in the daily reproduction of their community than men do, but occupy a subordinate position in their society's

organizational set up. Women work on the farms, attend to the cattle, nurture the children and do all other domestic work such as collecting water, fire woods and food preparation.

1.3.2: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Why do Batemi women remain subordinate despite long adoption of the policy of socialism and self-reliance based on fundamental rights of individuals; and despite the major contribution women themselves make in the social reproduction of their community?

In this study, subordination is taken as inaccessibility to the control of the means of production (land, irrigation water and technology), and to that of labour and its products. Subordination also refers to non-involvement in irrigation matters which are paramount in village politics. Furthermore, the large share women carry in daily work in production and domestic chores on the basis of sexual division of labour is a manifest form of subordination.

1.4: OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

This work aims at studying the extent to which women as producers at household level control

the means of production, land, labour and implements.

Its specific objectives are:

- (i) To investigate the extent to which women remain subordinate despite the contribution they make to the subsistence of the Temi community.
- (ii) To examine the super-ordinate/subordinate relationship between men and women.
- (iii) To investigate the existence of gender relation and roles within the production and reproduction system of the community.
- (iv) To identify the opportunities that exist within the Temi socio-culture for women to become more aware of their role as producers and reproducers; and hence improve their situation accordingly.

1.5.1: HYPOTHESES:

- (i) The subordination of the Temi women has been reinforced by the traditional control of men over the irrigation water sources.
- (ii) The betterment of the Temi women as agricultural producers will depend on changes in the existing laws governing

the land-tenure system among the Batemi.

- (iii) Awareness among the Temi women on their rights to land and irrigation water sources will bring about liberation from their present subordination.

1.5.2: CONCEPT DEFINITION

Subordination of women is taken as women occupying an inferior position in all the issue concerning the community's decision making process, and as the large share they shoulder in the community's subsistence production, including domestic chores. By tradition - bound control of men over irrigation water sources we mean, the whole system of cultural values of the Temi people that caters for men to have the right over the control of irrigation water sources. The system/does not give any provision for women to/which have a control of irrigation water in their own right.

Betterment of the Temi women as agricultural producers means, developing agricultural knowledge and skills among the Temi women: and that, this will only be possible when the Temi land-tenure system has changed infavour of women, at the moment it is in favour men.

Awareness of the Temi women on their right to land and irrigation water sources refers to their gender sensitivity, or to any form of consciousness they might be having about being isolated from such scarce resources as a disadvantaged category because they are women. Such form of awareness will enable them to emancipate themselves from their present subordinate position.

1.6: SCOPE AND LIMIT OF THE RESEARCH

The literature on gender issues is enormous. Also it reveals that gender inequality is manifest in the social relations of production, and especially at the household level. So, this work has a task of finding out the underlying causes for the gender inequality among Batemi. It is purposely narrowed down to the study of irrigation practice and water management, since the Temi subsistence depends on the irrigation. The study is focussed on gender roles in irrigated agriculture, special attention is paid to the specific roles women play in-order to map out the existence and in-existence of the gender inequality. Irrigation knowledge and techniques is covered too.

This study in no way seeks to probe on the

existing uncertainty in the literature on the origin and classification of the Temi people. Rather, it is concerned more with irrigation practice and water management. Although studies on the origin and classification are immense, the social history of the Batemi could not be covered adequately because the research is focused more on what is currently happening in the villages under study than on the historicity of the traditional past of the people. The past relation of event is avoided in this research because the local people seem to be poor narrators of the past events (Gray, 1963).

Field research is limited to one administrative ward (Digodigo) as will be discussed later. Another important limitation of the study which needs a mention here is fund and time required for undertaking an extensive study of the origin and classification of Batemi. The findings from the villages under study are intended to provide general explanation of what the cause of the gender inequality among Batemi is.

1.7: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This study is significant since it concerns with irrigation agriculture, and is addressed to uncovering inherent problems in small holder

irrigation practice and water management that is currently emphasized nation wide. Gender inequality is earmarked as an inhibiting factor in the development of the small holder irrigation agriculture. Basically because achievement of development depends upon an increase in the wealth and knowledge available in the community (Nyerere, 1961). But the small holder irrigation that is guided by cultural practice deny women of the control of productive forces - irrigation water and technology, though they constitute the main agricultural labour force. Such cultural practices have adverse relation on the societal development, since women are constrained from mastering their production activities.

Batemi is taken as case study to illustrate the extent to which gender inequality affects the development of irrigation agriculture. Gender roles are analysed in so far as they contribute to a development of the Temi community. Local solutions to development problems, particularly that of the irrigation agriculture, are sought from the point of view of Batemi women.

The study contributes to the struggle for the cause for gender equality in the sense that it

adds up to the existing literature on gender relations. It enhances the understanding of the essence and mechanisms through which such relations have since existed. That is other than just techno-economic aspects in explaining gender relations, social cultural aspects are equally important in understanding the plight of women with a view of being able to suggest viable solutions.

In practical terms, the study seeks to conscientize the Temi people for more productivity of labour and for increased production. It points out to villagers, individually and collectively, the importance of giving priority to technological development, especially the technologies that reduce work load on the part of women. In short, the study is relevant for the current women struggles against all forms of oppression as it enhances the Temi women's struggle against the socio-cultural oppression. It puts to light that small holder irrigation agriculture as exemplified by the Temi irrigation system, has inherent contradictions. Basically because men are not obliged to work in the fields along with women who can spend only limited time in them. . due to added workload at homes whereby food processing and storage is done manually. This

study encourages the Temi men to work in the fields along side with women for more production and labour productivity.

The study will have a lot of benefit to policy makers. It enables them understand that women are the main producers in the society, but are incapacitated by cultural practices in terms of control and mastering their production processes in the sense that they control neither the means and forces of production nor the produce of their own labour. The study makes it clear to the policy makers and implementers that, emancipating women is actually releasing their productive capacity by exposing them to new technologies and letting them have share in the society's decision making. To achieve this, the study suggests that the insights about the society is of paramount importance. In other words, since women subordination is embeded in the social history of the society, the study stresses on the importance of comprehending social, cultural, economic and political admixture of a particular society before formulating any meaningful women development policy. It is evident in this study that women subordination is historically built into all aspects of social life of the community understudy and its demolition calls for thoroughly understanding the mechanisms and processes that engender the same.

CHAPTER 2LITERATURE REVIEW2.1: GENDER RELATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to critically assess some of the key theoretical assumptions on both the gender issues and irrigation agriculture, and how these assumptions provide us with understanding of the fate of the women in the Temi community. It is the argument of this study that social historical methodology is the most relevant approach to analysing the gender issues, as it traces the historical origin of gender inequality that exist within societies. It is this approach the study uses because of its relevance to the situation of women in different societies of Tanzania.

The first theoretical assumption on the gender issue is one based on physiological or biological difference between men and women. It is argued by the exponents of this theory that the gender issue can be explained by physical differences. In other words, the tasks and roles assigned to men and women are correlated highly with anatomically based aptitudes (Leibowitz, 1975). It is held, therefore, that men are usually bodily bigger, with

facial and body hair, narrower hips, and strength. Hence they are capable of performing tasks which women could not do. The women, on the other hand, are heavily built, with fatty tissues on their breasts and buttocks, and with soft and tender skin (Reiter, 1975: 20). These anatomical differences have for a long time been viewed as intimately related to difference in emotional, intellectual and physical capacities between men and women.

However, these early assumptions were challenged by behavioural researches on sexes in non Western cultures. This happened in the period between 1930s and 1960s. Mead (1949), in her pioneering research on "Sex Roles and Personality Styles", challenged the assumptions based on biological anatomy. She doubted on biological basis of psychological attributes as adequate in analysing the gender issues. Her findings showed the contrary; i.e. in some cultures men displayed such 'feminine' emotional qualities such as sensitivity, affection and volatile emotionality, while females showed aggressiveness and calculating behaviour (Reiter, 1975: 21).

According to Mead (1949), sex differences as

manifested in anthropological work are emphasized by the methodological approach i.e., the anthropologists pose open ended questions around presupposed male and female behaviours in 'primitive' societies e.g. How do male or female babies learn? Or what types of behaviours have some societies classified as male/female? Or how like/unlike have societies felt males/females to be? etc. (Mead, 1949: 29-30).

Some dismissed anatomy as a sex role destiny by arguing that infants of both sexes are helpless and dependent on their mothers, and that although children of both sexes learn from the whole community, their adult behaviour is created by their mothers (Mead, 1949; 384). Motherhood in societies implies two meanings though. Firstly, a potential relationship of any woman to her power of reproduction, and children and secondly the institution that ensures a continuity of the above mentioned biological potentials, and that of subordination of all women to men's control (Rich, 1976:10).

It is somehow argued that at certain point in history the idea of women as mothers worked to endow all women with respect, but in the mainstream of recorded history, motherhood as an institution has ghettoized and degraded female potentialities

(Rich, 1976: 13). The institutional meaning of motherhood has in fact been the key stone of the diverse social and political systems that withholds over one half of the human species from decisions that affect their lives, that exonerates men from fatherhood, that creates the dangerous schism between private and public life, and that classifies human choices and potentialities, but in the most fundamental and bewildering of contradictions, alienates women from their own bodies by incarcerating womanhood in them (Rich, 1976: 14), and from their own works which are part of their existence.

Supporting criticisms against the anatomical assumptions, Harris (1971) has the following comment on sexual division of labour in societies:

"Since differences in anatomy and physiology of human males and females are so obvious, it is easy to be misled into believing that sex-linked roles and statuses are primarily biological rather than cultural phenomena" (Harris, 1971, quoted in O'Barr, 1976:7).

A conclusion that can be drawn from the male's superior strength, Harris (1971) argued, is that it has conformed an adaptive advantage upon social cultural systems - e.g. men hunting large games,

women gathering wild food; men have exercised a dominant role in the maintenance of law and order in non-domestic context especially in intergroup relations, and so forth; and that women are specialists in rearing infants in all societies.

However, Harris (1971) elaborated, modern anthropology has conclusively demonstrated that there is nothing 'natural' about human hunting, warfare, political organization, or domestic life. That only the socio-cultural practices represent the selective result of the interaction between culture and nature (O'barr, 1976:7).

Culture has chief influence upon sex behaviours and attitudes (Hiltner, 1953: 70). Masculine - feminine stereotyping exists in every culture - i.e. men are supposedly strong, logical, analytical, systematic, fearless and assertive, whereas women are supposed to be the opposite - soft, emotional, uncertain, timid, shy, intuitive and fearful (Vajrathon, 1975: 95). Socialization moulds children behaviours to fit such feminine-masculine stereotyping. Female children are the most affected because traditions force them to conform to codes that restrict their behaviours and keep them

subservients to men, their fathers, brothers or husbands (Vajrathon, 1975: 96). Those restricting codes were enunciated in societal ideologies such as religious texts, cultural practices and norms and values; and they are elaborated in plays, poems, folktales, etc.

Most religious teachings re-inforce women subordination. For example, Chinese Confucius and Mencius, instructed women to adorn, to please, and to do house work willingly. The Hindu literature taught male supremacy and female submissiveness.

Catholic teachings relegate women to an inferior status by representing wives as belonging to their husbands; Buddhist literature portrays women as cause of the craving anxiety and unhappiness of men. The general teaching of Islam based on Middle-East and Arabic culture, put women in a lower position within their societies (Vajrathon, 1975: 98).

Although the academia on the whole no longer holds the position that particular roles or task universally belong to either sex (men or women) due to simple differences in bones, muscles and sex organs (Reiter, 1975: 22), the issue of

gender roles is not yet resolved. Often the discussions have diverted into arguments on the prototypes of all divisions of labour (specialization) with its implicit and arbitrary interpretations. Some analysts have queried the relevance of a separate discussion of the role of one gender without relating it to that of another. It is argued that one cannot discuss a role of one sex, because the tasks undertaken by both sexes complement or depend on each other's accomplishment of tasks (Olin, 1975). Only with the rise of feminism into an independent movement in the West, has the gender issue gained attention it long deserved (Reiter, 1975). Even though, how to pose the women's question was still a problem.

Major critique came from the classical Marxists who are least concerned with the gender issues. According to this theoretical stance a society is taken on its totality. They focus on the emancipation of the working class from oppression and exploitation by capitalist class; meaning thereby a total emancipation of disadvantaged mankind both men and women.

But the feminists within the tradition criticized this summary conclusion as failing to

adequately deal with the question of women subordination historically in terms of the relation of women to modes of production and reproduction (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978:2). The feminist group, therefore, has suggested a materialist approach to analysing the condition of women in their respective societies to such an extent that marxism is transformed, and hence a move towards construction of marxist - feminism (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978:9).

Amidst these criticisms, however, the issue of women is still looked at with apprehension by many people as Vuorela (1987) observed:

"When the international UN Decade for women was launched there still were many people who looked at the issue of women with apprehension. In the Third World, feminism and mobilization of women for some signified yet another aspect of continued 'colonization', the import of dubious ideas coming from the West with no relevance, for instance, in African context. There are those who argued that feminism was a preoccupation only suitable for Western, middle-class women who could afford the luxury of theorizing about the subtleties of sexual relations and sexual divisions" (Vuorela 1987:1).

Such a controversy has resulted in expansion

of intellectual work known as 'women studies' that is regarded as a means by which women can produce knowledge about themselves, of their own history and condition; and disseminate that knowledge by means of pedagogical practice (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978:2). The expansion of the academic work means that the very problems raised have to be addressed in a more precise and articulate theoretical groundings, hence, arousing a danger of fragmentation and secretarianism among feminist theoreticians (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978: 4).

As a result, the expanded intellectual work fell under heavy criticism from both Western and the Third World Scholars.

McDonough and Harrison (1978) for instance, have argued that women issue was analysed in such a way that majority of participants were excluded from what was being said. Their criticism was geared towards the theory of Patriarchy. They felt that any theoretically oriented enterprise by its nature fails to take into account actions and events which ordinary women experience and understand (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978: 4). Such a critical tendency hinges back on the problematic

relationship between theory and practice in social sciences, and is perhaps informed by 'action' theory as formulated by Weber (1947).

"All human behaviour when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it. Action is social in so far as, by its virtue of subjective meaning attached to it by acting individual (or individuals) it takes account of behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course (Weber, 1947:88).

Materialist critics on the other hand attacked feminist theory of dealing with the question of women oppression in abstract (Mies, 1982: 86). They call upon researchers to adopt a comparative study of contemporary societies in order to map out the historically specific variant and invariant qualities, sex-typing and their material and ideological expressions (Stoler, 1982). The materialist problematic is based on a conceptualization of human society as defined by its production of subsistence and biological reproduction as Engles (1972) wrote:

"According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life.

This again, is a two fold character; on the one side, the production of the means of existence, of food, clothing and shelter, and the tools necessary for the production; on the other side, the production of human beings themselves, (Engels, 1972: 72).

Materialism, therefore, analyses the position of women in the society in terms of the relations of production and reproduction at specific historical moments focusing on the determinate character of sexual division of labour and its implication for power relations between men and women (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978:7). This, infact is the gist of the matter in the discussion on gender issues, but not literature has so far dealt with adequately. Adopted theoretical framework must have made it difficult to concretize the issues, particularly the theories of economic power and dependency which fall short of explanatory power.

Dependency theory, for example, is weak since it approaches the problem negatively, and concentrates on aspects of deprivation of a class by another without giving a way forward (Swantz, 1985:3). Also it underrates the local solutions in correcting the existing dependency

nascent social stratification have on the situation of women (Swantz, 1985:4). This methodology enables a social analyst to identify the opportunities that exist within the societies for women to improve their lot accordingly (Swantz, 1985:5). Its application to the Third World situation helps to demystify a number of common assumptions about the Third World Women, and the colonial masters (Mies, 1983:3). Thus, it has a particular relevance for Tanzanian women researchers in their efforts to reconstruct women's history (Mies, 1982:4). Surely, it suits the analysis of gender inequality in irrigation agriculture in Tanzania as it enables us to uncover the myths that are developed around the control of irrigation water, particularly among Batemi.

2.2 WOMEN IN IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE

Most literature in irrigation agriculture in Tanzania has concentrated on large scale irrigation schemes (Cadribo, 1975, Rugumamu 1975; Thiongo, 1978; Angwazi, 1983; Dibwe, 1984; and Ngana, 1985). Basically because all along, the efforts to develop irrigation agriculture in the country were directed towards engineering aspects, and less

attention was paid to agricultural side - water management and irrigation practice (Dibwe, 1984).

Only recently are the efforts being redirected towards small holder irrigation that requires light capital intensity (Mascarenhas, A. 1985; Yoshinda, 1985).

Researchers like Cadribo (1975), Rugumamu (1985), Thiongo (1978), Angwazi (1983), Dibwe (1984), Mascarenhas (1985), Ngana (1985) and Yoshinda (1985) are not appreciative of the role the producers play in the technological option for irrigation agriculture. They are silent on the role of women in irrigation agriculture though we know that women constitute the main part of the agricultural labour force in rural areas. Ngana (1985), for instance attributes the failure of Ikowa dam in Dodoma to the decrease in water volume. The fall in the water volume was due to siltation that is a factor resultant from environmental damage by human activities, over-grazing and improper maintenance of the dam which he totally ignores in his analysis. Therefore, one could argue that his analysis of the problem is weak in the sense that it capitalizes on the structural aspect of technology and forgets the human part of the technological development.

Mascarenhas (1985) seems to be optimistic about traditional irrigation. He views its involvement with minimum capital utilization to have significant edge over formal capital intensive schemes. His optimism has barred him from analysing contradictions which are inherent in the traditional irrigation practices such as unequal water rights, unequal gender roles in irrigation works; etc. The only important point he has raised in his analysis is his attribution of the failure of irrigation agriculture in Africa, and particularly in Tanzania, to a double edged aid policies of donor countries. He asserts that, whereas many African countries have failed to benefit from construction of research contracts, the engineering firms have thrived on irrigation plans (Mascarenhas, 1985:9). In a way, he is saying that irrigation projects caters for the interest of the donating agencies more than it does to the recipient country. All in all, he is silent on the role of women in irrigation, so his analyses are weak in this aspect.

The available literature on the Temi people (Robert Gray, 1963; Betty Gray, 1971; Potkanski, 1985; and the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), (1988) covers the history of the ethnic group,

its system of beliefs and irrigation problems, also it depicts unequal control of the means of production among the members of the community. However, it does not analyse why such an inequality exists! It apologetically portrays gender inequality simply as a behaviour necessary for exploiting available ecological resources. Gray (1963) specifically, discusses every other social aspect of Batemi, but the issue of gender inequality.

He adequately discusses the importance of the Temi irrigation system economically, socially and politically. He correctly attributes unequal power relations among Batemi to the unequal right to irrigation water which is held by a few clan elders (the wenamiji). (Gray, 1963:154). The wenamiji, he says, enact laws and are upheld by such laws. The system of irrigation, he concludes, serves as a basic determinant of class structure as well as the source of political power (Gray, 1963: 159).

The silence in the literature on the role of women in irrigation agriculture and Robert Gray's (1963) apologetic approach to the gender inequality cannot pass without critical analysis. This work

intends to make a contribution in studying the role that women play in irrigation agriculture among Batemi. The task is to examine the underlying cause for the gender inequality that is portrayed in the literature, within the context of the Temi people's social relations of production. The insights of studying gender inequality in terms of the social relations of production came from reading some feminist and anthropological works by Maquet (1961), Reiter (1975), Foreman (1977), Kuhn & Wolpe (1978), Swantz (1985), Vuorela (1987), to mention only a few.

Maquet's (1961) work, The Premise of Inequality in Rwanda, has contributed to widening our theoretical frame of reference. It has tried to uncover covert culture (artifacts, behaviour, myths and beliefs) by pointing out that it has a lot more than can be observed, and is usually explained in the sense that its conception and values remain unexpressed or even more unconscious for the culture bearer (Maquet 1961: 180).

He argues that inequality in Rwanda is premised in the culture that owes much to social relations of production and reproduction. We are

convinced that gender inequality has a similar essence, so must be explained along similar lines..

Reiter's (1975) book, Toward and Anthropology of Women, has given us alot of insights in reviewing the available literature on the irrigation agriculture in Tanzania. Her attack of the double male bias in anthropological accounts of other culture has been very useful in our attempt to analyse the issue of gender inequality in irrigation agriculture. The double male bias she has attacked are the bias the researchers bring with them in the field research, and the bias they get if the society they study expresses male dominance (Reiter, 1975: 13); also, male bias in selecting population sample. She has noted with great concern that most researchers have the prejudice about men having more access to the control of significant information, hence reflecting the reality of women in what men express as the reality and thereby generalizing that the society displays male dominance (Reiter, 1975: 14). She argues that some recorded cultures have disproved such a generalization, especially the works of Draper(1975) and Slocum (1975) among hunter/gatherers - the Kung and Bambuti respectively. These works have displayed equality being practiced by both sexes.

In the light of this analysis, we are able to reflect on the existing literature on irrigation agriculture, and are able to make two observations. That women are 'invisible' in the literature because the subject matter which is capitalized on, the engineering aspect of technological innovation is claimed to be gender neutral. Basically because the authors have missed the focal point in the development of irrigation i.e. the role of the producers. Therefore, their work ceases to be gender neutral. It is actually male biased, so has deliberately 'hidden' women because of the assumption that technological development is men's domain. The male bias hinges back on the methodological approach of the discipline -- anthropology -- the works of the Grays (1963 and 1971). The present work seeks to underscore the position/^{of}women in irrigation agriculture. It adopts a social historical methodological to investigate the extent to which women are present and/absent in the irrigation practice in the Temi community. This will enable us to comprehend the social cultural and political practices (processes) and their effects on the position of women.

CHAPTER 3METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES3.1 AREA OF STUDY

The field research covered Butemine area that includes three out of five administrative wards of the Sales division, the most eastern division of the Ngorongoro district. The three wards are: Digodigo, Oldonyosambu and Sale. The field study was limited to one ward only, namely Digodigo, due to resource constraints in terms of time and funds.

Digodigo is the largest of all wards as can be seen in the Map given below. Also, it has a population which is exclusively Batemi. The other two wards are shared by both the Masai and the Temi people. Again, Digodigo has a relatively dense population compared to the other two. Whereas, it has a total population of about 6,755 people (3029 men and 3727 women), the other two have a total population of 4275 people (1937 being men and 2298 women) (Census Preliminary Report, 1988).

The Digodigo ward is made up of three villages

which are also party branches. The villages are Digodigo, Kisangiro and Samunge. These are registered villages according to the 1975 Village Act. But in 1988, the Digodigo party branch was split into two branches - Mugholo and Digodigo. In 1989, Samunge too split into two - Yasimditto and Samunge. The main reason given for the split of the branches into two, was the 'increase' in the party membership. The District Executive Committee of the Party's ordinary meeting revealed a different picture of the Party membership in Butemine area though.

The Secretariat of the Executive Committee complained of the poor payment of the annual subscription among the Butemine members; and therefore no branch was supposed to be existing as an independent branch in the Butemine area as none fulfilled the requirement of having at least 50 members who paid their annual subscription until June 1989.

All the new branches were still under the governments of their former branches by the time of our field research because they were not yet registered. The delay for the registration was rather procedural. The two parent village governments looked to dislike the split, so were

delaying the procedure that requires them to endorse the split of the villages into two.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

In a study of this nature, a single data collection method could not suffice adequate information yielding data. In order to get a quality data, one has to employ more techniques - participatory research, informal interviews and documentary studies. The first two techniques gave us* useful information, but the last was very limited to documents found at the district offices. No relevant documents could be available at the level of villages.

3.2.1 SAMPLING METHOD

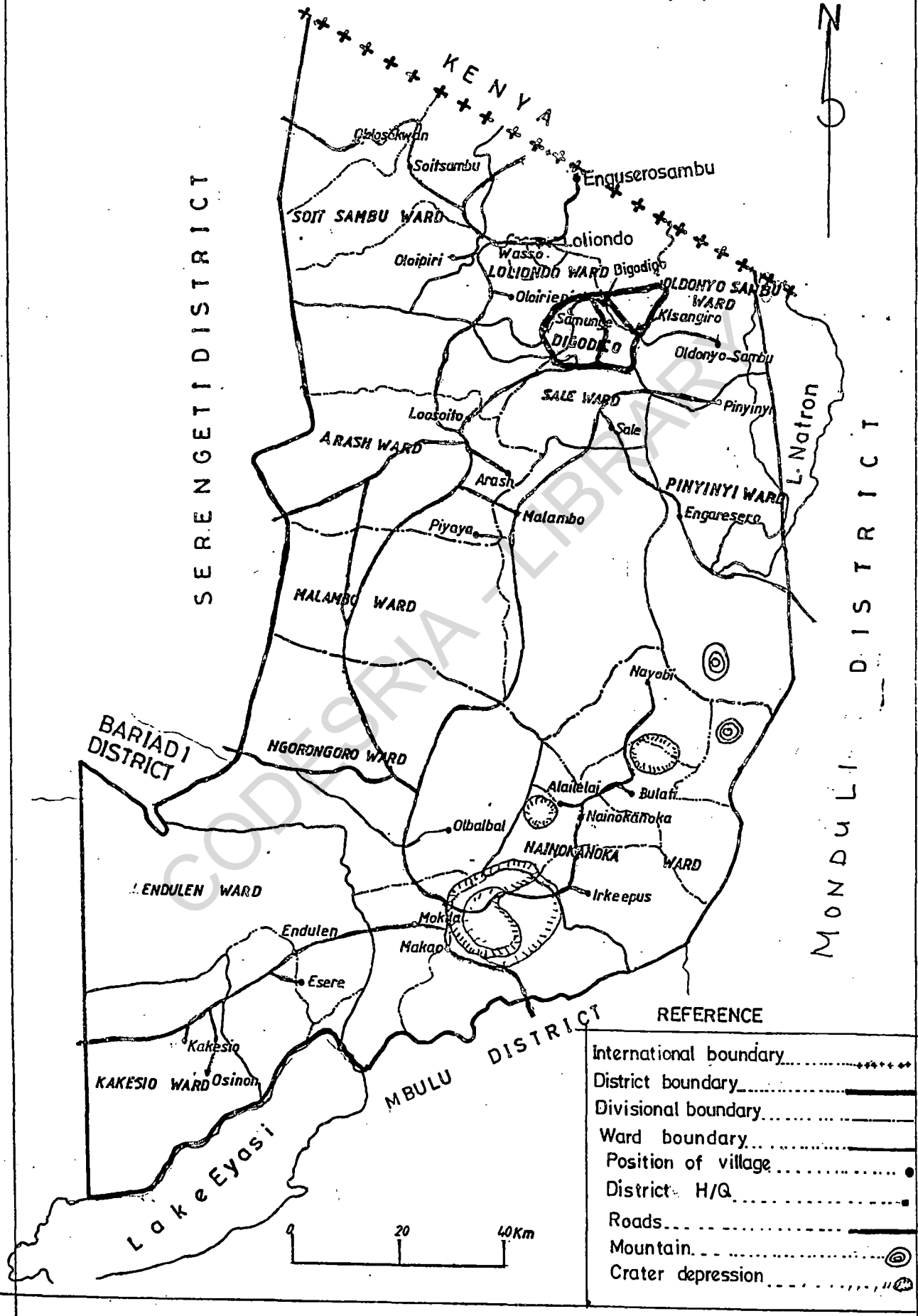
A stratified sample of 90 individuals was selected from the district offices and three villages named above, Digodigo, Kisangiro and Samunge. The break down of the sample population categories were 10 Party and government officials in the district, 46 individual men and 34 individual women. The individuals got into the sample by random selection of households from the three villages. The 10 officials were deliberately chosen for an informal interview in order to get preliminary information of

the area under study so that we could make a choice of a specific location in Butemine. The officials which were contacted included the District Commissioner, the District Officer, the District Executive Director, the District Planning Officer, the District Education Officer, District Community Development Officer, and the Chairman of the District Council. The Party leaders were the District Party Secretary, the Chairperson of the District UWT, and her Secretary. The sample of the officials managed to provide us with 4 women which makes a total of 38 women in the population sample, but leaved us to have covered 52 men in total, out of 90 people who made up our sample.

The Samunge village has given us relatively more people in the population sample. About 39 people were contacted from randomly selected households at this village. The selection of households, was based on 4 ten cells. The village was chosen to provide us with more population sample because it looked to be the largest of all (see a given below map). Additionally, the village has diversified its production activities, thus was hoped to give us an insight of an impact of nascent developments

MAP2 NGORONGORO DISTRICT SHOWING AREA OF STUDY DIGODIGO

Scale 1:1,000,000



REFERENCE	
International boundary+ + + + +
District boundary
Divisional boundary
Ward boundary
Position of village●
District H/Q■
Roads
Mountain⊙
Crater depression⊖

and changes among the Temi people. The second village in giving us a large sample was Digodigo.

About 32 cases of individual households were drawn from randomly selected ten cells from this village. Among the 32 people, 22 were men and 10 women. These were selected from 5 zones (vitongoji) out of 7. The covered zones were Digodigo, Makureheridani, Mtalane, Nabaru and Rera. The two which could not be covered due to their distant location (about 6 miles) from the village centre - were Bigongo and Kimaheri. Kisangiro village could give us only 9 people into the sample because the field research coincided with the fateful breakout of an epidemic - meningitis. We could contact only 5 women and 4 men. Even though, the village was found relatively small as can be seen in the map given above and the village settlements clustered together to such an extent that people could converse with their neighbours from their own homes.

Among the people included in the village sample were the three Primary Schools headteachers, division secretary, ward secretary and the councillor who was also the vice chairman of the District council. The village leaders too were interviewed informally. The leaders got into the sample by the virtue of their positions, and also to find out how different sections of the community view the issue of gender inequality in relation to the irrigation water.

3.2.2 INFORMAL INTERVIEWS/OBSERVATION

Interview questions were centred around irrigation practice and water management. The questions covered irrigation techniques and knowledge, labour and its tools, fixed capital such as constructed structures.

The focus was on gathering information on knowledge, types of irrigated crops, magnitude of irrigation work and the extent to which the work yields, as well as the division of labour in relation to the irrigation work.

Observation actually yielded commendable facts on irrigation structures and tools, although

some informal interviews were necessary in clarifying some of the issues on the construction of irrigation furrows and the upkeep of the structures.

The aspect of water management was researched on by questioning the totality of control in resource allocation in the villages - land, irrigation water and labour. The questions were directed to finding out existence of bodies that are responsible for allocating scarce resources in villages - e.g. formal village committees, councils of village elders and any other body, particularly how such bodies were established where they existed. Specific role of each body was looked into in case of the existence of more than one body. Particular questions were asked about the involvement of women in decisions that affected resource allocation and management. Facts about individual rights in the community were gathered by asking questions such as what are the traditional rights of father, mother or children in a household? And whether there was a change on those traditional rights with time! Simply, the questions were centered around who does the cultivation, domestic work and cattle herding, also around any existence of any form of collective responsibility - e.g. to adults, youths and children. Questions seeking information

about any existence of forms of oppression and exploitation in the community - class or gender were avoided. But that aspect of social life was researched on through observation, especially by listening to various expressions used to explain the way people interact or related to one another, also observing the advantages and disadvantages that different strata or groups of the community had. The manner in which such rights to advantages or disadvantages were spelt out was examined too.

3.2.3 SHORT COMINGS

Sampling is always a problem in the Third World researches including those of Tanzania. Ten cells are usually taken as an ideal sampling frame due to insufficient data bank. We went with the same understanding of ten cells being the reliable sampling frame as they constituted small units of the Party branches, i.e. they are usually made up of ten households. In Butemine, we met a different situation. The ten cells were made up of twenty or more households because only those party members who had already paid their annual subscription, were given the right to form the cell which is the primary party sitting (CCM Constitution, 1982). Few people

had so far paid their 1989 annual subscription in Butemine, so all other households whose, ten cells leadership did not pay their subscription, were pooled under those whose leaders have so far paid it for that year. As a result, each ten cells appeared to be very big. Moreover, some individual heads of household were appearing in more than one location due to the search for pastures. But we could minimize such a problem by understanding the life histories of people in every ten cells under study so that the same people could not be researched on again.

This purposeful elimination could be done easily with the help of the ten cells leaders and the interpreter we were having with us.

Population sample of 80 villagers was small compared to the Batemi population of 12,335 people. But the study was qualitative rather than quantitative oriented, thus we concentrated on an indepth study that required more resources in terms of time and money, which were limited unfortunately.

Time in particular was very limited for the participatory research. Again, it was not very suitable for the study of irrigation practices

since the field study had to take place when people were not actively engaged in irrigation activities. The months of September, October and November would have been appropriate, but the University had already set a time limit of three months starting from May to July, 1989. Because we were given that period of time to do the field research and it was very difficult to get to the research destination because the period fell in the last months of the rainy season, the roads to the Ngorongoro District, let alone those to Butemine area, were still impassable. As a result, we had to spend the whole month in Arusha, the regional headquarter. This unanticipated stay in the big town made us spend almost all the research grant on hotel bills which were very high in Arusha compared to those of small towns or villages. Consequently, we were left with just a meagre fund which could hardly enable us to do a sound indepth study.

Transport was one of the most limiting factor. As stated above, the roads remained impassable for quite sometime, leaving public transport not to operate. So, we had to depend on private vehicles to get to the district headquarters, and from the headquarter to the research area and local travelling was solely on foot. This mode of travel affected the field

research coverage especially when the villages under study were more than four miles apart. When we had to follow women into their field farms, the situation was made worse, because to get to the farms, one had to cover a distance of three or so miles, plus getting back to where we were keeping ourselves, we happened to be covering a distance of six miles daily.

Faced with the situation as explained above, we wanted to extend the duration for our field research to at least September 1989. But, there was a fateful breakout of epidemics - meningitis. The areas was being quarantined by the time we quitted it. That partly explains why we could not cover more than 80 people in the villages. Even though, the women population is the least covered, only 34 compared to 46 male population. Basically because they were found out of their homes for either harvesting or attending to the cattle. At times when women were found at home in the presence of their husbands, they happened to be shunning to answer the research questions. In such situations, women were followed in more private places like in kitchens or where they were fetching water or else collecting firewood.

This private discussion with women, was also limited to issues that the researcher can understand without the interpreter's help. Since we also realized that the presence of the male interpreter we had was negatively affecting the conversation about private or personal life experiences of individual women. The researcher in such cases had to bank on a similarity between bantu languages such as Kiswahili and Kigogo, of which Ki-Temi is one. One being attentive, she could get some expressions, and get more intimate talks with women.

The field research as a whole, with exception of those discussions concerning domestic domain, banked on the interpreter whom we secured from the district headquarter. We were given the male interpreter because it was known that the field research was going to involve a lot of cross villages walk. The district authorities found it necessary to provide a man with us for security purposes, since the area belongs to one of the 'hostile' people of north-eastern Tanzania. Practice proved to us that Batemi, were the most humble people. In all the places we passed, they were very welcoming and open minded. May be the

problem was only at the domination of the discussion by the elders. Wherever there was an elder, the juniors never said a thing. The situation was a reverse among the women. With the presence of the younger women, who were usually conversant with Kiswahili, the elder women happened to leave the discussions to those younger ones. Because we also wanted to get life experiences of the elderly women, we had to accept those younger women for local interpreters in those situations.

We had earlier on planned to counter-check the facts gathered from observation and informal interviews, with documentary evidences. To our disadvantage no village government was keeping any document, not even a village register. This made it difficult for us to examine production records for the past three years, nor could we gather any recorded information on resource allocation in the villages. Although the lack of documentary sources might have had little effect on the quality of our work, their availability would have made any follow-up research easy. Even though we managed to gather a substantial information from observation and informal interviews as will be presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4FIELD FINDINGS PRESENTATION

This chapter presents findings from field research as described in chapter three of this study. Main topics to be covered in this chapter include social organizational set-up, main economic activities, and the household economy. Household in fact, is taken as a unit of analysis whereby discussion of control and management of its economy will give us a picture of the position of women in the community politics. This chapter is a descriptive analytical presentation.

4.1 Social Organizational Set-up

Formal organizational set-up among Batemi is the same as that found in rural Tanzania. The Butemine communities are organized into five villages which form three administrative wards. As stated above, this study covers only one ward - Digodigo which is made up of three villages. These are: Digodigo, Kisangiro and Samunge.

A brief overview of the village communities is given in the following sections. The overview will cover total population of villages, unique economic activities of every village and the active

village political structures. The discussion will focus on women's active participation as could be observed. A brief examination of village politics is made so as to assess the extent to which women get involved in it.

4.1.1 Digodigo

The village has a total population of about 3000 people among whom 1700 are women and 1300 men. There are about 350 household which are scattered into seven zones -- Bigongo, Nabaru, Mtalane, Kimaheri, Rera, Makurehendani and Digodigo. The village has about 200 acres of irrigatable land, but only 100 acres are actually irrigated.

There is a village government consisting of seventeen members. The government constitutes three committees - Finance and Planning, Defence and Security, and Culture and Social Welfare. In principles, the finance and planning committee plans for the village projects - income generating and/allocation of tasks to villagers, and to distribute a produce of the village joint labour accordingly; also to account for the implementation of the village projects. Practically, the village chairman and his secretary were seen doing everything on behalf

of the committee. These two people compose the village leadership and carry on the activities on behalf of the village. May be because the village chairman is also the chairperson of the finance and planning committee.

The defence and security committee safeguards peace and security at the village level; i.e. seeing to it that peoples lives and properties are safe. It is supposed to promote local defence and security. Practice made it clear to us that, the committee takes no active role in local defence and security matters. The task of defending the community is undertaken by the warrior group and is directed by the community's age grade system.

The culture and social welfare committee is responsible for promoting social services in the village - health, water, education, etc. The school committee was the only one found active so far. It was meeting regularly to discuss matters pertaining to school life. In fact, it was active because the teachers were continuously seeking cooperation from parents in order to smoothen working relation with pupils and for better learning environment at school. The parent-teachers cooperation is

necessary among Batemi because formal education is accepted in so far as it does not conflict with their societal goal of adherence to culture as will be seen in the following sections.

Alongside with the seventeen members of the village government, the Digodigo had fifteen members of the executive committee of the party branch until 1988, when the branch splitted into two due to an 'increase' in the number of its members, the fact which was ~~disputed~~ by the ordinary meeting of the executive committee of the party in the district. The meeting revealed that both old and the new party branches deserve a closure, because they did not have a minimum required number of members to guarantee a separate existence as the party branches. Most members of the two branches did not pay their annual subscription at the time of this field study.

The membership of both the executive committee of the party branches and that of the village government was exclusively male. Among the executive committee members there are five members of the political committee. These supposedly form the village joint leadership. As usual, the chairman

and his secretary have overshadowed the political committee as well as the executive committee. Similarly the village government is overshadowed because the village chairman automatically becomes the village government leader.

The procedure has so far given the power to the old party branch, until the new one gets registered as the village. The conditions for the registration requires the former village government to make some procedural endorsement, which it does not want to do for the reasons best known to the leaders of that village government. Because the former village government's leaders do not want to make such a procedural endorsement, the registration of the new government is delayed, as a result the new branch and the former branch leaders donot seem to see themselves eye to eye, and the problem of procedural requirement is far being settled, consequently, the registration of the new government continues being unnecessarily delayed. Such a delay has had a negative impact on the social development of the village that seeks registration.

4.1.2 Kisangiro

The village is made up of 160 households.

It has a total population of 1249 people out of which 720 are women and 529 are men. Potentially the village has a total of 300 acres of irrigatable land out of which only 150 is actually irrigated.

Like the above mentioned village, it has a government consisting seventeen members out of which two are women. The government constitutes three committees with similar functions like those we have seen in the case of the previously examined village government. The two women members of the government are also incooperated into the fifteen members of the executive committee of the party branch of that village.

At the time of this field research, the village had temporary leaders because the elected ones were at large. The chairman was facing murder charges, so was remanded, and the secretary was transferred to another village. The two temporary leaders, appeared to us, very soft to such an extent ~~that~~ the village government seemed closer to extreme inexistence.

Generally, the village looked one of the poorest of all. For example, no individual farm

holding had exceeded two acres (be it irrigated or rainfed) in that production year (1988/89). The agricultural output of each villager contacted hardly reached two bibhondo (an equivalent of two sisal bags weighing 90 ks. each). The village environment was extremely unclean due to congestion of houses and lack of latrines. People were very unhealthy especially women and the children as a result of hard work (on the part of women) and poor nutrition for both mothers and children. The situation was made worse when an epidemic (meningitis) broke out. By the time of our departure about twenty people were reported to have died, many others were hospitalized and the disease has already spread to the neighbouring villages - Digodigo and Sale. In Digodigo three people were already dead so were two in Sale by the time of our departure. A team of medical practitioners from the regional hospital - Arusha, had arrived at the district headquarter on our departure and the area was definitely going to be quarantined, so we quitted it before we were caught in.

4.2.3 Samunge

The village has a total population of 5,500

people - 3200 women and 2300 men. The village has 260 households which are located in six zones - Yasimditto, Mugongo, Mageri, Lukereni and Samunge. The zones are six miles apart from one another.

Initially, the village settlement was concentrated in the bottom of the rift valley where only irrigation agriculture was yielding. Due to the increase in population of both people and livestock, settlement pattern started to move towards top hill side of the rift valley escarpment, in the areas of Mditto, Mugongo, Mageri and Lukereni, initially for the purpose of grazing, because the weather was relatively cooler there, thus conducive for cattle keeping. Since Batemi are agro-pastoralists, whenever they settle, they are always bound to cultivate farm yards around their shelters. Sorghum proved to have been yielding in the tophill side lands, and hence the villagers have adopted an extensive agricultural method, and are now growing sorghum and maize. Thus the migratory trend is now uphill mobility because the irrigatable land is very limited. There are 200 acres of potentially irrigatable land, but only a half (100 acres) is actually irrigated by the villagers and some public institutions - primary school and the Lutheran church.

Land holdings in the irrigated agricultural land hardly exceeds two acres per household. In that limited area of land, the household has to squeeze in crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes, variety of beans ('kunde', 'fiwi' and 'mbaazi'), and fruit varieties - banana plants, orange and guava trees. Such a vegetable food only supplements the cereal grain production in the top hill lands. So currently, the Temi people of Samunge subsist on rainfed agriculture since the irrigated farm land cannot suffice their subsistence production requirements.

This village like the other two named above, has a village government consisting seventeen members which are exclusively men. Similarly, the government constitutes the three committees with a similar functions as described above. More closely related to the first village (Digodigo), the village has two party branches - Samunge and Yasimditto. The party branch officially split into two in May 1989. The main reason for such a split among others, was the famous increase in the number of party membership which was already disputed by the District Executive Committee of the party's meeting we attended during our field research as stated above.

Again like in the first village, the two branch leaders live in an antagonistic relation. The new branch leaders' (the Yasimditto's) blame the former branch leaders for incidences of squandering village funds. As much as the old party branch leaders could not raise any charges against the new branch leaders, they are pinching them on the procedural aspect, and finally delaying the registration of the new party branch as an independent village. At the moment the Yasimditto branch is doing fine, it has managed to buy itself a village lorry, and is working on building a primary school on the village site, so as to minimize the distance their children cover to and from to reach the present primary school every day. The branch authority was also working on getting the villagers a milling machine so as to reduce the cereal grinding workload on the part of women. There seemed to have been water problem in dry season on the part of the rift valley escapment. The district authority was already contacted to see a possibility of having bore holes or shallow wells at any cost as the villagers claimed to be prepared for any contribution. However, these efforts are being hampered by the delay in the registration of the village government which would have been making a follow up on its own.

At the moment, any government correspondence has to be endorsed by the former party branch leaders who are still appropriately the legal village leaders. Because the new branch leaders have denied them a share in the funds accruing from the cooperative projects, the tendency has been to undermine new branch authority's efforts to ameliorate living conditions of the villagers, thus social development in that part of the village being affected.

The village leaders might have been right to have objected the split of the two zones Yasi and Mditto into the party branch, as some other two zones - Mugongo and Mageri are also arranging for a break away on similar grounds. It is claimed that the present village government does not cater for their interest, and that they are contributing much in the village development funds of which they are getting nothing in return. They think that, they can better manage their life situations when they are given an opportunity of self governing. But the obstacle will remain in the procedural aspect required in registering a new government as was the case with Yasimditto.

The Lukereni zone which is about twelve miles away from the village centre must be finding

the current village government of no use to it. The people in that village are busy working on their farms in both irrigated and rainfed farm lands. It is one of the most productive areas in the sense that it supplies the District headquarter (Loliondo) with vegetable and fruits. So the people have engaged themselves in producing not only for sub- sistence, but also for cash earnings.

4.1.4 Comparative Village Experience

Common to all the three villages like in all the villages in Tanzania, is organizational ~~set-up~~. In addition to that, the three villages have male dominated village leadership as exhibited by the constitution of the male membership in both the village governments and the executive committee of the party. Only one village could incooperate two female out of seventeen and fifteen members of both the government and the executive committee of the party branch respectively. Nevertheless, the incooperation of the two female members was inspired by the exposure the two women had outside their community in the early years of their youth~~hood~~, also an influence of the ward councillor who is a resident of that village. The two women happen to have travelled extensively outside their

community, and so was the ward councillor. They confessed to have experienced women involvement in village governments in other communities, which they found worth while to adopt in their village. The other village governments and the party branch executive committees could not get into them female leaders for what was claimed to be unwillingness on the part of the women to join the village politics.

We learnt from most women that they were unwilling to join the village leadership because they did not have time for involvement in the village politics which they regarded of secondary importance compared to subsistence economic activities. They infact expressed the concern that they were not given an opportunity to be involved in the village politics in the sense that no efforts were made to reduce the production workload on their part, and that, most of their time was being taken up by food production and processing of which preparation involves a tedious processes from the ground to the port. See an attached time table.

Table 4.1

Time allocation to Production and Domestic Works Among
Women interviewed

5.00 -	1. Grinding Cereal Grains
6.00 a.m.	2. Preparing Breakfast; and
	3. Caring for children
6.00 -	4. Walking to Sumine (cattle houses/shelters)
9.00 a.m.	5. Milking cows
	6. Letting the cattle out
	7. Cleaning the environment
	8. Walking backhome, collecting firewood and/water for domestic use
9.00 -	
12.00 noon	9. Walking to the farms
	10. Working in the fields
	11. Collecting firewood and green relish
	12. Walking backhome
12.00 -	
3.00 p.m.	13. Grinding Cereal grains
	14. Lunch Preparation
	15. Any other business and resting
3.00 -	
6.00 p.m.	16. Walking to the Fields
	17. Working in the fields
	18. Collecting green relish and firewood
	19. Returning home.
6.00 -	20. Walking to the Sumine
8.00 p.m.	21. Evening milking and letting in the cattle
	22. Fetching water and walking backhome.
8.00 -	23. Grinding cereal grain flour
11.00 p.m.	24. Preparing supper and attending to any sibling
11.00 -	25. Socking grain flour for beer making
12.00 mid-night	26. Grinding germinated millet for fermenting the beer
12.00 -	27. Sleeping
5.00 a.m.	

Source: Field Survey

As one can see from Table 4.1 above, the daily activities in which women get involved leave them with very few hours for resting even at nights. This shows how they do not have any time for political involvement which they regard secondary to subsistence economic activities. Moreover, about 59% (20 out of 34) of female respondents, complained of their views not being respected in household decisions -- e.g. marriage and funeral arrangements. Nonetheless, it is the village government's inactiveness that discourages women from participating in them since it (the government) is not doing anything. Furthermore, in the field we could observe a deliberate move to bar women from entering the village politics by disregarding female members through open ridicules and the use of abusive language to discourage women, and the two female members in both the executive committee of the party branch and the government at Kisangiro confirmed to us such a practice.

The problem of non involvement of women in village politics, however, requires deeper analysis and understanding. It must be rooted in the Ujamaa and Ujamaa Villages Act No.21 of 1975. The Act was meant to give legal powers to the village

governments so that they can deal with social, political and economic matters in their area of jurisdiction. It was focused on the matters concerning the declining peasant production, thus aimed at involving the peasants themselves more in the decision making process by creating local structures that would mobilize the masses for communal work. The Act, in a nutshell, was aimed at breaking through the traditional forms of peasant socio-economic organization so as to enable the state extract surplus from the peasant production. (Bisanda, 1989:82). It was actually meant for cash crops oriented peasant production. Nothing was done to transform the old social structures that inhibit women involvement in political affairs. After all, the demand to the peasant, was first and foremost, to live together in the villages while other things such as communal production and cooperative activities were to be developed later (Fris - Hansen, 1987).

In the case of the Batemi community, the 1975 villagisation only meant clustering the houses together, but production activities remained until todate the responsibility of individual households. Clans which were traditionally the units of

production (Gray, 1963), still play the same role and are headed by the same traditional clan elders who occupy such positions through inheritance. Usually the most elderly male head of household assumes the leading position of such the clan eldership. At his death, his surviving male relative, inherits all his possessions together with the social status.

The Temi people still view their traditional leaders as best qualified for controlling and regulating irrigation water. In all the villages we visited, people expressed their faith in the traditional leaders for fairness. It was lamented that immediately after 1975 villagisation exercise, the village government leader took over the responsibility of allocating irrigation water. Due to their incompetence in irrigation technology, they could not properly maintain the irrigation water sources. Consequently, the volume of water declined, and the irrigation requirements could not be satisfied. The irrigation water problem was later resolved by giving back the water allocation responsibility to the wenamiji, the traditional leaders.

One observation that we could make during our field research was that, incompetent the village leaders might have been in irrigation matters, the wenamiji had manipulated the situation by attributing the fall of the water volume to an offence committed to the Sonjo God (Khambageu) since the responsibility of allocating and controlling the irrigation water was given to the wrong people. Some rituals had to take place before the wenamiji assumed their responsibility of allocating the water. From there onwards, the water volume returned to a satisfactory level, and every peasant could at least get a minimum required irrigation hours.

Perhaps, the incompetence of the village leaders in irrigation matters, could be attributed to unhappy marriage between formal and informal leadership. In most cases, the government at higher levels on the one hand, discourages adoption of traditional leaders as local leaders since it ~~views~~ views them as conservative, resistant to change and so on. On the other hand, it cannot afford bringing in local level leaders from other communities, because first of all it does not have enough resources to have done so, and secondly, people outside any community do not know local situations, thus cannot make best local leaders.

Faced with such a dilemma, the government sought to get 'moderate' local leaders among Batemi. For that particular reason no recognized traditional leader was adopted as a local leader. Partly because the Temi people could not see any significance of the village government. To them, its occupation suited the people who did not have enough production activities to take care of; cattle keeping, bee hives examination, and irrigation water manipulation; and partly because occupation of the village leadership requires certain level of literacy which most traditional leaders did not have. As a result, relatively young people, particularly those who went to school and have served in government or prastatal organizations outside their community occupied the village leadership positions. Eventually, the Temi people justifiably express the village government leadership as suiting 'shomba' people (out-caste); i.e. people who no longer value the traditional norms and values of their society. The established local leadership, therefore, has ceased to conform with the demands of the local people from the start, i.e. adherence to norms and values of the community. Only to worsen the situation by the local leaders assumption of the role of controlling irrigation water, traditionally

meant for the chosen few, the wenamiji.

The laxity of traditional leaders and particularly of local people in formal politics is not unique of the Temi community. It was seen among the Nyamwezi (Miller, 1966) and the Pare (O'Barr, 1970). It is actually perpetuated by the government's view of economic development as political development in the rural areas. But the local people are aware that some economic forces such as producer prices, lack of advanced training of techniques of production and extension services are beyond their control; and therefore tend to feel ineffective politically and hence remain sceptical about political innovations in the name of economic development (O'Barr, 1970: 20). The government on its part regards traditional leaders as both positive and negative factors in the institutionalization of local leadership. Mainly because they are viewed as being not innovative. But it is known that, the moderate leaders, innovative as they might be, do not have the authority to implement and enforce their ideas due to the age grade system of the community.

The situation is worsened by the election

procedures whereby the party branch chairperson automatically becomes a village government leader. In Butemine, the branch leaders are elected by the members whose number hardly reaches fifty. Unfortunately, people who could not have done well in informal politics, happened to manouver their way into the village leadership. Definitely, being the minority's choice, they had to bank much on the legal powers they had acquired with the 1975 villagisation. Eventually, the gap between informal and formal politics continued to widen such that perpetual conflict is what is now characterising the local level politics in Butemine community. This situation is infact blended (by the government at district level) non-cooperation of the local people to all matters concerning socio-politics. It was claimed that, the Temi people do not like to cooperate in socio-political matters, especially payment of the party's annual subscription by the members, payment of the development levy and school fees and also low turnout in those public works organized by the local government.

During the field research, we attended two public works - construction of an irrigation dam and building of a cooperative shop for Yasimditto youths. All these public works were well attended.

They were organized by the youths themselves. The village leaders arrived at the scene very late in the afternoon. For the construction of dam, we saw an old man instructing the youths how to lay out the foundation and later, how to re-enforce the walls. The construction of the shop was headed by a hired technician from the district headquarter, and the youths were just providing manual work in plastering the walls. We therefore take the district authority's complaints of poor turnout of the Temi people in public works with a 'pinch of salt.' Especially when the local people had to express their resentments about the government's negligence of their needs in relation to provision of social services; medicine (both veterinary and hospital); poor infrastructural development/ no supply of agricultural inputs. In/and actual fact we could clearly see the weakness on the part of the (village governments). Had they been active, such complaints on the part of the people and vice-versa would not have been there as they (village governments) are supposed to bridge the people with the government at higher levels. It clearly appeared to us that the village level governments are inactive such that people can feel the gap between local and higher level governments. Perhaps

that gives us a clue as to why the Temi women have always been looking at the issue of their involvement in the village politics with a lot of apprehension. An examination of the age grade system and its involvement in the politics, might enable us to better understand the situation of women in the village politics.

4.2 Age Grade System

Age grade system can be defined as a recognized divisions of life cycles of individuals as they pass from infancy to old age (Radcliffe - Brown, 1929: 21). The Temi people make a distinction of three major age grades - boyhood, youthhood and adulthood (Gray, 1963:83). Age grading as one can see is applicable to men only. In other words, it is the system only applicable to a male dominant society, whereby men are graded according to life experiences they undergo.

Among Batemi, the first age grade is that of an inexperienced boys which covers their life from childhood to their initiation, or specifically up to the time of their circumcision. Under normal circumstance, the boys are circumcised at the age of at least fourteen years. Individuals in this age

grade are known as Vijori (sing Kijori) or ma-loyon* (sing, layon). They are usually dressed in white or yellow pieces of clothes. The second age grade starts with the initiation rites after circumcision. It is known as the warrior age grade. Individuals in this group are referred to as the batana (sing. motana (Gray, 1963-84) or "wa-moran (sing moran). Usually, they are dressed in read pieces of clothes, and are always armed with bows, arrows and matchettes (sime) because their task, first and foremost, is to defend the community. Traditionally, they were not obliged to participate in any other productive activity, and they had to be provisioned by other members of the community, for warriorship provided a full time occupation (Gray, 1963: 96). With the impact of monetization of economy world wide, the Temi youths could not just wait to be provisioned by the rest of the community members. They have started engaging themselves in cash earning activities like petty trade, cooperative agricultural production and seasonal casual labour, particularly domestic service across Kenya. The third age grade is reached after retiring from warriorship. An individual in this age grade is called montomonkolo (pl. bamalankolo)

*Terms layon and moran are adopted from their neighbouring Masai. They express the similar age grades among the neighbours too.

which literally translates as an elder/elders (Gray, 1963: 85). The task of individuals in this grade is to re-enforce collective elders' decisions at the level of their respective households of which they are the heads.

Most households we visited during the field research, were being headed by adult men who were controlling management of the household means of production, of labour and its output. We could clearly see that age grade system was very much influencing the village politics in the sense that traditional leaders, the wenamiiji were the real decision makers. These are about three to six council of elders from different parts of the villages understudy. Samunge being the larger villager, has nine wenamiiji, three from Yasi and six from the central part of the village Hahara, Digodigo has a total of twelve wenamiiji, six from Digodigo and the other six from Mugholo. Kisangiro has six too. Nobody could really tell us how the wenamiiji were chosen into their position. It looked like people still had overwhelming belief that they (wenamiiji) were the descendants of the partrilineal lines of the men who lived in Khambageu's (the Sonjo God) life time, and that they were

being ordained into their positions by the God (Gray, 1963:143). The discussion about the relationship between the God and the wenamiji seemed very unpleasant with all the informants. The only thing which most informants stressed was the fairness of the wenamiji in allocating irrigation water. They kept on attributing the persistence of the irrigation system in the past two centuries to the collective efforts of the wenamiji. We saw them particularly right when we happened to see certain weirs being rehabilitated. Youths were mostly offering manual work, but the expertise on irrigation structures' work was provided by old men. Of-course, the old men must have been keeping the knowledge to themselves so that, the young generation keeps on recognizing the importance of the age grade system. However, it could be clearly seen during the field research that youths are less interested in the irrigation matters. Basically because the irrigated farms are too small to suffice the kind of agricultural production they would like to undertake. The young generation is pro-cash oriented production - e.g. petty trade in areas of agriculture-cattle trade, cereal grain sales and local beer brewing. But this move has not yet warranted them to disregard

the age grading system of the community. It still controls the social relations of the members whereby everyone shows respect to anybody in a superior age grade. Although women do not have a clearly pronounced age grade system the most senior women get more respect especially among co-wives.

The age grade system has in fact gone as far as adversely affecting formal education in Butemine area. We clearly saw that the formal education has accommodated a lot of informal teachings in it. On initiation rites, most school boys are affected as they have to be absent for the initiation period which is normally three months. More serious of such an accommodative character of formal education is the provision in schools for initiated boys to acquire respect among others who are uninitiated. Associated with such a respect is non reprimand of the senior boys (initiated ones) in the presence of their juniors (uninitiated boys). Much worse, is the provision in the social culture that initiated boys are above receiving any instruction from women, not even from their own mothers! So, this blind accommodation of such an age grade system in schools is affecting a working relation since there are female teachers and prefects, who are supposed to

be instructing all the pupils equally. But the accommodated age grade system has created a stratified kind of social relations in schools to such an extent that some pupils deserve special treatment from both the teachers and their fellow children, thus making things difficult for female instructors.

Again, because the school system is all out to accommodate the traditional values of the community so as to minimize a conflict between the community's adherence to culture and formal education, the girls are allowed to be betrothed while schooling. In the villages we visited, most standard six and seven girls (numbering in between 100 and 150 girls) were reported to have been betrothed. Because the betrothal is done by fathers without the girls' consent, the reaction is usually a mixed feeling. Some were saying straight away that they will elope with the boys of their own choice on completion of the school, and others appeared to have condoned to the situation since their fathers have decided for them. All in all, the teachers reported that such a betrothal has an adverse relation on the girls class performance since they (girls) are no longer concentrating on their class work. Basically, because the

chances for them to continue with secondary education are slim. The question one asks him/herself is that how long will the school system continue to accommodate social practice that does not have positive contribution to the pupils' learning process? Secondly, or maybe the most basic question is why must the school system be so much accommodative? The answer is because the formal education is accepted as long as it does not conflict with societal goal of adherence to culture, even other aspects like medical treatment, people's militia training and religious teachings to mention only a few, have all accommodated a certain level of cultural practice in them.

At this juncture, one sees the dilemma that the Temi socio-politics is faced with. On the one hand, the community is exposed to modern politics in which individuals (both men and women) can get involved on merits. The exposure is exemplified by the establishment of the village government and the villages as the party branches whereby office bearers are elected in. On the other hand, the community is still stuck to its old social structure to which the age grade system determines the mode of involvement into the village politics.

To this effect potential women involvement in the politics is undermined by quitting of the girls from schools, and placing more social reproduction workload on the women's shoulders, thus minimizing the chances for them (women folk) to enter into the village politics.

The two women leaders we talked about earlier, have expressed their concern about community's discouragement of women from entering the village politics by ridiculing any woman who exhibits boldness in the presence of men. And that men are always having unrecalled solidarity whenever an issue of injustice to women arises. Examples of such an injustice practice covered severe beating of women by drunkard men, forced marriage etc. An incidence of a woman who was killed by her husband's age mate was reported to the police at the time of this field research. The men on their part justify such a beating of women by saying that they (women) have ceased respecting men. A certain village leader was wondering about a respectability of a woman who sells local beer. According to him, no respectable woman could abandon her 'husband's children' and 'livestock' to sell beer! Personally I would attribute such a conflict on the degeneration

of the community's norms and values as a result of the impact of money economy on family relations. Women are now selling local beer which was not sold traditionally, in order to make the ends meet. Most men, especially the old clique, are finding it difficult to accept women's involvement in cash economy since it has an adverse effect on their power relations. Women's control over the cash they generate decreases the men's control over the resources. They are attributing women's involvement in cash earning activities to rebellion against cultural values, hence needing some kind of disciplining from the male folk. However, the Temi women have already decided (willingly or by obligation) to undertake their role as producers at the expense of involvement in the political life, because the need to subsist is more pressing than that to participate in the local level politics.

4.3 Main Economic Activities

This part of the chapter will give us a brief summary of the main economic activities that the Temi people carry out. The discussion will focus on the type of activities, personalities involved in every economic activity and its significance to the community's social life. Like in all the other preceded discussions, emphasis is put on the extent to which women contribute to the development of the Temi economy.

4.3.1 Agriculture

Roughly, Butemine area can be divided into high and low lands. Traditionally, Batemi occupied the low lands as their farm land and lived in the high land for security purposes and easy livestock keeping. In the highland, they could spot the Masai raiders before hand and the high land grass could sustain the domestic animal for a longer period. Nevertheless, the irrigated agriculture was possible only in the low land because they were just opening canals from water springs to farm yards. But the villagisation programme launched in 1975, among Batemi, moved the village settlement of the Temi people to the bottom land which made the land extremely exhausted since it was now being occupied by both livestock and people / adversely affecting natural / thus vegetation and therefore diminishing volume of irrigation water. This clearly shows how the villagisers could not envisage the negative impact of clustering houses together on the Temi people's subsistence economy. However, the local people have found the solution to the overpopulation on land by going back to their top hill side settlement plus an expansion of rainfed agriculture.

The major economic activity for the Temi people, therefore, is agriculture both cultivation and livestock keeping. Traditionally, the Temi people cultivated vegetable food and tamed goats (Gray, 1963: 36-39). With the outside contacts, they adopted cultivation of cassava, sorghum and of late maize as a result of a changing migratory trend towards the tophill sides of the rift valley escarpments. The agriculture was in the past an irrigated one. Currently, the community's subsistence depend on extensive rainfed agriculture as the potentially irrigated land is limited to 2,500 acres of which only one fifth is actually irrigated. Basically, because the irrigation practice is still rudemental. There still exists very temporary irrigation structures which are always washed away by rain water, and reinforced by the people yearly as soon as the rain ends.

Individual farm lands in this irrigated areas, are measured in a quarter of an acre which are just called mitaro* (sing. mtaro) literally translated as land strip/strips. A maximum piece of land one can have is eight mitaro as shown in the table 4.2 below. Having more of such land strips means occupying longer irrigation hours which deprives

*Mtarro is measured in foot steps. One mtaro ranges between 15 to 20 foot steps. Since the local people measure their acreage in foot steps, and an acre is 70 by 70 steps, something in between 20 by 15 or the vice versa, is taken approximately a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre.

others of irrigation water. Moreover, the number of users of the irrigation water has increased in terms of people and animals. Most probably, the volume of water has declined too due to the increasing human activities on land that has resulted to more clearing of the forest for extensive agriculture and falling trees for house building.

The land in the irrigated areas, is controlled by the people with primary right to water - the wenamiji (Gray, 1963: 58). Every user gets right to till it on borrowing terms. No informant could tell us the terms of agreement between a borrower and the owners of the land. At most, the informants were expressing a view that every Temi person has the right to till the land as it is the basis of their livelihood; that nobody can deny one to use a piece of land which he is not using at the moment. But why and how could one have a piece of land that he is not using was the question all informants diverted to answer!

Table 4.2: Farm sizes in irrigated land

in acre	Number of Respondents											
	Village1		Village2		Village3		Sub-Totals		Total	Relative Percentage %		Percentage %
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	
$\frac{1}{4}$	8	5	0	2	6	7	14	15	29	18	19	37
$\frac{1}{2}$	4	3	1	2	0	6	5	11	16	6	14	20
$\frac{3}{4}$	1	2	2	1	3	4	6	7	13	8	9	16
1	3	0	1	0	2	2	7	1	8	9	1	10
$1\frac{1}{4}$	1	0	0	0	3	0	4		4	5	0	5
$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	0	0	0	3	0	5		5	6	0	6
$1\frac{3}{4}$	1	0	0	0	2	0	3		3	4	0	4
2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
	22	10	4	5	20	19	46	34	80	57	43	100

Key: Village 1: Digodig
 Village 2: Kisangiro
 Village 3: Samunge

Source: Field Survey

All the women respondents were tilling the land that belonged to male members of their households - husbands or fathers as shown in table 3 below. Those who got the right to till the land by virtue of being wives, told us that such a right usually ends with the marriage. In such a situation a woman, they said, goes back to her parents, where she now acquires a land to till from the fathers. Women who belong to polygamous households could borrow a land to till in irrigated lands from their fathers too, especially when husbands could not provide all the wives with irrigated farm lands due to limitation posed by scarcity of this resource. However, most women we talked to, have relatively smaller farms to in both fields irrigated and rainfed, as table 4.1 above and table 4.3 below have shown. The reason for the smallness of the women's farms is the constrained put on them by the limited time they can put to the farm work and the availability of land to them since they only get the right to till it at the discretion of men.

Table 4.3: Right of Women to Land

Type of Holding	Land Acquisition from:								Percentage		General	
	Village 1		Village 2		Village 3		Total Specific		Specific			
	Husband	Father	Husband	Father	Husband	Father	Husband	Father	General	Husband		Father
Irrigated Farms	7	3	4	1	15	4	26	8	34	76.5	23.5	100
Rainfed Farms	9	1	4	1	16	3	29	5	34	85	15	100

Key: Village 1 - Digodigo
 Village 2 - Kisangiro
 Village 3 - Samunge

Source: Field Survey.

Irrigated farm plots as one can see are very small for a sound agricultural production. All in all, no Temi man can go without one. Even the sons of unmarried mothers have to make sure they get a share that in their maternal grand fathers' irrigated land, by paying a token of a goat to the wenamiji. To the Temi people, missing an irrigated farm is like missing a base or home. This respect to the irrigated farm which they call an egome, conforms to the Chagga's respect to Kihamba, the old homestead or ancestor's place.

Principally, non-irrigated land is free for everybody to use it. Even though, its allocation is done with the consent of the wenamiji since there are areas traditionally set aside for pastures, and some are sacred places. In the final analysis then, the wenamiji control the allocation of land even in the non-irrigated land, with the difference only in the size of the farm land one gets. Whereas the size of irrigated land one could acquire is limited to an availability of water, in the rainfed agricultural areas, one is at liberty to open up as much big farms as he can take care of.

In principle, a women can have a farm land

in her own right in this area. Practically however, no women has so far managed to open a farm of her own, because the Temi women donot possess iron tools - axes and matchettes (panga) with which the new farm land could be opened. At most the women can possess kitchen knives and hand hoes which cannot enable them to clear the bush for having farms in the highlands. For a woman to have a farm in those high lands, she must get men to clear the forest for her, and do the first tilling which are traditionally men's duty. Women, therefore, even in the highlands remain categorically land users rather than owners in their own right. For the reason that they acquire right to till the land by virtue of being wives and daughters, and also due to the labour constraints as they can - only put a limited amount of time to farm works, their field farms are relatively small as can be seen in the table 4.4 below.

Most male informants appear to have a relatively big farms because they regard all the farm land that fall under their households as theirs. But women recognize only those pieces of farm land which belong to their homesteads, or only those farms on which they work.

Food crops are supplemented by animal products - meat, milk and blood. The ownership and control of domestic animals are men's domain. Women are responsible only for milking and cleaning the sumine, also watering them. The Sumine as already explained, are situated in between three and four miles from ones homestead in the villages. This is because, the cattle are moved closer to the pasture for easy grazing. Goats and sheep are kept in the villages.

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Table 4.4: Farms Sizes in the Highlands

Acre	Number of People						Total		Grand	Percentage		General %
	Village 1		Village 2		Village 3		Sub			Specific %		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1	0	2	3	4	1	9	4	15	19	5	18.75	23.75
2	8	6	1	1	3	8	12	15	27	15	18.75	33.75
3	6	2	0	0	4	2	10	4	14	12.5	5	17.5
4	8	0	0	0	4	0	12	0	12	15	0	15
5	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	5	6.5	0	6.25
6	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	3	3.5	0	3.75
Total	22	10	4	5	20	19	46	34	80	57.	42.5	100

Key: Village 1 - Digodigo
 Village 2 - Kisangiro
 Village 3 - Samunge

Source: Field Survey

Women are also responsible for taking care of animals in the villages (goats and sheep). Usually the home herds are kept in the house at nights (Gray, 1963: 39).

Among Batemi, cattle have much more social significance besides supplementary subsistence and cash exchange. They are the symbol of wealth that makes anybody with a large number to get more respect. The richer one is, the more he invests in larger number of cattle herds. Some have gone as far as adopting draught animal agriculture - e.g. oxen drawn ploughs and carts. Surely, a person with cattle stands a better chance of surviving with relative ease in case calamities with relative ease - e.g. famine, epidemics etc. This is because he can easily trade any required service with a relevant type of animal, for example trading food items, medicine (both hospital and veterinary) with goats.

The most significant social aspect of cattle keeping, is its relevance in the marriage transactions. Usually bride wealth is paid in cattle. Traditionally, the Temi parents charged only four goats as bride wealth. But the wenamiji later raised the bride wealth to twenty eight goats or twelve cows. The decision was necessitated by the arrogance of some wealthy men. Even now, rich men can pay

up to seventy goats and twelve cows. Of course, there are some men who still pay four goats only, particularly, when the marriage agreement is reached by the marrying parties (boys and girls) themselves. Usually when the parents arrange for their children's marriage, the bride wealth is higher than when the children agree on their own marriage. Most parents we interviewed attribute such a difference in bride wealth on a bargaining power one has when his daughter is on his side. But when a daughter is ready to marry a man at every cost, they resort to taking what the other party offers, and normally, they will always take the advantage of the girls willingness to marry their sons, thus pay as minimum bride wealth as possible. Sometimes, marrying boys pay the difference in the bride wealth for a fear of being ridiculed by their inlaws and even their own wives.

Under 'normal' circumstance parents (fathers) arrange for their children's marriages. For this reason, childhood betrothal is normally practiced (Gray, 1963: 67). However, nowadays very few educated people get married to spouses chosen for them by their parents. In most cases men have married and divorced so as to free themselves from

their parents choices. Women on their part, have either eloped with the men of their own choice on condition that those men pay back the bride wealth paid to their (girls) fathers by the former suitors whom the Temi people regard as husbands in so far as the bride wealth is not yet remitted back; or stayed without marrying anybody so that no bride price is claimed back. According to the Temi people's tradition, only a prospective new husband is obliged to pay back already remitted bride wealth to a former suitor or husband. No father is obliged to pay back his daughter's bridewealth. In most cases, women look for men who are ready to pay back the bride wealth so that they become free of a hustle from the husbands they donot like. Usually a women cuts her self a number of sticks (vijiti) which equals the quantity of cattle paid for her bride wealth. She will be moving with such a number of sticks from one prospective husband to another, convincing them to marry her. When she finds one who is ready to marry her, she informs her people - father or brothers in case of the father's death, so that her new marriage is arranged for. Payment back of the bride wealth, marks the end of the first marriage, and the wife takes all the children along with her to her new homestead. The new husband pays

four goats as a token to wenamiji for marrying someone else's wife, and adopts the children. Therefore, fatherhood among Batemi is more of a social role than one of a genital responsibility.

Although this study could not cover the situation of the adopted children within their new clan lineages, some male adults who were adopted as wife's children expressed hatred to their biological fathers. Similarly, the fathers who happened to offer their children for adoption showed ill-feelings to have done so. Both the adopted children and the fathers who offered them expressed a feeling of shamefulness about the fact that one could trade his child with cattle!

Personally I view, the movement of women with their children from one husband to another as a source of their power. In other words, I view it as women having a sort of a potential power over their reproductive power, which the social structure, using economic opportunities had turned against them (women). This is seen in incidencies of women wondering about with their children whom they have to feed, but do not have any other source of livelihood, except land. To get

the right to till it, they must align with men as husbands or fathers. Fathers have enough responsibilities of their households, so have delegated such a responsibility over their daughters to husbands. If they (daughters) fail to live with their husbands, they should take care of themselves. Therefore, daughters are forced to get into second or third marriage in order to get the right to till land for the subsistence of the children. After all, the husbands are getting cheap labour in their households, so are in no way taking these women with step children out of good heartedness.

Usually, fate is not always on the side of women. Their second marriage have in most cases landed on the rich and polygamous households. As much as they could get the right to use land, they have always been required to handle also tensions that usually arise from polygamous marriage. At whatever cost, a woman has to keep her second marriage for a fear of being ridiculed for failing to keep her marriage again and also for caring for the subsistence of the children.

4.3.2 Other Productive Activities

Crop and livestock production is supplemented

with honey extraction and petty trade of items such as clothes, food stuff-sugar, cooking-oil, salt and maize flour, also other items like soap, tooth paste and other cosmetics. Honey is collected from individual bee hives, which belong to adult men. Honey is used for ceremonial and ritual purposes. Petty trade is a recent phenomenon, unique to the impact of the cash economy on the Temi people's life. It is undertaken by the youths, especially the warrior group. In addition to the trade of processed items, they also slaughter livestock for meat sale. Young women (age between 20 and 30 years) on their part are engaged in local beer trade. They make the beer out of cereal grain. Young boys, uninitiated ones, go for casual labour, i.e. domestic service across Kenya for a cash income. Usually these are school boys who abscond themselves for a minimum period of six months. Whatever money they could serve from such a casual labour, is invested in petty trade.

The cash oriented activities has resulted into problem that is affecting formal education around Butemine. Children are absconding from schools for casual employment, teachers are spending

some working hours or days in activities which supplement their effort to make ends meet - e.g. gardening, the local beer trade and sale of hides and skins across Kenya - Tanzania border; and parents are marrying off their daughters before they finish primary education in-order to get bride wealth in cattle which they can trade with cash for buying whatever items they see essential. The social relation too is affected by this impact of cash economy. Nowadays, the Temi adult men trade the honey beer which was traditionally meant for rituals and ceremonies. At the moment, a gourdful of the honey beer is traded with a goat. It is the only beer which is brewed by men with an assistance from women in aspects of collecting water and firewood.

The beer business is carried out in dry season which is also the period of the irrigated agriculture. Women in this period have more work to do because grazing pastures are also scarce such that cattle has to be taken into the forest that is at a distance from both the sumine and the village homesteads, irrigated farms need to be attended to and the beer business undertaken so that the agricultural household production is supplemented.

All these activities into which women are involved, leave them with very minimum leisure time if any.

Village governments collect revenue from the sale of beer and other business in their respective villages, but do not think of easing the work burden on the part of women in any way - e.g. investing on technologies that reduce work load on the women's shoulders like milling machines that would have reduced the cereal grinding work; hence shortening a time women spend on food processing. The Yasimditto and Digodigo party branches have lorries that generate income for the institutions, but only Yasimditto is so far planning to buy a milling machine. The others Digodigo, Kisangiro and Samunge have no plans for such a technology. Samunge was said to have had one which just disappeared. We could not enquire much about the disappearance of the milling machine for fearing to sour our relations with the village leadership. Similarly we could not pay a deaf ear to women's concerns about the village leaders sabotage of the technologies which could have reduced work load on their part, particularly the grinding machine that would have reduced manual work the women are undertaking in food

processing. However, we are in no way wholly attributing misappropriation of the machine to men's techniques of keeping women at home, but also to individual selfishness which results to misappropriation of village projects - e.g. a village car, etc.

4.4 Household Economy

This section of the chapter takes household as a unit of analysis. Its discussion focuses on the nature of Temi household economy. Special attention is given to the household decision making with reference to the extent to which women participate or not participate in the household decisions. Household relations of production, particularly the interaction between co-wives, step children and other related members of the household, are analysed in relation to division of labour. Since the society is changing, impact of such a social change on the organizational set-up of household is examined.

4.4.1 Batemi Household Economy

The Temi people production is basically subsistent in nature, and is undertaken by individual

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4.4.1 Batemi Household Economy

The Temi people production is basically subsistent in nature, and is undertaken by individual

households. For analytical purposes, the Temi household can be divided into two or so homesteads depending on the number of wives one man has. Organization of household production, therefore, is done at the level of homesteads where every woman organizes her work schedule for undertaking such a production, and men (husbands) only oversee the success of the household production. The household production includes cultivation, cattle keeping and local beer making. The beer is made for ceremonial and ritual purposes, and very recently, for business as already discussed above.

Under normal circumstances, every married woman among Batemi, is given her house on the day of her marriage. Only widowed wives can share homes with their mother-in-laws when the latter is also widowed. Traditionally, daughters, including daughters-in-law, never share homes with their fathers. In every home, the wife/mother is obliged to produce for the subsistence of her home. She is vested with the responsibility of cultivating field farms in irrigated and rainfed lands. Also, she must keep small animals (goats and sheep) at her home, and attend to the household cattle that is usually kept in the sumine. The responsibility over household

cattle is best carried out in turns by co-wives. Every woman, does domestic work at her home from food processing to environmental health.

4.4.2 Household Relations of Production

This section presents information on the relations of production at household level. Important in this section's discussion is the examination of the control of means of production and that of the forces of production, also division of labour.

Land and irrigation water are the major means of production in the agro-pastoral economy like this of the Temi people. Social relations of production means that the cultivated land is individually controlled; but the grazing land fall under the communal ownership. Everybody is free to graze his cattle in the areas traditionally set for pastures. The pastures are in between six to ten miles away from the village centres. So nobody can really claim the right to control something that far. Usually they simply build their shelters (sumine) closer to pasture land and move them (the sumine) from the one pasture area to another as the grass gets exhausted.

The cultivated land is controlled by men

(husbands). But the Temi people recognize only the irrigated land as the private land which is inherited partileaneally. Maybe because the rain bearing agricultural land is relatively a new acquisition, and abundant too. It looks like people tend to monopolise scarce resource which also tell us the reason why the pasture land is still communally owned.

Control of labour is hard to ascertain in the situation where division of labour is guided by gender roles. Usually every member of the household assumes the traditionally designated gender responsibility. Whereas men are required to oversee the household production and the defence of the household members and property, for women the requirement goes as far as providing the household with food; i.e. cultivation, livestock keeping and food processing from storing to actual cooking and clearing the household environment. Although adult men, heads of the households in particular, have an advantage of organizing how to undertake a common household functions, every member of those households can attend to those functions at their own pace. What matters really is not the directive of those heads of the households, but the importance

attached to those functions. Control of labour, therefore, depends on the importance of what the labourer achieves.

For example, livestock though are male owned, women willingly attend to them as they are assured of getting milk for the use of their homes. Nonetheless, attending to their husbands livestock is among other things, traditional role designated to wives. Failing to undertake such a role, will raise a lot of ridicule to the woman in question from all members of the community since cattle is its (community's) treasury. Nobody can be forgiven for mis-handling the treasury.

Common productive forces at the household level are hand hoes and irrigation water. Whereas the hoes are possessed by every user women inclusive, the right to irrigation water is acquired strictly by men. Since most irrigated farm yards are borrowed from other men with excess irrigated farm land, the person lending out the land, also lends his right to irrigation water without which the land is worthless. Because men practice the actual irrigation, they are more knowledgeable about irrigation techniques. But women have a broader knowledge on agricultural

practice since they undertake all the agricultural work starting from sowing, weeding, harvesting and storing. Generally, women have a wider agricultural knowledge from spaces required in intercropping, varieties of crops to be grown together and so on.

Intercropping has been very helpful in enriching the irrigated land soil, because the irrigation method common to the Temi people, i.e. opening the ditches on the farms, erodes the top soil hence leaving the soil with very poor nutrients for the crops to grow. The soil could have been enriched with fertilizers such as green manure which other agro-pastoral communities use e.g. the Sukuma and the Iraqw. But the Temi people besides their long history of interacting with those agro-pastoral communities, have not adopted such an important agricultural method of enriching the soil. At the moment, their soil gets enriched in the course of inter-cropping leguminous plants with other non-leguminous plants such as cassava, potatoes, sorghum and varieties of fruits. Even though, most of the rainfed farms are still new, so their soil do not really need enrichment. Perhaps, with time the Temi people can adopt intensive agricultural practice from their agro-pastoral

counterparts - the Sukuma and the Iraqw with whom they interact alot.

The Temi people have currently started adopting animal exenization from their Sukuma neighbours. Those household with oxes trained for agricultural work, separate the beasts from other livestock herds. The ox-plough and the animals that pulls it belong to the head of the household. Usually only a pair of four oxen is trained for the duty. This pair does the first tilling of the household farms of whatever number. The first tilling of the farm is always a men's duty. At times, the oxen can do the sowing with a planter, but in most cases, as soon as the land is tilled, women arrive at the scene with their seeds, and start sowing them so as to keep a pace with cultivation, and also to make an interval in crop growth for easy weeding. Usually sowing of big farms is done collectively. A woman invites other women and prepares food and beer for them, so is weeding and harvesting, storing is done rather individually.

Every women keeps her grains in reservoirs called bibhondo (sing. Kibhondo). The bibhondo are made of hides by adult men. The reason given for

traditionally assigning that responsibility of making bibhondo to men is that, they (men) own the animals from which the hides are obtained, so are more decisive on the use of the animal product. Also because women did not possess any iron tools (machettes) with which the bibhondo are made. Although it was asserted by all the respondents that the harvested and stored food or even before it is stored, belongs to the woman (wife), she cannot dispose off any food without the consent of her husband. That means she only acquires a stewardship over food.

There is always a sharp gender division of labour in all the production activities the Temi people undertake. In cultivation for instance, men are obliged to do only the first tilling of land, and in the new farms, they do clear the bush and till the land. The rest of the agricultural work remains the women's responsibility. In cattle keeping women attend to the animals with respect to feeding, watering, milking and cleaning their environment, but anything involving treatment, disposing off any unwanted breed, and replacing the disposed off beast is men's duty. The animal treatment is men's domain because it involves some sacrifice to the Temi God (Khambageu). The

offerings can take place in the form of slaughtering one animal (a goat) or libation of honey beer. All in all the effortful rituals go hand in hand with the administration of medicines be they veterinary or herbs, all of which the Temi women are not knowledgeable.

Children (both boys and girls) in the Temi homes only assist in the domestic work. They are not obliged to do such a work since one only becomes obliged when he/she is looking after his/her own house. At most, boys assist their mothers in cattle herding and the girls in fetching water for the domestic use. A girl can only cook food, when her mother is not around, and her father is in no way going to eat that food. Of course, the Temi men have an advantage of eating from their polygamous houses, or from the pots of their age mates' wives. Usually, every woman is supposed to serve her husband with food every day even when he is not going to spend a night at her place. So when one wife is not around the other and/others will always provide her/their husband with food. If a wife falls sick, her mother especially when the latter is elderly, assists her daughter with the domestic and agricultural works.

If the mother is still young in the sense that she is still in her reproductive age, she cannot afford leaving her own children behind to go and assist the daughter. In this case a grand mother is asked to assist the young wife. In other words, assistance to a newly wed wife has to come from her side. No mother in-law is obliged to assist her son's wife during delivery because basically every mother is caring for her own daughter, thus will not have time for assisting a daughter in-law.

Other production activities undertaken within the Temi households are beekeeping, brewing local beer and petty trade. Whereas beekeeping is an activity unique to the adult men, making local beer is of two types. The ~~honey~~ beer is made by men with assistance from their wives. The beer made of cereal grain flour is made by young women of an age between 20 and 30 years. It is made for business so as to generate cash income for supplementing the household ~~income~~.

The petty trade is done across Kenya. Items such as sugar, cooking oil and cosmetics ~~are~~ traded with skins and hides across the border. This activity is usually done by the batana, and at times the school boys who go across Kenya for domestic labour are asked

to import the trading items on their return.

Trade actually is the only productive contribution the batana make to their households, or else they are obliged to provide the community with defence. For that reason they hardly reside with their parents. Usually, they have several common houses besides some common chosen homes. In those common houses, the Wamoran share accommodation, meals and eating utensils. For this reason, when the deadly disease (meningitis) broke out, the batana were the most affected because they are used to sharing things. Usually, no Temi person eats in the same plate with another. Everyone has his/her own half gourd and a spoon ('ngembe') made of an animal horn. Infact the chances for contamination in that way are small when every one is eating from his/her own half-calabash, but this wamoran's tendency of sharing resulted into spreading the contangius disease in Butemine area.

In the homes as we have said earlier on every woman provides her homestead with food and keeps her grain storage. But she cannot dispose off any excess grain without the consset of her husband. She is so helpless in the case of surplus allocation

to such an extent that she cannot help a neighbour's child who is going without food, not even that of another wife with whom she shares the husband. After all every woman is supposed to economise the use of her grain reserve so that it does not diminish before that of the other. So the chances for a wife to share a food reserve with the other are very minimal, although the children can eat from any home. In case of famine, every woman cares for her own children.

4.4.3 Household Decision Making

Households make decisions on production targets, domestic affairs and assessment of the production goals and of any future plans. Although no round table discussion takes place in reaching a decision on what to produce and how, production targets are arrived at by satisfying the subsistence need of the household. Every woman works hard on the field farm assigned to her, and also attends to the household livestock so that she is not ridiculed for a failure to enable her home subsist.

At the general level, every individual decides on what to do in the household in accordance with the community's gender roles. Women are the

most involved in setting the production goals, while men only supervise the achievement of such goals. But the excess food grain has to be disposed off with the consent of the husband. Usually they (men) would like to trade the grains with domestic animals which automatically become their possession. Because the community's production is of subsistent nature, future plans for investments are geared towards the production activities that subsidize the food subsistence - e.g. purchase of domestic animals. Only that decision to buy a new animal or trading off un-wanted one is always reached by the head of the household - husband and/father.

Production evaluation is done in the process of preparing the storage facilities - bibhondo. Usually, the last season's grain is disposed off when the new food is about to be harvested, and the storage facilities are repaired whereas men examine the bibhondo, women also check on their food carriers which are made of skins too. The repair of the two containers is men's duty.

Decisions on domestic issues such as weddings, funerals, traditional rituals, etc. are reached by

men. The only times when a woman can initiate discussion on issues, is on a decision that concerns female initiations and famine intervention. Other things remain well, men are always the decision makers even when such decisions affect women personally - e.g. marriage agreements and/funerals.

The heads of the households generally link their households with others in the village. Although women do socialize their children according to the community's mode of conduct, the prestige that comes with the good conducts of the children is given to the men. In short therefore, women play greater role in the reproduction of their community but lack the recognition of that crucial work.

4.4.4 Household in Village Politics

Household position in the village politics is discussed in relation to the extent to which the households as collectivities participate in the village decision making in terms of establishing the village leadership be at the party or government levels.

A party branch is usually established by at

least fifty registered individual members. The village government then is established by just registering the party branch into a recognized village settlement. There the branch chair person automatically becomes the leader of the village government. That means establishment of the village authorities does not need involvement of the whole village members not even that of all the households.

The problem I think lies with the understanding of the term household, which connotes one male head and his dependents - wife, children and other dependents. Only a representative, usually a man, is required to get involved in the village politics among Batemi. This is because, politics is men's domain, which women are not supposed to get involved in. Even the junior men are not supposed to involved themselves in the presence of their elders. That is why, the young men are rather busy with trade which gives them income that may liberate themselves from economic ties with parents, fathers in particular.

Although women too are equally engaged in business that enables them to raise funds of their

own, the society's cultural values still subject them to a position whereby whatever they produce is in one way or the other appropriated by men - especially husbands. For instance, when a woman invests in livestock, the latter becomes a man's possession, if not the husband, the son. It is thus a time to examine the underlying cause for keeping women out of the community's political life.

The Temi people regard community's defence and the allocation of irrigation water resource as political issues. These issues are decided on by men under guidance of the council of elders. No woman can dare sharing discussion concerning defence and irrigation water allocation because those are men's issues which are settled under the trees meant for the village plazas, the places where women are not supposed to pass nearby. So possibilities of women sharing village decision making are minimal/so far as/in decisions are still being dominated/influenced by the age grade system as we have seen in the above sections. In the following chapter, we will attempt to show how women have been marginalized in the decision making process in the Temi community.

CHAPTER 5DATA INTERPRETATION

This chapter attempts to interpret the field findings as presented in the previous chapter. The discussion will centre on the reference made to objectives and hypotheses of the study so as to arrive at conclusion. Our theoretical framework as ready stated, is the social historical methodology that enables us to under score the position of women within the Temi social structure.

5.1 Reference to Objective

The study objectives are revisited in order to see if they (objectives) were specified to the subject matter of the research - gender inequality and small-holder irrigation agriculture. This work has four researchable themes. Every study objectives was to examine one theme as will be seen below.

5.1.1 Extent of Women Subordination

The first objective was aimed at examining the extent to which the Temi women are still subordinate: basing on Gray's (1955) research. It was stated as following:

to examine the extent to which the Temi women remain subordinated despite the contribution they make in the subsistence of their community.

The objective actually has two implications. On the one hand, it raises some doubts as to whether the Temi women are still subordinate; and on the other, whether they make any contribution to the subsistence of their community. Then, it seeks the extent of such a subordination of women.

It is discussed in Chapter 4 above that the Temi women are still subordinate in the sense that they are deprived of the control of means of production land and irrigation water. Furthermore, that they neither control the tools of labour nor the product of such labour since they cannot make an independent decision on the distribution of the agricultural food they produce. For the farm implements, it is stated that they have the right to use them in so far as they remain in the house to which the tools belong. On a departure from home arising either from getting married or divorce, the women leave the tools behind for the same are wrongly regarded to belong to the fathers and husbands respectively. Surprisingly, the wife takes children along with her to a new homestead if her first marriage breaks.

Second marriage is usually a women's only choice if she wants to get away with the hustle from her former husband who would always want nothing else but to get back the bride wealth paid to her father, and also if she is to get right to till the land for the subsistence of her children. It is covered that the Temi women do not participate in the open community politics because they are not given the forum. They are denied such a forum by the fact that they have a heavier work load in subsistence production and domestic chores. Nonetheless, they are deliberately being discouraged from the village politics by ignoring their contribution in the household decision making and literally ridiculing female individuals who show an ability to join the village leadership.

The second part of the objective is also covered in the presentation made above that the Temi women form the main agricultural labour force to both as the land tillers and cattle herders. Women also brew and sell beer to subsidize the household income in the face of encroaching money economy. This notwithstanding, women have remained subordinate to such an extent that they are times

rendered helpless by being deprived of the land to till when the marriage breaks, and they have to wander about with children whose subsistence becomes uncertain, the fact that gives both physiological and psychological tortured to the mother! She becomes physiologically tortured in the sense that she has to (dare sun or rain; day or night) move from one man to the other looking for somebody to marry her so that she and her children are rescued from the subsistence uncertainty we have just explained. The indicators for psychological torture are the humiliation one gets when looking for a man since traditionally only men are supposed to look for women. But here the woman is subjected to a situation which every Temi person being a man or a women regards as a literal 'selling' of oneself; thus gets humiliated.

During field work, we eye witnessed four women look for men to free them from their marriages which they could no longer stand. Again, about 78% of the female respondents (25 out of 34) expressed their feelings of the humiliation, degradation and embarrassment women face when a first marriage breaks. In such a situation, the women said, another husband becomes a 'saviour' to a woman. Of-course he later subjects her into handling tensions that may arise out of polygamous marriage. Women therefore, end up being imprisoned by social constraints as they

cannot dare to walk out again for a second time. They are therefore obliged to keep their (be it second or third) marriage for the sake of children and that of their faces from more ridicules.

5.1.2 Gender Relations

The second objective of the study seeks to explain ~~existence~~ ~~of~~ unequal gender relations. It was stated as following:

to examine the super-ordinate/
subordinate relationships between
men and women.

The chapter on field findings presentation has given us many examples of unequal social practice. The fact that the society is stratified according to the age grades is a clear indication of the practice of inequality. Nonetheless, women are not involved in the household decisions although they play a great role in the subsistence of these households. Worse still, they are not involved in political decision making i.e. in the village government. This makes practice of injustice against women possible as exemplified by sanctioning

severe beating of wives and forced marriages.

The origin of gender relations can be sought in the social relations of production among the Batemi. The network of relations was explained in chapter 4 as the household relations of production. It was seen that women do most of the production and reproduction work - cultivation, attending to domestic animals, caring for the children and undertake all the domestic chores, while men do just the community's defence and honey collection.

The women's work seems to be homebound or done near homes because it involves not only breast feeding but also carrying the babies since the system of weaning food is not so developed, and also the Temi mother resume production work immediately after giving birth to a child. At times a woman is obliged to look after livestock on the third day of delivery! For sure the infant cannot be given any weaning food.

The only work the men do in cultivation is clearing farm land and letting irrigation water into the farms. This is because women do not have relevant tools for land clearing - axes and machettes. The Temi people believe that, the tools are God given,

men asked for the iron tools - arrows and matchettes, women only asked for digging sticks with which they could till the land! It would appear that the reason for assigning all the domestic work and the rest of the production activities which can be done with infants on the backs to women is that, they can be interrupted and resumed with relative ease. But the land clearing and the irrigation work are not undertaken by women. The irrigation work in particular, is best done at night so as to minimize the loss of water due to excessive heat. These works have been dangerous for the life of both the mother and the child, particularly because the community is exposed to cattle rustlers and predators.

The defence work could not have possibly be done by women with the babies or who are pregnant in my view. This is because, the work requires a certain degree of fastness and quietness. Neither a pregnant women or a mother with a baby can move fast. Similarly they cannot observe such a required silence. Defence work, therefore, has to be identified with men, while the production work with women so that they compensate what they missed in the community's defence which was equally important.

The production tools seemed to have been developed according to the tasks people undertake. Women as we have just mentioned needed simple tools with which they could dig the fields - digging sticks. But men needed powerful weapons for the defence - arrows, bows and the matchettes. Making the iron tools too, became another pre-occupation of men. Among the Temi people, the tool makers are called 'Waturi' (Gray, 1963: 77). Since not every man could make the tools, those talented made the tools for exchange with goats, honey and cereal grains. Hence the emergence of barter trade in the society.

At the end of all the specialization and division of labour, men remained with the defence work, honey collection and tool making, while women did all the production of communities subsistence from tilling the land, sowing it, weeding to harvesting the food. In the irrigated farm yards, men could only come in, when irrigating the farms. In the overall agricultural activities men do the first tilling of the land, and later decide on the distribution of the farm produce! This leaves women with no authority over the product of their labour. When a woman, especially the wife, donot abide by the

rule of her husband deciding on the distribution of the farm produce, she is 'rightfully' reprimanded (beaten by the husband).

The emergence of the elementary forms of trade resulted into a contradiction in the socialization process of the community. While prior to the emergence of such a trading relation, all the male children were socialized to taken up the defence responsibility, now some are joining the apprenticeship for tool making. So the elders power and authority over the community's youths was being challenged, hence the obligatory warriorhood to all the youths was possibly being diverted. The elders had therefore looked for a way of discouraging boys from joining the apprenticeship. This was best done by despising the tool making activities of being evil and not suitable for people who make libation to God and to the fore fathers. In any form of libation, no iron tool should be used but the farm products such as colabashes or water guards.

The despise of the 'Waturi' clan went as far as depriving them of women who donot come from the waturi clans. No marriage was to take place between a 'Turi' man and a girl who does

not belong to the 'Turi' people. Whenever a marriage was forced, the parents charged bride wealth out of such marriage for the claim of cleansing their relation by performing rituals. When a man failed to pay the wealth, the woman was forced to marry another man. Such was the essence of forced marriage. However, with the development of trading relations, marriages transaction became another form of trade. The marrying partners were now giving out livestock in return of the control of the labour power of the women they married and that of the children they bear. On reaching the husband's house, the women must generate income that compensates the cattle paid to their parents, and also reproduce the clan they have just joined. Failure to fulfil any of those requirements warranted any woman a divorce out of which the bride wealth has to be remitted back. A failure to pay back the bride wealth, meant that the woman remains a rightful wife of the divorcing man. Because no man could forego his livestock paid for bride wealth, women were forced to look for other men to marry them so that the wealth accrued from this second marriage goes to the former husbands. Divorce and remarriage became a plight of women among Batemi since women only have right to till

land in so far as they are related to men as daughters, mothers or wives. This then sums up existence of unequal relation between men and women among Batemi.

5.1.3 Gender Roles

The third study objective was aimed at exposing the existence of gender roles within the Temi society as related to production and reproduction work. The objective was stated as following:

To investigate the existence of gender roles within the production and reproduction system of the community.

Discussion of household relations of production in chapter 4 and in the above section is rich of incidences of the existence of gender roles. The discussion has gone as far as exposing the unequal gender roles as exemplified by the fact that the male gender assumes the role of supervising success of household production and controlling the distribution of the produce which women have toiled for pretty hard.

It is asserted in chapter 4 that women have the sole responsibility in the community's reproduction

in the sense that on divorce, they have to move out with their children. Ironically, men are being reproduced although they can only have the access to the children in so far as they can keep their mothers in the households. We are saying men are reproduced because the clan names are acquired patrilineally. The system of male gender reproduction is facilitated by making life so insecure to women. This is done by depriving them of the control of the means and forces of production - land and irrigation water.

The control of means and forces of production was removed from women by myth of a brother who killed his sister over the control of irrigation water source. The Temi people attributed the women denial of the control of irrigation water sources to their God who has forbidden it so that no woman would be killed again over it. The question one raises is why does not the God just protect them from being killed without barring (depriving of) them from such a crucial control. Another myth that reinforces the removal of the control of irrigation water from women, is that of Khambageu, the Temi God! It is believed that Khambageu was born out of his father's knee and he later lived

poorly. That he was being kept by some elderly people whom he had to reward herds of cattle and water springs on his disappearance. This then marked the mythical emergence of the concentration of authority and the control of the scarce resources on ^{the hands of} few elders who the Temi people call wenamiji.

However, the myth has more implication than merely justifying the centralization of authority. It isolated women from the control of scarce resources and from the holiness scenary, especially when the explanation for Khambageu to have come from his father's knee was a protection from being polluted by menstruating wombs. Impurity of the menstrual blood is actually one of the subject matter of initiation rites on entering the second age grade. The initiation rites are meant to rinse the boys from the pollution they acquired out of their mothers' wombs.

I would attribute the Temi men's abuse of the menstrual blood on the irritation they might have got from seeing such blood because sanitary towels were not used due to the low levels of development. The women informants confess that traditionally they used no forms of sanitary towels

with which they could hold the menstrual blood. The absence of such sanitation made them rationalize that women were potential polluters of religious atmosphere since they menstruate. It is claimed that women could actually pollute the atmosphere by dirtening irrigation water when they step into the water or pass across irrigation canals. Also that menstrual blood dirtens water which the bees could collect to make honey which is used for libation. In short then, that was how the wenamiiji managed to manipulate the natural situation of women menstruating to bar women from the irrigation tasks, hence keeping them (women) dependent to men in their agricultural undertakings. This then is the reason behind women doing all other agricultural work excepting letting irrigation water to the farms. The net result of the above socio-cultural processes was the emergency of gender roles whereby men did irrigation works, defended the community and liasoned it with God while the female gender shoulders the production and reproduction tasks. Unfortunately, the female gender roles, being domestic oriented are unpopular while those of their counterparts, being done outside homes and sometimes collectively, gained prestige.

5.1.4 Opportunities for Women Emancipation

The fourth and the last objective of this study which was looking for a possibility of local solution to the problem of women subordination seeks!

to identify the opportunities that exist within the Temi socio-culture for the women to become more aware of their role as producers and reproducers, and hence improve their situation accordingly.

The chapter 4 above is full of potentials for women to change their life situation within the Temi socio-culture. For instance, they play major part in the reproduction of the community on both daily and generation basis. More important is the provision in the culture that they acquire stewardship of the food security system in the households. This has enabled some women to use some reserved cereal grains to trade with items they find essential for their homes - e.g. making local beer out of which they get cash income. The Temi men are bitter about their women's by-passing the traditional rule of men deciding on household projects because women are now getting control over the cash they generate, which is actually the resource in the cash economy.

Another important opportunity for women to improve their lot accordingly is the wide spread formal education that raises the rural peoples level of understanding, and so will demote some of the social practice that inhibit social development in rural communities. In other words, formal education brings into the community another form of ideology which demotes the traditional ideology, thus weakens the male control of resources. Hence women since successful education is coupled with formal employment in government or parastatal organization offices, With time and more exposure, will emancipate themselves as the childhood betrothal can wither and development of formal education can then thrive among Batami.

5.2 Hypotheses Testing

Part two of this chapter is devoted to testing the study hypotheses so as to arrive at conclusions. The sections to follow therefore, test three hypotheses that were set forth at the beginning of this study.

5.2.1 Hypothesis I

It was hypothesized at the beginning of this work that:

'the subordination of the Temi women has been reinforced by the

traditional-bound control of men over the irrigation water sources.

This hypothesis was based on the understanding that, agriculture is impossible in Butemine without irrigation water. The data presented above sufficiently shows that most agricultural production is done in the highlands where rainfed agriculture is yielding. But, the importance or significance of the irrigated agriculture to the Temi people is stressed by emphasizing that no matter how small the irrigated farm land might be, no Temi man can afford going without one since the cultural practice will render him homeless or baseless. To that effect we explained in the fourth chapter that, sons of unmarried mothers have to pay a token to get a share in their maternal grandfather's irrigated land. This is because there is so much importance attached to irrigation water sources such that all the belief system and myths of the community are centred around the water sources. The land tenure system is influenced by such a significance attached to irrigation water sources as we saw above that the council of elders (wenamiji) who control the allocation of the irrigation water also control land allocation. It is believed that, the wenamiji

understand better the traditional use of land-pastures, sacred places such as the Khambageu's shrines, etc.

Tempering with those sacred places is believed to be an offence punishable by the wenamiji before the God himself gets angry with an offender. Usually a goat is charged for such an offence. The goat is then slaughtered for a sacrifice. The sacrificed goats meat is taken near adjacent water stream where it is believed the God comes at night, and thus takes his share of meat.

Women donot take share in the goat's meat because they will pollute the sacrifice. They do not even go near the places where men perform the rituals for purifying the atmosphere. They (women) can only cook food which the men collect and take to the place where the ritual is taking place. Usually youths (the Wamoran) are sent to collect the food for the elders, or the younger ones among the elder group: are sent to collect the food from the women.

In short, the important thing about this irrigation water, is the fact that all the ideological

superstructure of the society has been built around it - systems of belief, myths, folk tales, laws governing the land tenure system and the whole social mode of conduct, thus rendering women helpless as far as the control of the means of production is concerned. The situation was made worse when women were denied possession of iron tools with which they could have cleared the bush for new farm yards in the highlands. The reasons given for depriving women of the possession of the iron tools are that, the same tools are used for slaughtering the animals for ritual purposes. If women are allowed to touch on them, they might get polluted by the hands of menstruating women.

The same justification is made for not allowing women to do the irrigation work. Infact, it is a taboo for a menstruating woman to go across irrigation canals, or even fetching water from the canals on her menstrual days. Because the thing is so intrinsic in the socialization process, women themselves even the learned ones, do not cross over the canals when menstruating and donot pass by the Khambageu's shrines.

At this point, we are convinced that

subordination of women is reinforced and perpetuated by the tradition through the folktales which is part of the informal teachings of the community. The Temi elders always narrate the story that a woman once had the control of an irrigation water source. That water source was snatched from her by a brother who killed her. From that day onwards, the Temi believe that God had condemned women having the control of irrigation water sources so as to rescue them from further killings by men. The question which we should ask ourselves is why don't men kill themselves over the control of such a scarce resource which only a few have. We attempt can to answer this question in the course of interpreting the information gathered.

5.2.2 Hypotheses II

The corollary hypothesis suggested the way out of women subordination among the Batemi and the best way to development of smallholder irrigation agriculture. It was therefore, hypothesized that:

The betterment of the Temi women as agricultural producers will depend on the changes in the existing laws governing the land tenure system among Batemi.

This second hypothesis was actually based on the first which attributes the subordination of women among Batemi to the traditional bound control of men over irrigation water sources and that over land tenure system. The hypothesis, therefore, explores a possibility available for women to better their life situation, and hence improve the agricultural production.

The findings presented above have shown us the small sizes of the Temi women's farm yards because they get right to till land at the discretion of men as daughters and wives: also because they can put only limited number of hours into farm work as some other hours have to go to domestic chores. However, the most inhibiting factor to the women's development as agricultural producers is the fact that they only have access to land as the category of land users. For that reason they do not have long term plans as far as their development is concerned because most of the farms they cultivate are on borrowing terms, with the exception of those tilled by wives who at least are relatively assured of the use of that particular piece of land as long as their marriage is sustained. The rest who use the land on borrowing

terms cannot be sure of tilling the land in more than one season. Given this uncertainty, particularly with respect to the irrigated farm land, most women are abandoning working on such temporary irrigated farm yards, ~~are concentrating~~ on the rainfed agriculture that does not overlap with their beer business which assures them of relative autonomy over the income. Moreover, the irrigated farm work is very involving, and that not being enough, the farm owners have the tendency of claiming back their farm yards whenever one gets a good harvest.

Another inhibiting factor in the development of women as agricultural producers is the separation of the control and labouring on the land. This inhibition has gone as far as depriving women the right to control the labour output - livestock that accrues from the trade of excess grains with domestic animals, the aspect that demoralize women to work the land hard for more productivity; particularly the fact that women work on the irrigated farms without controlling its essential production factor - irrigation water, makes masterir the irrigation technology difficult on the part of women. Although they could have wider agricultural knowledge from tilling the land, intercropping,

spacing the crops, the actual irrigation work that includes opening weirs to the farms, building irrigation structures, is made unknown to women, hence restricting women from mastering the technological option for small-holder irrigation agriculture. Consequently, crippling the very small-holder irrigation which is the national emphasis at the moment.

Isolation of women from mastering the irrigation technology is condoned by the community's myths and beliefs system. We therefore, have the opinion that the chances of the Temi women's improvement of their life as agricultural producers lie in the fundamental changes in the existing social cultural life of the community where the said myths and beliefs are based.

The crucial question is how could the changes possibly come about when the old structure is maintained in the present village settlements?

Obviously, formal education as a different ideology can give us a solution if only it could be encouraged. The education can raise the level of understanding among individual Batemi, and hence become objective and ably

discredit cultural practices which inhibit social development in their community. With raising the level of their understanding, the Temi women can understand not only their subordination and denial of rights but also strategies to fight and win equal right to scarce resources as individual villagers.

5.2.3 Hypothesis III

The third and the last hypothesis was aimed at finding out if the Temi women are aware of their rightful share in village resources; land and irrigation water as individuals. It was hypothesized that:

"awareness among the Temi women on their rights to land and irrigation water sources will bring about liberation from their present subordination.

This hypothesis as can be seen in the obtained data, is not adequately tested. However from the discussion with women respondents, it was clear that ~~that~~ the Temi women not only understand that they have the right to land and irrigation water sources, but also that the socio-culture was manipulated to suit the men's purpose of depriving women of such a right. Phrases such as 'what are

we in front of men who can decide on our fates by throwing women on the street to 'sell' themselves as already covered in the chapter above, and 'men are conversing with their God' are a clear indication that women know at least to a certain degree, that they are being cheated. Discussions with women respondents were full of lamentation on how unjust the system was to women that they have to shoulder all the production and reproduction responsibility with little reward! Such a lamentation was resultant from many incidences whereby some women were thrown on to the streets by their husbands after finding them no longer suitable as their spouses. The poor women had to wander about with their children without knowing exactly how to feed them, also how to pay back the bride wealth their fathers' took from former husbands.

In short, the trend shows that women are aware of the fact that they are being oppressed and exploited. How much they understand and can ably struggle was not adequately covered in this research. Further research can be done on this issue.

In the field, we realized of an intervening variable which we never thought of - the impact of cash economy on the power relationships between men and women. On the one hand the cash earning activities

add more work-load on women. "On the other," it gives women a certain degree of autonomy over the cash they generate, which also means challenging men's sole control over resources, hence the decrease of their power over women.

With the realization of the interpenetration of money economy, the hypothesis would have read:

"Prior to the introduction of market economy, wage labour and cash cropping, the power relationships between men and women was more balanced, but as the interpenetration of money economy increased; the greater the men's control over women becomes."

However, the trend shows that women's accessibility to cash income at least eases them of the total control by men. But as stated earlier, this area needs more research.

5.3 Reference to Research question

At this juncture, we would like to revisit the research question raised at the beginning of this work in-order to totally tie the findings with the question.

Why do the Temi women remain subordinate despite the provision of the fundamental rights of individuals and the contribution they make in the reproduction of their community?

We have just summed up that, the Temi women are still subordinate despite the contribution they make in the production and reproduction of their community. We have seen too, that the subordination of women among Batemi is reinforced by the traditionally governed Temi land tenure system. We have then argued that such a subordination of women in Butemine can be brought to an end when the fundamental changes occur in the Temi social system. It is only then that the theoretically provided fundamental rights of individuals can be practicable.

The answer to the research question, therefore, can be sought in the community's ideology that sustain cultural belief about the sphere and roles of women among Batemi. To arrive at the answer one has to go beyond the overt characteristics of the belief system in order to analyse how such a belief system reflect the reality of women life.

In the discussion on the emergence of gender roles, we have shown how the belief system among Batemi is centred around deprivation of women of the control of means and forces of production. We have seen too, how the belief system justified the control of community's scarce resources by few. We can, therefore, rightly argue that the Temi belief system actually serves the interest of the few,

the controllers of the scarce resources. Women in this situation remain subordinate because the class that is ~~in~~ power have subjected them to such a subordinate situation by turning them into trade items. We are saying women are turned into trading commodities in the sense that the Wenamiji get a share in the bride wealth and in the fines collected from premarital pregnancies and adultery offences. In-order for the women to remain useful in terms of raising resources for the wenamiji, the ideological tools of repressing any efforts to revolutionarize the society were found in the system of community's belief which women are given the task of transmitting it from one generating to another. This was the essence of disregard of formal education by the clan elders since it was found to be raising the level of understanding of the community members, especially that of the subordinates, women and youths. The raising level of understanding surely endangers the authoritative position the wenamiji have been enjoying in relation to religious and political power.

The solution for the subordination of women among Batemi, therefore, can be found in the revolutionary transformation of the society that can put ^{an} to/end all forms of ideological repression of

many by few. The transformation of community can be achieved through the class struggle that can revolutionarize the socialization process of the community, and hence gender sensitization of women for the best struggling strategy for gender equality.

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CHAPTER 6SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS6.1 Summary

In this study we have attempted to deal with socio-economic and historical conditions surrounding gender inequality. The Temi irrigation system was taken as a case study to illustrate historical specificity of gender inequality. We have inferred gender inequality from the manifest dilemma created by separating control of means and forces of production from the main agricultural labour force - women; and also from the larger share of work that ~~dispossessed labour force~~ carries in production and reproduction of community - cultivation, cattle herding, domestic chores, bearing and nurturing of the children.

Our thesis has been that gender inequality has stemmed from exploitation of anatomical difference between men and women and its explanation in moral forms as a result of fusing biology with culture. In this case religious belief system played major part. Women are associated with evil practices that render them unclean and worthless in front of God. Men, even those born out of unclean women,

could be rinsed on initiation rites and became clean, holy and worthful to God. The ironical part of the whole thing is that women are given the task of socializing children on the basis of men being holy and women evil, a task which women have done adequately to such an extent that moral justification of their subordination has become part of the belief system. This has made any critical analysis of women's situation difficult, themselves being part and parcel of such religious beliefs.

In accomplishing this study, we adopted a theoretical framework that has provided us with the concepts necessary for an analysis of the articulation between the subordination of women and smallholder irrigation agriculture in the present village settlements. We have adopted the social historical methodology as insighted by feminists writers like Reiter (1975), Drapper (1975), O'Barr (1976), Kuhn & Wolpe (1978) and Mies (1981). The methodology was preferred because it could enable us underscore the position of women in irrigation agriculture as opposed to the available literature (Gray, 1963; Potkanski, 1985; Mascarenhas, 1985; Ngana 1985; Yoshinda, 1985) which either deliberately ignores the role of the

producers in the technological option of irrigation agriculture or apologetically portrays forms of gender inequality as behaviour necessary for a meaningful exploitation of scarce resources.

The qualitative data gathered through indepth study and informal interviews provided eloquent explanations of contradictions between the Temi people and the pastoral Masai on the one hand, and that of the Temi and the state on the other. The contradiction between the agro-pastoral Temi and the nomadic pastoral Masai hinges back on their conflict over the control and management of scarce resources - pasture land and irrigation water. Whereas the Masai could only use the resources as they find them; / they do not have long term / because plans with the resources, but the Temi have the tradition that controls the allocation of the resources, irrigation water in particular, the practice which the Masai are not familiar with. In other words, for the Masai both pastures and water sources are owned and share communally because they donot have permanent attachment to any particular piece of land. Whereas for the Temi people who practice sedentary agriculture they are attached to their irrigated farm lands to

such an extent that nobody goes without one.

The contradiction between the Temi and the state, the government at the district level in particular, is informed by the Temi's understanding that the government belongs to their Masai counterparts, especially when the Masai form the majority of the elected representation in either the party and the district council. The situation was made serious when control of irrigation water sources was a target of the established village authorities immediately after 1975 Villagisation! Moreover the 1975 election procedures of the village authorities resulted into a worse contradiction between formal leaders and the traditional leaders. The government actually created the dilemma by dis-regarding traditional leaders for being conservative and took some 'moderate' local personnels to occupy those leading position at the level of villages. Of course, some opportunists and least effective individuals found a home in the formal leadership as they could not have risen to leading position in informal politics. Emanating from such a situation was characteristically conflictual

politics at that level forcing the Temi people to disown their village governments!

Although women accessibility for purposes of informal questioning was difficult, as a function of their heavy workload in both subsistence production and domestic chores, the few we contacted ably expressed their misgivings about the village governments' failure to meet some of their basic requirements. The most topical example in this case was the failure on the part of the governments to heed to the requirement of a grinding machine which most of those interviewed rightly spined would reduce their workload as well as save time which could be productively used elsewhere.

The existence of such problems arising from the village governments shortcomings has compelled us to examine and evaluate the existence of a deliberate policy for rural women development. The government's women and child development, is an example of these policies geared towards solving women problems but its practice leaves much to be desired. The Ngorongoro district

officials, for example, denied the existence of the above policy let alone its practice. Even where such policies are acknowledged by the village governments ~~their effectively is lacking~~ as it is the male dominated committees and governments which discuss and deliberate on the ~~implementation~~ of such women related policies. In other words, women are not given an opportunity in the village leadership.

Our analysis of the historical conditions for the gender inequality among Batemi not only revealed how the Temi women were insubordinated for the sake of the community's solidarity against cattle rustlers, but also demonstrated the class nature of the Temi society in which/ only the wenamiji have the right to control the scarce resource (irrigation water) and ultimately to the political and religious power. We have shown clearly in our discussion of the emergence of the gender inequality that religion has been used to obscure the class reality of the Temi society. The wenamiji, the class of owners, had managed to mystify the reality of the deprivation of the majority of the people

of the control of scarce resources - irrigation water and the irrigatable farm land in the name of Khambageu's reward to the wenamiji for being nice to him in his life time. The ideology was actually meant to justify the inevitability of poverty for a better life after death. Due to uncertainty in life, people believed in the Khambageu's myth of rewarding only the few, and depriving the majority of the control of the scarce resources!

We have expected to find a different situation in relation to the control of the scarce resources (irrigation water and land) in the post villagisation period since the Villagization Act was established to empower the village authorities control over the village resources. Only to find out that the establishment of the village authorities after having created a gap between formal and informal politics at local level as stated above, is continuously impinging on that traditional solidarity of the Temi people. This is because the leaders are ~~not~~ the choice of the majority of the villagers, but of the few CCM members, whose number hardly reached fifty. Unless the

election procedures are reviewed at the village levels, the government leadership will remain disowned by the villagers for whom it was meant. We actually wonder why doesn't the government adopt the district level election procedures that separate the local authority's leadership from that of the party. At the level of the district, the district chairperson does not automatically become the government leader. There are several other personalities that make the district leadership such as the District Commissioner, the chairperson of the district council and the party secretary. But at the local level, the party chairperson becomes the village government leader by virtue of his/her position. In most cases, some smart persons have maneuvered their way into the village leadership especially if such a village leadership is having literacy as its minimum requirement. We therefore, recommend that the government reviews the local level election procedures so as to minimize discontent among the villagers.

With the fundamental rights of individual(s) to equal development and dignity enshrined in the country's constitution: coupled with the

elaboration of the same in the 1975 Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act; we hoped to find, at least, nascent forms of changes in the position of women in the Temi villages. It was disturbing to note that the villagisation process was premised on the policy of popular participation that never looked into the contradictions inherent in the old social structure; the contradictions that could inhibit the practice of the fundamental rights of individuals, especially in relation to achieving equal right between men and women. This situation actually answers part of our research question as to why the Temi women remain subordinate despite the long adoption of the fundamental rights of individuals imbedded in the policy of socialism and self-reliance. It is clear that the fundamental rights of individuals are not practised as exemplified by the maintenance of the customary laws in legal aspects concerning the rural people's life e.g. the land tenure system among Datemi. Since no right is given on a 'silver plate' there is a need for the Temi individuals especially those disadvantaged women, to mobilise their efforts in all aspects - economic, cultural and political in pursuit of their rights. It is only through such struggle that the parties concerned can be

forced to put into practice those people's rights imbedded in the policy of socialism and self-reliance, the practice which we believe can given a way to the total transformation of the society we talked about before, and which will put to an end the gender inequality through the gender sensitive socialization process.

6.2 Conclusions

In concluding this study, it is necessary to reflect on the consequences of our findings in the struggle for gender equality and development of a small-holder irrigation agriculture emphasized in Tanzania. We have seen how gender inequality inhibits development of small-holder irrigation which is emphasized nation wide. We have also shown that opportunities do exist for women to assert their important role as producers and reproducers of the community; and their independence; and hence the capability to emancipate themselves accordingly.

In this study, we have also portrayed how the cultural practices are impinging on the women's struggle for the cause of gender equality. As a result, we have concluded that the way out of

gender inequality is the total socio-economic transformation of the society through gender sensitive socialization process. This, of-course, is in line with the Marxist tradition, that with the total emancipation of the disadvantaged human kind, all forms of subordination will end. However, we cannot accept some Marxist argument which outrightly dismiss the problem of gender inequality as a non-issue.

At the beginning of this work, when the Temi irrigation system was taken as an example to illustrate the extent to which women are still subordinate, we assumed that if women got equal chances to the control of the irrigation water which is an important factor of production next to land they could emancipate themselves with relative ease. Control of the irrigation water was known to be the control of land too, so was the control of labour and its output. Economic liberation was, therefore, assumed to suffice the total emancipation of women. However, the field findings have shown that, the gender inequality is so intrinsic in the socio-culture of the Temi such that women themselves hand in the product of their labour

willingly to their husbands. They are actually finding a pride in giving farm produce to their husbands. For this reason, we have suggested to wage an ideological war that creates awareness of the gender inequality problem. Socio-economic liberation in so far as the gender inequality is concerned, lays a ground for the abolition of the old social structure that is perpetuating and enhancing gender inequality among Batemi.

It is important, however, to point out here that economic liberation can not be achieved in the present low level of the productive forces among the Temi people. The current level of development only enables the producers to harvest cereal grains barely sufficient for the household consumption. It is no wonder, therefore, that among Batemi, women are making the ends meet by brewing and selling local beer to subsidize the agricultural production. This is a preferred option on the part of the women as it at least assures them of relative autonomy over the income they ably generate. However, the trade is taking most of their dry seasons time which is supposed to be the irrigated agricultural season. The irrigation agriculture among the women is further compounded by the fact that access to land is through borrowing which breeds uncertainty and hence

inhibit further development or expansion. That then sums up how the gender inequality inhibits the small-holder irrigation agriculture among Batemi, the situation which is likely to be found in all likely other communities which practise traditional irrigation agriculture where women do not control irrigatable land in their own right nor do they have the right to the irrigation water, at the same time they are required to work in the irrigated farm lands more than the men do. As if that is not enough, they are deprived of the control of the produce of their labour including the grain reserves that are supposed to be under their domain! Consequently they are abandoning the agricultural activities that are male controlled and are shifting to trade activities which they can easily manage and control.

Emancipation of women from their present subordination can, therefore, come about only when the total transformation of the society is achieved. This summary statement corrects our earlier assumption that economic liberation as exemplified by the control of means and forces of production will enable women emancipate themselves from their present subordination.

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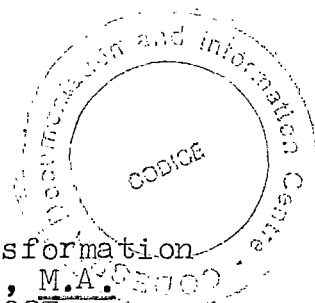
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