

TANZANIA GENDER NETWORKING PROGRAMME (TGNP)

Symposium Report

**STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND GENDER
EMPOWERMENT OR DISEMPOWERMENT**

Correspondence Education (Institute of Adult Education Upper Hall)

Dar es Salaam.

26th February 1994

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Review of Women's Conditions and Positions in Tanzania: Issues and Methodology
by Marjorie Mbilinyi (Background Paper, 1992)

Our Histories: Women's Groups/NGOs and Official Programmes in Tanzania (1993)

Report on the East African Women's Conference (EAWC) by Fides Chale and Lucy Mboma (1993)

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This is a report on the Symposium on Structural Adjustment and Gender: Empowerment or Disempowerment which Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) organised at the Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam on 26th February, 1994.

TGNP is grateful to the Royal Netherlands Embassy for financial support for the symposium and the publication of this report which is based on the input of facilitators and participants in the symposium and edited by Richard Mabala with editing comments from members of the Facilitation Committee.

The contributions by Hon Shamim Khan (Member of Parliament, Morogoro Urban) were highly appreciated, both in her opening speech which is reproduced in full in the Appendices and in her participation throughout the entire symposium.

Special thanks also go to UDANANDA for the "Adjustment" skit and the facilitation support throughout the symposium.

The report contains not only the opening speech by the Hon Shamim Khan and the Background Paper, "Gender and Structural Adjustment" by Professor Marjorie Mbilinyi, but also the reports from the small groups and plenary discussions. The names of participants are provided in the Appendices.

We hope that this publication will contribute to the current debate on structural adjustment (SAP) policies and the search for an alternative development approach.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The symposium on Structural Adjustment and Gender was held in the Institute of Adult Education Upper Hall in Dar es Salaam on 26th February 1994. Organised by the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), it was attended by more than 100 women and men, many of whom are members of different organisations with an interest in gender. The symposium was open to the public. Participants shared tea, lunch and a get-together in the evening and each received a copy of the Background Paper.

1.1 Objectives

In addition to provoking and facilitating discussion on gender and SAP, the aims of the symposium were fourfold:

- a) Officially launch TGNP as a registered organisation,
- b) Share TGNP's plans with everyone who is interested,
- c) Invite everyone interested to participate in TGNP's activities, and
- d) Encourage networking among participating groups and individuals.

Thus, through the symposium, TGNP wished to further develop the networking and advocacy process already started through the three workshops, held in 1992-3, in preparation for the East African Women's Conference in Kampala (July 1993), and the preparation of the Gender Profile (1993).

1.2 Methodology

As with all TGNP's activities, the symposium was conducted through animatory and participatory methodology as much as possible. Participatory techniques included songs led by Richard Mabala, Lucy Mboma and Mary Rusimbi and sung by all, the "Adjustment Skit" by UDANANDA, small group discussions on different themes; and introduction games and case studies in the small groups. (See Agenda, Appendix 1) In the plenary sessions, there were discussions on the Background Paper of Marjorie Mbilinyi as well as the group reports which were presented to the plenary by the group recorders.

Groups were asked to examine the impact of SAP in relation to their theme (political power, education, etc) and the gender implications, and plan action for the future. These action plans aroused often heated debate in the plenary.

The layout of the hall and the seating arrangement in the plenary were not conducive for participatory methods. However, the small groups were able to meet in separate rooms downstairs which facilitated full participation. The only constraint was that there was insufficient time for group discussions because of a delay in starting the day's events.

2.0 OPENING

Before the official opening, participants sang several songs which concerned gender issues, including a new song from Richard Mabala with the chorus:

Wanawake wanaume Mbio, mbio, mbio
Tuyajenge maisha mapya, Mbio, mbio, mbio

which roughly means 'Women and men, hurry, hurry, hurry, let us build a new life, hurry, hurry, hurry'. The full text of the song in English and Kiswahili can be found in Appendix 4.

2.1 Opening Speech by the Hon. Shamim Khan (Member of Parliament for Morogoro Urban)

The full text of the opening speech can be found in Appendix 2. In brief the Hon Shamim Khan:

- a) Gave thanks for this opportunity to share views and ideas with such a group of scholars, practitioners, activists, students, politicians and others.
- b) Called upon the participants to revisit the development priorities for women in Tanzania and Tanzania as a whole.

Where are we now?
Where are we headed?

- c) Provided a background to the symposium which arose out of the key themes of the East Africa Women's Conference (EAWC) held in Kampala and attended by 30 women and men from Tanzania, led by TGNP. The symposium was also a further development of the Gender Profile produced by TGNP on the basis of views of more than 40 different organisations and 70 individual participants in three animated workshops.
- d) Presented the key priorities concerning women and gender at the present moment as decided at the EAWC:
 - i) Access to power and decision making;
 - ii) SAP and the search for alternative development strategies; and
 - iii) Ownership and control of resources.
- e) Stated that through the symposium TGNP was also:
 - i) Officially launching itself
 - ii) Sharing its plans with everyone interested and
 - iii) Inviting everyone to participate in TGNP's plans through sharing and networking

- f) Called on the symposium to look at women in a more differentiated manner.
- To what extent are women all the same?
 - To what extent do they have similar or different problems?
 - How do differences of ethnicity, race, culture, religion and class affect their positions?
 - How do young women/girls differ from their elders?

In some cases, older women are in fact the worst oppressors of younger women. In addition it is women who socialise girl children into an acceptance of subordination.

- g) Considered the effects of SAP on gender relations, especially in the context of the need to link economic development with human resources development and political democracy. The Hon Khan said that:

- i) as she meets women in the course of her work as a constituency M.P. they talk to her about
- low income levels
 - insufficient resources to feed and clothe their families
 - low prices of crops
 - rising costs of living
 - falling standards of social services
 - declining access to producer inputs

There may be plenty of goods in the shops but they are of no use to them since they cannot afford them.

- ii) The effect of SAP was also seen in education where the dropout rate for both boys and girls is very high. The introduction of school fees is an added burden for girls in many areas given the continuing gender bias against girls.
- iii) Retrenchment is having a serious effect on gender relations. In the Tanzanian context, one wage earner frequently supports between 10 and 20 people. Therefore, the loss of one job has widespread repercussions in society.
- iv) The harsh economic conditions also militate against marriage and gender relations. Many young men are not getting married because they cannot afford to. Therefore, many young women are forced into becoming a second wife (official or unofficial), marrying husbands who are much older, or resorting to the sale of sex services as a way of generating income.

Therefore SAP affects every aspect of life and gender relations.

3.0 TGNP STORY AND KAMPALA REPORT

The Chairperson of TGNP, Fides Chale, provided a brief summary of the origins and development of TGNP. which began as a group of facilitators for the Review Workshop on Women's Conditions in Tanzania in December 1992, initiated by SNV and Royal Netherlands Embassy.

The original goal of the December workshop was to make use of the space created by the East African Women's Conference in Kampala (July 1993), and the two UN Women Conferences in Dakar 1994 and Beijing 1995 to:

- a) assess and analyse the main issues concerning women's conditions and gender relations since 1985 and strategies adopted;
- b) plan strategies for action to promote networking and to establish the necessary support structures; and
- c) plan strategies of action for implementation before and after Uganda, Dakar and Beijing.

This original workshop was followed by two three day workshops in March and June 1993, at Bahari Beach Hotel, in the course of which the Gender Profile of Tanzania was prepared for presentation to the Kampala Conference on the basis of input from leading members of women's groups and gender oriented organisations.

Since that landmark conference, TGNP concentrated on institutionalising itself and preparing the Memorandum of Association which culminated in registration as a non-profit-making company in October 1993.

It was decided that, despite the wishes of many of the participants at earlier workshops, TGNP should not become an umbrella organisation bringing together all groups concerned with gender but rather it would remain an independent organisation with the specific aim of promoting and encouraging greater networking around all issues concerning gender, animation and community based action and TGNP would make its skills available for use by other groups and organisations as required. This is because TGNP does not want to be regarded as in some way the leader or elite group above all other groups but rather as a group with specific skills, which will interact and build solidarity with all other likeminded groups. Moreover, TGNP recognised the role of the TANGO WID Technical Committee as the umbrella organisation for women and gender oriented groups, as accepted at the March and June Workshops by most participants.

3.1 Ms Nancy Masumba

The Chairperson of TGNP also reported on the tragic loss of one of the TGNP founder members, Ms Nancy Masumba, who passed away on 12th November 1993. She gave a brief summary of Nancy's life and contribution, which can be found in Appendix 5 and participants at the Symposium observed a one minute silence in her memory.

3.2 Kampala Conference

In July 1993, TGNP organised and led a group of thirty people to the EAWC in Kampala, including 10 members of the Facilitation Committee and 20 workshop participants from different regions. The EAWC provided an opportunity for networking at regional level and sharing of information about action plans and programmes, animation methodology and gender concepts with women and men from Kenya (30) and Uganda (60).

The final version of the Gender Profile of Tanzania was presented to the Conference and received a warm response from participants. Later TGNP prepared a Report of the East African Women's Conference (EAWC) (Fides Chale and Lucy Mboma, 1993) and contributed to the production of the official EAWC report by the EAWC Organising Committee, of which Demere Kitunga, Fides Chale and Marjorie Mbilinyi were members.

The Conference adopted three main issues as priorities for analysis and action at the regional and national level.

- i) Increased power of women in decision making at all levels;
- ii) Structural Adjustment (SAP) and the search for alternative development strategies; and
- iii) Ownership and control of resources.

In addition, equity of women and men in all sectors (eg education, [self] employment, health, politics) was also considered a top priority. These issues have provided guidelines for TGNP's activities and plans for the future and stimulated the holding of this symposium.

4.0 THE ADJUSTMENT SKIT

The Cultural Group, UDANANDA, provided an incisive and entertaining skit on SAP and its effects. A woman is enticed by a richer colleague into unnecessary expenses beyond her means and therefore increasing indebtedness and dependence on the richer colleague.

5.0 GENDER AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Prof. Marjorie Mbilinyi, Programme Coordinator of TGNP gave the keynote background paper to the conference. The full paper can be found in Appendix 3.

5.1 Burning Issues

After the keynote background paper, participants had the chance to bring up any burning issues they felt relevant before breaking into small groups. Their contributions can be divided into 3 broad categories.

a) **The Effect of SAP**

One participant felt that despite the serious effects of SAP through retrenchment and declining incomes, SAP has had some positive effects in the field of increasing productivity and exports.

However the general feeling was that SAP only benefitted a small class, particularly the business sector which used SAP to squeeze out the small producer and seller and take over the informal sector. This was a gender issue, since many of the small traders who were squeezed out were women. The big producers were gaining control, for example, over wheat flour for their bread factories, thereby squeezing out the poor **maandazi** seller. In general, SAP is turning Tanzania into a society of traders instead of producers.

Another participant referred to the efforts of the World Bank, through research it has recently contracted, to prove that poverty has not increased in Tanzania since SAP, on the grounds that household incomes have remained the same during the 1976-1993 period and have not dropped.

Concerning the World Bank's arguments that poverty has remained the same since SAP began while productivity and exports have risen, participants noted the following:

- i) The methodology and data base used by the Bank research project have been challenged in public forum;
- ii) Even if we accept the argument that average household incomes for different income groups have remained the same, we need to find out how many members of the household were responsible for producing the income ten years ago by comparison to the present time. All the evidence suggests that more people, including children, have to work to produce the same income; hence individual incomes, and people's welfare, have fallen.
- iii) Should we accept that production in, for example, agriculture, has risen, along with exports, we need to ask in which sector of agriculture growth is found (small household farmers? Large commercial groups? Plantations owned by foreign and local corporations?) and for which crops. Evidence suggests that growth is largely restricted to the large scale sector of plantations and large farms; that smallholder farmers depend less than before on their own farms for cash and kind income and are forced to seek off farm incomes in petty trade, home brewed alcohol and wage employment - often for the larger farmers.

Therefore, in general it was felt that there was need for more research.

- i) To refute the statement made by the workshop organised by USAID and the Planning Commission that SAP has hardly affected the rural areas or the poor

- ii) To discover how people survive since, according to official statistics (eg of incomes compared to cost of living) thousands of people should have starved and died a long time ago.

b) Organisation for change

Several participants expressed a deep concern about the ultimate effect of seminars, workshops, researches and symposia (although they were glad to see that this symposium had attracted some of the decision makers in society). A lot of extremely good research has been done, analyses made and resolutions produced, but we have not been successful:

- i) in translating all this into concrete action;
- ii) in penetrating the corridors of power in order to influence meaningful change.

Yet this is the time when civil society as a whole, and women in particular, need each other therefore we have to work out:

- i) How to strategise and create pressure groups;
- ii) How to organise in such a way as to become politically powerful;
- iii) How to achieve this without having to depend on professional politicians all the time or wait for the government to give the go ahead;
- iv) More specifically, how do we prepare for Dakar and Beijing and make use of these and other international fora to challenge the global and national systems which oppress us?

c) Gender Relations

Much work still needs to be done on this issue.

- i) More attention needs to be paid to women's oppression against fellow women.
- ii) It is not true that all African culture was totally oppressive with regard to gender relations. There is therefore a need to identify and strengthen the positive aspects

6.0 SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Participants joined the thematic group of their choice from among:

- i) Political Empowerment
- ii) Justice and Peace
- iii) Control of Resources
- iv) Development, Equity and Social Services
- v) Development, Equity and Economic Empowerment

In all cases, three major aspects were to be discussed:

- What has been happening in the past five years in relation to SAP in the specific area under discussion:
 - . Who benefits?
 - . Who loses?
 - . How have different people/groups responded?
- What are the implications for gender relations?
- What can/should we do individually/together?

In each group, facilitators used case studies or other inputs to provoke discussion. These are presented in the Appendices. After a very lively discussion (which no group wished to end), each group presented their ideas to the plenary for further discussion.

6:1 Group 1: Political Power

The group discussion was facilitated by a skit prepared by Mary Rusimbi, with a brief background paper by Dr. C. Hauli distributed later. (See Appendix 6).

The main points that emerged were:

- a) **Definition of political empowerment**
 - Participation in decision-making
 - Understanding and awareness
 - Confidence building
- b) **Current Situation**
 - Women meet but have no say
 - Women have no public leadership positions
 - Women vote but are often not independent (i.e. they just follow their husbands)
 - Women don't come forward for leadership positions (they are inhibited) even where they are favoured (especially in the rural areas)
 - Women MPs have no accountability to women or a constituency
 - Women MPs don't function as a team
 - Women MPs don't have the data they need
 - Women leaders are only given KITCHEN issues
 - The media is underutilised concerning gender issues
- A Positive Element**
 - Links between NGO's and MPs are at a formative stage
- c) **Constraints**
 - Increased work burden for women and no easing of division of labour
 - Information does not reach women
 - Women have no economic power
 - Women feel politics is a dirty game and needs a lot of guts

- Women have a low employment level
- Voters don't vote on issues but rather power

d) Strategies

- Each political party should have a platform on women and children
- Efforts should be made to facilitate a manifesto and agenda for women in parliament
- TGNP should facilitate a meeting with women leaders of NGOs and MPs
- Civic Education should be carried out through the women's groups that exist
- Women MPs should form a caucus group to be effective on gender issues which includes male allies
- NGOs with a political empowerment agenda should also form a caucus
- Existing women's organisations should be utilised

In the discussion that followed, participants said that women at present are content to take a back seat and influence through remote control i.e. they influence through their connections to successful men. Women should now come out of the shadows and instead of asking for power, should learn the political arts of campaigning and competing for positions. Women's organisation, skills and mobilising potential are an essential part of political empowerment.

In this context the Hon Shamim Khan asked for participants' views on the preferential seats for women. Unfortunately there was not much time left for discussion of this issue. The two who contributed felt that:

- i) The preferential seats could have enhanced women's position if women had utilised the seats strategically to introduce and expose new women to the political scene. These women should then have used their positions to create their own social base and then leave space for other new women to emerge. Unfortunately, that is not what has happened.
- ii) These seats should be abolished. Women in other parts of the world have successfully contested for parliament in considerable numbers, including Kenya. Women should win their place in parliament through popular support.

6.2 Group 2: Justice and Peace

The discussion was facilitated by a case study of a delegation sent to solicit financial support abroad. Instead, however, they were offered arms and ammunition, which they accepted, because they had an ulterior motive to usurp political power. Though this has not happened in Tanzania, it is good to share the experience of what is happening in other countries.

The issues that arose from the case study were that:

- i) The delegation was totally flawed from the outset because:
 - it had no strategies for development
 - it could not push forward its agenda because of underlying self-interests
 - it was gender biased, composed of men only
- ii) The beneficiary in the process was the donor country which got the opportunity to

- boost its arms market as well as a chance to try out the effectiveness of their arms.
- iii) The recipient country got no benefits from the process because the weapons acquired led to civil war, displacement and other associated problems

With respect to SAP, peace and justice within the Tanzanian context, the group felt that:

a) **Income levels:**

SAP has affected income levels, which has led to people resorting to illegal means of obtaining income, eg robbery and corruption.

When people go on strike (eg the ongoing teacher's strike) because of declining and inadequate income levels, the government uses the coercive apparatus to suppress popular dissent for example by sending striking leaders to the remand prison at Keko. This is a clear sign of the lack of peace and justice.

b) **Trade Liberalisation**

Small business people cannot compete with large ones and are becoming more marginalised e.g. the **maandazi** sellers cannot cope with industrially produced wheat products.

c) **Peace**

In the current situation, physical and psychological torture are widespread. People are not happy with government decisions but the political environment is dominated by fear and hatred, as well as the denial of basic rights.

d) **Power relations**

Multiple imbalances exist.

- North-South
- State-citizens
- Employer-employees

In all cases decisions are made by the powerful without involving the people whose lives are affected by these decisions.

Corruption is also a serious threat to peace. There is plunder at all levels of the government which is leading to widespread dissatisfaction.

e) **Moral values**

These have deteriorated. In families there is no peace, and in schools the relationship between teachers and students has become increasingly sour.

What should be done?

- a) Pressure groups should be formed to ensure that every structure of government works.
- b) We should make use of our MPs as a source of information and forge a structure which will help to lobby and pressurise for change in the welfare of women and Tanzanians generally.

In the discussion that followed participants made the following points:

- i) The issue of peace and justice should be connected with the question of violence against women
- ii) The issue is a very serious one in relation to our youth who, because of lack of opportunities, are increasingly resorting to desperate measures such as drug abuse and civil disturbance.
- iii) It is essential to support and catalyse our MPs by feeding them with messages and information.

6.3 Group 3: Resource Mobilisation and Control for Development at Grassroots Level

The group presented the following points:

a) Impact of SAP

- Strain on available resources
- Reallocation of land resources. For example, when peasants realise crops don't really belong to them (eg. coffee), they shift to others such as tomatoes or grass for cattle.
- Shift in dynamics of resource control at household level, such as when wives go out to work and keep their wages.
- Resources controlled by a few (multinationals and local petty bourgeoisie)
- Liberalisation leads to loss of government control over resources as in deforestation etc.

b) The Resulting Gender Relations

- Women work longer hours which leads to a de-prioritising of the nurturing role
- Strained gender relations due to women's ability to control their incomes
- Restructuring of gender division of labour (at domestic level)
- Circumstances necessitate women's participation in the decision making process
- Women have better control over their circumstances
- Women are empowered by their own incomes
- Shifting of male responsibilities to women

c) Measures to be taken

- Socialise SAPs by educating people about their place and role and how they can survive within SAP
- Policy oriented applied research into the positive and negative effects of SAP.

In the plenary discussion participants argued that:

- i) The group seemed to have concentrated on a small group of petty bourgeois women instead of looking at the real grassroots, especially the rural poor.
- ii) Women's projects should not be looked at in isolation. They need to become part of the mainstream

- iii) A little bit of extra income for survival is not empowerment because all the woman's time and energy are consumed by the struggle for survival. She has no time for collective political action/struggle even if pluralism does allow her a little more space.
- iv) We need to see discussions of strategy moving beyond the household level to look at the national and community levels, e.g. how much of the national budget is allocated to social services? How much can resources be reallocated from community level up to national level?
- v) Although research is important, it should not be a substitute for action or a reason for delayed action. Action itself can be research. It is important to define what kind of research (i.e. participatory, action oriented) and who are the researchers.

6.4 Group 4: Development, Equity and Social Services

The group discussion was facilitated by a case study of a young standard five girl who has written a letter to her sister explaining why she has decided to leave school and get married. The group discussed the issues raised by the letter. (See Appendix 7).

- a) **Basic services**
In the course of SAP, basic services and certainly quality basic services such as education and health are becoming a dream for the majority.
- b) **Exploitation and domination**
Development programmes are often not community based. They import and impose alien technologies, for example in water projects. There is a further gender aspect in that men decide on the project and instal the water pump while it is women who collect and store water. There is also a sustainability issue once the technology is imported. It will probably break down more frequently than it should and the community has to raise the funds for maintenance.
- c) **Alienation between the government and the people**
Cost sharing implies the mobilisation of local resources whereby people meet their own needs. Given the present situation, is this a viable strategy considering peoples loss of faith in what happens to their contributions, due to embezzlement and misuse of resources at all levels of government?
- d) **Commoditization of social relations**
The harsh life caused by SAP has led to discord, strikes, corruption etc. The commoditisation is especially clear with regard to women:
 - i) Many young women have had to turn to prostitution in order to survive
 - ii) Parents try to marry off their daughters early to wealthy men
 - iii) Girls themselves marry for money in the hope that the richer the man, the more they can escape a life of hardship
- e) **What can we do?**
 - Look at, learn from, support and disseminate strategies of people at grassroots level such as development of their own appropriate technology, survival strategies etc.

- Identify and disseminate projects which are sustainable
- Strengthen local organisation and enhance the process of empowerment
- Find ways of penetrating the system of government and donors. Solidarity in action is urgently required, e.g. in the case of the teachers' strike, parents have done nothing to support them.
- Prioritise and form coalitions round specific issues rather than a general diffuse nibbling at issues.

f) Individual roles

We need to revisit our own attitudes

- How much are we actually doing?
- Has the struggle for personal survival led to self centredness?
- To what extent are we prepared to stand up and be counted?

6.5 Group 5: Development, Equity and Economic Empowerment

The group's discussion was facilitated by a case study prepared by Prof. M. Mbilinyi (Appendix 8)

a) What has been happening?

- Decrease in real incomes
- Retrenchment and decline in employment opportunities
- Because of large numbers of unemployed, employers prefer casual labour because it costs less
- Women in the informal section are facing stiff competition as men are taking over some sectors
- Sexual harassment is increasing everywhere, including the workplace where women have to cope with such harassment in order to get and keep jobs.
- Prostitution and corruption are on the increase
- Increase in marital conflict and stress and tension at the family level.
- Increase in child labour and children on the streets

On the other hand

- Increase in women's access to and control of cash
- Increased awareness of rights and values of labour

b) What needs to be done

- More community based organisation providing education and awareness at the grassroots level
eg on economic/policy issues
- Child care provision at work and even at this meeting
- Alliances between women across income levels and national/international divisions

In the plenary discussion participants made the following contributions:

The question of women's access to cash needs to be looked at in more detail. It may be true in urban areas but in rural areas most women's income has actually decreased.

However it is also true that many women in the rural areas are moving from providing unpaid labour on their husbands' farms to wage labour which leads to:

- access to cash
- increased awareness of the value of money

Men also have a problem of access to cash because they often have to sell on credit.

- ii) Much concern was expressed about the environmental impact of SAP on women's and men's lives
 - In response to increased hardship, increased acreage of crops, especially on marginal land
 - Increasing use of chemicals to boost agricultural production
 - The growing informal sector also has an impact on the environment and on women
 - . A lot of health hazards
 - . Dangerous food substances
 - . Hormonised chicken feed
 - Breakdown of basic services such as sewage.
- iii) Some concern was expressed that the group reports in general tended to view the issue still as one of women versus men rather than the overall aspects of gender relations, for example the way the state manipulates patriarchal ideology to sustain women's unpaid labour in many reproductive activities.
- iv) There was still a great need to gather and disseminate information.

6.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Unfortunately time did not allow more of a joint planning and synthesis session. Prof. Mbilinyi did a sum up the whole symposium by identifying the major issues.

- a) The three major areas under discussion are:
 - Economic restructuring
 - The strengthening of human resource development
 - The growth of a democratic society which means far more than the issue of who to vote for
- b) In the face of the multiple effects of SAP on gender relations, to what extent is it possible to generalise?
 - Which women are we talking about?
 - What differentiations are important?
 - What kind of research needs to be done? By whom?

It is possible that the grassroots are way ahead of us and there is now a need to transcend gender at household level and move to the wider community.

- c) The major issue now is how do we organise ourselves
 - as women?
 - as men?
 - as citizens?
 - as MPs?
 - as NGOs?

7.0 EVALUATION OF THE SYMPOSIUM

Participants were invited to fill in an evaluation concerning the seminar. (See Appendix 9 for the evaluation form and the comments of the participants).

8.0 CLOSING

The chairperson closed the symposium by thanking everyone for their participation and inviting them to the get together. Participants left the hall singing **Mbio mbio mbio** together.

9.0 OTHER ACTIVITIES

i) Gender Exhibition

While the symposium was continuing, several grassroots women organisations displayed their wares for sale.

ii) Get together

This gave a chance after the symposium for participants to network informally. The music of Tatumane was interspersed with songs and poems from various participants.

APPENDIX 1

AGENDA

Time:	Activity (Facilitator)
8.00-9.00 am	Registration (Aggripina Mosha, Naomi Kaihula) Upper Hall
9.00 am	Song Mbio mbio mbio (Richard Mabala plus)
9.10 am	Welcome to participants (Fides Chale)
9.15 am	Poem (UDANANDA)
9.20 am	Opening: Hon. Shamim Khan (MP: Morogoro Urban)
9.40 am	TGNP Story and Kampala Report (Fides Chale)
10.00 am	SODA
10.30 am	The Adjustment Skit (UDANANDA)
10.45 am	Gender and Structural Adjustment - background paper (Prof. Marjorie Mbilinyi)
11.15 am	Burning Issues (Dr. Crispin Hauli)
11.30 am	Song: Mambo Bado (Lucy Mboma plus)
11.35 am	Small Group Discussions: Participants join group of their choice, according to the following themes: 1) Political Power (Dr. Crispin Hauli and Demere Kitunga); (2) Justice and Peace (Fides Chale) (3) Control of Resources (Heslon Mahimbo and Lucy Mboma); (4) Development, Equity and Social Services (Richard Mabala and Asseny Muro); (5) Development, Equity and Economic Empowerment (Prof. Marjorie Mbilinyi) Introduction game; Groups will choose their own recorder/reporter Animation exercise (facilitators and group) Groups will discuss and report their final conclusions on the following three key questions (using flipchart paper):
	(1) What has been happening in the past five years in relation to the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in your specific subject area. Who benefits? Who loses? How have different people/groups responded?
	(2) What are the implications for gender relations?
	(3) What can/should we do individually/together?
1.30 pm	LUNCH (Downstairs, outside)
2.30 pm	Group Reports to Plenary (Asseny Muro and Richard Mabala)
4.00 pm	TGNP Future Plans (Fides Chale)
4.20 pm	Evaluation of Symposium (All participants)
4.40 pm	Song: Growing Together (Mary Rusimbi plus)
4.45-7.30 pm	Gender Exhibition: Reception Hall (Lucy Mboma, all participants)
5-8 pm	GET-TOGETHER for symposium participants (downstairs, outside) with music (Tatu Nane), songs, poetry and other input from participants (Exhibition and get-together occur at same time; exhibitors responsible for their own displays and sales).

APPENDIX 2

SYMPOSIUM ON STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND GENDER: EMPOWERMENT OR DISEMPOWERMENT?

Opening Speech

'Women and Development or Gender and Development?'

Honourable Shamim Khan (MP. Morogoro)

INTRODUCTION

It gives me great pleasure to present the opening speech at this symposium on Structural Adjustment and Gender: Empowerment or Disempowerment. I am grateful to the organisers, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme or TGNP, for inviting me to open the Symposium, and for providing me with this opportunity to share some of my thoughts on the question of women, gender and development. I am also appreciative of the commitment shown by all participants, who have chosen to join us in this debate today.

A wide cross-section of people are represented in this forum - scholars, students, practitioners, policy-makers, politicians like myself, activists in non-governmental organisations and community or grassroots groups. We have a chance to discuss and think about development priorities for women and all Tanzanians - where are we now? where are we headed? are there alternative paths of development, which might enable us to meet all our development goals with justice and dignity for all?

The main objectives of the symposium are to share views about gender and development policy issues, focusing on SAP. Special attention will be given to the key themes which emerged at the East African Women's Conference in Kampala. Thirty Tanzanian women and men attended the Kampala Conference last July under the leadership of TGNP and with the support of SNV and the Royal Netherlands Embassy.

At the East African Women's Conference, TGNP presented a report entitled Gender Profile of Tanzania, based on the views of more than 40 NGOs and 80 participants in three national workshops organised by TGNP in Tanzania. That report has now been published and is available to us for sale in this Symposium. In the Gender Profile, there is an important chapter on concepts and methodology to help guide our process of assessing the situation, analysing the causes, and planning implementing action for change. Another chapter provides a detailed situational analysis of women and girls in Tanzania, in every sector of society. The Profile presents a critical review of strategies for advancement of women and gender transformation of society which have been adopted since 1985. Strategies of government, donors, non-governmental organisations and other actors are all included. It ends with a set of concrete action plans for each sector. This book will be a useful resource during our deliberations today.

The key priorities identified for women in East Africa at the Kampala conference were:

- (1) Access to power and decision-making positions in government, NGOs, community organisations and households;
- (2) Structural Adjustment policies (SAP), and the search for an alternative development strategy;
- (3) Ownership and control over resources, distribution and consumption; and
- (4) Inequalities in different sectors of society.

The themes for small group discussions in this symposium are based on these priorities. Structural Adjustment has been given special emphasis as a theme which cuts across all the other issues.

The organisers have also informed me of other main objectives of this Symposium. One is to launch TGNP in its new formal status, to share TGNP's history and plans, and invite individuals and organisations to participate in its activities. A part of that history will be the report on the East Africa Women Conference (EAWC) in Kampala in July 1993, which will also be available. The symposium has been organised in a participatory way in order to promote a high level of participation and networking. TGNP members and their associates also wish to publicise and sell the Gender Profile of Tanzania. I think I've already done a good sale's job in publicising the contents of the Profile!

WOMEN, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

The major development strategy which has been adopted by our government as well as by all major donors is structural adjustment (SAP), beginning in 1984 with the economic recovery programme (ERP). The point of this symposium is to think carefully about the measures adopted in SAP, their impact on different groups in society, and their outcome in terms of real economic development, national autonomy and human justice. This means linking economic development to human resource development and political democracy. All three are accepted as major goals of development today by our own government and by the major development agencies.

I do not wish to preempt your/our discussions about SAP. During the symposium, we will have ample time to examine the different meanings of SAP and their implications for women and gender relations in different sectors of society. People will be invited to share information about what they and/or their organisations/institutions are doing about the situation, what they might do in the future, and what participants could do together.

I would like to focus instead on some of the concrete issues facing different groups of women in Tanzania today, and their implications for our concepts of development. These issues and concepts affect the process of planning and implementing development strategies in our society, and may either harm or benefit the majority of women.

Women and Gender

Before starting, let me say something about the two concepts of women and gender. Both terms are used in development circles, often interchangeably as if they meant the same thing. Women seems straightforward - women are women, or are they?

Are women all the same? Do they have the same problems? Mama Ntilie living in Manzese (Dar) or in Morogoro? a professional lawyer or doctor living in Oyster Bay (Dar) or Forest Hill (Morogoro)? A top government civil servant or politician? In what way are our problems the same, and in what way different?

What about our young sisters and daughters, who rarely get a chance to speak for themselves in public forum like this one? Do they see the world the same way as their mothers and aunts? Female teachers and employers? What about women belonging to different ethnic, cultural and religious groups? What are the problems we have in common, what are specific problems we face because of our different locations in society? That includes the international level also. Are our problems as Tanzanian women all the same as those in Japan, for example, or Taiwan, or England or USA?

I think that is why members of the Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children's Affairs are working so hard to get as many women from Tanzania as possible to participate in the Beijing Women's World Conference in 1995 - to make sure that the specific needs and interests of Tanzanian women, and men, are represented at that world forum. The same is true with efforts by Tanzanian NGOs to get as many members as possible to attend the NGO Forum, and also to become part of the official delegation - so that Tanzanian voices will be heard, especially ordinary citizens and groups who truly represent the views of grassroots women and men. In the past, the tendency has been for Northern women to dominate the discussions in the women's world conferences because of their greater access to resources, including income, education and communications.

There are certain issues we face as women in Tanzania, that contrast with the situation for most women in the North. They are shared by women in other countries of Africa and the developing world. Key among them are a high level of poverty for most citizens, and a severely underdeveloped economy which is partly the result of centuries of slavery and colonialism.

Our economies depend heavily on the exports of crops and minerals, which earn less and less on the world market. Most machinery and manufactured goods are imported from outside, at worsening terms of trade, which increases the cost of living for all citizens and reduces the returns for farmers and export manufacturers. The government loses revenues from falling terms of trade, because it depends heavily on the foreign exchange earnings provided by these producers.

To top it off, our governments in Africa are increasingly in debt to the big donor agencies. Thirty per cent or more of our annual budgets go to repay the debt, which could have been spent on social services or improved roads. The debts gets higher every year because of inability to repay the loan, and because of rising interest rates! High debt has meant the loss of national autonomy. Donor agencies, our creditors, have more and more say over national

and local development policies.

This is an inevitable outcome in any creditor-debtor relationship. If you go to the bank and ask for a loan, you will have to explain what your present economic situation is, how you plan to use the loan, and later provide regular reports on how the loan has been spent. The poorer you are, the less power you have in a debt relationship. Big borrowers have much more power to negotiate policies and terms of credit than small ones. The banks cannot afford to lose their investment in big business. Moreover, in many cases, big companies have joint shareholding with many big banks, with shared interests.

The situation in Africa is unique because the major creditors are official development agencies, not commercial banks - official institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, UNDP and other multilateral organisations, and big bilateral government agencies which represent their own countries. Political issues therefore become a direct and open part of negotiations about debt and development.

The North-South gap

Societies in the South have a much lower level of infrastructure and human resource development. Tanzanians succeeded to provide primary school education to nearly all school aged children in the mid-1980s, which was a tremendous achievement, given the low level of national income and education development at the time of independence. However, very few children go to secondary school, in comparison to most other African countries, and the number who attend post-secondary education is extremely small. The average enrolment rates for children and youth in Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole remain extremely small compared to countries in the North.

The Human Development Report 1993 of UNDP provides useful indicators of human resource development. Some 87% of secondary school aged children are enrolled in upper secondary school in the industrialised OECD countries, including Western Europe and North America. In Sub Saharan Africa, only 17% of the same age group are enrolled in upper secondary school - 17%. Only 2% children in SSA are enrolled later in tertiary education, compared to 44% in the industrialised OECD nations.

The gap between North and South is even bigger if we distinguish between women and men. In Sub Saharan Africa, female enrolment in secondary education is about 40% of total enrolment. The situation in Tanzania is worse - we have about 30 - 35% female enrolment in secondary education. Most girls attend private secondary schools which have less resources and lower exam performance than public schools, on the average. The situation in industrialised countries is remarkably different - there are slightly more women than men in upper secondary school (103% of men).

We could make similar comparisons for access to good health and water facilities, good housing, and regular paid employment, whether waged or self-employment. Women have much better conditions of life and work in the North than in the South. Conditions are especially poor in Sub Saharan Africa, especially for low income women in both urban and rural areas. I think we have to give more thought to the situation of urban women. Women living in squalid slums in urban areas without land for food production may be much worse

off than poor women who farm a tiny plot of land in the countryside.

What about men? Aren't their conditions also difficult in the South, and in low income households and communities? Yes, they are. It would be difficult to talk as if food security was only a woman's issue, when a large number of men face food insecurity, along with low income and access to very little in the way of basic social services.

At the same time, men are more privileged than women in every social group, rich or poor. They tend to control the basic resources such as land, farm equipment, and household income, and make major decisions about how to use the resources. Men can overpower women in decisions about child rearing as well, marriage of daughters (and sons), and even how their wives and daughters should dress and behave in public.

However, older women also have a lot of power. Sometimes they are the worst oppressors of younger women. Who is most often talked about bitterly in 'kitchen' discussions about family and in-laws, the husband or the mother and sister-in-law? Which parent is more responsible for everyday socialisation of the girl child, making her feel inferior to boys in every way, the father or the mother?

These structures of male power and female inferiority and subordination are not natural, and in many cases, they are also not traditional. They are the result of social change and socialisation. The good news is, we can change them, by acting individually and collectively, both women and men. The bad news is, some people benefit from oppressing women. The beneficiaries of the patriarchal system will resist change - and they are not necessarily men.

For example, employers benefit by being able to pay women lower wages than men, or hiring women to do lower paying jobs which men reject. Employers and the government benefit from the unpaid work which mostly women do to maintain and socialise their families in the home and community. The state (including donors) do not have to provide modern efficient systems of energy and water because women provide them at hardly any cost to the authorities, but at great cost to themselves in terms of time, energy and health. Wage levels remain extremely low because wages cover a very small traction of the real costs of maintaining a family, much smaller than what is found in industrialised countries. One explanation for the difference is that most food, water and fuel is not secured through the cash nexus in the market, as in developed economies, but is provided instead through women's unpaid work.

The concept of gender allows us to think about all these dimensions of development:

- relations between women and men, women and women, men and men;
- different relationships between women and men in different social groups and social situations; and
- changes in these relationships over time, often as a result of women's own resistances and struggles.

Using gender, we think of women as active actors, capable of acting to solve problems on their own behalf, in alliance with sympathetic allies among men and other privileged groups. They are not 'vulnerables' or 'victims', passively waiting for others to come save them or educate them.

DEVELOPMENT ISSUES FROM A GRASSROOTS WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVE

I have the opportunity to talk to many different women individually and in groups because of my work as a Member of Parliament. The major problems that women talk about, especially those in low income households are:

- low income levels, not enough to feed and clothe their families
- rising costs of living; everything costs more money than a year ago or five years ago
- falling standards of social services, especially schools and public health facilities
- low farm gate prices for crops, which cannot keep up with the rising costs of production and transport
- declining access to producer inputs such as fertilizer, extension services and marketing facilities.

Many women agree, when asked, that it is certainly good to see many more goods in the shops and market, compared to ten years ago. But they ask me, "what's the point, since we cannot afford to buy them?"

There is also evidence that enrolment rates are falling in primary school. Children are working to earn money for their families in the informal sector, often as child labour on people's farms, as domestic servants and hawking goods on the street for a trader or shop-owner. Both boys and girls are affected by worsening economic conditions and rising costs of schooling. However, we may end up in the same situation as the past, where school fees became a major barrier against enrolment of girls in school.

Many parents used to have a male bias against enrolling girls. They explained that girls had to stay home and help take care of the family; and wait for marriage. Their education would benefit their husband's family, whereas an educated son would take care of his parents in old age, and his younger siblings. However, attitudes are also changing. Many parents explain that now they value daughters more than sons, because adult daughters are more committed to taking care of their parents than sons. Will this lead them to devote their limited income to girls' education, or will they be afraid again that an educated woman will forget her family, or end up unmarried, in some way a social misfit?

Cost-sharing, we know, will increase the costs of education, health and other services. Devaluation has led to inflation, thereby increasing the costs of living and the costs of production as well. Many small businesses and small farmers complain that they cannot maintain adequate profits any longer, because the costs of inputs or goods is going up faster than the returns.

Another problem raised by local manufacturers is their inability to compete with cheap imports that are now flooding the market as a result of trade liberalisation. Privatisation is supposed to help the private sector, but small businesses have difficulty coping with the

rising costs of acquiring foreign exchange (ODL). Even large companies complain of this problem, including our state parastatals. Without access to a regular supply of foreign exchange, it is difficult to make ends meet.

A large number of households and communities are also affected by the retrenchment programme. One wage earner may be supporting ten or twenty members of his or her extended family. Loss of regular employment for one individual means loss of income, along with the possibility of reduced support for education and health services to family and kin. People use up their savings for everyday expenses, because of retrenchment and reduced incomes, and have nothing left aside for times of emergency such as illness or death, or times of joy such as marriage.

I have heard people say that young men are not getting married any longer, because they can't afford to set up a family. A young couple can no longer earn adequate incomes in cash and kind from farming, and their parents and other kin lack enough income to help tide them over the early days of marriage, as in the past. We need more information about what impact this is having on gender relations in and out of marriage, and on young women in particular. Does it mean that more young women are getting married to older men? or accepting to become second and third wives because they lack alternative sources of livelihood?

Another issue is the way more young women use sex as a means of earning income, perhaps earning more than they would at a minimum waged job in the formal sector. Instead of blaming these young women, we need to find out what causes them to prostitute themselves? Is it because they lack better job alternatives? gender inequalities in incomes, which create a distorted market for sex, with men on the demand side and women on the supply side? What is the government doing about the situation? What impact will expanded tourism have on the situation? I think many of us would not like to see develop the kind of sex tourism found in Asia, or in Mombasa and the countries bordering South Africa. We owe our daughters and grand-daughters, and sons, a better future than having to sell their bodies to feed themselves and their families.

The tragic underside of girls/women (or boys/men) selling their bodies for sex, or being forced to marry at a young age in order to acquire a means of livelihood, is increased vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infection.

POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS

We also need to examine the positive aspects of recent policy reforms, which may not be directly related to SAP but are part of the environment in which SAP reforms take place. The expansion of the private sector has encouraged many more women to become active in business at the high and low level. Increased participation in the market and the labour force means that women are more knowledgeable about how the economic system works, maybe more critical about the government as well. When Mama Ntilie is harassed by city council employees or police, and forced to pay bribes in order to maintain her food stall, what does she learn about her government's role in society?

There has been a mushrooming of women's groups at all levels, especially among the more educated and wealthy middle class women, in town and countryside. NGO activity has provided space for women to meet together, increase their access to and control over scarce resources, and increase their power in the household and community. At the same time, many grassroots women's cooperatives which flourished in the 1970s and early 1980s have fallen apart. People say they can't compete with private traders and bigger enterprises.

Many more women seem to be writing about gender issues - in fact, many more men as well. The increased number of newspapers, magazines and book publishers provides more opportunity for people to communicate their views to a wide audience. It is up to women and men to use this opportunity to communicate the views and needs of grassroots women and men, and to provide space for grassroots people to speak on their own behalf.

Mageuzi and the issue of democratisation can be used by women and men citizens to challenge their representatives to really listen to their needs and views, and act according to their promises. People need to be educated to use the power of the vote, regardless of which party they belong to or support. Women's groups can present a set of minimum demands for all people who campaign for their vote, at all levels. Candidates can be asked to explain where they stand on specific gender issues, such as sexual harassment, and inequalities in education and employment.

People can and should lobby for the kind of bills they want to pass in parliament, and follow the voting patterns of their own MPs. That is how women citizens have been able to get legal reform passed in other countries - instead of begging the policy makers for help, they started mobilising the public to organise themselves and lobby for change.

At the same time, women's groups and committed men need to provide continued support for gender-sensitive candidates and elected MPs, and for other women who get into positions of responsibility. I know from experience that can be a lonely place - we need to provide solidarity as well as accountability.

Thank you for listening to my presentation. I hope that it will be useful in the discussions which follow, and look forward to hearing the views of other participants.

May I now pronounce this Symposium open

APPENDIX 3

TANZANIA GENDER NETWORKING PROGRAMME (TGNP)

GENDER AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Marjorie Mbilinyi

Background paper for Symposium on Gender and Structural Adjustment: Empowerment or Disempowerment, TGNP, Dar es Salaam, 26 February 1994

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We have to link the experience of women - their daily struggle to survive - with the macro-economic policies which impact on every aspect of our lives... First we must examine the contradictions in our own lives, contradictions of class, race etc. We can then build on our diversity to find the commonalities of our identities as women... Someone has said that *acting individually, women can make a difference and that acting collectively they can make a revolution.*

Peggy Antrobus (Chair, DAWN)¹

Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) are considered a priority issue by a growing number of concerned women and men in Tanzania and the rest of Africa, especially in terms of their contradictory impact on women, and patriarchal gender relations. Some argue that SAP has harmed women and made gender relations even more oppressive than before. Retrenchment, privatisation, cost-sharing and devaluation have led to higher costs of living, lower incomes, the decline of public social services and growing economic insecurity for the majority of Tanzanian citizens. Others argue that SAP has led to increasing opportunities for women and the poor in the economy and has increased the range of choices available for goods and services in the market.

During the symposium, we will examine the different meanings of SAP and their implications for women and gender relations. People will be invited to share information about what they and/or their organisations/institutions are doing about the situation, what they might do in the future, and what participants could do together.

The purpose of the Background Paper is to raise issues concerning development, SAP and gender which will be discussed further in this Symposium and in other forums. The paper focuses on conceptual and methodological issues. Readers are encouraged to follow up the references to more detailed information, and to do further research and statistical analysis in each sector of Tanzanian society. We lack enough critical gender research on the impact of SAP on women (and men) in different social groups, and their respective responses. Long-term studies in one location with one sample of participants are especially rare.²

The scope and depth of the present crisis in Africa highlights the urgent need for rethinking about development concepts, models and strategies of action. The input of different social sciences and the humanities are required, in addition to economics. Even more crucial may

¹ Peggy Antrobus, World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, November 1991 cited in Kanina Holmes, "A Gender Study of Women and the Environment" UDM, Major Paper for DS 600 Research Methodology, 1994.

² An exemplary example is the recent study in Zimbabwe by Nazneen Kanji, in conjunction with the National Union of the Clothing Industry in Zimbabwe - see The Effects of ESAP in Kambuzuma, Harare, 1991-1992 Harare, NUCI, 1993.

be the insights provided by 'ordinary' citizens who have had to cope with the present situation, with little or no power to decide on economic policy at the macro or micro-level.

Key concepts pertaining to gender analysis of development are presented in the second section of the paper. The basic assumptions of SAP are presented in the third section, along with a summary of its general impact on Tanzanian society. In the fourth section, the way in which SAP structures and depends on patriarchal gender relations is examined. The question, 'What is to be done?' is raised in the final section, raised but not answered. In the remainder of this section is a brief presentation of the methodological approach which will be used in the symposium, and which has guided the development of the concepts of this paper.

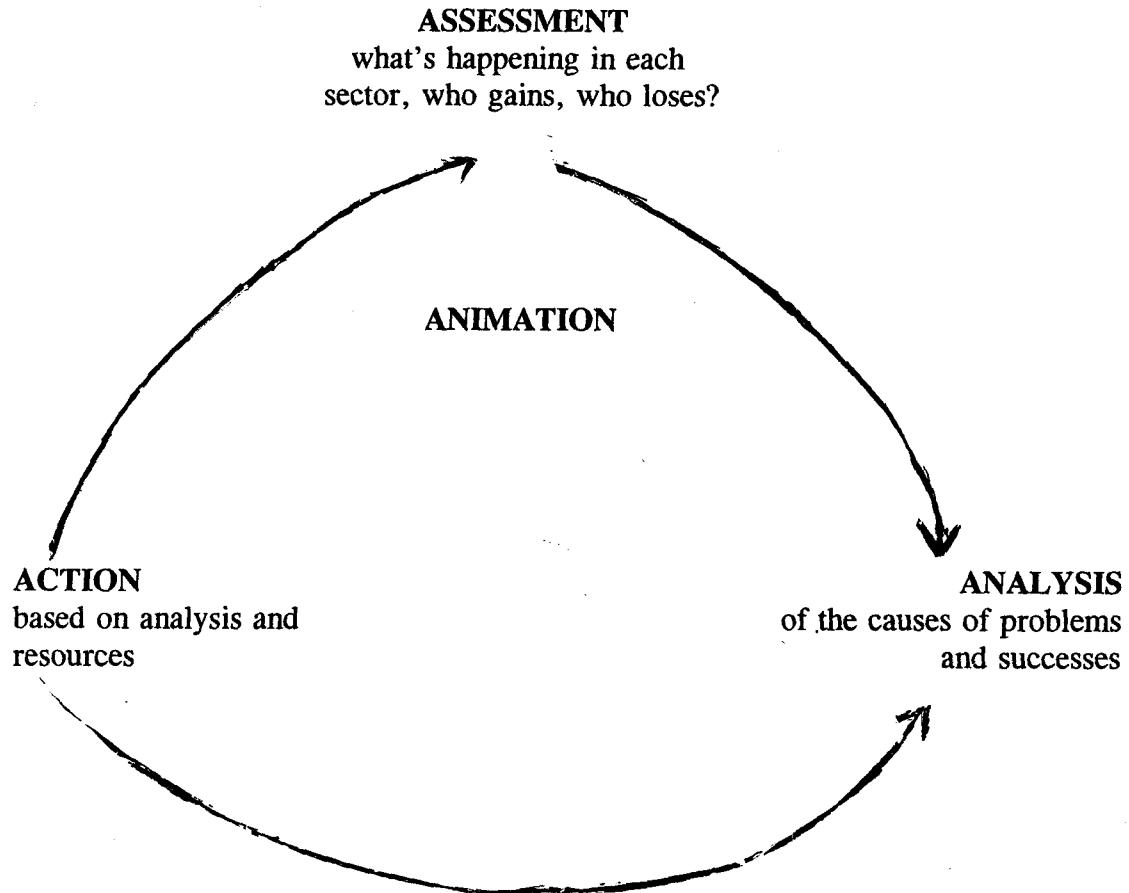
A participatory methodology has been developed to organise the Symposium, based on animation techniques and a non-hierarchical and democratic structure. The major source of knowledge is understood to be people themselves, based on their own experiences, and on their study of any given situation. Methods have been developed to provide people with space to *think* and *reflect* on this experience, to build capacity for critical thinking and debate, and to gain *self-confidence* and a *commitment* to act for transformative change.

The emphasis is on a Triple A Cycle of Assessment, Analysis and Action. Together people are able to assess the situation, explain its causes, and act to change the situation and transform gender relations (Figure 1)³

³ The Triple A Cycle has been widely used in the Child Survival Protection and Development Programme (CSPD) of the government and UNICEF, to support community-based action at the grassroots level. CSPD also popularised the use of animation (uraghibishi) techniques, which have now been adopted as the major approach by the Community Development Department. TGNP has adopted similar methodologies. Further information is available in Gender Profile; UNICEF Social Mobilisation for CSPD - Overview (Dar es Salaam, forthcoming); UNICEF We Will Never Go Back (New York, 1994). Concrete presentation of specific techniques and the animation process as a whole is found in UNICEF/URT Mafunzo ya Uwiano Kuhusu Mipango ya Wanawake na Watoto (Dar es Salaam, 1992) and Liz Mackenzie On Our Feet, A Handbook on Gender and Popular Education Workshops (Bellville, South Africa, CACE, University of Western Cape, 1992).

Figure I: Triple A Cycle about SAP

ASSESSMENT - ANALYSIS - ACTION



During the Symposium, a variety of techniques will be used: skits, case studies, songs, poetry, paper presentation, small group discussions, group reports to plenary, exhibitions, and plenary discussions. Each individual's ideas are important, as well as the synthesis of many people's ideas in group and plenary. People have divergent views on gender, development and SAP, and need to be encouraged to express these views openly; so that they can be debated at length.

The following have been selected as the main sub-themes:

(1) Political power; (2) Justice & Peace; (3) Control of Resources; (4) Development, Equity and Social Services; and (5) Development, Equity and Economic Empowerment.

The following three key questions will guide discussions:

- 1) What has been happening in the past five years in relation to the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in your specific subject area? *Who benefits? Who loses* How have different people/groups responded?
- 2) What are the implications for gender relations?
- 3) What can/should we do individually/together?

In the next section, the concept of gender will be discussed, along with its application to analysis of development issues.

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Gender analysis differs from past analyses of *women*, because of the attention given to men as well as women and the asymmetrical power relations which have developed between them.

Gender relations are understood to be social relations, which affect and are affected by other social relations (class, race/ethnicity, North-South). Being social relations means that they are not biological, natural or inevitable. Moreover, gender relations do not have to be oppressive towards women, or young men, or children, or harm men who behave in 'typically' feminine ways - that is, men who are nurturing, respectful of women as well as men, sensitive... The ultimate goal of gender analysis is to support the creation and/or strengthening of *transformative* non-oppressive gender relations.

Critical gender analysis endeavours to assess and analyse the relationships between women and men in all sectors of society, focusing on those relations which are oppressive and exploitative of women and children in particular. For the purposes of this presentation the term patriarchal will be used for those social relations which oppress and subordinate women to men at any level of society. Gender assessment and analysis is linked together with action to abolish patriarchal social relations.

Part of this process of analysis depends on a reconstruction of the past. Evidence suggests that gender relations in at least some pre-colonial societies were more equitable and just than in the present; and that women - at least, elderly women, had power and control over basic resources. Women's power and control declined with the growth of commodity production and trade and the rise of City States in the 9th and 10th centuries, and with the growing dominance of slavery systems of production and Omani rule in the 16th - 19th centuries. Control over women's labour and their reproduction capacities became increasingly significant for ruling classes. Complex systems of male domination and female subordination emerged in the struggle to overpower women, which permeated society at all levels, from the rulers to commoners to slaves.

In GER report on education in Tanzania, we highlighted the following as the major issues or elements of oppressive gender relations:⁴

- gender division of labour which assigns women more work in production and reproduction within household and smallholder farming systems; creates gender segmentation in the labour market such that certain kinds of work are labelled 'men's work, and others 'women's' work.
- women's unequal access, ownership and control over basic resources, including economic, cultural, political resources; at all levels: household, community, nation, globe.
- patriarchal power relations which assign women a subordinate secondary status in relation to men in decision-making processes, and children a third status at the bottom, at all levels: household, community, nation, globe.

A conceptual framework has been developed by the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) to analyse women's conditions and gender relations at all levels (Figure 2). We may all agree that many women are disadvantaged (the problem) because of overwork, poor health and low income. But what causes these problems (immediate causes)? And why? The web of factors at the intermediate level become our focus of concern: education, culture and communications; the gender division of labour (GDL); social services; adequate food intake and the care of pregnant women. However, these factors are themselves problems that need explaining. Why do we have different GDLs in different communities, and even in different households in the same community? Why do women have different levels of education? What impact do these factors have on their later life? And why, given the same conditions and locations in society, do some women (and men) behave one way, and others behave another?

These why, how and where questions lead us to basic causes, which centre around resource ownership, control and distribution, and the social gender relations. Social gender relations stretch across economic, ideological, cultural, political structures, and are not fixed or static.

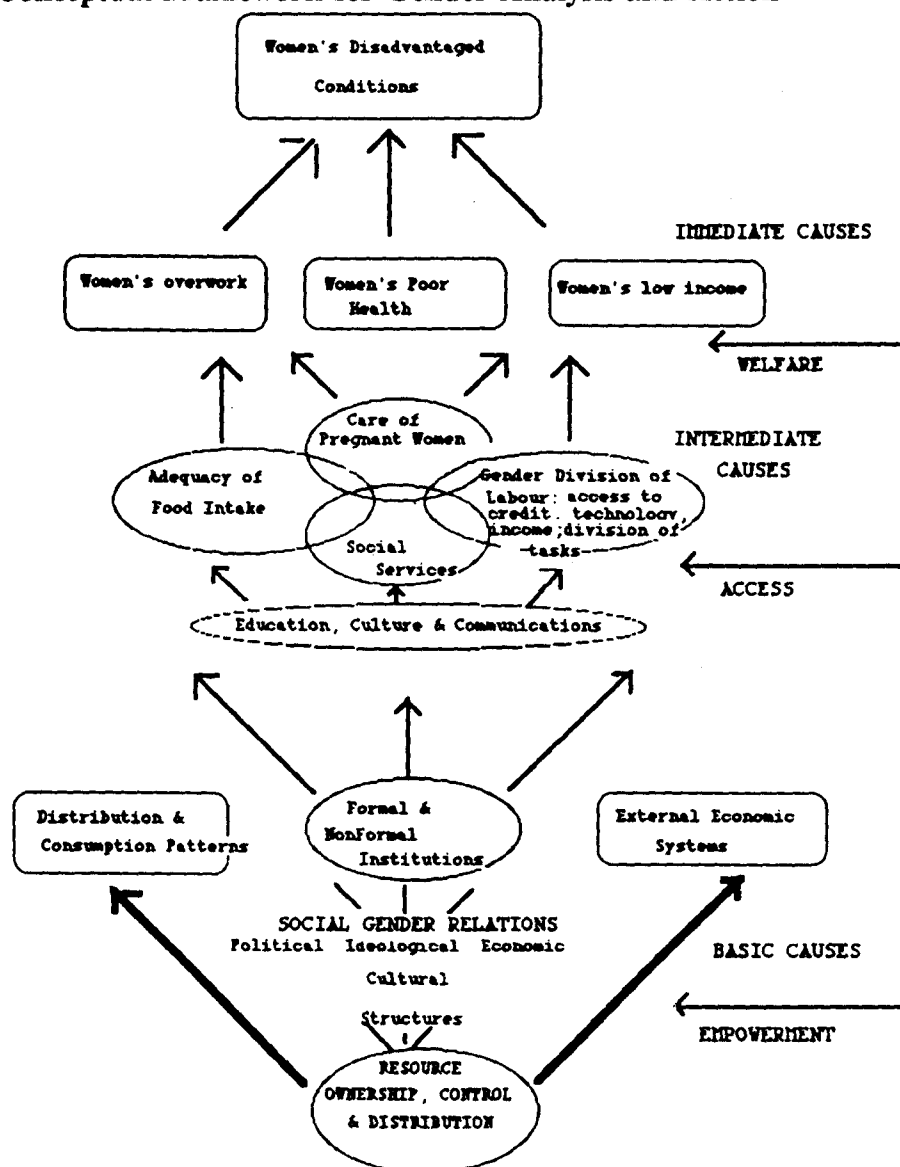
Gender relations change as society changes; changed gender relations change society.

We have learned through critical gender analysis not to assume that women are powerless; weak; inferior to men in all circumstances. Most women lack access to a viable living wage or income, but then, so do most men in the poor labouring classes. Most women have very little education, but then, most men have no more than primary education themselves. A few women are found at the top of society, who control national resources and have more decision-making power than most men.

⁴ Marjorie Mbilinyi and Patricia Mbughuni eds Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective Stockholm, SIDA, 1991, p.26.

Gender is not enough to understand women's disadvantages. We need to link gender to other social relations, such as class, race-ethnicity, nationality and imperial relations. Doing so, universalising notions about 'all women' as if all women are the same are shown to be invalid. We are increasingly able to recognise commonalities and differences among women and among men.⁵

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework for Gender Analysis and Action



⁵ See Marjorie Mbilinyi Review of Women's Conditions and Positions in Tanzania: Issues and Methodology Dar es Salaam, TGNP Background Paper, 1992, and Ruth Meena Gender in Southern Africa Harare, SAPES, 1992 for more detailed discussion of the concept of gender and its application in social analysis. The power of gender analysis to analyse and explain social problems and social change have been shown in recent work by TGNP (Gender Profile of Tanzania), Patricia Mbughuni (see "Gender and Poverty Alleviation in Tanzania" presented to Workshop for Research on Poverty Alleviation in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, 1994) and Marjorie Mbilinyi with Ave Maria Semakafu (Gender and Employment on Sugar Cane Plantations in Tanzania Report for ILO and OTTU/MWEMA, Dar es Salaam, 1993) as well as the GER Report cited already.

Source: TGNP, Gender Profile of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, 1993: 13; adaptation from the Conceptual Framework diagrams developed in the CSPD programme in Tanzania.

For example, in a recent study of gender and employment on sugar cane plantations in Tanzania⁶, women and men field workers described the high level of sexual harassment experienced by women at work. The problem was not husbands or fellow workers. The major offenders were male headmen, who took advantage of their power over task allocation and monitoring task performance (and therefore wages) to demand sexual services from young women workers.

The power which headmen used to harass women was a result of their location within the workplace, as well as their male gender. Women typists in government offices and women students in education institutions complain about sexual harassment from male bosses and teachers. The most vulnerable women are those in subordinate positions to more powerful men, including young women in extended families who suffer sexual and child abuse.

The concept of gender has been analysed in this section. The next section examines how gender can be applied to development issues, including the process of planning and policy formulation for Women-in-Development and Gender-and-Development.

Development

The following definition of development by Diane Elson is useful for our analysis of the situation in Tanzania:⁷

Development will be understood in an active sense..., as a process of transformation and improvement that is capable of enhancing both national and individual capabilities. It is thus more than growth of GNP and satisfaction of existing preferences; it involves a reduction of constraints and an enlargement of what it is possible to do; an increase in autonomy; a process of empowerment. But some types of development increase the capabilities of many and some types of capabilities of relatively few.

⁶ Gender and Employment on Tanzania Sugar Cane Plantations by Marjorie Mbilinyi with Ave Maria Semakafu (Report for ILO and OTTU/MWEMA, Dar es Salaam, in process 1993).

⁷ Diane Elson "Gender Issues in Development Strategies" paper presented to Division for Advancement of Women (DAW) Seminar on Integration of Women in Development, 9-11 December 1991, p.1, reproduced in TGNP Study Packet for Strategies Workshop, March 17-19, 1993, Bahari Beach, Dar es Salaam.

Both internal and external factors shape the nature and level of development. As will be discussed later, our present development strategies focus on restructuring of the economy, without adequate attention given to changes in the structure of the international or global economy.

There is increasing recognition in development circles of the need to focus on three related aspects of development:⁸

- economic restructuring/reform
- human resource development
- political democracy at all levels.

As will be discussed below, critics have noted that the development policies adopted for Africa by donors and governments emphasise the first 'economistic' set of measures. Some attention is given to democracy, defined as multi-partyism, and hardly any attention is given to human resource development.⁹

The concepts of autonomy and empowerment introduced above by Elson, underlie recent efforts to distinguish among different approaches to women's equality and empowerment, and social transformation. As discussed in the Gender Profile¹⁰, development actions pertaining to women can be categorised according to their emphasis on welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control.

Welfare focuses on basic needs, addressing the gender gaps which are illuminated by gender statistics (eg gender differentials in nutrition, health and mortality), but reducing women to welfare recipients. Access issues focus on the problem of inequality of access to resources: education, wage employment, credit, other productive resources, the labour of oneself and others. As women endeavour to overcome the barriers to equal access, they identify basic causes of the systems of gender discrimination, and move on to conscientisation and higher levels of advancement.

In the process of conscientisation, women (and men) recognise the social foundations of gender inequities, and critically analyse all sectors and levels of society. Participation focuses our attention on women's equal participation in the decision-making process, at every stage of a given activity or project. Participation issues occur in all sectors (economic, cultural,

⁸ Chris Davids, Dar es Salaam, 1994. I am grateful for our discussions on SAP.

⁹ See G. Cornia, Richard Jolly and Francis Stewart Adjustment with a Human Face Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987; Keith Griffin and Terry McKinley "Guidelines for Implementing a Human Development Strategy" December 1992. UNDP is about to launch a Human Development Strategy in Tanzania, which closely resembles the 'human face' discourse and methodology of CSPD in practice in Tanzania.

¹⁰ Based on "Facilitator's Guide to Gender & Empowerment manual" New York, UNICEF, 1993, draft; quote below is from Gender Profile pp. 30,32.

political), and are directly related to the issue of democracy and control. As women participate more in decision-making (eg about resource allocation and use within the household), they acquire increased control over resources and benefits. Women have and share power alongside men.

With a critical vision of transformative goals, animators can work together with grassroots people on welfare issues which lead towards empowerment and control.

Table 1 provides another related typology. Concrete examples are given of specific actions and analyses which have been carried out in Tanzania and other African countries.

The concept of empowerment is critical, especially as the word is used by many different development actors, with different meanings attached. Empowerment is defined here as a process which increases the capacity of women and other disempowered people to:

- analyse and know the world at all levels (household-village-national-global)
- act on their own behalf
- increase their power and control over the social resources necessary for sustainable and dignified life.¹¹

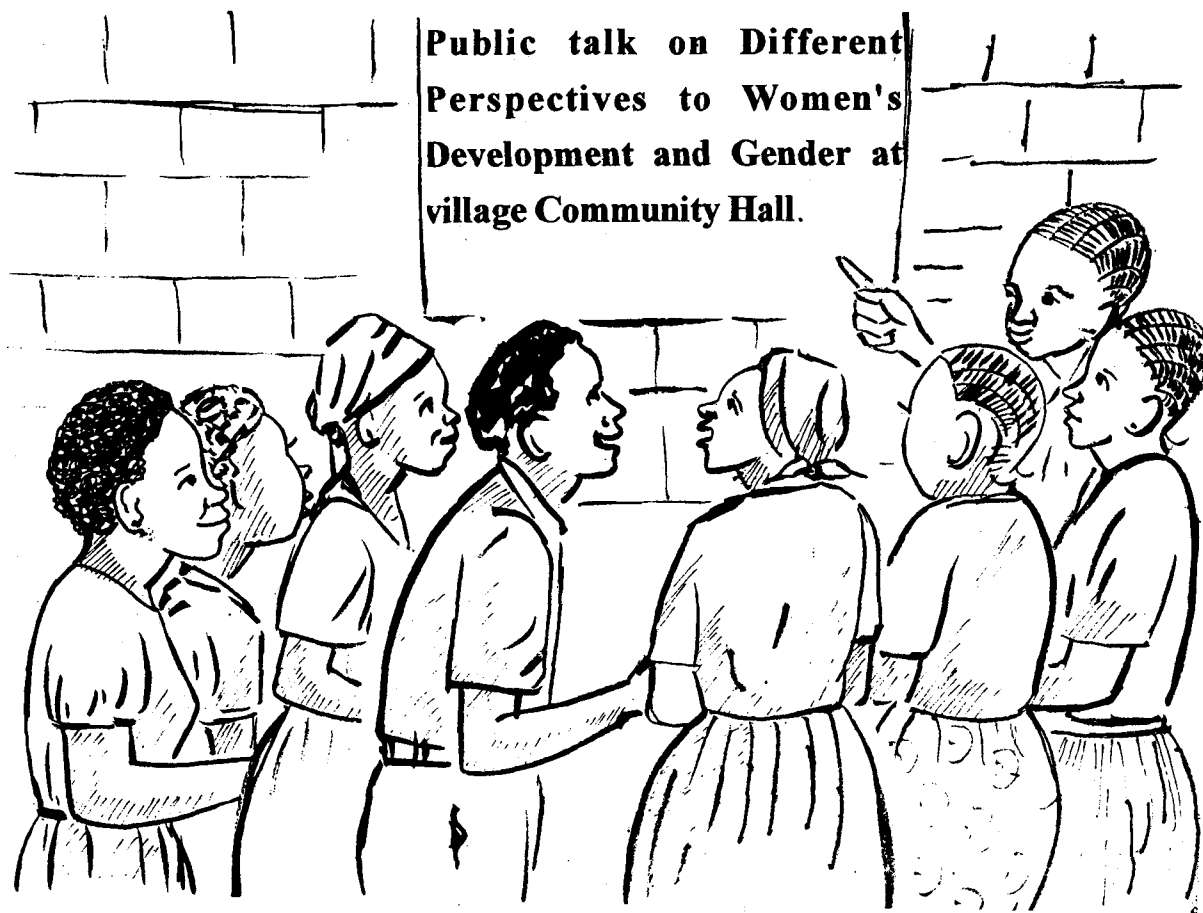
The concept of empowerment connotes a process of increasing power, by challenging structures of society which disempower, and removing the barriers to transformation. There are many different kinds of power which are interconnected: economic, political, cultural, psychological. Women's empowerment involves individual and collective action to change the power relations in each sector. The concept of conscientisation links consciousness to action, individually and collectively.¹²

¹¹ This concept of empowerment was produced by participants in a series of workshops in the Social Mobilisation Study. See Social Mobilisation... Overview (1993 n.3); quoted in Gender Profile p. 29.

¹² Gender Profile p. 29 drawing on Asseny Muro, "Empowerment" presentation to TGNP TOT.

Table 1: Different Perspectives to Women's Development and Gender

<u>Project Goal</u>	<u>Concept of Problem</u>	<u>Concept of Solution</u>	<u>Examples of Development Intervention</u>
1. <i>Welfare</i>	women's poverty, vulnerable groups, special needs	position of support services for health, nutrition, child care	build maternity clinics, immunization, health and nutrition education
2. <i>Economic self-reliance</i>	women under- & unemployment, economic dependency, lack of productive skills	promote self-reliance, independence, provide productive skills, encourage women's productive enterprise	income-generating women projects, clubs, eg soap-making, sewing.
3. <i>Access to resources</i>	low level of productivity & poor access to resources	increased access to resources, enhanced provision of services	provision of credit and marketing facilities
4. <i>Efficiency</i>	women are overlooked resources in planning; underdevelopment of human capacities	identify productive activities & needs; support with capacity-building in relevant skills & knowledge	integration of women into development planning; mainstreaming; external advice; appropriate technology
5. <i>Equality</i>	structures of different sectors in society (eg education, employment, housing) discriminate against women	equality of opportunity for women	affirmative action to promote equal opportunity; increase the number of women in planning positions
6. <i>Empowerment</i>	unequal & oppressive gender power relations	conscientisation, mobilisation, solidarity, collective action	grassroots organisations and projects, democratisation, support for locally initiated programmes and activities



What is needed to support transformative action and self-empowerment among the disempowered, including grassroots women in particular? Drawing on Elson's recent work,¹³ the following are key considerations. One is supportive infrastructure, a context in which women feel some sense of control over their lives, such as the numerous women's groups created at grassroots and national level. Support is needed for advocacy, mobilisation and lobbying at all levels, recognising the need for time and highlighting the significance of the process as much as the target goal. Popular education/animation programmes and organisations may be more supportive of real women's empowerment than a set of separate income-earning projects for low income women.

An alternative development strategy is needed to replace the present form of export-led dependency development, which locks women and their societies in Tanzania into a global economy/society characterised by Northern domination and unequal terms of trade, and deprioritises human resource development. The present global system is biased towards the rich, the North, men and certain ethnic groups at every level of development.

Organised critical (third world) feminists need to be supported in their endeavours to enter the arena of policy-making at all levels, especially at the international level, so as to challenge mainstream development discourse and help create a people-centred development strategy. More networking and coalition work will be involved to link women's/gender groups at the international as well as the national and local levels.

Women's/gender analyses need to focus on macro-level economic conditions and policies, side by side with micro-level studies/action. Macro-level economic policies have more impact on women's lives than WID and other women's/gender programmes. Specific interventions in support of women's empowerment can link women's/gender groups at the international as well as the national and local levels.

Individual and collective empowerment of women, the poor, the disempowered ought to reinforce each other. The basic citizenship rights and entitlements presented in Box 1 provide the basis for real social power. Gender-informed actions over each set of rights would increase women's dignity, power and control over basic resources, and become steps in the self-empowerment process.

The issue of empowerment is closely related to that of sustainability, which has different and sometimes opposite meanings in development circles, as shown below.

¹³ Diane Elson "Gender Issues in Development Strategies" 1991 above

Sustainability

Development becomes more sustainable if linked to empowerment at household and community level, as noted in a recent study of social mobilisation in the CSPD programme supported by UNICEF.¹⁴ A transformative concept of sustainability includes:

1. mobilisation of local resources at household, community and district level, under local control, which includes the contribution of money and other resources;
2. increasing control and power in decision-making over resources generated at local level, eg foreign exchange earnings, taxes and development levies, road tolls, crop cesses;
3. increasing access to and control over resources which are deposited and coordinated at higher levels of the economy and government.

This definition of sustainability differs from the common understanding found in official circles and academia, which stresses cost sharing at household and community level and supports the withdrawal of central government support for basic social services and infrastructure. Efforts are made to increase the contributions of money and other resources from individuals and communities for education, health, and other social services. Increased cost sharing and taxation, without increased power of decision-making and control over resources at all levels, become a form of exploitation.

¹⁴ See Overview forthcoming. The particular presentation here is quoted from Gender Profile p. 36

Box 1 Citizenship Rights and Democracy

- i) Financial and other resources (eg land, farm inputs, markets) to secure adequate food, water, health services, shelter and other basic needs;
- ii) time free from all forms of work, to engage in educational, political and recreational activities;
- iii) space in which to carry on production and reproduction activities;
- iv) relevant knowledge (knowing what and knowing how) about eg family planning techniques, nutrition, how to organise community programmes and animated groups, citizenship rights and entitlements;
- v) accurate knowledge concerning the local community as well as nation, region, world;
- vi) social organisation to enable

Democracy¹⁵

In the Gender Profile, we noted that

Democracy is a goal in all sectors of society - economic, cultural, political; and at all levels - the household and the family, the community, the region, the nation, and global society. Politics transcends official state institutions, and includes people's efforts to empower themselves in the workplace,

¹⁵ This section is derived from The Director General's Newsletter No. 2, May 1993 (Paris, UNESCO) as adapted in Gender Profile p. 37-38.

community, education institutions, the home. Universal suffrage, elections, a competitive party system and an independent judiciary system are essential aspects of democracy, but they are not enough to ensure the full participation and empowerment of all citizens. Democracy depends on social and cultural foundations which extend beyond formal, political structures. All citizens need to have access to, and be able to use, the information and knowledge required to make informed choices and participate fully in decision-making. One aspect, therefore, is "the art of thinking independently together".

Democracy connotes the freedom and responsibility given to individuals to participate in the shaping of civil society and the formal political sphere - freed from the political and ideological ties of kinship, ethnicity, slavery, and feudal chieftainship relations. Education for democracy promotes independent and critical thought, initiative, and imagination, along with tolerance of difference and love for others, which build bridges within and between our communities and nations. In 'real' democracy, **"the citizen 'counts' and is not merely 'counted'"**.

The concept of human rights - in economic, cultural, political and all other spheres of society - is another central component of democracy. One of the major goals of this decade has been to include women's rights as a central aspect of human rights, worldwide. Women, and men, and children, have the right not to be raped, abused, battered, and tortured, at home, in the community and in society at large. Women have the right of freedom of movement, freedom of association, freedom of personal choice. The only way they can ensure these rights is to live them, and create supportive structures and organisations which protect these rights for themselves and others.

Individual freedom presupposes the existence of other freedoms - freedom from fear and freedom from want (hunger and poverty) are the most essential. Democracy for the individual is therefore dependent on the degree to which there is collective access to citizenship rights and entitlements among all groups in society - local, national and global society. The growing polarisation of national and global society into rich and poor undermines democracy for women and men at every level.

The struggle for women's empowerment ought to be an integral part of the democratic movement in Tanzania. At the same time, women's/gender groups and programmes need to move beyond their present preoccupation with practical needs, and focus on strategic interests. Strategic interests involve efforts to change/abolish those power relations which support patriarchal behaviour, attitudes and structures at all levels of society. A wider conceptualisation of the problem of gender is adopted, which focuses on the basic causes of gender typing and gender oppression at all levels of society.

Box 2 provides a summary of the differences between practical needs and strategic interests. The one does not exclude the other. Practical needs cannot be ignored in a transformative programme. 'Practical' action which targets immediate needs is necessary to win support at the local level.

A conceptual framework has been presented in this section which can be used to critically assess, analyse and act with respect to Structural Adjustment policies. The next section briefly examines the historical context in which Structural Adjustment policies were implemented in Tanzania.

Box 2 Practical Needs and Strategic Interests

<u>Practical Improvement</u>	<u>Strategic Transformative</u>
a) immediate, short term	a) long-term
b) relates to daily needs; food, housing, water, income, healthy children...	b) relates to disempowered position: subordination, lack of resources, lack of education, vulnerability to poverty and violence
c) easily identifiable by people concerned	c) basic causes of disempowered position and the potential for radical change are not always identifiable by people concerned
d) can be addressed by provision of specific inputs; food, maize mill, credit, clinic, training...	d) can be addressed by education, consciousness-raising, increased self-esteem, promoting/strengthening women's organisations, political mobilisation
e) involves women as recipients, perhaps as beneficiaries, and participants	e) involves women as agents or enables women to be agents
f) can improve the condition of women's lives	f) can transform the position of women in society
g) usually does not alter existing roles and relationships	g) can empower women and transform relationships

Source: Adapted by Marjorie Mbilinyi for TGNP Background Paper on Issues and Methodology, p.12, Based on Linda Moffat (Match/CCIC GAD Workshop, February 1990). Original developed by Carole Houlihan, November 1989.

CONTEXT¹⁶

The policies of SAP are difficult to understand unless they are placed in their historical context. Debates about SAP refer to different and often conflicting perceptions about the past and the present. An active process of rewriting history has occurred, which renders such social structures, events and 'happenings' as slavery, colonialism and racial apartheid invisible. Without them, the reforms of the 1960s and 1970s appear highly irrational.

The foundations of Tanzania's present underdevelopment were established during the 16th - 19th centuries: export of cloves, coconuts, grains and ivory produced by slave labour on plantations and elephant hunts; the enslavement of indigenous African people and the export of African slaves to Arab countries; growing dependence on European and Indian financiers to finance big producers/traders and local rulers; and foreign Arab rule via the Omani Zanzibar state.

The Tanzanian economy became more subjugated to external forces during the period of European colonialism which followed (1880s - 1961): dependent on the export of primary commodities to Europe and 'cheap' migrant labour to South African and Rhodesian mines and Tanganyikan sisal plantations; and the import of capital, technology, manufactured goods and skilled human resources from the industrialised North. A system of racial apartheid was implemented to ensure that Europeans retained control of major decision-making in both the public and the private sector. Indigenous Africans were kept at the bottom of the social structure, while Asians and Arabs were located in a middle ground in business and the professions.

Colonial racial policies made it impossible for Africans to become wealthy farmers or business people. It was 'illegal', for example, for Africans to acquire credit, or to grow high value export crops, especially tea. European farmers were given preferential treatment through better crop prices, subsidies and other support systems, just as in white settler economies farther south. The government provided administrative support for the system of migrant labour, which provided European farmers and other employers with a steady supply of cheap labour, and blocked a fuller process of proletarianisation and urban settlement.¹⁷

The roots of the present gender division of labour and patriarchal farming system were established during the colonial era. The central government adopted a policy of indirect rule to govern indigenous Africans at the local level, based on patriarchal systems of chiefs and headmen, customary marriage and property ownership/relations. The more democratic aspects of indigenous society were lost, and the most autocratic and paternalistic elements were preserved. The roots of people's dependency behaviour and political apathy lie in these

¹⁶ More detailed analysis along the lines presented in this section can be found in Marjorie Mbilinyi Big Slavery Dar es Salaam University Press, 1991 (2nd reprint) and "Structural Adjustment and Agribusiness in Tanzania" Taamuli 1990 1(1-2): 76-102.

¹⁷ Issa G. Shivji Law, State & the Working Class in Tanzania London, James Currey, 1986.

deformed 'communal' structures of governance, more than the depersonalised bureaucratic structures of central and global government. Their specially harmful impact on gender relations has been fully documented in feminist critiques of colonial history.¹⁸

Colonial government authorities and most big employers targeted men to work as migrant labourers and casual farm workers, though a growing number of women and children were also hired, especially as casual workers. Special bye-laws and divorce regulations were established by district officers and local chiefs to try to keep African women in the countryside and to block their efforts to run away from oppressive forms of patriarchal marriage. Official concern about female 'runaways' among colonial authorities in the 1920s and 1930s reflected the persistent efforts of women to resist colonial patriarchy, at whatever cost.

A fundamental contradiction was created in smallholder farming, by forcing women to remain as unpaid family workers in household economies, while allocating the few resources available for African-owned farming systems to men. Male colonial extension officers and district officers discriminated in favour of men when allocating improved seeds, fertilizers, extension advice and crop payments. Men became the formal members of cooperative societies and the landholders in government settlement schemes. The patriarchal farming system emerged during this time, based on the articulation of old and new social relations and an alliance between European male authorities and African men.

The external orientation of the economy deepened in all sectors of society after independence, as a result of increased donor influence; the patterns of capital investment in the private and public sectors; and the development strategies adopted by the government and donors. Progressive policies also developed during the first decade after the 1967 Arusha Declaration which contributed towards racial integration, the advancement of women, and the development of a strong national identity and class consciousness among working people.

Support increased for indigenous smallholder farming, which offset the former bias towards large scale, European-owned plantations and farms. Social services were expanded (for example, Universal Primary Education, adult education campaigns, rural health facilities, marketing and roads infrastructure) in response to popular demand. Racial and ethnic privileges formerly enjoyed by Europeans, Asians and Arabs were reduced. Steps were taken to diversify the economy and reduce its dependence on crop exports, by developing basic industry and nationalising the financial sector, import-export trade, and many large factories

¹⁸ Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock eds Women and Colonization New York, Praeger, 1980; Ifi Amadiume Male Daughters, Female Husbands London, Zed, 1987; Deborah Fahy Bryceson and Marjorie Mbilinyi "The Changing Role of Tanzanian Women in Production" Jipemoyo 2: 85-116; M. Mbilinyi "Wife, Slave and Subject of the King" TNR 1983, 88/89; M. Mbilinyi "Women's Resistance in 'Customary' Marriage: Tanzania's Runaway Wives" in Abebe Zegeye and Shubi Ishemo forced labour & migration London, Hans Zell Pub, 1989; forthcoming dissertation by Magdalena Rwebangira; organisation oof American Historians Restoring Women to History: Africa Bloomington, 1988; Balthazar Aloys Rwezaura Traditional Family Law and Change in Tanzania Baden-Baden, Germany, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1985 (all citations are available in University of Dar es Salaam library). See Bibliography of MA/IDS 615 Gender Issues and Socio-Economic Development, 1993/94, coordinator and instructor professor Marjorie Mbilinyi.

and plantations. Special efforts were made to allocate more resources to some of the former labour reserves, through improved roads and rail transport, marketing systems and support for smallholder farming. The four Cinderella regions of the Southwest (Rukwa, Mbeya, Iringa and Ruvuma) became the breadbasket of Tanzania in the 1970s and early 1980s, partly as a result of these policies, and local initiatives which reduced people's dependence on migrant labour.

Development villages meant different things in different places and for different classes, genders and ethnic groups. In the more developed highlands, well-to-do villagers and their patrons in the central government were able to deflect many of the more equalising aspects of 'ujamaa'. Highlands communities had highly patriarchal individualised systems of land usage, severe land scarcity, and fully developed commercial production and marketing systems. The environment was hardly conducive for land redistribution or the development of producer cooperatives. The situation was different in many communities of the valleys and plains. Women benefited in many areas, by getting independent access to farm land as individual members of village societies, or by joining local cooperatives.¹⁹

Nearly all observers assume that agriculture stagnated and/or declined during the 1970s as a result of reform policies. Advocates of SAP insist that the government deprived farmers of needed support and services, without stating clearly which farmers they are talking about, namely the big growers who once monopolised government and private resources in the colonial days.

The empirical evidence suggests that agricultural developments were complex and variegated, depending on locality, class, gender and ethnicity. In many areas, indigenous African growers got access to credit, improved seeds and equipment for the first time on a regular basis. The tremendous expansion in grain output and in other crops during the 1960s and 1970s was largely due to indigenous smallholder production, which more than offset the rapid decline in production by European, Arab and Asian growers.²⁰ Output increased for many crops in smallholder farming as well as on plantations and large farms during the 1970s, according to official marketing statistics, which under-estimate actual output because of slippage of crops through parallel marketing and smuggling across borders. The reported decline in crop output is the result of aggregating together plantation crops like sisal (largely owned by European corporations) and smallholder crops like cotton which did suffer sharp falls in output as a result of falling prices on the world market, with other crops which experienced increased output, such as maize, coffee, smallholder tea and tobacco.

¹⁹ Bertha Koda et al Women's Initiatives in the United Republic of Tanzania Geneva, ILO, 1987; Ophelia Mascarenhas and Marjorie Mbilinyi Women in Tanzania Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983, Part I (see Kiswahili translation by Patricia Mbughuni Wanawake wa Tanzania DUP, 1991).

²⁰ Mbilinyi "Structural Adjustment .." 1990; much of the original documentation is found in Jannik Boeson et al Tanzania, Crisis and Struggle for Survival Uppsala, Scand Institute of African Studies, 1986 and the work of Deborah Fahy Bryceson, see "Peasant Cash Cropping versus Self-Sufficiency in Tanzania" IDS Bulletin 19 (2): 37-46.

Villageisation and crop support systems were therefore highly contradictory, in terms of their outcomes for gender, class and ethnic relations. The top down systems of bureaucracy antagonised a growing number of villagers, especially after the government was no longer able to meet popular demands for the expansion of opportunity in education, farming and employment. The autocratic management systems inherited from the British colonial state were/are top heavy, giving high level managers great power vis-a-vis low and middle level employees. The prefect system of school and college reinforced paternalism and class/male bias at all levels of society.

A decrepit governance/management system was unable to cope satisfactorily with the crisis of rising expectations it faced during the 1960s and 1970s, which had a major impact on politics and policy-making at all levels. Efforts to meet these expectations cost more money than the Tanzanian government and its population had at their disposal. The country became increasingly dependent on external financing provided by official donor agencies.

Many Tanzanian intellectuals and bureaucrats say that universal access to basic social services is an irrational policy, that "we are living beyond our means", and argue that 30 years of independence have been wasted. Given that their present positions in society are a result of these decolonisation and desegregation policies, such attitudes appear remarkably short-sighted, if not downright dishonest. There are already visible signs that Tanzanian society is becoming again a white-dominated society like Kenya and Zimbabwe as a result of the present counter-reform.

By the end of the 1970s, Tanzania was firmly enmeshed in the global economic crisis as a result of debt, donor dependence and continued export orientation. A series of shocks to the economy occurred around 1978 which worsened the situation; the breakup of the East African Community; rising oil prices; the Ugandan War; drought and famine in the early 1980s. Most bilateral and multilateral donors began to reduce financial support at the same time, in order to press the government to accept the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) of the World Bank/IMF. The resulting crisis of foreign exchange led to an acute shortage of goods and services during the early 1980s, and the escalation of corruption and nepotism in government and private circles. There was a drastic reduction in real incomes in all sectors, and a shocking drop in the standard of living of most Tanzanians.

Both government and producers were hurt by falling crop prices in global markets controlled by transnational corporations (TNC's), and worsening terms of trade. Government taxation and control of foreign exchange earnings reduced producer prices by half or more. Both large and small producers of most export crops grew less than before because of falling prices, the reduced supply of fertilisers and other farm inputs and equipment, and a labour shortage. Plantation growers of sisal, tea and sugar cane suffered a labour crisis because of the growth of incomes and employment opportunities (wages and unwaged) in rural areas which formerly supplied them with migrant and casual labour. Heads of peasant households, on the other hand, lost control over the labour of women and youth, who resisted exploitation as unpaid family labour by seeking alternative forms of employment. In export producing areas, most smallholder farmers began to grow food crops for cash instead of 'traditional' export crops because of immediate cash payments and higher returns. Women growers had always prioritised food crops which they controlled, rather than export crops under male control because of male biased development policies and the perpetuation of patriarchal farming

systems. Women villagers resisted the state and local patriarchs by concentrating on food crop production and informal economic activities (especially beer brewing and petty trade).²¹

Donor agency policies contributed to the political and economic crisis from the state by providing financial and import support for post-Arusha reforms, while chipping steadily away at their more radical foundations and direction. External finance was used to purchase goods and services at inflated prices in the North, including the salaries of Northern experts and managers who were paid ten-twenty times more than their Tanzania counterparts. Another portion was siphoned away in the overseas banking accounts of many top politicians and civil servants. The major portion of external 'aid' never reached most Tanzanians.

In 1986, the government was completely bankrupt, and forced to accept IMF conditionalities, SAP and the growing power of external donors in the development process. The major elements of SAP are presented in the next section.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT²²

SAP refers to a set of *stabilisation and adjustment programmes* which have been adopted by all the key donor agencies as a model development strategy for developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The aim is to create a conducive environment for investment and economic growth, by increasing efficiency in allocation of resources, an increase in productivity and output - especially for export, improved balance of payments and a reduction of inflation. A major aspect is to make the Tanzanian economy more competitive in the world market. The emphasis is on 'getting the prices right' in order to send the right signals to producers, traders, government officials, workers, parents about what their priorities should be. The prices they refer to include money/currency values, prices of food, of crops, of imported goods in comparison to exports. Of course, to become more attractive and competitive, by definition, means to reduce production costs for big private investors - costs of labour as well as of energy, communications and transport. This means to reduce real wages and make the labour process more efficient and productive, from the point of view of the employer.

An important element of SAP is to reduce or abolish the role of the state in the economy, to depend on the private sector for development, and leave prices to market forces. For example, pan-territorial pricing has been abolished. Now it is no longer economic for farmers

²¹ In addition to citations above, see Marja-Liisa Swantz Women in Development: A Creative Role Denied? London, C. Hurst & Co., 1985, Ulla Vuorela The Women's Question and the Modes of Human Reproduction Helsinki, Finnish Soc. for Devel. Studies Mono No.1, 1987 and Deborah Fahy Bryceson Women, Rural Labour Processes and Structural Change Oxford Univ, Cross-Cultural Centre for Research on Women, 1990 and Ndettie Aarnink and Koos Kingma The Shamba is Like a Child Leiden Univ, Women and Autonomy Centre, 1991.

²² Appreciation is expressed again to Chris Davids for discussing SAP at length; see the many writings by Diane Elson for a critical gender critique, cited below.

to grow surplus maize for sale in parts of Rungwe, Iringa, Rukwa or Mbeya because producer prices no longer cover transport and production costs. The economists say that, according to market principles, this is rational because it is not economically efficient for farmers to grow surplus maize for sale in those regions. They should look for a different crop or a different economic activity - migrant labour perhaps?

Some state intervention is acceptable within SAP, but only in order to support the expansion of the private sector, and improved output in the export sectors of the economy. The focus of development is on increased production and trade for export, in order to increase foreign exchange and repay the debt.

Stabilisation measures refer especially to steps taken concerning finance: devaluation, privatisation of banks and/or a mixed approach, liberalisation of trade in currency exchange and commodities, budget reform and cuts, withdrawal of subsidies for producers and consumers, abolition of exchange price and wage controls, a credit squeeze, including increased interest rates. IMF is mainly involved in stabilisation measures.

Examples of efforts to balance the budget include cost-sharing in public services, increased sales taxes, and a general reduction in the role of the central government in provision of social services, plus the sale of public parastatals to reduce their drain on the budget and to make money.

Adjustment measures refer to steps taken in institutional reform, for example: measures to promote export production, reform of industrial and agricultural policies so as to increase efficiency and output, and increase the role of the private sector, including TNCs in production and in social services (reproduction); appropriate tax and tariff structures; appropriate programmes in social services combined with a reduction in the role of the central government, and a shift in responsibility to local governments, families and individuals. World Bank is especially involved in adjustment measures.

IMF and World Bank work together and with other major development agencies, multilateral and bilateral. Together they have developed policies concerning the national budget, appropriate credit limits and interest rates for national banks, wage and employment policies such as retrenchment, and development priorities such as the present focus on agriculture to the detriment of industry and services. The argument is that Tanzania has a comparative advantage in agriculture in the global economy.

OUTCOMES²³

The adjustment process has been highly contradictory. Many SAP measures benefited large scale producers and commercial interests in terms of producer incentives and support systems. Nevertheless, ordinary citizens certainly benefited when donors released foreign exchange funds and financed the import support programmes which began immediately after signing IMF conditions in 1986. Shops and markets were filled with imported manufactured goods, and there was a rapid growth in services available in the private sector as a result of liberalisation. Output from local 'big' industries, including agroindustry, increased at first after they got access to imported raw materials and equipment. There has been a tremendous growth in the informal sector in both rural and urban areas, which is largely unrecorded and unregulated - at some cost for wage workers who lack worker protection and benefits, but otherwise conducive for both small and big self-employed. The reduction of government regulations and the political reforms associated with multi-party politics also helped create an enabling environment for local initiatives, including the mushrooming of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs).²⁴

SAP elements were openly intended to reduce wages, tighten the money supply for domestic industry, shift resources to 'the most productive sectors and regions' of the country, and increase incentives for export *rather than to expand the domestic market and local economy*. The Tanzanian shilling was devalued from Tshs. 15.3/= in 1984 to more than Tshs 400/= in 1993 and Tshs 500/= or more today, to one US\$, which has pushed costs of production up for local producers, and reduced wages and incomes for working people. Key subsidies for agriculture production and food consumption were removed or reduced. The removal of restrictions on trade and price controls led to a deluge of imported goods and services, the decline of domestic industry, and escalating prices for consumer and producer goods. Real wages and crop incomes declined as a result of increased costs of living and production; for example, real monthly minimum wages in the formal sector dropped to 22% of their 1966 level in 1988; and 17% of their peak level in 1972:.

While the majority of Tanzanians have become poorer as a result of SAP, a small number of women and men (citizens and non-citizens) have become VERY wealthy, and flaunt their wealth in luxurious consumption. Huge villas and deluxe apartment houses have been built in old inner-city working class neighbourhoods as well as in the suburbs of Dar es Salaam

²³ Some of this section is taken from Gender Profile pp 45-48, which was compiled and edited by Lucy Mboma. Primary data for this section has been secured from the Bureau of Statistics; Bank of Tanzania Economic Bulletins (1970s-1990 and Tanzania Economic Trends 4(3) 1991; v(4) 1992. Information on the impact of Structural Adjustment policies is found in Jumanne H. Wagao "Structural Adjustment Policies in Tanzania, 1980-1989..." (Dar es Salaam, South Commission, 1990); H.D. Wenzel and R. Weidenmann Tanzania's Economic Performance in the Eighties (Verlag breitenbach Pub., Germany, 1989).

²⁴ See the recent work of Aili Mari Tripp, which provides information based on rigorous field work at individual and household level. eg "The Impact of Crisis & Economic Reform on Women in Urban Tanzania" in Unequal Burden: Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty and Women's Work Boulder, Westview Press, 1992 and "Local Organizations, Participation and the State in Urban Tanzania" in M. Bratton and G. Hyden eds Governance in Africa Boulder, Lynne Rienner Pubs., 1992.

and other towns. Town streets are jammed with Benzs and BMWs, while working people risk their lives riding the dangerous lorry-buses called *chai maharagwe*. One meal in an ordinary middle class restaurant costs twice or more the minimum monthly wage.

The correspondence between class and race has become highly visible: Europeans, Asians and Arabs fill 'high class' nightclubs and restaurants, control prime real estate and good farmland, monopolise commerce, and dominate policy-making in government projects and programmes supported by donors. Many Europeans live in separate expatriate enclaves, their major contact with locals being work associates, domestic servants and, in some cases, mistresses and prostitutes.

Most Tanzanians work as part-time casual workers and self-employed, without worker benefits and protection provided by government regulation. Only 3% of economically active women and 10% of the men were employed in the formal sector according to 1988 census data. The proportion will drop even more as a result of retrenchment policies, pushing the majority of men and women into casual employment and into the highly exploitative informal sector. Self-employed workers in the informal sector generally earn much more than the minimum wage, however, even those in the bottom of the income hierarchy.²⁵ Women are extremely active in the informal sector, now as in the past.²⁶

In agriculture, specific steps have been taken to strengthen the position of largescale growers (supposedly the most productive enterprises), by directing resources (credit, farm inputs and equipment, etc) and adopting pricing policies which favour the most productive producers.²⁷ Big growers, who include TNCs, public corporations, and large commercial farmers, export directly and are allowed to retain part or all of their forex earnings, whereas smallholders sell to local traders or government/cooperative boards, and are paid in local currency. Agricultural rehabilitation programmes funded by external donors, are tied to importation of foreign goods and services through import support programmes, and have mainly benefitted largescale producers, including TNC's themselves. Rural credit which once was channeled to smallscale growers of maize and export crops through CRDB, is now mainly provided to the same big growers. Panterritorial pricing, which helped to develop agriculture in the old labour reserves and in other less developed regions, has been removed.

²⁵ See citations for Aili Mari Tripp above.

²⁶ Nwanganga Shields Women in the Urban Labour Market: The Case of Tanzania Washington, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 380, 1978.

²⁷ See TADREG Structural Adjustment in Socio-Political Context Dar es Salaam, 1991 for a positive assessment of the bias towards largescale commercial farming, the criticism being that 'reform' has been too slow.

The crisis of labour and foreign exchange faced by private and public plantations during the 1970s and early 1980s has been solved by SAP, according to recent studies in the tea and sugar cane industry.²⁸ In the words of the owners and management of Tukuyu Tea Estates (a George Williamson - UK subsidiary), "Devaluation saved us!" Rural impoverishment provided them with surplus labour, and falling 'local' production costs for wages, fuel, farm inputs and machinery in the context of foreign exchange.

Recent reforms of pricing and marketing have mainly benefited growers in the areas which are well served with good roads, railways and transport, especially in the north, as shown in a recent study presented to the recent seminar on Poverty/Reform organised by the Planning Commission.²⁹ People in remote areas with poor transport systems have been disadvantaged by the same reforms, in terms of volume of trade and the drop in rate of return following the abolition of panterritorial pricing, which acts as a disincentive against private traders. In the four cinderella regions (Rukwa, Mbeya, Iringa and Ruvuma) which became the breadbasket of Tanzania during the 1970s, mainly on the basis of state support for smallholder growers and larger farmers, policy reforms (or counter-reforms) have already led to a drop in grain production in many areas, which may lead to a decline in national food self-sufficiency.

As shown in the discussions during the recent poverty/reform seminar, there is a major debate about the impact of SAP on the wellbeing of the majority of Tanzanians, who are poor, living at or below the minimum wage level of income (my own definition of 'poor').³⁰ The press unfortunately reported only the position taken by those who argue that SAP has not hurt the rural poor, and if anything, has improved their situation; that SAP has mainly hurt the urban middle class.

The main criticism of the research presented at the seminar, which is being used to justify SAP policy in Tanzania by government and donor officials, focused on conceptual and methodological issues. Critics challenged the reliability and validity of the base line data used (National Household Survey of 1976), which would nullify the entire analysis. They also questioned the conclusion that, if household incomes appeared to remain the same, from 1976 to 1991, then people were no poorer. We need to ask, who produces the income? Whereas one or two adults in a household were once able to earn most of the household income, and it was enough (in 1976) to survive on, now every adult and child above the age of 7 or 8 has got to work in order to earn, collectively, the same amount of household income. In this

²⁸ See Marjorie Mbilinyi with Ave Maria Semakafu, Gender and Employment on Sugar Cane Plantations in Tanzania 1993; Mbilinyi, "Plight of Women Plantation Workers" Sauti ya Siti September 1989.

²⁹ H. Amani and W. Maro, "Market Reforms and Grain Trade in Tanzania" paper presented to Flanning Commission/USAID Seminar on Poverty/Reform, British Council, Dar es Salaam, 9-10 November 1993.

³⁰ See especially the debates concerning "Tanzania and the Economic Crisis of the 1980s.." (A Sarris), "Consumption and Poverty in Tanzania" (H Amani et al) and "Poverty and Household Expenditures in Tanzania Before and After the Crisis" (A Sarris and P Tinios).

context, participation in the informal sector may represent 'distress sales' discussed by Elson, "selling their labour on very disadvantageous terms in an overcrowded market, in which wages and conditions of work are worsening, in order to ensure survival for themselves and their children."³¹

Another issue discussed at the Policy/Poverty seminar was whether the economy was actually healthier than before, given the growing significance of informal economic activities, the 'off-the-books' sector, involving both rich and poor producers, traders and wage-earners. GDP figures hide the extent to which the economy has been deindustrialising, de-producing, as a growing share of the economy is involved not in production of goods and services, but in trade, and that a growing share of tradables are imported goods and services. Several speakers argued that Tanzania was being reduced to a nation of shop-keepers, resembling the kind of economy and people described by Franz Fanon so long ago. Can sustainable development be based on petty trade and cottage industry sweat shops? At what cost to the working people? women? children?

Production and reproduction has become more monetised, according to the researchers, which means that the cost of living, of subsistence, has increased in money terms, forcing women and men and children to work more in market activities. The gap between rich and poor has increased. People's perceptions of a tolerable standard of living has also changed, according to changed circumstances.

In spite of the support which SAP provides to largescale business, many policy goals have not been met during the 1986-1993 period. Export earnings fluctuated or declined due to falling global prices for primary commodities and worsening terms of trade. The 1992-1993 trade deficit was US\$ 1.09 billion, only US\$ 20 million less than the previous year.³² Inflation rates remain high, and the government budget deficit has increased. Corruption and nepotism have escalated, along with competition and a growing disregard for the welfare of the poor majority. Output continues to stagnate or decline in manufacturing and service industries in both the public and private sectors.

The promised funding from bilateral donor agencies to support SAP was never realised, and external capital investment has not significantly increased. One top donor (Canada) has already withdrawn from Tanzania, in order to invest in more lucrative Asian and Eastern European economies. Some 70-80% of the development budget depends on external donor support, which increases donor power in policy making. Foreign debt increased to US\$ 6 billion, and far exceeds export earnings (US\$ 0.4 billion in 1992). Debt servicing represents

³¹ "Male bias in macro-economics: the case of structural adjustment" in Diane Elson ed Male Bias in the Development Process Manchester Univ Press, 1991, p. 172.

³² Data in this paragraph is based on the Budget Speech for the Ministry of Industry and Trade, as reported in Daily News (20 July 1993). Data in the following two paragraphs is taken from the Treasury Budget Speech of the Tanzanian government, Hotuba ya Waziri wa Fedha, Prof. Kighoma A Malima, katika Bunge tarehe 17 Juni, 1993... Makadirio ya Mapato na Matumizi ya Serikali kwa Mwaka 1993/94 (Dar es Salaam, Mpigachapa wa Serikali, 1993): Table 4, p.42, calculations by Marjorie Mbilinyi.

one of the largest items in the budget and consumes 25-30% of the total national budget. *Each Tanzanian citizen, on the average, pays about twice her total income to service the debt* - some US\$ 224, compared to the average per capita annual income of US\$ 110. As Elson has noted, debt abolition would do more to help strengthen the national economy than all other measures combined.

The mixed performance of the agriculture sector has been devastating because of the country's increased dependence on agriculture exports for foreign exchange. Comparing official market volumes at the beginning and end of the period from 1983/84 - 1992/93, sisal sales declined 78%, coffee declined 90%, cotton rose 212%, tobacco declined 95%, green tea rose 127% and cashew nuts declined 78%. Market figures are not adequate measures of output, as already noted. Nevertheless, the statistics contradict the usual glowing reports presented by government and donor policy makers. Moreover, aggregated crop data does not tell us who produced each crop - smallholder farmers or large commercial growers; national companies or TNCs. We can assume that much of the increased sales during the SAP era came from the estate/plantation sector, which produced some 50% of officially marketed produce in 1980 and had an annual rate of productivity increase of 3.4% from 1980 to 1986/87.³³

The export drive need not be taken for granted. What is being exported? How is it produced or acquired? At what cost to the people and to the economy at national, local and household level? Environmentalists, for example, are raising questions about the way the export drive is forcing producers to work the land too intensively, not giving it time to lie fallow.³⁴ SAP forces companies and individual producers to cut corners in order to increase efficiency or reduce labour burdens, at great cost to safety for workers and consumers and future sustainability of the natural environment.

Mageuzi

Multi-partyism has provided more space for women and women and men to organise themselves in political organisations. The danger may be that people will limit their political activity to the official political parties, and not engage in other forms of association in civil society and in the community. However, evidence suggests that people do not trust official political parties and their political leaders. More time and other resources are being devoted to non-governmental organisations.

Donors have begun to give special attention to NGOs as an alternative implementing agency for official development policy. The argument is that many development functions could be carried out more effectively at grassroots level, and at lower cost by non-governmental

³³ Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Structural Adjustment and Agribusiness in Tanzania..." *Taamuli* 1 (1 & 2) 1990: 76-102, citing p. 94 - a special issue on liberalization.

³⁴ Fiona MacKenzie "Exploring the Connections: Structural Adjustment, Gender and the Environment" *Geoforum* 1993, 24 (1): 71-87.

organisations (NGOs). NGOs can easily become co-opted in this process, become appendages of government, lose their autonomy, and thereby lose their legitimacy as real voices and expressions of the people. The fact that most national and district/regional NGOs are funded by development agencies is one indicator of the problem.

The amazing vitality of the informal sector, including unofficial provision of basic social services like day care centres, helps to clarify the problems with the kind of social welfare state model which existed in the 1970s. The government adopted a kind of benign patriarchal role, of taking care of its citizens through its well developed social welfare system in the 1970s, but depriving people of adequate spaces to organise themselves and to take action for themselves, for their own benefit. There was more welfare and more equality compared to the colonial days, but not full participation, not empowerment.

Moreover, in many cases the social welfare state was not so benign. People lived in fear of the public security system. They learned to voice criticism indirectly, using the kind of double talk found in most authoritarian societies. Critical voices within the government and party system were silenced far more directly than those at universities - so long as the academicians did not get involved in 'real' politics. The few leaders in government, the party and parastatals became used to running things without checks and balances. The parliament was unable or unwilling to challenge the other branches of government. People were forced to look towards other spaces for free politics, their local community, religious institutions, kinship groups.³⁵ Women had the fewest options, because of patriarchal structures they had to deal with in the community, the family, religious groups, as well as in private and public enterprises.

In the next section, we examine what SAP meant for women and gender in more detail.

PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

People have different ways of approaching a gender analysis of SAP. The most common one is to focus on women as vulnerables, as victims: increased work, lost employment, discrimination in access to education after cost-sharing, discrimination in retrenchment, reduced resources for women's initiatives. The objectives of SAP remain the same, the problem is implementation. One response is to provide special welfare measures or safety nets to reduce the harmful effects for vulnerable people.

Another approach is to examine the way that women as a resource for development have not been properly recognized and utilised. The strategy is to make women and their work visible, and to provide more direct training, and support so as to increase women's labour force

³⁵ Aili Mari Tripp "Local organizations..." 1992

participation and efficiency in resource allocation. The objectives of SAP remain the same, the problem is implementation.

A third approach is to question the very foundation of the SAP policy, to question the way the problem of development has been defined, the definition of development and the economy, and then to question the solutions given. If this is done within a gender perspective which also examines such issues as class, race/ethnicity and North-South relations, it is possible to provide a transformative critique of development.

SAP has been redefined as a patriarchal structural adjustment policy, as conceptualised by TGNP in Gender Profile. The argument is that SAP has depended on patriarchal social relations at household, community, national and global level to support the entire structural adjustment-process; and, at the same time, has created and/or strengthened already existing patriarchal social relations. However, much more research is needed to document these processes and outcomes. The assessment which follows remains speculative, but is grounded in what is known already about the gender divisions of labour, gender bias in allocation of resources and in policy-making and policy analysis, the conflictual relations within households and extended families based on gender, and the linkages and interconnections between different sectors and arenas of economic activity - especially between market (paid) and non-marketed (unpaid) activities, and between production and reproduction.³⁶

Tanzanian women and other disempowered groups have participated less than ever before in decision-making about macro-economic policies. A male bias has been retained in development policies, leading to the devaluing of basic human needs, especially in reproduction.³⁷

The reduction of government and donor support for social services appears to have increased women's work in the home and community; strengthened the gender division of labour in the household economy; and reduced women's access to regular formal employment. Lower household incomes have forced women and girls (but also young men and boys) to work harder in unpaid household work, casual employment and highly exploitative forms of self-employed 'cottage industry'. The two phenomena seem to correspond: low and middle income families experience a steady process of impoverishment and household subsistence increasingly depends on female cash earnings.

Many women remain dependent on men for survival and for access to basic resources like land, housing and food, because of structures of male dominance in society. Men monopolise decision-making positions in the governments, private companies, families and communities,

³⁶ See Diane Elson "Male bias in macro-economics.." 1991 and a very useful synthesis of recent research in Africa by the African Technical Department of the Human Resources and Poverty Division (AFTHR) in the World Bank "Paradigm Postponed: Gender and Economic Adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa" 1993.

³⁷ See Diane Elson Male bias in the development process (Manchester University Press 1991) and DAWN, Development Crisis and Alternative Visions (Delhi, DAWN, 1985).

and are supported by patriarchal systems of property ownership and customary laws of marriage and inheritance.

'Sexual work' provides higher income than most other available forms of employment for women, and the rate of prostitution has increased among young girls and women. Many women prostitute themselves on a part-time basis to bosses, teachers and other 'big' men, in exchange for 'gifts' of food, clothing, or an outing at one of the nightclubs which flourish in all urban centres.

Hard work, low incomes and stress have increased the rate of disease and malnutrition among women. These factors combined with deteriorating health services have led to an extremely high maternal mortality rate, which increased from 190 to 215 maternal deaths per 100,000 child births in 1990 and 1991.³⁸ Women also have a higher vulnerability of HIV/AIDS infection, partly because of malnutrition, fatigue due to overwork, and chronic malaria and other diseases, including sexually transmitted diseases which cause open sores in women's sexual organs. Lower incomes, commoditisation of sex, patriarchal systems of inheritance and marriage, and male domination in higher levels of decision-making worsen the situation even more.³⁹

Women should not be perceived as victims, however. Women's coping strategies support the community of working people in the town and countryside. Most women in all classes are active in the informal sector, seeking cash incomes which are not taxed or regulated by government.⁴⁰ As farm incomes declined for smallholder producers, they and other members of their families have been forced to supplement farm incomes with non farm sources of incomes. Women (mama mtie) run the food stalls and beer clubs which sustain the labour force in towns, villages and on plantations and mines. Many 'micro-enterprise' activities have collapsed, however, as a result of trade liberalisation, especially women's cooperatives in rural villages. A growing number of women are forced to seek casual employment on sugar cane and tea plantations and large farms, or move to towns and cities in search of more viable incomes. For example, some 40% of casual tea pickers at Tukuyu Tea Estates were women in February 1989, during the peak harvest season.⁴¹

³⁸ Fatma Mrisho, "Huduma ya Afya ya Mama na Mtoto" (paper presented to the Parliament Committee of Social Services, Iringa, 12 February 1993)

³⁹ N'nali Mbilinyi, "The Economic Impact of AIDS on Tanzania's Development" Paper presented to African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Boston, 4-7 December 1993.

⁴⁰ B.C Koda and C K Omari "Crisis in the Household Economy..." in Mohamed Suliman ed Alternative Development Strategies for Africa Vol. 2 Environment Women (London, Institute for African Alternatives, 1991)

⁴¹ Material on agriculture is found in Marjorie Mbilinyi, Big Slavery, Agribusiness and the Crisis in Women's Employment in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam University Press, 1991) and "Structural Adjustment and Agribusiness in Tanzania" Taamuli 1 (1/2) 1990: 76-102; on plantations, in Mbilinyi with Semakafu Changes

A positive side of women's increased participation in market-oriented activities is their increased access to independent cash incomes and control over economic resources. Women in many areas have begun to travel more than before, independently from men, to and from urban centres and to different village markets. Increased participation in the money economy and exposure to urban society and different cultures has led to increased awareness and gender/class consciousness, and growing solidarity among some women. This has shifted the balance of power in many families, and given women greater negotiating strength; most households and communities cannot survive without women's incomes in cash and kind. The result has been increased sharing of decision-making, and increased control over resources - in spite of gender discrimination in allocation of credit and other productive resources.

On the other hand, many men have responded to changed gender relations at household level by abdicating their responsibilities for the family. Gender conflict has increased as women and men endeavour to create new kinds of gender relations and women resist patriarchal forms of oppression. Old forms of marriage and family no longer provide women, or men, with the kind of economic security and social sustenance they once depended on, and alternative kinds of gender patterns, including prostitution, beckon.

Children and dependent relatives have become extremely vulnerable; many work as unpaid or underpaid family labour in household economic activities. Women must have substitute domestic labour to carry out the tasks usually relegated to women, because of the gender division of labour. Children are withdrawn from school to keep house or to work on the streets as petty hawkers, or on the plantations and farms as casual farm workers. Their incomes represent a small but necessary part of total household income.

Irrespective of women's social position, however, they remain in charge of reproduction of the household and family - whether they are married or single heads of household. Reproduction costs are high in terms of labour (that of one's self as well as substitute labour, both paid and unpaid) because of the lack of modern technology and labour saving devices. Poor women, including the majority of rural women, are especially hurt by the lack of serious investment in cheap fuel, water, semi-processed foodstuffs and community forms of child care. Half the working day, or more, is spent on four tasks for which women are not paid, and without which their families and communities - and the entire economy - would collapse: collection of water and fuelwood, food processing and cooking.⁴²

One of the negative outcomes of SAP has been that women have less time available to carry out these tasks, and take care of children. The perpetuation of the gender division of labour,

in work and Household Relations: Marjorie Mbilinyi "Plight of Women Plantation Workers" Sauti ya Siti (September 1989) - Tukuyu Tea Estates employment is found in the last reference.

⁴² Deborah Fahy Bryceson and John Howe provide a detailed analysis of the gender division of labour in rural household transport in Rural Household Transport in Africa... Leiden, African Studies Centre Working Paper 15, 1993. In Makete, men contributed about 25% of the time women did to transport, and provided about 11% of the tonnage per person. Rural transport remains heavily dependent on headloads portage carried out by women, resembling slavery transport systems in the pre-colonial past.

which makes women and girls responsible for child care and food preparation, and the increasing dependence on female incomes for household maintenance, has meant that child nutrition is increasingly at risk.⁴³ The answer should not be how to reduce women's paid work in the economy, which provides increased economic independence, but rather, how to reduce the time necessary for unpaid reproductive tasks, and increase social responsibility for taking care of children and their families. Day care centres, school lunches, processed meals at accessible prices, and improved systems of energy, water and transport are also basic necessities for women's empowerment.

Part of the problem is the way that economists and policy makers distinguish between production and reproduction, and then devalue or completely ignore the work and needs of reproduction. SAP emphasis on production and market principles has increased the power of the dichotomy between production and reproduction, strengthened the gender division of labour and reduced women's access to basic resources such as improved technology and social services.

Women may have less room for manoeuvre now than they did in the 1960s and 1970s - their jobs and marital status are insecure and they have less time to meet together, study or organise. Reducing incomes and increasing the length of the working day have become a form of social control; along with the strengthening of patriarchal relations at household and community level. On the other hand, worsening conditions and the consciousness-raising process which accompanies women's participation in the labour force may lead many to become more active in NGOs and CBOs.

In rural areas, the pressure to grow more crops for sale has diverted labour and land away from food crops, or forced people to sell part of their food store for needed cash. At the same time, the commercialisation of food crop production, and the higher rates of return for food compared to export crops have attracted male producers. Men have asserted control over food crops once controlled by women, such as maize, beans, and horticulture products. Women have lost their former autonomous position in food production in many places, though more detailed research is needed which disaggregates information according to crop, producer and markets.

Women have been especially hurt by the reduction in public support for extension services, credit, and other inputs necessary for smallholder farming, and the shift of resources to the largescale sector. Women's historical reliance on food production means they have been harmed the most by the policy shift in support of export crops, and the perpetuation of male biased crop programmes.

Retrenchment of public sector workers will probably hurt women more than men, because of the nature of their occupations and their greater dependence on the public sector for job opportunity. Most permanent job opportunities for women have been in service occupations (teaching, nursing, cleaning), sales and clerical positions - women are (or were) especially dependent on the public sector for permanent employment. Whenever there are liquidity

⁴³ URT/UNICEF The Situation of Women and Children in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, 1990).

problems in the private or public sector, temporary redundancies touch the low cadre of workers, where most women are located.

This section has provided an assessment of the impact of SAP on women and gender relations and argued that SAP depends on and strengthens patriarchal social relations. *What is to be done?* is considered in the next and last section of this paper.

DEVELOPMENT RECONSIDERED

Here I would like to begin with ideas for rethinking development strategies which Diane Elson presented in her critique of WID policies and SAP.⁴⁴ She argues that:

The starting point is that any development strategy should be centrally concerned with *reproduction as well as production* and with the way these activities are articulated with one another. The *entitlements* of those with primary responsibility for care of other family members need strengthening ... (meaning) more resources under the control of women (p 17)

The concept of *efficiency* needs rethinking, so as to include unpaid resources used in reproduction, as well as those used in paid production. It also needs to take into consideration changes in the intensity of paid work and the limits beyond which additional work input leads to the depletion of human resources (health, strength, capacity).

A wider set of targets and indicators needs to be adopted, with monitoring of both unpaid and paid work in the household and elsewhere.

Policy instruments need to be reformed, that go beyond simple state-market choices. Both the state and the market need restructuring to make them more democratic and to facilitate the equal participation of women and men in them. Policy formulation, monitoring and implementation could come under more control of women by means of such measures as "participatory and action oriented methods of data collection; and equipping women's groups to monitor the implementation of public programmes and *hold officials accountable*" (p 18 citing Peggy Antrobus). Noeleen Heyzer has suggested that women's organisations can be used to give *women workers* more say in the operations of the labour market, in both the formal and the informal sectors, and in how they are each structured by both market forces and state forces.

Democratisation of resource allocation requires action at household, local, national and international levels and needs to be perceived as part of a "long and uneven process." Action needs to be taken to enter into the *international dialogue* by (pp 18-19):

⁴⁴ "Gender Issues in Development Strategies" DAW, 1991, pp. 17-21.

- (1) transparency and openness in the policy making process at all levels, making draft policy documents available to NGOs for public discussion;
- (2) availability of alternative international sources of expertise in the design of strategies, besides IMF and World Bank;
- (3) tougher disclosure and accountability procedures for transnational corporations in all sectors, including social as well as financial audit;
- (4) recognition that interventions in markets are not necessarily distortions; they may be necessary safeguards against depletion of human resources and a way to diminish male bias;
- (5) use of a wider range of indicators to judge the success or failure of development programmes, beyond GDP and balance of payments, including human resource indicators;
- (6) development of social regulation of markets through the interaction of the private sector with NGOs and with democratically elected public officials.

Women's/gender groups and WID agencies can equip women to participate "developing skills in advocacy, audit and understanding of economics" and promoting gender awareness among development officials.

WID and GAD groups/institutions need to intervene in the recent new emphasis on human resource development (Human Development Strategy of UNDP; social mobilisation of UNICEF) and poverty-alleviation in order to ensure that a gender-aware approach is adopted. eg. "What do women want from human resource development strategies?" if they are poor women workers? professional women?

Urgent attention needs to be given to recent changes in the international economy arising from the entry of former centrally-planned economies into the global market system, and the probable shift of aid and investment to them from other regions, especially Africa. The present 'credit crunch' limits expansion of many Northern economies, and may lead to worldwide stagnation. Growing competition among regional trading blocs (North America, the EC and Japan) will require new thinking about the regulation of national and international economic processes, with special attention to the interests of women and the poor in low income SSA countries. eg What are the implications of recent GATT agreements on poor working women (including low income self-employed?)

Women's groups/gender programmes need to critically investigate "what kinds of democratisation women want, and what is needed to facilitate their empowerment in the process of democratisation" (p20).

One alternative is "economic democracy" which means, according to the International Women's Seminar on structural transformations and the debt crisis, that "all women must have access to all resources; that women must be active shapers in decisions at every level

of society..., and in the political process, nationally and internationally. Poor women in particular must be included at the negotiating table in setting funding priorities and development policies."⁴⁵

Networking, collective organising and coalitions at national and international level will be necessary. The UN World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1994) and the UN Women's World Conference in Beijing 1995 (and regional conference in Dakar 1994) provide excellent opportunities for networking and coalition work.⁴⁶

Economic democracy will depend on the success with which a "critical popular economics education" programme can be developed as one strategy. As noted by the International Women's Seminar, "We see a crucial role for non-governmental organizations as facilitators of a two-way communications flow between grass-roots women's organizations and national and international institutions" (pp66-7).

A two-pronged approach is needed, as noted by Elson (1991), which combines the efficiency/resource argument that shows how the advancement of women's concerns will contribute to the achievement of development goals; and efforts "to change the development agenda, to broaden the objectives, to introduce different values, and to give women much more of a role in setting the agenda in the first place." (21). The latter requires a critique of mainstream thinking/action, alternative proposals, and political mobilization to change power relations. The role of autonomous women's gender NGOs and scholars and activists will be crucial.

Finally, in-depth research is needed to monitor the impact of SAP, especially on poor working women. In the Appendix a list is provided of the kind of information which might be useful.

⁴⁵ UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service Beyond the Debt Crisis: Structural Transformation International Women's Seminar, New York, 1990, 66.

⁴⁶ Further information about these and other initiatives can be acquired free from Women Envision (ISIS, P.O. Box 1837, Quezon city Main, Quezon City 1100, Philippines) and Women 2000 (UN 4th World Conference on Women Secretariat, DC-11, Room 1220, New York, NY 10017, USA) and package with '95 Preview and The Tribune from IWTC, 777 UN Plaza, Ny, Ny 10017, USA; and from FEMNET in Nairobi.

APPENDIX

Indicators of the impact of SAP on women and gender relations in different households, based on research by Nazneen Kanji in Zimbabwe,⁴⁷

1. changes in monthly income from formal and self employment, wages and other incomes, for all household members
2. changes in non-wage sources of income
3. changes in average monthly household income by source
4. changes in regular household expenditure by item
5. changes in frequency of meals per day for each hh member
6. changes in expenditure on clothes and school uniforms
7. summary change in income and expenditure
8. the number of individuals ill in four weeks preceding the survey
9. the average cost of consultations and drugs
10. problems with use of public state services
11. division of responsibility for caring for ill members of the household
12. changing perception of freedom to take time off from work when ill, as a result of retrenchment and reorganisation of the labour process
13. changes in savings and debt, and in gender structures of decision-making about use of savings
14. changes in household structure (eg male/female heads, nuclear or extended, couple without children, sibling household)
15. factors influencing impact of SAP on sample households, as measured by % above/below the poverty line: male/female heads, household size, household income, housing tenure
16. changes in time spent on housework and shopping

⁴⁷ "Summary Presentation of Findings", Seminar on the Gender-Specific Effects of ESAP on Households in Kambuzuma, Harare, 11 February 1991. I am grateful for the sharing of this material.

17. perceptions of women's ability and responsibility to provide for household consumption and management
18. changes in women and men's leisure activities and their impact on gender conflict
19. changes in links between urban and rural areas, including visits, wage remittances and remittances of food, provision of emergency support, of labour inputs in farming
20. changes in women's income-generating activities compared to men's
21. changes in average monthly income from women's activities
22. participation in social organisations

APPENDIX 4

Song: Mbio mbio mbio

Chorus: Wanawake wanaume, mbio mbio mbio
Tuyajenge maisha mapya, mbio mbio mbio

Verses

Hali ngumu, mbio, mbio, mbio
Yatuzonga, mbio, mbio, mbio
Kodi juu, mbio, mbio, mbio
Pato chini, mbio, mbio, mbio

Mwanamke
Huzeeka
Kazi zote
Humenyeka

Twende sote
Kutambua
Kuchambua
Kutatua

Tunaweza?

The song calls on women and men to hurry up and address the gender problems in the context of SAP and ends with the question 'Can we do it?'

APPENDIX 5

NANCY ANNA MASUMBA 1948-1993

On 12th November 1993, a tragedy occurred which deeply touched TGNP and the network. Nancy Anna Masumba passed away at the young age of 45 years after a short illness, leaving behind her husband. Andrew Masumba, her children, relatives and friends.

We dedicated the Gender Profile in Tanzania to the memory of Nancy in this way:

We will miss her/your dynamism, commitment,
community spirit and laughter.

Her/your loss is deeply felt at this crucial moment in the history of TGNP, to which she/you contributed so much.

Nancy is still with us, as we pick up where she left off. She worked hard to teach us how to listen to one another, to be patient, to slow down and value the human side of life. A bundle of games was always at hand, to help lighten the mood or increase people's participation in workshops. We will not forget her courage, throughout her life, especially during its closing moments.

Nancy insisted on attending TGNP meetings and classes in Swaziland, even when she was riddled with pain and barely able to stand up and walk. She faced death with her eyes wide open, and provided us friends and family with comfort, never asking for pity for herself. Nancy's major concern was support for her husband Andrew and the education and welfare of her children when she was gone. Our response in TGNP was to contribute to set up an education fund for her children, a very small token of our love and esteem.

A life should not be weighed down by our sorrow at its passing - let us instead celebrate Nancy's life. Nancy provides inspiration for young and old, women or men. Coming from an 'ordinary' rural background, Nancy did not let barriers of sexism, racism and colonialism block her advancement. Moreover, she carried family, relatives and friends with her as she climbed the heights. A whole host of extended family owe their education and welfare to her helping hand. Throughout, she had the active support of Andrew Masumba, who is another unique individual, a truly elder sensitive man, brother, friend, husband and father.

Nancy's schooling started at Chiulu Primary School in Mbamba Bay (1954-1957). After reaching standard IV, she entered St. Mary's Middle School in Liuli, where she completed Standard VIII in 1961 - the year of Independence for Tanganyika. Nancy was one of the few young women selected to attend secondary school in those days. She completed Form 4 at Mtwara Girls Secondary School in 1965, and went on to Jangwani High School where she finished Form 6 in 1969.

Nancy studied Agriculture at MATI at Ilonga in 1970-1972, and went on to study Food and Nutrition at Muhimbili Health Centre in 1972-73, establishing the foundation for her lifelong interest in agriculture and nutrition issues. Her first formal employment was an Mama Chakula Bora at the Chakula Bora Hotel in 1973. Not content to stop here, Nancy studied for a Teacher's Certificate in Agriculture at Kibaha's MATI after one year (1974-1975), and her Advanced Diploma at Nyegezi MATI in 1975-77. Amazingly, Nancy did not slow down, but went on to Mpwapwa MATI to achieve her Teacher's Certificate and Diploma (1977-1980). In six years, she managed to complete three different course programmes.

Anyone else would have been satisfied, but not Nancy. After working a year in the Ministry of Agriculture as an agriculture expert, Nancy left Tanzania for the United States to study her BSc and MA in agriculture at Illinois University. She finished the two degrees in the record time of three years!

On her return in 1983, Nancy became the first Tanzanian Principal of Training for Rural development College (TRDC) in Iringa, joining Mary Kabelele, who had been Deputy Principal in the early 1980s. Together with colleagues, they created a unique community of educators/animators, who worked closely with villagers at the grassroots level in all the southern regions. Two members of TGNP were part of that community, Dr. Crispin Hauli and Hesron Mahimbo.

Ruaha College was the apex of a set of zonal colleges committed to experiential pedagogy and animation philosophy. With USAID support, and the initial backup of Janet Paulely, Ruaha College was also a foremother in promoting gender analysis/action at grassroots level. From the time of its conception, a large number of women have taught and studied at Ruaha College, and led as top administrators. The Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children's Affairs can be truly proud of the example set by TRDC, and hopefully will do everything possible to support its continuation.

Nancy was also an active participant in the Child Survival and Development Programme in Iringa, sharing her skills with local experts, practitioners and villagers. Asseny Muro and Richard Mabala worked closely with Nancy in the context of CSD. Later, beginning in 1991, Professor Marjorie Mbilinyi would have the delight of participating together with Nancy in the Social Mobilisation Study of CSD, which involved four district/ regional level researchers and many other members of the Iringa Region and Njombe CSD team.

Marjorie's delight was in being able to merge friendship and family relations with work relations. Since 1985, Nancy and Mary Kabelele and their respective families welcomed Marjorie home during her travels to Katusyo Village in Rungwe District, Mbeya where Marjorie had been carrying out research since 1985. According to Nancy and Andrew, the first time they met, "A friend of Mary's is a friend of ours. A sister of Mary is our sister". And that was that; a lifetime bond of family and friendship was created.

Nancy also became active in gender and women's studies, carrying out numerous consultancies and research for a large number of donor agencies and NGOs. She became part of the TADREG network of researchers, where she joined forces with Dr. Patricia Mbughuni, who is an active participant in the TGNP network, and many others.

In December 1992, Nancy became part of TGNP when it first began as a committee of facilitators, where connections were made with others: Fides Chale, Demere Kitunga, Lucy Mboma, Aggripina Mosha, Fenela Mukangara, Mary Rusimbi and Marije te Riele. Throughout our short history, she provided continual support, and used her animation skills and philosophy to help carry us through rough waters. No job was too small for Nancy to take up; she was constantly on the look out for what needed doing, and did it, quietly, without ceremony. People who attended the East African Women's Conference did not always remember her name, but they did remember "that lovely lady who was always writing on the flip chart!"

And yet, let us not forget that Nancy was a Principal of a major college, and had been for ten years. She was a rare person, capable, committed, self-confident, able to handle top administrative positions without losing her sense of self, retaining a sense of irony about what she and the world was about.

Nancy Anna Masumba touched the lives of so many people in Tanzania, and in other countries as far apart as Swaziland, Italy, USA and Uganda. Wherever her children travel in the years to come, they are bound to meet someone who knew Nancy. They are going to remember Nancy with a smile, touched by her charm and laughter.

Nancy, we love you, you are with us always.

APPENDIX 6

A) QUESTIONS TO FACILITATE DISCUSSIONS ON POLITICAL POWER

- i) A Skit on elections (Is this all we know about Women and Political power?)
- ii) What do we understand in relation to Structural Adjustment programmes (SAP), political power and women in Tanzania?
- iii) What has been happening in this area of political power and women for the past 5 years?
 - Can we see some positive/negative indicators in different sectors of politics, economic liberation, democracy, human rights, etc...?
- iv) What can we see as effects of political liberalization, democratization etc, both in the short and long term?
 - Who loses/Who benefits? (Men/Women)
 - The implications for gender relations
- v) What can we/should we/individually do together?
 - NGOs, CBOS, etc.

B) SAPS, DEMOCRACY AND GENDER RELATIONS: THE EXPERIENCE OF RURAL AREAS IN TANZANIA

**BY DR. CRISPIN D.E. HAULI
BOARD MEMBER TGNP**

INTRODUCTION

In 1986, Tanzania adopted the economic recovery programme (ERP I) under the World Bank and IMF designed and sponsored structural adjustment programme (SAP) as a panacea to ever increasing economic problems facing the country since the late 1970s. Earlier, in the 1980s, the Government of Tanzania, led by the then President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, resisted pressures from the World Bank and IMF to adhere to their conditions and to devalue the shilling. The conditions were seen then as detrimental to the independence and sovereignty of the country and a threat to the very foundations of the democratic rights of the citizens of Tanzania.

Paradoxically, however, in adopting SAP through the implementation of ERP I in 1986, President Mwinyi "described ERP at that time as a necessary dose of quinine to cure the country of its economic ills" (WEEKLY MAIL: Vol. 003 No. 32 & 33, January 3-17, 1994, p.10).

In 1989, Tanzania allowed the continuation of IMF's enhanced structural adjustment programme ESAP or ERP II, which stressed on the social aspects of national economic restructuring.

Initial impact of both ERP I and ERP II, was seen in the increased economic activity especially in the urban centres; there was a flood of merchandise (mitumba, "second hand clothes and other consumer goods) in the streets of Dar es Salaam and other towns. "Government revenues from collection of duties and taxes on the sudden flood of imported merchandise rose tremendously once trade liberalisation became a reality and foreign exchange regulation eased a little. Rises in producer prices and good rains (1986-88) saw a large increase in crops production." (Ibid).

However, soon the quinine became a really bitter pill to swallow. Economic hardships and alienation of wage earners and those in the informal sector, "who faced rapidly deteriorating terms of economic livelihood. Most citizens felt left out" (ibid). The situation was summed up by Hon Cleopa Msuya, the Minister for Finance in the budget speech of 1989; "Every person should carry his own burden".

The SAP in the form of ERPs came with the following main objectives:

- i) increase the production of food and cash crops for export through appropriate incentives;
- ii) increase export earnings;
- iii) rehabilitate the physical infrastructure that had deteriorated rapidly in the early 1980s;
- iv) increase capacity utilization in the industrial sector by making foreign exchange available for inputs

Tanzania adhered to the ERP goals by adopting four specific economic measures:

- i) trade liberalization;
- ii) devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling;
- iii) an increase in interest rates paid by financial institutions to savers (and charged to borrowers);
- iv) an increase in the producer's share of the price for export crops from about 40% in the early 1980s to 60%-70%.

SAPS AND THEIR IMPACT ON DEMOCRACY AND GENDER RELATIONS

Looking at the above objectives of SAPs the following questions need to be answered:

- a) What has been happening in the past 5 years in relation to the structural adjustment programme?
- b) Who benefits/loses?
- c) How have people responded?
- d) What are the implications for gender relations?
- e) What can/should we do individually/together?

In this paper we have tried to answer these questions by giving the following highlights and a village case study.

The Tanzania Experience

Over the past five years, or since the adoption of SAP measures in 1986, Tanzania has experienced a boom in food and cash crop production. The country has moved from an importer of maize (over 200,000 tons in early 1980s) to an exporter of the same. Food production has moved from deficit to surplus production. "In general, since 1985, agricultural production has increased by 5% per year. Per capita food consumption in rural areas has also risen substantially since the ERP, as has availability of non-food consumer goods" (UNIDO/GOT, Investor's Guide to Tanzania, 1992 p. 15).

What is the implication of this rise in production?

- i) Certainly, food availability has improved tremendously for the Tanzanian consumer at reasonable prices ranging from 3,000/= to 6,000/= per a 100kg bag of maize, depending on location.
- ii) On the surface, it was expected that the farmers' income in the rural areas would rise concomitantly with the marketing of their crops, hence leading to the improvement of the rural families' welfare. BUT this is not the case.
- iii) Farmers, both men and women are not participants in the determination of the prices of their products. These are set by State Organs countrywide but with very lax control over buyers at the source in rural villages. Cases of farmers (peasants) having their produce bought on credit by marketing institutions, such as National Milling Corporation, regional cooperative unions, boards of various crops, etc, are rampant.

The advent of trade liberalization has not done as much as was expected, especially in remote villages of regions such as Ruvuma, Iringa and Rukwa, where road transportation is still a big headache. Private traders, who dare to reach these markets determine the prices of crops on their own terms giving half to three quarters of the official set price. The situation is reflected in the case study below.

- iv) The rise in production figures is in most cases the result of extensive rather than intensive agricultural production methods, as Table 1 shows:

TABLE 1: CROP PRODUCTION IN SONGEA DISTRICT

Season	Maize		Paddy		Tobacco	
	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons	Ha	Tons
1988/9	83,425	209,315	9,988	24,970	4,375	1,423
1990/1	79,820	199,550	9,668	24,170	8,857	4,429

Source: District Agricultural & Livestock Officer, quoted in SIRDP Report, June 1991, p.81; Hauli, Songea Study, Jan. 1994.

We can see from Table 1 above, that there was a fall in the total acreage of food crops (maize and paddy) leading to a fall in the tonnage produced, while, for tobacco, the acreage doubled and the tonnage tripled from 1,423 (1988/89) to 4,429 (1990/91). What does this entail in terms of work load for men and women?

Literature shows that Tanzania is primarily a peasant agricultural economy with 75% of its population being rural and very much dependent on the handhoe for its agriculture. (Hauli, op.cit., p.3). But what is more interesting is the fact that 80% of those engaged in agricultural production are women (MCDWC, THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN TANZANIA, 1991). Thus, the demand by SAPs to increase food and export crop production puts pressure on Tanzanian authorities at all levels to motivate farmers to increase their crop yields. And in the absence of improved farm technology, the farmers have no alternative but to expand their fields, relying more on the handhoe and human labour than machinery. This means greater work load falling on women, who have to cultivate, weed and harvest an extra acre or two, using the same or similar hand implements as in the previous season. The woman has to survive with her family, as well as produce the surplus and cash crops to satisfy the world market as demanded by authorities, or otherwise face a fine, as shown in the case study below. What time, therefore, would the rural woman have for playing politics, and thus having access to power and decision making?

It has been shown (IRDP, CATCHMENT AREA STUDY, Dodoma, 1991) that due to the villagisation exercise (1973-76) when over 80% the rural populations were moved to "planned villages", the distance to farms increased considerably, from ½ to 10 kms or more. This meant that the ferrying of crops, done mainly by women and children, (on their heads) became a very time consuming and burdensome task. On top of that, women have to cook, fetch firewood and water and attend to many household chores. Thus, they have very little time for civic rights movements and political wrangling, a role the rural woman believes is assigned to the male not an upstart and lazy female!!

Environmentally, increased acreage of crops has meant increased depletion of forests, due to the slash-and-burn system of agricultural production common in rural Tanzania. Great expanses of land lie bare and barren. For the women it means a further demand on their energy since they have to traverse an extra kilometre or more in search of firewood. Similarly, water reserves dry up due to lack of forest cover, thereby increasing the distance for the women fetching water. In all these experiences we may visualise women serving "sentences" for offences committed unintentionally, but which were prompted by authorities' decisions in implementing SAP conditions. Do the World Bank and IMF know that their policies have further enhanced the alienation of women from their democratic rights by increasing their work load by demanding the increase in crop yields without providing the technological innovations to go with it?

Politically, an increase in production of crops could have meant an increase in the political say of the producers, due to increased wealth - monetary power. But since farmers are either selling their crops on credit, (see case study below), or are swindled by racketeers and private traders as well as public institutions, they become powerless when it comes to

lobbying for political votes. The women have a triple disadvantage in the sense that:

i) traditions dictate against them contesting for public positions. Those who dare to try are scorned. Even the women themselves become hesitant to support their kind, as illustrated in the recent polls in Kigoma where the female candidate got 45 or 0.3% of the total votes cast compared to 62% for the winning male candidate, when it was clearly shown that women were the majority in the polling stations!

ii) The political scene, like the cultural environment in Tanzania, is dominated by male chauvinism. Thus, the coming of political liberalism and multi-partyism has done little to change the status quo in the leadership forums. Only one of the more than 12 political parties in the country has a woman president or chairperson, and she leans heavily on her husband who happens to be the Patron. In the other Parties, women have been assigned the stereotyped role of chairing the women's desk, a post with dismal decision making powers.

iii) Women are at a disadvantage when it comes to leadership positions which demand educational and professional qualifications. Although, population wise, women are the majority at 52% of the country's total, (1988 pop. census), educationally and professionally they lag far behind their male folks. This is a legacy which has kept women on the back bench of political power due to lack of confidence and democratic consciousness - that it is the majority who have the prerogative in decision making. The women, who are the majority in this country are not utilising this advantage of greater numbers. Are the males using the saying "let sleeping dogs lie"!

SUMMARY

In this paper we have tried to show that SAPs had the noble objective of increasing the material wealth of Tanzania through systems of negative and positive incentives such as removal of subsidies on food and agricultural inputs, eg fertiliser and increasing producer prices. The insistence on the increase of food and export crop production without similar improvement in technological knowhow has increased the work load and burden of the rural woman, thus making her lose her democratic rights, and restricting her to her traditional role of being a beast of burden, while her environment is being depleted further for the sake of "development"

CASE STUDY

In looking at the impact of SAP on rural communities, we present a very brief account, based on the experience of one village in Songea District, Ruvuma Region.

VILLAGE PROFILE

Tanga village is a traditional one with a sizeable number of immigrants who mainly joined the village during the villagisation exercise of 1974-5. By December 1993, the village had a population of 4,962, of whom 2,353 were male and 2,609 or 52.6% were women. The

ethnic composition shows that the Ngoni and Ndendeule make up 90% of the total with Nyasa, Matengo, Bena and Pangwa making up the rest.

The villagers are farmers engaged in the production of maize, beans, millet, paddy for food and cash and tobacco for cash.

PARTICIPATION

The village has a government with a council comprising 25 members of whom 19 are men and 6 or 24% are women who got their positions through the preferential seats legally set aside for women during the recent local elections.

BY LAWS

Tanga like other communities in the country is governed by the country's constitution and laws, as well as by laws passed by different committees at the district, ward and village levels. For example, the following fines have been set for minor offences.

1.	Truancy	400/-
2.	Delay in paying school fees	800/-
3.	Not having school uniform	800/-
4.	Not having a latrine	1000/-
5.	Non-attendance at clinic	500/-
6.	Being late for clinic	250/-
7.	Delivering (giving birth) at home	1000/-
8.	Not having a good house	1000/-
9.	Not having 2 hectares of food crops	1000/-
10.	Not having 2 hectares of cash crops	1000/-

ACCESS TO RESOURCES

Tanga is no exception when it comes to having its produce sold on credit. Hence the lamentation of the village chairman that not one farmer has bought fertiliser.

The reasons given were:

- i) The agents have not started distributing fertiliser
- ii) Delay in the official marketing of crops
- iii) Farmers have yet to get their money for the sale of tobacco and maize

THE EFFECT OF CREDIT SALE FOR FARMERS:

'Following the bad situation of the maize market, lack of fertiliser for households and maize being graded second class, villagers have agreed to sell their crops to racketeers so that they can get a little money'.

PERFORMANCE IN SCHOOL

Out of a total of about 150 pupils completing Standard VII between 1989 and 1992 in Tanga Primary School, only 7, or 4.7%, were selected to join Form One. Of these only one was a girl.

NB Do the above facts highlight anything about the effects of SAP on the democratic situation and gender relations in the villages of Tanzania? What should be done to rectify the situation?

APPENDIX 7

CASE STUDY

S.L.P. 1111
Kijiji cha Twalalahoi,
Bongo

21.2.9

Mpendwa dada,

Shikamoo! Sisi ni wazima hofu na mashaka wewe uliye mbali na macho yetu. Shemeji hajambo? Na watoto? Natamani sana kuwaona wote lakini nauli ya mabasi ndiyo hivyo tena.

Hapa sisi hatujambo ila hali ya mama inazidi kuwa mbaya. Juzi tulimpeleka hospitali lakini bei ya madawa ilitushinda. Hata ile ya kumwona daktari ilitukatisha tamaa. Hivyo, mama yuko nyumbani tu na baba anamtafutia madawa huko msituni anakokwenda kukata miti ya kutengenezea mkaa.

Dada, kwa kweli mama anaumwa sana. Hawezi kufanya kazi yoyote. Mimi najitahidi kuamka mapema sana ili nilete maji ya kutosha pamoja na kuni kabla ya kwenda shuleni. Lakini si rahisi maana mashine yetu ya kupandisha maji imeshaharibika na kijiji hakina hela ya kununua vipuli. Mimi sielewi maana mtambo wenyewe ulikuwa mbovumbovu tangu mwanzo lakini twaambiwa twawajibika sisi tu. Serikali haina hela, na sisi tusiwe ombaomba. Basi tunangoja malipo ya pili ya korosho labda tuweze kupata maana bei nazo hazishikiki. Kwa sasa inabidi tutembe kuleeee kwa Mzee Mwambo ndipo tupate maji, tena akijisikia.

Halafu, nikimaliza masomo, narudi nyumbani upesi kupika. Siku nyingine, inabidi nibaki nyumbani moja kwa moja maana mama anaumwa kweli, si mchezo dada. Huenda atahitaji kupasuliwa.

Hata hivyo, sioni kama ninakosa kitu cha maana. Bado nina hamu sana ya kusoma lakini siku hizi, shule si shule tena. Tunasikia eti kule mjini walimu wameanza mgomo. Hapa mgomo ulianza zamani sana. Walimu wanasema eti mshahara ni masihara hivyo lazima watafute mbinu za kuishi. Ukiangalia ni kweli lakini matokeo yake tunacheza tu darasani wakati walimu wako kwenye biashara zao. Wengine wana mashamba yao na sisi ndio vibarua. Tukilalamika wanatuambia tuilalamikie serikali. Sijui huyu serikali yukoje. Wote twategemea kutoka kwake lakini wote twaambiwa hela hamna.

Isitoshe. Shule haina madawati, haina viti, haina sakafu hivyo kwenda shuleni ni kero tupu. Sabuni zinaishia kufua sare tu. Vitabu navyo wasiwasi. Kila siku baba anauliza michango yote ya UPE inakwenda wapi lakini hapati jibu.

Basi dada, mimi nimechoka kweli. Nimechoka. Kuhangaika nahangaika sana, lakini hakuna maendeleo yoyote wala matumaini ya maendeleo. Kwa hiyo nimefikia uamuzi. Naomba usichukie. Najua umejitolea kufa na kupona kunisomesha ili tuwe wawili katika kusaidea familia yetu. Na mimi nina hamu sana ya kusoma. Lakini kweli dada utaweza katika hali

ya sasa? Maana nasikia kila kitu ni cha kulipia siku hizi. Si mchango tena bali kuchangia moja kwa moja. Na kila siku tunamwomba Mungu usiachishwe kazi maana tunaona wanawake wengi wakirudi hapa eti wamepunguzwa kazini. Na wewe uko salama dada? Sasa tutafanyaje? Bora wakati wako ambapo kila mtu aliweza kusoma bila shida. Mradi akili tu na kujinyimanyima kidogo.

Ndiyo maana nimeona bora niolewe. Hapana, dada usishtuke. Nimefikiria sana suala hili. Dhiki yote hii ya nini? Kwani sisi tumelaaniwa na Mungu tusiwe na maisha mazuri kama wengine? Hivyo nimeamua kutafuta maisha, si kwa ajili yangu tu, bali kwa ajili ya familia nzima. Kwani kisomo ndiyo njia ya pekee ya kuisaidia familia.

Tena mchumba mwenyewe utamfurahia. Unamkumbuka yule Rashidi aliyekuwa akikaa na bibi yake kule bondeni, yule aliyeacha shule darasa la tano na kukimbia mjini. Basi amerudi hapa kijijini na hela kibao. Siku hizi anajiita Mzee Machinga na ameshaanza kuwajengea wazazi wake nyumba nzuri kabisa. Tukimwuliza amefanyaje au ana biashara gani hadi afanikiwe namna hii, anacheka tu na kugonga kichwa eti nchi ya bongo. Basi dada, Rashidi ananipenda mimi tu. Kweli. Mimi siyo mjinga. Nimeangalia sana tabia yake na bado sijafanya jambo lolote la aibu. Tena anataka kunioa mara moja. Si mhuni. Ameshafika kwa wazee. Baba alitaka kubishabisha kidogo lakini fedha za Rashidi zilimziba mdomo haraka haraka.

Kwa hiyo dada, mimi najiandaa kuolewa. Najua kweli hutafurahi lakini ndiyo hali yenyewe. Siwezi kuendelea kuteseka wakati yako maisha mazuri zaidi. Tena nikiolewa na tajiri kama Rashidi hata mama tunaweza kumsaidia vizuri apone. Rashidi amerudi mjini mara moja lakini amesema kwamba akirudi, atampeleka mama hospitalini mwenyewe. Mungu atupe nini zaidi? Gunia la chawa wakati ambapo chawa wamejaa tele kwetu? Najua pia utaniambia kwamba wanaume wa siku hizi hawaaminiki. Bora nisome niwe na kazi ya kwangu nisiwe namtegemea mwanamume maana anaweza kugeuka siku yoyote. Ni kweli, lakini nifanyeje katika hali kama hii? Nitajitahidi kujiendeleza mwenyewe, na hata Rashidi akigeuka mbogo, basi, nitakuwa sungura. Nitakuwa nadundulizadunduliza hela niweze kusaidia familia angalao na kuhakikisha kwamba watoto wangu hawataishi katika dhiki kama sisi.

Kwa leo sina zaidi. Nisalimie sana shemeji, na wanao na majirani wote. Mipango ya ndoa ikishakamilika nitakuandikia tena na kukuarifu. Usisikitike dada. Maisha ndiyo hayo, nipende nisipende.

Mdogo wako,

APPENDIX 8

CASE STUDY

REHEMA MAZENGO, MFANYAKAZI MASHAMBA YA MIWA MOROGORO

1. Rehema Mazengo amejiriwa kufanya kazi ya upalilizi katika mashamba ya miwa ya Kampuni ya Sukari Morogoro mwaka 1991. Kabla ya hapo, alitegemea zaidi kilimo. Maisha yao yalikuwa si mabaya sana. Mume wake Musa Mwaisemba alikuwa mfanyakazi wa kudumu katika idara ya shamba la kampuni tangu mwaka 1985. Waliweza kujitosheleza kwa chakula kutokana na shamba lao. Rehema alitengeneza pombe mara kwa mara kuongeza mapato, akauza mazao kama mahindi na maharagwe. Musa alisaidia kazi za shambani wakati alikuwa na nafasi, na kugharamia vibarua wakati wa kazi nyingi, haswa msimu wa kukata miwa.
2. Maisha yao yamezidi kuwa magumu mpaka ilibidi Rehema atafute kazi ya kibarua. Thamani ya mshahara wake Musa ilipungua sana ingawa hela taslimu iliongezeka. Bei ya kila kitu juu, mapato madogo. Kuajiriwa kwake Rehema imesaidia kuongeza fedha kila mwezi, lakini uwezo wao kulima umepungua. Mwaka jana wameacha kutumia mbolea sababu bei imepanda juu mno. Matokeo yake chakula kidogo, inabidi wanunue chakula wakati wa uhaba kwa bei juu sana. Shida tupu.
3. Wana watoto watatu. Mtoto wao mdogo wa kike alikufa mwaka jana kwa bahati mbaya. Alikuwa na matatizo tangu mwanzo, kazaliwa njiti, mafua na homa kila saa, hakula chakula vizuri. Daktari wa kampuni alimwambia Rehema ajaribu kupumzika wakati wa mimba, lakini wapi? atawezaje kupumzika wakati headman anakataa siku akichelewa kidogo, au kudai hajamaliza mraba rudi kesho kumalizia?
4. Rehema amejiriwa kama kibarua, yaani temporari, ingawa amefanya kazi miaka yote mfululizo. Amekwisha omba kazi ya kudumu mara nyingi, lakini wakubwa wanasema hamna nafasi. Ajabu kila mara anawaona wakati wanawabembeleza wanaume wabaki permanenti. Inaonekana hawataki wanawake. Sasa hivi anaogopa kusema cho chote maana wameanza kupunguza watu - kampeni ukarabati. Ha! Kumkarabati nani, sisi wafanyakazi?
5. Musa alitaka warudi kwake Mbeya, lakini wazee wake wamemwambia afadhali wavumilie hapo hapo. Siku hizi mahindi yanalala, hamna mnunuzi. Wafanyabiashara wameacha kuzunguka kulangua vijijini kama zamani. Wanasema kwamba hawapati faida, bei ya mafuta juu. Baba Musa amecha kulima kahawa kwa bidii. Mwaka jana wamepewa makaratasi tu, hawajalipwa hadi leo. Hata hivyo, kahawa hela ndogo kulingana na gharama za mbolea, dawa na vibarua. Labda wakulima wakubwa wanaweza, wadogo hapana.
6. Rehema ni mjumbe katika OTUU/MWEMA ambacho ni kikundi cha wanawake wafanyakazi katika mashamba makubwa Tanzania. MWEMA unawasaidia kupata nafasi kukutana mara kwa mara wanawake peke yao, kuzungumzia matatizo yao

kikazi na kijinsia. Mara nyingine wanapata semina kuhusu haki zao. Wenzake walichanga wakati wa msiba wao, ndiyo wakati Musa alipokubali kwamba MWEMA si mbaya. Mara nyingine wanajaribu kuongea na akina baba wakatili, waache desturi za kuwapiga wake wao. Ila vigumu siku hizi. Kila mmoja anachukia sababu hela ndogo, uwezo wa kuishi vizuri hamna.

7. Wafanyakazi wamesikia kwamba mabosi wanasema hali ya uchumi nzuri sana sasa hivi! sababu hakuna uhaba wa wafanyakazi, wanapata wengi. Kodi na kupanda kwa bei inawalazimisha watu wengi kutafuta kazi, haswa wanawake. Njaa imesaidia pia.
8. Wafanyakazi wanazidi kuchukia, sababu wakubwa wanafaidi peke yao na kampeni ukarabati. Wanajipendelea katika kupewa mashamba madogo ya miwa (outgrowers), mikopo kwa magari na matrekta, na mtaji kwa kilimo. Mali yote wanakula wao wakati sisi wafanyakazi tunakufa na njaa.
9. Kitu cha kuchekesha au kuliza ni kwamba sasa mabosi hawawezi kuuza sukari yao, maana serikali wameruhusu wafanya biashara kuuza sukari kutoka nje kwa bei nafuu. Rafiki yao anayefanya kazi ya ukarani anasema karibu watauza kampuni, tena kwa wazungu. Mbona ni juzi tu waliwaondoa? Wanasema kampuni imeshindwa kulipa hela kwa vyombo vikubwa vya nje kwa ajili ya mashine, ingawa ni hela za madafu tu. Kitu kinachoitwa OGL kinawapa shida sana. Mabosi wanasema gharama za mashine, mafuta, matrekta - kila kitu cha nje kimepanda juu mno na thamani ya hela yetu inashuka. Mwisho wake mapato yanabaki madogo, hayawezi kutosha gharama za uzalishaji.

Rehema anasema, Upande wangu sililii kampuni, ila kazi tutapata wapi?

MASWALI

1. Unafikiri kimsingi sababu za matatizo au mafanikio ni zipi, katika kila aya, na kwa jumla?
2. Nani amefaidika na SAP? Nani hajafaidika?
3. Unafikiri hali hii imeleta mabadiliko gani katika uhusiano kijinsia kati ya Rehema na Musa?

APPENDIX 9 EVALUATION

1.	How did you learn about the symposium?	
	By invitation	12
	Through flyer	11
	Through TGNP	11
	Through a colleague	12
	Through Radio Tanzania	1
2.	In what way was the symposium relevant to you?	
	It clarified SAP and showed its impact on gender	14
	A chance to share experiences with people involved in gender issues	10
	Broadened gender perspective and deepened understanding of gender issues	5
	The way in which all participants were involved in the symposium	3
	Political empowerment in Tanzania	2
	As a woman	3
	As a development worker	3
	As representatives of organisations working for education and emancipation of women	2
	A general introduction to Tanzania	2
	It fostered unity in struggle	2
	As a citizen	2

The following were mentioned by one participant each.

As a worker
 As youth counsellor
 As legal researcher
 Its stand against patriarchy
 Prof. Mbilinyi's paper
 In every way
 It relates to my studies
 It shows how to tackle economic literacy for grass roots
 It shows failure of government to deliver basic and social needs.
 As ESL/EFL teacher using language as a tool of (dis) empowerment especially at grassroots level.
 It shows top executive womens (mis) understanding of gender

3 (a)	Which topic(s) was most relevant or useful to you?	
	All of them	15
	Gender and SAP	10
	Development, equity and economic empowerment	8
	Political power and control of resources	6
	Group discussions	6
	Development, equity and social services	5
	Justice and peace	4

Plenary session	3
Political empowerment	2
Gender addressed holistically	1
Child labour and women's subordination	1
Prostitution among girls	1
Opening speech	1
Role play by women's group	1
3 (b) Which topics could be dropped?	
None	39
Justice and peace	2
Introduction (too long)	1
Control of resources (same as economic empowerment)	1
Life of the late Nancy Masumba (too long)	1
3 (c) Which topics could be improved and how?	
None	3
Topics 4 and 5 should go together	2
Widen discussion of justice and peace	2
More detailed analysis of SAP (definition, background and description)	2
More stress on strategies and solutions (especially immediate strategies)	2
More concrete examples from the field on how women can gain access to decision making at all levels	2
Gender relations/equality	2
More time for:	
- Discussions	2
- SAP paper (should have been circulated a day before)	1
- Each topic	1
How to empower rural women	1
Development, equity and social services	1
Relevant activities done by men	1
Sexual harassment: causes, extent and changing nature	1
Avoid idea that women are to blame for children and family crises if they go out to earn money	1
Shorten opening speech	1
Shorten TGNP story	1
Have more politicians and decision makers	1
Use of technology:	
- Overhead projector	1
- Video	1
4 (a) What did you think of the organisation of the symposium?	
Good	44
More time needed for groups	3
Venue:	
- Not suitable	3

-	No fans	1
-	Poor seating arrangement	1
	Should start on time	3
	A strong chairperson was needed to focus on issues	1
	A lot of people were not aware	1
	Speakers should not stand in front of the window because of the light	1
	A nice mixture of songs, speeches and participation	1
	Relaxed and friendly	1
	Systematic	1
	Need better visual aids	1
4 (b)	What did you think of the methodology?	
	Good	31
	OK	5
	Group discussions:	
-	Good	3
-	Need more time	3
-	Should be smaller	2
	Participation:	
-	Good	7
-	Could be more in plenary session (group reports too long and detailed)	1
	Democratic	2
	Good use of animation with wide variety of techniques (although such animation is used all the time at the grassroots)	1
	Microphones for the plenary session	1
	One could not doze easily	1
	The symposium took an understanding of SAP too much for granted	1
	Case studies were good	1
	Burning issues should be replied to	1
4 (c)	How would you improve it?	
	More time and sensitivity to time:	3
-	For brainstorming	1
-	Small groups	5
	Symposium should be two days	1
	More frequent symposiums	1
	Chairperson should be stronger	1
	Sit in semi circles	1
	Find different way of reporting back	1
	Use both English and Kiswahili (with interpreters)	1
	List of readings and scholars in the field should be provided	1
	Find a different hall	1
	More people from the grassroots	1
	Smaller groups	1
	More artistic presentations	1

More focussed songs and poems	1
More papers on specific issues	1
More historical ordering of the presentation (from pre-colonialism to the present day)	1
Test the overhead projector beforehand	1
Is it a good idea to have the discussion material in Kiswahili and the discussion in English?	1
5 (a) Mention 3 new ideas/methods you gained at the symposium	
Use of skits	13
Better understanding of SAP	11
Songs	9
Animation and participatory methodology	8
Gender concepts and methods	3
Networking	3
Group discussions	3
All are known	2
Mass education for SAP	2
Case study	2
Knowledge of Tanzania and Tanzanian women	2
Inclusion of men in gender dialogue	1
How to organise a gender symposium	1
Empowerment	1
Group action on gender	1
Socialisation of SAP	1
Invitation of MPs	1
Lobbying and formation of pressure groups	1
Donor agency efforts	1
Alternative definition of development	1
A meeting of like minds (without a 'bahasha' [allowance])	1
5 (b) How are you thinking of putting these ideas/methods into practice?	
Sensitize at work and home	10
Seminar presentations and organisation	8
Improve awareness in my own life	5
Networking	4
Promote information dissemination at the grassroots	4
Research	4
Use of animation in meetings:	1
- Especially drama and song	2
Use pen to write news, features etc.	1
Take a more holistic approach to development	1
Encourage NGOs to give their stand on structural adjustment	1
Apply to our programmes	1
6. Were you given enough opportunity to participate and air your views?	
Yes:	34
- Through group discussion	16

- Through presentations 5
- Through TGNP facilitators ensuring all could participate fully 5
- Use of skit 1

I had the chance but preferred to listen because every word from other participants was meaningful 1

As a non Tanzanian my views were not so relevant 1

No: 6

- Time too limited 12
- Groups too big 2
- SAP addressed too simplistically 1
- Language problem 1
- Needed background paper earlier 1

7 (a) How do you see yourself linking up with TGNP?

Research (in collaboration) and information exchange 9

Networking 6

Seminars 5

Participate in all TGNP activities 4

Similar goals with my organisation/gender group 7

Learn from TGNP 4

Songs and media 3

IEC and advocacy 2

TGNP should encourage individual membership 1

As English language teacher training for the grassroots. Language is access and power 1

As expatriate, not sure if there is a role for me 1

7 (b) Your organisation/institution

University of Dar es Salaam 3

Institute of Development Studies 2

COOPIBO 2

CIDA 2

The following were mentioned by one participant each:

Kisutu Secondary School; IRDP; Kivukoni College; RDD's Office, Iringa; GOIG; MTF; Treasury Women's Consultancy Group; Upanga Christian Women's Organisation; School of Journalism; Ministry of Finance; Semezana; UDANANDA; University of Helsinki; KWIECO; KINEGI; Dar es Salaam Technical College; SUWATA Legal Aid; National Committee on Traditional Practices.

APPENDIX 10

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