

Geir Øvansen

Tracing gender effects among Tanzanian rural households

Reports In this series, analyses and annotated statistical results are published from various surveys. Surveys include sample surveys, censuses and register-based surveys.

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Preface

Tanzania is in the process of preparing the next MKUKUTA strategy¹. The strategy will follow the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper covering 2000 to 2003, the Medium Term plan for Growth and Poverty Reduction, the Tanzania Mini-Tiger Plan 2020 and the MKUKUTA 2005-2010. This report gives a contribution to this process by addressing policy relevant gender dimensions in poverty for the smallholder sector. Its main objective has been to discuss how the gender dimension is important for poverty levels and poverty reduction in Tanzania. A twinning report by Mathiassen and Vikan will provide a methodological review of poverty analysis in Tanzania 2001-2007.

We like to express our gratitude to the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), which initiated and funded the analysis. The report has been prepared by Geir Øvansen from the SN division for development cooperation. My SN colleagues, Bjørn K. G. Wold, Astrid Mathiassen and Stein Terje Vikan, as well as Trond Augdal from the Norwegian Embassy in Dar Es-Salaam provided useful advices and comments. The final report is available as a pdf document at the Statistics Norway web pages under the URL: <http://www.ssb.no/publikasjoner/>

¹ MKUKUTA is the Kiswahili acronym for National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty

Abstract

Tanzania is in the process of preparing the next Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MKUKUTA). The second phase of the poverty assessment focuses on constraints for households and individuals to make profitable investments, and differences in women's and men's opportunity structures. Given the importance of agriculture, we chose to base the current gender analysis on data from the 2002/03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA). The related 2007 "*Volume IV; Gender Profile of Smallholder Agriculture Population in Tanzania Mainland*" documents differences between male and female headed households along a range of dimensions.

In Chapter 2 we document that male and female headed households differ systematically also with respect to *other* factors than the sex of the Head. Comparing households by the sex of the Head is as much a comparison of female headed households that have faced negative marital shocks with male headed households not marked by such shocks. Female headship seems to be as much an outcome as a cause, and is associated with small family size, few other adult members, and single parenthood. Female headship yields little information about family gender roles, since many of these households do not have members fully considered as "adult males". One should rather investigate the intra-household responsibilities and tasks in male-headed households, which almost always also comprises adult females. An analysis of the differences in women's and men's opportunity structures *should thus not be based on a comparison of female and male headed households*. Female headship is, however, a good indicator for targeting support to vulnerable households.

Chapter 3 shows that *household level gender variables have little influence on household livelihood categories*, because these categories are *too broad* as to serve a basis for analysing the separate situation of men and women. Regional variations in livelihood categories are more important than household level gender factors. Chapter 4 shows, however, that gender is important for the assignment of the *specific activities* for each livelihood. The most important "male" activity is animal husbandry. Males also dominate all activities related to monetary transactions. The most important "female" activities are non-domestic household maintenance tasks, such as collecting firewood and water. "Female" activities generally neither involve monetary issues, nor have an entrepreneur dimension. Many time consuming crop production activities, such as soil preparation, crop protection, planting weeding and harvesting are "gender neutral". Gender roles may change under certain circumstances: While women are hardly ever responsible for "male" activities in male headed households, they are responsible for these activities in female headed households, most likely due to the absence of adult males. On the other hand, men rarely become responsible for "female" tasks, regardless of the sex of the Head. When there is a male Head, the household almost always has female members to perform female tasks. Only those few men living alone become responsible for female tasks.

Our analysis show that men very rarely take on traditionally "female" tasks, and attitudes to gender roles may be very difficult to change. Policies designed at reducing women's work burden in domestic activities and in providing their households with water and energy may thus be the best approach in the short run. This will allow women to spend more time on growing their own crops, and engage in innovative income-generating activities. However, policies aiming at introducing new crops and new farming techniques also change gender roles in an often unpredictable manner. A proper understanding of this dynamics requires both data on individuals, on specific female crops, and preferably also panel data, such as in the currently ongoing Tanzania Panel Data Survey.

Sammendrag

Tanzania er i ferd med å utarbeide sin neste Fatigdomsreduksjonsstrategi (MKUKUTA). Fase to av fattigdomsvurderingen fokuserer på forhold som hindrer hushold og individer i å foreta profitable investeringer, og på forskjeller i menns og kvinners handlingsrom. Gitt den store betydningen av landbruk i Tanzania har vi valgt å basere denne analysen av kjønnseffekter på data fra "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA, 2002/ 03). Den tilhørende rapporten: 2007 "Volume IV; Gender Profile of Smallholder Agriculture Population in Tanzania Mainland" dokumenter forskjeller mellom hushold ledet av kvinner og menn langs en rekke dimensjoner.

I Kapittel 2 viser vi at det er systematiske forskjeller mellom hushold ledet av kvinner og menn også langs rekke *andre* andre forhold enn overhodets kjønn. En sammenligning av hushold basert på overhodets kjønn innebærer derfor i realiteten en sammenligning mellom hushold med kvinnelig overhode som har blitt utsatt for "ekteskaplige sjokk", og hushold med mannlig overhode som er lite preget av slike erfaringer. Kvinneledete hushold omfatter også få medlemmer, få andre voksne, og eneansvar for barn. Hushold med kvinnelig overhode er lite egnet til å teste kjønnsroller fordi de sjelden omfatter medlemmer som kan fylle rollen som "fullvoksen mann". En må i større grad analysere kjønnsroller innen gruppen av hushold med mannlig overhode, fordi man her nesten alltid også finner voksne kvinnelige medlemmer. Rapportens hovedfunn er at man *ikke bør basere en analyse av kjønnsforskjeller i valgmuligheter på en sammenligning av hushold ledet av henholdsvis menn og kvinner*. Det å ha et kvinnelig overhode er like mye et *utfall* som en *årsak*. Utfallet er knyttet til tidligere "ekteskapssjokk", ofte med langvarig negativ effekt på både husholdsstruktur og valgmuligheter. Å ha kvinnelig overhode er dog en viktig indikator for et husholds sårbarhet.

I Kapittel 3 viser vi at *kjønnsvariable på husholdsnivå har liten effekt på husholds hovedutkomme*, ettersom disse kategoriene er for omfattende til å danne grunnlag for en systematisk analyse av menns og kvinners forskjellige situasjon. Regionale forskjeller har større betydning for valg av hovedutkomme enn forhold knyttet til kjønn på *husholdsnivå*. I Kapittel 4 viser vi at kjønn imidlertid er en sentral faktor for tildeling av spesifikke arbeidsoppgaver *innenfor* hvert hovedutkomme. Den viktigste "mannlige" aktiviteten er kvegdrift, men menn dominerer også aktiviteter som innebærer økonomiske transaksjoner. De viktigste "kvinnelige" aktivitetene er husholdsdriftsrelaterte oppgaver utenfor hjemmet, slik som å samle brennved og hente vann. "Kvinnelige" aktiviteter omfatter i alminnelighet hverken pengesaker eller entreprenørskap. Mange tidkrevende aktiviteter knyttet til dyrking, slik som jordbearbeiding, planting, lusing avlingsbeskyttelse og innhøstning er "kjønnsnøytrale". Under gitte omstendigheter endres dette kjønnsrollemønsteret: Mens kvinner nesten aldri er ansvarlige for "mannlige" aktiviteter i hushold med mannlig overhode, har de i stor grad slikt ansvar når det er et kvinnelig overhode, trolig fordi slike hushold sjelden omfatter en "fullvoksen mann". På den annen side tar menn svært sjelden hovedansvar for tradisjonelt "kvinnelige" ansvarsområder. En plausibel årsak er at hushold med mannlig overhode nesten alltid også omfatter voksne kvinnelige husstandsmedlemmer, og at disse tar ansvar for slike oppgaver. Typisk "kvinnelige plikter" utføres derfor bare av de få menn som er aleneboende.

Menn tar sjeldent ansvar for "kvinnelige" oppgaver og slike holdninger kan være vanskelig å endre på kort sikt. I første omgang kan det derfor være best å avlaste kvinner i deres omsorgsoppgaver, samt å sørge for lettere tilgang til vann og energi. Da kan kvinner i større grad fokusere på å inntektsgivende arbeide og å få fram større og mer profitable avlinger. Det finnes imidlertid mange eksempler på at introduksjon av nye lanbruksteknikker og avlingstyper kan endre kjønnsroller på uforutsigbare måter. Politikktutforming må derfor baseres på grundig kunnskap om slik dynamikk, individdata, og data om kvinnelige avlinger, fortrinnsvis også som paneldata, slik som i den pågående "Tanzania Panel Data Survey".

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1. Introduction

Tanzania is in the process of preparing the next Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MKUKUTA). A rapid poverty assessment based on the Household Budget Survey (HBS) 2007, and particularly its comparison with the 2001 HBS, show that income poverty has been reduced only marginally. This is a cause for concern, and the second phase of the poverty assessment focuses on constraints at the micro, meso, and macro level for households and individuals to make profitable investments. Moreover, it asked particularly for the identification of constraints and other factors at individual, household and community levels that may explain differences in women's and men's opportunity structures.

The agricultural sector is the main source of employment and livelihood for the Tanzanian population. It accounts for more than two-thirds of the employment and almost half of GDP. Agriculture also plays a vital role in supplying raw material for industries, and in generation of foreign exchange earnings. Given the importance of agriculture, it was found appropriate to base the current gender analysis on data from the 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA). In respect of being a Sample Census, the survey has a very large sample of almost 50 000 households, which allows for a substantial break-down on sub-groups, such as provinces. At the same time it contains extensive information about agricultural issues.

Important gender related results from the 2003/ 2003 Tanzania Agriculture Sample Census were already presented in the 2007 "*Volume IV; Gender Profile of Smallholder Agriculture Population in Tanzania Mainland*". The report thoroughly documented differences between male and female headed households along a range of dimensions, both on the national and on the regional level.

The current analysis starts in Chapter 2, where we question the use of the sex of the household Head as basis for a gender analysis. Although the sex of the Head is clearly defined, easily understood, and feasible to link up with other household level variables, negative outcomes for female headed households are not necessarily an effect of the sex of the Head and – implicitly - gender discrimination. Our evidence rather suggests that they stem from the very same factors that *caused* the household to be headed by a woman.

In Chapter 3 we conduct a gender analysis of seven broad household "livelihood categories". Due to our reservation against basing gender analysis only on the sex of the Head, we test out other household "gender tags" such as the female share of adults, the female share of farm work, the joint distribution of male-female literacy, and household types. However, with livelihood categories being broad, household level categories, we do *not* expect large gender related variations.

In chapter 4, we analyse the relation between gender and close to thirty specific activities. Although our data cover *main* responsibilities for *groups* of household members over *all* crops and plots, we are still able to map a clear gender pattern of household responsibilities. Next, we show under which circumstances these patterns may change. We also briefly discuss the role of children and of hired labour. Finally, Chapter 5 sums up the discussion, and provides suggestion for further analysis.

2. Are male and female headed households comparable?

The sex of the household Head is commonly used as a gender tag on households in gender analysis. It is a variable that is clearly defined and easily understood, and it is analytically very applicable, since it can easily be linked up with most other questionnaire information at the household level. Although it is not always explicitly stated, the underlying assumption is often that most differences between male and female headed households can be attributed to the effect of the sex of the Head - and, yet again in between lines – the effect is related to gender based discrimination.

However, there are good reasons to question the *validity of the sex of the Head as the most appropriate “gender tag” for households*. As elsewhere in social research, female headship is not an outcome of a controlled experiment, with surveyed households being randomly assigned to a “treatment” group and a “control” group. To the contrary, households become female headed for a *reason*, and the effects attributed to the characteristics of the Head, e.g. “sex”, may as well be rooted in the same factors that *caused* this particular person to become the female Head.

2.1. Female headship is associated with martial shocks

Our working hypothesis will be that *female Headship frequently follows from negative shocks at the household level*, i.e. that female headship is as much an *outcome* as a *casual factor*. The sections dealing with crop and vegetable production lists a range of shocks, such as: Drought Rain/ flood damage, Fire damage Pest damage Animal damage Theft, Illness/or social problems. However, it is a challenge that the NSCA questionnaire contains relatively little information about *idiosyncratic* household shocks, i.e. shocks that apply to only some few households in an area.

Damage from drought and rain/ flood, and to some extent pest are rarely household specific, but tend to affect most households in an area. Although, animal damage, theft, Illness, or social problems do affect individual households, they are rarely very severe. The potentially most important individual household shocks that qualify for testing out our hypothesis are divorce and death (in particular of key) household members. However, such shocks are *not* covered by the NSCA questionnaires.

We thus chose to use data from the 2000/2001, and the 2007 Household Budget Surveys about the marital status of the household head. Marital status, with categories such as “separated”, “divorced” and “widowed” reveals break-ups of marriages. Although one can not tell when these events took place, it is reasonable to assume that the shock they represent to the affected households have lasting impact on the households’ structure and coping strategies².

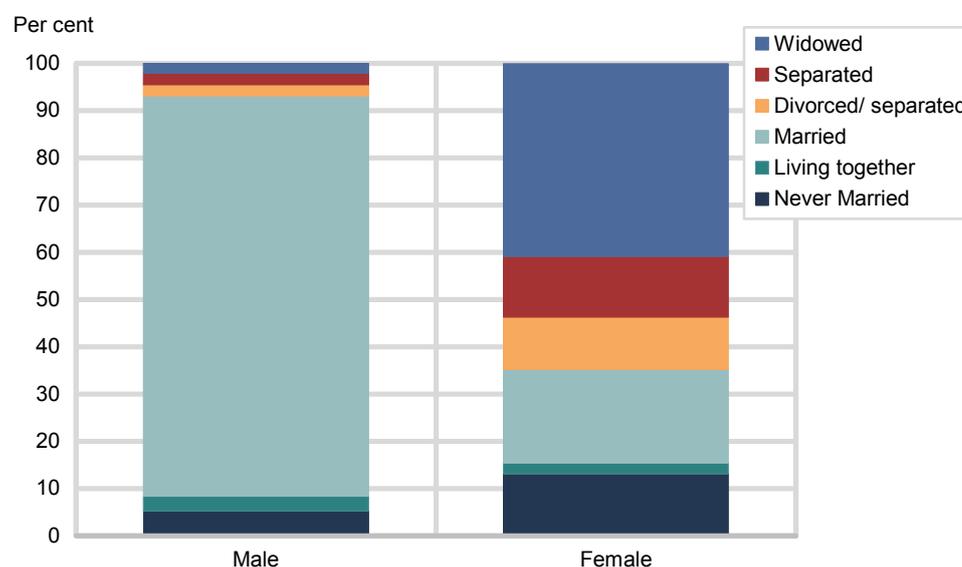
Even just a quick look at figure 2.1 makes it apparent that there is a fundamental difference between male and female headed households. While male household heads tend to be (re-) married or living together, a very high number of female headed households have Heads that are either widowed, or separated or divorced. Grouping the latter three categories together we arrive at figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 shows that 2 out of 3 Female Headed households have suffered from a marital shock as compared to 1 in 14 Male Headed households. Although we do not know when the shocks occurred, or the details about their short, medium and

² When linking up with other dataset than the NSCA, the underlying assumption is that, *on the aggregate*, marital status is a relatively stable variable, an assumption which is generally confirmed by establishing two observation points at each side of the NSCA in the timeline.

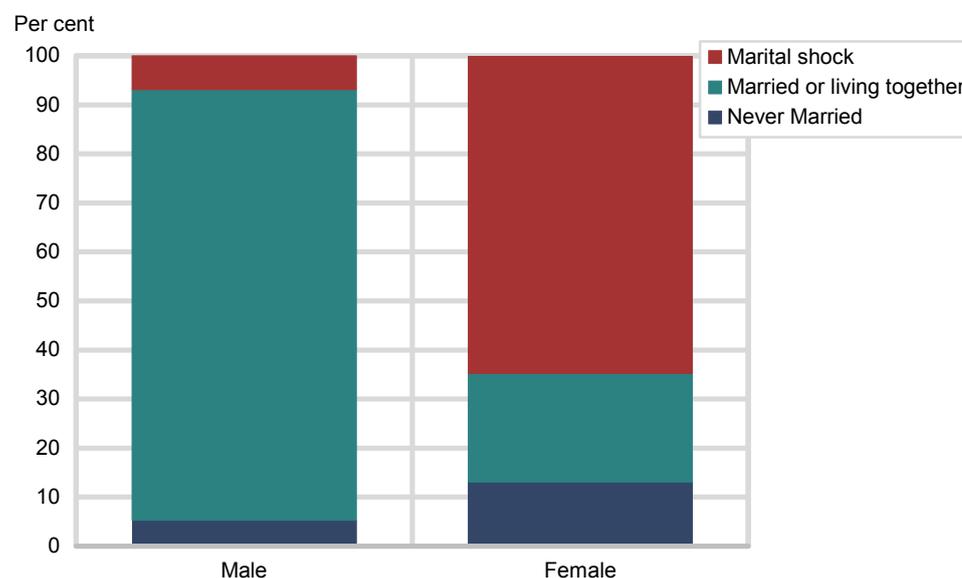
long term consequences, there is reason to believe that a marital break-up has a lasting effect on the composition of the household, as well as its coping strategies. When we compare households by the sex of the Head, we may thus in reality be measuring the negative effects of marital shocks.

Figure 2.1. Marital status of household head. Percentages by sex of the household head



Source: The 2007 Household Budget Survey.

Figure 2.2. Share of mainland¹ households that have faced a “marital shock”². Percentages by sex of the household head



¹ Excluding the Zanzibar Islands.

² Defined as having their marriage dissolved through death of spouse, separation or divorce.

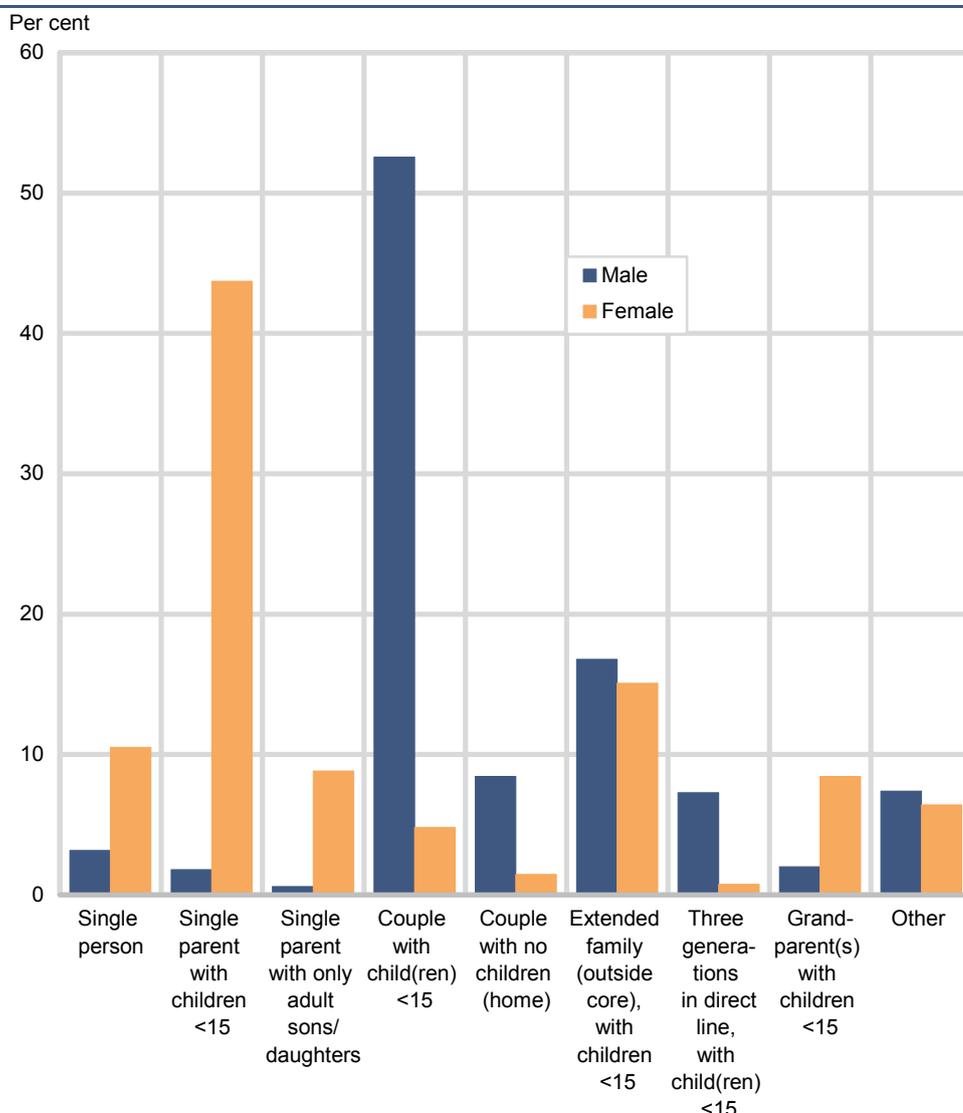
Source: The 2007 Household Budget Survey.

Figure 2.3 gives an indication on the lasting effect on household composition from marital break-ups³. Whereas the majority of Female Headed Households comprise single mothers with small children, or single women, almost all male Heads have a spouse. The only household type where there is a roughly equal share of male and female Heads is “extended family with children below 15”. Two thirds of the female headed households in this category have adult male members. Most

³ Based on NSCA data

commonly these male members are sons of the female Head. More rarely is the presence of a male spouse, father, or other male relative. Hence, one would expect that the female headed extended households are the remaining household members after the disappearance of a male head, rather than single mothers moving back to their “parental” households after a marital shock.

Figure 2.3. Household types¹. Percentages by sex of the household head



¹ Classified by marital status of Head, number of generations present, and whether there were children below 15 years in the household.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

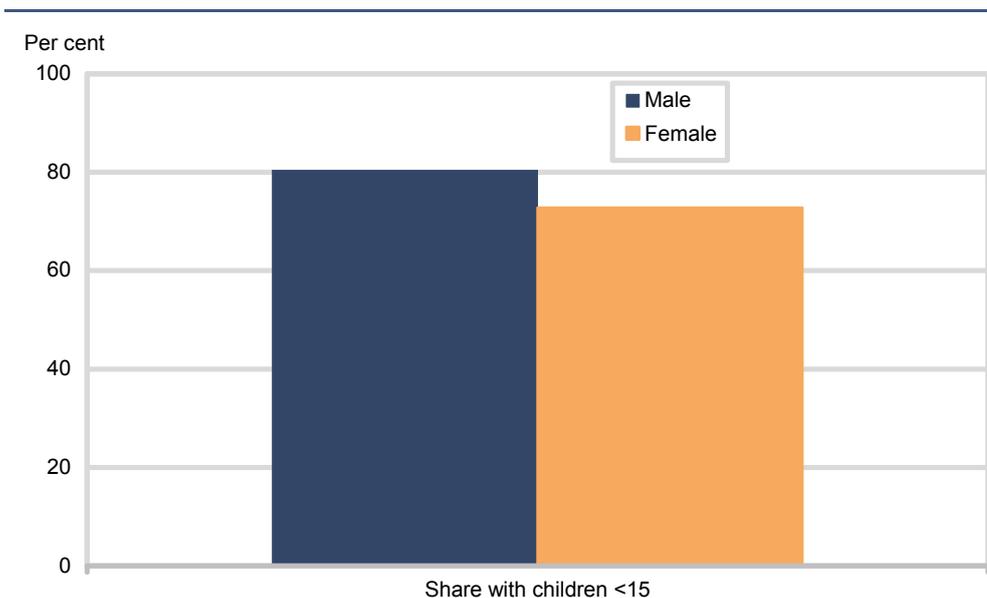
2.2. Young children live with single female heads, or married male heads

Most households have members below 15 years, and the share of households with children does not differ much by the sex of the household head (figure 2.4). However, children in male and female headed households live in different household types, (figure 2.5):

In 3 out of 5 *female* headed households with children, the female Head is also a single mother. To the contrary; In 2 out of 3 *male* headed households with children, the Head is married, usually to the mother of the children. The share of Female heads with young children being a single mother is thus 30 times higher than the corresponding share of Male Heads being a single father. Although 80 percent of the household heads are male, the vast majority of single parents are female. *Policy*

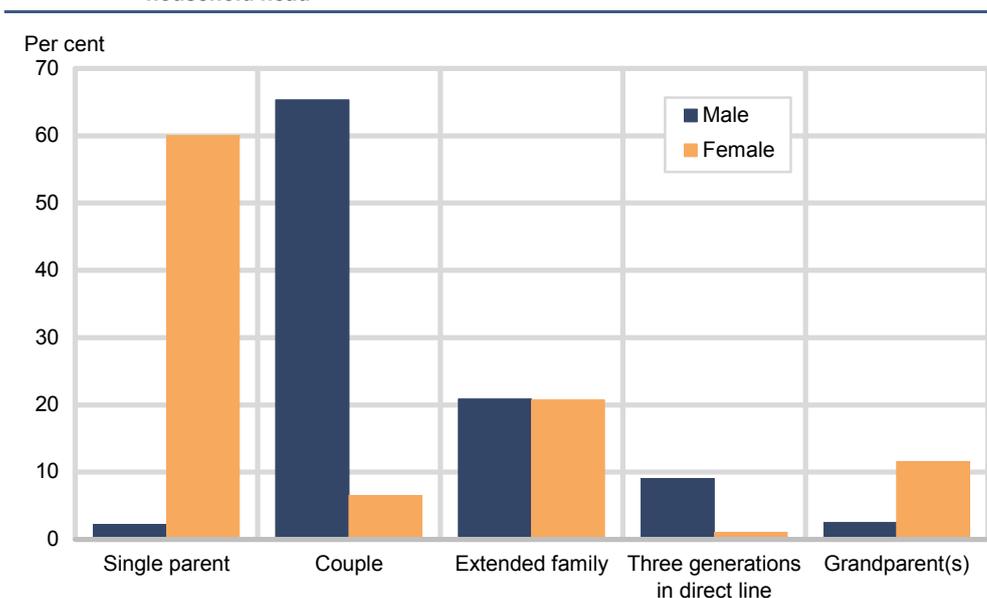
targeting single parents will thus benefit a potentially vulnerable group of children in female headed households.

Figure 2.4. Households with children below 15 years. Percentages by sex of the household head



Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Figure 2.5. Household types¹ with children below 15 years. Percentages by sex of the household head



¹ Classified by marital status of Head, number of generations present.
Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Summing up the findings above, our hypothesis that male and female headed households differ systematically with respect to other factors than the sex of the Head cannot be rejected. A comparison of households by the sex of the Head is as much a comparison of female headed households that have faced negative marital shocks with lasting consequences on household structure, with male headed households not marked by such shocks. *Female headship thus seems to be as much an outcome as a cause, and is associated with small family size, few other adult members, and single parenthood.*

3. Livelihood and gender

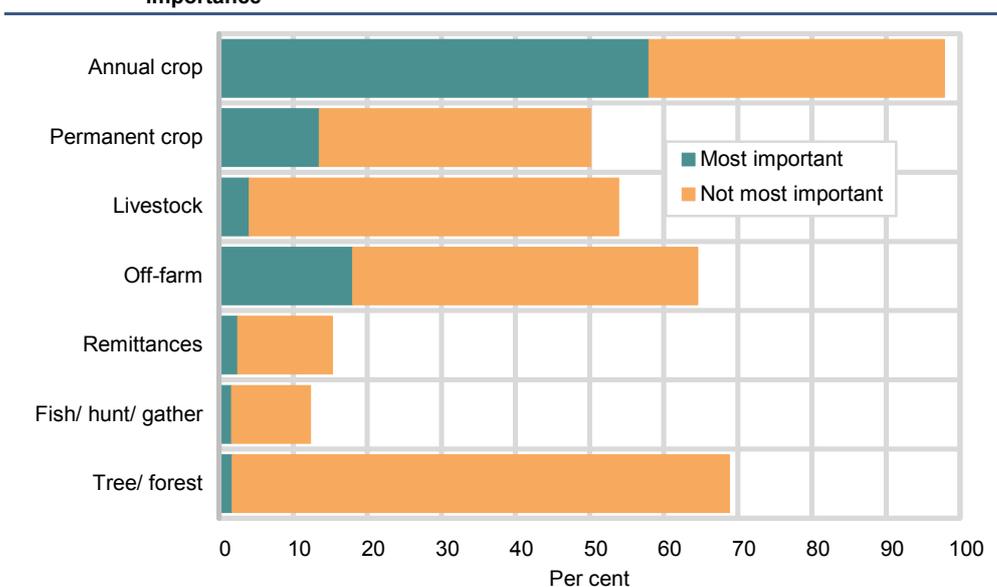
The main economic basis for the household unit is called its “livelihood”. This chapter first gives an overview of the livelihood pattern of Tanzanian households, and then investigates whether livelihood patterns are systematically knit to household gender characteristics.

The NSCA questionnaire identifies seven main livelihood categories: “Annual crop farming, permanent crop farming, keeping/ herding livestock, off farm income, remittances, fishing/ hunting/ gathering, and tree/ forest resources”. Because livelihood categories are broad, household level categories, we would *not* expect large livelihood variations related to gender. Our assumption will rather be that *gender differences appear as gender specific responsibilities within each livelihood*. Moreover, women may also run separate female “enterprises”, such as growing their own crop within the broader *household* livelihood of “crop farming”.

Overview of livelihood sources

The seven NSCA livelihood categories can be presented in different ways: By their overall prevalence, by the livelihood the household considers to be most important, and by each livelihood’s share of the total household income⁴. Figure 3.1 shows both the *prevalence* of the seven NSCA livelihood categories, and their *average relative importance*. First, the right end point of each bar shows the percentage of households receiving *any income* from the livelihood. Second, the point of separation *inside* each bar shows the share which considers this particular livelihood to be the most important.

Figure 3.1. Percentage of households who relies on each livelihood type¹. By stated importance



Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

The vast majority of households in Tanzania, 87% of the total, rely on various agricultural activities as their main source of livelihood. Almost all households receive income from “annual crops”, but only 3 out of 5 households reported this to be their *main* livelihood. At least half the households report income from all livelihood categories except remittances and fishing/ hunting/ gathering. However, these livelihood categories are often important for the households that receive

⁴ The latter two only reflect the livelihoods’ relative importance. Two households with the same (relative) livelihood profiles may still have very different outcomes in absolute terms, depending on their total household income. All data refer to annual averages. Hence, our data may hide important seasonal variations that characterize agricultural activities. Moreover, the average is taken over household income percentages, and not across total household incomes. Hence, the importance of a livelihood that dominates among poor households will be higher than its real importance, measured as share of national household income.

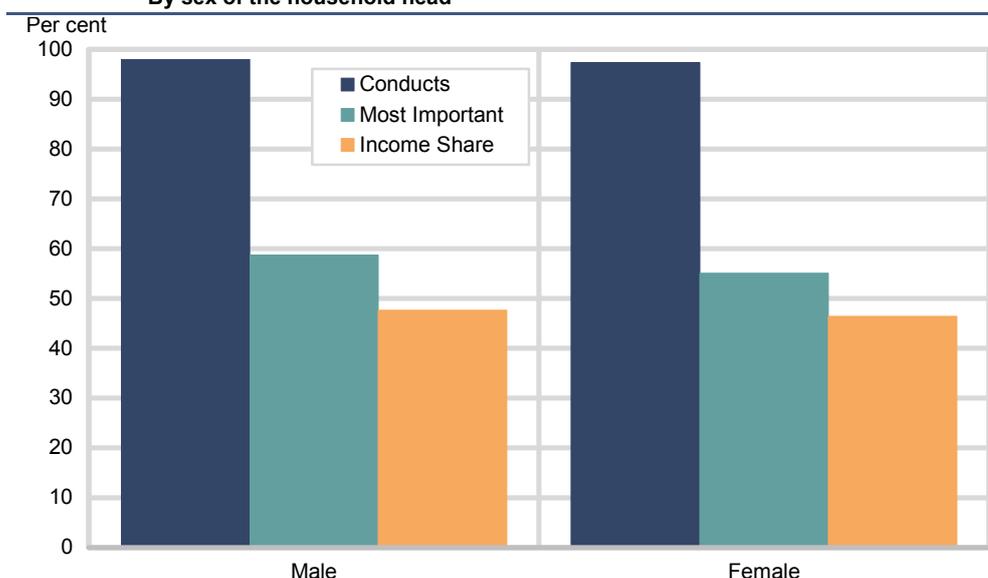
income from them. To the contrary, in particular trees/ forestry, and to some extent livestock, are widespread, but almost always *supplementary* livelihood categories.

Livelihood categories and the sex of the head

The 2007 *Gender Profile* relied exclusively on the sex of the household head for analysing the relation between livelihood and gender. The study found few livelihood differences by the sex of the household head, except a somewhat lower reliance on livestock, and a somewhat higher reliance on remittances among female headed households.

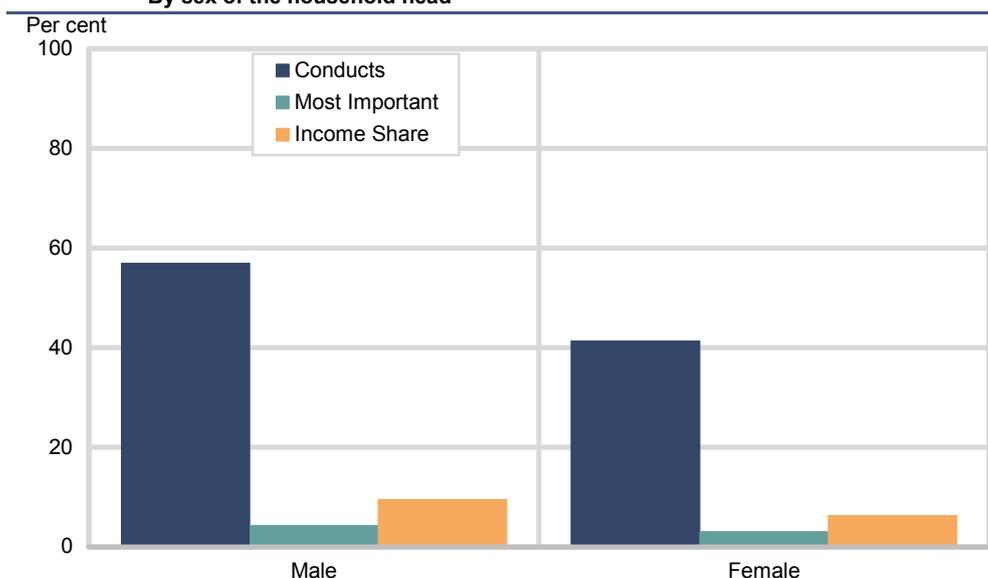
We find the same results. The prevalence and importance of “annual crop production⁵” are equal for male and female headed households (figure 3.2). The same goes for the livelihood categories “permanent crop production⁶” and “off-farm income”. In contrast, livestock is a livelihood that ithe sex of the household head, (figure 3.3)

Figure 3.2. Percentage of households who relies on annual crop farming and its importance. By sex of the household head



Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

Figure 3.3. Percentage of households who relies on annual crop farming and its importance. By sex of the household head



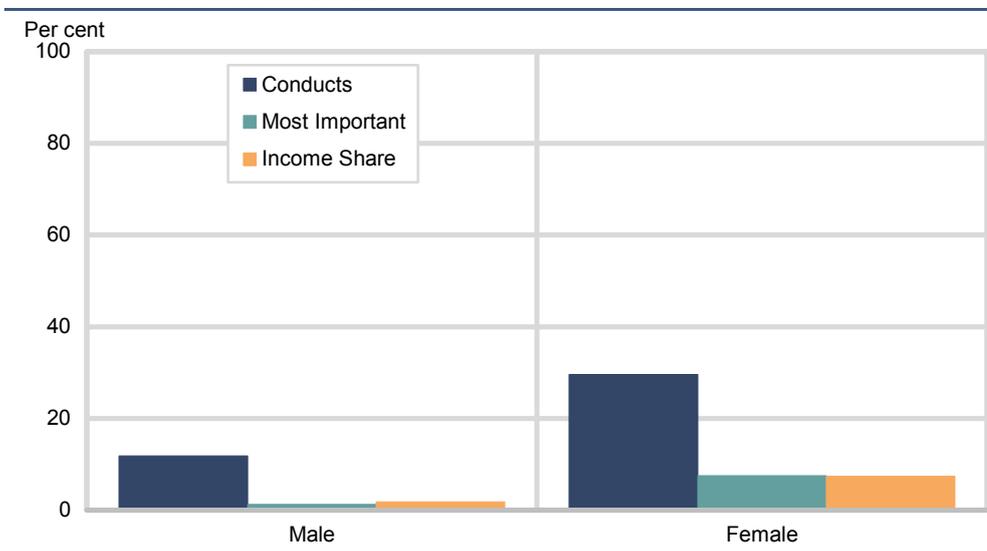
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

⁵ Crops which have one growing season. Maize is the most important crop type.

⁶ E.g. growing cassava

“Remittances” is the only livelihood type that differs across the sex of the Head, (figure 3.4). The finding comes as no surprise, because a husband working elsewhere is frequently the very reason for the household having a female head. This is another example of female headship being an *outcome* rather than a cause of household adaption, as claimed in the previous chapter.

Figure 3.4. Percentage of households who relies on remittances and their importance. By sex of the household head

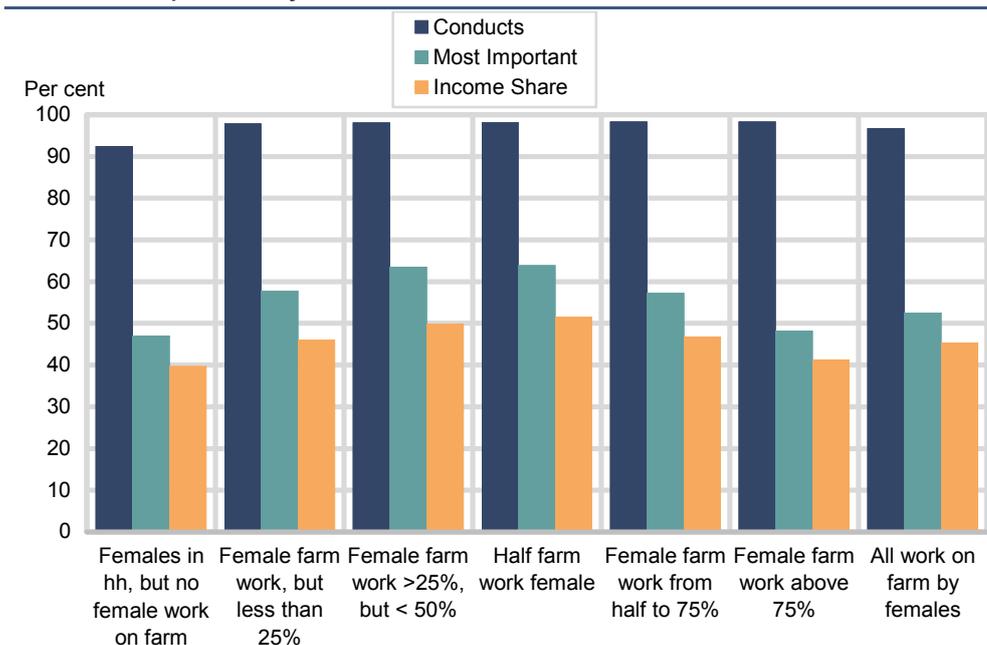


Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

Livelihood categories and other household level gender characteristics

Due to our previous reservation against using headship as the primary gender tag at the household level, we constructed a set of supplementary household “gender tags”: The female share of adults, the female share of farm work, and the joint distribution of male-female literacy. Moreover, we also created a household type classification, based on the number of generations in the household, and the presence of children less than 15 years.

Figure 3.5. Percentage of households who relies on annual crop production and its importance. By female share of farm work¹



¹ The “female farm work share” is calculated by an index summing up all farm work conducted by girls and women, divided by the household’s total farm work.

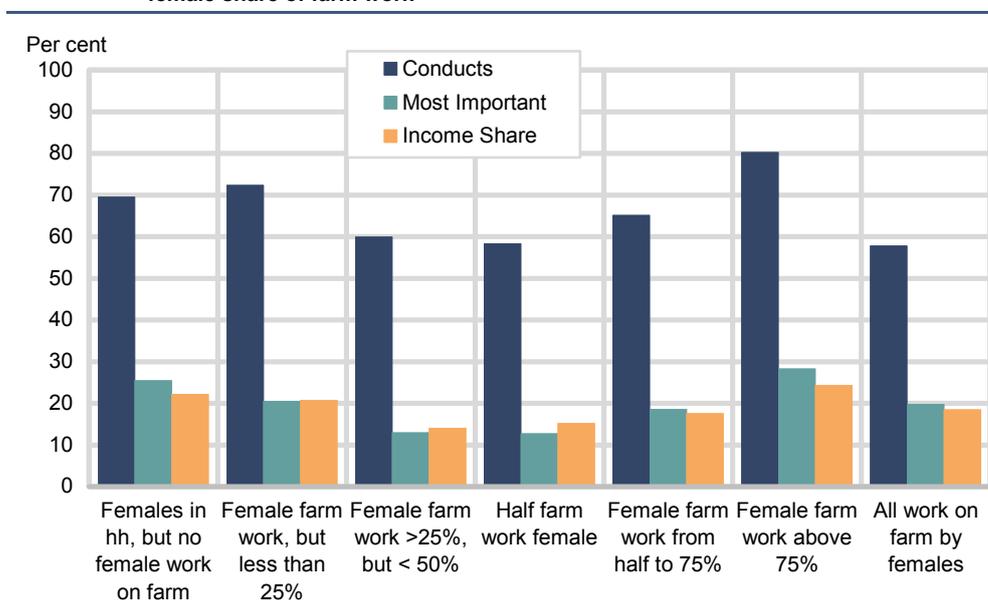
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

First, the *female share of adults in the household* turned out to have little effect on household livelihood adaptations. The only effect was found when the female share was 100%, but these households usually had only one adult member.

We found larger livelihood variations with respect to the *female share of farm work*⁷. The importance of, and the average income share from annual crop farming is highest when there is an (exactly) equal male and female farm labour share in the household (figure 3.6). The main reason seems to be that these households are smaller, often consisting of a couple only, and hence have a lower degree of income diversification. However, for permanent crop production there was no systematic variation with the female farm labour share.

Off-farm work also includes working for other farmers, usually on a seasonal basis. The female share of farm work also affected the reliance on “off-farm income”, (figure 3.6). However, one may argue that this is a “hen and egg effect”. It is exactly when the major burden in farm work is taken by women that men are free to increase their off-farm work.

Figure 3.6. Percentage of households who relies on off-farm income and its importance. By female share of farm work¹



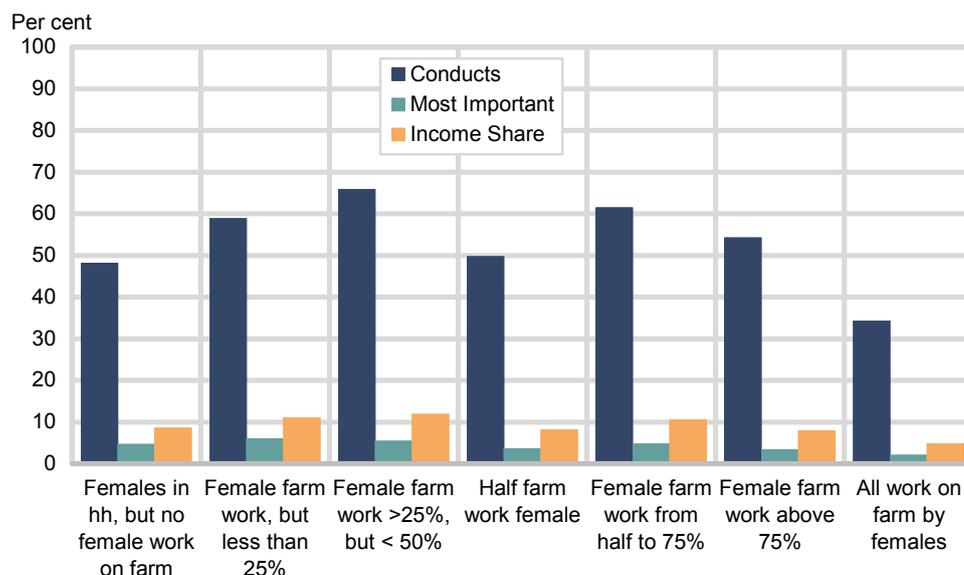
¹ The “female farm work share” is calculated by an index summing up all farm work conducted by girls and women, divided by the household’s total farm work.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

The prevalence and importance of livestock varies with female farm labour share in a complex manner (figure 3.7). When no women work on the farm, men seem to put more emphasis on crop farming. Households with (exactly) equal male-female labour shares, which as mentioned above usually only comprise a couple, has a lower livestock reliance, probably due to few adult household members. When only women work on farm, livestock, being a “male” activity, also becomes less important, most probably because these households lack male members altogether.

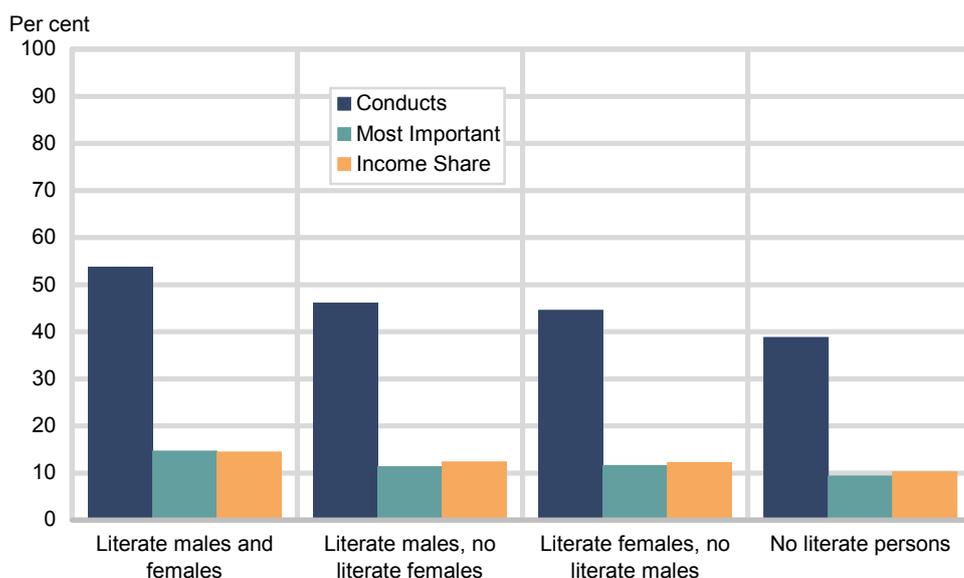
⁷ The Agricultural Census questionnaire had four categories for describing the amount of individual farm work: “Full time”, “Part time”, “Rarely” and “Never”. A simple index was constructed, assigning the values; 1, ½, 0,1 and 0, for the four answers respectively. For each household, these values were then aggregated over all male and all female members.

Figure 3.7. Percentage of households who relies on livestock and its importance. By female share of farm work¹



¹ The "female farm work share" is calculated by an index summing up all farm work conducted by girls and women, divided by the household's total farm work.
Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

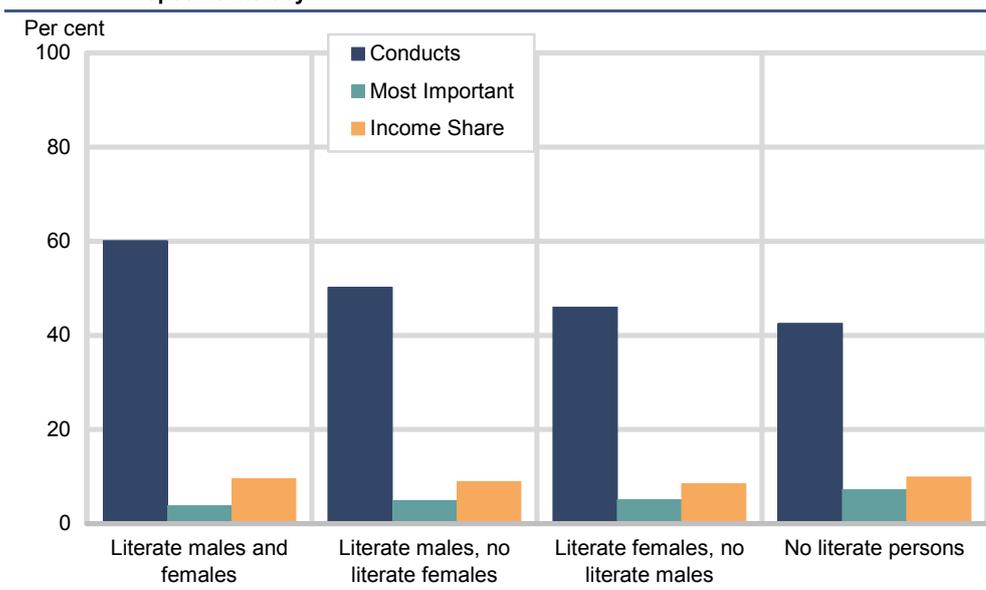
Figure 3.8. Percentage of households who relies on permanent crop production and its importance. By gender specific literacy¹



¹ Gender specific literacy is whether any male, any women, or any household member is literate.
Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Literacy has a positive effect on permanent crop production, but this effect does not seem to be *gender* specific (figure 3.8). Livestock is also positively associated with literacy, but here specifically with *male* literacy (figure 3.9). However, the positive relation between literacy and livestock apply to *prevalence* of livestock rather than its *relative* economic importance. This is most likely because households with literate members also have access to *other* important income sources.

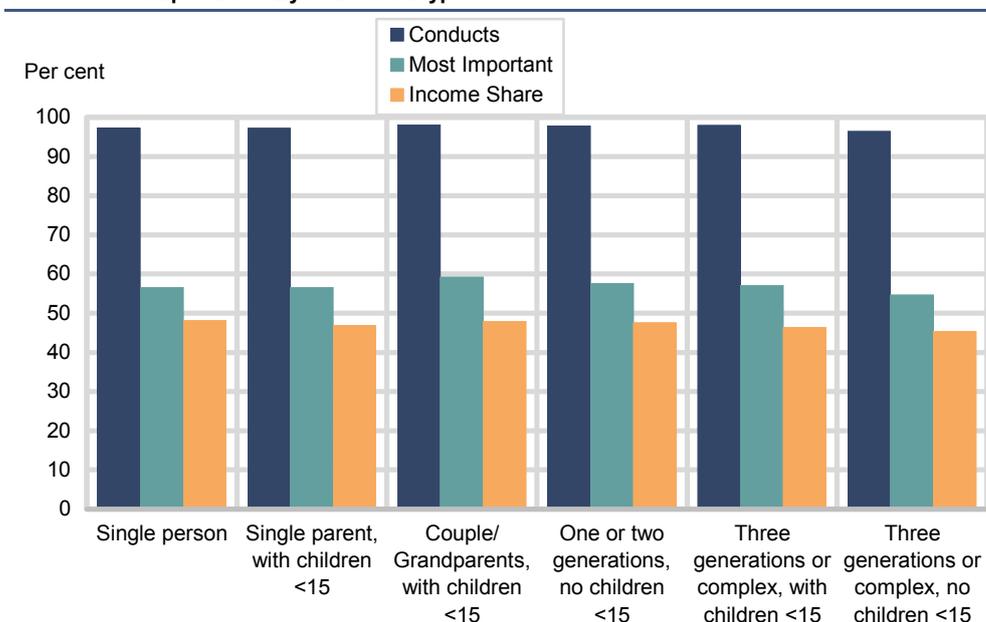
Figure 3.9. Percentage of households who relies on livestock and its importance. By gender specific literacy¹



¹ Gender specific literacy is whether any male, any women, or any household member is literate. Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Finally, we tested out the relation between annual crop production and *household types*, without finding any systematic variation (figure 3.10). This was as expected, because annual crop production is the most important rural livelihood, with an overall prevalence of almost 100%. Hence this livelihood is too broad and common to capture gender differences using *household level* indicators. We would thus rather expect gender differences in annual crop production to appear as specific gender response-bilities for *activities*, or through the existence of separate female crops or plots.

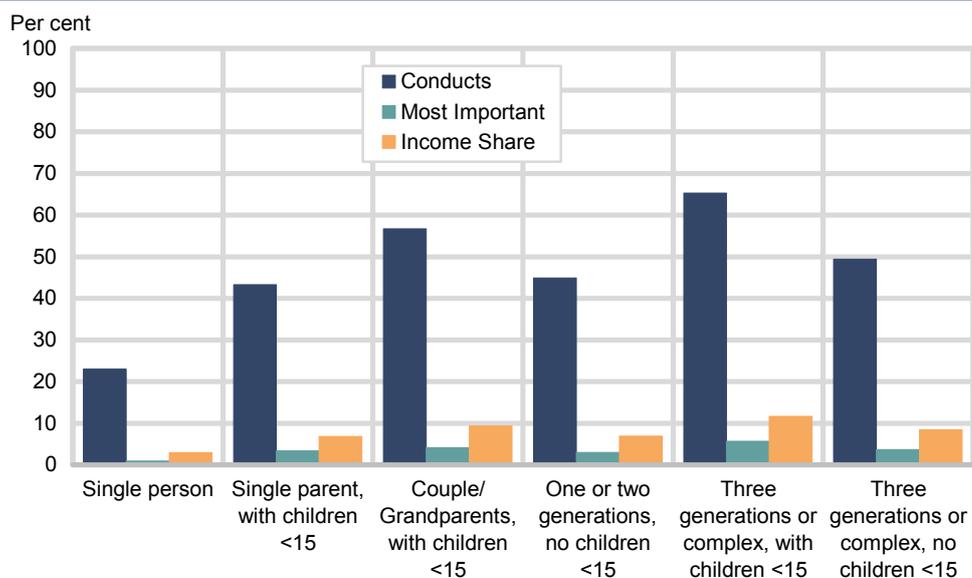
Figure 3.10. Percentage of households who relies on annual crop production and its importance. By household type¹



¹ Classified by marital status of Head, number of generations present, and whether there were children below 15 years in the household. Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Being a much less common livelihood, the reliance on livestock varies fairly strongly with household type. Livestock keeping is associated with the presence of *both* adult males, being organizers, and children, doing the herding. Hence, livestock is most important in large households with children present. It is least prevalent among the often female headed single person households.

Figure 3.11. Percentage of households who relies on livestock and its importance. By household type¹



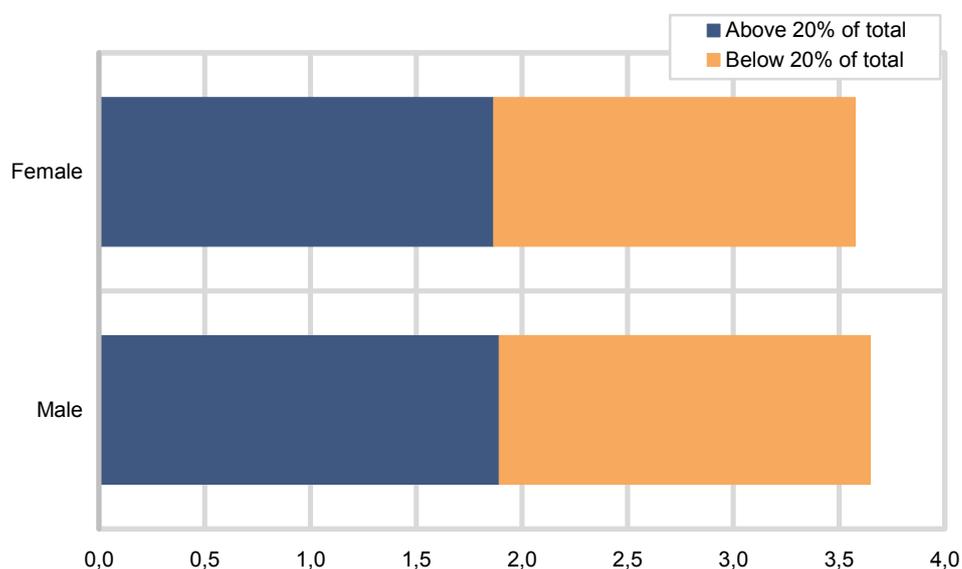
Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Gender and diversification

Most Tanzanian households seem to have diversified quite successfully. Only 2.2% of the households reported to have one single livelihood, and 85% has three or more. These households are neither critically dependant on single livelihood categories: Only 25% of the households had one single *critically important* source of income, defined as a livelihood that constitutes more than one fifth of the total household income,

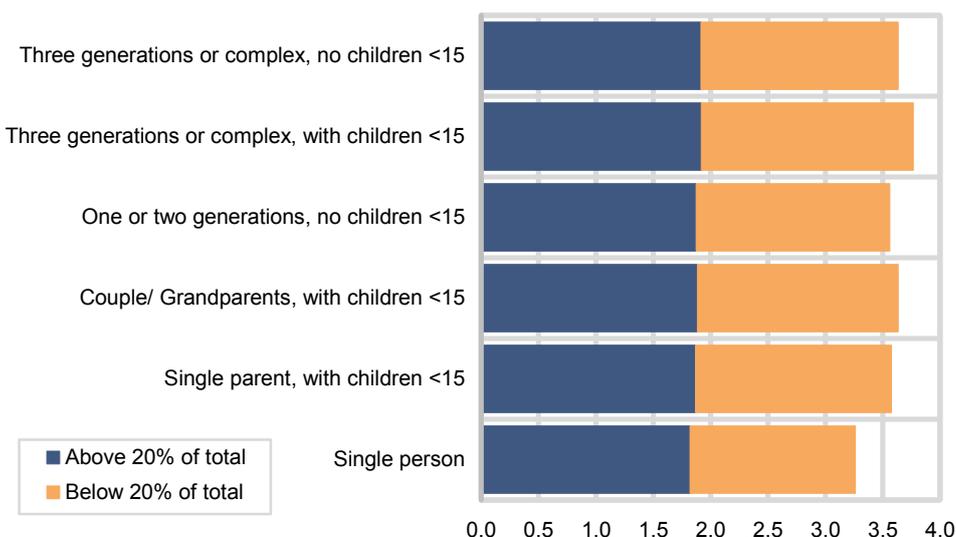
We would expect female headed households to be less able to diversify than male headed households, both because they are smaller, and because many have suffered recent shocks. However, the sex of the Head does not seem to affect diversification, (figure 3.12). Both female and male Headed households on the average relied on 3.6 of the 7 listed livelihood categories, of which 1.8 were *critically important* income sources for both groups. Neither the household type has any strong bearing on household diversification, except for income types that represent less than 20% of total (figure 3.13).

Figure 3.12. Number of livelihoods representing less, and more than 20 percent of household income. By sex of the household head



Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

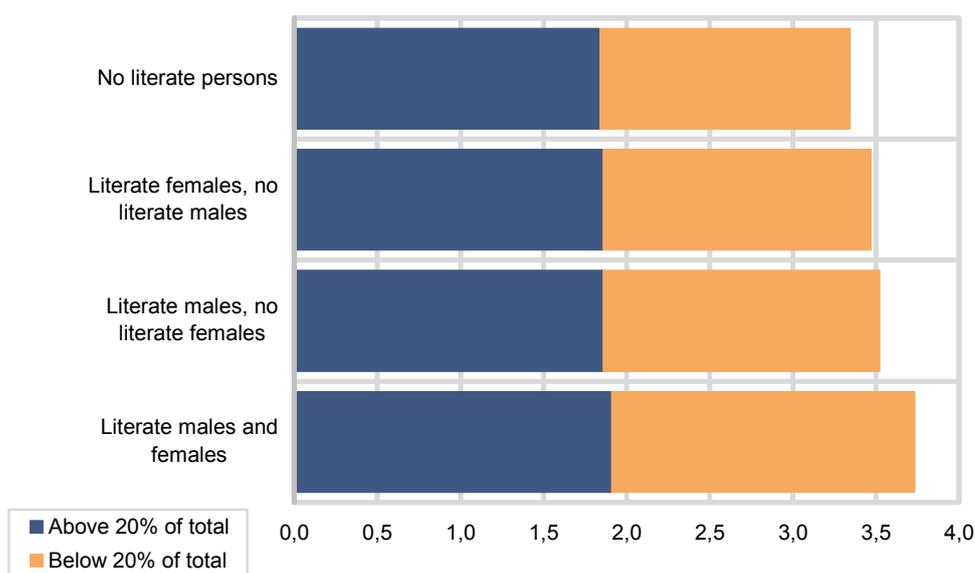
Figure 3.13. Number of livelihoods representing less, and more than 20 percent of household income. By household type¹



Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

The better educated tend to diversify more often, but mainly for less important income sources. Moreover, although literacy is related to diversification, its effect does not seem to be *gender* specific (figure 3.14).

Figure 3.14. Number of livelihoods representing less, and more than 20 percent of household income. By gender specific literacy¹



Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

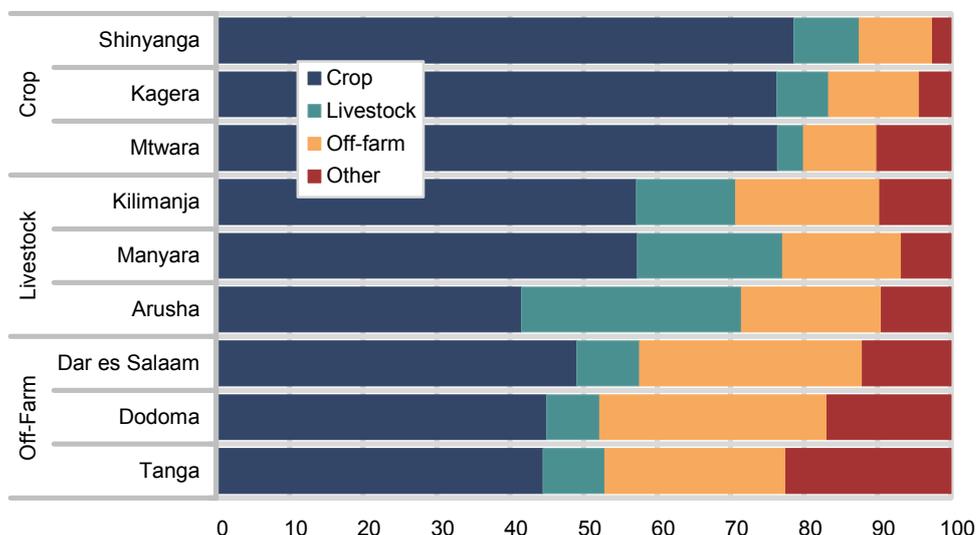
Livelihood regions and gender

Tanzania has large geographic and climatic variations, and varying degrees of urbanization. One may thus assume that region may be an as important factor for the mostly agricultural related household livelihood categories as gender. This also raises the question whether there are an *interaction effect* between region and gender, in the sense that the previous picture of a weak relation between gender and livelihood does *not* apply to all types of livelihood regions.

To investigate this issue, we first we formed three groups of “livelihood regions”, each consisting of three regions (figure 3.15). Three regions with an above-average dependency on crops, Shinyanga, Kagera and Mtwara, made up the “Crop”

regions⁸. The three regions that have the highest share of income from livestock (Kilimanjaro, Manyara and Arusha) form the “livestock” regions⁹. Finally, the three regions that have the highest share of off-farm income (Dar es Salaam, Dodoma and Tanga), form the “off-farm” regions.

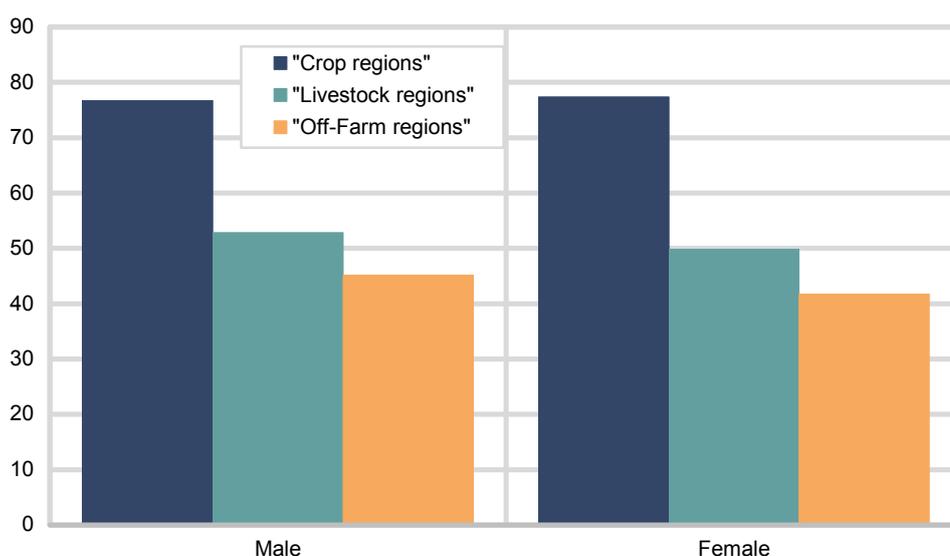
Figure 3.15. Income shares of livelihoods. By selected regions¹ grouped by livelihood patterns



¹ The three regions that had the highest share of each listed livelihood type were grouped together. Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

First we note that regional variations are much more important for the income share of crops than sex of Head (figure 3.16). Comparing the left bars in each of the two *groups* of bars we observe that farming has same high importance in the three “Crop” regions, regardless of the sex of the Head. Similarly, the three “livestock” regions also have the same importance of crop farming for male and female Heads, but at a lower level than the “crop” regions. Finally, also the “off-farm” regions also have the same importance of crop farming for male and female Heads, but at an even lower level.

Figure 3.16. Income shares of livelihoods in crop farming regions¹. By sex of household head



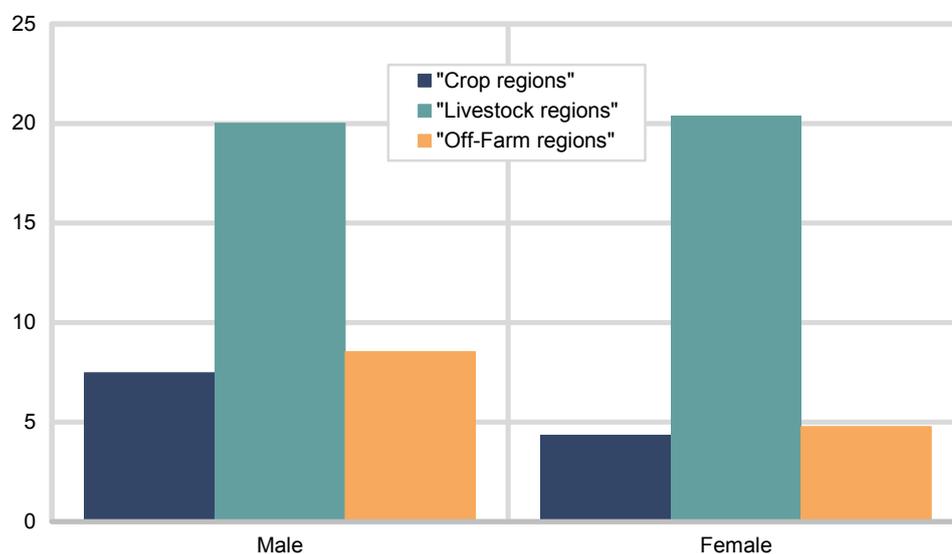
¹ The three regions that had the highest share of each listed livelihood type were grouped together. Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

⁸ These regions all had an income share from annual and permanent crop farming above 70%.

⁹ Still, the income share of annual and permanent crop farming is the highest also here.

The household income share of livelihood *does* vary with the sex of the household head (figure 3.17). However this is the case for the “crop” and the “off-farm” regions, and not for the “livestock” regions. *Headship thus seems to matter primarily in regions where livestock is an uncommon livelihood.* Still, also for reliance on Livestock income, regional variations dominate over the effect of the sex of the Head.

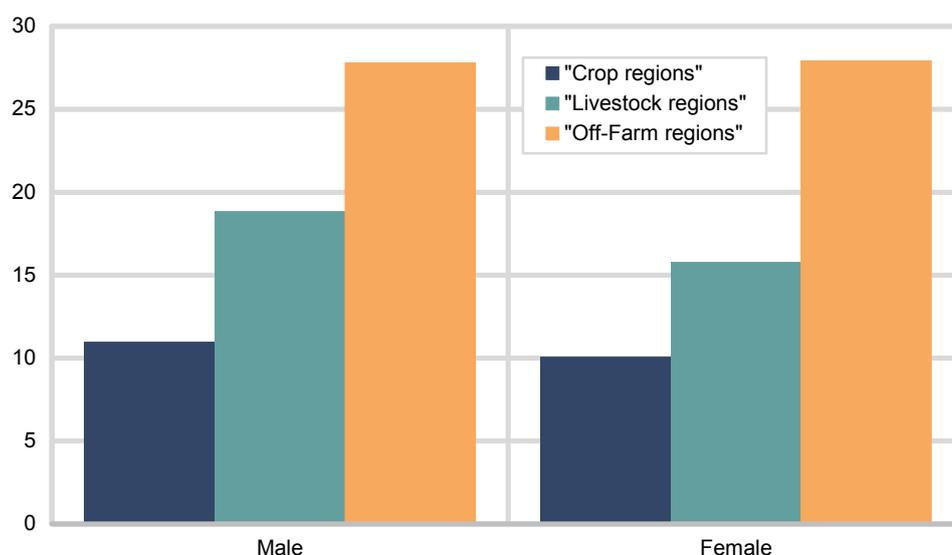
Figure 3.17. Income shares of livelihoods in livestock regions¹. By sex of household head



¹ The three regions that had the highest share of each listed livelihood type were grouped together.
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

The sex of the household head has virtually no importance for the household income share of *off-farm activities*, (figure 3.18). Regional variations are strong, albeit by definition. The key issue, however, is the lack of effect from the sex of the household head for all groups of livelihood types.

Figure 3.18. Income shares of livelihoods in off-farm income regions¹. By sex of household head

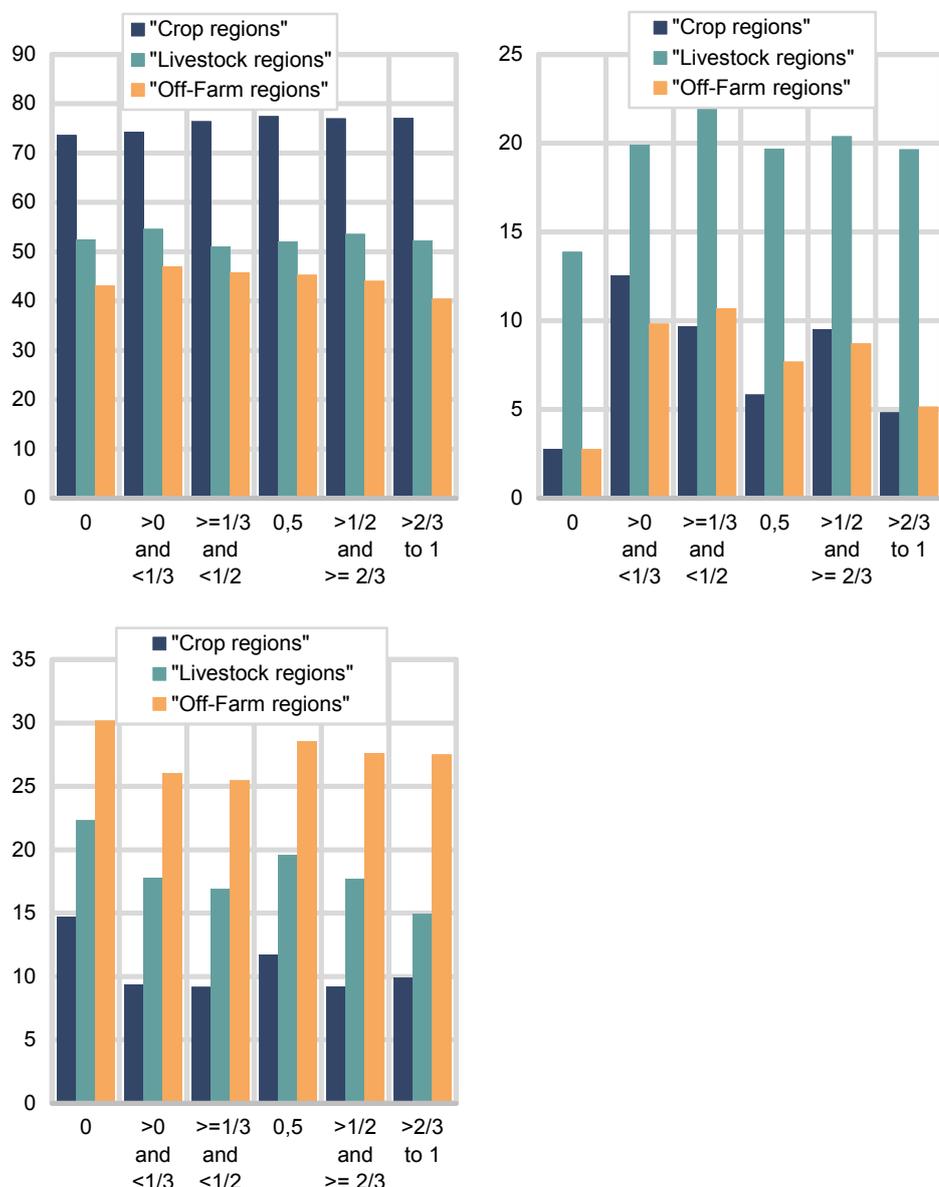


¹ The three regions that had the highest share of each listed livelihood type were grouped together.
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

Crop farming depends much more on the region of residence than on *household* level gender variables, figure 3.19. This applies to the female share among the households’ adults (upper left graph), the income share from livestock (upper right

graph), and to the income share from off-farm activities (lower graph). Although the female share of the household's adults has some bearing on the income shares of livestock, this effect is much less important than whether the household is situated in a "Crop", a "Livestock" or an "Off-Farm Income" region.

Figure 3.19. Income shares of crops¹ in regions grouped by livelihood². By share of female household members



¹ Crops comprise both permanent and annual crops.
 Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Regional variations are also much more important for the income shares from crop farming and off-farm activities than the household type. For the income share from livestock household type does matter. Single persons (usually women) apparently have to concentrate on crop farming. However, the main picture is that the household type matters much less than whether the household is situated in a "Crop", a "Livestock" or an "Off-Farm Income" region.

Summing up: The non-relation between livelihood and gender

All household types in Tanzania have a fairly high degree of diversification. Annual crop farming is the predominant livelihood in terms of prevalence and importance. Permanent crop farming, livestock and off-farm income are also widespread and important livelihood categories. Remittances and Fishing/ hunting/

gathering are much less prevalent, but often important for the households engaged. Forestry/ trees are almost always a supplementary income source.

Both the prevalence and importance of crop farming and off-farm income are virtually unaffected by a range of gender variables at the *household* level. The prevalence and importance of *livestock* is positively associated with male headship, male education, and males and children in the household. Remittances, on the other hand, are positively associated with female headship and small households.

Our main finding is a confirmation of our assumption that *household level gender variables have little influence on household livelihood categories*. Regional variations are, for example, much more important. These categories are *too broad* as to serve a basis for analysing the separate situation of men and women, and the different opportunity structures they face. Rather than analysing broadly defined livelihood categories, we thus need to investigate the *specific activities* associated with each livelihood. This will be the topic for the next chapter.

4. Gender roles in agricultural production

In the previous chapter we showed that household livelihood categories vary little across gender variables at the household level. The reason is probably that these categories are *too broad* as to serve a basis for picturing the separate situation of men and women. In this chapter, we will rather investigate the gender pattern associated with the more *specific activities* within each livelihood.

Our main data source is a NSCA questionnaire module on the “*main responsible*” *group of household members* for 28 different, mostly agricultural activities. The concept of “*main responsible*” may be interpreted as supplying the main work input for the activity, but also as being responsible for important decisions about its execution. Marginal groups in the household economy, such as boys, girls and hired labour then become less visible than they should, because they rarely acquire the “*main responsibility*” for any particular task, even though they assist in a number of tasks. Although the household head is specifically listed, and some groups, such as “*adult males*”, “*adult females*”, “*boys*” and “*girls*” are homogeneous, the existence of the broad categories “*adults*” and “*all household members*” also makes interpretation more difficult¹⁰.

Behaviour in agricultural households is strongly influenced by the social norms that assign particular roles to female and male household members. In many sub-Saharan countries, it is usual that men take the responsibility for cash crops, whereas staple food crops are grown by women. Moreover, similar social norms and traditions assign to women the lion’s share of the responsibility for domestic tasks, such as childrearing, cooking and other everyday tasks.

Regrettably, traditional female domestic tasks taking place inside the home, such as childrearing, cooking and other everyday tasks are *not included*. An obvious implication is that the female contribution to the broad household economy is strongly undervalued. Moreover, the *list of activities is not crop specific*. This makes us unable to analyse the work tasks by gender in relation to “*male*” and “*female*” crops. The relative importance of each activity in the household economy is neither clearly stated, and the activities can thus not be unambiguously linked to the broad livelihood categories/ sources of income.

In spite of these limitations to the data set, we are still able to present a male-female activity pattern that is broadly in line with the traditional perceptions of gender roles in sub-Saharan agricultural communities. Each activity is presented along *two dimensions*; its prevalence, i.e. whether it is a *common* activity, and among those households that performs the activity, we show which group of household members that are “*main responsible*” for the activity.

4.1. Activities of households

In (figure 4.1), the prevalence of all 28 NSCA activities are listed, by the sex of the household head. As could be expected, the most common *activities* are those that are typical for the households’ main *livelihood categories*. In particular activities associated with crop production are important, together with out-of-home household maintenance activities, such as collecting water and firewood.

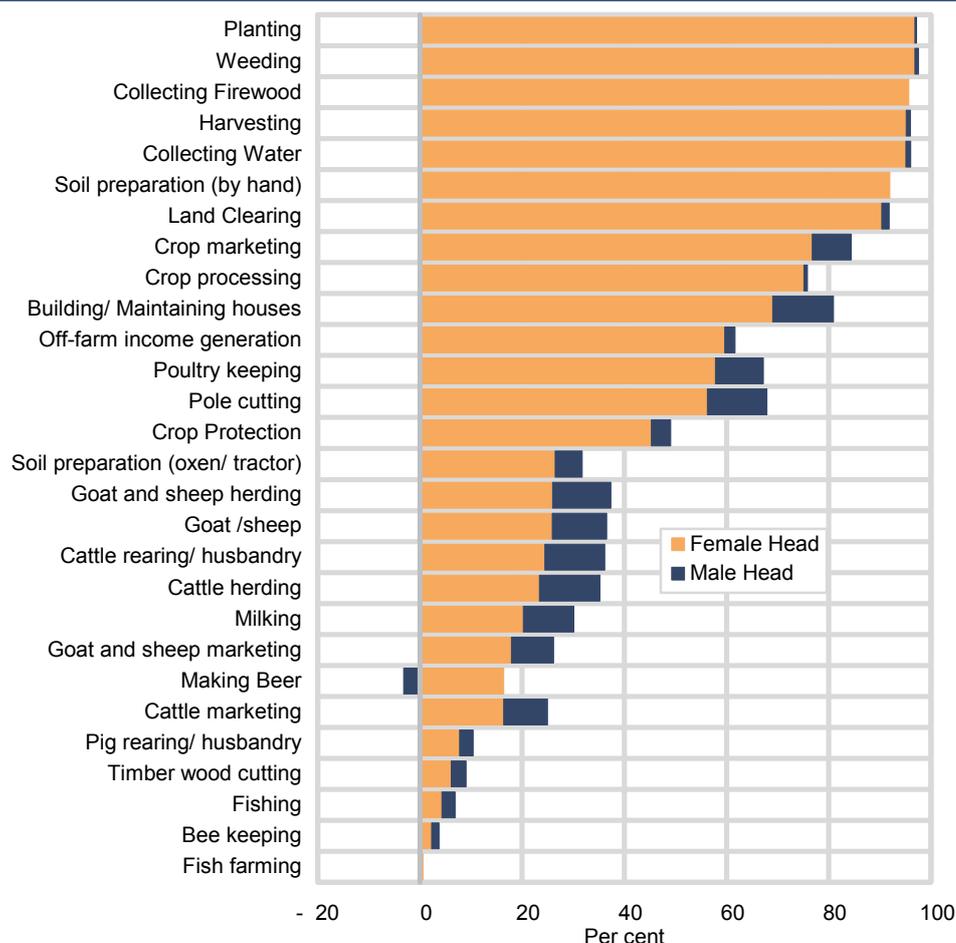
The previous chapter showed that male and female headed households both rely on crop production as their main *livelihood*. Hence, there is little difference between them along the timeline of crop production activities, from land clearing, soil preparation and planting, via weeding, crop protection and harvesting, to crop processing. In crop related activities, there is only a clear difference between male

¹⁰ Due to our focus on gender we have merged male and female Heads with respectively “*adult males*” and “*adult females*”. Moreover, the low number of boys and girls being found to be “*main responsible*”, led us to create the new group “*children*”.

and female headed households for crop *marketing*, probably because many female headed households only produce for their own consumption.

Activities related to animal husbandry important, but less common than crop production activities, and even less so among female headed households. This corresponds well to “livestock” being a less important *livelihood* among female headed households. Differences according to the sex of the Head are also larger for animals being reared more distant from the house, such as cattle and goats/ sheep, than for animals being reared close to the home such as pigs and poultry. Female headed households also do less building work and pole cutting. Making beer is the only activity that is more common among female than male headed households, possibly to pay for male assistance in key tasks.

Figure 4.1. Activity Prevalence¹. By Sex of Head for each activity



¹ For all 27 agricultural activities listed in the NSCA questionnaire.
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

4.2. Activities of groups of household members

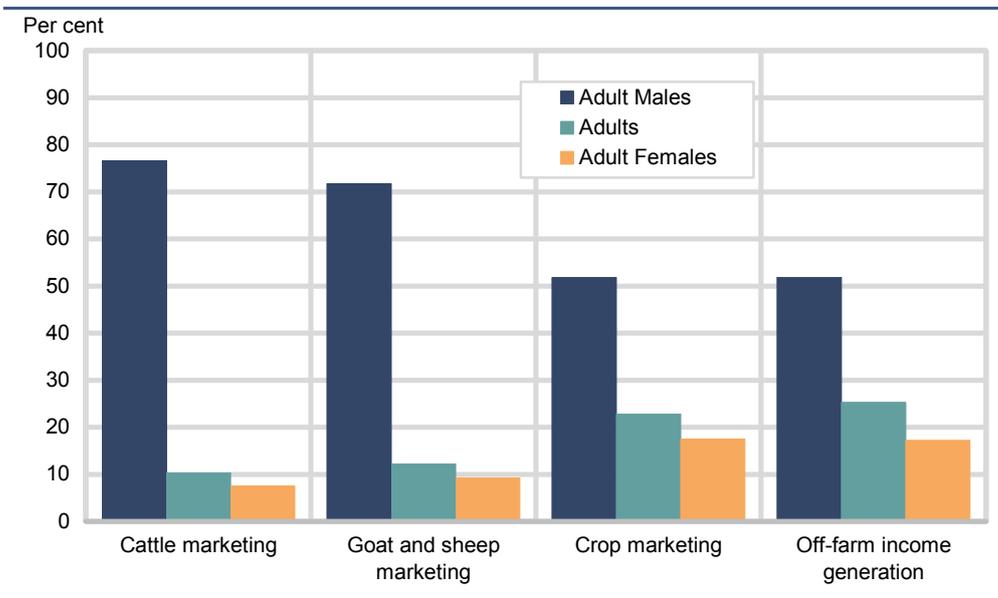
As shown in Chapter 2, most female headed households are characterized by the absence of adult males. For this reason we have identified respectively “male” and “female” activities in *male-headed households*, where there are almost always both adult males and adult females.

Although household *livelihood categories* vary little across gender variables at the household level, we find a clear gender pattern associated with the main responsibility for the *specific activities* for each livelihood. For some activities, all adults, or all household members typically have joint “main” responsibility. We thus label them “gender neutral” activities. We finally conclude this section with a discussion of the role of child labour.

“Male” Activities

The traditional gender-crop pattern in sub-Saharan countries is that men take the responsibility for cash crops, whereas staple food crops are grown by women. As mentioned above, our list of activities is not crop specific, so we cannot analyse the work tasks by gender in relation to “male” and “female” crops. Taking activities’ overall prevalence into account, *the most important “male” activity in our data is animal husbandry*. Males also strongly dominate all activities related to monetary transactions (figure 4.2).

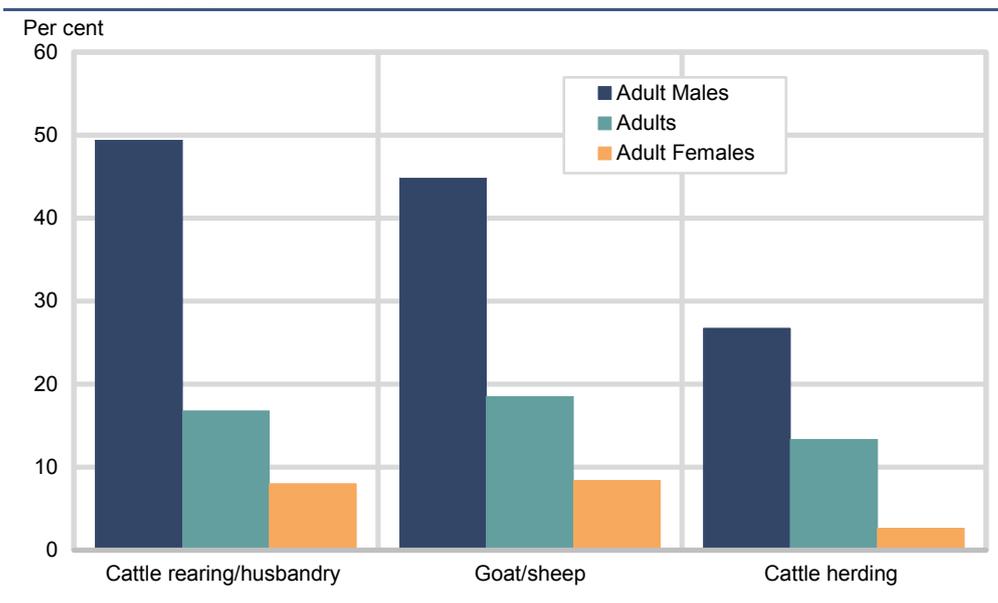
Figure 4.2. Group of household members mainly responsible for activity¹. For typical “male” activities



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire. Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

Other aspects of animal husbandry than marketing are also male dominated (figure 4.3). Although cattle herding is also a much more common responsibility for adult males than for adult females, we note that the total even for adult males, adult females and adults combined, hardly reach 50%. As we will see later, the reason for this is that children take on an important role in this activity

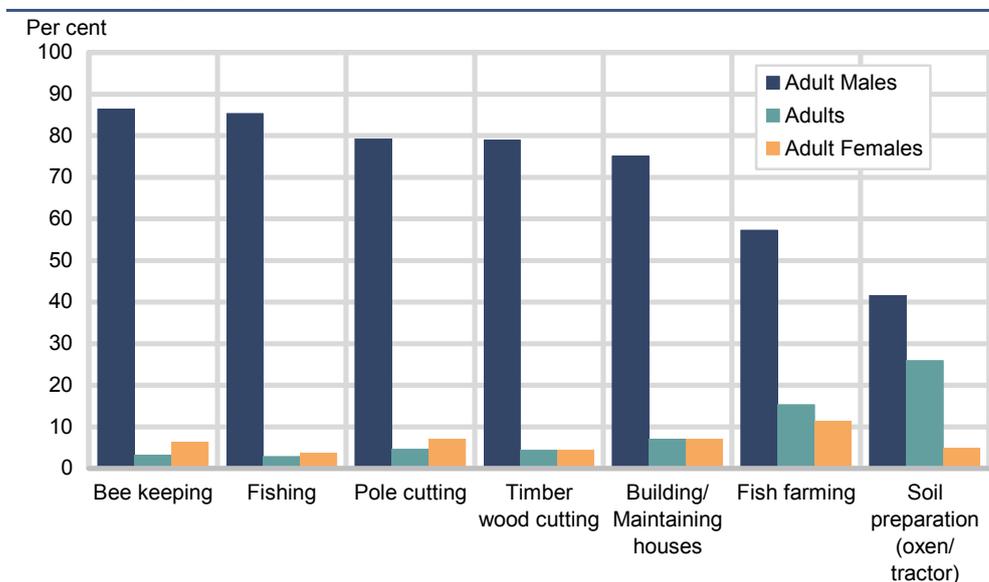
Figure 4.3. Group of household members mainly responsible for activity¹. For typical “male” activities



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire. Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

Supplementary activities as building houses, cutting wood and poles are also a male responsibility. While these activities are relatively common, activities like bee keeping and fishing are conducted by only a small number of households, and none of the “male” activities shown in the figure has a prevalence above 30%. The “entrepreneur activity” activity bee keeping most dominated by males, but it is rare, and thus has low overall importance.

Figure 4.4. Group of household members mainly responsible for activity¹. For typical “male” activities

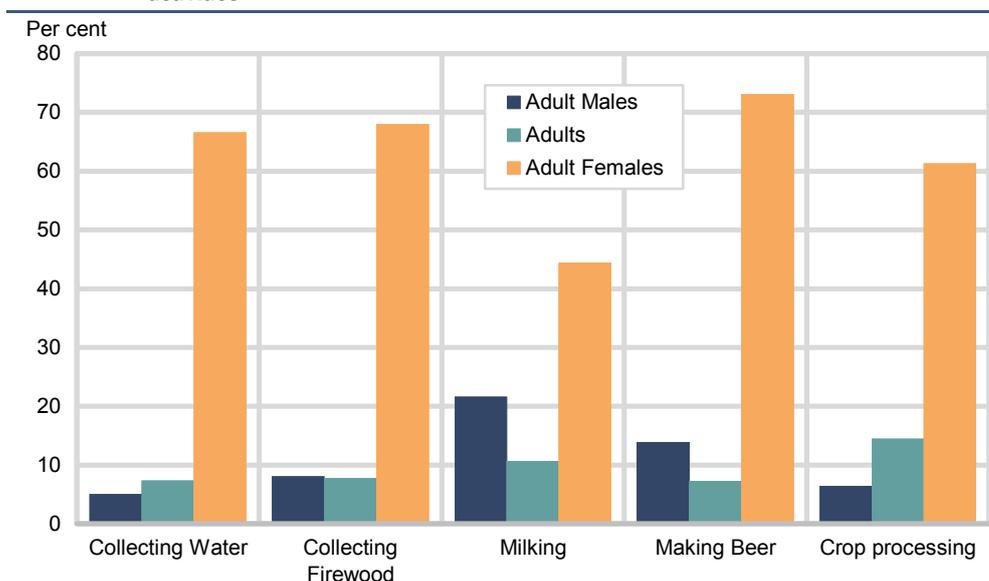


¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

“Female” activities

Before picturing “Female” activities, we should remind the reader that domestic tasks, traditionally considered to be female, such as childrearing, cooking and other everyday tasks, are *not included*. This firstly implies that the female contribution to the broad household economy is strongly undervalued. Secondly, that one may overlook how a heavy domestic work load overburdens many female household members, and prevents them from taking up income generating activities and gaining access to resources.

Figure 4.5. Group of household members mainly responsible for activity¹. For typical “female” activities



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

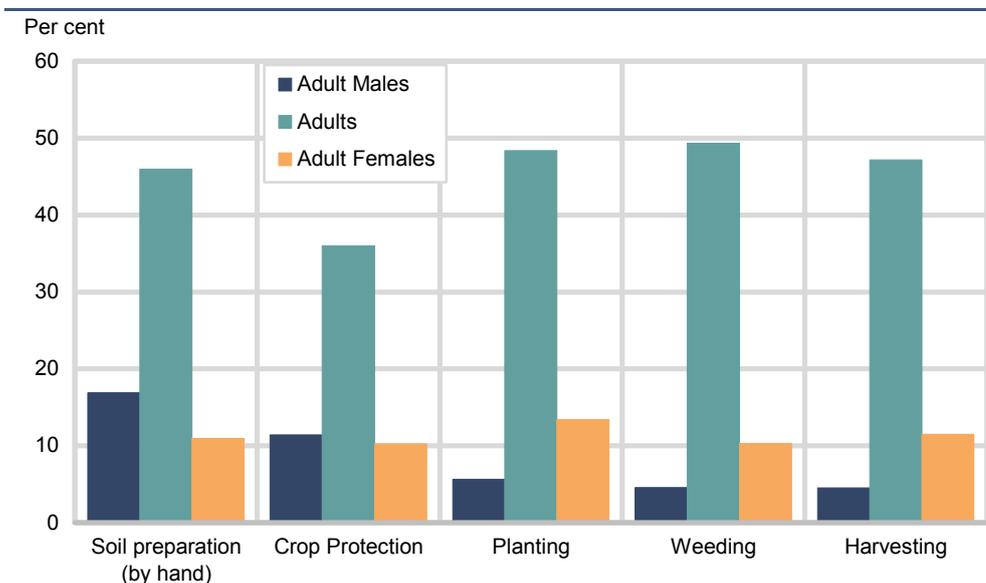
Figure 4.5 shows a systematic assignment of some activities to adult female household members. Non-domestic household maintenance tasks, such as collecting firewood and water are the most important “female” activities, because they are carried out by nearly all households. However, adult women also dominates beer making, crop processing, and in the case the households has larger animals, milking. The latter activity is the only animal husbandry related activity with an adult female dominance.

These “female” activities have in common that they generally do neither involve monetary issues, nor have an entrepreneur dimension¹¹. Since almost all male headed households comprise adult women, but not vice versa, the presence of adult women to handle time consuming household maintenance activities such as water and firewood collection, not to mention the here invisible domestic female tasks, allows men free to spend their time on dealing with monetary issues, and also to engage in innovative income-generating activities.

Gender neutral activities

We label some activities “gender neutral” in the respect that “all adults”, and to some extent, “all household members” dominates as the “main responsible” group, (figure 4.6). These activities are typically key, time consuming crop production activities that are conducted by nearly all agricultural households, such as soil preparation, crop protection, planting weeding and harvesting. Most of these activities are seasonal, and who does what, and when may be important for the opportunity to take on off-farm income generating employment when labour demand is peaking, such as during harvest. However, as we do not have seasonal data this could not be further investigated.

Figure 4.6. Group of household members mainly responsible for activity¹. For typical “gender neutral” activities



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.
Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

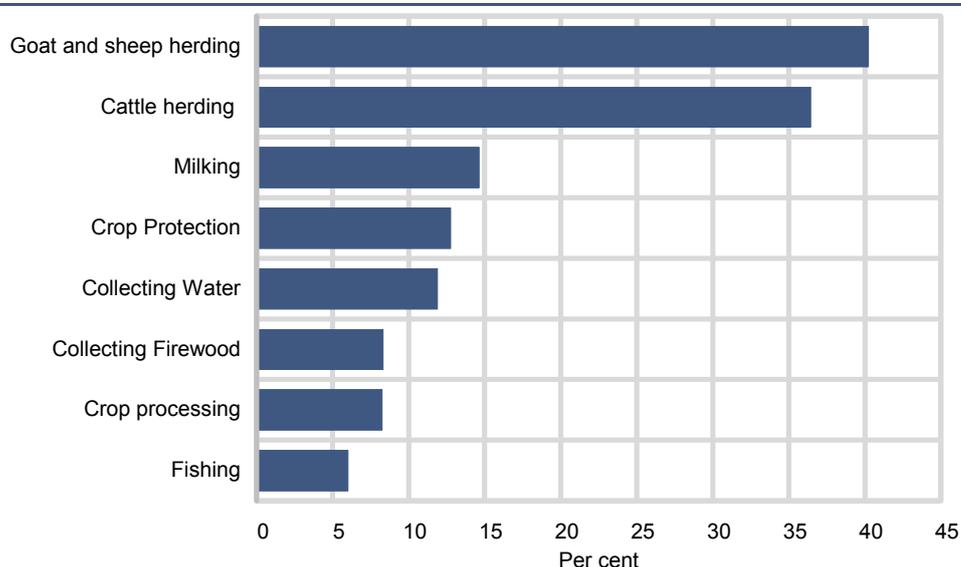
The role of children

Because children relatively seldom acquire the “main responsibility” for any particular task, but rather assist in a number of tasks, their real contribution to the economy of the agricultural households may be greatly undervalued. Girls have an important role in helping adult female household members in conducting *domestic* tasks, and these activities are not recorded at all. Hence, there is generally a low prevalence of “boys” and “girls” being “main responsible”, and we have thus created the new group “children”.

¹¹ The only exception could be “Making Beer”.

From figure 4.7 we observe herding of goats, sheep and cattle are the only activities where a high number of children are “main responsible”. Herding carries a large responsibility though: At a very young age, children become responsible for many households’ main economic assets, in an activity that frequently takes place some distance away from the home.

Figure 4.7. Activities where children¹ are frequently the main responsible for an activity².

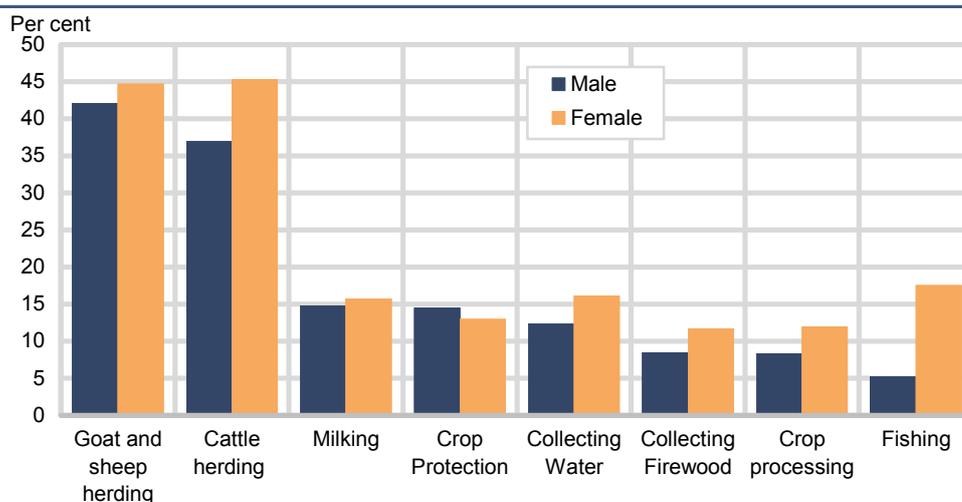


¹ Younger than 15 years.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

One would perhaps expect children to more often have the “main responsibility” in female headed households, which are characterized by manpower shortage due to small size, and the frequent absence of adult males. However, as shown in figure 4.8 there are small differences in the number of children being “main responsible” by the sex of Head, except for fishing, which is anyhow a less common activity¹². The same pattern is found when one checks for the family type for each of male and female headed households. Whether children lives with single parents (mothers), in nuclear, or extended families, the pattern of children being “main responsible” is the same, also regardless of the sex of the Head.

Figure 4.8. Share of Children¹ being main the responsible for an activity². By sex of the household head.



¹ Younger than 15 years.

² In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

¹² Activities not listed in figure 4.8 very rarely had children as “main responsible”.

4.3. When does gender roles change?

Above, we have observed that the typical sub-Saharan pattern, with a predominately male responsibility for monetary activities, animal husbandry, and entrepreneurial activities, and a particular female responsibility for household maintenance activities is reflected also in the NSCA data.

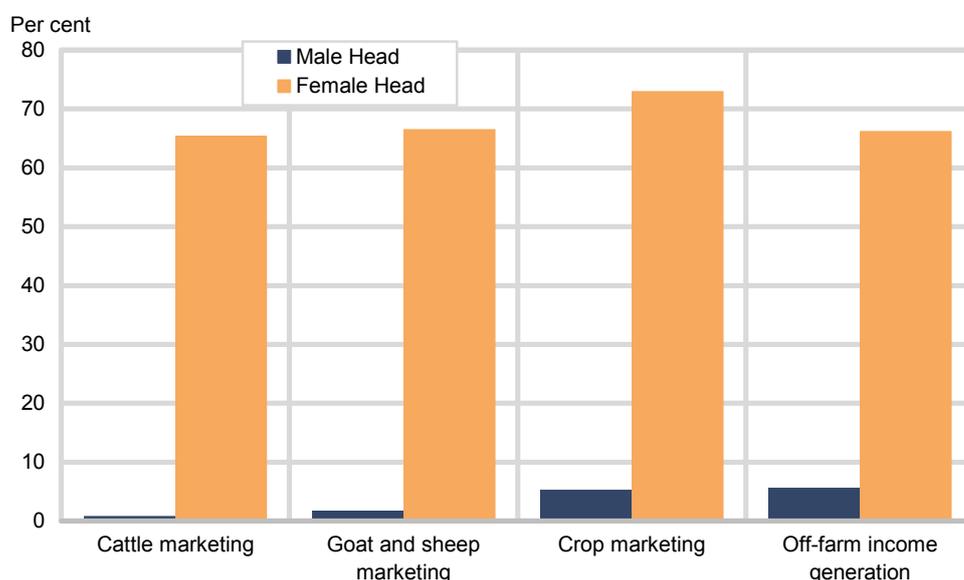
Do women ever take on “male” activities?

Does this pattern ever change? Let us first look at the typical “male” activities in male headed households, and see whether the same pattern appear in female headed households. Because of the virtual absence of adult males in these households they basically have three options: Not to conduct the activity, to let women conduct it, or to use children and/ or hired labour.

For “monetary” activities such as cattle and goat and sheep marketing, crop marketing and off-farm income generation, figure 4.1 shows that many female headed households choose *not to conduct these activities* at all. However, for *crop marketing*, the share of female headed households that conducts the activity is much higher. Moreover, figure 4.1 shows that “off-farm income generation is done by almost as many female, as male headed households.

Figure 4.9 shows the *share of women* being responsible for conducting traditionally “male” activities, by the sex of the household head, given that the activity is conducted by the household. The pattern is very clear: In male headed households, women are hardly ever responsible for “male” activities. In female Headed households they dominate completely as main responsible person. However, most likely, this is due the absence of adult males, rather than a possible effect of “strong” female Heads.

Figure 4.9. Share of Women being main the responsible for typical “male” activities¹. By sex of the household head.



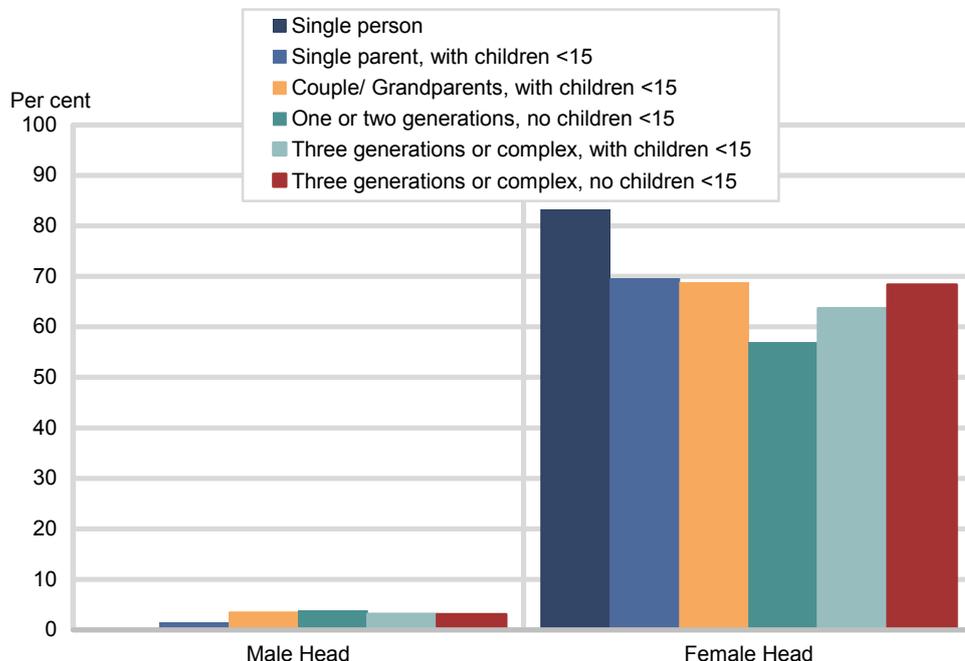
¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire. Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

We now broaden the investigation to check the results not only by the sex of the Head, but also across *household types* for each sex of Head. To simplify matters, we use the *average* percentage of adult females being main responsible for the 4 “monetary activities” in figure 4.9¹³.

¹³ Marketing of cattle, goat, sheep and crop, and non-agricultural income generation.

Figure 4.10 confirms that women hardly ever become “main responsible” for marketing when there is a male Head. When there is a male Head, women are “never” main responsible for (“male”) monetary activities, regardless of the household type. When there is a female Head, women are in most cases the main responsible, regardless of household type.

Figure 4.10. Average percentage of females being responsible for four traditionally “male” monetary activities¹. By sex of the household head and household type²

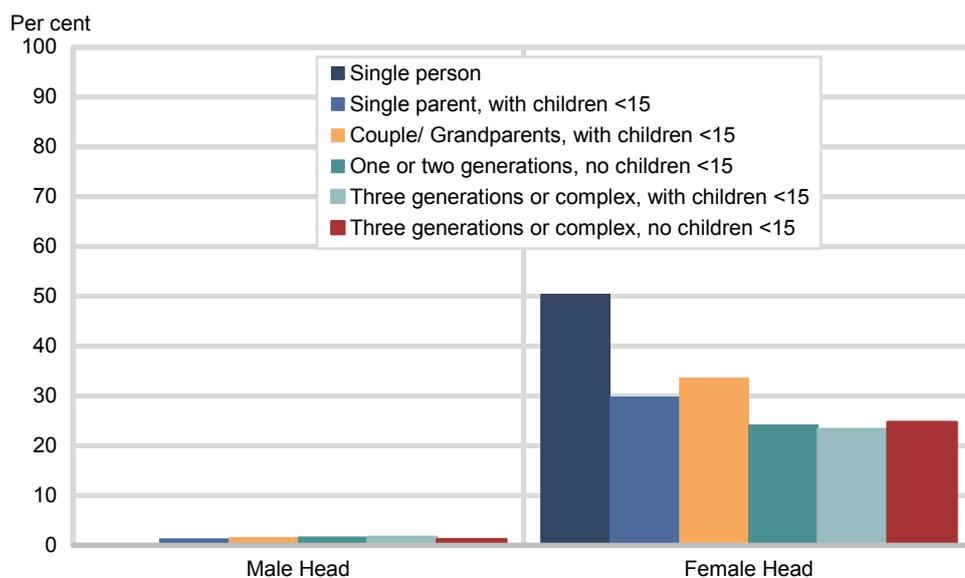


¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.

² Classified by marital status of Head, number of generations present, and whether there were children below 15 years in the household.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

Figure 4.11. Average percentage of females being responsible for five other traditionally “male” activities¹. By sex of the household head and household type²



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.

² Classified by marital status of Head, number of generations present, and whether there were children below 15 years in the household.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

Only 46 percent of female headed households have a male member above 15 years, and two thirds of these households have only one such male member. Moreover, this person is most frequent the son of the female head. More rarely is the presence of a male spouse, father, or other male relative. Hence, the female responsibility for “male” tasks in these households is apparently due to the absence of adult men being considered *fully capable* of fulfilling the traditional male role, rather than a complete absence of adult males.

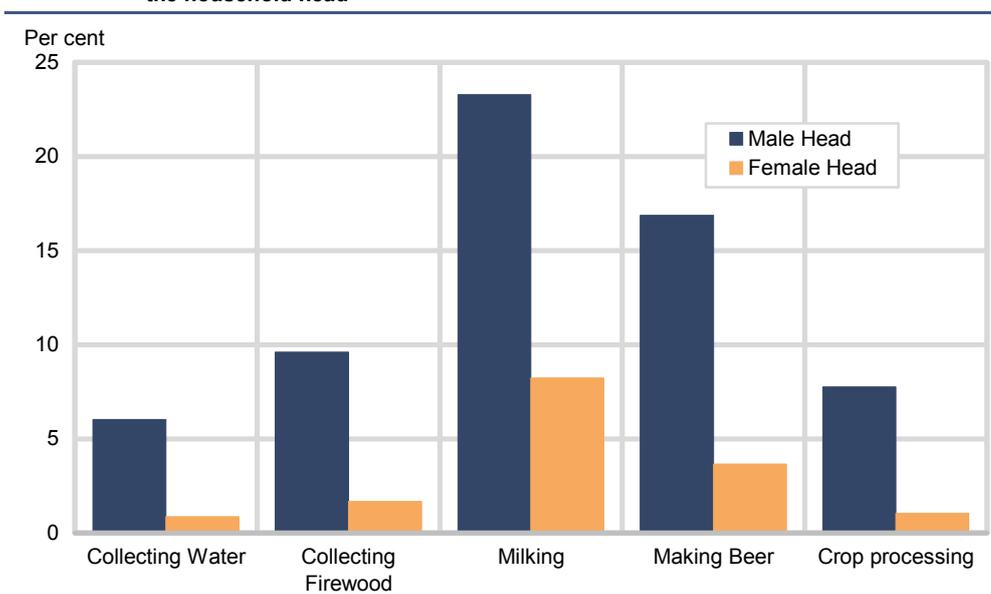
The same pattern is found for other activities with a clear male dominance (Pole cutting, Timber wood cutting, Building/Maintaining houses, Soil preparation (oxen/tractor) and Fishing, (figure 4.11). When there is a male Head women are “never” main responsible regardless of family type. When there is a female Head, women are much more *often* the main responsible, and this applies regardless of family type.

However, the adult female takeover in female headed households is less common than for the monetary activities listed in figure 4.9 and 4.10. The reason is most likely that some of these activities are physically demanding (e.g. Pole cutting, Timber wood cutting, Building/Maintaining houses), and, (as we will see below), is partially being conducted by female headed households hiring (male) labour.

Do men ever take on “female” activities?

Let us now investigate whether men ever take on *traditionally female activities*. As mentioned above, these are the typical “core” activities for an agricultural household, conducted by nearly all agricultural households (ref. figure 4.1).

Figure 4.12. Share of men being main the responsible for typical “female” activities¹. By sex of the household head



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire. Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

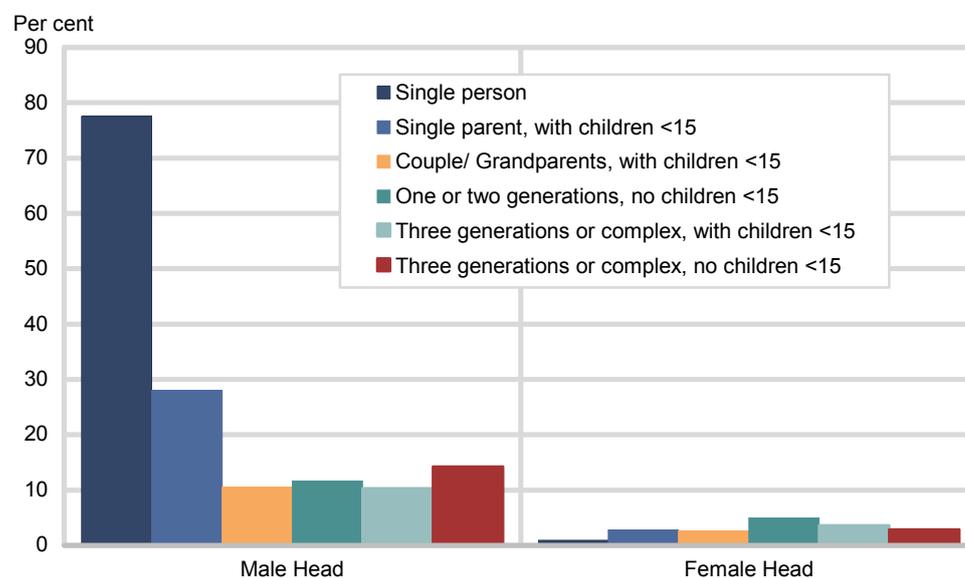
Figure 4.12 shows that there a low share of men being “main responsible” for traditionally “female” tasks, regardless of the sex of the Head¹⁴. The reason is that when there is a male Head, there are almost always also adult female household members, which then performs the traditionally “female” tasks. When there is a female Head, there are rarely adult men present, and hence, there are no males to take over “female” activities. This absence of adult males is most likely also the very reason for the household to be head by a woman.

In the same way as we did in figure 4.9, we now want to broaden the investigation by checking the results not only by the sex of the Head, but also for household

¹⁴ Note that the axis here is shorter than in figures 4.10 and 4.11.

type, for each sex of Head. In the same approach, we now use the *average* percentage of adult *males* being main responsible for the five traditionally “female” activities listed in figure 4.12¹⁵. The implication of the fact stated above that men almost always live in households where there are adult women present becomes even more clear (figure 4.13). *Only those few men living alone are “main responsible” for our five traditionally female tasks.*

Figure 4.13. Average percentage of males being responsible for five traditionally “female” activities¹. By sex of the household head and household type²



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.

² Classified by marital status of Head, number of generations present, and whether there were children below 15 years in the household.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

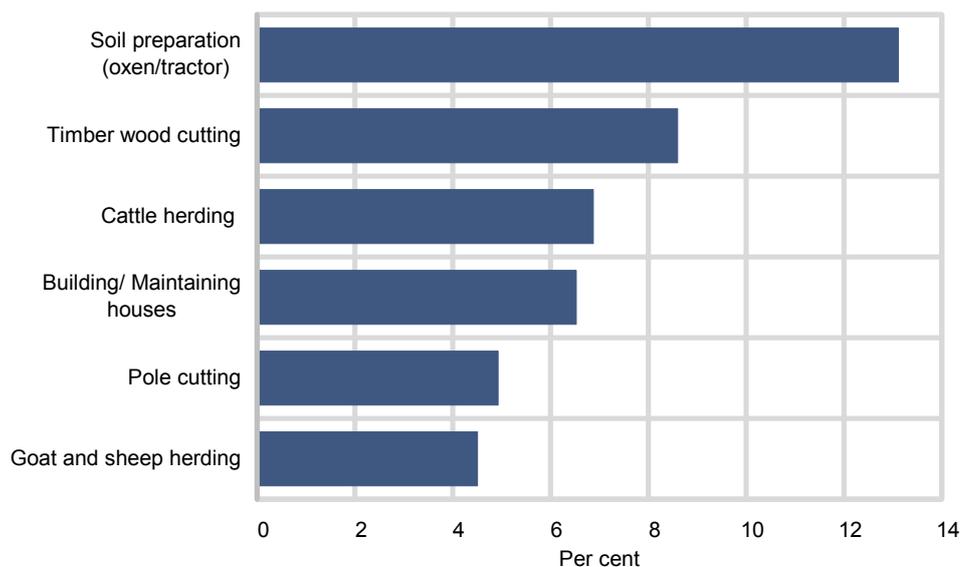
4.4. The role of hired labour

Let us finally look at the role of hired labour. Hired labour can be expected to serve two somewhat different purposes: First, hired labour allow successful entrepreneurial households to increase their production when their labour needs exceed the household’s own supply. Second, hired labour may also be used by less well-off female dominated households to replace missing male labour. In any case, “Hired labour” rarely acquire the “main responsibility” for any particular task, and in particular not for monetary tasks such as marketing. Hired labour is rather used to *assist* households in conducting an activity. Hence its real use is probably even larger than presented here. When “Hired Labour” is “mainly responsible” for an activity, it is usually for conducting traditionally “male” activities, except for monetary (marketing) activities (figure 4.14).

Given that there is a lack of adult males in female headed households, it comes as no surprise that more of these households depend heavily on hired labour for activities else dominated by males (figure 4.15). Many of these activities are also physically demanding, and hence, better suited for men. However, many female headed households are small and vulnerable, so one would expect the use of hired labour more to be a sign of extreme need, rather than an indication of successful entrepreneurship.

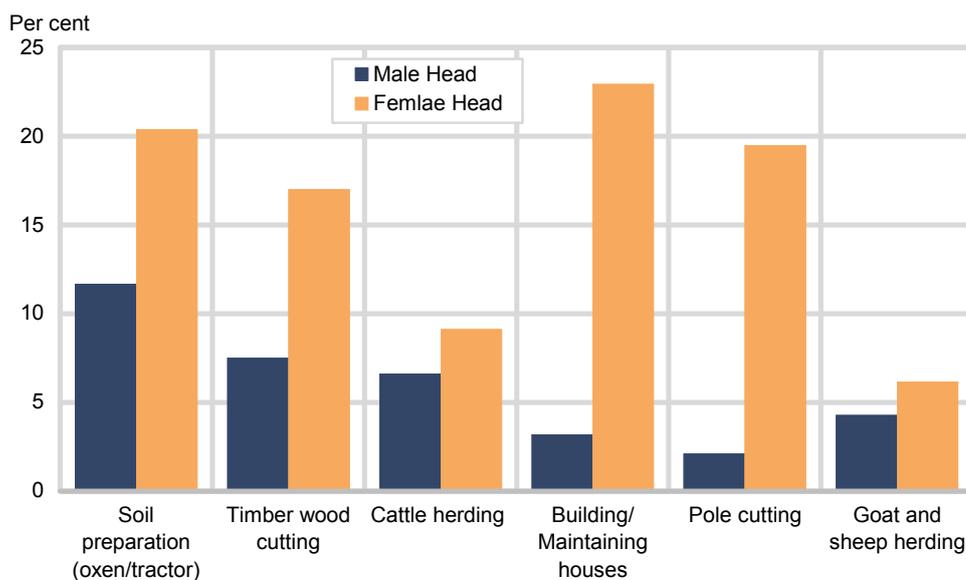
¹⁵ Collecting Water, Collecting Firewood, Milking, Making Beer, Crop processing.

Figure 4.14. Activities where hired labour is frequently the main responsible for an activity¹



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire. Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Figure 4.15. Share of households relying on "hired labour" as "main responsible" for an activity¹. By sex of the household head

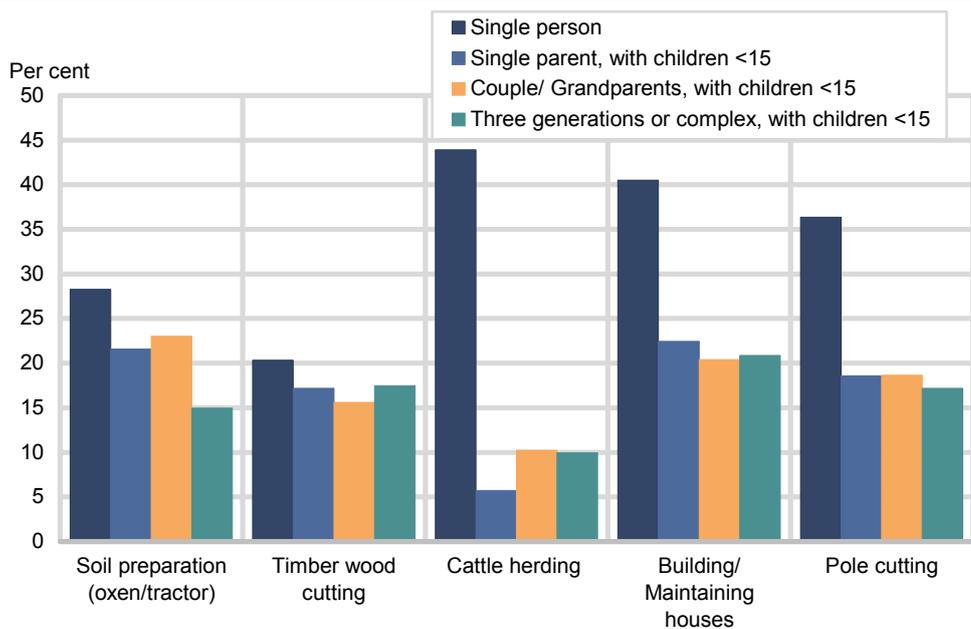


¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire. Source: 2002/ 03 "National Sample Census on Agriculture" (NSCA).

Figure 4.16 seems to support this assumption: The use of hired labour is highest among women living alone, many of whom are old, and thus must hire [male] labour for physically demanding tasks.

Many tasks are also performed jointly by household members, (or with *some* assistance from hired labour, but we lack data on this. Successful entrepreneurship may well use *assistance* from hired labour to perform various tasks, but it is primarily single women that have no other choice than giving hired labour the *main* responsibility for physically demanding tasks.

Figure 4.16. Share of households relying on “hired labour” as “main responsible” for an activity¹. By household type².



¹ In total 27 agricultural activities were listed in the NSCA questionnaire.

² Classified by marital status of Head, number of generations present, and whether there were children below 15 years in the household.

Source: 2002/ 03 “National Sample Census on Agriculture” (NSCA).

5. Conclusion

The authors of the 2007 Gender Profile presented the three basic questions of their gender analysis as being: “*Who does what*”, “*with which resources*”, in the view of “*which intra-household responsibilities*”. Inspired by these questions, we have tried to identify the most feasible household gender tags, and how to best describe the activities of individuals and groups along a gender dimension.

In Chapter 2 we found that male and female headed households also differ systematically with respect to *other* factors than the sex of the Head. A comparison of households by the sex of the Head is as much a comparison of female headed households that have faced negative marital shocks with male headed households not marked by such shocks. *Female headship thus seems to be as much an outcome as a cause, and is associated with small family size, few other adult members, and single parenthood.*

In Chapter 3 we showed that *household level gender variables have little influence on household livelihood categories*. These categories are *too broad* as to serve a basis for analysing the separate situation of men and women, and the different opportunity structures they face. Regional variations in livelihood categories are, for example, more important than household level gender factors.

In Chapter 4, we thus investigated the *specific activities* associated with each livelihood. Because most female headed households are characterized by the absence of adult males, we identified “male” and “female” activities in *male-headed households*, which almost always have both male and female members. We found a clear gender pattern associated with the main responsibility for the *specific activities*. Taking activities’ overall prevalence into account, *the most important “male” activity is animal husbandry*. Males also strongly dominate all activities related to monetary transactions.

Non-domestic household maintenance tasks, such as collecting firewood and water are the most important “female” activities. However, domestic tasks, traditionally considered to be female, such as childrearing, cooking and other everyday tasks, are *not included* in the survey. “Female” activities generally neither involve monetary issues, nor have an entrepreneur dimension. Many common, time consuming crop production activities, such as soil preparation, crop protection, planting weeding and harvesting are “gender neutral”. Here, “all adults”, and to some extent, “all household members” are responsible.

Children relatively seldom acquire the “main responsibility” for any particular task, but rather assist in a number of tasks. Children’s real contribution to the economy of the agricultural households is probably greatly undervalued, especially for girls, which help adult women perform (the unrecorded) domestic tasks. Contrary to our expectations, children do *not* more often have the “main responsibility” in female headed households, although they are characterized by manpower shortages.

Gender roles may change under certain circumstances: While women are hardly ever responsible for “male” activities in male headed households, they are responsible for these activities in female Headed households. This is most likely due to the absence of adult males. On the other hand, men rarely become responsible for “female” tasks, regardless of the sex of the Head. When there is a male Head, the household also has female members to perform female tasks. Only those few men living alone become responsible for such tasks.

“Hired labour” rarely acquire the “main responsibility” for any particular task, and in particular not for monetary tasks, such as marketing. Hired labour is rather used to *assist* households in performing activities and its real use is thus probably larger than shown here. Female headed households depend heavily on hired labour for “male” activities. The use of hired labour is highest among single women, of whom

many are old, for physically demanding tasks. Hence, the use of hired labour is rather a sign of deprivation than an indication of successful entrepreneurship.

Our findings indicate that an analysis of the differences in women's and men's opportunity structures, and of the different constraints to profitable investments facing groups of men and women *should not be based on a comparison of female and male headed households*. Female headship is as much an outcome as a cause, since most of these households have suffered marital shocks with lasting negative impact on their structure and coping strategies. Many female headed households struggle to meet their daily needs, and can thus not be expected engage in entrepreneurship¹⁶. Female headship is, however, a good indicator for targeting support to vulnerable households.

Although Headship is clearly defined and easily understood, and can easily be linked up with other information at the household level, it does not tell much about family gender roles, since female headed households rarely contain adult males. One should rather investigate the intra-household sharing of responsibilities for activities and tasks in the dominant group of male-headed households, which almost always also comprises adult females.

⁵ The typical sub-Saharan pattern, with a predominately male responsibility for monetary activities, animal husbandry, and entrepreneurial activities, and a particular female responsibility for growing staple food and exerting household maintenance activities overburdens many women. They are then less able to pursue other opportunities, such as new crops and new farming techniques or to engage in non-agricultural employment. This in turn reduces their bargaining power, and galvanizes the gender-biased distribution of rights and obligations within the household.

Attitudes to gender roles may be very difficult to change. Our analysis show that men very rarely take on traditionally "female" tasks. Policies designed at reducing women's work efforts to fill their role in providing their households with water and energy, and to perform domestic activities may thus be a more realistic approach in the short run. This will allow women to spend more time on growing their own crops and engage in innovative income-generating activities.

However, policies aiming at introducing new crops and new farming techniques also change gender roles in an often unpredictable manner. Sometimes, traditionally female crops that become more profitable are taken over by men. Increased demand for labour from due to increased agricultural productivity may both decrease women's time for own activities, but also increase their potential agricultural earnings from new market opportunities and/ or out-of-home employment. A proper understanding of this dynamics requires both data on individuals, on specific female crops, and preferably also panel data, such as in the currently ongoing Tanzania Panel Data Survey.

¹⁶ This does, of course, not apply to the female headed households living well from remittances from a working husband of the (nominal) female Head.

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