



Dissertation By
MARY NTOKULA

UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES
SALAAM ,DEPARTMENT'
OF SOCIOLOGY

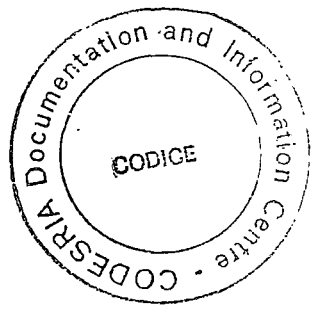
Division of Labour and Sexual inequality in
urban Tanzanian households : a case study of
Sinza Dar es Salaam

OCTOBER 1989



28 JUN 1991

13.02.02
NTU
2644



UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Programme de Petites Subventions
ARRIVEE
Enregistré sous le no 001
Date 02 JAN 1990

DIVISION OF LABOUR AND SEXUAL
INEQUALITY IN URBAN TANZANIAN HOUSEHOLDS

A Case Study of Sinza Dar es Salaam

By

MARY NTUKULA (MRS)

^{NTU}
A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of
M.A. Degree University of Dar es Salaam

OCTOBER 1989

(i)

DECLARATION

I, Mary Ntukula, declare to the University of Dar es Salaam Senate, that this dissertation is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other University.

.....
Mary Ntukula

.....
DATE

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

ABSTRACT

So much have been said about the problem of sexual inequality, but little have been done to in the context of household division of labour in urban Tanzanian households.

This study sets out to investigate the division of labour in Urban Tanzanian household, and how it contributes to sexual inequality, by examining factors shaping and perpetuating the division of labour in the urban Tanzanian household.

The target population of this study was the households located along Shekilango road in Sinza area. The area is between Robert Mugabe Primary School and grave yards, which is the heart of Sinza. The area has approximately 500 households from which 29 researched households were picked.

Data collection was done through indepth interviews and observation, and because the households had some different characteristics case study approach was used and qualified data was obtained.

The findings as a whole revealed that there were some social processes which contributed to the shaping and perpetuating the division of labour in the urban Tanzanian households. Such processes included social economic conditions, occupation, cultural values, and religion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Declaration	(i)
Abstract	(ii)
List of Tables	(v)
Glossary.....	(v)
Abbreviations	(v)
Acknowledgement	(vi)
CHAPTER I: <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
Statement of Problem.....	1
Literature Review.....	3
Argument	19
<u>METHODOLOGY</u>	22
Research Site.....	22
The Case Studies.....	24
The Population.....	26
Research Strategy and Techniques	28
Interviews.....	28
Observations.....	34
Foot Notes.....	35
CHAPTER II: <u>SEXUAL INEQUALITY, A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW</u>	38
Precolonial Period.....	38
Colonial Period.....	42
Independence Period.....	47
Foot Notes.....	51

	<u>PAGE</u>
CHAPTER III: HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOUR IN SINZA.....	55
PART ONE: <u>THE HOUSEHOLDS</u>	55
The Orega's Household.....	81
The Ndimbo's Household.....	90
The Ngulaches Household.....	98
The Gwambasa's Household.....	107
The Dume's Household.....	115
Foot Notes.....	123
PART TWO: <u>THE EVENTS</u>	126
Rearing a Wife's Daughter...	126
Who decides on Wifes Occupation	131
Decision on House Building	135
Right of Inheritance.....	137
Foot Notes.....	142
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION	143
BIBLIOGRAPHY	151
APPENDIX I	156

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>PAGE</u>
TABLE 1: Household Sizes in Number.....	56
TABLE 2: A Summary of Households Showing Members Occupation, Religion, Education, Ethnic Background and Patterns of Division of Tasks and Power Relations.....	66

GLOSSARY:

<u>Kiswahili Term</u>	<u>English Meaning</u>
Mvule -	East African Teak Tree (Chlorophora excelsa) having a good timber.
Mninga -	A Tree (Pterocarpus bussei) with excellent timber.
Mkangazi -	Mahogany Tree also used for timber
Khanga -	Piece(s) of cloth worn by women
Vitenge -	Piece(s) of cloth also worn by women but more stiff than khanga.
Upatu -	Some sort of a credit society but unregistered in which members mutually contribute the same amount of money to each member in turn at an agreed interval.
Utani -	Jocking relationship

ABBREVIATIONS:

TANESCO -	Tanzania Electrical Supply Company
-----------	------------------------------------

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped me to reach the final stage of this thesis. I am heavily indebted to CODESRIA for giving me a research grant to enable me complete this dissertation. I am indebted to all the households of Sinza, Sinza B C.C.M Chairman, and ten cell leaders in their assistance in supplying me with essential information for this dissertation.

I am heavily indebted to Dr. P. N. Masanja, my supervisor, for his tireless efforts in correcting my manuscripts and guiding me towards the right style of writing this dissertation. I am also indebted to Dr. G. Lewis and Mrs. Z. N. Mihyo for their encouragement from time to time throughout my study.

I thank Mrs. A. Mwapili for organising the typing of this thesis in time and thus enabling me to submit it within the required period.

I thank my husband Peter, Children Anne, Eppy, Elmer, Eragan for giving me moral support and encouragement especially when I was very tired, and without forgetting women who have been very important in my life; my grand mother, mother and my sister.

Lastly but not least I thank all who helped me in one way or another, since it is not possible to thank them individually.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Statement of Problem

The inequality between sexes, that is, differences in power and economic status between men and women is a question which continues to be one of the issues in present day Tanzanian society. In spite of the policy of socialism and self reliance as pronounced by the 1967 Arusha Declaration, there are a number of differences between men and women in terms of opportunities, obligations and power.

While inequality may be referred to as the act of depriving one category of people legitimate valued positions or rewards in a society and giving the same to another, inequality between sexes as Rossi¹ contends, takes forms ranging from explicit legal statutes to informal social pressure. In analysing how women may be said to be unequal to men she is of the opinion that, women are more affected by this informal social pressure inequality than the explicit legal statute inequality. She gives an example of a society which applies pressure on girls to avoid certain occupational choices and encourages boys as having such form of inequality.

In its worst form sex inequality is a question of women insubordination and oppression meaning placing them in a lower hierarchic rank and depriving them the right of decision making in matters pertaining to their lives, respectively.

While there may be an agreement on the existence of sexual inequality, views differ as to the conditions which give rise to this phenomenon. Furthermore discussions on sex inequalities usually focus on the issues related to employment, promotions, and generally in the public domain such as the number of women who are ministers, directors or general managers or women who have gone for further studies. This is when sex inequality is talked in terms of urban context. On the other hand when sex inequality is talked in relation to rural context the question is related to humiliation.

This study is arranged in the following way, the first chapter is a general introduction to the problem and methodology, the second chapter deals with a historical overview of household division of labour by analysing the Tanzanian situation during the pre-colonial period, colonial period and post colonial period in comparison with capitalist, socialist and other third world countries. Chapter three is concerned with research activity. The first part of the chapter is the presentation of data and coverage. This is done by empirical examination of the case studies. The aim is to exemplify the division of tasks responsibilities and power relations in the households by looking into the internal dynamics which are responsible with the shaping of the division of labour. The second part of the Chapter deals with episodes for the purpose of illustrating the struggles and actions which are the result of the division of labour. Chapter four is a summary and a conclusion to the study.

Significance of Study

Inspite a considerable number of studies on sexual inequality in Tanzania, very little is known in Tanzania about sexual inequality in relation to household division of labour especially in the urban Tanzania. This study is both theoretically and empirically interesting as it lays grounds for further research on the social economic and cultural dynamics of the urban Tanzanian households.

Research Problem

This study sets out to investigate the division of labour in the households in the urban context, hoping to find how far household division of labour contributes to sex inequality, and see the form in which sex inequality takes place in the urban context. Given the kinds of occupations, education status, exposure to urban surroundings, ^{social} and new kinds of/values, the household division of labour could reveal to us an understanding of some of reasons of sex inequalities which are prevalent in our society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Different theories have been offered by different theorists in trying to explain the problem of sexual inequality. There are those who see "patriarchy" as a key source of sexual inequality. Others see capitalist production as a source of sexual inequality. Some contend that biological reproduction is a source of sexual inequality,

while others consider ideology as a source of sexual inequality and those who see sexual division of labour as a source of sex inequality.

In her article "Sexual Division of Labour, the case of Nursing" Garmanikov² defines patriarchy as "an autonomous system of social relations, between men and women in which men are dominant". She relates the medicines structure of doctor, nurse and patients in which the doctor is superior, with the familial structure of husband, wife and children in which the husband/^{is} superior.³

She asserts that nursing illustrates a stratified division of labour between nursing and medicines. Whereas medicines dominates in controlling and directing the healing process, nursing occupies a subordinate position as a nurse only watches symptoms of patients and reports them to the doctor. Nurses unlike doctors are not allowed to initiate the healing process of the patients.

She further asserts that, both patriarchal ideology and nursing ideology are based on naturalism in their operations.⁴

Millet⁵, agrees with Garmanikov she is of the opinion that, patriarchy is a key catalyst for sexual inequality. She argues that, capitalist societies have significant class differences between men and not between women. This is because whatever the class of their birth and education the females have fewer class associations than the males.

Females are economically dependent on males. This makes females affiliation with any class "a tangential and temporary matter."

Millett's analysis is among the theoretical attempts to fill gaps left by traditional Marxists in the women question, that is the reduction of sexual inequality to economism. However her focus on patriarchy as a central issue in the women's question remains problematic. This is because she sees patriarchy as ^auniversal mode of domination of females by males. Furthermore her analysis lacks specificity of the operations of patriarchy through time. Also her analysis fails to show how patriarchy relates to other forms of oppression and domination. For example it is not necessarily true that all men have authority over women. Some women may have authority over certain types of men, children and women, as may be the case of a polygamous household where the senior wife has authority over junior wives. Also as the case is in societies where a mother inlaw has authority over her son and her daughter inlaw.⁶

This shows how Millett's domination of females by males is overgeneralised. It is our contention that females domination by males depends on many factors which shape the division of labour like cultural values, social economic conditions and type of occupation.

In attempting to overcome Millett's theoretical problems, Mc Donough and Harrison⁷ together discuss patriarchy in relation to a given mode of production. They

argue that patriarchal relations take their particular forms from the dominant mode of production. They give an example of a capitalist mode of production whereby patriarchy operates through class relations in a way that the relations of human reproduction become central to the subordination of women. Different contradictions may arise for women of different class positions. By this they mean that patriarchy is not necessarily the sole structure within which women are subordinated. The main elements through which patriarchal relations operate have specificity and are historical.

These two authors explain further that although women are placed in two linked structures of patriarchy and class the class position limits the conditions and forms of patriarchy. A wife may be in her husband's class but they may not have equivalent relations to the means of production. Whichever class the wife enters, the crucial structure of her subordination depends on the access to the means of production for herself and her husband. This division of property between sex ultimately functions in the interest of capital.

Although McDonough's and Harrison's analyses are better than that of Millett in the view that they have tried to link the mode of human reproduction with patriarchy they don't escape the problem of economic determinism. Kuhn⁸ in an attempt to overcome this economic determinism suggests that the family is the principal site of the

operation of patriarchal relations. To her the family has property relations and psychic relations which are historically specific between men and women. She further argues that patriarchy unites both sets of relations. However she herself agrees that this analysis is based on the difficulty in tracing patriarchal family relations in their historical specificity in a given mode of production.

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND SEXUAL INEQUALITY

The main advocates of relations of production as the basis for sexual inequality are Marx and Engels and Orthodox Marxist feminists. Engel's main argument is that,

"The significant characteristic of monogamous marriage was its transformation of the nuclear family into the basic economic unit of society, within which a woman and children became dependent upon an individual man. Arising in conjunction with exploitative class relations this transformation resulted in the oppression that has persisted to the present day."⁹

By this Engels means that the oppressive familial relations we experience today emerged with exploitative relations of production.

On the same question Marx¹⁰ argues that during the process of change from manufacturing to industrialization, specialization becomes more evident. Instead of a division of labour based on the cooperation among those working in a particular workshop or trade, a new form of division of labour intensified exploitation through fostering competition. A new contradiction now existed between the tech-

requirements of modern industry and relations of production of capitalism. Life long speciality of handling the same tools now **became** the **life long** speciality of serving one and the same machine. Marx further argues,

"Insofar as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all more supple. The labour of women and children was therefore the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery."¹¹

Here Marx is in line with naturalistic assumptions as he implies that women's physical strength is less than men's.

Marx contends that when women and children are employed the resistance which male operatives had to the development of machinery in manufacturing period is broken down, and new family relations which are more equal are created. Also the existence of labour fosters competition. This is to the advantage of capital, as the value of labour power is lowered since the costs of reproduction of labour is spread all over the members of the family. In this way the proportion of working day in which the labourer can work can be lowered and more surplus value thus created. However Marx and Engels allude to various forms of political and ideological repression which may be ultimately based on productive relations and not necessarily reducible to production relations.

Furthermore the concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the withering of the state presupposes that

inequality would remain after the socialist revolution and that other forms of inequalities are to be fought by the proletariat during the transition to communism.¹²

REPRODUCTION AND SEXUAL INEQUALITY

According to Barrett¹³ some scholars see sexual inequality as rooted in biological reproduction. These theorists use concepts like social production, biological reproduction and reproduction of labourforce without clearly showing how they are interrelated. A good example given by Barrett is Secombe¹⁴, who see women's unpaid domestic labour as serving productive forces and relations of production required by capital. Also, Firestone views women as traditionally trapped in the childbearing function and this make them unable to participate full in social life on equal terms to men. In order to be equal to men they should be freed from this trap.

In brief biological reproduction is seen as essential in reproducing the relations of production by producing children who are the future labour force. Reproduction of labour force is in dual form. On one side labour force is reproduced by biological reproduction, and on another hand it is reproduced by providing the labour with natural necessities including food. The family is seen as an essential unit in which the second aspect of labour reproduction takes place. (That is providing the labour with natural necessities). In this case women are seen having

great role to play in maintaining the labour force which has a result of placing the women in inferior position.

This analysis ignores the fact that the house wife may also be a wage labourer who is exploited in the labour market and also oppressed at the household level. As a result this analysis does not deal with contradictions between the domestic sphere and the production sphere of work.¹⁶ This analysis does not answer the question why there are different forms of male domination in different modes of production as sexual inequality is not uniform in all the societies inspite of the similarity in biological reproduction. Such different forms of male dominance can be seen in different societies. Britain for example illustrates a form of male domination mostly found in the labour market.¹⁷ In USSR male domination is mostly found in directive managerial executive functions as well as in political life.¹⁸ While in African Societies male dominance is found in the household and extend to other spheres.¹⁹

Moreover such analysis centres on women's roles in biological reproduction with the historically specific question of their role in ensuring the reproduction of male labour power and maintaining their relations of dominance of capitalist production without explaining why women should be assigned special roles in these spheres of production. Also this analysis is a naturalistic one in the sense that it is assumed sexual inequality like the role

of reproduction in women is natural. This means that nothing can be done to eradicate such inequality because it is natural.

IDEOLOGY AS A BASIS OF SEXUAL INEQUALITY

The concept of ideology as a central issue in sexual inequality is brought forward by some of the pluralists whose main assumption is that the traditional sex role differentiation is grounded in the "physiological and social differences" between sexes. This argument is presented by Rossi²⁰ in her article "sex inequality the beginning of ideology". Rossi asserts that a responsibility of parents themselves and not of the community in child bearing and rearing is a result of sexual ideology. The consequence of this belief is to keep the women tied closely to the home. According to Rossi the most important theorist of sexual ideology is Parsons who argues that,

"A segregation of sex roles has emerged to ensure that their respective incumbents do not come into competition with each other"²¹

Parsons defines this sex role differentiation in terms of (i) instrumental role or goal attainment and adaptation, the relationship of family and wider society. (ii) Expressive role or integration which is the internal structure of the family. For Parsons, while men fulfil the instrumental roles women fulfill the expressive roles because women are tied with the bearing and rearing

tasks and because the tension between kinship systems require a clear segregation of sex roles. The man is ascribed the instrumental role while the woman is removed from competition within the occupational system by her confinement within the family.²²

This implies that the woman's role in the family is portrayed only in cultural terms. This rules out the economic role of women's domestic labour. Parsons has overlooked the economic implication of women's wage labour as according to him the number of women with young children in the labour force is small and not increasing. Also jobs that women do tend to be of lower status.²³

SEXUAL INEQUALITY AND HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOUR

The sexual division of labour can be traced from primitive societies. According to Engels²⁴ the division of labour in purely primitive societies was based between sexes only. The men fought, hunted and did the fishing, procured the raw materials for food and tools necessary for doing so. The women looked after their houses and prepared food and clothing. However both men and women were masters in their fields and owners of instruments which they used and made. The housekeeping work was communally made among several and often many families. What was made and used in common was common property.

Many writers have written about household division of labour but many have not analysed it in relation to sexual

inequality. Others have placed it in a secondary role in contributing to sexual inequality.

Bott²⁴ in her study of family and social net work in London agrees that in all of the researched families, although they varied a great deal in their social arrangements there was a basic division of labour in which the husband was primarily responsible for supporting the family financially and the wife was primarily responsible for housework and child care.

Bott's work aims at considering the examinations of personalities of husband and wife and the relation between them. But she never answers the question why such relationship exists. She is also unable to relate familial relationships with other social and economic factors.

Most studies of household division of labour and sexual inequality are based on the assumption that, sexual division of labour is a natural phenomenon. It is our contention that sexual division of labour is not a natural phenomenon because sexual division of labour is not uniform in all the societies. In some societies for example the task of constructing houses may be allocated to males and in some societies the task may be allocated to females. It is therefore realistic to argue that sexual division of labour in relation with some other forces contributes to sexual inequality.

In summary the above theorists have not been very successful in linking the issue of women with gender relations. Gender relations have not been deeply discussed within socio-cultural and economic framework of power relations in the household. Theories which are based on an assumption that patriarchy contributes to sexual inequality are faced with the difficulty in tracing patriarchal family relations in their historical specificity in a given mode of production. The orthodox Marxists who argue that relations of production contribute to sexual inequality are faced with the problem of reductionisms in the sense that they reduce each kind of inequality to production relations and thus taking for granted that sexual inequality will end with a socialist revolution theorists who have ^{based} their analysis on the assumption that sexual inequality is an effect of biological reproduction tend to be naturalist and they call for palliative measures. Those who relate the problem of sexual inequality to ideology have tended to neglect economic and other factors which are also important to the problem.

STUDIES OF WOMEN QUESTION IN TANZANIA

Women studies in Tanzania have adopted more or less the same framework in analysing the women question. This has resulted into the same problem faced by other feminists outside Tanzania.

Madsen²⁶ studies sexual inequality in Tanzania in relation to unequal access to means of production between

different sexes. Such means of production are land, capital and technology. She argues that inspite the policy of Ujamaa this inequality has not been eradicated because the implementation of Ujamaa reveals a gap between the ideology, strategy and actual praxis.²⁷ The main reason for this gap is because private property has been retained with its traditional household structure parallel to collective economic sphere.

She gives an example that, traditional sexual division of labour was preserved with men functioning almost separately within the two structures. Thus women farmers within the household structure were denied access to fertilizers and extension services. Although these inputs were allocated solely to communal farms men were still the main participants.²⁸

Madsen is of the opinion that sexual inequality in Tanzania will end with proper socialist revolution. In reality this is not true because socialist economies also experience sexual inequality. Her study is based on Ujamaa Villages thus cannot be generalized to the urban economy.

Flora Njwaba²⁹ studies women and their dual roles in Corporation Ltd. TANESCO / She examines the effect of dual role performance in a working mother's work and home situations. She is of the opinion that working mother's are very much affected by their dual role especially at their work places. Women's

opportunities for employment, training, promotion and work overtime becomes limited. She also argues that this dual role effects husbands and wives in the sense that women become unable to adequately fulfill their obligations at workplaces and homes. As a result many conflicts arise at home between husbands and wives.

Njwaba however does not explain why there is this dual role character. In addition this dual role character cannot effectively explain the problem of sexual inequality.

Swantz³⁰ in studying the question of women in Tanzania examines the creativity potentialities of women in the light of "mythological" and historical past and social processes of today. According to her the "symbolic dimensions" of women's "procreation roles" are seen as the basis for socialization practices inherent from the old society in many of Tanzania's rural societies. For Swantz reproduction rather than production forms the foundation for the position of Tanzanian women today. In early days in Tanzania production developed historically in the context of the reproduction functions of women's nature and gave the women means of control and influence as provider of the family. Swantz argues that this role has been undermined by the penetration of market economy. Women's workload has increased while her control over her own produce has decreased. According to Swantz, the manipulation of tradition by those in power has more and more

replaced women's creativity which earlier formed a significant part of social life. Swantz adds that, this has led to women's escape from "drudgery" of every day's life to urban centres where even the life of the lowest paid labourer is a form of emancipation of women.

Swantz's analysis overlooks the problem of unemployment of women in urban areas and the problem of unequal opportunities between men and women. Also Swantz does not answer the question why women should be assigned special roles in the process of production and reproduction that is bearing and rearing children.

Mascarenhas and Mbilinyi³¹ examine women's oppression in Tanzania through patriarchy relations and sexual division of labour. According to them patriarchy is based on pre-capitalist social relations of production situated at a level of clan or extended family. According to them patriarchal relations of production in Tanzania are constituted at a level of the household in the peasant production system with the male heads of households being patriarchs. They further argue that females and juniors are exploited by male patriarchs. Moreover they see women's subordination and oppression as fundamental to imperialist exploitation of Tanzania. Here biological reproduction has a role of maintaining the labourforce of peasants and workers as well as maintaining social relations by increasing it

The oppression of women in the home and productive sectors becomes necessary for the production of capitalist relations. The family becomes privatized and is seen superficially as irrelevant to capital.

Mascarenhas and Mbilinyi add that capitalist relations of production allocate women and men different positions both in production and reproduction. Sexual inequality is contributed by the maintenance of these positions by cheapening the values of labour power through the organization of domestic labour and by creating a pool of cheap female labour which allows the wages to be lowered for all workers and provide as capital with labourforce which can be hired or fired as it wishes.

In concluding the above attempts to explain sexual inequality in Tanzania have left gaps which require to be filled. Madsen's view that inequality in Tanzania will end with a proper socialist revolution. This is unrealistic because first of all, the socialist economies themselves experience sexual inequality. To view dual role character as a source of sexual inequality in Tanzania is false because both women and men may have more than one role in a society. This analysis can not answer the question why some men have more than other roles and are superior to women and likewise women who have less than two roles are inferior to men. Also most studies in Tanzania have centred on the

women question in the rural areas and a few which have concentrated in the urban areas did not deal with the urban households.

URGUMENT

This research sets out to investigate the divisions of labour in the household that is the differences in roles and power relations in the household especially between men and women.

It is suggested that one of the sources of sexual inequality lies in the division of labour in the household. That division of labour is shaped by a number of factors which include:

1. Social Economic Conditions

By this we mean a position an individual occupies in a wider society socially or economically as well as in the household. For example the husband may be economically well-off and may also dominate in the household production.

Social economic conditions means the way an individual can **adapt** himself to the social and economic environments. For example, how people can **adapt** themselves with the city life and the hardships of the town. In this respect in order to **adapt** themselves with city life people may engage themselves in various economic activities which they were not used to. Also interaction with friends and

neighbours is a way of adapting to city life. As it is suggested that interaction with neighbours or friends can influence the pattern of division of tasks and responsibilities. It is suggested that couples tied to outside relationships like what Bott³² suggested are emotionally satisfied at times of needs. For example if a working wife becomes sick and if she can get assistance from her neighbours or close relatives. Such a wife will depend less on her husband for doing household chores. This will in turn intensify the "segregated"³³ pattern of division of household chores.

2. Type of Occupation

By a type of occupation we mean the kind of activity which bring livelihood to the household. Occupations range from self employment, formal employment, a combination of the two, and other income generating activities which contribute greatly to the livelihood of the household.

3. Cultural values which predominate in the household

These cultural values include religions beliefs, ethnic practices, educational level, and socialization process which is concerned with transmitting values of a society from one generation to another. There are two agents for this socialization to take place effectively. First there are the parents who are mostly concerned with transmitting appropriate cultural values according to the children sex, and also by maintaining taboos against sex roles.

Another agency is the society which provide the education to children. In this case the society maintains the curriculum which is suitable to the society itself. This is done by teaching separate subjects to separate sexes, and by considering that female career as equal to family oriented roles, for example teaching, secretarial work, and catering. While male children are encouraged to pursue engineering courses or to be army officers.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

METHODOLOGY

Research Site

This study was carried out in Sinza, one of the newly built areas in Dar es Salaam. Upto 1972 and 1976³⁴ the area was virtually a bush. We can trace the development of the city back to 1965 when Seiyid Majid an Arab Sultan of Zanzibar decided to build a settlement around Dar es Salaam area.³⁵

The Germany and British colonialists developed Dar es Salaam city to fit the colonial economy. Like any other colonial town, Dar es Salaam was planned on clear class lines. Commercial area was built around Kariakoo, Mnazi Mmoja, and Samora Machel Avenue. Low density residential area was provided for European upper class, business men, farmers and colonial officers. Such areas included Oysterbay, Chang'ombe and Msasani. Asiatics were encouraged to build their residences in middle density area, mainly in Upanga. Africans occupied mainly suburbs areas such as Buguruni, Ilala, Kinondoni, Manzese and Kariakoo. Social facilities also followed the above pattern.³⁶

At the time of independence, Tanzania followed more or less the colonial town planning which was based on class line, although social facilities were extended to all. As a result of this improperly planned city development, squatters took chances and occupied public places and unsurveyed areas. These squatters built houses ranging from simple and make shift structures to permanent houses.

The owners of these buildings ranged from the urban poor to the urban middle class.³⁷

To eliminate the problem of squatting the World Bank in collaboration with the Tanzania government introduced in 1972 site and service scheme to cater for proper housing for the urban poor. By 1976 about 9,000 plots were prepared mainly at Sinza area for low income earners. The plots were of high density.³⁸

Although the site and service scheme was aimed at the poor, most of them did not benefit because they had no access to loans provided by the state financial institutions, such as the Tanzania Housing Bank. This is because the set out procedure for obtaining the plots and loans is so bureaucratic and gives room to only those who are financially well leaving those who are not well off.³⁹ For example in order to obtain the loan one should possess a plan of the building to be erected, a building permit, and a good evidence of his or her source of income to ensure that he or she will be able to repay the loan. Also building materials which are permitted in these surveyed areas are cement blocks, burnt brick and at least corrugated iron sheets for roofs. Rent is paid annually for allocated plot. All this make it difficulty for low income people to obtain the plots.

Within the three zones of Sinza, there is Sinza A, which is boarded by Mpakani road and stretches from Bagamoyo road on the Eastern side and joins with Morogoro

road on the Western Side. Sinza C is boarded with Manzese on the Western side and Kijitonyama on the Eastern side. Sinza B is located along Shekilango road which stretches from Bagamoyo road on the Eastern side and joins Morogoro road on the Western side. The area is the heart of Sinza as it is economically well established with several shops, a market, beer stores, bars a dispensary and a school. This is why I was much interested in Sinza B, and picked it as my area of study.

When I was about to do research I went to Sinza B CCM branch where I met the branch's CCM secretary. I briefed him that I was a student of the University of Dar-es Salaam, and that I was interested in studying the way people live in households. Two weeks later he introduced me to ten different cell leaders while they were holding their meeting. After listing their names I picked the first four names, and hence four cells from which I obtained the initial 40 households earmarked for interviews.

The Cases

Each of the four cell leaders had ten cells or houses under him. Each of the houses was occupied by a single household or multiple households. Also the households were accommodated by either married couples with or without their children and relatives, spinsters or bachelors, one occupying the whole house or sharing with others. Here the term household is defined according to Nakane⁴⁰

definition that, it is a primary unit of social organization formed by members who are kin related and may also include non relatives members, who live in the household. Sociologically the household is a distinct unit in society represented externally by its head, and internally organized under its leadership. In this context the household is not synonymous with the family. This is because the family restricts its membership to spouses and children.

Household studies are difficult ones to conduct if one wants to obtain rich and adequate data which will enable him or her to explain certain social phenomena. This is because of the difficulty involved in getting private information about the members of the households. In view of the above, the case study approach was seen as the most appropriate method, as it was easier this way to conduct indepth interviews for a few cases and get as much qualitative data as possible, which would be adequate for analysing the internal dynamics of the households.

Although this study does not claim to be statistically representative of Dar es Salaam households in relation to division of tasks and decision making, we view that the data obtained during the study present a picture of household division of labour in a part of Dar es Salaam

Much more representation could be obtained with the use of survey techniques, it was however not possible for us to use survey technique. This is because very little

is written about demographic characteristics of people of Sinza, their social and economic environment. As such it was very difficult for us to design an adequate analytical scheme for our survey. Case study approach was thus seen the most appropriate alternative given also the time and financial resources at our disposal.

In this study, our main interest was those households who did not share a house with other households, and those households whose members included a married couple living with their children and relatives (relatives optional).

Before we started the main study a pilot study was conducted. From the pilot study we could find out that Sinza B was inhabited by people of different occupations including self employed formal sector employees or the combination of the two.

Of the initial 40 households earmarked for study, only 35 fitted the above mentioned criteria. Of the above 35, six heads of the households declined to participate in the study making the ultimate case studies 29.

The Population

During the pilot study it was understood that the inhabitants of Sinza included a number of ethnic groups such as the Zaramo, Sukuma, Yao, Makonde, Ngoni, Chagga, Manyema, Jalu, Kerewe, Bemba, Ha and Lingala. We also come to understand that although a good number of them have stayed in Dar es Salaam for not less than 5 years, cultural

values and ethnic practices are still maintained according to their ethnic background and religious beliefs. For example the Muslim women wear a black head and body covering, when they go out and during special occasions. Muslim men on the other ^{hand} / wear white robes or 'kanizu' and skull hats or 'baraghashia.' The tendency of maintaining cultural values and ethnic practices are revealed in wedding ceremonies and in funerals. During such occasions people of the same ethnic group meet together and perform rituals according to their ethnic backgrounds.

People stay in houses which they have either built themselves, or which are rented for them by their employers. There are also cases where members of a household may stay in unfinished house, for the purpose of obtaining accommodation and for the purpose of earning additional incomes by being a watchman of the house.

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND TECHNIQUES

This study was started in 1986. Literature review and writing of the research proposal was done from November 1986 to April 1987. During the whole month of May 1987 the pilot study was being done. A schedule of questions was prepared from June to August 1987. The questions were tested in September 1987. Interviews, observations, visits to the households and informal talks with the members of the households were done from February to December 1988.

THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews were made informally after a set of guide questions was prepared. This method was chosen because of a number of reasons. First this was the only method from which we could obtain reliable data for this kind of study, because respondents were free to answer questions in a relaxed manner, without any fear. Also we were able to ask the interviewees one question in different ways in order to confirm the results. Whenever a question was not understood the interviewees were free to ask questions and elaborations were made.

Before I could conduct the interviews I had first to distinguish between "segregated" and "joint patterns" roles.

To use Botts⁴¹ words, in a "segregated role" pattern; a husband and a wife have clearly defined and separate household responsibilities, for example man's work and woman's work. In joint role patterns, tasks are done interchangeably or in collaboration by a husband and his wife. In most cases interviews were carried differently for husbands and wives and their children. But whenever they needed to discuss on some issues they were allowed. The interviews were done on the on-and-off basis, and were centred on the following main key areas:

(i) Social History

This included respondents age, occupation, marital status, relatives, whether living with relatives

looking into the relationship of relatives and the respondents. However on this part it was revealed that most respondents lived with husband's relatives rather than wives' relatives. Household chores were shared with these relatives according to sex.

- (ii) To what extent does the sexual division of labour overload women with specific roles compared to men.

For the purpose of this research, sexual division of labour was regarded as a division of labour which allocates tasks on the basis of different sexes, for example women are allocated with the task of housekeeping and men with the task of house construction. It is further assumed that sexual division of labour functions to distribute to men and women different roles. By roles we mean, "rights and obligations"⁴² ascribed by the society to its members. For example men are assigned with the role of household upkeeping while women are assigned with the role of child rearing.

The research questions therefore sought to investigate the following:

1. What kind of division of labour exists in the household.
2. What kind of work is performed by men, women, boys and girls in the household.

3. What kind of special roles are played by men and women in the household.

On this area husband's and wife's were interviewed separately. Question five to question 17 (see appendix) dealt with household internal organization. During the interviews, there was one incident of poor response from one husband. However this shortcoming was checked by researcher's intensive observations in order to countercheck with the wife's responses. In other cases I had to ask the same question in different ways. A detailed analysis of household tasks done by husbands' alone, or wives' alone, tasks done by both spouses tasks done by male children and female children alone was done. Also there were a few cases of work done by all the children regardless of sex and tasks done by only the males or only the females in the household.

Under this question area specific questions on child care responsibility were asked (see questions 12 and 11 in appendix). These questions mainly centred on whose duty is to nurse a sick child, and look after the children.

Under internal organization, question 8, 9, and 58 (see appendix) dealt on how spare time was spent. This mainly required information on what actually is done during sparetime by the husband's, wife's, male and female children.

(iii) To what extent does the sexual division of labour influence women's subordination and oppression within the household.

In our case subordination refers to low hierarchic ranking. It is therefore assumed that sexual division of labour places women at a lower rank in the household compared to men. Oppression on the other hand is regarded as a situation of women having little or no say in decision making in the household and other spheres.

On this research question I sought to investigate the following:

1. Who makes important decisions in the household.

For example marriage, decisions on income generation and who controls the household income.

In order to get information on household finances, types of occupations for both husband and wife were asked. This also included any other type of economic activity apart from husband's or wife's occupation. (See question 13, 14, 21, 22, 29 and 30 in appendix). These questions were answered by both the husband and wife.

Although most of them mentioned how much they earned from their small scale businesses, it could not be taken for granted that ^{that} / was their ~~true~~ income because most of the respondents were not conversant with / ^{book-keeping} procedures. In most cases not all the respondents could mention all sources of their incomes. To counter check the validity of answers on the households incomes, each spouse was asked separately (see quest. 13 and 14 in appendix) what was his

or her income and his or her spouse's income. Also the question on one's income was checked by the question on one's occupation. In Tanzania salaries are fixed by the government. Therefore to know somebody's kind of job can give a clue of what his salary is. It was however very difficult to determine the exact income of respondents.

Relations of power and authority in the household were dealt with question 15 and 17. Both ^{the} husbands and wives were asked these questions. Also questions 18, 19 and 20 were asked (see appendix). These questions were only posed to wives. Question 15 (see appendix) was asked to obtain information on who made important decisions in the household. Decision making is the main determinant of power relations in the household. Important decisions in this research are those regarding financial issues. Children's matters like education and control and ownership of assets.

(iv) How does the socialization process perpetuate the division of labour in the household. By socialization we mean the act of "acquiring sensitivity to social stimuli (especially the pressures and obligations of group life) and learning to get along with, and to behave like, others in his group or culture; the process of becoming social being."⁴³ In other words it means the process of enculturation in which people are developed in order they can live an

expected social life. In this sense socialization is done differently for girls and boys through cultural values and practices and beliefs.

The research therefore sought to investigate the following:

1. The socialization methods for girls and boys in the household.
2. Taboos related to doing task allocated to sex other than own.
3. Kinds of subjects learnt at school and ambitions.

Question 43 - 58 (See appendix) were aimed at extracting information on how socialization process perpetuate the division of labour in the household. Question 43 to 46 were posed to both wives and husbands. Question 47 - 51 were posed to wives only and question 52 - 57 were specific for both male and female children. Question 47 sought to reveal whether parents expected their children to help with household chores and how these chores were organised in the household for the children.

Question 48 was concerned with whether there were customs and taboos regarding the assigned household chores performed by inappropriate sex. This in turn would measure what role cultural values plays in socialization of boys and girls.

Question 49 - 50 aimed to measure whether parents were specific to what kind of subjects should be learnt

by female and male children differently. Question 55 was centred on children's ambitions. This aimed to find out whether the ambitions matched with female and male roles and responsibilities.

OBSERVATIONS

Observations were another major source of data in the study. Frequently observations were done in order to countercheck with the answer provided by the respondents. Being a resident of the area of study I could visit the households in research as often as I could while making my observations.

Observations were specifically made on housing which accommodated the members of a household, its layout, respondents themselves, their clothings, their relationships and on specific events which happened at the time of study. Such events ranged from wedding ceremony, on ownership of assets and wives occupation.

Houses which accommodated the respondents ranged from finished bungalows, semifinished bungalows/houses and swahili houses with a backyard and backyard buildings.

FOOT NOTES

1. Rossi, A. (1969) "Sex Equality, the Begining of Ideology", In Roszak, B. and Roszak, T. (eds), Masculine Feminine Readings in Sexual Mythology and the Liberation of Women, London: Harper Row Publishers; p. 174.
2. Garmanikov, E. (1979) "Sexual Division of Labour the Case of Nursing" In Kuhn, A. and Wolpe, A.M. (eds) Feminism and Materialism, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul pg. 9.
3. Ibid p. 109
4. Ibid p. 110
5. Millett, K. (1971), Sexual Politics, London: Rupert Hart Davis, pg. 38
6. Mernissi, F. (1983) Beyond the Veil, the Male, Female Dynamics in Muslim Society, Great Britain: Billing and Sons Ltd. pg. 130
7. McDonough, R. and Harrison, R. (1979) "Patriarchy and Relations of Production" in Kuhn, A. and Wolpe, A.M. (eds) op.cit. pg.36
8. Kuhn, A. op.cit pg. 43
9. Engels, F. (1942) The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Burke, E. and Leacock, N. (eds) USA: pg. 29
10. Marx, K. (1954) Capital Vol. 5, Moscow; Progress Publishers, pg. 422.
11. Ibid pg. 394
12. Engels, F. op.cit pg. 44
13. Barrett, M. (1983), Women's Oppression Today, Problems of Marxist Feminist Analysis London: Verso Editions pg 21
14. Ibid
15. Firestone, B. (1971) The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution, New York: Bantam, 1971 pg 20.

16. Barrett, M. op.cit pg. 25
17. Chiplin, B. (1976), Sex Discrimination in the Labour Market, London: The MacMillan Press, pg 76.
18. Flynn, K.I. and Mark, G. (1972) "Workers, Mothers, Housewives in Soviet Union Today", In Bardwick, J.M. Readings on the Psychology of Women, San Fransisco pg. 212 - 216.
19. Geiger, S. (1982), "Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania the needs of rural poor" The African Studies Vol. xxx No. 203 pg. 46.
20. Rossi, A. (1969) "Sex Inequality the Begining of Ideology" In Roszak, B. and Roszak, T. (eds) op.cit pg. 75.
21. Ibid
22. Bales, R.F. and Parsons, T. (1964), Socialization and Interaction Process, Illinois The Free Press p. 23
23. Ibid
24. Engels, F. op.cit pg 33 - 34.
25. Bott, E. (1968) Family and Social Networks, Roles Norms and External Relationships In Ordinary Urban Families, 2nd (eds) London: Tavistock, pg 54
26. Madsen, B. (1984), Women's Mobilization and Integration in Development, Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research pg 36.
27. Ibid
28. Ibid
29. Njwaba, F. (1984) "Study of Working Women Dual Role Performers the Case of TANESCO", M.A. Thesis, University of Dar-es Salaam pg. 1 - 3.
30. Swantz, M.L. (1977) Strain and Strength Among Peasant Women in Tanzania, University of Dar es Salaam; BRALUP Research Paper No. 49 pg. 81.

31. Mascarenhas, O. and Mbilinyi, Mbilinyi, M. (eds)
(1983) Women In Tanzania An Analytical
Bibliography, Sweden: Motala Grafsc.
Motala p. 1
32. Bott op.cit pg.64
33. Bott op.cit pg 54
34. Brain, A.R.L. (1979), "The Political Economy of
Urbanization in Tanzania" Ph.D. Thesis,
Vancouver: University of British
Columbia pg 352.
35. Leslie, (1963), A Survey of Dar es Salaam, London:
Oxford University Press pg 20.
36. Brain, A.R.L. op.cit
37. Ibid
38. Ibid
39. Ibid
40. Nakane, G. (1967), Kinship and Economic Organization
in Rural Japan, London: The Athlone
Press pg 1.
41. Bott, E. op.cit
42. Banton, M.P. (1965), Roles, London: The Trinity
Press pg 2.
43. English, H.B. and English, A.C. (1958), A Comprehe-
nsive Dictionary of Psychological
and Psychoanalytical Terms, New
York: McKay.

CHAPTER II

SEXUAL INEQUALITY -- A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVESEXUAL INEQUALITY IN TANZANIAPRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

Sexual inequality like household division of labour in Tanzania predates the colonial period. However the patterns of division of labour and power relations differed from society to society depending on social economic conditions and cultural values.

Up to 1800 Tanzanian societies were largely pre-capitalist, however they were socially organized differently from society to society according to the level of development of productive forces. In some societies primitive communalism prevailed while other societies experienced stratified relations of production and ownership of private property.

The Pastoralist Maasai of Northern Tanzania were organized under age set system, where one age set was expected to respect all the age sets senior to it, and the senior age set acted as guardians of the junior ones.¹

Among the Agriculturalist Nyamwezi, Ha, Wahaya, Wagogo Hehe, Pare and Sambia, iron smelting technology was developed, and the use of iron tools, such as hoes, axes, spears and knives was prevalent. Rudimentary state formation was also experienced in Nyamwezi, Wahaya, Gogo and Hehe societies.

In Chagga, and Pare societies Chiefdoms were emerging. These developments were coupled with emergence of private property and family structure which was organized under the authority of patriarchy heads who had control over land and cattle.²

In the southern societies people were politically organized on lineage or clans.³

As for the division of labour, the Maasai allocated hut construction work to women because they were stationed at one place compared to men who moved from one place to another looking for pastures.⁴ This was also true of the Fulani Wo Daa Be nomads of Niger who were also pastoralist. According to Dupire,⁵ the Fulani women also undertook all the tasks concerned with the household. After the head of the Camp had decided upon the place to stay women built huts from thorn branches they had gathered, while their husbands took the herds to pasture.

The Maasai men were the controllers of domestic animals and made all important decisions involving disposal of the cattle, and marriage of their children. Women had no right to dispose of the cattle and mothers had no say in marriage of their daughters.⁶

The Agriculturalist Arusha, would let a woman inherit land from her husband only if the husband died. Whenever the woman died the land was inherited by her sons and not her daughters.⁷ The Haya women did not inherit their

husband's land and were thrown off the land by their sons who had inherited land.³

The Chagga allocated the women with the duty of cutting grass and feeding the cattle because in Chagga society it was normal to graze the animals around the homesteads so as to utilize manure properly in banana farms. This was necessary because pieces of land were privately owned. Each piece of land was owned by the eldest male in the household who controlled the land for the benefit of the whole household. Land was inherited by the elder son. All fertile land was occupied and it was very rare to find idle land.⁹ Elder males had their own pieces of land and several others which were allocated to wives for the purpose of cultivating food crops for the whole household. The wives had also to cultivate their husband's plot, in which they planted millet which was controlled by the husbands only. The women had no say in the products from their husband's plot,¹⁰ although they cultivated it themselves.

In order to prepare the women to take their roles in the household, some societies including the Ngoni, gave special instructions to girls at puberty. In this respect Madisen argues,

"Traditionally Ngoni girls were taken to bush for one week at puberty where they were circumcized and taught the role of adult women by elderly respected women."¹¹

The main aim of these teachings were to prepare the women to become responsible mothers and wives who could maintain their households and respect their husbands.

In societies where polygamy was experienced, polygamy was preferred because it enhanced power to the men and brought labour for producing surplus. The women bore a number of children who were regarded as a source of future labour and who continued the lineage. According to Malcom¹² the men in Sukuma land controlled and appropriated the surplus which in some cases was used for marrying another wife.

As we have argued, division of tasks and power relations differed from society to society. Among the Tutsi of Burundi, rich women did not perform household tasks including rearing their children. This task was performed by girl of a lower caste, and in case of polygamous marriage, the first wife was given a status of a senior wife and other wives remained more or less servants to her. In this way among the Tutsi women there were those who exercised power over other women.¹³

In other African societies for example the Mbuti pygmies of Congo who are the hunting society, there was no division of labour by sex. Men and women hunted together. The roles of father and mother were differentiated, as they both shared the task of children rearing and shared decision over how to dispose of their products of labour.¹⁴

Likewise, during the pre-industrial period, Britain experienced sexual inequality in the field of familial, economic and religious spheres.¹⁵ The country women undertook all the domestic chores as well as their husband's work in the fields. These women had no power or authority over their men.¹⁶ In short women of the pre-industrial Britain were subordinated by men, by state and church in which they occupied no public position or power.

Although the women in pre-industrial England experienced subordination, the aristocratic women wielded power and authority over men and women below them. They occupied a second position or a deputy position to their husbands and they were managers of their households.¹⁷ Although these women had power over other women and other men, they were subordinate to their husbands, and their power over other men and other women were derived from their marital and familial status, and not from ownership of property.

b) Colonial period

During the colonial period Tanzanian societies engaged in cash crops production. Large plantations of coffee, sisal, tea and groundnuts were introduced. These plantations demanded labour, and with the introduction of taxation people migrated from their home areas to plantation areas, in order to sell their labour. According to Slater¹⁸ in order to enter for the colonial economy, various towns developed for administration purposes and for commercial purposes.

Wives who accompanied their husbands could not engage themselves in plantations, as such they became dependent to their husbands. But this tendency was gradually changed as women started some small scale economic activities like selling buns which was a step forward towards economic independence for women.

Urbanism has been equated to cultural change meaning that migrants are encouraged to shed their traditional customs and **adapt** the urban way of life.¹⁹ However according to Gutkind, African societies illustrate different conditions from the above. Whether the town migrants are recent, or long time urban residents, their behaviour can be viewed along the following lines,

"polarization based on ethnic identity and social/psychological in urban context, and polarization based on distinctive urban style of life namely economic and political process."²⁰

This has an effect of shaping various processes in the social lives of the urban dwellers. People may retain their cultural and religious practices because they still have connections with their kins in the rural areas. Also urban living conditions and urban nature of employment may shape the lives of the urban dwellers. In this respect Beil²¹ argues that, urban life can also affect the distribution of power in the household. It becomes common to find that in urban societies power and authority are vested in elderly males who control and organize household

production and consumption. Other factors which may shape the urban way of life are education and economic resources. While education acts to shape traditional values of urban dwellers economic independence of women can lead to demand for greater autonomy from the elders, males and husbands. This has a result of making the males strive to maintain their status of being economically dominant.

During the colonial period in Tanzania the traditional sexual division of labour was not altered. Infact it was intensified in order to suit the colonial economy. Educational policy was designed to serve the colonial administration. The boys were taught subjects which would enable them to work in the colonial administration, while the women were mainly taught domestic science subjects preparing them to become good housewives. This had an effect of making the parents invest less in girls education, and early marriages for girls were preferred as a way to observe female misconducts.²²

In some cases women were regarded as a source of cheap labour by their husbands who had to cultivate cash crops in order to obtain cash for paying tax. A good example is that of the Zinze women who preferred to marry during planting season in order to obtain cheap labour.²³

Also among the Hehe, women engaged in agricultural work twice as much as men on top of their usual household chores while they did not control their products of labour.²⁴

Also the condition of Ngoni women during the colonial period was of the inferior status. Madisen,²⁵ observed that during marriage ceremony, a Ngoni father handed the bride who is his own daughter to the bride's father inlaw, speaking the following words, "Now she is your own"²⁶ meaning that she is now under the authority of his father inlaw and husband. The bride was covered with cow hide and a knife placed on her neck to symbolize her submission to the new male authority.

Similar conditions seemed to prevail in other third world countries. According to Kovalsky, during the colonial period, African Women who constituted the basic of the workforce were among the first victims of exploitation and subordination to the power of property holders in society. Dependence on their husbands was mainly due to the introduction of cash economy whereby men found it necessary to control the basic means of producing cash. This dependence on husbands took variety of forms, for example the Maragoli women did not have the right to dispose of their harvest without permission of their husbands.²⁸ The Murang's wives on the other hand used their harvests to feed the whole household, and the husband's harvest was owned by himself.²⁹ He sold it, obtained cash for his own use.

The condition of African women was also perpetuated and maintained by cultural values of various societies. According to Mernissi,³⁰ In the Islamic society of Morocco,

it was believed that, it was a religious duty of a husband to command his wife. As such a man would expect the following rights from his wife; fidelity, obedience, and management of the household. The wife in ^{turn} expects to be supported financially by her husband.³¹

In England during the industrial revolution, the working men were anxious about their authority and their employment. At the same time the bourgeoisie were anxious to maintain order. This was clearly seen as the working class men's interests were to restrict the women's entry into the labour market or limit them to low paid jobs. The bourgeoisie had similar interests as his aim was to maximize profit. In this way women were made a reserve army. At this juncture man's wage was seen to be sufficient for his whole family, while the women were urged to stay at home. Early trade unions called for the right to work for the men with a family and prohibited women recruitment.³²

As years went by there developed a tendency of a shared household tasks between husbands and wives. These patterns of division of labour and power relations however differed to some extent from one group to another group of people. According to Bott,³³ among the 20 London studied families those who were from higher class shared household tasks jointly between the wife and the husband, while couples from working class, divided roles and household tasks between them.

Independence Period

The situation of women in Tanzania after independence was not much changed. The economic structure is still controlled by international capitalism, and urbanization is continuing in almost the same lines as during the colonial period based on commercial activities ^{and} state administration. Low technological development, traditional values behavioral patterns and religious influences have contributed to the subordination of women in Tanzania.³⁴

Due to the effort of making Tanzania an egalitarian society in which all sort of inequalities are eradicated, post colonial Tanzania adopted a socialist economy. This is clearly announced in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 where it is argued that, in a true socialist society all people are workers and nobody exploits another. Every able bodied person works and receives a just return. Income inequality is eradicated.³⁵ In this respect socialism was an attempt to eradicate all type of social inequalities including sexual inequality.

The implication of this is that women's oppression and inequality is an aspect of capitalist relations. The oppression of women in the home and in the productive sector is essential for the reproduction of capitalist relations.

In an attempt to build a society in which both men and women are equal, Tanzania enacted of law of Marriage Act in 1971. Among other items the Law recognizes separate ownership of property between spouses, and reaffirms the right of a wife to be maintained by the husband during the marriage. (Sec 58, 60-63).³⁶ Also the law recognizes right of wives to secure a share of matrimonial assets obtained through 'joint efforts' (Sec 114 - 124).³⁷ In this respect courts are empowered to initiate the sale of any assets and order the division of the proceeds of such sales to the couples.

However the term 'joint efforts' has brought difficulties in the practicability of the law. In cases where a wife did not contribute actual cash, but contributed labour in the form of running the household, husband business, or growing cash crops, some lawyers have been considering such services as wifely duties which have no monetary value according to them. In this respect the meaning of joint effort is related to activities outside the household.³⁸

In the employment sector women have been granted equal rights and opportunities like their counterparts the men. Houses, and other fringe benefits are given to all employees regardless their difference in sex.³⁹ Also the parastatal service regulations are very much explicit interms of granting the women 84 days leave with pay in a three years cycle. (Parastatal services regulations 1984 ed.

sub section D.1(e)). Also Tanzania adapted educational policies which were aimed at increasing a number of females enrolling in various educational levels. All these measures have been palliative in the sense that, progressive women policies have been introduced while the social economic conditions, and cultural values of the society have not yet been revolutionized. For instance it has been very difficult to practice the progressive Law of Marriage Act because it ^{is} still co-existing with contradictory customary law which is based on cultural values and religious beliefs.⁴⁰

To affirm this assertion, Nyororo noted that,

"Ten years after the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania is neither a socialist nor self reliant."⁴¹

By this he meant that all types of social inequalities still exist.

In order to demonstrate this, struggles of women in Tanzania, ^{for} demanding their rights have been experienced here and there. For example in 1975 the women of Mbagala cashew-nut factory in Dar es Salaam were struggling against the unjust firing of women from the factory.⁴² They were fired from the factory in the process of mechanization because they had inadequate education. In their struggle they demanded to retain their jobs or receive severance pay according to the period they had served.

There have also been cases of women protesting against the patriarchal marriage by requesting divorces or refusing

to marry. In such cases women give reasons that it is very expensive to become ones wife because this means one is now a sub-servient of her husband and her in-laws.⁴³

Within the same line USSR still experience sexual inequality although socialist revolution was achieved in 1917.

According to Flyn,⁴⁴ a soviet woman has one foot in industry and one foot at home. In this way she can not engage fully with her profession because of domestic obligation. Flyn adds that women in USSR still have no much decision making powers in their households, and there are some of them who can not even decide on how to use the money they have earned themselves.⁴⁵

In concluding we can argue that although sexual inequality was prevalent from pre-colonial societies and still prevails today, it differed from society to society. As in some societies not only women had some authority and power over some men and women, but also the division of tasks and responsibilities were not universal, in that it was arranged differently from society to society in order to fit the environment of a given society. In this case we argue that social economic conditions plus other factors including cultural values of a society contribute and perpetuate sexual inequality and division of labour.

FOOT NOTES

1. Melissa, L.D. (1978), "Two contents of solidarity among Pastoralist Maasai", in Caplan, P. and Bujra, J.M. Women United, Women Divided, Cross Cultural Perspective on Female Solidarity, Great Britain: Tavistock pg. 213.
2. Owori, M.O. (1982) "The Hegemonic Function of Ideology in Law in Post Colonial State: Tanzania with Particular Reference to Family Law", Ph.D. Thesis, Dar es Salaam University pg. 223 - 226.
3. Ibid
4. Daily News 11th March 1988
5. Dupire, M. (1963), "Women in a Pastoral Society" in Paulino, D. (ed), Women of Tropical Africa, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul pg. 76.
6. Melissa, L.D. op.cit pg, 213
7. Fortmann, L. (1979) "Women and Agricultural Development" in Kin, S.K., Mabele, R.B. and Schultheis, M.J. (eds) Papers on the Political Economy of Tanzania, Nairobi, London, Lusaka, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. pg. 282.
8. Ibid
9. Taasisi ya Elinu ya Watu Wazima (1984) Zijue Haki za Wanawake Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, pg.2
10. Ibid
11. Madison, B. (1983) Sukumaland: An African People and their country, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press pg.52
12. Albert, B.M. (1963), "Women in Rundi Society, Women at home, Feminine Roles. How can become influential in Patriarchal society," in Paulino, D. op.cit pg. 201

14. Haralambos, M. (1981), Sociology Themes and Perspectives Great Britain: The Chaucer Press, pg. 374. Here Haralambos refers to Oakleys argument that physical differences between men and women have little or no influence on women's roles.
15. Stacey, M. and Marion, P. (1982), Women Power and Politics, London: Tavistock pg. 30.
16. Ibid
17. Ibid
18. Slater, D. (1977), "Colonialism and Spatial Structure of Underdevelopment: Outlines of an Alternative Approach, With Special Reference to Tanzania", in Abu-Lughod, J. and Hay, R. (eds) Third World Urbanization Chicago: Maarouf Press pg. 165 - 167.
19. Sandbrook, R. (1982), The Politics of Basic Needs, Urban Aspects of Assaulting Poverty in Africa, London: Heinemann pg. 183.
20. Gutkind, P. (1969), in Meadow, P. and Mizuch, E. Urbanism, Urbanization and Changes Comperative Perspectives California: Addison Wesley Publishing Company pg. 215.
21. Peil, M. and Sada, P.O. (1984), African Society Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, pg. 172.
22. Jaspa, (1982), Basic Needs in Danger, ILO Report, Addis Ababa: United Printers pg. 141.
23. Maloolm, D.W. op.cit.
24. Kovalsky, N.A. (1975), Women Today, USSR: Progress-Publishers, pg. 223.

25. Madisen, B. op.cit. pg. 16
26. Ibid
27. Kovalsky, N.A. op.cit
28. Ibid
29. Ibid
30. Mernissi, F. (1975) Beyond the Veil, Male-Female Dynamics in Muslim Society, Great Britain: Billing and Sons Ltd. pg. 110
31. Ibid
32. Stacey, M. and Marion, P. op.cit pg. 37
33. Bott, E. (1964), Family and Social Network, London: Tavistock pg. 111 - 112.
34. Kolvasky, N.A. op.cit. pg. 223.
35. Nyerere, J.K. (1967), Azinio la Arusha na Siasa ya TANU Juu ya Ujanaa na Kujitegemea, Dar es Salaam: Idara ya Habari, pg. 3.
36. Rwezaura, B.A. (1982), Social Legal Changes in Kuria Family Relations, Ph.D. Thesis Warwick: University. pg. 185 - 202.
37. Ibid
38. Ibid
39. SCOFO Directive No. 44 of 10 June 1981
40. Rwezaura, B.A. (1981), Sheria ya Ndoa ya Tanzania, Dar es Salaam: Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili pg. 74.
41. Nyerere, J.K. (1977), Azinio la Arusha Baada ya Miaka Kumi, Dar es Salaam: Mpiga Chapa wa Serikali pg. 1.
42. Daily News, 23rd October 1975

43. Mascarenhas, S.O. and Mbilinyi, M. (1983),
Women in Tanzania, An Analytical Bibliography Sweden:
Motala Grafiska Motala, pg. 23
44. Field, G. and Flynn, K.I. (19) "Soviet
Woman Today" in Bardwick, J.M.
Readings on the Psychological
of women, New York, Evanston,
San Fransisco: Harper and
Row Publishers pg. 218.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

CHAPTER III

HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOUR AND ROLES IN SINZA

PART I:

THE HOUSEHOLDS

To discern the social division of labour in the households, indepth studies of 29 households in Sinza area were made. The data obtained is not claimed to be representative of the whole city. However what we have is a picture of households in a part of Dar es Salaam and some of the processes members in those households are involved.

The Sinza area accommodates people from various parts of Tanzania with different cultural and ethnic practices, but who have also adapted themselves to city way of life in one way or another. The researched households include the above people, but with concentration on heads who are employed in the formal sector and a few self employed. The main interest is to discern the division of tasks and responsibilities, power relations, authority and decision making roles in matters relating to household finances, assets, childrens' education and dependants. An attempt is made to discuss some of the factors which have shaped those relations.

What is described below is an illustration of some of the social processes in the households in this area. As such this research is found to be useful interms of laying grounds for further researches in other parts of Dar es Salaam and other area of Urban Tanzania, in order to contribute towards increasing our knowledge on the changing social relations within households in Urban Tanzania. Names are just used for the purpose of this dissertation. They are by no means real names of the characters.

The households were interviewed and observed for a period of six months consecutively and later on for a period of twelve months on an on and off basis. The 29 households which are summarised in table 2 are numbered from 1 to 29 for easy reference. Out of them 5 are discussed (part I of chapter III) ⁱⁿ detail in order to illustrate the households and 4 are used to explain events (part II or chapter III) which occurred during the research which illustrate social relations of the households. The households are quite "traditional" in their pattern with strong emphasis on division of labour according to sex and age for both parents and children.

Household sizes vary from 5 members (households) 6 to 8 members (7 households), 8 to 10 members (10 households) and 10 to 13 members (7 household). Membership includes two parents, children and in other cases relatives and servants with heads of households being males with roles of father and husband. Below is a table showing households by size (in number).

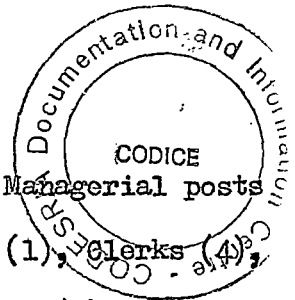
Number of Members in a household	Below 5	6 - 8	8 - 10	Over 10	Total
Households	5	7	10	7	29

Table I: Household sizes in number

All households are big with members ranging from 6-13, irrespective of education status, occupation and ethnic background except 5 households. These are small with 5 members or below mainly because the couples are still new and married within the period of 5 years.

Among the 29 households there are 4 in which decision making in household utilities, ownership of assets and welfare of the members of household is shared between the husbands and the wives. One household has its decisions on above matters made by the wife only, and other 24 households have their decisions on household utilities, ownership of assets, and welfare of the members of households made by the husbands alone. As for the performance of household tasks, there are those households in which tasks are shared between the couples (6 households), those in which tasks are shared between wife and female children (19 households) and those in which tasks are performed by the wife, children and relatives regardless of sex (6 households).

Occupation wise the men include four businessmen, and among them two are prominent timber dealers / another two are engaged with road haulage and transportation business. One of the four businessmen deals with both timber and transportation business. Others are: Sales man (1), Primary



school teacher (1), College Principal (1), Managerial posts (6), Storekeepers (2), Aircraft technician (1), Clerks (4), Musician (1), Train driver (1), Army Officers (3) and Personnel Officer (1).

Women occupations include the following: Nursery school teacher (1), Personal Secretary/Typist (4), Personnel Manager (1), Primary school teacher (4), Personnel Officer (1), Welfare Officer (1), Assistant Nursing Officer/Nurse (3), Office attendants (2) Storekeeper (1) and recorder (1). Of the 29 women 19 are engaged in the formal employment six are housewives engaged with petty economic activities and four are fulltime house wives.

Heads of households who hold managerial posts and receive high pay are seven.² Two of them have their decisions on household finances shared between themselves and their wives, while five of them have their decisions made by themselves. The eleven households in which heads hold middle position posts and receive middle pay³, eight of them have their decisions on household finances, wives occupation, household welfare, household building, and in other cases all matters made by the husbands. Two households have their decisions shared on the above matters between themselves and their wives, while one household has decisions on family income made by the wife only. Those who have low⁴ paid jobs are three and have their decisions on all matters made by their husbands.

There are two households with heads being a lieutenant and a captain. These have their decisions on whether to raise wife's daughter and all matters respectively made by the husbands. There is also one police officer who has decisions over wife's occupation made by himself. This is mainly due to the nature of their jobs which trains them to dominate in decision making by commanding.

The four business men have decisions made by the husbands in financial matters (2 business men), all matters (1 businessman), household income and whether to stay with dependants (1 business man). The musician household has decisions on financial matters made by the husband himself. The above suggests that level of decision making on household finance depends on who dominates in household production. If the wife produces more than the husband and sustains the household income her decisions on how to spend the income becomes dominant and vice versa.

Among the 29 households, only two (house hold 17 and household 19) have joint accounts. Twenty households keep their accounts separately and the remaining seven households have no bank accounts. Those who have joint accounts are characterised by a shared decision making between the husband and the wife. The couples who shared bank accounts one of them have the husband whose position is a personnel officer and the wife is a nurse. In another couple the husband is a college principal and the wife is a fulltime house wife.

Both husbands are graduates, while in the first case the wife is a form four leaver and a certificate holder, and in the other case the wife is also a graduate. Types of occupation also shape the division of roles and responsibilities in households. In households which wives are nurses, some of the tasks such as child rearing, are shared between the couples. This is because during night shifts the children are left with their fathers who have to take care of them, or supervise any other person who has been assigned with the job. However two of the nurse households have decision making powers in all matters vested in the husbands, while only one has decisions in all matters shared between the husband and the wife.

In their formal education the male range from holders of degrees/diplomas (7), form six or form four with certificate courses (15), and less than form four with other courses (7). On the other hand the female range from degrees and diplomas holders (3), form six and four with certificate courses (9), less than form four with other courses (17).

Out of seven households whose heads are diplomas and degrees holders, three share their decisions on all matters with their wives, while four of them make decisions in all matters. Of the 15 form four and certificate holders one household have its decisions on household finances made by the wife. In one household decisions on income expenditure is made separately between the wife and the husband, and in other 13 households decisions on financial matters, wives

occupation, whether to take care of dependants and house building is done by husbands. Those whose education is below form four (7 households) have their decisions on financial matters (1), wife's occupation (1), all matters (3) building a house (1) and right of inheritance made by the husbands.

Women professionals and women graduates share their decision making in household finances and expenditures with their husbands. This is mainly because they have been exposed to various cultural practices and because they contribute to the household income. There were however tensions among those women who are professionals and have formal education (household 20, 21 and 23), but could not share decision making on house building, wife's occupation and taking care of wife's daughter respectively. Such tensions resulted into quarrels and marriage instabilities as the women were demanding to own assets like buildings, decide on their occupations and up keep of their dependants, while the men were against their demands.

There is one traditional religion household in which decisions in all matters are done by the husband, 21 christian household, of which 10 are Roman Catholics, 8 Lutherans and 3 Anglicans, One Anglican household and 3 Roman Catholic households share their decisions in household finances, household welfares, and other matters, while one Lutheran household have its decisions on household utilities made by the wife.

All 7 Muslim households have their decisions on financial household welfare and acquisition of new assets made by the husbands. The above presupposes that although religion may play a great role in shaping the pattern of division of role, other factors especially occupation are equally important, (household 13).

Households which are characterised by unshared role pattern (household 13, 8 and 11) are also characterised by unshared leisure activities. In this respect, the husbands would go out for drink, watch foot ball matches, or visit their friends, while wives would stay at home or visit their friends at their own time. Households which are characterised by shared role pattern (household 17 and 19) are also characterised by shared pattern of spending leisure time. For example couples would both go to visit their relatives or go to other leisure activities together.

Among the 29 households, (see table 2) there are the Ha, Bemba, Hehe, Chagga, Ngoni, Zaramo, Haya, Lingala, Sukuma, Kikuyu, Nyakyusa, Kerewe, Zigua, Matengo, Makonde and Nyasa. In the above households, sexual division of labour and roles is prevalent irrespective of ethnic background. However ethnic background is very important in terms of transmitting cultural values from one generation to another through socialization process. For example the Sukuma (household 11) Kerewe (household 19) and Nyakyusa (household 29) knelt down whenever they greeted elders especially the men.

In this respect we contend that division of labour and roles in the households have been maintained and is likely to continue, given kind of socialization of the children of the interviewed households. This kind of socialization has influenced the children to prefer subjects and ambitions which are thought to be appropriate to a given sex as found during the interviews.

Tasks performed by girls are of the same nature as those done by their mothers. Such tasks are sweeping, washing, looking after the young ones and shopping. At the same time boys perform tasks of the same nature as those performed by their fathers. Boys help with female related tasks only when it happens in the households there are no females around. In such cases boys prefer to sweep the ground, lay the table and do the shopping. (household 4, household 8, 14 and household 24).

There are different taboos relating to duty allocation according to sex. Forexample a Kerewe woman of household 19 argued that, a Kerewe girl is obliged to kneel down whenever greeting the men and other elders, or else she will never get a fiance. This is also true of the Ngoni in household 5, and the Sukuma in household 11. In household 5 it was also revealed that whenever women are performing household tasks like pounding or sorting vegetables, it is forbidden to do such tasks in front of the main building. All such tasks are performed in the backyard.

According to Nyakyusa customs, as told in household 13, a man is not allowed to perform female related tasks, otherwise he will be despised by women. This is the same with Jaluos in household 14. On the other hand the Ngoni in household 17 and household 5 stress that it is the duty of a good woman to offer good services to his husband and her inlaws. Such services include cooking for them, serving them with good food and preparing bathing water for them. They give an example that, whenever serving the husband with a chicken, one should make sure that he supposedly best meat that is thighs and gizzard, is served to him. Women and female children eat other portions of chicken, which are regarded to be inferior.

The Sukuma in household 11 stress that married women are not allowed to go back to their families of orientation except when they have to attend important ceremonies such as funerals, and weddings. This is the same with the Chagga in household 4 and 9 who add that a married woman who has delivered a child should not go back to her family of orientation. She is to be looked after by her mother inlaw. Muslim women of household 2 and 1 always cover themselves with black covering (buibui) leaving only the face whenever they go out.

Answers given to the question, what would happen if one breaks such taboos, were different but all the given answers reflected the following:

1. Those who break taboos are despised by women.

2. Those who break such taboos would be regarded lazy.
3. Those who break the taboos will never get marriage partners.
4. Those who break taboos would loose control over their wives.

These taboos reflect how they can be of much influence in maintaining some patterns of division of labour in the households. When opinion was sought about preference of subjects for girls and boys, parents and daughters thought that, domestic science, secretarial, and nursing courses are good for female children, (Households 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 18, 22, 25 and 28) while the following subjects are thought ^{to} be proper for male children: technical subjects, medicines and army.

After giving a general picture of the households, we now turn to the case studies which are analysed in detail in part I of chapter III.

TABLE 2: A SUMMARY OF HOUSEHOLDS SHOWING MEMBERS OCCUPATION, RELIGION, EDUCATION, ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND PATTERNS OF DIVISION OF TASKS AND POWER RELATIONS.

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children, Dependents Relatives servants M F	DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		
1	30	Chief Accountant	Islam	Advanced Diploma in Business Administration	Haya	1982	20	Assist Nursing Officer	Islam	Form four with certificate	Haya	4 ^S 1 ^S	<p>1. Household Tasks exclusively divided into male and female tasks</p> <p>2. Decision making powers in all matters are vested on the husband.</p>
2	60	High Clerical Officer	Islam	Std 8	Bemba	1948	55	Nursery School Teacher	Islam	Std. 4	Bemba	18 ^S 17 ^R 14 ^R	<p>1. Household tasks are performed by females only.</p> <p>2. Decision making powers in financial matters vested to husband.</p> <p>3. Decision making on allocation of duties to females is done by the wife.</p>

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children, Dependents Relatives servants M F	DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		
3	38	Commercial Manager	Christian RC	Adv. Diploma in Business Administration	Pogoro	1978	28	Primary School teacher	Christian R.C.	Form 4	Pogoro	9 ^S 11 ^S 7 ^S 5 ^S 19 ^R 8 ^R 6 ^R	1. Division of tasks is exclusively between males and female tasks. 2. Husband has decision making power over financial matters
4	44	Financial Manager	Christian (Anglican)	Graduate B Com	Chagga	1978	34	Secondary School Teacher	Christian Anglican	Form 4 with certificate	Chagga	10 ^S 17 ^S 8 ^S 15 ^S 6 ^S 12 ^S 4 ^S 8 ^S 12 ^R 18 ^R	1. Tasks are divided between male and female tasks 2. There is a degree of shared decision making between the wife and the husband in all matters. 3. The wife has powers and control over junior male children and relatives

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children, Dependents Relatives servants M F	DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS	
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background			
5	48	Air Craft Technician	Christian (R.C)	Form four (Air-craft technician course)	Ngoni	1970	38	1.Primary School Teacher 2.Other economic activities	Christian (R.C)	Graduate	Ngoni	6 ^S 4 ^S 2 ^S	20 ^S 14 ^S 12 ^S 8 ^S	1. Household Tasks are done by females 2. A husband and a wife decides on each ones income separately. 3. The wife is a controller and owner of assets 4. The wife decides on other matters related to household welfare.
6	52	Clerk	Islam	Form four with certificate	Ngoni	1964	42	1. Teacher 2. Other ec activities	Islam	Std. 8	Ngoni	22 ^S 18 ^S 18 ^R	20 ^S 4 ^S 12 ^S 8 ^S	1. Household tasks are performed by females 2. Decision making power in all matters is vested to the husband.

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children, Dependents Relatives servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	7	39	Musician	Christian R.C.	Form four		Lingala	1967	36	1.Housewife 2.Wife	Christian R.C.	Std. 8	Lingala	
8	52	Storekeeper	Christian R.C.	Std.8	Matengo	1967	43	1.Housewife 2.Other activities	Christian Anglican	Adult education	Ngoni	17 ^S 14 ^S 11 ^S 23 ^R	20 ^S 14 ^S 22 ^S 2 ^S 20 ^R	1.Household tasks are performed by the females 2.Decision making power in all matters is vested to the husband. 3.Decision making in wife's occupation is done by the husband

Household No.	HUSBAND					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	WIFE					Children, Dependants, Relatives, Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS/PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
												S	R	
9	49	Business man	Christian Lutheran	Form 4	Chagga	1972	39	Housewife	Christian Lutheran	Form 2	Chagga	16 ^S 16 ^R 8 ^R 5 ^R	14 ^S 12 ^S 9 ^S	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Household chores are divided into males and females tasks. The husband has decision making powers in financial matters. The wife has control over junior males and females children and relatives.
10	37	Salesman	Islam	Form 4 with certificate	Makonde	1983	35	Personal Secretary	Christian	Form 4 with certificate	Sukuma	14 ^S 12 ^S	9 ^S 7 ^S 5 ^R 5 ^R	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> There is a shared division of tasks between the husband and the wife. Decision Making power in all household matters is vested to the husband.

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children, Dependents, Relatives, Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	11	37	House Servant 2. Other activities	Traditional	Std 4		Sukuma	1976	30	1. Housewife 2. Other activities	Traditional	Adult Education	Sukuma	
12	38	Military Officer (Captain)	Christian Lutheran	Form 4	Jita	1980	26	Nurse	Christian Anglican	Form four with certificate	Haya	5 ^S 18 ^S 1 ^S	3 ^S 16 ^R 15 ^{ES}	1. Shared household tasks between females and males 2. Decision making power is solely husbands responsibility (in all matters)

Household No.	H U S - B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children, Dependents Relatives Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	13	55	Business man	Christian Anglican	Graduate		Kikuyu	1977	30	1. House wife 2. Petty trades (ex nurse)	Christian Anglican	Form four with Certificate	Nyakyusa	
14	49	House Servant Other activities	Islam	Std. 6	Jaluo	1960	39	1. House wife 2. Petty Trade	Islam	Std. 4	Ha	20 ^S 18 ^S 10 ^S 3 ^S 28 ^R 18 ^R	17 ^S 15 ^S 12 ^S	1. Household tasks are shared between the males and females except the husband. 2. Decision making power in all matters vested to the husband.

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children Dependents Relatives Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	15	40	Personnel Manager	Islam	Form 4 with Certificate		Ndeneleule	1968	35	Personal Secretary	Islam	Std. 8	Nyamwezi	
16	35	Business man	Christian R.C.	Form 4	Sukuma	1984	20	Typist	Christian Anglican	Std. 7	Sukuma	3 ^S 9 ^R 7 ^R	1 ^S 18 ^R 16 ^R	1. Household tasks are made by females. 2. Decision making on whether to stay with dependants on how to spend the household income vested to the husband.

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children, Dependents, Relatives, Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS, PATTERNS, POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
17	36	College Principal	Christian R.C.	Graduate	Manda	1987	26	Housewife	Christian (R.C.)	Graduate	Ngoni	6 ^S 28 ^R 26 ^R 24 ^R	20 ^R 14 ^{HS}	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Household tasks are shared between husband and wife. Decision making is shared between the husband and the wife on financial matters.
18	40	Commercial Manager	Christian Lutheran	Graduate	Chagga	1970	36	Personal Secretary	Christian R.C.	Form 4 with certificate	Zaramo	10 ^S 4 ^S	18 ^S 17 ^{SS}	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Household tasks are done by females only. Decision making in all household matters made by the husband only.

Household No.	HUSBAND					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	WIFE					Children Dependants Relatives Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
19.	39	Personnel Officer	Christian (R.C.)	Graduate	Kereve	1984	26	Nurse	Christian (R.C.)	Form 4 with certificate	Kereve		3 ^S 18 ^{HS}	<p>1. Household tasks are shared between wife and husband.</p> <p>2. Decision making power in all matters of the household is shared between husband and wife.</p>
20	45	Safety Engineer	Islam	Form 4 with certificate	Manda	1968	38	Personnel Manager	Islam	Form 4 with Adv. Diploma	Manda	16 ^S 18 ^S 16 ^R	12 ^S 10 ^S 7 ^S 11 ^R 18 ^R	<p>1. Household tasks are performed by females only.</p> <p>2. Decision making on building a house is done by the husband.</p>

Household No.	H U S B A N D						YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children Dependents Relatives Servants		DIVISION OF HOUSE PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	AGE		Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F		
	21	38	Police Officer (SP) Inspectors	Christian Lutheran	Form four	Hehe		1974	30	Personnel Officer	Christian Lutheran	Form four with Certificate	Yao	9 ^S 6 ^S 4 ^S	
22	31	Business man (tax driver)	Christian R.C.	Form four	Chagga	1979	26	Office Attendant	Christian R.C.	Std. 7	Chagga	9 ^S 7 ^S	5 ^S 2 ^S 15 ^R	1. Household tasks are done by the wife and female relative. 2. Decision making power is vested to the husband	

House hold No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children Dependents Relatives Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	23	40	Army Officer (Military) (Lieutenant)	Christian Lutheran	Form 4		Hehe	1980	29	Welfare Officer	Christian Lutheran	Form four with certificate	Hehe	
24	38	Office Attendant	Christian R.C.	Std. 8	Ha	1976	28	House wife Petty Trades	Christian R.C.	Std. 4	Ha	18 ^R 16 ^R	6 ^S 5 ^S 1 ^S	<p>1. Household chores are shared between the wife and males relatives</p> <p>2. Decision making power in all matters is the husbands responsibility.</p>

Household No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children Dependents Relatives Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	25	55	Train Driver	Christian Lutheran	Std. 8		Manyema	1948	50	Full-time housewife	Christian Anglican	Std. 4	Manyema	
26	38	School Teacher	Christian Anglican	Form four with Certificate	Luguru	1984	34	Storekeeper	Christian Lutheran	Std. 6	Luguru	3 ^S	2 ^S	<p>1. Household tasks are performed by wife but the husband helps with some.</p> <p>2. Decision making power in household finances is vested in the hands of husband</p>

Household No.	HUSBAND					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	WIFE					Children, Dependents, Relatives, Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS, PATTERNS, POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	27	33	Store-keeper	Christian R.C.	Form 4 with certificate		Chagga	1986	23	Office Attendant	Christian R.C.	Std. 7	Chagga	
28	40	Clerk	Christian Lutheran	Std. 7	Makonde	1972	30	1. House wife 2. Petty trader	Christian Lutheran	Adult Education	Makonde	10 ^S 16 ^S 14 ^S	10 ^S 4 ^S	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Husband and wife share some household chores. Decision making power vested to the husband.

House hold No.	H U S B A N D					YEAR OF MARRIAGE	W I F E					Children Dependents Relatives Servants		DIVISION OF TASKS PATTERNS OF POWER RELATIONS
	AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background		AGE	Occupation	Religion	Education	Ethnic Background	M	F	
	29	28	Clerk	Christian Lutheran	Form 4		Nyakyusa	1985	24	1. Recorder 2. Other activities	Christian Lutheran	Std. 7	Nyakyusa	

N.B: S - means Child

R - means relative

HS - means house servant

PART I

THE OREGA HOUSEHOLD

Among the researched household is what we have called the Orega household. The household consists of 10 members. The husband Mr. Orega, the head of the household is 55 years old. He is a Christian and holds a B.A. degree in economics. Mr. Orega is a former employee of the defunct East African Railways Corporation, Tanzania Region where he worked as an Operations Officer for three years. In 1970 he quit his employment and started his own business. He is a Kikuyu and his first wife who passed away in 1983 was also a Kikuyu. She usually stayed in Nairobi.

Twelwike the second wife of Mr. Orega is 30 years old. She is a Lutheran and Nyakyusa by tribe. She had completed her nursing course in 1976 and worked at Mnazi mmoja dispensary in Dar es Salaam. Since her marriage to Orega she has become a fulltime housewife. She engages in petty trading such as selling ice creams.

The Orega's wedding was traditionally contracted in order to legitimize their child after the bride price of ten cows was paid to Twelwike's parents. Legitimizing the child was an important factor according to Nyakyusa customs, as it is thought that illegitimate children would bring sort of misfortunes to their parents.⁵ Through the marriage, Twelwike had been / ^{assigned} the new role of a good wife and mother of children. This was explicitly dramatized by

Twelwike's paternal aunts who had instructed Twelwike in accordance to Nyakyusa customs. Twelwike was also reminded that a role of a good christian wife is to be obedient to her husband.⁶ This had affected her behaviour in their household in performing household tasks effectively. She is thus obedient to her husband. Also being a good wife Twelwike, obeys the decisions made by her husband.⁷ Twelwike has maintained Nyakyusa cultural beliefs although she is in the city because she still has connections with her people in Mbeya who frequently visit her and she also visits them. Also in the city her favourite friend is a fellow Nyakyusa. Being a housewife she has no much interactions with other people as it would have been if she was employed.⁸

Mr. Orega and Twelwike have two boys aged 9 and 7 and one girl aged 4. The two boys are in standard two and standard one respectively. The Oregas live with relatives, three of them are males aged 16, 16 and 14. The first two are twins of Orega's youngest sister, and the 14 years boy is a son of Orega's brother. They all attend private secondary schools and Mr. Orega is responsible for their school fees and school uniforms. The two girls are, Twelwike younger sister who is aged 16 years she attends typing course at a nearby Commercial School. The other one is a Nyakyusa housemaid who is 15 years old. She is from Twelwike's home area. Twelwike prefers housemaids from her own home area because she believes that they are polite and trustworthy. The housemaid is still new to the city as she has completed only five months in Dar es Salaam.

DIVISION OF TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES(i) Occupation

The Oregas have their occupations from which they derive their earnings. Mr. Orega's occupation is business. He deals with timber and road haulage business. These businesses are owned and controlled by Orega himself. He has engaged a boy whose duty is to sell and replenish the stock of timber under Orega's supervision. Mr. Orega's timber store is adjacent to the timber godown which is approximately 50'x 20' in width. The godown is full of all sort of timber like "mvule", "mkangazi", "mninga", plywood, soft wood and cyprus. After day's sales the boy counts all the money and hands over the proceedings to Mr. Orega. Whenever Mr. Orega is not around the boy banks the money. The timber business was started in 1979 by Mr. Orega two years after they were married. Capital for the business was obtained from Oregas road haulage industry. Twelwike has no share in the business and she does not know what income is generated from the business.

Mr. Orega also deals in goods haulage. He owns two heavy duty trucks, two trailers and three pickups. These are used commercially. He has also one saloon car which is used for non commercial activities with the trucks and pickups he transports commodities like soap, cooking oil, 'khangas', 'vitenge', and other consumer items to Mwanza, Dodoma and Shinyanga. On his way back to Dar es Salaam he transports sugar, Nile perch fish and cotton seeds cakes. He also

transports maize and beans to Kenya and brings from Kenya items like toilet soaps, perfumes, 'khangas' and dresses to whole sales traders. His brothers who live in Kenya provide him with business contacts in Kenya. What is earned from his businesses is owned and controlled by himself. This is mainly because Mr. Orega is the main producer and thus he is the controller of what he has produced. He is a decision maker on how to run the business, and what should be spent from the earnings.

Type of occupation has very much contributed to the shaping of the pattern of division of roles in this household. Twelwike who was once a nurse had to drop her profession to enable her cope with household tasks, because her husband who is a business man travels a lot. With nursing profession it would be difficult to work night shifts at times when the husband is away. The decision of quitting her profession was arrived after the husband urged her to do so.

Twelwike earns shs. 400/= per day out of her ice creams sales. She is the organizer of this trade. The initial capital of Shs. 1,000/= was obtained from Orega's income. He is the one who controls the income generated from the ice cream sales, as he inspects the accounts and like to know how the money is spent. In cases when his business do not go well, Mr. Orega appropriates the money generated from ice cream sales for his own use. Twelwike has no decision on whether to start a new business or not. A good example happened in March 1987, when Atu (Twelwike's friend) advised

Twelwike to engage in poultry keeping business. At this time Mr. Orega was away. Twelwike could not decide on his own. She had to wait for her husband who advised her that the area was not conducive for poultry keeping. However Mr. Orega did not give any reason why. This is mainly attributed to the big difference in age between Twelwike and her husband, Twelwike is 25 years younger than her husband. Also at the time of marriage Twelwike's husband was quite established in terms of wealth.

(ii) Household Finances

Household income budget is furnished by Orega himself. He provides Shs. 8,000/= to Shs. 10,000/= per month for housekeeping purposes. Mr. Orega has a bank account, he is the one who keeps records of his finances, and his wife does not know what is the balance in the Orega's bank account. Twelwike however has to account for the money used for housekeeping at the end of each month.

Twelwike's earnings from ice cream sales are used to supplement the amount she is given for housekeeping. She uses the ice cream money to purchase loaves of bread for breakfast, salt, matchboxes, onions and to matoes / ^{from} the nearest stall.

(iii) Ownership and Control of Assets

The Orega's live in a single storey house which is self contained with three bedrooms. Masters bedroom is self contained. The house is surrounded by a fence and it

has a gate. It is built on a high density plot which Mr. Orega bought from Mr. Mwaihojo his brother inlaw, who was allocated the plot but failed to erect a house because he lacked funds. The house is the property of Mr. Orega, as he built it himself with income generated from timber business.

All assets such as furniture, fan and cars are owned and controlled by Orega himself. He is the one who is responsible with purchasing the assets and does some repairs whenever they become out of order. Mr. Orega is responsible with purchasing dresses for all members of the household, except during religious festivals when Mr. Orega gives Twelwike some money to purchase dresses and gifts for the household. Twelwike is not supposed to give any item to a relative of either side without ^{the} consent of her husband.

(iv) Division of Tasks in the Household

In this household there is a rigid division of tasks between female's and male's coupled with unshared leisure time activities between the couples. The husband acts as the controller of the tasks. He questions his wife whenever any thing goes wrong, while the wife does all her best to make sure that she pleases her husband. The wife is the manager of the household tasks. She supervises all those who assist in performing the tasks. The wife is very obedient to her husband, she believes in christianity teachings that every husband is a head of the household and wives should obey their husbands.⁹ After the death of Orega's

first wife Twelwike was frequently asking his husband to formalise their marriage in a christian way. The husband was however hesitating because of the nature of his occupation. He thinks he should have another wife who will be based in Nairobi, to take care of his businesses in Nairobi. As such he plans to marry another wife in Nairobi to replace his first wife.¹⁰

In the Orega's household, Twelwike's task is essentially to handle all household tasks and is responsible for the care of the household members. The main components of Twelwike's work include all types of housework, such as washing, mending clothes, fetching water cleaning the house and maize milling. Twelwike is responsible for cooking for the members of the household and also to take care of the children and the sick members of the household. Twelwike has twice been hospitalized with her sons while her husband was away and twice while her husband was at home. Sometimes Twelwike may get help for doing the household tasks from her female relatives, especially at the times when she is sick or when she delivers a baby.

In order to cope with her household tasks Twelwike wakes up at 5.30 a.m. and goes to bed at 11.00 p.m. after she has made arrangements for the next days job, that is preparing and packing the ice creams. Mr. Orega on the otherhand wakes up at 6.30 a.m. and goes to bed at 12.00 midnight. He is not involved in any single household tasks, he is only concerned with producing enough for household consumption.

The female children in the Orega household are very helpful to Twelwike. These are Mr. Orega's younger sister and the housemaid, as Mrs. Orega's daughter is still a baby. The girls help with tasks including fetching water, preparing children food, maize milling, gardening packing and selling the ice creams. The sons and the other boy's responsibilities include procurement of fuel for the household and other utilities, keeping the yard and the surroundings clean.

(v) Leisure Time

The pattern of spending leisure time is the same as that of performing household tasks, in the Oregas.¹¹ During his free times Mr. Orega stays in the veranda with his co-businessmen and friends - he never mixes with his wife and her friends. Mrs Orega sits in the backyard with her female friends and children. This attitude is also seen during meal times where Mr. Orega and male children take their meals on the dining table and Twelwike and her daughter with the female children sit on the mat at the backyard.

During her leisure times Twelwiko visits her female friends and relatives. She frequently visits her favourite friend Atu, a fellow Nyakyusa woman who stay in Orsterbay. Twelwike has a brother who stays at Kijitonyama. She frequently pays visits to him / ^{also} Mr. Orega on the other hand spends his leisure times by going out for his beer with his friends and co-business men.

(vi) Children Education

Decisions regarding children education are made by Orega. He is the one who decides on what kind of school for the children to attend. He is the one who decides on whether or not to live with dependants and whether to provide for their education or not. In addition Mr. Orega decides whether his wife can attend a relatives wedding or funeral and what contributions to be made in such occasions.¹²

The Orega household portrays a purely unshared role pattern in which the husband has his own roles and the wife hers. Also the male children have their own defined household tasks while the female children have theirs. There is some relationships between the above pattern of division of labour and factors such as occupation, religious beliefs, cultural practices and independence in production which shape the pattern of division of labour in the Orega household.

THE NDIMBO HOUSEHOLD

With the Ndimbo household I spent the longest time for interviews compared to other households. I started the interviews on 21st March 1987 and finished in July 23rd 1987. This was mainly due to two reasons. Only Dorica the wife and the children were interested with the interviews. However Dorica was too busy throughout she could afford to spare only five to ten minutes during each visit. Also because the husband Mr. Ndimbo was not very much interested with the interviews he answered only a few questions. As such we had to depend mainly from Dorica's interviews and observations to get rich data.

The Ndimbo household consists of ten members. The husband Mr. Ndimbo is the de jure head of the household with formal education. He also attended air craft technician course in Britain. He is employed as an aircraft technician with one of the Airlines at Dar es Salaam. He is a Christian and Ngoni by tribe. He likes to dress in jeans and tee shirts and wears long hair which is well cared.

Dorica the wife is 38 years old a Christian and also a Ngoni. She completed standard eight education in 1965 at Peramiho girls school. She then underwent teachers course in 1966 to 1968 and was employed as a primary school teacher in 1968 the occupation she has held to date. Their marriage was contracted in 1970 at Peramiho Roman Catholic Church.

The Ndimbos have daughters who are aged 17, 15, 12 and 8 years respectively. The first born completed standard

seven in 1983, she was not selected to join secondary school. Dorica sent her to Domestic Sciences School for two years at Peramiho. The second girl completed standard seven in 1986, Dorica has not yet decided what to do with her. The third girl is in standard one. The remaining three are boys aged six years, four years and two years. They are not attending school as they are still under age. There is also a house maid who lives with them. She is aged 18, her place of origin is Iringa, Dorica got her through a friend who lives in Iringa.

DIVISION OF TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

(i) Occupation

Mr. Ndimbo does not engage in other economic activities apart from his formal employment. He was firstly employed as an Aircraft technician trainee in 1962 with the defunct East African Airways. After completing an Aircraft technician course in 1968 he continued to work with the same company until when it was dissolved. He joined Air Tanzania with the same post in 1977 where he is working to date. Mr. Ndimbo uses his money earned from his occupation for beer drinking and other leisure activities.¹³

Dorica's main occupation is teaching primary school children. She also does part-time private teaching (tuition) at a fee of Shs. 100/= per month per child. She has an average of 30 children attending her tuition classes on daily basis excluding Saturdays and Sundays. She engages

herself in other income generating activities which are mentioned below in order to maintain the household effectively, as his husband does not contribute to the upkeep of the household.¹⁴ From her tuition classes Dorica earns an average of Shs. 3,000 per month, this is on top of her monthly salary of Shs. 2,500/=. Her other economic activity is operating a beerstore which she started in 1984. She operates the store from 7.00 p.m. to 12.00 midnight everyday. From 1984 to 1987, Dorica's working day which is 18 hours could be summarised as follows:-

- At 6.00 a.m. she wakes up, makes beds, sweeps her bedroom, prepares breakfast, puts things in order, instructs the housemaid and elder children what to do for the day.
- At 7.00 she takes breakfast
- At 7.30 she is on her way to Mashujaa primary School.
- At 8.00 to 2.00 p.m. she conducts her lessons at Mashujaa primary school.
- At 2.30 p.m. she is on her way back to her home
- At 3.00 p.m. she takes her lunch
- At 3.20 p.m. she takes her bath
- At 4.00 to 6.00 p.m. she does part time tuition classes, excluding Saturdays and Sundays.
- At 6.30 p.m. she is back home from her tuition

- At 7.00 p.m. to 12.00 mid night she opens her beer store.¹⁵

Other Dorica's economic activity involves doing part time job at Kurasini Mission. The job starts at 2.30 p.m. and ends at 6.30 p.m. She is paid Shs. 3,000/= per month including other fringe benefits such as second hand clothes, cooking oil, powdered milk, bulga, yellow corn and loans of up to Shs. 20,000/= at times of need. The job involves receiving guests, preparing and allocating rooms for the guests and arranging for their travelling. Dorica started this job in 1987 December after she had stoped her beer business and her parttime tuition classes. She prefers this job because she earns a lot of money and gets fringe benefits. Also because she can attend her household better.

This pattern of division of roles is attributed to historical development of the couple. From the time they were married, Mr. Ndimbo was more attracted with leisure of the city. His wife therefore had to adapt herself to city methods of earning sufficient income for household upkeeping and for further developments. The situation became worse when Mr. Ndimbo got brain injury in a car accident. When he recovered he became a more drunkard person. This situation has made Dorica a dominant producer in the household, and hence powerful in deciding on what she produces. Dorica is a strong believer of christianity faith. As such she would not like to divorce her husband despite of all the problems

she encounters. She refers to christianity teachings that, married people should never part unless death parts them.¹⁶ Another thing which ties Dorica to her marriage is her children. With seven children she thinks it would be improper for her to live without a husband, (living a prostitute life).

(ii) Household Finances

The husband and the wife are each the controller, the supervisor and the decider on her or his income without interference from the other party. Each of them keeps his or her own account and nobody knows what is the balance of another's account. However it is Dorica's duty to furnish the household budget and she does this with income generating activities. She spends about Shs. 10,000/= per month for upkeep of the household only.

Mr. Ndimbo's take home salary per month is Shs. 5,000/=. He uses the money for drinking beer, going to cinema and dance music. Mr. Ndimbo does not contribute even a shilling for purchasing salt. All the money which come in Mr. Ndimbo's way is used for drinking beer. This attitude was demonstrated when Dorica was going to Litowa to supervise her house. She could not leave the money for household utilities with her husband. She had to leave all the money with her elder daughter. In this way the attitude of Ndimbo's alcoholism has influenced Dorica's decision making in financial matters.

(iii) Control and Ownership of Assets

Independence from husband's income has made Dorica become powerful in decisions pertaining to the welfare of

the household such as sending children for further studies, ownership and control of assets. She is the owner of assets including furniture, fridge, table fan, kitchen utensils and two houses. One of her houses is the one in which they are now living in. It is a four bed roomed house with two rooms on either side of a central corridor and a yard which is surrounded by walls connecting the main and the backyard structure of the building. The backyard structures include a kitchen room, store room, bath room, and a pit latrine. The main house has a high roof (ngongo wa tembo) and the walls are painted with green colour on external sides and cream colour on internal sides. Dorica built this house with Tanzania Housing Bank loan of Shs. 80,000/= in 1977. She is now being deducted Shs. 700/= per month from her salary to recover the loan.

Dorica has another house which she is building in Litowa. With the money she earn from her beer business she will be able to complete the house which she says will cost her Shs. 250,000/=. Dorica was able to purchase a new sofa set at a cost of Shs. 50,000/= after obtaining a loan of Shs. 20,000/= from her part time employer, to which she added Shs. 30,000/= from her savings.

(iv) Division of Tasks in the Household

By the nature of her business Dorica has no time to perform all her household chores. She does the following household chores: preparing breakfast, making her and her

husband's bed, sweeping their bedroom, washing her clothes and her husbands and nursing a sick member of the household. At times of nursing the sick she has to stop all other businesses so that she can care for the sick properly. As a result she loses some of her incomes which she would have earned from other activities. In order she may not lose a lot of income at times when she has to care for the sick, Dorica requests her elder sister of Mikocheni to come and stay with her. She depends much on her female kins assistance than on her male kins on matters relating to household tasks. However she does all the supervision herself.¹⁷

On the other hand Ndimbo does not engage himself in any household task. He wakes up at 7.30 a.m., takes his bath and goes to work if he is not on day shift. If he is in the afternoon shift he sleeps up to 9.00 a.m. In his free days he goes for his beer or for a walk. Although Mr. Ndimbo does not contribute for the upkeep of the household, he expects to be respected as any head of a household. He likes his clothes to be washed and ironed for him. This work is usually done by the housemaid and sometimes by his wife if she is at home. Mr. Ndimbo does not get worried whenever his wife comes late home. His wife can decide to go wherever and come back at any time. This is mainly because the husband knows that his wife is out earning some money for the welfare of the household.

(v) Leisure Time

Mr. Ndimbo enjoys the leisure of the city very much. According to him he lastly went to his home village in 1983. He does not like going to his home village because he thinks life in the village is very boring.¹⁸ Mr. Ndimbo likes his beer very much. He goes for his beer at the nearest pub whenever he gets time. Also once every month he goes out to dance music. His favourite band is Marquis-du-Zaire. He likes to read newspapers especially the sports column, as such he is very much aware of current events.

Dorica's pattern of leisure is quite opposite to that of Mr. Ndimbo. On her free times Dorica visits her friend and sister who stay at Oysterbay and Mikocheni respectively. Dorica visits them only at times of problems or during festivals. In brief Mr. Ndimbo and Dorica do not share their leisure time activities. Each of them has her or his leisure time pattern shaped by the pattern of his or her economic activities. The husband is not engaged in economic activities other than his formal employment. He therefore has the time to spend his leisure time for leisure activities. The wife on the otherhand is very much occupied with other economic activities. In this way she has no sparetime for leisure.

The division of labour in the Ndimbo's household is very much influenced by city environment. The couples are adapted to city life but in different aspects. While the husband is adapted to the leisures of the city the wife is

adapted to ways of economical survival of the city. Also cultural values and religious beliefs have some significant influence in the division of labour in the Ndimbos household.

THE NGULACHE HOUSEHOLD

In this household, Mr. Ngulache is the head and is aged 52 years. He completed his standard eight in 1956. He is a holder of NABE Stage III Certificate in Storekeeping which he obtained through part time studies in 1983. Mr. Ngulache is a Matengo by tribe and a christian by religion. His wife Delfina is aged 43, she only attended adult education classes.

Mr. Ngulache and Delfina marriage was contracted in 1967 at Chang'ombe Roman Catholic Church, a year after Lucy their first born was born. Lucy is now 20 years old. Other children include Ngula who is aged 17, Josephat 14, Hanja 11, and Penuel 9 years old.

Mary and Anna are Ngulache's daughters, born by Mwajuma a woman Ngulache wanted to marry before he met Delfina. Mwajuma lives in Kipawa while Mary (aged 22) and Anna (aged 21) stay with their father and step mother. Others are Kilian and Eunice, who are aged 23 and 20 years respectively. They are Ngulache's younger brother and younger sister. Ngula, Josephat, Penuel and Kilian are males while the rest are females. Lucy and Ngula completed standard seven in 1983 and 1986 respectively. Josephat Hanja and Penuel were in standard seven, five and three respectively. Mary and Anna

completed standard seven in 1981 and 1982, while Kilian and Eunice completed standard seven in 1980 and 1983. At the time of research, Kilian and Ngula were at the Dar es Salaam Technical College, Kilian in his fourth year and Ngula in his first year. Both pursuing electrical engineering courses.

Ngulache has two concubines whom he acquired in 1975 and 1980. They stay at Kurasini and Kinondoni respectively. Ngulache acquired the two concubines to conform to Matengo customs of marrying more than one wife.¹⁹ According to Ngulache it is normal for a Matengo peasant to marry a new wife after each coffee season, after the peasant has sold his coffee and obtained cash. This is done for prestige purposes and for obtaining labour for the next coffee season. In the city this situation is different as for Mr. Ngulache, having the two concubines is ^{just} for prestige purposes.²⁰

In brief this is Mr. Ngulache's household which is characterised by a husband who has low education and is employed in the formal sector. The household is also characterised by a wife who has no education and is employed in the informal sector in order to earn the household income.

DIVISION OF TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

(i) Occupation

In order to earn his living, Mr. Ngulache is employed with the Tanzania Harbours Authority as a senior stores

officer. He earns Shs. 4,000/= per month which is not enough for the maintenance of his big household. Mr. Ngulache therefore gave Shs. 2,000/= to his wife Delfina in 1984 to start small scale income generating activities. As such Delfina's main activities include selling doughnuts at ferry. On returning backhome she purchases fresh fish which she fries and sells at night on the roadside nearby their house. She also sells soft drinks. Delfina's income generating activities generates upto Shs. 4,000/= per month. She is the one who is responsible with planning and operating her small scale income generating activities. With the money earned from these activities it is possible to maintain the household. However control of the above activities is in the hands of Mr. Ngulache, Delfina cannot engage in any other business without her husband's consent.

A good example happened during the time of research. Delfina had made some arrangements with Muhimbili Medical Centre officials so that she and her daughter Lucy could be employed as ward attendants at the centre. She was arranging for the appointments without knowing that her husband was planning to go back to Mbinga to work there preparing himself before compulsory retiring age.

The arrangements for Delfina's and Lucy's appointment materialized. However Mr. Ngulache refused them to take the appointments as he had decided that all of them except Kilian and Ngula should leave for Mbinga Kilian and Ngula had to

remain in Dar es Salaam so that they can complete their technical courses.

This situation is a clear picture of how legal aspects and cultural values of a society may conflict each other. Although in Tanzania all women have legal rights to work and are protected by legislations,²¹ in most cases laws protecting women do not conform to the values of the society, hence making their applicability difficult. A woman might have the right to be employed, but according to the values of society it is not proper for a woman to live far from her husband. B.A. Rwezaura stresses on this point ^{he} argues;

"on the other hand some laws enacted to alleviate the conditions of women backfire on them because legal changes cannot change societal values and prejudice"²².

He gives an example of the 1971 Marriage Act section IX which he argues that it is progressive as its aim is to alleviate inequality between men and women. However the Act is subject to be ineffective as long as it remains parallel to customary law which is still dominant.²³

(ii) Household Finances

Linked to the household occupations is the whole question of household finances. As the control of the household occupations are in the hands of Ngulache, the control of household finances are also in the hands of Ngulache himself.

It is the duty of Delfina to furnish the budget of the household. She does this with the income she earns from her small scale economic activities. The husband contributes up to Shs. 3,000/= to the budget depending on the amount of income earned by Delfina. However Mr. Ngulache does not like to be kept very far from the economic activities of his wife. He demands to be kept into a clear picture on how Delfina's economic activities generate income.

Because Mr. Ngulache controls household finances he also decides on household welfare. For example he can send Delfina to Matengo to help his parents and Delfina cannot resist. According to Mr. Ngulache, his wife and the two concubines, each has a responsibility of looking after herself and her children although Mr. Ngulache can give assistance from time to time. This way of life is influenced by Matengo habits. In Matengo, wives cultivate separate plots for food for themselves, and a joint cash crop plot for their husband. The proceedings from the cash crops are however controlled by the husband.²⁴

This illustrates how cultural values and practices have contributed to the shaping of the patterns of division of roles in the Ngulaches household. Mr. Ngulache has low formal education and his wife has none at all. This has made the couple less exposed to cultural values other than their own. This factor is also attributed to the frequency in which Delfina visits her husband's home village to help with coffee production.

(iii) Control and Ownership of Assets

In the Ngulache's household the pattern of ownership and control of assets is very much determined by the pattern of handling the household finances. Being a controller of finances he is also the owner and controller of household assets.

Ngulache owns a house which they were staying in at the time of research. When he obtained the plot for building the house in 1976, he planned to build a big house with six rooms. Because of meagre income he managed to build only a backyard structure which has three rooms each measuring 10' x 15'. Each room has a door on the front-side and a window. One of the rooms is used by the parents, the second room is used by female children, and the third room is used by the male children. Five meters away from the building there are two makeshift structures which are used as one a latrine and another a kitchen. The foreground is as big as 70' x 50'. The ground was meant for building the main structure which Mr. Ngulache has failed to do.

Other important assets like furniture, hoe, axe, bush knife, fan and radio, are Mr. Ngulache's property. All these assets were purchased by Ngulache himself.

Delfina's power of purchase is limited to the purchase of food and clothing for her self and her children. (Meaning all the children who are in the household).

However she has to inform her husband how much money she has spent for the purpose. Interview with Ngulache revealed that, he would not allow his wife to build a house or own any important assets as this is a responsibility of men.²⁵

This attitude is mainly shaped by the Ngulache's fear that wife's dominance in control and ownership of assets would **jeopardise** his male position as the head of the household.²⁶

(iv) Division of Tasks in the Household

Division of labour in the Ngulache's household is of the unshared pattern in which all household tasks are responsibility of Delfina helped by the female children and relatives. Delfina is responsible for making sure that all the tasks in the household are in order. She however takes parts in the tasks for example washing clothes, making beds, sweeping the house and gardening.

Delfina wakes up at 5.00 a.m. everyday to make doughnuts which she goes to sell at ferry at 7.40 a.m. She warms water for her husband to bath and prepares breakfast for all members of the household. The breakfast is usually ready at 7.00 so that Mr. Ngulache can take it before going to work and the children before going to school. After taking her breakfast Delfina leaves for

ferry. At 10.00 to 11.00 a.m., she is back from ferry with her fresh fish. She then prepares lunch with the help of her female children and girls. After having their lunch Delfina prepares fish and fries them ready for selling at night. Before leaving for selling fish she makes sure that the supper is prepared, or she instructs her girls to prepare the supper. She takes her supper when she is back from selling fish. In addition it is a task of Delfina to nurse a sick member of household.

On the other hand Ngulache wakes up at 6.30 a.m. takes his bath and thereafter takes his breakfast and then goes to work. When he is back from work he takes his bath and goes for a walk. He comes later ^{on} / at night eats his supper and goes to bed. As such Mr. Ngulache is not involved in any household chore. However he gets annoyed whenever any of the household task is not adequately done.²⁷

The female children are very helpful to Delfina as they assist with all the household tasks. They do the cleaning, washing, cooking, children rearing, gardening, maize milling, fetching water and mending clothes. The male children on the other hand involve themselves with the following household tasks, shopping, procurement of fuel and drawing water for domestic use. When the boys were asked why they were interested with drawing water,

they answered that, although the task of drawing water is female oriented, for them it is interesting because they use a wheelbarrow.²⁸ As such each trip fetches four tins of twenty litres and the work becomes less tiresome.

(v) Leisure Time

A pattern of handling financial matters and that of division of household tasks determines the pattern of spending leisure times. If handling of household finances is of unshared pattern and if division of tasks is of unshared pattern, the pattern of spending leisure time between the husband and the wife, and between the females and male children will also be of unshared pattern like experienced in the Ngulaches.

In the Ngulache's household, Mr. Ngulache has plenty of time to spend leisure activities. Whenever he comes back from work at 5.00 p.m. he takes his bath, and goes out to watch football matches, to visit his relatives at Ukonga and Kinondoni and sometimes he goes to drink 'Chibuku'. Delfina on the otherhand has no permission to visit anybody except during funerals. The male children are allowed to go out to play football, go to cinema and also visit friends and relatives.

This pattern is also revealed during meal times where male children take meals with their father sitting on chairs around a small table. The female children and their mother sit on a mat in the kitchen.

In concluding we argue that the division of household tasks in the Ngulache's is of unequal and of unshared pattern. Where as a wife is responsible with all the household tasks and income generating activities for maintaining the household, the husband is only engaged in formal employment and not in other household tasks. His income is used as a supplementary income of the household. He is a decision maker, the controller and owner of assets while his wife has no decision and do not own assets. This situation is much shaped by cultural values and dominance in production and financial matters.

THE GWAMBASA HOUSEHOLD

The Gwanbasa household has the following members, the husband named Gwanbasa is the head of the household is aged 36, and a graduate of B.A. Education. He is a Principal of one of the teachers colleges in the city. His wife Faraja is also a graduate, she is 26 years old and a fulltime housewife others are Gwanbasa's younger brothers who are age 24, 26, and 28. One is an electrical engineer at one of the electrical companies, another is employed with one of the city's airways corporation, and the third one is employed with one of the construction companies.

There is also a 20 years old houseboy and Gwanbasa's younger sister who is aged 14 and is still undergoing her

primary school education at Mlinani primary school. She is in class seven. Both members of the household are Nyakyusa and Christian by religion.

The Gwanbasa's were married in 1987 February just when field work was started. We became interested in this new household because of the opportunity we had of attending Faraja's send off ceremony. This enabled us to observe some social processes which happened during the occasion and which are illustrative of the division of tasks and responsibilities in the household at the Macro-level. Also the marriage ceremony was a sort of a built foundation for the new household as it acted as a grooming mechanism for the bride preparing her to take the new roles of a wife and a mother. All observations were made on the bride's side because it was the bride who was given instructions on how best to live with a husband. The send off party was meant for this purpose. After the marriage, frequent visits were made to them, making further observations and interviews. The interviews were completed in 31st May 1987, however visits continued throughout the research period.

THE SEND OFF CEREMONY.

Gwanbasa and Faraja's marriage was Christian contracted at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, after a dowry of 10 cows was paid by Gwanbasa's parents to Faraja's parents.

household ceremonies are mutually shared by women within kinship.

"Utani" and neighbourhood arrangement in urban areas is seen as a step forward towards communalization of domestic labour linked with independence of women from domestic tasks.

DIVISION OF TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE GWAMBASAS HOUSEHOLD

(i) Occupation Mr. Gwambasa

In the Gwambasa's/is a dominant producer. He is the Principal of one of the teachers colleges in the city. Faraja his wife is a full time house wife. Dominance in production has given Gwambasa power and authority to decide on some of the welfare matters of the household. He can therefore influence some of his wife's decisions. Forexample Faraja had to decide not to be employed after her husband asked her not to look for employment in order she may take care of their expected child. However Faraja did not easily agree to her husband's request. She argued that she would like to work so that she can help her parents who are now old in order that she may repay for their sacrifice they had made for her all the time she was schooling. Mr. Gwambasa strongly argued that, all sacrifice have been repaid by dowry which Gwambasa's parents paid Faraja's parents before they got married.²⁹ He also

argued that the dowry had been paid so that Faraja can join him to start their own home.

(ii) Household Finances

Level of education and property ownership have contributed to the pattern of decision making on financial matters of the household. There is some extent of shared decision making between Gwambasa and his wife as they have a joint account and they plan their budget together. Nothing can be purchased and no expenditure can be made without the knowledge of the other. Both the wife and the husband decide together on supporting their relatives at home and how to support them. This is mainly attributed to a wealthy position of Faraja. At the time of their marriage Faraja brought with her a sum of Shs. 500,000/- which her parents had saved for her, and expensive furniture, including two sofa sets, four beds, one wardrobe and a sewing machine.

The younger brother living with them have powers and authority to control their income as they wish without interference from Gwambasa or his wife. They also can decide to eat or not at the house. They understand that the house they are living in it is their father's which is more or less like theirs. As a result, Gwambasa and his wife can not have control of the brothers.

(iii) Control and Ownership of Assets

Both the wife and the husband are the controllers of and owner of assets belonging to themselves. Gwambasa owns assets like two fridges, one cooker, and book shelves. Faraja owns a sewing machine, sofa sets, wardrobe and four beds³⁰. Mr. Gwambasa has a plot which he wants to build a house. The plot was obtained before they were married. He plans to build a house in two years time. Gwambasa owns a second hand car which he bought it in 1986.

The house in which they live is four bed roomed, self contained and has a big sitting room. It is internally painted with white colour and externally painted with yellow colour. The house is build in a plot measuring 50' x 80' and it is surrounded by a fine trimmed hedge with a gate on the frontside. Ornamental trees and other plants are planted on the fore ground plus two hybreed orange trees and two coconut trees.

(iv) Division of Tasks in the Household

Division of labour in the Gwambasa's household depicts a sort of transitional division of labour from unshared to shared pattern, because of the couples educational status which is high, and which have made the couples much exposed to other cultural values. The husband's main task is to procure food and other essentials

in the household. He washes his clothes and irons them. At times when tap water stops to flow he takes the jerry-cans and goes with his car to draw water for household use. Here again exposure to modern facilities linked to exposure to modern cultural values such as education has influenced Gwambasa's behaviour of drawing water for domestic use. In the mornings Gwambasa wakes up at 7.00 a.m., takes his bath and eats his breakfast before going to college. He goes to bed at 11.00 p.m. after preparing himself for the next days job.

Faraja on the otherhand wakes up at 5.30 a.m. to prepare breakfast for her husband and the rest of the members of the household. Her other duties include cooking meals drawing water for domestic use, and gardening. She goes to bed at 10.00 p.m. after making sure that everything is in order.

The houseboy has a task of cleaning the house and the ground, trimming the hedges, looking after the ornamental plants, coconut trees and orange trees.

Gwambasa's younger sister has a duty of laying the table, washing the dishes and going to nearby stalls to purchase salt, onions and tomatoes. She occasionally helps with cooking. She washes her own clothes.

Gwambasa's younger brothers do not help with any household chores. Even their clothes are washed by the

houseboy in return they give him presents of money or secondhand shirts.

The boys are not expected to enter the kitchen which is assumed to be the female domain. In the same way they cannot take food from the cooking pots without permission of Faraja or Atu. They have to adhere for meals time. Otherwise if late for meals nothing is served for them.

However Faraja cooks for them and serve them meals. Whenever they are at home. She has to be good to her husband and to his relatives in order to conform with her tradition.³¹

Nursing a sick member of the household is a shared task between the husband and the wife. Gwambasa takes a sick person to the hospital, and it is a duty of Faraja to prepare food for the sick. If a sick member of the household becomes hospitalized Gwambasa takes the food which Faraja has prepared to the sick person in the hospital.

(v) Leisure Time

During their leisure times, Gwambasa and Faraja visit their relatives on both sides. Gwambasa has a sister living in Upanga and Faraja has a brother living in Kinondoni. They frequently visit them. Once every month they go to drive in cinema.

In this household it was revealed that there was a relationship between the pattern of division of tasks

between the husband and the wife, and how they share their leisure times. This was also revealed during the times of taking their meals as they all sit around their dining table regardless of sex.

In concluding we argue that in the Gwambasa's household there is a notable pattern of a shared tasks between the husband and the wife which are shaped by progressive factors such as education and modern facilities and type occupation.³² There is also a degree of shared decision in financial matters. However in the Gwambasa's case this pattern has little significance on the improvement of Faraja position of being dominated as she is still dominated in other issues. This is because of contradictory factors which have remained dominant. For example both Gwambasa and Faraja are exposed to modern cultural values. However they have not done away with the effects of dowry payments which is their tradition.

THE DUME'S HOUSEHOLD

The fifth household is that of Dume who is the head of household. He is aged 37 years old, a Sukuma by tribe, a believer of traditional religion,³³ and a standard four leaver. Jesca his wife is 30 years old is also a Sukuma and a believer of traditional religion. But she now plans to become a Christian, although her husband has not yet agreed. Jesca did never had an opportunity to

have formal education, however she attended adult education classes from 1970 to 1973. She can read and write fluently.

Their marriage was traditionally contracted in 1976 after a dowry of 30 cows was paid to Josca's parents.³⁴ Mr. Dume is employed as a cook and does other economic activities, including masonry, gardening and being a watchman. His wife is a fulltime house wife engaged in trades small scale/such as selling fried fish and ice creams. They have five children including three boys aged 12 (std. 6), 5 and 2 years old, and two girls aged 10 (std.3) and 4 years old.

The Dumes do not stay with any relatives although most of their relatives back in Maswa including parents, aunts, and uncles from either side expect gifts from them from time to time. They do not have any house maid either, for them it is luxury to have one.

DIVISION OF TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

In order to sustain their income both the husband and the wife make effort to earn enough money. Mr. Dume came into the city in 1970 to look for employment, when he was employed by a certain Doctor of Muhimbili Hospital as a house servant. In 1978 he stopped his services with the Muhimbili Doctor and then was employed by a Russian Doctor also as a house servant where he has kept his employment to date. He is paid Shs. 3,000/= per month.

In order to earn additional income Mr. Dume is a watchman of the house in which they are living. The house serves two purposes for them as it is a source of income and accommodation Mr. Dume is paid Shs. 1,600/= per month for the job. The house is intended to be rented to one of parastatal organizations.³⁵ It is a big bungalow which is still under going construction. The Dumes only use two rooms out of the five. Two make shift structures nearby serve as a kitchen and another as a pit latrine.

Other Dume's economic activities include masonry work. He does this work during his off's days and from this work he gets approximately Shs. 1,500/= to Shs. 2,000/= per month. He also cultivates "mchicha" in one of the fertile valleys nearby which is consumed by the household. Excess "mchicha" is sold and upto Shs. 500/= is earned per month.

Josca's occupation include petty businesses which do not pay much. She sells ice creams for one Mrs. Mwangomile and she is paid Shs. 1,000/= per month. She also sells fried fish on the roadside nearby their home. In addition she sells charcoal and milk. On the average she gets a monthly income of Shs. 2,500/= to Shs. 3,000/= from her petty businesses. She started with a capital of Shs. 500/= which she borrowed from her husband in 1984. Upto 1987 her capital had grown up to Shs. 1,000/= only. These petty trades are organised by Josca with the help of her female child.

Household Finances

Being the main producer, Mr. Dume controls all the household incomes by making sure that the income earned by his wife is used accordingly to supplement the money he gives her for household utilities. Mr. Dume earnings amount to Shs. 7,000/= p.m. Out of the amount he gives his wife Shs. 3,000/= for household utilities which include food, soap, sugar, salt, kerosene oil, school expenses for their children and hospital bills. The rest of the money he keeps himself.³⁶ He never purchases dresses for his wife and children. In order Jesca may be able to purchase some cheap second hand dresses (nitumba), she has joined a credit society (upatu) with other six women of the same street. Each woman contributes Shs. 300/= to one woman in turn until all women are rounded. At her turn a woman gets Shs. 1,500/= and it takes her a period of 5 weeks before the turn reaches her again. When it is a turn for Jesca she requests for her husband's permission to purchase clothings or anything she is interested.³⁷

Control and Ownership of Assets

Being the controller of household income, Mr. Dume is also the owner and controller of household assets including, one table, two chairs, three beds and mattress, bush knife, axe, shovel, hammer and tape measure. None of these equipments and assets can be given to anybody

without Mr. Dume's consent. Kitchen utensils are owned and controlled by Jesca.

Leisure Times

Mr. Dume's leisure times are not shared with his wife. During his spare times Dume goes to drink local brews and occasionally goes to watch football matches with his friends. He also visits his friend who lives in Manzese. Jesca's leisure time is spent chatting with her neighbours and sometimes she visits her friend who live at Mpakani road.

Division of tasks in the household

Division of labour in the Dume's household is of unshared pattern in which the wife's main responsibility is to deal with all the work related with child rearing, cooking and cleanliness of the household surroundings. She washes and irons clothes for the whole household, takes care of sick child or any other member of the household. Jesca wakes up at 5.30 in order to prepare breakfast for her husband and children. She also sleeps at 12.00 midnight everyday after she has finished with selling fish.

Mr. Dume on the other hand wakes up at 6.00 a.m., takes his bath, eats his breakfast and gets off to work. He comes back from work at 3.00 p.m. and his only work at home is to purchase kerosene and light his hurricane lamp.

Josca's daughter Sikudhani is of much help in performing the household tasks like cooking, cleaning the house, washing clothes, doing the shopping and rearing the young ones whenever she is back from school. Sikudhani also helps her mother in selling the fried fish milk and ice creams. Mawazo Josca's older son is not involved in any household tasks. He occasionally helps his father with plastering work and cultivating 'mchicha.' In this household, sex of a child is an important criterion in assigning specific household chores to children. The parents not only assumed that their roles are fundamentally distinguished by sex, but they are also concerned with teaching their children sex appropriate household chores.

This was confirmed by my constant observations on how Josca was urging her son Mawazo not to stay in the kitchen like women. He also usually told him to go and wait for his food at the veranda, while Sikudhani was busy in the kitchen helping her mother with cooking.³⁸

To ascertain whether there were any changes in division of tasks from one generation to another I asked Josca to tell me whether their form of division of labour was the same to that of Jescas parents when she was young and living with them. Jescas reply to this question was that, the same division of labour prevailed in her family of orientation she understands that it is taboo for a boy

to perform women's tasks. However she did not like to equate her husband's job of house servant to performing household tasks. In this respect she argued, house servant job is the same as any other office work. From the job one derives his earnings and it is the same job which provides income for maintaining the whole household. As such if the husband goes out to work others should perform the household tasks at home to enable the husband work efficiently. Mr. Dune was of the same views.³⁹ In this household; cultural values and beliefs in sex appropriate roles is a determinant factor on how household tasks are assigned to children of different sex and between the wife and the husband.

In concluding we argue that the Dunes' household is characterised by unshared roles pattern between the husband and the wife. The children are also brought up according to sex appropriate roles. In this way there is evidence of continuity of this kind of pattern from one generation to another through socialization process.

CONCLUSION

A combination of factors from our case studies contribute to the shaping of the division of tasks and decision making within the cases. What seems to be crucial is the type of occupation, level of education attained by the couple and cultural background. Husbands with activities like trading or business tend to dominate in household issues such as household budget, income expenditure and housing. On the other hand women professionals share household decision making on a number of issues, such as household finances, and welfare of the household. What is remarkable to note however is that inspite these changes from the more "traditional" position, tasks such as cooking, sweeping, washing dishes, and pots are still done by women and female children.

These divisions and differential positions in the households are not always accepted by the women. The women question them or contend against them. These are however the exceptions. Most women in the case studies tend to accept their positions and the kind of socialization of their children, the sexual division of tasks and the differential positions in the household decision making.

FOOT NOTES

1. Managerial position included: Financial Manager, Chief Accountant, Commercial Manager, Personnel Manager, and Safety Engineer.
2. Salaries ranged from Shs. 6,000/= to Shs. 7,340/= p.m.
3. Middle position posts included, Air craft Engineer, Clerks, Storekeeper, Salesman, Personnel Officers, Train Drivers and School Teachers. These received salaries between Shs. 2,500/- and Shs. 5,000/- per month.
4. Low paid jobs are those receiving below Shs. 2,500/- p.m.
5. Interview with Twelwike on February 25th 1987. This type of cultural belief also prevails in other African countries. The Luhya of Kenya, sent the illegitimate child to be brought up by a foster mother in order to purify the mother of the child. The mother of the child was not allowed to know the foster mother of her child. See Liyong, T.W. (ed) 1972 Popular Culture of East Africa Oral Literature Nairobi: Longman pg. 21-22.
6. Interview with Twelwike, February 25th 1987.
7. Ibid
8. Influence of religion and cultural practices on women behaviours in households was also prevalent among the Christian Medieval Rural Women who were regarded as instrument of Devil. They were placed in subjection to men essentially through marriage institution, where obedience of wife to her husband was insisted. See Stacey, M. and Marion, P. (eds) (1981) Women Power and Politics, Tavistock: New York and London p. 30.
9. Interview with Twelwike on 26th February, 1987.
10. Discussion with Twelwike and Orega on 27th Feb. 1987.
11. This pattern of leisure time spending resembles Bott's findings in her study in London families, that families which had more "segregated" role pattern did not share their leisure time together. While the husband went to the nearest pub the wife visited her friends, neighbours or relatives. See Bott, E. (1964) Family and Social net work: Roles Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families, Tavistock: London pg. 71-73.

12. Interview with Orega on March 18th to 20th 1987.
13. Interview with Dorica on 21st March 1987
14. Interview with Dorica on 23rd March 1987
15. This typifies how women in different societies work for more than 12 hours a day in order to contribute to the maintainance of the household. In the 1930s the poasant women of Ireland were responsible for housokeeping duties and child rearing. Women on top of that had various farm works such as milking and feeding animals. In the evening at slacker times of the year, the men rested, the women continued to work their normal duties of housokeeping and child rearing, knitting and baking food for the family. The women were the first to kindle the fire and were the ones who closed the houses at night. See Stacey, M. and Marion, P. op cit p. 107.
16. Interview with Dorica on 23rd March 1987
17. This situation is also prevalent among other societies. Forexample during the Industrial revolution in 1970's in Britain a certain woman who became a county councillor, had to turn to the help of women neighbours and her niece in performing household chores for her. This was to enable her cope with her political career. The woman did not ask for ~~take~~ her only sons help nor did she ask her husband to ~~care of himself.~~ See Mitchell, H. (1977) in Stacey M. and Marion P. Ibid p. 83.
18. Informal talk with Ndimbo on 24th November 1987
19. Informal conversation with Ngulache on 1st April 1987
20. Ibid
21. SCOPO directive No. 44 of 1981
22. Ewezaura, B.A. (1981) Shoria ya Ndoa ya Tanzania Dar os Salaam. Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili p. 247
23. Ibid
24. Informal conversation with Ngulache on 1st April 1987 N.B. The households of the two concubines were not interviewed because they were not readily available.

25. This situation is also prevalent among Buhongwa women in Mwanza District where women have no access to land and livestock and income obtained from their labour is appropriated by the men. See Ngalula, T. K.F. (1979) "Domestic Labour and Property Ownership in Peasant Household; A Case Study of Buhongwa Village in Mwanza", Paper No. 20, BW p. 10
26. Interview with Mr. Ngulache on 2nd April 1987
27. Ibid
28. Interview with Children on 3rd April 1987
29. Interview with Gwambasa and Faraja on 2nd May 1987
30. Informal discussion with Gwambasa on 3rd May 1987
31. Interview with Faraja on 4th May 1987
32. Type of occupation can be progressive or non progressive depending on the influence it has on the division of labour.
33. By traditional religion we mean ancestral worship or praying to ancestors. Mr. Dume prays to his ancestors at times of need and once every year he makes sacrifices of mainly local beer to his ancestors.
34. Interview with Dume on 2nd June 1987
35. Ibid
36. Ibid
37. Interview with Jesca on 4th June 1987
38. Observations on 4th June 1987, 7th June and 9th August 1987.
39. Discussion with both Dume and Jesca on 6th June 1987

PART II

EVENTS

Part two of chapter three deals with events which are selected from among those which happened during the time of research in interviewed households. These events in one way or another illustrate the dynamics within the households. They exemplify how the sexual division of labour with the help of other factors such as culture, type of occupation, education, religion, and social background perpetuate sexual inequality. They also exemplify actions taken by women in resisting the domination by men.

REARING A WIFE'S DAUGHTER

On 23rd May 1987 we happened to visit the Gilimbi's household. Gilimbi is a Captain with the Tanzania Peoples Defence force. He is 40 years old and he is a Roman Catholic by religion. His marriage with Sarah was Roman Catholic contracted. Sarah, Mrs. Gilimbi's wife is 29 years old, she works as a welfare officer at Temeke District. She is also a Roman Catholic. They have two children aged five and one year old. The Gilimbi's are Hehe by tribe. Sarah has her own daughter who is aged ten years old named Samira. Her father is a certain Nyakyusa man who was Mrs. Gilimbi's former boyfriend before she met Gilimbi.

The Gilimbi's live in a nice bungalow which is surrounded by a well trimmed hedge. The bungalow is self contained, has 3 bedrooms, a big living room and a dining

room. The bungalow is Mr. Gilimbi's own property.

When we were 5 metres away from the house we heard Mrs. Gilimbi screaming and her husband telling her to pack her belongings and go. When we entered the house both Mr. Gilimbi and Mrs Gilimbi calmed down, and Mrs Gilimbi started the story why they were fighting.

The fight had occurred because on that particular day, Mrs Gilimbi used all the money she had earned from the ice cream sales to purchase school uniforms for her illegitimate daughter Samira who lives with Sarah's parents in Mbeya.¹

Samira was born in 1977, two years after her mother had completed one year duration compulsory National service course. Samira's father refused to take responsibility of the mother and the child and he also refused to marry Samira's mother. Mrs Gilimbi's parents decided to raise Samira so that ^{their} daughter could smoothly work in Dar es Salaam.

Two years later after Samira was born, the Gilimbis met and married. The issue of Samira was resolved by Sarah's father and Mr. Gilimbi that she would be raised by her maternal grand parents, while the Gilimbis would be assisting the parents by providing them with cash from time to time. Two years after marriage Mr. Gilimbi declined to offer assistance to Sarah's parents as he was feeling guilty of marrying a woman who had a baby before marriage.²

Gilimbi's mother was not happy about Gilimbi's marriage with Sarah. She argued that, Sarah was an old woman because she had already had a baby with another man. After their marriage however Gilimbi's mother insisted that Gilimbi should not take care of his wife's illegitimate daughter otherwise he will loose control of his wife.³

Here we can see how parental authority linked to cultural values has power to influence choice of marriage partners and influence division of roles in the household. Children cannot behave against their parents wishes because of fear of curses, as it is believed parents are vested with God's power to curse or bless children.⁴

Mrs. Gilimbi therefore decided to engage herself in small scale business so that she can help her parents to raise Samira. The initial capital for her ice creams trade was obtained from her salary. Mrs. Gilimbi was thus able to send at least Shs. 2,000/= after every six months to her parents. However she did it secretly. When Mr. Gilimbi know that his wife was sending some money to her parents he became furious and asked his wife to keep accounts of all the money she earned and spent. Such accounts should explicitly show earnings from ice cream sales and earnings from her salary. She earned 400/= to 500 shillings per day from the ice cream sales.

The refusal of Mr. Gilinbi to help in raising Sanira hurt Mrs. Gilinbi very much. She could decide to divorce her husband but she was not prepared to leave her two children behind without mother's care and her parents would not welcome her back home. This is because the dowry of Shs. 40,000/- paid to Sarah's parent at their marriage was already spent by them in expanding their hotel business.⁵

On the day of the quarrel Sanira's mother had received a letter from home requesting her to send school uniforms soonest as the girl was suspended from school due to lack of school uniform. The parents also asked why Gilinbi was not sending some money as earlier agreed. Mrs. Gilinbi decided to take the money she had earned from ice cream sales and purchased uniforms for her daughter from a nearby shop. When it came to Mr. Gilinbi's notice that Sarah had purchased uniforms for Sanira he became furious. Mrs. Gilinbi argued that the money was hers and that she could use the money the way she liked. This is how the quarrel started.

The quarrel was resolved after Gilinbi's paternal uncle was called upon to settle the quarrel. He asked Sarah to be obedient to her husband who is the head of the household. Sarah continued however to spend her money for upkeep of her daughter. As a result his husband decided to reduce the amount of money he was giving

Sarah for housekeeping, from Shs. 5,000/= p.m. to Shs. 3,000/= p.m. This made Sarah unable to send some money to her parents, because she had to use her earnings to supplement the money she was given for housekeeping.

At the time of writing this thesis the Gilimbis were visited again. At this time it was noted that the Gilimbi's were now in good terms. According to Sarah this was so because Mr. Gilimbi had learnt a lesson. It happened that Gilimbi was suspected of misusing public funds and was detained for investigations. During this time Sarah faced a lot of hardships. When Gilimbi's parents heard of their son's fate they came and took all important assets like a fridge, one electric cooker, two radios and furniture, in order to prevent Sarah from inheriting the assets. They were also forcing Sarah and her children to vacate the house so that Gilimbi's uncle could occupy the house. Sarah refused to vacate the house.

When Gilimbi was released he was told about the matter he became angry. He urged his parents to return back his assets and changed his will making his wife the inheritor of the assets for the sake of his children. He also decided to assist Sarah to raise Samira.⁶

WHO DECIDES ON WIFE'S OCCUPATION

At the time of research Kasimbata was 38 years of age. His wife Nana was 30 years old. Kasimbata was a prosperous police officer who worked in supplies department. His rank was police inspector. They were living in Sinza along Shekilango road just opposite the grave yard. Mr. Kasimbata is a Hehe and his wife is a Ngoni.

It was during one of the Saturdays of April in 1987, about 1.30 p.m., Mr. Kasimbata was just arriving from Mtwara where he had decided to shift. Five minutes after his arrival in Sinza he called his wife Nana who was four month pregnant into their bedroom. Locked the bedroom and hit her severely. The children were very much frightened, they ran away. The neighbours could do nothing to help poor Nana, because Kasimbata had locked the other doors too.

In the next day Nana, Kasimbata, and their young children left for Mtwara leaving behind their elder children who were attending school under the guardianship of their aunt who came to stay with them. Remitthe illegitimate child of Nana was sent back to her paternal grand parents at Mbeya.

Nana bore Kasimbata six children, two of them Nyenza and Godi aged 11 and 9 respectively, were attending primary school education, and the other four were still under age, and had not yet started school. Nana was employed in civil service as a personnel officer in the Ministry of Labour

and Social Welfare. She did not engage herself in any business apart from her employment. She was very much committed to her work which enabled her to take care of her daughter Reni, as Kasimbata did not treat Reni as his own child.

Before resigning and shifting to Mtwara to lead a life of a farmer, Kasimbata sold three of his houses, purchased a tractor, a farm and built a house at Mtwara. He was planning to sell his fourth house so that he can get more money to develop his farm at Mtwara. However the fourth house would be sold after the two children Nyenza and Godi have completed their primary school education.

In the first instance he went to Mtwara alone and stayed for one year developing his farm. He realized that it was more profitable to be a farmer. He therefore tried to convince Nana to resign from her employment. Nana refused because she knew that her child will be secure if she is employed.

Mr. Kasimbata insisted that Nana should follow him and thereafter Nana took a six months leave without pay and followed her husband in Mtwara. Nana thought that she was joining her husband temporarily and after the elapse of her leave she would go back to Dar es Salaam to continue with her job. Kasimbata treated this move as a permanent. He considered himself as unable to stay far from his wife. He is not good at housework. He therefore has to spend

a lot of money for eating in hotels and for laundry.⁷ He also thought how people would understand if they learn that his wife has let him down by refusing to follow him back to Mtwara.⁸

During Nana's leave in Mtwara, Remi faced a lot of problems. She was not attended by Kasimbata like the other children. As such Nana thought that she has to go back to her work in order she may be able to take care of her daughter. She therefore returned back to Dar es Salaam with her daughter Remi. She told her husband that she was just going back to see her children and that she will be back in a month's time. Nana stayed in Dar es Salaam for three months and all this time she was working, she never wrote a letter to her husband informing him of her whereabouts. This is why Mr. Kasimbata came to collect him by force after hitting her hard. At this juncture Nana had no choice except to follow her husband to Mtwara. She therefore wrote a 24 hours notice to her employers while she was in Mtwara.

The above illustrate how cultural values and practices shape the division of roles in the household. In Tanzania all persons have legal right of equal treatment on matters regarding employment regardless of sexual differences.⁹

This however is contradictory to cultural practice which is against married women to live away from their husbands. Women in such circumstances are forced to chose between loosing their jobs and follow their husbands or loose their husbands and retain their jobs.

Some laws have unfavourable result to women employees. For example in 1986, the Standing Committee of Parastatal Organizations abolished leave without pay¹⁰ this has an effect of limiting chances for women employees for making arrangements of employment at times of their husbands transfers.

In order to make sure that women employees do not follow their transferred husbands, employers use various mechanisms to make sure that employed women do not have to terminate their work in order to follow their husbands. The above happened to a certain woman called Aisha who had applied for the post of Chief Cashier in one of the City Medical Centres. When she was called for interview she was asked the following questions by the interviewing panel.

1. Are you married?
2. What is your husband's occupation?
3. Is your husband liable to transfers?
4. If yes would you follow him?

The answers to question 3 and 4 was yes and Aisha was not considered for employment.¹¹

In concluding we argue that this event illustrated how cultural values and practices which coexist with the present contradictory legal system shape the division of roles and responsibilities in the household.

DECISION ON HOUSE BUILDING

Ally a safety engineer with one of the Cement Companies was 45 years old. His wife Amina aged 36 was employed in Tanplast as a Personnel Manager. Ally is a Manda by tribe and Amina is a Zigua by tribe. They were living in Sinza a house which was being rented by Tanzania Portland Cement. They are both Muslim by religion.

Two of their four children were attending secondary education and the other two were in primary school. They also live with four relatives, two males who are Ally's younger brothers, and two females who Amina's younger sisters. They have a housegirl who stays with them. She is responsible for looking after the house because others have to leave for work or school.

When I met Amina she was desperate and had lost all hope. Ally was alcoholic and never thought of the future of the household. Amina became concerned very much with ~~her~~ husband's attitude and the future of the household. She therefore made several attempts to invest in buildings but unfortunately failed. Amina had saved some 80,000 Shs. in her personal account from her salary. She thought that such an amount would be enough to build a foundation for the building. After which she would obtain a Tanzania Housing Bank loan in order to complete her project. She had obtained a plot in the high density area of Sinza B.

According to Mernissi in traditionally Islamic women were given a passive status of consumers while their counterparts the men were vested with economic power. This had an effect of making the women less active in production process, and this was possible through the confinement of the women at home.¹² Ally had a similar attitude. He did not support the idea of his wife building a house.¹³

Amina made plans of building her house secretly. However when Mohamed, Ally's paternal uncle noticed, he informed Ally of his wife's plans. A meeting was arranged between Ally, Mohamed and Amina to discuss the issue. During the meeting Mohamed told Ally that, man's power and authority is vested in his ability to own and control assets over his wife. He should therefore never allow to transfer such authority to his wife.¹⁴ In this way the issue of Amina's intention to build a house became very serious and their marriage became on the rocks. To save the marriage Amina sold the plot for 50,000 Shs. She however did not despair she started again secretly by sending some 50,000/= Shs. to his father asking him to build a house, at home.

The father was very much excited when he received such a big amount of money. He sent a letter thanking his son inlaw as he thought it was impossible for a woman to own such a large amount of money.¹⁵ When

Ally became aware that his wife had sent some Shs. 50,000/= to her father he became very cross and once again their marriage was threatened. Unfortunately Amina's father had misused all the money for drinking and marrying another wife. No single sent was given to Amina's mother, who later died in July 1987.¹⁶ In this way Amina gave up her intention of building a house for her children.

The main factor which shaped the decision power for building and owning the house in the case of Ally and Amina was based on cultural values, as traditionally according to Mernissi,¹⁷ Muslims prestige and authority depended on his wealth. Ally being a Muslim was influenced by these values, and according to him it is a duty of a capable Muslim husband to fulfill his obligation to his wife by providing her with the necessities and not vice versa.¹⁸

In concluding we can argue that power in decision making over the control and ownership of assets is associated with cultural values and practices which are how contradictory to the prevailing social economic conditions. This has a result of bringing tension among the males and the females because the females are now increasingly becoming producers and like to become autonomous.

RIGHT OF INHERITANCE

Ande was 50 years old and her husband Luba was 55 years old. They have 6 children. The first two are male

they are married and both live in Zaire. There are also two daughters who are both married. One of them live in Ukonga with her family and another live in Shimo la Udongo. The last two are still young a girl and a boy, one of them is 14 years and another is 10 years old. They are in form one and in standard seven respectively. Mr. Luba and his wife's parents are Manyema originating from Zaire. They however still have some connections with Zaire because other relatives such as their uncles live in Zaire.

Mr. Luba and his wife were staying at Sinza in a four bedroomed house, two rooms on each side of a central corridor. In Kigoma they also have a house which they have rented it. Mr. Luba was planning to go back to Kigoma after his retirement. He was thinking of selling the house of Sinza and use the money to purchase a farm at Kigoma.

In August 1988 Mr. Luba died suddenly. He had served for 30 years as a train driver with the central line. At the time of his death he was approaching his compulsory retiring age. He was expecting a total of Shs. 80,000/= as his retiring benefit package. This was clearly known to his relatives who were expecting to share the money with him.

When Mr. Luba died his elder children were in Zaire. Because there is no good communication between Zaire and Tanzania the news of the death took about 3 weeks to reach the sons. As such they could not attend their father's

funeral and other formalities associated with funerals.

Luba's brothers, Kitenge and Dotto saw the death of their brother as a chance for them to accumulate some of his wealth. After the mourning period, Kitenge and Dotto inherited all important assets such as a fridge. Sewing machine, a cooking stove and Luba's clothings, Luba's sisters, Mariamu and Hawa were given the amount of Shs. 10,000/= which was contributed by the people during the funeral and left over after the mourning period was over.¹⁹

Kitenge the elder brother asked Ande to choose between either to leave late Luba's house and go back to her father's village or stay in the late Luba's house and Kitenge inherit her as a wife. If Ande was to choose to be inherited by Kitenge this would mean that all other assets would be the property of Kitenge. If Ande was to choose to go back to her home village she would remain poor because she has no property at her father's. As such Ande kept quiet and prayed that at least one of her elder children were there.

When the elder children came from Zaire they went to visit a witch doctor in order to understand the cause of Mr. Luba's death. The witch doctor told them that late Luba was bewitched by Kitenge and Dotto who were envious of late Luba's property. They wanted to inherit his property. The children drove their uncles away, and resolved that their mother should stay in her late husband's

house. They however let their uncles leave with any property they had inherited, because it is taboo to quarrel over the deadman's property.²⁰ Late Luba's retiring benefits package was given by the railways authority in person to Ande, and with the advice of the elder children it was decided that the package be used for upkeeping the mother and the younger children.

The marriage Act of 1971 covers aspects of property rights between the husband and the wife and rights of inheritance at the time of death or divorce. The law is inherently progressive as it provides that, Legally married women are entitled to inheritance when their husbands die.²¹ However the law is not so effective because it coexists with customary law which is based on traditional values and religions beliefs,²² which reproduce women subordinate position.

As for the case of the late Luba and his wife Ande it was so difficult to follow the law as it is in accordance to Manyema traditions for the man's property to be inherited by his brothers at the time of death.²³ This is usually implemented through inheriting the widow, as by inheriting the widow it becomes automatically possible to inherit the widows property. However this system can bring tension and conflict in the household due to contradictory developments which call for change. Among the new contradictions are the urban developments in which less extended families are preferred and each household maintains itself and accumulate its wealth which members are not ready to share.

CONCLUSION

The above four events have demonstrated some of the processes taking place in the households. Particularly they have illustrated actions against and for the prevalent order between the females and the males. These actions are not organized along group lines. They are done individually that is, an individual woman protesting against some processes like lack of decision making in financial matters or other matters pertaining to the welfare of the household. While at the same time the man struggles to maintain his authority over decision making. The society at large including other women do not support these individual women due to cultural and ethnic practices. However contradiction still prevails, as more women are becoming dominant producers, and exposed to various cultural developments. This make them to demand more autonomy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Discussion with Sarah on the day of event (23rd May 1987)
2. Discussion with Gilimbi on the same date.
3. It is common among some African societies for a mother to initiate the marriage of his son by choosing him a bride. Various reasons may be given to discourage the son to marry a certain girl if the son's mother does not like her. As a case of Maria, a Morocco girl who had her marriage postponed for seven years because her mother inlaw told his son that she suspected his future bride was suffering from Tuber ciosis - see Merrissi, F. (1985) Beyond the Veil, Male, Female Dynamics in Muslim Society, Great Britain, Cambridge p. 123 - 124.
4. Ibid p. 106
5. Discussion with Sarah on the day of event.
6. Friendly talk with Sarah 13th Sept. 1988.
7. Discussion with Nana in October 1987
8. Ibid
9. SCOPO Directive No. 44 of 1981
10. SCOPO Directive No. 52 of 1986
11. The researcher ^{was} /a member of interviewing panel
12. Fatima, M. op.cit p. 148
13. A formal discussion with Amina on 1st June 1987
14. Ibid
15. Ibid
16. Ibid

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In summary the research attempted to throw light on the problem of sexual division of labour in relation to sexual inequality. The main argument being that, one source of sexual inequality is division of labour which is shaped by the following factors. Firstly there are cultural values and practices which include religious beliefs, and practices, educational level ethnic practices and socialization which is a means by which cultural values are transmitted from society to society. The second factor is social and economic conditions such as a position an individual occupies in the household as well as in the wider society socially and economically. Also how people can adapt themselves within the social and economic environments in which they are living. Lastly type of occupation. Methodologically case study approach was considered the most appropriate method for conducting indepth interviews in order to obtain rich and qualitative data. Interviews were informal. Also data were obtained through observations.

The researched area was Sinza in Dar es Salaam. This accommodates people from various parts of Tanzania who have different cultural and ethnic practices in relation to household division of labour and responsibilities, but who have also adapted city way of living. One of our expectations was that cultural values and practices play an important role in shaping the pattern of division

of roles and responsibilities in the households. It was expected that major areas in which culture is practiced is through religion, ethnic practices and educations. Socialization was argued to be an important mechanism of transmitting cultural values from one generation to another.

From the data we found out that the people of Sinza included Christians. Major denominations were the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans and Anglicans. The people also included the Muslims and traditional religion believers. However it was very difficult to determine how different religions influenced division of roles and responsibilities in the households. This is because some of ethnic values ^{overlaps} / with some of religious values. One of the ethnic values which overlapped with religious values is obedience of the wife(s) to the husband. However there were also some religious values which were contradictory to some ethnic practices. Forexample it is according to christianity to practice monogamy. However some christians did not observe this because their ethnic practices allowed polygamy.

Educational wise the data showed that the people of Sinza varied from graduate and diploma holders, secondary educationists and certificate holders, those who had lower than secondary school education and those who had no formal education. Couples who were degrees and diploma holders tended to share decision making roles

in household finances. This was also true for the professional women who tended to have more powers in decision making roles in their households than their counterparts uneducated and unprofessional women. This is because the educated wives have been exposed to various cultural practices and the professional wives contribute to the household income.

In events where professional women were denied the rights of decision making powers in household matters, (decision on house building, decision on wives occupation, and decision on rearing a wife's daughter), women resisted and there were evidence of struggles between the wives and the husbands although these struggles were individually based. This indicates that the level of education influences decision making power between the couples and confirm our expectation that, education level shapes the pattern of division of labour and roles in the household.

Another expectation was that ethnic practices shape the pattern of division of roles and responsibilities, and that these ethnic practices are maintained through socialization process. The data revealed that, the people of sinza had patterns of division of roles and labour which were being maintained through socialization. Tasks performed by girls were of the same nature as those performed by their mothers. Also tasks performed by boys were of the same nature as those performed by their fathers. Taboos were important mechanisms of maintaining these values.

Those who broke the taboos on duty allocation according to sex were believed to meet some sort of misfortune or some sort of a curse. Children of either sex. Choose their subjects and ambitions basing on their sexes, because certain subjects were thought to prepare children for their future roles of being a wife or a husband.

On one event, a woman was denied rights of inheritance because it was according to their ethnic practice for the brothers to inherit the wealth of their dead brother plus the wife. Beliefs in witch craft scared the deceased sons and wife to demand back the deceased wealth. This shows how cultural values shape the patterns of division of roles and responsibilities and confirm our expectations that cultural values which are maintained through socialization contribute to the shaping of patterns of division of roles and responsibilities.

It was also expected that economical conditions such as a position in which an individual occupies in the household shape the pattern of division of roles and responsibilities. The data revealed that in those households which either a wife or the husband dominated in production for the household, she or he was also dominant decision maker in matters related to household finances and other important decisions. The findings also revealed that in households which one of the marriage partner was wealthier than the other at the time of marriage, the wealthier partner had more say and control of household incomes and

assets. In this respect where the partners at their marriage were both unwealthy and struggled to accumulate their wealth together, the tendency was to have equal say in decision making roles. This confirmed our expectations that economic conditions shape the pattern of division of roles and responsibilities.

We also expected to find out that adaptation to the urban environments, that is engaging with economic activities in order to cope with harsh economic conditions has an effect of shaping the pattern of division of roles and responsibilities.

From the findings we gathered a number of households in which wives had engaged themselves in various economic activities in order to supplement meagre finances given to them by their husbands. Also there were some husbands and wives engaged in other economic activities together in order to supplement the household incomes. This was a way of adapting themselves in harsh economic conditions of the city life which also have an effect of shaping their roles. A number of these women gained autonomy in matters relating to household finances and other household matters. But other women did not gain this autonomy. This depended on many factors such as who contributes more in the household income between the husband and the wife. In households where the wife contributed more she also had more autonomy and vice versa.

However the case was not always true. Other factors such as cultural values and practices were equally important.

Another expectation was that type of occupation contributes to the shaping of the pattern of division of labour and responsibilities in the households. The data revealed that, certain types of occupation influence division of tasks and roles in the households. It was revealed that, households which had nurse wives had some degree of a shared household tasks performance between their husbands and themselves. Specifically the task of child rearing was performed by the husbands especially at times when the wives were in night shifts. This was done personally or by supervising the house servant who is responsible for the rearing of the children.

The findings also indicated that where the husband was engaged in a duty which required him to travel a lot the wife was involved in most of the household tasks and had some responsibilities in terms of decision making. On the other hand travelling frequently influenced polygamy and enhanced the male power. Also the findings indicated that army officers and policemen tended to dominate in decision making in all matters, due to the nature of the job which involves decision making by commanding. In this respect our expectation was confirmed as occupation was seen a contributing factor in shaping the pattern of division of roles and responsibilities in the households.

We also expected to find some relationship between the pattern of spending leisure time activities and a pattern of performing household tasks. The data also indicated that, households which were characterised by unshared role pattern were also characterised by unshared leisure activities and vice versa. This is mainly due to couples interests. Where the couples spent most of their time together performing the household tasks, they also tended to develop similar interests in leisure activities. This also confirms our expectation that leisure time activities had relationship with the pattern of division of labour and responsibilities.

We also found out that women in the area organized themselves under "utani" relationships where some of the household tasks were performed together, especially during important occasions such as marriage and funeral ceremonies. This we argued was one step forward towards socialization of household tasks which has an advantage of relieving off the women some of their ^{work} loads. These "utani" relationships however are not organized for struggling for women's autonomy in their households.

With the above we confirm our earlier argument that, household division of labour in this part of Dar es Salaam, is shaped and maintained by various factors including social economic factors, cultural values, types of occupations and adaptation to city life. Given limited resources and time this study was carried to Sinza alone. We strongly

believe that knowing the division of labour in the urban Tanzanian households much deeper will bring a better understanding of the problem of sexual inequality. This is because it is through unequal division of labour and responsibilities that sexual inequality is derived. This would be beneficial theoretically as well as practically. Theoretically we feel that further researches can be made in other areas of Dar es Salaam as well as other urban areas especially on how cultural practices shape the division of labour. The method appropriate to this study is case study approach since it enables most qualitative data to be obtained, and it allows easier penetration to the households private information. Cases ranging from self employed, employed in the formal sector, educated, uneducated and from various ethnic background, could reveal a more comparative picture.

As we gathered from the study that there had been struggles between women and men which were individually based we think that these struggles are a manifestation of a problem of power relations between men and women in the households. We are of the opinion therefore that this could be an area which policy makers, women's organizations and other government organizations can address themselves to.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

1. Albert, E.M. (1963) "Women in Rundi Society, Women at home, Feminine Roles, How can become influential in Patriarchal society" in Pauline, D. (ed), Women of Tropical Africa, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
2. Banton, M.P. (1965), Roles, London: The Trinity Press
3. Bales, R.F. & Parsons, T. (1902) Family Socialization and Interaction Process, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
4. Barrett, M. (1983), Womens Oppression Today Problems of Marxist Feminist Analysis, London: Verso Editions.
5. Bott, E. (1968), Family and Social Network, Roles, Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families 2nd ed. London: Tavistock.
6. Brain, A.R.L. (1979) "The Political Economy Of Urbanization in Tanzania," Ph.D. Thesis, Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
7. Bujra, J.M. and Caplan, P. (eds) (1978) Women United, Women Divided, A Cross Cultural Perspective On Female Solidarity, London: Tavistock.
8. Chiplin, B. (1976), Sex Discrimination in the Labour Market, London: The MacMillan Press.
9. Dupire, M. (1963) "Women in a Pastoral Society," in Pauline, D (ed), Women of Tropical Africa, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
10. Engels, F. (1972), The Origin of the Family Private Property and the State, in the Light of the Researches of Lewis, H.M. with an Introduction and Notes by Leacock, E.B. London: Lawrence Wishort.

11. English, H.B. and English, A.C. (1958) A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms, New York: McKays.
12. Firestone, B. (1971), The Dialectics of Sex: The Case For Feminist Revolution New York: Banton.
13. Flynn, K.I. and Mark, G. (1972) "Workers, Mothers, Housewives in Soviet Union Today," In Bardwick, J.M.(ed) Readings on the Psychology of Women, New York: Harper and Row.
14. Fortmann, L. (1979) "Women and Agricultural Development" in Kim, S.K.; Mabele, R.B. and Schultheis, M.J. (eds), Papers On the Political Economy of Tanzania, London: Heinemann Educational Books.
15. Garmanikov, E. (1979), "Sexual Division of Labour, The Case of Nursing" In Kuhn, A. and Wolpe, A.M. (eds), Feminism and Materialism, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
16. Geiger, S. (1982), "Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania, The Needs of Rural Poor." The African Studies Vol. xxx No. 203.
17. Gutkind, P. (1969) in Meadow, P. and Mizuch, E. Urbanism, Urbanization and Changes, Comperative Perspectives, California: Addison Wesley Publishing Company.
18. Haralambos, M. (1981), Sociology Themes and Perspectives, Great Britain: The Chauser Press.
19. JASPA, (1982), Basic Needs in Danger, ILO Report, Addis Ababa: United Printers.
20. Kikopa, J.R.K. (1979) "Human Rights: The Position of Women and Children in Tanzania," Law Seminar Paper (March 22nd) Dar es Salaam University, Faculty of Law.

21. Kovalsky, N.A. (1975), Women Today, USSR: Progress Publishers.
22. Kuhn, A. and Wolpe, A. M. (eds) (1979) Feminism and Materialism, London: Routledge and Kogan Paul.
23. Leslie, (1963), A Survey of Dar es Salaam, London: Oxford University Press
24. Liyong, T.W. (ed) (1972), Popular Culture of East Africa, Oral Literature, Nairobi: Longmans.
25. McDonough, R. and Harrison, R. (1979), "Patriarchy and Relations of Production" In Kuhn, A. and Wolpe, A.M. (eds), Feminism and Materialism, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
26. Madisen, B. (1984), Women's Mobilization and Integration in Development, Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research.
27. Malcolm, D.W. (1953), Sukumaland: An African People and their Country, A Study of Land Use in Tanganyika, London: Oxford University Press.
28. Marx, K. (1954), Capital Vol. I, Moscow: Progress Publishers
29. Mascarenhas, S.O. and Mbilinyi, M. (1983), Women in Tanzania, An Analytical Bibliography, Sweden: Motala Grafiska Motala
30. Melissa, L.D. (1978), "Two Contents of Solidarity Among Pastoralist Maasai," In Caplan, P. and Bujra, J.M. (eds) Women United, Women Divided, Cross Cultural Perspective on Female Solidarity, Great Britain: Tavistock.
31. Mernissi, F. (1975), Beyond the Veil, Male-Female Dynamics in Muslim Society, Great Britain: Billing and Sons Ltd.

32. Millet, K. (1971), Sexual Politics, London: Rupert Hart Davis.
33. Nakane, C. (1967), Kinship and Economic Organization, In Rural Japan, London: The Athlone Press.
34. Ngalula, T.K.F. (1979) "Domestic Labour, and Property Ownership in Peasant Household: A Case Study of Buhongwa Village in Mwanza", Paper No. 20. BW, University of Dar es Salaam.
35. Njwaba, F. (1984), "Study of Working Women Dual Roles Performers, The Case of TANESCO" M.A. Thesis Dar es Salaam University.
36. Nyerere, J.K. (1967), Azimio la Arusha na Siasa ya TANU Juu ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea, Dar es Salaam: Idara ya Habari.
37. Nyerere, J.K. (1977), Azimio la Arusha Baada ya Miaka Kumi, Dar es Salaam: Mpiga Chapa wa Serikali.
38. Oppong, L. (1974), Marriage Among A Matrilineal Elite: A Family Study of Ghanaian Senior Civil Servants, London; New York: Cambridge University Press.
39. Owori, M.O. (1982) "The Hegemonic Function of Ideology in Law in Post Colonial State: Tanzania with Particular Reference to Family Law" Ph.D. Thesis Dar es Salaam University.
40. Peil, M. and Saada, P.O. (1984), African Society, Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.
41. Rossi, A. (1969), "Sex Inequality the Begining of Ideology," In Roszak, B. and Roszak, T. (eds), Masculine/Feminine Readings in Sexual Mythology and Liberation of Women, London: Harper Row Publishers.
42. Rwezaura, B.A. (1981), Sheria ya Ndoa ya Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili.
43. Rwezaura, B.A. (1982), "Social Legal Changes in Kuria Family Relations," Ph.D. Thesis, Warwick: University.

44. Sandbrook, R. (1982), The Politics of Basic Needs, Urban Aspects of Assaulting Poverty in Africa, London: Heinemann.
45. Slater, D. (1977), "Colonialism and Spatial Structure of Underdevelopment, Outline of an alternative approach, with special Reference to Tanzania, In Abu-Lughod, J. and Hay, R. (eds), Third World Urbanization, Chicago: Maaroufa Press.
46. Stacey, M. and Marion, P. (1982), Women Power and Politics, London: Tavistock
47. Swantz, M.L. (1977), "Strain and Strength Among Peasant Women in Tanzania," University of Dar es Salaam: BRAIUP Research Paper No. 49.
48. Taasisi ya Elimu ya Watu Wazima (1984), Zijue Haki za Wanawake Tanzania, Dar es-Salaam.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

1. Daily News, 23rd October 1975
2. The Law of Marriage Act of 1971
3. SCOPO Directive No. 44 of 1981
4. SCOPO Directive No. 52 of 1986

APPENDIX I

SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I. PERSONAL PARTICULARS

1. Name.....
2. Sex.....
3. Age.....
4. Marital Status.....

II. QUESTIONS OUTLINES

5. Usual time for waking up
6. Usual time for going to bed
7. Ex-curricular activities
8. Leisure time activities
9. Time for resting
10. Whether there is a house helper
 - If yes the helpers sex
 - The helpers duties
11. Household tasks performed by members of the household.
 - (a) preparing breakfast
 - (b) sweeping the yard
 - (c) laying the table
 - (d) cooking food for children/rearing children
 - (e) drawing water
 - (f) procurement fuel (fire wood, charcoal, kerosene, gass)
 - (g) small scale trades eg - selling buns, bread charcoal, milk, fried fish
 - (h) other economic activities eg, gardening carpentry, tailoring masonry, timber selling, transportation

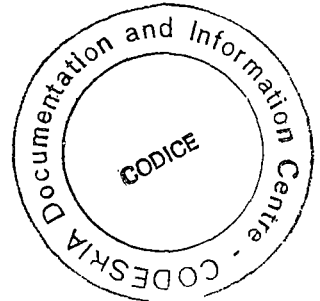
- (i) shopping
 - (j) washing and ironing clothes
 - (k) cooking for members of households
 - (h) clearing the table, washing dishes
12. Whose duty is to take care of the sick members of the household including children. And whose duty is to rear children
13. Income: (a) husbands income
(b) wife's income
14. Your income
15. Who keep the family income
16. Who makes major household decisions between the wife and the husband, (mention the decisions)
17. Who owns and controls household assets. (Mention the assets and who controls which).
(Question 18 to 21 age for women only)
18. How do you find the household tasks
- (i) tiresome
 - (ii) enjoyable
19. What kind of help in performing the house hold tasks do you get from the following:
- (i) your husband
 - (ii) daughters
 - (iii) sons

20. How do the following react if any of the household tasks eg cooking delays...
- (i) your husband
 - (ii) your daughters
 - (iv) your sons
21. Are you employed
22. If yes what is your position
23. What is your educational level?
24. Courses undertaken
26. Are you engaged in any other economic activities?
30. If yes what are they (mention them)
31. What kinds of problems you encounter in those economic activities.
32. How did you obtain your first capital
33. How many shillings did you start with?
34. How much profit do you get
35. Is your capital growing
If not why

38. (for women only)
Did you ever had an opportunity to go to college after marriage?
If not why?
39. Do you have ample time to attend
(a) adult education class
(b) correspondence courses
(c) attend overtime duties
What kinds of problems do you encounter when carrying out the above duties.
43. How many children do you have
44. Mention their sex
45. Do you live with dependants
46. Are they related to whom (husband or wife)
47. What kinds of household duties do you expect them to help you?
48. Is there any taboos related to household tasks performance for girls and boys?
(b) If the taboos are broken what happens?
49. Do you have children who go to school?
Mention their classes
- 50 & 51 What kinds of subjects do you think are appropriate for girls and boys why?

52. (For Boys only and Girls only)

- (i) What is your Name
- (ii) Sex
- (iii) Age



53. What type of household tasks do you like most and why?

54. What kind of household tasks do you hate most and why?

55. What is your ambition?

56. What kind of subjects do you like?

57. Do you have ample time to do school assignments at home?
If not why?

58. What do you do during your leisure time?

N.B: Question 25, 27, 28, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42
deleted after the pilot study was conducted.