

wichtig ist, in welchem Verhältnis die staatliche Abschöpfung zurück in die Landwirtschaft und/oder in die Industrialisierung fließt - kein Gedanke dazu.

Nicht allein vom methodischen Anspruch her wären Überlegungen zur Verknüpfung dieser Variablen zu erwarten gewesen: Eine hohe Abschöpfungsquote wie in Tansania könnte soziale Unruhen auslösen. Tansania zeichnet sich aber gegenüber Kenia durch eine höhere politische Stabilität aus, und in Kenia sind bei niedriger staatlicher Abschöpfung die sozialen Spannungen ausgeprägter. Ist vielleicht die politische Stabilität in Tansania das Resultat des größeren "Repressionsapparates", der höheren Militärausgaben? Den benutzten Indikatoren für die Chancen zur politischen Partizipation (Zahl der politischen Gefangenen und Morde, Verletzung rechtsstaatlicher Prinzipien etc), die Tansania deutlich schlechtere Noten als Kenia erteilen, halten die Autoren selbst für wenig zutreffend. Oder Uganda mit den höchsten Militärausgaben: Sind diese verantwortlich für die politische Instabilität? - Oder vielleicht umgekehrt: Ist die innenpolitische Instabilität eine Ursache für die hohen Militärausgaben? Kurz: die Verknüpfung der Variablen und Indikatoren und ihre Stichhaltigkeit wird nicht einmal hypothetisch berührt, noch werden auf der Basis der vorhandenen Daten und Literatur im Rahmen "konventioneller" sozialwissenschaftlicher Methoden deutlich formulierte Erklärungen oder Thesen versucht.

Die Ratschläge, die die Autoren als Handlungsempfehlungen am Ende ihrer Analyse erteilen, entsprechen weitgehend den guten Worten, wie sie den regierungsamtlichen "Grundlinien zur Entwicklungspolitik" zu entnehmen sind und dem allgemeinen Trend entsprechen: In Kenia sollen, getragen von Nicht-Regierungs-Organisationen, die Selbsthilfe autonomer sozialer Kräfte und Kleinprojekte im ländlichen und handwerklichen Bereich gefördert werden. Und im Falle Tansanias kann sich das BMZ ebenfalls bestätigt sehen: Es wird vor allem die Unterstützung des IWF-Strukturanpassungsprogramms empfohlen.

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**Ujamaadörfer in Tanzania: Politik und Reaktionen der Bäuerinnen**  
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International calls, campaigns concerning the liberation and emancipation of women in the Third World countries in general and Africa in particular have become issues of high importance and popularity in the recent years. There is at present a substantial feminist work output on the liberation of women, development and their emancipation which is highly variable in quality and scope. The fact that such research projects and publications have multiplied recently is a clear exemplification of the situation confronting women in

most of these countries and the factors which block their development and their process towards emancipation in general, and more against male domination and oppression.

Donner-Reichle's book is a contribution towards that direction and has to be seen within the perspective of a debate on the liberation and development of women in Africa in general and Tanzania in particular. When one reads its title, one is made to believe that the book is aimed at laying bare the politics and reactions of rural women to the policy on Tanzanian socialism (Ujamaa). However, as one reads through up to the concluding chapter the whole content of the book seems to deal with the obstacles which hinder the emancipation and development of Tanzanian women in general and more particularly the rural women, and the way how the domination and oppression by men over women operates in Tanzania.

The book is divided into eight chapters of which the first four are mainly introductory and theoretical since they are an attempt to problematize the situation of Tanzanian women in general. These chapters place the objective of this book in its proper theoretical and concrete perspective.

In chapter two, the author begins by posing a very thorough critique of Goran Hyden's thesis of the "Uncaptured Peasantry" and puts in the open how weak this theory is in explaining the reality of the position and condition of rural women in Africa. In the third chapter Donner-Reichle presents a very illuminating analysis of the women organization in Tanzania "Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania" (UWT). The author shows clearly here how UWT is dominated by "Chama Cha Mapinduzi" (CCM) which is the ruling political party in Tanzania. Donner-Reichle shows how the CCM influences and determines both the mode of operation and policies of UWT, hence making UWT a mere organ of the party rather than an independent organization which represents the interests of Tanzanian women. The author points out other weaknesses of UWT as lack of finance to initiate various projects and run other organization's activities efficiently and also lack of competent personnel.

Chapter four discusses the government policy of including women in development planning (Regierungspolitik der Einbeziehung von Frauen in die Entwicklungsplanung Tanzanias). Donner-Reichle argues that there is no clear policy concerning the fate of women in Tanzania. The reality of rural village life is ignored and hence plans tend to assume that the division of labour between men and women is equal. As result such plans keep on maintaining and intensifying the oppression and subordination of rural women rather than developing them.

The empirical chapters begin with chapter five which describes the agro-pastoral Gogo society of Dodoma region where the research work was based. The four villages where the operationalization of the empirical research work was concentrated are described in chapter seven. This is a down-to-earth chapter which provides concrete information about the situation of rural women in Tanzania. It is in this chapter where Donner-Reichle lays bare a kind of problems which the rural women confront as producers and reproducers, their political consciousness and awareness, the nature and mode of their participation in politics,

their opinions concerning CCM, UWT, Ujamaa Policy at village level and the men-women relations at both family household level and village life politics in general.

In brief, what comes out from the overall analysis of the empirical research work is that the policy of Ujamaa in Tanzania has not achieved anything positive in terms of being able to liberate Tanzanian rural women from poverty, oppression and domination by men. Since UWT is a mass organization of the ruling political party which controls it, and since the ruling party (according to the author) is controlled and dominated by male politicians, Donner-Reichle concludes that the CCM-UWT relationship is a mere continuation (but in another form) of the domination and influence of men in women affairs. Women do not have the opportunity to participate in determining and directing their own affairs. The situation is worse to the rural women who are forced to accept orders and project's plans from above, be they from CCM or UWT. Rural women lack education and hence their political awareness and participation remains and continues to be problematic. Their access to land is in most cases by virtue of marriage (p. 193) and in reality the postulate of Ujamaa ideology concerning equality in access to land is yet to be realized to most rural women. These women do not have access to official agricultural extension services. In comparison to their male counterparts i.e. husbands, rural women work more and harder but gain less in terms of remuneration. They are oppressed at two levels: As housewives, rural women are subjected to intense oppression exercised via unequal gender relations. As members of the Ujamaa villages, these women do not enjoy equal political participation and are subjected to implementing policies and decisions decided from above. Most of the women are financially dependent on their men and this situation jeopardizes their possible chances of emancipation. Some are forced to enter into income generating activities since they are neither supported by their husbands nor by the village government.

Donner-Reichle's book is a warmly welcomed contribution which shows concretely the situation which confronts most of the rural poor women and the factors which have hindered and continues to hinder their development. It is both informative and theoretically robust. Her thorough empirical work and the way she organizes the data collected and develops arguments therefrom makes the book far more realistic than it could otherwise have been. In many ways, this is an attractive and useful book clearly written, easy to read, well researched and illustrated with new insights and on a topic which is current and of interest to all those concerned with this burning question of the oppression and development women in Africa. There is no doubt that it is one of the most recent studies on women and socialism in Tanzania which shows concretely the mode of operation of unequal gender relations in Tanzania. Most of the information and material which has culminated to the production of this book are a product of first hand information from the victims themselves (den Bäuerinnen). The book forms a fitting introductory text to a field that is bound to grow in the next decade. The author has validated her theory through interesting qualitative and quantitative research design and concrete historical analysis. Donner-Reichle concludes her book by saying that: "Solange gängige Entwicklungskonzepte nicht überdacht werden auf (a) das Tierhaltungspotential der Region mit entsprechend ausgedehntem Weideflächen-

management und (b) daraufhin, daß ohne Partizipation der Bäuerinnen keine ländliche Entwicklung stattfinden kann, wird eine Produktionssteigerung, eine Entwicklung der Region insgesamt nicht stattfinden" (s. 287-88).

Whilst I agree with the methods used in collecting data, the analysis, arguments posed, conclusions and recommendations made by the author, I still hold the following reservations.

First, I have a strong feeling that the title of the book does not merit the content. As I have pointed out in the beginning, the book does not only deal with the politics and reactions of rural women in Ujamaa villages in Tanzania but addresses itself to problems which rural women face, their experiences of life in Ujamaa villages and the factors which hinder their processes of emancipation and development. A title reflecting "Socialism and the Development of Women in Tanzania" or "Socialism and Women Emancipation in Tanzania" could have paid due justice to the content of the whole book. Secondly, an analysis focusing on rural women alone tends to assume a priori that the urban women are fairing well. This is an analytical problem emanating from the false premises of posing the oppression and domination of women geographically, sectorally and only in terms of gender relations. No attempt is made to analyse the problem in its totality, and to see what kind of processes (social relations) at both macro and micro have affected women in general, and what differences exist between urban and rural women. In the case of Tanzania one should not assume that the urban women have been favoured by the system. The majority poor and in most cases unmarried women lack land, housing employment and security. In order to survive some have to earn their living via the most humiliating way of prostitution. Thirdly, such analysis assumes that Tanzanian men are fairing well. Indeed, assuming towards that direction is assuming too much. Fourthly, I am not sure whether it is justified to explain CCM-UWT relationships only in terms of gender relations. It is important at this point to underscore the fact that gender relations are determined by history, culture and class structure. An analysis which combines all these variables assists one in laying bare the root-causes of gender inequality and exploitative relations confronting women not only in Tanzania, but also elsewhere, and how such relations are reproduced and maintained. These are my reservations. However, my reservations do not mean that Donner-Reichle's work is weak in that direction, but rather they are aimed at fostering new insights to a debate which is at present overwhelming.

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