

WHAT ARE THE GENDERED IMPLICATIONS OF NEOLIBERAL LAND GRABS?

A case study of Rufiji River Basin in Rufiji District, Coast Region in Tanzania

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Dedication

To my beloved sons Mike and Victor -- *I love you dearly.*

The Map of Tanzania

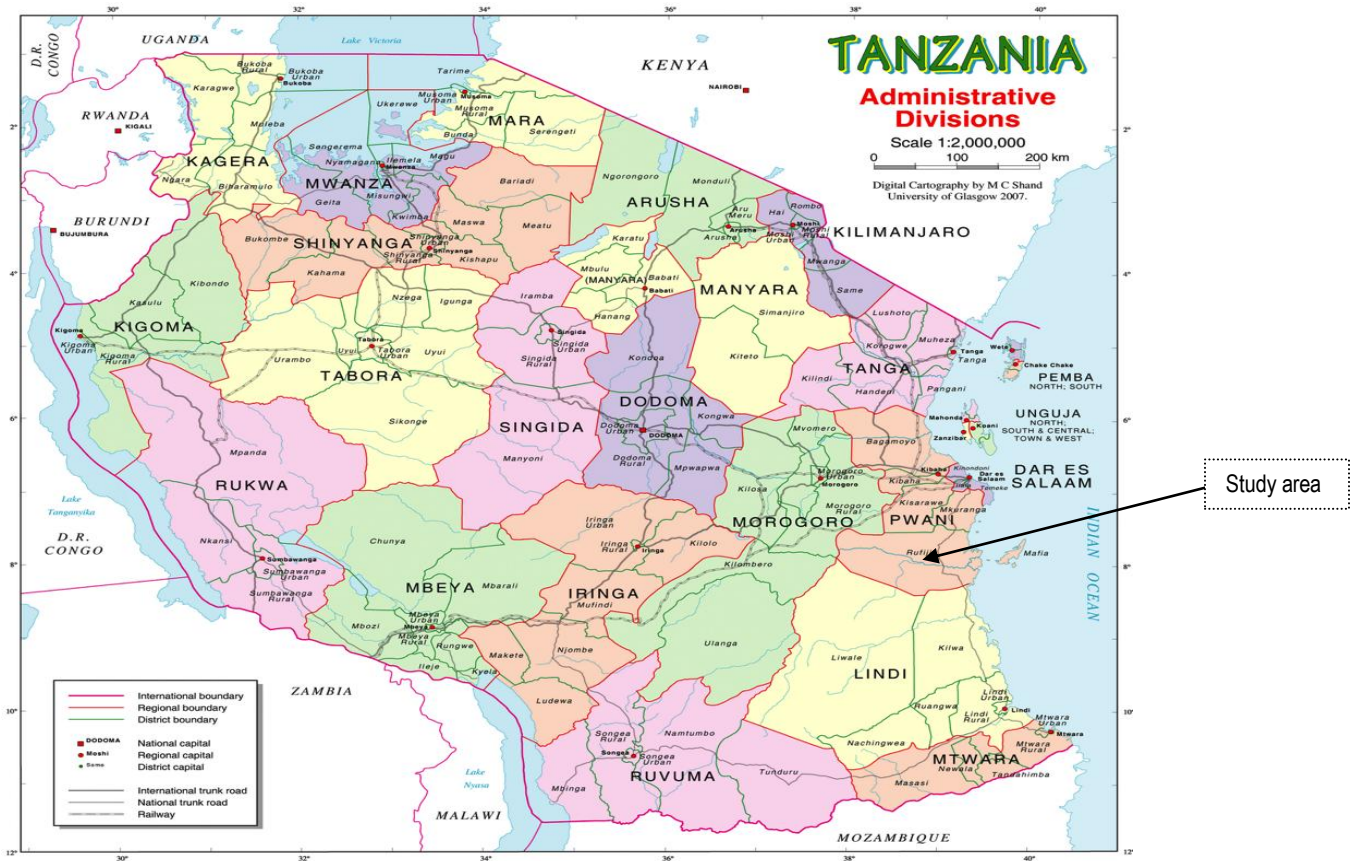


Figure1: The Map of Tanzania. Source: Map No 3667 United Nations 2006 -- Department of Peacekeeping operations cartographic section printed with permission.

List of Acronyms

AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
ASDP	Agricultural Sectoral Development Programme
AU	African Union
BRN	Big Result Now
BFR	Big Fast Result
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CCRO	Customary Certificate Rights of Occupancy
COSTECH	Commission for Science and Technology
CCM	<i>Chama Cha Mapinduzi</i>
DAS	District Administrative Secretary
DED	District Executive Secretary
ELAW	Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide
FAO	Food Agricultural Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDC	Focal Development Centre
HIV/Aids	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ILC	International land Coalition
MAFSC	Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives
NEPAD	New Partnership of Africa's Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NLUPC	National Land Use Planning Commission
NSD	Norwegian Social Science Data Services
OAU	Organization of African Union
SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Corridor of Tanzania

RAS	Regional Administrative Secretary
RUBADA	Rufiji Basin Development Authority
RRB	Rufiji River Basin
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
TANU	Tanganyika African Nation Union
TNBC	Tanzania National Business Council
TIC	Tanzania Investment Centre
USD	United States Dollar
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

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Prelude: Attending the Uhuru Torch Ceremony



Figure 2: Lt. Alex Nyirenda, with Tanganyika's flag and the Uhuru torch, at the summit of Mt. Kilimanjaro on the eve of Tanzania's independence, 9 December 1961 (Photo courtesy of Tanzania Information Services and reprinted with permission).

Sisi tumekuja kuwasha mwenge, tumekuja kuwasha mwenge, na kuuweka juu ya mlima mlima Kilimanjaro, kuwasha mwenge kuwasha mwenge na kuuweka Kilimanjaro, umulike hata nje ya mipaka yetu ulete tumaini, pale ambapo hakuna matumaini, upendo mahali ambapo pana chuki na heshima ambapo pamejaa dharau.

[My translation] We have come to light the torch, we have come to light the torch, and place it on the mountain, the Mount Kilimanjaro, light the torch and place at the Mount Kilimanjaro, its light goes even beyond our borders to bring hope, where there is no hope, love, where there is hatred and respect, where there is full of contempt.

This is the popular song sung during the so-called Uhuru torch races -- one of the Tanzanian national symbols where the torch symbolizes freedom and hope¹. Metaphorically, as the song goes the Uhuru torch symbolizes the forces of freedom and light that will illuminate the country and shine even across Tanzanian borders, bringing rays of hope where there is despair and love where there is hatred. As illustrated by the photo, the ceremony includes a physical torch and it was first lit on the top of Mount Kilimanjaro by Lieutenant Alexander Nyirenda in 1961 when Tanganyika received its independence from British colonial rule. Starting then, in 1961, Uhuru torch races have been held annually, starting from different regions throughout Tanzania to, according to national discourse, remind Tanzanians of their duty to guard their cherished freedom and to instill the values of unity and peace.

Early in September 2013 I attended the ceremony which marked the end of Uhuru torch race at Rufiji district. The ceremony was held at Ikwiriri Focal Development Centre (FDC) football ground where the Uhuru torch was to be kept alight² for the whole night. I wanted to attend the ceremony but I was too tired to walk to the Ikwiriri FDC football ground which was about 2 kilometers from Ikwiriri centre, so I decided to pick a motorcycle known as *bodaboda*³

¹ Others that I will not touch upon here include National flag, National animals, National anthem and Coat of arms.

² Usually the Uhuru Torch is set alight when the race starts and it is never turned off until the race is over.

³ These are the commercial motorcycles known as *bodaboda*. From the year 2010 there is a proliferation of commercial motorcycles in Tanzania. It was reported in Mwakapasa (2011) that commercial motorcycle has been a cause of many death and injuries in both rural and urban areas. At the beginning of my fieldwork I was so terrified to use *bodaboda* but I could not help using this kind of transport as there were places which could not be reached through public transport.

to get me there. The *bodaboda* was ridden by a young man of around 25. While riding he asked me “*Mama* (mother) are you going to attend the Uhuru torch ceremony at Ikwiriri FDC football ground?” I answered “Yes I am”. I requested him to concentrate on riding the motorcycle for I was worried that we might crash or fall off. He nevertheless, kept on telling me that he did not think the race was important to him, he believed that life had become so difficult and instead of attending the race he preferred concentrate on working with his *bodaboda*. He told me that he was nevertheless thankful because the Uhuru torch race had brought many people to Ikwiriri rural town and he had been able to do good business and make more money than he usually did.

Fortunately, upon my arrival at FDC football ground I saw several cars heading to the FDC football ground, one of which was carrying the Uhuru torch. The Uhuru torch was surrounded by four people who I could not identify -- perhaps they were soldiers. It was then taken to the Ikwiriri FDC football ground where the Uhuru torch race team leader and Rufiji district commissioner gave speeches based on the 2013 race motto which was “Tanzanians are one; we should not be divided by our religion, creeds, colour, natural resources or political inclinations”. Other messages during the race included “Fight against HIV/Aids, drugs use and fight against corruption”. Around 6 pm the District commissioner officially opened entertainments to be held throughout the night. The entertainment included different traditional dances (including also *taarab*⁴ that I will also return to in Chapter three). So, I decided to hang around the Ikwiriri FDC football ground to mid-night which, except for the different district government officials, was attended mostly by children than adults.

Before the impact of neo-liberalism set in the 1980s in Tanzania, the subject of my present thesis, when I was in primary school, the Uhuru torch race was cherished and respected. I remember how my parents and teachers used to talk highly of the race and how they all organized themselves before the race to make sure that it became a success. I still remember a day when my late mother, who was a civil servant, sent me to give money to the *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM)⁵ branch chairperson to contribute to the Uhuru torch race. This situation from

⁴ *Taarab* is a music genre popular in Tanzania and Kenya. It is influenced by music from the cultures with a historical presence in East Africa, including South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, the Middle East and Europe. *Taarab* rose to prominence in 1928 with the rise of the genre's first star, Siti binti Saad (Høyem 2009).

⁵ This was the only political party during single party system. Now Tanzania is following multiparty political system and there are more than five political parties.

the 1980s differs radically from the 2013 situation. Now civil servants and other people are unwilling to voluntarily contribute to make the race a success. Even these, attached formally to the state through their work, complained that they were forced by their seniors at their working places to buy the T-shirts celebrating the Uhuru torch ceremony.

Analytically, both the Uhuru torch and the song symbolize the collective values and the Pan-Africanism ideologies that the first president of Tanganyika *Mwalimu* Julius Kambarage Nyerere⁶ had towards both African countries and Tanganyika. Sanders (2008:79-81) defines Pan-Africanism as an ideology that encourages the cohesion of Africans worldwide. Within this ideology it is believed that African unity is vital to economic, social, and political progress, underlining that the destiny of all African people and countries are entangled⁷. Inspired by the Pan-Africanism ideology, *Mwalimu* Nyerere believed that Tanganyika could not claim to be independent while other African countries were still colonized. As a result he pioneered the liberation struggle of other African countries through the use of non-violent means. He therefore worked tirelessly to support Zambia (1964), Malawi (1964), Botswana (1966), Lesotho (1966), Mauritius (1968), Swaziland (1968) and Seychelles (1976) during their liberation struggle. Moreover he provided political, material and moral support of many other Southern Africa countries such as 1975 (Mozambique, Angola), 1980 (Zimbabwe), 1990 (Namibia) and finally, 1994 (South Africa) (Shivji 2005).

It is against this background on 26 April 1964 that Tanganyika joined with the islands of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, a new state that changed its

⁶ Nyerere was known by the Swahili honorific *Mwalimu* or 'teacher', his profession prior to politics. He was also referred to as *Baba wa Taifa* (Father of the Nation). *Mwalimu* Nyerere was the one who initiated the Uhuru torch race in the country.

⁷ The core of Pan-Africanism is the stand that African people in the continent and in the diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny. The largest Pan-African organization is the African Union (AU) which was also established through *Mwalimu* Nyerere and other few African leaders under the ideals of liberalization, democracy and common humanity. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which later became the African Union was formed in the year 1963.

name to the United Republic of Tanzania (Sanders 2008:79-81)⁸. In order to instil the collective and self reliant grounded ideologies from Pan-Africanism, *Mwalimu* Nyerere on 5 February 1967, launched the so-called Arusha declaration which is known as Tanzania's most well-known political statement of African socialism - '*Ujamaa*'- or brotherhood. Among other things the Arusha declaration declares land as the "[...] basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a precious asset for future development. Because land belongs to the nation, the government has to see to it that land is used for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the benefit of one individual or just a few people" (Nyerere 1967:28-29). The Arusha declaration further stresses a self-reliance ideology antagonistic towards foreign investment for Tanzania development (*ibid* 1967:16-17). However, since *Mwalimu* Nyerere's death in 1999, many of the nation's Pan-Africanism as well as the socialist ideals in government practices have been discarded with the government decision to drive out Rwandan and Burundian refugees from its borders as one of the examples of Tanzania's reduced effort to the Pan-Africanism ideology. As I will explore more in this thesis, the desertion of these values coincided with the nation's embrace of neoliberal social and economic policies and its drive to privatization. The adoption of the liberalization policies brought enormous changes to Tanzania, including increased corruption and crime, higher school fees and, perhaps most importantly, greater gaps between the wealthy and the poor (Shivji 2005).

Tanzania has been known for peace and a sense of national identity, even while its citizens in neighbouring countries lived through civil wars, coups, and dictatorships. However the transition from socialism to neo-liberalism strained the nation's unity as religious, ethnic, racial as well as class cleavages appeared (Shivji 2006). During the regime of the Tanzania's third president Benjamin Mkapa (1995-2005), Nyerere passed away, taking with him his influence on social, political and ideological thoughts. From 1985 the nation's socialist policies

⁸ Tanganyika gained its independence from the United Kingdom as a Commonwealth territory on 9 December 1961, becoming a republic within the Commonwealth of Nations on 9 December 1962. Zanzibar on the other hand is composed of the Zanzibar archipelago in the Indian Ocean and consists of numerous small islands and two large ones: Unguja and Pemba. It gained its independence on the 12th January 1964 where by Abeid Karume became the country's new president.

were completely forsaken and instead Tanzania formally accepts the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) conditionalities, one of which was the creation of market even in areas it does not exist. There on Tanzanians and Warufiji in particular witness the inflow of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in several areas of the Tanzanian economy including land, mineral and natural gas (Harvey 2007, Kamata and Mwami 2011). I therefore argue that this transition made many Tanzanians question the nature of previously respected and revered national practices, such as the Uhuru torch race. This was seen dramatically in the ethnographic snippet above in the case of the Warufuji non-participating and even some of the civil servants reluctance to buy T-shirts to mark the Uhuru torch ceremony at Ikwiriri FDC football ground in 2013. It is this contradiction or tension -- contained in the historically changing nature of the Uhuru torch race -- between the major global forces (in this context neoliberal land grab) that have come to influence Tanzania, on the one hand, and Warufiji men and women's social, economic, political and cultural life experiences on the other that I want to explore in this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“What are you researching on?” One of those I consider ‘my boss’⁹ asked me. I met him in June 2013 at Msimbazi centre, a place which sells interview forms for several private secondary schools in Tanzania. At the time, my first born was about to finish his primary school education, so I went to buy an interview form which will enable him to join one of the Catholic church private schools in Morogoro, the southern highlands of Tanzania¹⁰.

I told ‘my boss’ that I expect to research the current situation of land grabs and its gendered implications, especially as this relates to the multiple meaning of land at Rufiji River Basin (RRB). Further, I let him know that I intend to focus on the impacts of land grabbing and how the process is experienced by local people. He thought for a while and then, suddenly, he told me. “There is no land grab in Tanzania, only that Non Governmental Organizations (NGO) and land activists have amplified foreign land investment process in the country”.

He kept on telling me that up to now the president of Tanzania has not signed any request for changing village land to general land so that it can be given to foreign land investors¹¹. At first I panicked by his answers and I thought that maybe I will have to change my topic -- maybe I would not be able to gather relevant data for my research topic. However, when contemplating his reply and his denial of any process of land grabs, I was reminded of two intertwined historical developments; that of the history of capitalist expansion and Foucault’s concept of ‘power-knowledge’ as well as the claim of ‘objective truth’ in relation to this. For one, the history of capitalist expansion -- as I choose to see land grabs as part of -- is also closely connected with the historical development of scientific discourses concerning epistemologically

⁹ ‘My boss’ is a commonly colloquial Tanzanian term that I use to represent members of the national elites who, knowingly or unknowingly, became a form of petty bourgeoisie on the basis of neoliberal trends affecting various social, political, cultural and economic processes. See also Foucault (1991:87) for a similar argument.

¹⁰ In the year 1998 the Ministry of Education and Vocational Education issued an integrated education and training policy which, among other things, liberalized the provision of education at all levels and, thus, necessitated such purchases (see also Chedié *et al* 2000: 23-28).

¹¹ Currently, land administration in Tanzania is categorized into reserved, general and village land. Reserved land is the land set aside for special purposes (forest reserves, game parks and reserves), land reserved for highways and public utilities, land designated under the town and country planning ordinance, and hazardous land. The land is managed by different institutions depending on the purpose for which the land was reserved. Second is general land which is land that is not reserved land or village land. General land is managed by the central government through the commissioner for lands. Third is village land which is the land that belongs to registered villages. Village land is administered by the so-called Village council on behalf of the Village assembly (comprised of all members of a village older than 18).

crucial social, economic, political and, even, cultural issues (Castree 2008:155-160). Put differently, in this historical process, western sciences are integral to capitalist expansion (historically and contemporarily) which encroach on and is oriented towards reordering and redefining social processes, cultural orders etc. as part of its development (Biersack 2005a: 239-246). Crucially, in this process local understandings of the meanings behind long-standing cultural practices, such as how land should be conceived, used or related to, are often neither recognized nor accorded any position in these often western-centric discourses (Broch-Due 2000 :18).

This double marginalization of non-western approaches to, for instance, land and the dominant western understanding of the same underpinning capitalist expansion, may be understood through Foucault's concept of 'power -knowledge' and the claim of 'objective truth'. A starting point for Foucault's notion was his critical approach to claims of 'objective truth' through an incisive analysis of the formation of modern rationality which, Foucault argues, is oriented towards controlling the minds of individuals rather than opening these up to possibilities (Foucault 1991:87-104). Accordingly, he held the view that individuals construct knowledge(s) and truth(s) in accordance with and reflecting their particular social, cultural, political and economic agendas. Thus, the dominant truth at any given point of time is not an indication of or a reflection of any identifiable 'objective reality' but, rather, a product of power -- its manifestation. Foucault believes that truth(s) is/are conveyed within discourses that consist of 'organized statements' which are 'rationalized' by experts to guide 'responsible action' (Peet and Hartwick 2009: 204, Foucault 1991).

If we follow this cursory introduction to a Foucauldian optic in relation to the encounter I recounted at the beginning of this introduction, some discursive truths pertaining to land and its control necessarily become dominant, while other truths, such as local peoples' definition(s) of land and other concepts to guide actions in many places, remain relatively non-influential or subjugated to forces and discourses outside of their own contexts. Crucially, however, the power-knowledge configuration -- for instance when it comes to land issues -- does not necessarily mean that local people have ceased to give meanings to what land is and how it is supposed to be used. For meanings of what land is and how it is supposed to be used, apart from being shaped

by power relations, must also be understood as reflecting discourses and practices that are continuously produced within specific social, cultural and historical contexts. This reflective recontextualisation of my encounter with 'my boss' therefore made me even more determined to pursue my initial research topic as it made me acutely aware of the fact that the meaning of land is diverse and thoroughly contested across and within local, national and international settings and opening up for more than a mere pluralization of meanings.

In Tanzania, Nelson *et al* (2012) illustrates how the leadership code during the socialist era insisted on a separation of public and private sectors. Government officials as well as senior parties' leaders were prohibited from getting involved in private enterprise. After 1985 when Tanzania adopted a more liberalized capitalist-oriented economic policies, several changes concerning leadership code as well as a dissolution of the separation between public and private sectors followed suit. As a result, private interests and public office began to be more interconnected. National elites started private investments to accumulate wealth. Some engaged themselves in business, some embarked on commercial cultivation which necessitates rural land grabbing.

Important to probing such changes is the observation Verma (2014:68)¹² makes that land as a 'property' is not a relation between people and things. Rather, it is a relation between people concerning things -- and as an effect, therefore, land grabs are power relations between and among women and men/ national elite and the majority rural men and women/ foreign land investors and the rural poor, etc about property. As such, there is a contestation even in defining what land is. Moreover 'my boss's' argument concerning the absence of a situation of land grab and instead one of land acquisition in Tanzania lead, necessarily, to another debate about whether land grabbing or land acquisition in the current neoliberal land market is the appropriate term.

Land Grabbing or Land Acquisition?

The global (and increasing) demand for food, energy, raw materials, timber and conservation has resulted in huge acquisitions of land in Africa (over 203 million hectares of land) and other parts of the world. Studies show that 78% of global land deals have been used for

¹² see also Biersack (2005b: 3-6) for a similar argument.

agricultural production, of which three quarters are for biofuels, especially for energy production (ILC 2012; Nibi 2012:1-4). Tanzania, like many other countries in Africa and other parts of the world, has responded to the global forces by allocating land for agricultural and energy production through both foreign and domestic direct investments and by reforming policies, legal and institutional frameworks to suit the changing dynamics of international trade and commerce. Reflecting this global trend affecting the global South, in 2006 the Tanzania government therefore invited foreign investors into the agricultural sector. At this time, the government was interested in growing plants for producing energy biofuels to supplement the existing energy sources (Massay 2012:2-3).

The 2006 aspiration of the government to open doors for interested partners coincided with a global demand for lands to both food and biofuel projects. These developments at both local and global levels have created a certain pressure on land in most rural areas of Tanzania including RRB. Within a few years Warufiji -- the self-designated term used to denote the people of the RRB -- experienced a huge influx overflow of investors who, according to reports, 'grab' large portions of land into the area (Kamata and Mwami 2011:16-21).

This process has brought about debate amongst scholars, activists and national elites on the best term to describe the large-scale acquisition of land in both Africa and Tanzania (Larsen 2012: 9-22). Kamata and Mwami (2011:8-9); Chachage and Baha (2011:6-8); Matondi *et al* (2011) describe the current waves of large scale land acquisitions for commercial production in developing countries in Africa and other parts of the world as 'land grabs'. For them the term 'land grab' aptly describes the neoliberal project whose objective is the accumulation of capital through any means deemed fit. However, Anseeuw *et al* (2012), are critical of such description on the grounds that the current land deals are being negotiated by sovereign African states exercising powers that they have under national laws, hence referring to the phenomena instead as 'land acquisition'.

Larsen (2012: 5-7), however, argues that the term 'land acquisition' tends to open up for several meanings and interpretations of the phenomenon compared to the popular term 'land grab' which is considered as reflecting activist terminology and tends to obscure enormous differences in the legitimacy, structure and outcomes of commercial land deals and deflects attention from the roles of domestic elites and governments as partners, intermediaries and

beneficiaries. Furthermore, the recent so-called Tirana declaration of the -- International Land Coalition (ILC), declare land grab to involve acquisitions or concessions that are one of the following: (i) In violation of human rights, particularly the equal rights of women; (ii) not based on free, prior and informed consent of the affected land-users; (iii) not based on a thorough assessment, or are in disregard of social, economic and environmental impact, including the way they are gendered; (iv) not based on transparent contracts that specify clear and binding commitments about activities, employment and benefits sharing, and; (v) not based on effective democratic planning, independent oversight and meaningful participation (ILC 2012).

Arguably, as pointed out also by Liversage (2011:8), I acknowledge the fact that land grabbing does not exclusively only involve foreign deals as such deals, more or less, murky foreign deals may only constitute a small part of 'land grabbing' taking place in many countries. Also, in some countries land grabs are carried out by competing land users (pastoralists, crop farmers), national elites and even intra-family or intra-household land grab situation within families (men from women, for instance etc). Focusing only on large scale land acquisitions by foreigners may therefore sometimes distract attention from other equally or more serious forms of 'land grabbing' in some societies.

However, based on my fieldwork experience and inspired by (ILC 2012, Kamata and Mwami 2011; Liversage 2011) I will nonetheless use the term 'land grab' to refer to the acquisition of foreign, large scale land acquisition because the term land grab reflects that local resource users are either dispossessed of their access to land 'without their consent'¹³, that there is a 'massive' land acquisition, and/or that they do not have enough information to lead them to the informed decisions concerning land deals within or without households. On the other hand, Ortner (2005:33-34) argues that people are culturally and structurally produced, therefore there is an element of 'agency' and 'consciousness' in all social subjects. I will therefore take my vantage point from the position of Ortner when looking at how people deal with and give meaning to the effects of neoliberal land grabs.

Based on this line of argument I intend to use the term land grab -- for this will give me an avenue to display different perspectives concerning the meaning of land and its' impact on

¹³ This does not necessarily mean that villagers whose land is to be taken by either local or foreign investors are not involved in negotiations, rather is the way governmentality is used and obscure local perspectives on land and how they would like investors (local and foreigners) to use it.

the lives of both men and women in RRB. Additionally, Daley and Pallas (2014:183) argue that apart from the fact that women are not a homogenous group and their experience within the neoliberal land grab framework differs according to their status in their families, clans, communities, societies, age, marital status and relative wealth as well as their level of education. They are likely to be more negatively affected than men in the neoliberal land grabbing process especially the case in rural African settings. Grounded on Daley and Pallas argument I now intend to explore and illustrate the Warufiji gendered dimensions of land grabs to see how far this is in line with the Warufiji experiences.

The Gendered Dimensions of Land Grab

Are you married? Do you have children? How many? Are you working? What are you doing in Norway? Whom have you left your children with? Does it mean you are a student? These were all common questions asked by those one in anthropology sometimes call informants or interlocutors. As I got more familiar with them I understood that they were concerned with me and I also understood that as an African woman I needed to manage and balance my roles in relation to my fieldwork, as is common in anthropological fieldwork (Scheynens 2003: 101-105). It has been generally understood that in many African communities men and women usually have clearly defined activities that they perform on a daily basis, commonly often referred to as the gendered division of labour (TGNP 2007). Sanders (2008:11-13) define gender division of labor as the socially constructed roles, behavior, activities and attributes that a particular society consider appropriate for men and women.

However, in this regard it is not only a formal division of labour which is crucial to understand local contexts and their gendered dynamics. For one, arguably most experiences of men and women are intersubjective and embodied and experiences which are later designating gender differences between men and women are often said to be located in male and female bodies. Further, sexuality in most societies is the base for inscribing gender related behaviors and social practices (Sanders, 1999). In this regard, Broch-Due (1999) makes the point that everyday acts and actions, gestures and behaviors are not solipsist and fixed (i.e. are irreducible to the individual) but rather must be approached as inherently social, processual and performed by both women and men. Thus, as argued also by Moore (1988), the everyday socially inscribed practices between men and women are often differently valued and, as such, closely linked to

forms of power and gender hierarchies. As such women and men come to have different understandings of themselves as engendered persons because they are differently positioned with regard to discourses concerning gendered ideals that influence the social construction of men and women. Women and men, then, take up distinct positions within gender discourses in any particular cultural context. This argument accrues analytical value when approaching the basis for gendered land relations in Tanzania -- as 'access' to, 'ownership' and 'control' of land in Tanzania is linked to the positioning of people in terms of gender and class (see also Biersack 2005b: 3-6 for a similar argument). Let me elaborate:

In Tanzania land is formally governed by both customary and statutory laws whereby an individual can own land through inheritance (customary law), allocation, purchase and right of occupancy. Several scholars Dzodzi (2003); Isaksson and Sigte (2009); Kamata and Mwami (2011) argue that customary law, which govern land administration in most rural areas in Tanzania, discriminate against women as wives, widows, divorcees or daughters with regards to 'ownership', 'access' to, 'control' and inheritance of land. Furthermore, it is commonly pointed out that in both patrilineal and matrilineal societies women's access to land is indirect through husbands, fathers or sons. Dzodzi (2003) when discussing on women's interests within land tenure reforms in Tanzania refers to Shivji's argument that neither men nor women or even communities owned land in Tanzania. This is because land is vested in the state and they both (men and women) have the right of occupancy whether deemed or granted.

Based on my own experience, fieldwork and analysis, I disagree with Shivji's argument, for -- although by no means always, as I will also show -- 'control' of land following state oriented approach in most rural areas in Tanzania is done by men who, usually as family elders, allocate and dispose land to other family members. Even though this does not relate directly to the RRB area, I think the following example will illustrate the point I want to make: My paternal grandfather had five wives with ten children (five males and five females), out of which four, including my father, are still alive. Each wife was given a plot of land to build a house on which to live with her maternal children/child. Around 1956 my grandfather with a few other people settled at Michungwani¹⁴. Because of that he was able to occupy a large size of land. It is said that he had more than 150 hectares of land. Unfortunately in 1958 my grandfather died. By that

¹⁴ Michungwani is one of the villages in Handeni District. The District is in Tanga region northeastern of Tanzania.

time all of his male children were young. Therefore his land was put under the custodianship of his young brother. When my father's brother became 19 years and got married¹⁵ the custodianship shifted from my grandfather's brother to him. In the year 1969 my father's brother died too, and it was then that my father was given the custodianship over the land inherited from their father. In the year 2010, it was my father (apart from the fact that his elder sister is still alive) who with the help of other distant old male relatives in the village distributed the land to his three relatives who are alive and each family of his deceased relatives.

So, as this personal example indicates this system of custodianship, transfer and distribution would be threatened by the neoliberal impact. One may therefore assume that women (and also 'poor' men) are put in a more vulnerable position in either 'owning' 'accessing' or 'controlling' land (see also Isaksson and Sigte 2009). However, in order to understand land grab processes, one does need to move away from assumptions as well as formal, legal or state -- oriented approaches to see how the land grab processes actually unfold in specific contexts and how these articulate with/are in conflict with local conceptions relating to gender as well as the socio-cultural order in general. This is so also, as argued by Casey (1996), land is far more than a biophysical entity; it is inherently multidimensional encompassing psychological, physical, cultural, historical and social elements¹⁶. Reflecting this approach to land, this thesis opens up for taking in such broad perspectives in asking:

What, in general, are the gendered land grab experiences and impacts in Rufiji River basin? How does the neoliberal land grab process manifest itself through narratives, metaphor, symbolism, rituals, etc in various socio-cultural practices? How does the process influence or contradict the current social, economic, political and cultural order of Warufiji? In giving a tentative reply to and making these issues more tangible, I will start with how Warufiji men and

¹⁵ In Zigua ethnic groups a man is considered to be grown up when he marries. A married man is assumed to be able to take responsibilities.

¹⁶ This general anthropological and phenomenological argument has been explored in studies done by Morphy (1995) also. Morphy illustrates for instance how landscape of Yolngu-speaking people in Australia has been used for the purpose of passing on information about the ancestral past and being both integral to the message and a referent symbolism.

women must be seen as continuously constructed within contexts and dynamics of land ‘control’ and ‘ownership’.

Becoming a Man/ a Woman: Land ‘Control’ and ‘Ownership’

It was Monday around 7 o’clock in the morning. I, *Mama* Chausiku, Mwajuma and Mwantumu were busy preparing breakfast before the customers arrived at *Mama* Chausiku’s food vending store. I was preparing tea from the three cooking store that pertained to hearth, *Mama* Chausiku was making *chapati* (a food made of wheat flour and salt), Mwajuma and Mwantumu were washing plates and cups ready for serving customers who were to come from 8.30 am. Unfortunately, Mwajuma dropped a plate. *Mama* Chausiku surprisingly told her “Mhh you have dropped a plate! Are you *mtu mume* [a male -- human being] -- make sure that when washing dishes you hold them as *mtu mke* [a female -- human being].”

There on I noticed that when referring to a man or a woman Warufiji started with a noun *mtu* (human being) and the adjective ‘male’ or ‘female’. I then understood that for Warufiji becoming a man or a woman is a process (see also Sanders 1999; Broch-Due 1999; Moore 1988 for similar arguments). A point of departure regarding gender in this thesis is therefore that to Warufiji one acquires a gender identity by virtue of both being born a man or a woman and through socialization. Borrowed from O’Byrant (1994) I define socialization as the ways in which one learns to become a member of any group in a given cultural context. The socialization process begins the moment a person is born and continues throughout one’s life to the very end, for a person constantly learns how to successfully belong to new groups or adjust to changes in the groups to which he/she already belongs. But how, then, are Warufiji constructing a man or a woman in settings beyond discourse -- as in the example with dishwashing above? What institutions, in the sense of distinct features of social order, do the Warufiji have for generating male and female categories?

When Turner (1976: 507; 1977: 45) distinguishes between ritual in tribal and modern societies, he argues that in tribal societies’ rituals, religion and other cultural sectors are interwoven while in modern societies, rituals because of institutionalization and secularization, have split from the rest of the culture and individualized to certain specific groups. Inspired by Turner’s distinction, I note that there were two kinds of classical rites of passage from which a

human emerges having become a man or a woman to Warufiji; *kinyamu* rite of passage for girls¹⁷ and *jando* for boys. I was, however told that *jando*¹⁸ rite of passage was deteriorating. Boys are socialized to becoming men by learning what their fathers or male relatives /neighbors were doing.

Through *kinyamu* rite of passage a girl learns how to become a woman and be successful in life as a mother, daughter, neighbor, wife, etc. The *kinyamu* rite of passage takes four consecutive days -- usually Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. On Thursday, girls are taught by their assistants known as *makungwi*¹⁹ how to behave when they marry, how to take care of their families, etc. On Friday morning, there is an open traditional dance played outside the house the girls are kept in. In the evening there is an enclosed dance session -- where only women who passed through *kinyamu* rite of passage are allowed entering. On Saturday, very early in the morning, the girls are sent to the bush for different sort of teachings and punishments for those who were reported (especially by their mothers) that they were misbehaving before the rite of passage and in the evening kitchen party ceremony may be held for a well prepared family. On Sunday, the *wali* (known as the girls whose *Kinyamu* rite of passage is held for) covered with a piece of cloth known as *khanga*, with the help of their *makungwi*, are put on chairs placed at the veranda of the house they are kept in. Along with hustle and bustle the *wali* are given gifts by their relatives, friends, neighbors and well-wishers. This event marks the symbol that the girls are now fully reintegrated into the society with their new status.

Mid-September 2013, there was an enclosed dance session of *Kinyamu* rite of passage at Mohoro. The dance as already pointed out is usually held on Friday evening. On Thursday, I asked *Mama Chausiku* if I could go to the enclosed dance session. She told me that I could. Therefore, on Friday morning I went to her food vending store to help her with some cooking so

¹⁷ *Kinyamu* rite of passage aims at teaching girls upon different things including the hygiene during menstruation, how to behave to the in-law and the husband, good manners and in some cases past bad manners are punished. The ritual takes almost four consecutive days usually from Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Each day has a specific activity to be performed by girls who pass the *kinyamu* dance rite of passage directed by their assistants locally known as *Makungwi*.

¹⁸ Previously boys passed through *jando* rite of passage when they become 13 or 14 years old. Along with other ideal men's attributes such as hard working, assuming responsibilities, boys were as well taught to be brave by being circumcised without anesthetic. The invention of modern religion especially Islam which instructs boys to be circumcised 8 days after they are born has made *jando* rite of passage to deteriorate in RRB.

¹⁹ *Makungwi* are usually old women who teach girls who pass through *kinyamu* rite of passage. Each one of them is often paid a sum of 50,000 Tsh (USD 30.9) for the service.

that we finish earlier getting to the dance on time. No sooner had I finished cooking *ugali*²⁰ (stiff porridge usually made of meal of maize, millet or sorghum), a group of women singing and dancing came to *Mama* Chausiku food vending store. I and *Mama* Chausiku joined the dancing and singing and then *Mama* Chausiku took a five hundred Tanzanian shillings note (USD 0.018) and put it in the *ungo* (a wide traditional plate like object, made of bamboo), which was held by one woman from the dancing group. Then the group singing and dancing moved to another house. Later on I learnt that dancing and singing was done *kusafisha uwanja* -- to purify the land -- so that good spirits were appeased and bad ones removed to make the enclosed dance session a success. Around 1 o'clock we were done with the cooking and *Mama* Chausiku asked Mwantumu and Mwachuma to remain at the food vending store to serve customers who might have come for lunch.

So, I and *Mama* Chausiku went to our respective homes preparing ourselves for the enclosed dance. I asked *Mama* Chausiku to pass by my home when she was ready. After two hours she came to my home and off we went to the enclosed dance. On the way, we met several other women on their way to the dance. From afar we heard the drum beats and singing. When we got there I realized that it was a familiar house I knew -- I used to pass by the house on my way to the village government office. I, nevertheless, could not recognize it easily for the piece of land outside the house was circled with *mikeka* (mats). Outside the circled area there was a group of men singing and playing drums²¹. I and *Mama* Chausiku took off our sandals and entered the encircled area. The encircled area was full of women who sat on the ground and three of them were lying down going back and forth towards the *wali*. All of the three women were soiled because of the going back and forth on the ground. They did not seem to care at getting soiled at all. I asked *Mama* Chausiku who the women were -- she told me that they were mothers of the *wali* (there were three girls whose dance and the ritual were held for). I then saw several other women doing the same -- *Mama* Chausiku told me that those were the close friends and relatives of the mothers' *wali*.

²⁰ *Ugali* is an important component of noon and evening meals in many parts of Tanzania which is made in different ways, normally as a stiff porridge. It is made from meal of maize, millet, sorghum. In RRB *Ugali* is usually made out of industrially produced texture of maize flour.

²¹ It is a taboo for men to see what is going on during the enclosed dance.

Gluckman (1954) within Durkheimian orientation considers ritual as an integrative tool, ensuring the bonding of a man to the society. Geertz (1973:5), on the other hand, is against Gluckman's (1954) functionalist approach and argues that culture (including symbolic ritual such as *kinyamu* rite of passage) is not just a derivative of the social order but refers to the meaningful structures embodied in symbols to the 'web of significance' that should be studied interpretatively. In my analysis of *kinyamu* rite of passage in relation to the process of becoming a woman, I agree with both Geertz and Gluckman that *kinyamu* rite of passage seem to serve two purposes. One is integrating people into a certain community, for instance, I asked *Mama Chausiku* if it is a must for a girl to pass through the dance and the implication if she does not. She said "It is a must -- if you do not go through the dance you will be considered unfit in women's community -- you will be looked down by everybody even men -- that is why even when you have a child or marry before you go through the dance, you must in one point of your life go through it".

But if, again as above, taking my cue from Foucault's argument about power-knowledge and truth, I understood that there is an intimate linkage between the enclosed dance and a piece of land on which the dance takes place. First, through enclosed dance women in RRB are able to 'own' and 'control' the piece of land the dance is played on -- for no one (even top male village and district leaders) are allowed to get into the encircled area except women who have gone through the same. Second, the action of women going back and forth and getting soiled is a sign of 'owning' the piece of land the dance is played on. By getting soiled, the women had the sense of doing whatever they wanted within the encircled area and no one could stop them -- not even the women who attended the enclosed dance. Crucially, for this, while reflecting a range of other aspects of socialization, the enclosed dance session in *kinyamu* rite of passage instills a central sense of ownership and control to the piece of land the dance is played on. Therefore, while men from a formal perspective depend on a patriarchal inheritance system to own and control land, women in RRB -- whether they own or do not own land in state/legal or within a patrilineal land ownership frameworks -- are in crucial ways 'control' and 'own' land celebrated in and reflected by the enclosed session in *kinyamu* rite of passage.

Foucault's concept of 'power-knowledge and the claim of 'objective truth' is central in understanding the nature of power relations, class and gender concerning the meaning of land in

RRB. In this chapter, I have generally deconstructed the taken for granted state/legal approach concerning land ownership and control, using, for instance, my own family experience to illustrate how land in most rural areas of Tanzania under the customary law framework favor men to women in the allocation of family land. Thus, women are often considered as victims within the customary law land allocation. However, my empirical illustration shows that the concept of owning and controlling land should be understood beyond state/legal oriented approach. This is because even when Warufiji women fail to own and control land in state/legal approach they yet can 'own' and 'control' the land the enclosed dance is played on -- aspects that I will return to in various parts of the thesis.

Outline of the Thesis

In the first chapter, I have provided a general background of my thesis. Based on Foucault's concept of power-knowledge and his critique of notions of objective truth and by using the terminology 'my boss' to represent national elite in the context of neoliberal land grab, I have tentatively made the point that the definition of land and its uses is grounded on power relation that may be conceived in terms of class and gender. Such a focus is important as for instance, Dzodzi (2003) argues that the majority of women are increasingly dispossessed of their land within a neoliberal social, cultural, political and economic regime due to the nature of customary law governing clan land in most parts of Africa. This also has, as I have shown, colonial dimensions: as Ossome (2014:156-157) argues, most African colonial state formations conceived the African societies as ahistorical and thus apolitical and, as an effect, attempted to preserve African customs within static legal system, most of which was grounded on a patriarchal system overseen by customary law. Land ownership through customary laws is governed by patriarchal inheritance systems where only sons and male clan members inherit clan land. In both patrilineal and matrilineal societies women's access to land is indirect and come through husbands, fathers or sons. However, contrary to the arguments of Ossome and Dzodzi I will in this thesis argue that regardless of a patriarchal structure, Warufiji women own and control land on which enclosed dance is played on and, thereby, deconstruct the partly historically derived and largely taken for granted state/legal approach towards the gendered land ownership and control -- an analysis I will also undertake in Chapter four.

In chapter two I will in detail recount how my fieldwork was conducted. I will start by introducing the Rufiji River basin through contextualizing the basin within Tanzanian land tenure systems. This will be followed by a recount of the methods I have used in finding answers in my research endeavor. I argue that it is important to illustrate the way a researcher has systematically found answers during fieldwork and beyond in order to reach to ‘a solid’ conclusion in his/her written texts to be shared with a wider community.

Chapter three will be largely informed by Mumby (1997) who holds that hegemony is not a top-down imposition of power but rather is achieved as a result of multiple groups of people who engage into negotiation producing forms of hegemony. Additionally, I employ Escobar’s constructionist approach to analyze a conflicting understanding between the state/legal oriented meaning of land to that of Warufiji. The conflict between state/legal and Warufiji concerning what land is lead to the articulation of two nature regimes namely: capitalist and the Warufiji organic nature regime in RRB. Drawing on an analysis of the two nature regimes, I will illustrate the general gendered implications of neoliberal land grab in ethnographic examples of the land market and the so-called kitchen party ceremony -- another session in *Kinyamu* rite of passage²².

In chapter four, inspired by Harvey (2007), I will develop an analysis of the hegemonic feature of the capitalist nature regime within the neoliberal land grab framework. In order to deconstruct the taken for granted state assumptions associated with land ownership, I will additionally use the so-called hub and spoke and block farming business oriented models which are used in the implementation of the so-called Big Result Now (BRN)²³ development initiative, to show yet other contradictions between neoliberal oriented state projects and Warufiji life experiences. In this chapter my main argument is that market-oriented land investment projects, despite appearing to be harmoniously accepted by Warufiji, are still conflicting with deep-running and central features of Warufiji social, economic and cultural set up.

²² This is one session of *kinyamu* rite of passage -- others are enclosed dance, teachings session etc. Kitchen party ceremonies may as well be celebrated as a means of soliciting money from one another at any given time.

²³ Big Result Now is an integral part of Tanzania’s so-called Development vision 2025. The aim is by the year 2025 Tanzanian society is transformed to a high quality livelihood; peace, stability and unity; good governance; educated and learning society; and with a competitive economy.

In chapter five, I continue to address the argument from the previous chapter on how the undertaken projects with neoliberal outlook do not run harmoniously as it is assumed by the Tanzanian government. Here I will employ Scott's (1985) concept of 'everyday acts of resistance' to analyze Warufiji men and women resistance towards both Tanzanian government middleman role in the facilitation of foreign commercial farming and neoliberal land grab as a global force. The recount on Warufiji resistance as unfolding in different contexts against Tanzanian government and the neoliberal land grab will be illustrated.

Thus, the overall aim of this thesis is to deconstruct the taken for granted assumptions concerning the neoliberal land grab especially, as how this relates to the Warufiji gendered land relations in RRB. I argue that most of the taken for granted Tanzanian government oriented neoliberal land grab practices do not correspond with the local experiences of Warufiji men and women.

CHAPTER TWO: INTRODUCING RUFJI RIVER BASIN AND STUDYING WARUFJI NEOLIBERAL LAND GRAB

In this chapter, I will contextualize Rufiji River basin within land tenure system in Tanzania in order to illustrate the way neoliberal land grab was unfolded from colonial to post colonial era. I will also introduce the Rufiji River basin by recounting the factors which have attracted both foreign and local land investors to the area. The general background information concerning Rufiji River basin will be followed by a recount on the methods I used in finding out answers for the questions unfolded in different fieldwork settings and contexts. This is because as argued by Giles-Vernick (2006:85-88) and Short (2006:103-107) research questions should be answered using correct research methodology for a researcher to arrive to the ‘reliable’ findings for a ‘solid’ conclusion in the research endeavor.

Introducing Rufiji River Basin

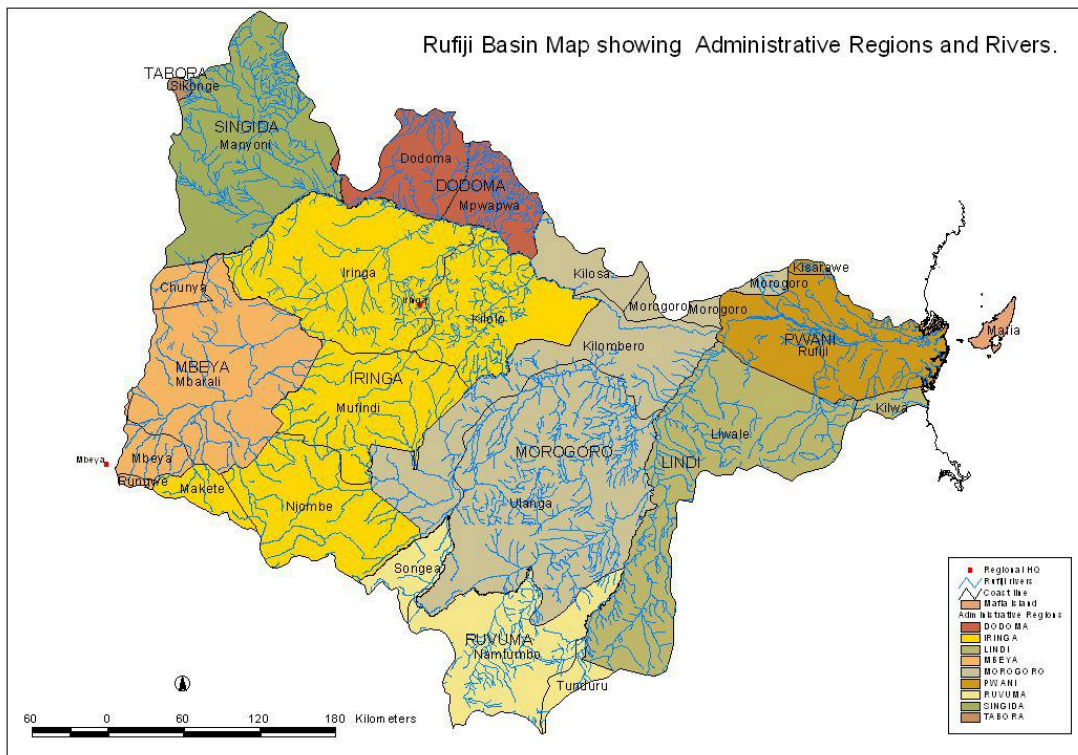


Figure 3: Rufiji River Basin map showing administrative regions and rivers. Source: RUBADA reprinted with permission.

My first journey to Kibiti in RRB was when I went to report as a secondary school teacher at Kibiti Secondary school in the year 1993 -- following my first government appointment. At the time, I was hosted by my uncle who was staying at Dar Es Salaam -- Mwananyamala almost twenty kilometers from Mbagala Mtongani where Kibiti buses parked back then. There were very few buses and in order to be able to catch the bus, one needed to get to the bus station very early in the morning. So, on that particular day, I and my brother who escorted me to Kibiti woke up very early in the morning to catch the first bus to Kibiti. Very unfortunately, no sooner than we reached at Mbagala Mtongani, the first bus to Kibiti was gone. We waited for almost two hours and then a truck which carried timber stopped where we stood and the driver told us that they are going to Kibiti and if we were ready we could get in. We had no other option, so I and my brother got at the back of the truck to Kibiti, 135 Kilometers from Dar es Salaam. The road was so rough and the journey took us ten hours instead of one and a half hours drive.

My journey to Kibiti during preliminary research in the year 2013 was, thus, not the first one. I also went to Kibiti in 2007 to pay my condolences to *Mama* Songambe (who was my old friend and one of my contact persons) following the death of her husband, as well as in the year 2009 when I went to Kilwa (Somanga and Songosongo villages) for my master's fieldwork in Sociology and Anthropology. Following both journeys, I noted a number of changes compared to my first journey in 1993. However, because I had no particular research focus at the time, it was only when I went for the preliminary research around mid July 2013 that I started reflecting on and jotting down these changes.

Before I went to Kibiti for my preliminary research, I called *Mama* Songambe informing her that I was on my way to Kibiti. She told me that I do not need to get up so early because there were now plenty buses to Kibiti at Mbagala rangi tatu. Mbagala rangi tatu is the bus station for those travelling to the southern part of Tanzania including Kibiti, Ikwiriri, Mohoro, etc. So I got to Mbagala rangi tatu around 10 am and got in the first bus on queue. I went straight to the back of the bus and found a two-people seat. One seat was already occupied by an old man in his mid-fifties. He wore a loose gown called *kanzu* and a hat usually worn by Muslims known as *baglashia*. I guessed he was from one of the villages in Rufiji district. I greeted him, *Shikamoo Mzee*, an expression used to respectfully greet an elder, literally meaning

'I hold your feet' and *Mzee* meaning an old man. He answered *Marahaba* -- a reply acknowledging my respectful greeting. I asked him if the seat was occupied. He told me that it was not. I sat on the seat and when the bus was full the journey to Kibiti started.

On the way, I noticed changes such as big shops and good houses with galvanized roofing, compared to the previously small shops with limited goods and houses with thatched roofs. I wanted to ask my neighbor a lot of questions about the changes I saw, but he was asleep on most of the journey. Fortunately, when we got to Jaribu mpakani 44 kilometers from Dar Es Salaam he woke up and politely I asked him. "*Mzee* I see a lot of changes now compared to the past days -- people have built better houses, there are big shops with good things which used to be in Dar Es Salaam". He answered:

It is true *Mwanangu* [my child] -- this is because a lot of people from Dar Es Salaam are now coming this way [implying Kibiti, Ikwiriri, and other villages along RRB] to buy land. For instance, most of the shops you see are owned by people from Dar Es Salaam -- very few are owned by local people [meaning Warufiji -- people from Rufiji]. And now the price of land is becoming higher and higher and local people sell their land too much. I am really worried for I think five years from now, there will not be enough land for us.

He kept on telling me that Rufiji has such a good and fertile land, and now many people (including foreigners) are coming to Rufiji to purchase land. He added that the improvement of the road to tarmac level has also stimulated land business in Rufiji district. We then kept on discussing general topics and when the bus got to Kinyaya I dropped off and said bye to my neighbor. That *Mzee's* answer made me anxious to see for myself what he told me about RRB. And when I formally went to introduce myself to the villages I visited, I saw to myself what is being written about RRB.

RRB is one of fourteen basins in Tanzania and one of the country's largest covering an area of 176,000 sq. km and consisting of the Rufiji delta, the Luwero, Kilombero and Ruaha River. The Rufiji delta is the largest river basin in Tanzania, also being the most ecologically and biologically diverse and socially and economically important wetland. It supports a corridor of ecosystems ranging from forests, sand dunes, beaches and ocean; striking plants and animal species, some of which have been declared as in danger of disappearance. In typical years, the river basin is submerged by floods which are normally influenced by rainfall and run-off patterns

throughout the vast watershed, which in the process deposits nutrient-silt on the land thereby creating highly suitable conditions for floodplain agriculture (Massay 2012: 2-3).

The economic potential of the RRB has repeatedly interested shifting administrations of Tanzania, both colonial and national. Germans, which ruled Tanganyika from 1884-1916, aimed to develop Rufiji River basin following the model of the Mississippi -- with barges for transportation, cotton as a plantation crop, labour fully utilized, to mention just a few aspects (Mascarenhas, No date: 2). Although less ambitious, soon after its inception in the 1940s, the British rule in Tanganyika territory managed to convince the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) to construct one of the largest hydrologic surveys in Africa of a river system. Later independent Tanzania had very similar ambitious aspirations. In order to tap its full potential in 1975, the government established by the Act of parliament No 5 of 1975 Rufiji Development Authority (RUBADA). It consisted of the senior ministers from Planning and development, Finance, Water, Power and energy, Agriculture and Industry and one University professor. RUBADA's aim was to build a 1200 MW hydroelectric power plant to be generated by the construction of the Stigler's dam-creating the fourth largest man-made lake in Africa. The controlled flow of water would lead to one of the country's largest irrigation project and the huge agricultural production in the delta was envisioned to sustain the whole of Tanzania. None of these plans materialized (Mascarenhas, No date: 2).

Around the 1990s and spearheaded by WB and IMF Tanzania was compelled to concede to liberalization policies as conditions for receiving financial aid and, consequently, opted to 'liberalize', 'Marketize' and 'Privatize' its economy. This necessitated the government to reform its policies and legislative and make Tanzania an attractive place for investment. One such reform was the enactment of the Tanzanian investment act No. 26 of 1967 to establish the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC). TIC is currently responsible for granting derivative rights of land to foreign investors. Since then there have been several initiatives, namely: the search for the African green revolution through the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) of the New Partnership of Africa's Development (NEPAD) and Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA); and national initiatives toward a green revolution through the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP), commercialization of agricultural sector through the Southern Agricultural Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT) and

Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First Initiative). These initiatives coupled with time-space compression because of improvement in infrastructures has made RRB one of the strategic areas to implement the above named policies in the name of alleviating poverty from the poor masses as well as facilitating the development of neoliberal transformation and connect the global south and the rest of the world seamlessly (Massay 2012: 2-3; Harvey 2007).

Regions in RRB include Coast, Morogoro, Iringa, Dodoma, Mbeya, Ruvuma, Singida, Tabora, Mtwara and Lindi. My fieldwork was carried out at Coast region in Rufiji district -- one of the six districts of the Coast region (others are Bagamoyo, Kibaha, Kisarawe, Mafia and Mkuranga). Rufiji is located in the south of the region, has six divisions with 19 wards divided into 94 registered villages. According to URT (2007), 90 percent of Warufiji are Muslims. Islam religion informs widely the cultural order of Warufiji. Therefore, my analysis will revolve around Warufiji traditions and Islam religion directives concerning issues pertaining to marriage, inheritance and divorce.

There are five officially recognized ethnic groups in Rufiji district, which are collectively known as Warufiji -- Wandengereko, Wanyangatwa, Wamatumbi, Wapogoro and Wangindo. In the past one could easily note their differences regarding occupations mainly divided into what one could term ethno-professional agriculturalist and fishermen groups: Wandengereko the latter and Wanyangatwa, Wamatumbi, Wapogoro and Wangindo being the former. The only differences especially for the older people in their sixtieth which can current differentiate between Wandengereko and other ethnic groups are the scars after the traditional cut.²⁴ At the moment there are no any differences between Wandengereko and other ethnic groups.

²⁴ I was told that the scars after the traditional cuts are the result of the medicine applied by traditional doctors during childhood to remove bad blood which may cause headache.



Figure 4: Mndengereko with two scars after the traditional cut on his face. Fieldwork Photo 2013-2014; By Rose George Mbezi

Contextualizing Rufiji River Basin: Land Grab and Land Tenure System in Tanzania

Before Tanzania was colonized by the German and then the British powers, the general structure of landholding was based on the prevalence of traditional law and culture of each respective ethnic group²⁵ corresponding to an area. Initially each ethnic group had chiefs and elders or headmen who controlled and allocated land to individual members of that ethnic group on behalf of the ethnic group in a fiduciary capacity. The system continued even during German (1884-1916) and British (1917-1961) colonial rule. The customary land tenure is still in place,

²⁵ Often many intertwine the terms tribe and ethnic group. However there are slight differences between the two-the former refers to the small group of people that are frequently though not necessarily joined by common ancestry. An ethnic group is a large population with similar genetic traits and which is physiological distinct from another group

but since 1963 soon after Tanzanian independence²⁶ the chiefs, headmen and elders have been replaced by elected village councils.

As noted above in relation to inspiration from the Mississippi, the German colonial rule introduced and promoted plantation agriculture such as irrigation dependent cotton production. This orientation necessitated a different kind of land tenure system to the customary land tenure system. Land in general and, especially, prime agriculture land, was during German rule allocated in freeholds, mostly to settlers. In 1895 the German colonial rule passed an imperial decree declaring all land 'crown land' vested in the German empire. Generally, the policy favoured alienating land to settlers by outright sale or lease. Cotton plantations were initiated under Germany colonial rule. Germany had been importing cotton from the United States of America (USA) but as from 1870s, and as a result of the 'cotton famine' in the USA, its supply began to fluctuate and ultimately diminish. Hence, from the beginning of the 20th century, supply of cotton became so acute among the German industries that a new source of supply was to be found. The German imperial state turned to its East African colony by introducing cotton farming through plantations, encouraging European farmers to grow cotton. This prompted a wave of land grab practices by the European settlers.

The Europeans settlers however could not produce enough cotton to feed the German cotton market. In order to increase cotton production, its growing experiments were introduced in Kilosa, Rufiji, Tabora and in Sukumaland (Chachage 2005). At the turn of the 20th century, the German colonial rule governor resolved to grow cotton in those areas on the basis of communal farming. Cotton farming needed a sustainable labour supply and for this to succeed the Germans relied on various ruthless colonial techniques, including land alienation, forced labour and taxation. Local people were unhappy with these measures and resorted to what became known as the Majimaji uprising of 1905-1907 initiated in Rufiji and later spreading to other southern regions of colonial Tanganyika involving the populations of Wamatumbi, Wangido, Wamwera and Wamakua among others (Hussein 1970:4-10). The uprising was led by Kinjeketile Ngwale who claimed to be possessed by a snake spirit, called Hongo, who instructed

²⁶ In 1961 Tanzania got independence and in 1963 the chieftainship was abolished by the chiefs' ordinance (repeal) Act. No 13 of 1963 (cap 51).

him to tell indigenous peoples that they had been chosen by 'God' to force the Germans out of their area. Kinjekitile Ngwale provided his followers with war medicine to turn German bullets into water. This 'war medicine', believed to be made of water (*maji* in Swahili) mixed with castor oil and millet seeds, nonetheless helped unifying the rebels against German forced cotton growing, forced labour, heavy taxation and land grabbing. By the end of the uprising 15 Europeans, 389 African colonial soldiers and between 20,000 and 30,000 insurgents were dead (*ibid*:45-49). Memories of this rebellion are still vivid and point to key cosmological and cultural aspects resources which will be explored in Chapter five.

After the First World War, Tanganyika became a trust territory under the British administration. British colonial rule was required by the League of Nations to take into consideration native laws and customs in several matters including land administration. They were also asked to frame laws relating to the holding or transfer of land or natural resources in favor of the rights and interests of the native population. In doing so it was decided that no native land or natural resources could be transferred to non-natives without prior consent of the competent authorities. In 1923 the British colonial rule passed major land tenure legislation, called Land Ordinance Cap.113, which introduced also the right of occupancy concept which meant that rights over or in land were placed under the control of the governor to be held, used or disposed to ensure natives' access to land is secured. The right of occupancy was either a granted or a deemed right. The granted right of occupancy was statutory while deemed right was customary. Deemed right of occupancy was a title of a native or a native community lawfully using or occupying land in accordance with native law and custom. In 1928, a deemed right of occupancy was redefined to include the title of a native community lawfully using or occupying land in accordance with customary law. After Tanzanian independence, freehold titles were converted into leaseholds under the 'Freehold Titles' (conversion) and government lease act (cap 523) of 1963 and were later changed into the rights of occupancy under the government leaseholds (conversion of rights of occupancy) Act No. 44 of 1969.

In 1967-1973 Tanganyika African Nation Union (TANU) led by Julius Kambarage Nyerere started the so-called Ujamaa village campaign -- as also mentioned in the prelude-Attending Uhuru torch race. Ujamaa (literally family hood) implies the creation of a communal village production unit and was the result of the so-called Arusha declaration (1967) with its

guiding principle Ujamaa later taken to be the country's official development blueprint. The campaign was state-driven and aimed at allocating scattered people in villages in one place so that they were provided with necessary facilities (social services and agricultural inputs) for communal farming in order to speed up agricultural development in the country. District development councils allocated land to registered Ujamaa villages (so-called village land), and village councils (first elected in 1975) allocated a piece of land to households instead of clan or tribe leaders. The approach largely abolished family and individual rights held under customary law, instituting in their place a system that nationalized the country's land (Scott 1998). The nationalization of land was a new concept to the majority of local people -- a radical measure even following earlier and multiple colonial transformations of land ownership.

Apart from the first president of Tanzania, *Mwalimu* Nyerere warned against the use of military coercion insisting that no one should be forced against his/her will into the new villages. Regardless of its widespread popular support, the Ujamaa campaign was quite coercive and occasionally violent. Ultimately, it proved to be a failure ecologically as well as economically and in the 1980s the Ujamaa campaign was abandoned (Scott 1998). Many people deserted the Ujamaa villages and returned to their original villages. For instance, following the overflowing of Rufiji River in 1968, the government forced people, who lived around delta basin, to the Ujamaa villages situated uplands. Many of the resettled villagers no sooner than the over flooded water had receded returned to the low land where agriculture condition was far more favorable than uplands with scanty rainfall (Kamata and Mwami 2011).

As it was during the colonial era and, at times, during the Ujamaa period in Tanzanian history, in the 1990s, the Warufiji again clashed with the Tanzanian government which, in collaboration with the Irish investor Reginald John Nolan, attempted to destruct the largest remaining contiguous mangrove forest in East Africa for the introduction of prawn farming in Rufiji delta. The project was found by an Environmental impact assessment review done by Environmental Law Alliance Worldwide (ELAW) to contain substantial errors, omissions and misrepresentation (Kamata and Mwami 2011). In August 2001, the project went into liquidation. Nevertheless, since the mid-2000s the Warufiji are once again witnessing a number of investors encroaching on their land as I already mentioned earlier. With this necessary background concerning RRB, I will further recount methodological consideration during my fieldwork.

Study Design

This is an ethnographic study and therefore the main method of data collection I employed was participant observation. Participant observation is a method which is widely used by anthropologists in the production of the ethnographic material. It is claimed that the participant observation method enables a researcher to have an in-depth understanding of a particular cultural context studied (Gluckman 1971:2-26). However, how best an anthropologist can gather 'meaningful' and 'scientific' knowledge from a certain cultural context or society has been the subject of an ongoing debate within anthropology throughout its history. Nonetheless, it is generally held that there is no one best way which an ethnographer can use in order to collect ethnographic material during fieldwork (Notar 2006). Other methods which are often used along with participant observation in collecting data are oral histories, focus group discussion, interviews (formal and informal), narratives to mention just a few (Giles-Vernick 2006:85-88; Short 2006:103-107). Anthropologists are sometimes forced to use more than participant observation method due to several reasons including limitation at being able to correctly interpret what has been observed due to cultural differences and language barrier, informants' preferences, etc (Keesing 1987). The triangulation method (using more than one data collection tool) often helps an anthropologist to produce a detailed ethnographic material in explaining a particular cultural context.

Tanzania is a vast country with diverse cultural practices. As noted in the example in the first chapter, my father is a Zigua (an ethnic group) from Handeni district Tanga region in the northeastern part of Tanzania. My late mother was a Chagga (also an ethnic group) from Kilimanjaro region in northern Tanzania. Therefore, apart from the fact that I was a native anthropologist -- often (and perhaps too often) supposed to understand human behavior more easily than non-native anthropologists -- it was not easy for me to grasp motivations and causalities in relation to the actions of the people I observed. So in order to have a clear understanding of what I observed, along with participant observation, I often also used informal interviews, collected oral histories and narratives data to qualify my observation when participating in different activities in the villages I visited.

Contact Persons

It was around 4 o'clock when I and *Mama* Songambebe started our journey to Kibiti centre. I was hosted in her home when I went for my preliminary research around July 2013. It was so nice to meet again, the last time being in 2009, we exchanged a lot of stories from after we last met. I later on told her what I was up to this time around. I told her that I was to do a research along RRB villages and that I thought of visiting and residing at one point of a time at Ndundunyikanza, Muyuyu Njia Nne , Chumbi A, B and C, as well as Nyamwage villages. She thought for a while and told me. "I know someone who might advise you the best place to reside, for some villages are not accessible especially during rainy season".

So that was a reason for our trip to Kibiti center almost 5 kilometers from Kinyaya where *Mama* Songambebe lives. So we took *bodaboda* to Kibiti center as *Mama* Songambebe made an appointment with teacher Chichi who was having a meeting at Zimbwini ward Secondary School. *Mama* Songambebe told me that teacher Chichi stayed at Ikwiriri for so long and knows villages with land investors and accessible all year round. We went straight to Zimbwini ward secondary school and met him. *Mama* Songambebe introduced me to him as her old friend and I told him what I was up to, as I did to *Mama* Songambebe before. Teacher Chichi advised me to reside either at Ikwiriri and go daily to Nyamwage, Chumbi A, B and C villages. He told me it was not safe to stay at Nyamwage although I particularly thought that Nyamwage was an ideal village because it is near Chumbi A, B and C and Mohoro villages. He told me that Nyamwage village is known for witchcraft beliefs and that in the year 2009 some newly employed primary school teachers were sent to teach at the primary school in the village but they found themselves sleeping outside the house they rented in the morning. Though I do not believe much in witchcraft, I thought it would be wise to take his advice because I did not want him to feel bad that I disagreed with what he had told me.

So, the following day, I went to Ikwiriri RUBADA office and met with Mr Sukuma -- an officer in charge. I introduced myself and gave him the research permit from Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) -- as will also be described later. He read the permit and promised to accompany me to the villages I would visit when I formally started

my fieldwork. We discussed several things concerning my research he then escorted me to the bus station from where I returned to Kibiti.

After the information I was given by Mr Chichi, early July of 2013 I went to Mohoro, Nyamwage, Chumbi A, B and C before I formally went to the District commission office at Utete for a research permit. I decided to do the preliminary research especially on the villages I would visit because I wanted to have informed choices concerning the villages I wished to reside before I was given a formal research permit from the District commission office. The preliminary research I did helped me so much as it happened that the villages I visited were among those whose lands were taken by both local and foreign investors. The fieldwork was conducted between the mid of July 2013 to the mid of January 2014. Through *Mama Songambe*, Teacher Chichi and Mr Sukuma, I came to get connected to Mohoro west and east, Ikwiriri, Nyamwage, Chumbi A, B and C villages' leaders (political and government) who had been my contact persons throughout my fieldwork.

I, nevertheless, choose to anonymise my informants because I do not want them to run the risk of being socially sanctioned due to the information they gave me. For instance, some told me about corruption practices during land grabbing process, as well as the generalized sense of distrust they had towards Utete District council officials during the implementation of development projects into their villages. So, for the sake of my informants' integrity and safety all name used in this thesis are fictitious (Scheyvens 2003:146-147).

Fieldwork Life: Visiting Villages and Participating in Activities

I wanted to explore the gendered impact of the neoliberal land grab and I wished to learn how men and women experienced the ongoing process. So, even though I stayed in Ikwiriri rural town and Mohoro east and west villages a bit longer than I did in other villages/places, I thought it wise to now and then participate in activities which could in one way or another give me a chance of observing how land grabs process actually unfold in different contexts and settings. Therefore, I aimed at methodological flexibility by letting my circumstances define my method (see also Amit, 2000). I, therefore, visited Nyamwage village mainly during Ward development

committee meetings²⁷. I also visited Tawi village with the National Land Use Planning Commission (NLUPC) team when they came to Mohoro west and east and later to Tawi village to review the land use plans done in the financial year 2011/2012. This is the last process before land use plan of a given village is formally accepted at the ministerial level. I visited Chumbi A, B and C several times as the villages are near Mohoro east and west.

Towards the end of my fieldwork, I participated in the BRN Initiative activity -- a development scheme to be dealt with at length in Chapter four -- the activity was done under the Ministry of agriculture food security and cooperative through the Directorate of land use planning and management. Participation here gave me an opportunity of understanding government plans and priorities with regards to foreign land investors. I was also able to observe and learn local people perspectives with regards to land investment in RRB. So, through this activity, I was able to visit Kipo, Ndundunyikanza, Kipugira and Nyaminywili villages. Moreover, my stay at Ikwiriri rural town gave me an opportunity of getting connected with Mr Mgosi -- a Tanzanian -- who is a coordinator of Sugar Plant limited land foreign investor's company (to be dealt with in Chapter five) and several local land investors. In Mohoro east and west villages I was able to get involved in daily peoples' activities and being able to learn how people are organized in terms of gendered division of labour and the pattern of kinship land relations.

Apart from being able to observe and learn different things from different localities and people along RRB villages, the main problem I faced was the multiple identities my respondents attached to me. For example at Mohoro east and west villages I was staying in the house rented by Sugar Plant limited land foreign investor's company. So, at the beginning, villagers thought that I was employed by the company. It took me an extra effort to make them believe that I was a mere researcher and had nothing to do with the company. At the beginning about the first two weeks many villagers were skeptical on sharing their views on land grabbing especially about the

²⁷ This is a committee which is held after each three months. The committee comprises political leaders, heads of different professionals in the wards (teachers, medical personnel, agricultural officer etc). The administrative divisions of Tanzania are controlled by part 1, Article 2.2 of the constitution of Tanzania. Tanzania is divided into twenty six regions. Each region is subdivided into districts. The districts are sub divided into divisions and further into local wards. A ward is the lowest government administrative structure at the community level and usually represent between 1,000 to 21,000 people. Urban wards are divided into streets and rural wards into villages. The villages are further divided into hamlets known as *Vitongoji*.

foreign land investors with whom the house I stayed. But as the days went by and time, in a sense, confirmed that I was not employed by the Sugar Plant limited foreign investor's company, they gradually opened up and integrated me into their day to day activities.

Fieldwork: Data and Representation

I find it important to illustrate the validity of my data due to the fact that ethnographic inquiry is a highly selective activity. An ethnographer's pre-dispositions guide the course of events from the choice of what is to be studied, where, what to observe to the final written text. All aspects of the research are arguably often filtered through the particular lens of the researcher and, thus, shaped by a number of preconceived notions about a cultural context studied based on the researcher's past experiences and knowledge (Sanjek 1991b:617-621). Sanjek's argument illustrates the dilemma of whether the ethnographic material based on participant observation method qualify as 'objective knowledge' in the sense of representing the studied community due to the engrained nature of subjectivity of the ethnographic research design. The dilemma above gets us further to the issue of validity with regards to the ethnographic material. Ethnographic material is not able to be replicated to test its reliability. Reliability is concerned with the replicability of scientific findings (Sanjek 1990a: 394-395). There are good reasons for why replicability is impossible within anthropology, most importantly that, ethnographic inquiry takes place in natural settings which changes over time and space. The natural setting within which ethnographic inquiry take place cannot be reconstructed exactly; as such it is difficult to produce identical result to even the very ethnographic research done in the same site with the same methods.

This does not mean that the ethnographic inquiry is purely a snapshot taken at any given point, reflecting ethnographer's highly subjective views. As Sanjek argues (1990a:395-409), there are three canons which show the validity of ethnographic material; namely theoretical candor, demonstrating the ethnographers' path and the evidence of field notes. In my research and in this thesis, I attempt to generally conform to such ideals for validity and with regards to theoretical candor specifically, I attempted in study design section to illustrate how I overcome some of the methodological problems which might question my ethnographic material's validity by also using triangulation methods to qualify my observations. In the third chapter, I have provided the conceptual framework which helped me not only comprehensively present both

descriptive and analytical data but also provide explanations between descriptions and theoretical arguments throughout my thesis. With regards to the ethnographic path and field notes evidence, I have been able to identify the range of informants encountered as well as the kind of information they provided. In referring to specific ethnographic contexts, cases and settings, I have also shown my role and status in different activities I participated in -- as I did above. This strategy underlines that ethnographic conclusions are qualified by the investigator's social role within the research site. Last but not least is the field notes evidence. In each explanation, I have tried to explicitly show how I have reached my conclusions based on the data I collected from the field.

Ethical Considerations

Apart from the fact that Tanzania has vast cultural differences, it is widely known that it is not normal for an adult woman like me to put on trousers, especially in rural areas. So, in order to build rapport with my respondents, I tried as much as possible to dress in such a way that I could be identified with the villagers²⁸.

In addition to the dimensions above, ensuring informed consent is one of the important ethical issues when in the field (Scheyvens 2003:142-146) also per Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) clearance of the research project. A formal permit for conducting the research was obtained from COSTECH. I then obtained the letter from the Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS) and Utete District Administrative Secretary (DAS) down to the villages' level. In each village, I introduced myself to the village government and political leaders and explained in depth what I was researching on and the data collection methods I would use. Moreover, in each activity I participated, I made my respondents aware of my presence and explained what I was up to now and then. When need arose for me to conduct informal interviews, oral informed consent was sought from my respondents. They were also ensured about the confidentiality of their information, which they agreed to give.

²⁸ The majority of women in RRB prefer to put on long loose dresses known as *madela* in Swahili or wear a dress with a piece of cloth known as *khanga* in Swahili.

CHAPTER THREE: CONTESTATION -- THE HEGEMONY OF MEANING

In this chapter, I set out to discuss how the hegemony of meaning is achieved through a discursive process. Hegemony as understood in classical Gramscian sense denotes the predominance of one social class over others. In accordance to the hegemony of meaning, the domination is exercised when those who hold master narrative embrace interpretive power in order to dominate other meaning systems. Contrary to classical Gramscian's approach, I hold instead Mumby (1997)'s conceptualization of hegemony of meaning as that which all social actors are seen as active appropriators of interpretive possibilities. In arguing my case, I will discuss the nature of contestation with regards to resource, land in particular. Based on Escobar's constructionist approach I will further my argument on the discursive processes concerning the meaning of land within the Warufiji organic nature regime to that of the capitalist nature regime informing Tanzanian government meaning of land. This will follow with the tangible ethnographic examples concerning the gendered impact as a result of the articulation of the two named nature regimes.

What is Land?

What is a resource -- land in this context? This question is hard to answer for the meaning of land shifts according to different people and involves a set of complex relations within and without any given cultural context (Biersack 2005b: 6-15). As also argued by Shantz (2003:145-147), any resource (land in particular) must be approached as embedded, contested, (often) scarce, dynamic and changing. Other scholars (Rapport 1968:157-163; Henriske 1973; Slater 1996:114-123; Biersack 2005a:239-246; Gupta 2006:302-306) illustrate and explore several levels of such contestations, namely relations between human beings and animals, between individual people, groups and claims, between people and vaster organization as well as between countries.

Influenced by the above I argue that most contestations (referring to my encounter with 'my boss' concerning the term land grab and Foucault argument on 'power-knowledge' and objective truth') take the form of rhetoric knowledge both through public speaking (used mostly by government institutions through media, open meetings, etc) or local discourses that compete

for the hegemony of definition. The classical interpretation of hegemony influenced by Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) is that of one social class manipulating the system of values and mores of a society through forms of discursive power -- usually by those controlling the meta or master narrative -- and, hence, dominate the system of meaning over other meaning systems in a certain cultural context (Mumby 1997:343). Other approach to that of Gramsci's classical definition of hegemony focuses on the formation of 'consent' through discourse whereby people (men and women) and those who hold master narratives are equally participating in the meaning making process. This implies that those who hold a lesser interpretive power over meaning system in a certain cultural context may 'support' meaning making process of those who hold master narrative yet -- may hold a different meaning and work against the dominant class master narrative world view (*ibid*: 344).

Inspired by Mumby (1997) I thrust aside a straightforward view of hegemony as a top-down imposition of power in favor of models that encompasses negotiations possibilities engaging different people and groups from which hegemony is achieved. I then hold a view that hegemony, is not only top-down domination by the national elites -- illustrated in Chapter one through the example of (and my encounter with) 'my boss'-- that are controlling the meta-narrative against that of local men and women of RRB concerning the multiple meaning of land. Rather, it positions multiple groups, each with its own types and degrees of power, in a dialectic relationship that produces control through negotiation and accommodation.

Warufiji and Multidimensional State of Land

We have so far seen that much of the physical state of land is also a product of culture of any given community. Meaning of nature (be it land, forestry etc) is often constructed through people's meaning giving and discursive processes, so that what people perceive as natural is also, simultaneously, culturally and socially determined. Through discursive process, people /groups attach different meanings to land, based on, among other things one's social position (Slater 1996).

In his article 'After Nature', Escobar (1999:5-6) characterizes two ideal-typical natures that are relevant to this project; one is capitalist and the other organic. I will not deal with techno nature regime -- his third type as this is not relevant in this context. Capitalist nature is said to be identified by four aspects which comprise new ways of seeing natural resources: land (in

particular), rationality, governmentality and a commodification of nature linked to capitalist modernity. On the other hand, organic nature regime is largely identified by its reliance of local knowledge on conceptualization of what land means and how it is supposed to be used.

To Warufiji, land and supernatural powers are not ontologically separated as shown in Bird-David (1999:71), which I will draw an analogy to that of Warufiji. Bird-David recounts Ojibwa ontology behavior in relation to theories of animism. Bird-David shows that Ojibwa's sense of personhood is attributed to natural entities such as animals and winds. So Ojibwa categorizes person in 'human person', 'animal person' and 'wind person' and they all have the same sense of importance in social relation. Ojibwa's animist's beliefs though not resembling to that of Warufiji resonate well with Warufiji belief on the influence of invisible and powerful spirits on their families land²⁹. Escobar (1999) and Haller (2013) argue that the two nature regimes namely organic and capitalist may exist in a given spatiotemporal and an individual may be constrained to grasp two natures at a time.

Escobar's bold framework exposes him to much criticism. For instance, Milton (1999) -- (in Escobar's article) argues that Escobar's attempt to theorize nature in antiessentialist ways are prone to fail because they systematically disregard the testable findings of the biophysical reality of nature. Nevertheless -- and in keeping with what I pointed out above on the multidimensionality of nature -- I do not want to get engaged into this line of argument because my fieldwork experiences show that apart from land being a biophysical entity, for Warufiji land is also pre-social as well as pre-discursive as argued above. Instead, I am inspired by Escobar's constructivist approach as a general inspiration to explore how the underlying mechanisms determine the meaning of land to different actors in RRB. This is because as mentioned earlier I want to understand how Escobar's constructionist approach shape the meaning of land within Warufiji organic nature regime and how it influences Warufiji social organization contrary to state/legal definition of land. Given this background, I now intend to illustrate how the meaning of land is produced within the Warufiji organic nature regime.

²⁹ This is the animist notion which designate that everything in nature such as rock, trees, has a soul, life and divinity. So nature shares the same feelings and fate as that of human beings.

Production of the Meaning of Land within Warufiji Organic Nature Regime

That Thursday I woke up late -- at 10 am -- I often woke up around 6 am. On Wednesday, I stayed late at *Mama Chausiku's* house. We were waiting for Muhidin -- a well known chicken seller to bring *Mama Chausiku* chicken for soup at her food vending store. He was late -- he brought the chicken around 10 pm which was not normal. *Mama Chausiku* usually prepared the soup a day before to be served to the customers early the following morning. I had an appointment with Charles -- one of the village government leaders who promised to take me to the well known and the eldest man -- *Mzee Sudi* in Mohoro for an informal interview at 11 am. I and Charles were to meet at the village government office. So, I had only one hour to get prepared. I quickly took bath -- got dressed, took breakfast and went to the village government office.

Mzee Sudi's home was not very far from the village government office. It was hot and sunny -- both of us were profusely sweating on our way to *Mzee Sudi's* home. He was at his sitting room sleeping on a settee. He welcomed us while trying to stand up -- failing to do so because of his age. I estimated that he might be 89 years old or more. I and Charles asked him to keep on sleeping. Charles introduced me to him, then left back to the office. We exchanged greetings and he asked me to sit on one of the six chairs in the room. He asked me what I wanted to know about Warufiji. I answered -- "So many things -- I want to know about traditional land tenure system, inheritance pattern, the relationship between land tenure system and Warufiji social organization, the influence of supernatural power on land". He thought for a while and told me "ok -- I can narrate to you but just in case I forget something on the way you tell me". I asked him if I could write down some points when he talked. He said yes. So I took out my notebook and a pen from my hand bag -- ready to jot down some major points.

Mzee Sudi told me that before colonialism Warufiji were organized by *Mpindu* (religious leaders) and *Wazee wa Ukoo* (lineage elders). Most *Mpindu* were also traditional doctors known as *mganga* [singular] and *waganga* [plural]³⁰. Back then there were no western medical systems such as hospitals, laboratories, medical doctors, etc. People relied on traditional doctors to cure their ailments, overseeing social misfortunes (such as the causes of one sickness, death or poor harvest, etc) as well as protecting people from bewitched. The curative process usually started by

³⁰ Apart from *Mpindu* there were yet other *waganga* who were not *Mpindu*. In most cases a person inherits *uganga* from ones parents depending on who was chosen by good spirits to be given *uganga* regardless of one's sex.

divination process after *mganga kufukiza ubani* (burn incense)³¹ and went into the state of trance where his/her good spirits tell the causes of misfortune be it sickness or death. The spirits then told how the misfortune or death could be dealt with. In addition to that *waganga* were also involved in *kuzindika* (protecting someone's piece of land). As recounted by Bertelsen (2002:99), to Warufiji *waganga* "may be seen as a cosmological expert being traditionally versed in social, emotional, physical and spiritual matters". Though with the prevalence of Islam religion which discourage against believing in *waganga*, many Warufiji still depend on *waganga*, especially in protecting their farms against the witches as will be illustrated later.

I asked *Mzee Sudi* how land was distributed back then. He told me that in the past land was plenty and people (usually married couples) used to clear bushes and settle. Only that they were not allowed to cut down or own mango, coconut or cashew trees for the trees often belonged to someone else's. Up to now, this is a widely held practice. Early October 2013, I joined the NLUPC team to Tawi village. The team was to review the participatory land use planning done in the village during the financial year 2011/2012 as also explained in Chapter two. During the reviewing meeting a man wearing an off-white shirt, black trouser with sandals complained to the NLUPC team that the foreign company so-called Carbon investor³² had been cutting down trees (mangoes, coconuts and cashew) which did not belong to the company on the land he had been given from the village³³. One team member stood up and told all of us to read from the prepared document by NLUPC which directs the steps to be followed by villagers during participatory land use planning and management³⁴. He told us to go to 13 page of the document and read along with him -- so we read as follows:

as per land law No.4, land includes soil above and below the surface of the earth with plants germinated or grown on it, buildings, rocks, mountains, etc, it can be owned by a

³¹ Incense perfume widely used in RRB in inviting the *mganga*'s good spirits.

³² The investor was involved in environmental protection by planting trees to reduce the accumulation of carbon dioxide gas.

³³ The analogy can also be drawn from Bertelsen (2002:148) when studying Honde people. He writes "[...] these trees, being close to a *gwanza* or to what maTeve call *mato* 'the bush' (e.g. non-cultivated land), are also often seen to have owners".

³⁴ The documents were distributed to us before the meeting started.

group of people, individuals, institutions and managed by different authorities, water, minerals and petrol cannot be owned by anybody under this law.

NLUPC team member told us that is how land is defined and understood by the government, investors (both local and international), so there was nothing wrong for the Carbon investor cutting down trees [referring to mangoes, coconuts and cashews]. Reading from the villagers faces, I noticed that they were neither convinced with the explanation nor the definition. Inspired by Broch- Due (2000:64) study on Turkana pastoralists who argues that “contrary to the colonial sedentary model of the essential and exclusive linkage between person and place, the nomadic model shared by the pastoralists in the northern province was one between person and path, a fluid, expandable and flexible construction”. I argue that for Warufiji -- despite not being nomadic -- land is also not fixed or tied up merely to physical space to be represented on maps. For them another type of typology exists: first, the bare land with no crops, second the bare land with crops and third the crops especially mango, coconut and cashew trees.³⁵ And one can own, control and inherit land in any of the mentioned three levels.

Mzee Sudi kept on telling me that mango, coconut and cashew trees were/ are central in the production of cash income to the majority of Warufiji and the inheritance practises which follows a mixture of Islam religion and patrilineal practises. The inheritance pattern largely follows Islam religion directives whereby both sons and daughters may inherit family wealth -- daughters entitled to one half the shares of sons with the assumption that upon divorce they are expected to go back to their brothers for support. The extra share the male family members inherit is expected to be used for the upkeep of the divorced female relatives. Bertelsen (2002:150) when studying fruits trees and its meaning, sociality, reciprocity, etc argues that “[...] trees, as physical and organic structures represent the continuation [...] and sociality [...] the fruit trees thereby become not merely sources of fruit but spatial foci of convergence between memory [...] literally fruitful socially [...]”. Drawing an analogy from Bertelsen I argue that, to Warufiji mango, coconut and cashew trees as outlined above is one category of land -- which through inheritance family wealth is passed from one generation to the next to ensure families

³⁵ For Warufiji once someone has planted mango, coconut and cashew trees on a bare land no one is allowed to use the products of the trees and second, to cut down the trees without owners consent.

sustenance and reproduction For instance, as one aspect of family reproduction, many Warufiji still depend on cash available from the sold mango, coconut and cashew trees products for the purchase of domestic essentials, school fees, bride price, to mention just a few -- as will also be outlined in Chapter four.

Additionally, drawing from Bertelsen's above assertion, mangoes, apart from being sold for cash income are also part of Warufiji sociality -- widely shared amongst the Warufiji. For instance, each time I visited my neighbours at Mohoro I was given mangoes to eat while exchanging news about our families such as well being of our children, relatives, and parents -- the talks strengthened the bond between me and my neighbours in a very particular way. As also recounted in (Bertelsen: 143) sharing mangoes amongst Warufiji "[...] has to do with showing respect for visitors and strengthening the bonds between people". For instance *Mama* Chausiku told me that it is unheard to sell mangoes to a visitor visiting you. "Mangoes are sold in the market not at home" she remarked.

Furthermore, *Mzee* Sudi told me that as in the past Warufiji relation to resources such as land was largely influenced by supernatural powers. He said most Warufiji protect their farms *mashamba* [plural] and *shamba* [singular] from witches by putting *mboto/mpandio*³⁶ (a procedure used in protecting a *shamba* or an area surrounding ones house). The *shamba* is protected after being given a traditional powdered medicine called *usembe* by the *mganga*. The medicine is put at each corner of ones *shamba* while cursing witches who may bewitch the farm and magically usurp or take away the produces. This resonate well with Bertelsen (2014:204) recount of Chimoio people in Mozambique whereby owners of commercial maize mills are accused of using sorcery and sometimes engage in sacrificial killings in operating their mills.

Biersack (2005a:245) assert that "[...] Ipili nature (in Escobar's sense) is homo-or anthropocentric rather than ecocentric, placed on human scale. Viewed cosmically, humanity and nature are two sides of the same coin: mutually implicated in a single, indivisible reality, the earth, the obverse of which is the extraecological (or supernatural) divine sky". Inspired by

³⁶ The procedure is known as *mboto* or *mpandio*

Biersack analysis on Ipili nature regime, I argue that Warufiji, land and social economic life are ontologically not separated. 'Land' plays the central role in Warufiji social organization.

Escobar (1999:5) further argues that the two regimes which are relevant to my project do not represent a linear sequence or series of stages in the history of social nature. They co-exist and overlap "[...] they co- produce each other like cultures and identities, they are relational [...]" the regimes are thus the subject of tensions, contestations [...]" What, then, are the general gendered implications of the articulation between the capitalist and the Warufiji organic nature regimes?

Land Market: Men, Women -- Public and Domestic Domains

I had been to Ikwiriri for three weeks. I had been exhausted and decided to go to Dar es Salaam to spend a weekend with my family. Upon my arrival at the bus stand I found several buses on queue. No passenger was in the bus whose turn was due, so I went to sit on the bench at the far end of the stand. There were several other passengers sitting on the bench. I greeted them and sat. One of them gave me a piece of roasted maize corn. I took it and asked him if he stays at Ikwiriri. He told me "no, I am staying at Kibaha. I have come to supervise my paddy farm". He told me that he owns 20 hectares of paddy farm. I asked him if there were many other people from other places who had farms in the villages along RRB. He said "Yes, there are a lot of local investors who own farms in many RRB villages".

The conversation on the bus stand alerted me to the fact that there were also local land investors along with foreigners ones. As I mentioned before, there are two main ways of 'owning' or 'acquiring' land in Tanzania. The first one is through 'a granted right of occupancy' whilst the second is through 'customary right of occupancy'. Both ways are legally restricted to Tanzania citizens unless investment is involved. Many local small investors in RRB occupy land within customary right of occupancy framework and can be given up to 50 hectares of land in the village after being registered as a villager in a place he/she intends to invest. However many

other small local investors informally own more than 50 hectares of land by buying from individual villagers³⁷.

The third way is that which involve non-citizens' land acquisition through the Tanzania Investment Centre's (TIC). There are almost five ways which a foreign investor may occupy land in Tanzania namely:(1) Derivative rights under section 20(2) of the Land act, 1999; (2) Application to the Commissioner for lands for grant of right of occupancy under section 25(1) (h) and (i) of the Land act, 1999; (3) Sub-lease from private sector (4) Licenses from the government; (5) Purchase from other holders of granted right of occupancy. These procedures go hand in hand with several other minor but important procedures such as requisition of land, land use plan and survey. Thereafter, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania changes the status of land from village land to general land known as *kuhaulisha*. I had nevertheless discovered that the procedure of acquiring land for both local and international investors was full of corruption from the village level to the higher levels³⁸. Corruption was given in terms of cash, things such as (sugar and maize flour) -- sugar and maize flour were often offered to the ordinary villagers.

Corruption is illegal in Tanzania, so it was not openly practiced. I was however told by *Mama* Chausiku at Mohoro that SEKAB Tanzania Ltd (a Swedish based foreign land investor company) gave each family two kilograms of maize flour and one kilogram of sugar during the scheduled village assembly meeting for their land request to be accepted by the villagers. She told me that when SEKAB land request (which was one of the meeting agenda) was discussed no one opposed against it. *Mama* Chausiku told me that they felt bad to oppose against SEKAB land request after being given flour and sugar.

³⁷ But the main legal procedure in place for accessing village land of more than 50 hectares is through *Hati ya Kimila* (Customary Rights of Occupancy- CCRO). This mandated Regional administration to allocate traditional land titles of up to 500 acres (c.200 ha) to companies with the majority Tanzanian ownership. CCRO is issued after the village agreed as well as documented a sale of land. The landlord in the village and the regional land officer oversees the lease and make sure that both the village and the landlord are protected by the *hati ya kimila*.

³⁸The Government of Tanzania has established institution called Prevention and Combating of Corruption in Tanzania (PCCB) in order to reduce and stop corruption in the country.

Before village assembly -- the last forum to ‘accept’ or ‘deny’ any land request (be it from a foreign or local investor) village council³⁹ prepares initial recommendations to the village assembly. This initial processes of land acquisition largely determine whether an investor may/or may not be given land from any village. *Mama* Chausiku told me that village council members are often given bribery in terms of cash during early contact with the investors so that they first, prepare good recommendations concerning the investor’s land request and second, defend investors’ land requests in case of any ‘opposition’ during village assembly. I nevertheless noted that land deals and bribery were negotiated at the ‘public’ domain where participation of women was minimal as is also shown in Daley and Pallas (2014: 181-182), although, they do not illustrate if bribery in the communities they have studied is negotiated at public or domestic domain, they generally illustrate that women do not often participate in the initial negotiations held in their communities concerning potential land deals (see also Weintraub (1997) for a similar argument).

I was told by a women village council member that they were often not involved during initial negotiations concerning land deals as well as how much money should be given as a bribe to village council members for a certain procedure to be passed out before an investor acquire land. However, I was told by my informants that women village council members were often given any amount of money (part of the bribe) after each land deal negotiations. I, later, discovered through my evening talks with my neighbors at Mohoro that many village council members and even some villagers are ambivalent towards receiving bribery (be it cash, maize flour or sugar) in land deals from investors (local and foreign) asking for land in their villages. They said that they felt guilty receiving bribery for land is owned by all villagers. To the majority of them land had so many meanings including lineage histories of many families in any given village in RRB. This is in line with Parker Shipton’s concept of ‘bitter money’ in his analysis of Luo farmers of the South Nyanza district of Kenya. Shipton describes bitter money as “is ill-gotten money and is thought to be dangerous to its holder. It comes from unearned gain,

³⁹ Village council is elected by the village assembly comprising all adults over the age of 18. It has between 15 and 25 members. These consist of chairperson elected by the village assembly, all chairpersons of the hamlets *vitongoji* within its area and other members elected by the village assembly. Women must consist 25% of the council members. The terms of office for a council is five years. Village land is administered by the so-called Village council on behalf of the Village assembly.

theft, and most often, from the sale of certain commodities, including land, gold, tobacco, and cannabis, or from the sale of a household rooster” (MacGaffey 1990:205).

I then argue that though not in the same meaning as Luo’s conceptualization of ‘bitter money’ because land is not one of the forbidden commodities to be sold in RRB -- to village council members and other villagers -- the bribery that they receive, be it money, sugar or maize flour is ‘bitter’ because of the guilty conscious of ‘selling’ or ‘giving away’ village land which is communally owned apart from also carrying lineage histories of many families. By using Shipton’s concept of ‘bitter money’ in the following section, I intend through kitchen party ceremony to develop my analysis on the implication of the articulation between the Warufiji organic nature and the capitalist nature regimes. I aim at recounting on how the neoliberal land grab has influenced the invention of kitchen party ceremonies as a means used in soliciting money by Warufiji women in order to negotiate their position within the neoliberal land grab framework.

Kitchen Party Ceremonies and the Neoliberal Land Grab

When I went to Somanga and Songosongo villages during my Masters fieldwork in Sociology and Anthropology, I found out that women organised themselves in rotating savings and credit schemes locally known as *upatu* (Mbezi 2009:84). *Upatu* groups were more often than not formed by women from the same social economic status. Members usually contributed an equal amount of money on a monthly or weekly basis. Rotating savings and credit schemes (*upatu*) were coordinated by a leader locally known as *kijumbe*. A *kijumbe* is supposed to make sure that each member has subscribed the agreed sum of money on time and gives the money to one member at a week or month basis. At RRB women used both *upatu* and kitchen party ceremonies to solicit money from one another. Kitchen party ceremonies are done on Saturday, a day after the enclosed dance session or at any given time when someone has an ability of hiring stereo equipments.

When I was at Mohoro, I attended the kitchen party ceremony -- a continuation of the enclosed dance I described in chapter one. The kitchen party was connected to the *kinyamu* rite of passage. During my normal evening visit to *Mama* Chausiku’s home, I asked her whether kitchen party ceremonies were traditionally held after the enclosed dance session or they were

new invention. She told me that the kitchen party ceremonies are the recent invention for money is highly needed to make ends meet. Traditionally, there were no Kitchen party ceremonies. Instead people played traditional dances with songs reinforcing what was expected of the *wali* who passed through *Kinyamu* rite of passage.

Out of the three girls whose *Kinyamu* rite of passage was performed, only one family managed to throw the kitchen party ceremony due to economic reasons. As outlined before, kitchen party sessions in the *Kinyamu* rite of passage are often held on Saturday evenings. In the afternoon, female relatives and friends of the girl whose kitchen party would had been thrown for, decorated the area for the event to take place with pieces of creamy and purple (color of the ceremony) clothes. I and *Mama* Chausiku, went to the party around 8 pm. We were a bit late, for the girl whose party was thrown for, was already at the decorated platform and the *taarab* music was played. At the same time, the mistress of the ceremony was announcing the groups which would present money and gifts to the girl and her mother. She said “now the group of *masikini jeuri* [means ‘poor but confident’] is on the stage”. Then I saw several women on their loose dresses known as *madela* and sun glasses came to the front dancing in circle following the *taarab* music rhythm. One of them held a bundle of money on her hand. I estimated the money to be 200,000 Tsh (USD 123.5). She gave each woman who passed by her 10,000 Tsh (USD 6.18 USD). After receiving the money, each group member while holding the money up for everybody to see, majestically presented the money to the girl’s mother. When *masikini jeuri* group was done another group followed.

At the same time I noticed that behind the girl’s chair, there was a woman with a notebook. I asked *Mama* Chausiku what the woman was doing. She told me that she was recording how much each group had given to the girl’s mother. This is because the girl’s mother was supposed to return the same amount of money she was given plus 10,000 Tsh (USD 6.18) to the woman who was distributing the money (as she was the one who owned the money). *Mama* Chausiku kept on telling me that kitchen party ceremonies, apart from finalizing *kinyamu* dance rite of passage also serves as a rotating saving and credit scheme whereby a woman may get a big sum of money at a time -- sometime up to 2 million Tsh (USD 1234.19). Usually a woman who gets money through kitchen party ceremonies uses the money buying pieces of land, building their own houses or increasing capitals to their income generating activities.

Mama Chausiku told me that the price of land is higher contrary to the previous days, especially at the center of Mohoro east and west villages. She said last year she bought quarter of a hectare piece of land for 800,000 Tsh (USD 493.67). MacGaffey (1990) when reviewing Shipton's work argues that the concept of 'bitter money' among the Luo of Kenya can as well be interpreted as poor and powerless people responses as they come into contact with a new economic order that is inconceivable in local terms. This concept is essentially reflecting the ambivalence of people about the incursion of foreign cultures into their social, cultural and economic life. On the other hand, in his book *Credit between Cultures; farmers, financiers and misunderstanding in Africa*, Shipton (2010), illustrates how aid agencies, commercial financial institutions, multinational corporations, governments and nonprofits organizations have tried to give financial aids to Luo smaller holder farmers within a reductionist colonial and early postcolonial framework by overlooking the fact that to Luo lending, borrowing and indebtedness are moral before they are economic.

Inspired by both MacGaffey and Shipton, I argue that the invention of kitchen party ceremonies to Warufiji women is a response to the neoliberal land grabbing process as through the ceremonies women are able to negotiate their positions within the framework by being able to buy plots of land as the case of *Mama* Chausiku shows. Furthermore, through Kitchen party ceremonies Warufiji women are consciously negotiating their positions within and outside their households --not as argued by MacGaffey (1990) poor and powerless, because the majority of Warufiji women are saying that through kitchen party ceremonies they had been able to buy plots of land as well as contribute to the upkeep of their families. By doing so they had been able to acquire 'power' not necessarily like the ones acquired by local or foreign investors through acquiring large amount of land but power to manage their own live.

Conclusion

Hegemony when used in the classical Gramscian sense and applied to the RRB would mean a top-down imposition of a neoliberal master narrative over other meaning systems concerning land and how it is supposed to be distributed and managed in RRB. In this chapter, I have illustrated how a Gramscian interpretation of hegemony as a top-down imposition of power does not fully apply to Warufiji meaning of land. For, contrary to the state/legal oriented meaning of land as that which includes soil above and below the surface of the earth with plants

germinated or grown on it, buildings, rocks, mountains etc, within Warufiji organic nature regime land is conceived into three levels: bare land with no crops, bare land with crops and crops especially mango, coconut and cashew trees. Therefore, Warufiji land redistribution may allow individuals to own land in any of the three levels.

Extending my argument from chapter one concerning Foucault's concept of knowledge - power and objective truth, I argue that the articulation of the capitalist and Warufiji organic nature regime put both Warufiji men and women in an ambivalent state especially when it comes to the selling of village land. For within the capitalist nature regime land, like any other commodity can be bought and sold. However, when engaging in land sale deals village council members and other villagers were often given bribes by both local and foreign investors in order to affect the outcome. Though both men and women village council members receive bribery from local and foreign land investors in the process of land acquisition -- bribery was, as outlined above negotiated at the public domain with minimal women's village council members participation. Village council members and other villagers were nevertheless ambivalent towards receiving bribery. They both felt guilty receiving bribery during land acquisition process. This implies that apart from an encroaching process of commodification of land, Warufiji are still attached to land not primarily just as a commodity of the biophysical reality but as part and parcel of their lives.

Furthermore, grounded on my Chapter one illustration on how Warufiji women are able to own and control land the enclosed dance was played on, I have in this chapter developed the discussion as to how women who are widely considered victims in most of the changing social, political, economic and cultural processes, negotiate their position within a neoliberal land grab by inventing kitchen party ceremonies as new ways of soliciting money to buy land among other goods.

CHAPTER FOUR: MEN, WOMEN AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEOLIBERAL LAND GRAB

In this chapter I will explore how neoliberal land grabbing is reflected and/as well as influencing Warufiji social, cultural and economic set up -- sometimes in conflicting ways. It is commonly defined that at the core of neoliberal policies lies privatization and deregulation of the economy. A basic idea of neo-liberalism which reflects historical ideas of economic liberalism is that of *laissez-faire* ('let them do') which entails that the state apparatus lets the economy govern itself, rather than being governed by the state (Castree 2008). Harvey (2007:79-80) argues similarly that the grand project of the national neoliberal state is to set a favorable institutional framework in order to provide and ensure freedom of market activities, for its authority relies much in enabling market activities to happen. As such the state must produce social relations that operate according to the competitive realms of the market one of which, as I have already mentioned before, is (borrowing from Shantz [2003:145]) what may be termed 'commodification of social life'. In doing so the neoliberal state form tends to create markets in areas it does not exist. Harvey (2007: 79-80) overtly argues that "[...] it must also set up those military, defense, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets [...] if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary."

These dynamics, as also explored earlier in the thesis, are the characteristics conforming also to Escobar's notion of a capitalist nature regime whereby through governmentality land has been transformed into a commodity. Osofsky (2014:168) argue that "[...] land commodification, rather than differentiating along class and gender lines as all important socio-economic processes -- it rather shapes, reshapes and transforms preexisting social and cultural ideas, practices and relations, even as it is shaped by these" -- because, apart from its biophysical state, Warufiji has their own system of socially constructed land arrangements which is engrained in a complex set of relations. Furthermore, land market relation has unknowingly been accepted by many as an inevitable situation within a neoliberal land grab framework, as put by Harvey (2007:79-80) "Neo-liberalism has in short become hegemonic as a mode of discourse. It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common sense way

many of us interpret, live in and understand the world". Arguably and also shown above, the hegemonic nature of neo-liberalism has influenced the Tanzanian government to use the so-called hub and spoke model as well as to reorganize block farming into land foreign direct investment in RRB. Nevertheless, Dzodzi and Awetori (2014) argue that land market relation is differently experienced by men and women. As also put by Doss *et al* (2014b:12) the market as an institution is not neutral -- it is gendered. Therefore, it is important to critically consider the way in which gender affect market transaction. For in some cases women are disadvantaged in land markets simply because they are relatively earning less cash income than men due to many factors one of which is the gendered division of labour.

I have above sought to deconstruct the taken for granted formal legal/ state procedures in land acquisition by demonstrating how Warufiji, from a phenomenological point of view, 'own' and 'control' land. I have as well shown the general gendered implication of the neoliberal land grab along RRB villages. Inspired by Harvey, Dzodzi and Awetori also Shantz, I now specifically intend to analyze intersections between global and local. I will do so through analyzing the cases of the implementation of the hub and spoke model, as well as look at the case of block farming.

As it has already been argued for other African cases (Verma 2014:55), powerful actors within the neoliberal land framework predominantly construct land as a 'commodity' and then proceed, set an avenue for government, investors, foreign corporations and development banks to argue for its 'redistribution'. The redistribution of land within this neoliberal reductionist approach often overlooks the practices and systems of local, gendered land redistribution and, also, its impact for both men and women. Therefore by using the cases of block farming as well as hub and spoke business model, I will show how the neoliberal land grab conflicts with the Warufiji gendered land relation in the four villages I visited namely: Kipo, Kipugira, Nyaminywili and Ndundunyikanza during the implementation of BRN initiative. I will, therefore, illustrate how the fluidity of Warufiji marriage institution has increased women's negotiation power in acquiring land within the neoliberal framework.

Hub and Spoke Business Model: Block Farming and the Big Result Now Initiative

As will be recalled from above, Tanzania's political transformation from the post-independent socialist period to a more liberalized and capitalist oriented economic policies after 1985, had intense implications for both leadership code and government conduct. During the 1985 to 1995 period, the Tanzanian government started to encourage private investment and individual property rights. Private investment and property rights inevitably started to inform government policies and conduct in land administration (Nelson 2012:4-5). The hegemonic nature of neo-liberalism land administration on the global South governments as elsewhere described by Harvey influenced the Tanzanian government also after 1995 and in 2013 (among other previously mentioned measures) launched the so-called Big result now initiative.

The initiative was adopted from Malaysia Big Fast Result (BFR) as a generic blue print development plan⁴⁰. Malaysia is now one of the industrialized countries with the lead economic records in Asia. It nevertheless had the same level of development as Tanzania when it obtained its independence on 31 August 1957. It is moreover expected to become a developed country by 2020. Tanzania had decided to adapt to the model because of the many similarities between the two nation's economies such as mining and agriculture as initial driving forces for growth. In order to be well equipped with the BFR as a blue print the Malaysian policy experts came to Tanzania and coach about 300 Tanzanian experts on how they can adopt to the model so the country is transformed to the middle-class economy. In addition to that contrary to other many government development plans BRN intends to involve the public so that they learn about the development plans and share their views accordingly.

However, as it is illustrated by Wilson (2005:151), when analyzing Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE as a blueprint in the development of Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) to the neighboring countries, he stresses the importance of taking into consideration the peculiarity of the social, cultural, economic as well as political dynamics of each country that intends to adopt CAMPFIRE model as a blue print. This is because each country's move towards community based approaches is seen as internally shaped and driven. I will illustrate how.

⁴⁰ BFR has been adopted by Rwanda and Nigeria as well.

The BRN is implemented through focusing on six (6) priority areas of the economy including agriculture⁴¹. Within the agriculture sector the explicit aim is, for instance, to have 25 commercial farming deals for paddy and sugarcane farming⁴². In RRB particularly, the government aims at getting from 5,000 to 10,000 hectares of land for FDI and 20,000 to 25,000 hectares for sugar cane production at Mkongo, Lukurilo, Mohoro and Tawi. At present, four foreign investors namely Frontline development of Dubai (Mkongo), Lukurilo holding company Ltd (Lukurilo), Agroforestry limited (Mohoro) and Rufiji Sugar Plant limited (Tawi) are ready to invest into the named areas in RRB. In order to create a conducive land FDI through foreign commercial farms the government has introduced and used the hub and spoke model in facilitating land FDI in RRB.

In this model, the 'hub' is conceived of as comprised of the investors and 'spoke' is represented as Warufiji subsistence farmers and commercial out growers surrounding foreign commercial farms. In this relationship, the 'hub' will be charged with finding market for 'spoke' sections of the model, also aiding 'spoke' sector with technical assistance in terms of providing improved agricultural inputs and, if possible, agricultural machinery etc. 'spoke', on the other hand, are supposed to use the technical advice provided by 'hub' to improve production and with the help of 'hub' to sell their produce to the market. The government on the other hand is supposed to ensure that Warufiji land 'ownership' rights are protected by issuing Customary Certificate Rights of Occupancy (CCRO) to villages with foreign commercial farmers and establishing block farming and irrigation systems to both hub and spoke to be ensured of both, good harmonious relationships between the two and to ensure maximization of paddy production. The block farming model was designed to serve both small holders and commercial out growers with the condition which would require the whole block grow one agreed variety with a market value. The above processes as suggested by the government was supposed to create a 'mutual understanding' between hub (investors) and spoke (Warufiji)⁴³.

However, Doss *et al* (2014a:94) argue in an analysis from rural Uganda that local understandings of the gendered land ownership are considerably more complex than externally

⁴¹ Other sectors are water, energy and natural gas, water, education, transport and mobilization of resources.

⁴² 78 collective rice irrigation and marketing schemes and 275 collective warehouse-based marketing schemes.

⁴³ The hub and spoke model is originally established to facilitate business through one centralized destination. The model is named after a bicycle wheel, with a strong central hub and a sequence of connecting spokes. In the logic of aviation, the model is used to make airline routes to run through one central hub or hubs.

imposed definitions suggests -- especially those based on titles or registered deeds such as, in my case, the issuing of CCRO to Warufiji men and women. Doss *et al* have further shown that even though Ugandan men and women report a relatively high degree of joint 'ownership' of land, women's names are nevertheless rarely on the documents and the majority are likely to lose land claims if their marriage dissolves or when their husbands die.⁴⁴

Inspired by Doss *et al* I argue that the legal/state CCRO 'ownership' conceptualization does not necessarily correspond with Warufiji gendered land 'ownership' and that this is especially evident in the marriage institution. In legal/state oriented meaning this implies that both couple will be having equal rights in 'owning' and 'controlling' land. But again Doss *et al* (2014b:9) classify the legal/state land property rights into *access* (the right to be on the land), *withdrawal* (the right to take something from the land, such as water, firewood or produce), *management* (the right to change the land in some way, such as to plant crops or trees), *exclusion* (the right to prevent others from using the land), and, finally, *alienation* (the right to transfer land to others through rental, bequest or sale). It is widely understood that ownership may include all or most of these rights. It is however not necessarily so that these rights are locally bundled together -- neither in the Uganda case nor in Warufiji. Although Warufiji, both men and women may 'own' and 'control' land through CCRO, Warufiji women have fewer 'rights' over land than men -- a subject to be dealt with at length later.

Further, issuing of CCRO in areas with commercial farms is among the changes in terms of state reform vis-à-vis land as implementing neoliberal outlooks. So to speak the contradiction between the state reforms with regards to how 'ownership' is conceptualized obscure the facts that traditionally upon divorce or death of a husband the majority of Warufiji married women who jointly 'own' land and other properties with their husbands are deprived of so many legal/state 'ownership' land rights. The majorities do not claim land they own together with their husbands when the marriage dissolves or a husband dies as outlined earlier.

⁴⁴ On the other hand Widman (2014:137) who does the research in Madagascar illustrate also that upon divorce wives rarely get land owned during marriage. And particularly Doss *et al* (2014b:10) illustrates that an analysis of fifteen demographic and health survey from Sub-Saharan Africa found that more than half of the widows reported that they inherited no assets -- land or other -- from their husbands.

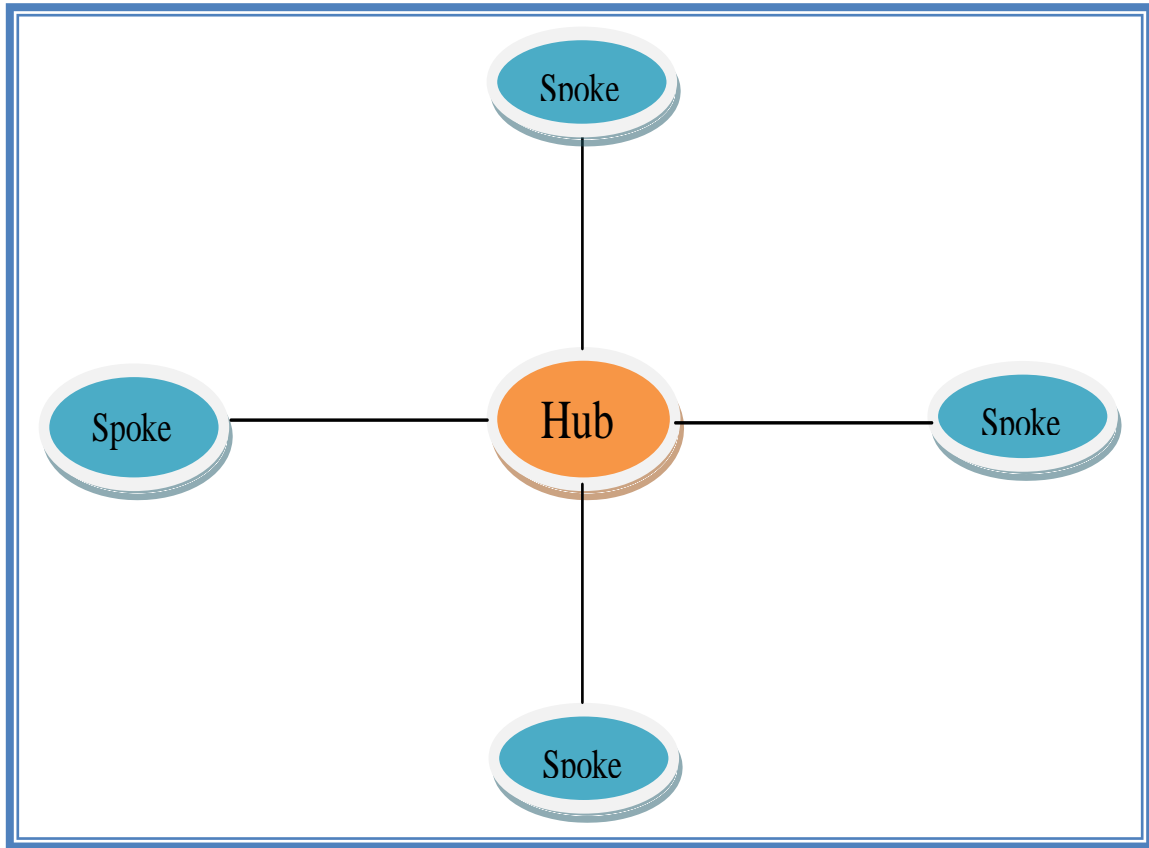


Figure 5: A fieldwork illustration of hub and spoke model

In early December 2014, I joined the BRN initiative team at Kipo village. The team was a manifestation of the Tanzanian government implementation of the commodification of land. The team was to cross to the other side of the Rufiji River where block farming through hub and spoke business model was established. The team comprised of surveyors, agricultural officers, soil scientists and four Village land use management committee members. Because there was no modern boat to ferry us, we were required to use the traditional boat known as *mtumbwi* which was too small and I, particularly, considered it dangerous. Deep in my heart I was so terrified to be ferried with *mtumbwi*. I, nevertheless, did not want to show it, especially before the Village land use management committee members knowing that my denial to be ferried with *mtumbwi* would embarrass them. Fortunately, before we ferried, one of the surveyors raised a concern that it was not safe transporting surveys' equipments by *mtumbwi*. He, therefore, suggested a modern boat to be hired. After some discussion the team leader told us to get back to the village until a modern boat was hired. So we all went back to the village.



Figure 6: Traditional boat known as *mtumbwi* ferrying Warufiji from their village to an area block farming through hub and spoke model had been established. Fieldwork photo 2013-2014 by Rose George Mbezi

On our way back to the village I was walking side by side with Mbonde -- one of the Village land use management committee member. He politely asked me when paddy cultivation through hub and spoke business model would have started. I told him I did not know. I asked him why he wanted to know that. He told me that he had no trust with most of the government projects, because the majority of the initiated projects into their village were not implemented. He proceeded to explain:

I have no trust on this project either [referring to block farming through hub and spoke business model]. I do not know if it will take off as many of the projects started in this village. I am, however, particularly worried with this one -- If it will not take off. I have heard that they will cut off some of the coconut, mango and cashew trees -- mhh -- I am so worried on what will happen to our lives? Most of us depend on coconut, mango and cashew trees for cash income. If they cut off our trees [referring to coconut, mango and cashew] then the project does not take off, we will be even poorer.

He also told me that women in the village are fetching firewood in the bush cleared for block farms. I felt so sorry for his concern but there was no way I could have assured him that block farming project through hub and spoke model would have been fully implemented as planned. So I kept quiet and tried to divert him by asking if he was married and had children. He did not answer the question I asked. He instead continued telling me how worried he was with the project. He told me that it was almost five years now since they heard about the Lukurilo commercial farm establishment in their village but up to the time the BRN team went for the establishment of block farming nothing happened. He asked me “What in particular will make this project a success at this particular time?”.

After some twenty minutes we arrived at the village. Some of the team members were not yet at the village government office -- the place we gathered after the day's work. So, I and Mbonde sat down under a tree outside the office while eating mangoes we picked on our way to the village. Suddenly, Mbonde asked me if each villager would be given a piece of land following traditional family land allocation in the established block farms. He told me that their forefathers lived on the land where block farming had been established. He told me that even though no one amongst their family member lived there, they still cherish the land as it carries most of their family histories. They also, in a very particular way, related with that land their forefathers lived.

I have described above that the Tanzanian government has chosen to implement BRN initiative by using hub and spoke model with an assumption that it will create a ‘harmonious environment’ amongst Warufiji, the government and the owner of foreign commercial farms. The creation of such an environment will enable the maximization of production in paddy cultivation to both Warufiji and the Lukurilo farm owner. The government's use of the term ‘harmonious’ is probably not incidental: Porro and Neto (2014:229) use the term ‘coercive harmony’ to describe the situation after any established business or market oriented foreign land investment project which forces us to look further than superficial outward show of agreement and harmony to understand the lack of choice of transactions that result not only in the loss of ‘land’ but also in the loss of survival strategies and a way of life. Their ethnographic data from Amazonian communities reveals that when Suzano (a paper and pulp-Brazil-based company with overseas offices) purchased land from CELMAR pulp and cellulose (another company),

Suzano paper and pulp had already barred many local communities from their original territories. The removal of local communities however had not been legally recognized. Many local people's families 'harmoniously' remained living in neighboring areas to the purchased ones and according to their tradition kept collecting common use natural resources in the private property now formally owned by the company.

Nevertheless, Porro and Neto conclude that despite agonizing power differentiation between different companies which purchased land within women's traditional territories. Amazonian men and women do not agree to see their land and culture as part of a business deal. The Amazonian men and women are aware of the power held by outside as well as national investors, they nevertheless do not see any benefit from land deals, no matter how convincingly designed. They keep on arguing that in market oriented land deal, harmony must be discussed out of the box to break down its various components so that we understand its meaning and controlling power. For a business social constructed land project that appears harmonious it is not necessarily uncontested.

Inspired by Porro and Neto I argue that even though Warufji local communities agreed with the establishment of block farms through hub and spoke business model, and there seem to be a harmonious environment between them and the Lukurilo farm investor, yet the establishment of the same was locally contested. For instance the allocation of the established block farms did following the existing traditional Warufiji land allocation. For each family has had its own traditional farm. Therefore, even though Warufiji were not removed from their villages for the established block farms through hub and spoke business model like the Amazonian communities, they were 'culturally' removed from their traditional farms.

Many Warufiji men and women would like the established blocks to follow their traditional farms' patterns because the majority had protected their farm *kuzindika* from the witches by *mboto/mpandio*. The process of *kuzindika* is very meaningful to Warufiji because, as I have pointed out in Chapter three, *mboto/mpandio* spirits guard their farms from witches who without it may magically usurp their crops hence threatened their households with food insecurity. Mbonde particularly told me that at the beginning he did not believe in *mboto/mpandio* but last year he cultivated two hectares of paddy in another farm in the village. The farm was not protected with *mboto/mpandio*. It happened that one famous traditional doctor

passed by the farm and remarked “Your farm is so light” meaning that it was not protected with *mboto/mpandio*. Mbonde told me “You cannot believe I got only one bag of paddy -- So this year I decided to put *mboto/mpandio* in my farm and you know what, I got almost ten bags of paddy”.

In addition to that the establishment of block farming involved cutting down trees including cashew, coconut, mango and others whose dry branches are widely used as firewood, one of the main sources of energy. In all four villages, (Kipo, Kipugira, Ndundunyikanza and Nyaminywili) block farms were established in areas which were traditionally reserved for firewood especially during rainy season when it is difficult to get firewood from the nearby bushes. In Warufiji gendered division of labour, women are responsible with fetching firewood. This implies that women will be forced to go even far in search of firewood.

Block Farming: Warufiji Gendered Land Relations and Inheritance Patterns

On 26 September 2013 I attended the Ward development council meeting, which was held at Chumbi B village. The meeting is normally attended by political and government leaders of the ward, head teachers, ward agricultural officers, etc. The agenda of the meeting comprised issues of health, agriculture, education development in the ward among others. We started by discussing agricultural, health, then education development agenda. During the discussion of education development agenda, Mr Hamis one of the Mohoro ward secondary school teacher reported that most students were not performing well in their examinations. Mr Haambiliki, the head teacher of one primary school in the ward said that there is the loose relationship between parents/guardians and their children. He pointed out that many children (including those who attend school) are called by *ma*’ (mother) for a girl and *ba*’ (father) for a boy by their parents/guardians. “I think by being called *ma* or *ba* a child is instilled with a sense of equal power to that of his/her parents/guardian. The same attitude is unknowingly transferred to their teachers”. He insisted.

He kept on saying that the attitude removes the learning spirit in students and that is why they do not perform well in their examinations. No sooner had he finished saying that than Mr Haambiliki fell down. He was quickly taken by other meeting members under another tree which

was at the back of one class in the school⁴⁵. The meeting continued but after twenty minutes meeting participants went where Mr Haambiliki was taken one by one. Later the chairman who went there first, came back and told us that we could not continue with the meeting because Mr Haambiliki died⁴⁶. That his body would be taken to Mohoro health centre before transported to his original village at Utete.

I and other meeting members sorrowfully took a minibus and went to Mohoro health centre to see him off before the journey to Utete. I was too tired, so, I and other women decided to sit in the health centre's corridor. There was a woman accompanied with a boy of around twelve and a child of 3 or 4. They all sat on the ground. I asked her to come and sit with us on the corridor. She came and sat beside me. She started crying while saying "Ohhh my husband! Ohh my husband who is going to take care of my children"? Though I did not want to be considered too religious -- for me being a Christian she might not be able to identify with 'my God'⁴⁷-- I tried to comfort her telling her that it will be fine for God will take care of them. She stopped crying and told me that Mr Haambiliki was her ex-husband. That the children she had accompanied with are his. And apart from being divorced the children were well known and recognized by his ex-husband's relatives and other children from other wives for Mr Haambiliki had three wives⁴⁸. Then I understood that Warufiji kinship relations include a series of relatives from both parents for usually even when a woman or a man is remarrying her/his children are sometimes included into the family of a new husband/wife.

Coser (1974) defines kinship as "the web of relationships woven by family and marriage". The basis for Warufiji kinship is descent from a single founding ancestor through the male line -- widely known as a patrilineal system. Land relations among families' members as well mostly follow such a patrilineal system through both family and marriage. Warufiji land relations are, therefore, embedded with a complex of social relations which is, clearly, in conflict with a neoliberal construction of land as a solely resource for a profit.

⁴⁵ The meeting was held under one of many trees at Chumbi B primary school.

⁴⁶ The sudden death of the Mr Sijaona was one of the dramatic experience in my academic and research life.

⁴⁷ I recognized that the woman is a muslim because she put on 'hijab'. Hijab is a veil that covers the head and chest, which is particularly worn by a muslim female beyond the age of puberty in the presence of adult male outside of their immediate family.

⁴⁸ According to URT (2007), 90 percent of Warufiji are muslims. Islam religion allows a man to marry up to four wives at a time. Polygamous marriage is a predominantly form of marital relationship to Warufiji.

Verma (2014:55), Doss *et al* (2014a:76-79), Dzodzi and Awetori (2014:204-206) illustrate how the dominant reductionist construct concerning land issue has related many problems concerning development especially in agricultural production in Sub Saharan countries with lack of ‘appropriate’ land deals and investment through commercial farming. As such the solutions to the low level of development especially in agriculture sector are found in land ‘deals’ as well as the establishment of commercial farms as the solutions. However, the commercial farms as well as the ‘deals’ are often inconsiderate of the traditional kinship inheritance patterns, the pre-existing gendered division of labour as well as the income of the local communities. Here I illustrate how.

From 20-26 of November 2013, I joined officials from the Ministry of agriculture food security and cooperative and RUBADA in block farming and issuing of CCRO projects sensitization meetings. There were two kinds of meetings, one involved ward village leaders and the other ones were open meetings done in each of the four villages (Kipo, Kipugira, Nyaminywili and Ndundunyikanza). On the 20 of November 2013, we particularly held an internal meeting for Kipugira ward village leaders⁴⁹. The meeting was done at Kipugira village primary school and one of RUBADA top officials -- Mr Masala made the presentation concerning the BRN initiatives as well as the importance of block farming into the four villages.

The ward village leaders’ meeting was intentionally held so that each one of them became a good ambassador to other villagers concerning the block farming project. Mr Masala started by telling the village leaders that block farms were wealth creation model because they were expected to be professionally managed. For each villager was expected to be given a CCRO to ensure villagers land ‘ownership’ and ‘control’. He kept on saying that the CCRO was to be used to buy shares in their farmers’ organization registered company whereby each village with a farm in the established block farms would be a shareholder. Mr Masala told the meeting that shares would enable farmers to get an extra income hence relieved from hassles of farm activities. He also said that because of a well organised production system, productivity of paddy will be 8 tons/ha or (30 bags per acre). He lastly told the meeting participants that the farms

⁴⁹ Kipugira ward comprised of Kipugira, Ndundunyikanza, Kipo and Nyaminywili villages. The meeting comprised of village chairpersons, village executive officers, primary school head teachers, ward dispensary office in charge and ‘influential individuals’ from each village.

would be divided from 2.5/5 to 10 hectares. And each villager should take the farm he/she would efficiently be able to attend to.

When Mr Masala was done with the presentation, the meeting participants clapped for him. I quickly looked at the participants' faces -- most of them seemed confused. I was right because when he asked if there was anybody with a question more than a half of the meeting participants raised their hands. The majority were worried on the criteria to be used to allocate farms to each villager. They said that many of them had more than one wife and many children. How are they going to pass their plots to their children to inherit? Others were worried that the majority of them would not be able to attend to more than 2.5 hectares so it is likely that the farms of 5 and 10 hectares would be owned by commercial out growers from outside their villages. Mr Masala tried to answer the participants' question by assuring them that all of their concern would be taken into consideration and each one of the villager would benefit from the project if he/she chooses to cooperate with the government and the Lukurilo farm investor. When attending the open meetings involved all villagers in the four villages the same mentioned concerns were raised.



Figure 6: Some of the participants at awareness creation meeting at Kipo Village: Fieldwork photo 2013-2014 by Rose George Mbezi.

Nkonya *et al* (2014) argue that inheritance provides an important means of asset transfer to the majority of rural African poor men and women. Inheriting assets, and in particular land is a way of continuation of a livelihood. For land can also act as a safety net during hard times and thus a way of avoiding vulnerability and the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Barring the rural poor men and women from asset inheritance makes individuals more vulnerable to chronic and intergenerational poverty. As I have already discussed before, Warufiji is the patrilineal society in which intergenerational wealth flows including land inheritance take place only between male members of the kinship system. However, the majority of Warufiji follow Islam religion inheritance pattern where by both sons and daughters may inherit land in the three levels namely: the bare land with no crops, the bare land with crops and the crops especially mango, coconut and cashew trees.

For Warufiji, paddy and sugarcane (crops which are focused in the implementation of BRN) are inconceivable in Warufiji local understanding of the 'land' to be subject to inheritance from one generation to the next. Therefore, the introduction of paddy and sugarcane crops will disrupt the Warufiji inheritance patterns and put the majority of women in a more vulnerable situation. As I have already discussed above, apart from the fact that Warufiji women inherit land they have nevertheless fewer land rights than men especially that of *alienation* (the right to transfer land to other through rental or sale) and *exclusion* (the right to prevent others from using the land). Therefore, by inheriting coconuts, cashew and mango trees, a woman who cannot solicit cash income from either renting or selling a piece of 'physical space of land' that she inherits from her family may sell coconuts, mangoes or cashew nuts as an alternative source of cash income.

Affected by similar dynamics is the non-consideration of Warufiji income to efficiently attend to the established farms through block farming model. After consultation with village leaders it was agreed that each villager regardless of his/her marital status with 'limited ability' in terms of energy and capital to cultivate larger area would had been allocated two and a half (2.5) hectares farm. And those who were able to efficiently cultivate larger area would have been allocated five (5) to ten (10) hectares. As outlined above, Mr Masala insisted that each farmer in the block should make sure that he/she owns a farm she/he would be able to attend to -

- for the government could not tolerate a person who would not be able to attend to his/her given plot to cultivate for maximum 'productivity'. However, the majority of Warufiji are subsistence farmers using hand hoe and are normally cultivating a farm of two (2) to two and a half (2.5) hectares. The majority -- both men and women therefore opted for a farm of not more than 2.5 hectares. According to the block farming model -- both small holders such as Warufiji and commercial out growers were allowed to own farms in the established blocks. Most of 5 or 10 hectares farms had been owned by commercial out growers outside of the four villages. For apart from being promised with the technical assistance from the Lukurilo farm owner, villagers are supposed to take care of their farms in terms of weeding, harvesting etc. This implies that one require hired labourers to own larger farm.

Within households Warufiji women are often given the primary responsibility for domestic work involving child care, food provisioning, fetching firewood, etc. They are also expected to engage in activities such as forming informal social relationships which ensures community coherence. Women are also along with these roles expected to have the capacity to earn an income through productive work. Moser (1993) summarises women's triple roles as reproductive, productive and community management work. As far as productive work is concerned in RRB communities, this usually mainly takes the form of subsistence agriculture, food vending and weaving mats, fans, etc (locally known as *mikeka*, *vipepeo*). Reproductive and community management work include work related to domestic chores extended from home to the community for household and society reproduction. For instance, in most African communities members of the neighbourhood or relatives have the mutual obligation to help each other in case of ritual ceremonies, building houses, harvesting, as well as in case of social and economic hardship (Pelt 1971). Although this is deteriorating, due to poorly developed modern social security systems, the logics of mutual obligation still acts as safety nets especially during adversities.

Men, on the other hand, are engaged in multiple activities depending on the availability of a chance to work. The activities range from fishing, subsistence farming, *bodaboda* riding (especially for young men), selling of second hand clothes, running of small shops known as *viosk*, timber harvesting, etc. These activities enable both men and women to

earn some amount of cash income. However, comparatively the majority of men earn more cash income than women due to the nature of the gendered division of labour which allow men to have more time in engaging into other activities to that of domestic chores. This gendered discrepancy, however, should not be misconstrued as fitting into neat categories of powerful and powerless, simply based on how much one earns. Because when I asked women how they felt about -- not in many cases -- being able to solicit the same amount of money as men do from the income generating activities they do. They told me that they do not want to be measured in terms of the amount of money, but only by what the income realised from generating activities does to their families which give them prestige and 'power'. They told me that cash realized from income generating activities are used in buying uniform for their children, buying domestic essentials like salt, sugar, rice, etc and that is enough for them.

Hogan *et al* (2000:14-22) report on socio-economic observations on Rufiji floodplain and delta shows that the majority of Warufiji engage themselves in several income generating activities which enable them to earn a substantial amount of money for subsistence. Out of the 54 households that they sampled, they found that only 5 households have income above 500,000 Tsh (USD 304) per annum. It is, however, important to note that the income differed considerably by gender, education and location. Therefore, due to the restricted nature of income generating activities the majority of Warufiji failed to hire labourers to work on their farm. For instance, I asked *Mama Chupa* (one of my neighbour) at Mohoro if she hires labourers to work on her farm. She told me that she did not because it is expensive so she could not afford. Drawing from the nature of income generating activities which enable the majority of Warufiji to solicit little money for subsistence implies that there is the potential possibility of the established block farming to benefit the few outsiders and left the majority of local Warufiji as hired labourers. However, due to the Warufiji gendered division of labour, women are in more disadvantageous position than men. How is that so?

Dzodzi and Yaro (2014:203) point out the importance of taking into consideration the existing situations concerning gendered division of labour, nonfarm activities, crop choice before any project is started in order to benefit both men and women. They specifically illustrate how two projects at Dipale and Kpachaa community in Ghana grounded on business model

overlooked some of the important socially constructed gender roles between men and women and ended up sidelining most women in the same. Arguably, Mwaipopo (1995) is on the view that in liberalized economy the market treats women as individuals in their own right. In the global south women are increasingly involved in income generating activities and get a certain amount of cash income. In this way, they lower their dependence on their men, increase their economic worth, and 'may' increase their bargaining power within households. However, this does not follow that women will automatically obtain these advantages due to the rigidity in gender roles and the sexual division of labour. Their sexually gendered obligations have continued, despite other changes in the social and economic environment. Moreover, as TGNP (2007) reports illustrates, women's situation is even worse in many rural households in the developing world due to the poor social or support services like sources of energy, safe water, communication and other facilities. Here I illustrate:

Mama Sijaona and her husband live in Nyaminywili village. Her timetable starts at 5 am in the morning by preparing porridge for her two children who are in the primary school. She keeps it in the thermos and goes fetching water for household use. There is only one public tap which is used by all villagers. Sometimes when she is lucky she manages getting water upon her arrival at the community tap water but sometimes she has to wait until 6 am especially when the queue is long. It sometimes takes her more than one hour to fetch five buckets of water -- enough for her family. She told me that her husband sometimes helps her with fetching water though that is not a normal practise for Warufiji men.

When she is done with fetching water she sweeps the ground surrounding her home, cleans the toilet and washes yesterday dishes. She, then, prepares breakfast which often consists of tea and boiled cassava for her husband, *Baba* Sijaona, who is a fisherman. She told me that she is lucky that at that particular time both of her children are in the primary school. But when the last one was younger -- it was terrible for she used to do all those work with her baby at her back. The couple have a farm at the other side of the river which is mostly attended by *Mama* Sijaona. This is because *Baba* Sijaona usually does his fishing during night. He, therefore, spends most of the daytime sleeping to be active fishing. During farming season such as farm preparation, planting, weeding, etc *Mama* Sijaona often wakes up earlier to be able to get to their farm by 8 pm. She usually works on the farm till 2 pm. She uses at least one more hour to fetch

firewood and green vegetable as relish for her family's lunch. Around 3 pm she set off to the Rufiji River bank to be ferried to the village. She gets home around 4 pm for it takes almost half an hour to walk from the river bank to the village. When she gets home she prepares lunch for her family. She finishes cooking after an hour or so. After taking lunch she sometimes goes to socialize or rest under one of the two mangoes trees outside her home.



Figure 7: Warufiji waiting for water from the community tap water at Nyaminywili village. Fieldwork photo 2013-2014 by Rose George Mbezi.

Mwangi *et al* (2014:115-121) who examine whether there is a gap in output per acre between men and women farmers in Kenya towards market oriented crops illustrates that crops such as tea and coffee that are primarily grown for the market -- need also that the farmer engages in marketing instead of waiting for cooperative to pick up the produced tea and coffee. They argue that the gendered division of labour that imposes most households' responsibilities on women may restrict their ability to engage in the additional work of marketing produce successfully. Though Mwangi *et al* finding is not the same with the nature of factor which

connect the Kenyan women gendered division of labour to their ability to market tea and coffee to that of Warufiji women ability to balance their gendered division of labour to solicit more money. Mwangi *et al* finding resonate well with the fact that Warufiji women need to be more aggressive to be able to balance their gender roles in order to get engaged in some more income generating activities. So that Warufiji women are able to solicit money for hiring extra labour which will enable them to own larger farms (5 and 10 hectares) in block farms. For the gendered expectation related to the division of work prevents the same kind of mobility as men have.

Warufiji: Land, Marriage Institution and Divorce

At the beginning of November 2013 *Mama Chupa*'s young sister was getting married at Mohoro. It was an Islamic marriage which usually takes place at bride's home. Traditionally, the marriage was supposed to take place at *Mama Chupa*'s parents' home. But, unfortunately, they lived a bit far from Mohoro. So *Mama Chupa*'s family decided the marriage to take place at her home as both of the newlyweds and the groom's parents lived at Mohoro. I was not so close to her but as per African tradition, one, especially in rural areas is obliged to participate in such events even when he/she is not formally invited. So, I went to her home very early in the morning to help with the cooking. I particularly cooked *Pilau* (the popular dish served during ceremonies in Tanzania)⁵⁰ and other neighbors helped with fetching water, bringing firewood as well as washing dishes. The marriage took place around 1 pm after the 'Asr (Islam afternoon prayer). After marriage we danced *taarabu* music all night long.

By midnight, I was so tired that around 2 pm I asked *Mama Chupa* to find me a place to sleep for a while. She took me to her bedroom and it was then that I started thinking that may be *Mama Chupa* was not married. I was right, for the next day when I was helping her with cleaning the mess caused by the marriage ceremony she told me that she was once married to a man who happened to be an alcoholic that he was beating her and was not responsible at all. She told me that the house that they lived with her ex- husband was built at his ex-husband's family land. So when they divorced she could not claim any land. She just took her clothes and a few domestic utensils and rented a room. She told me that she decided to rent a room because she was unable to return to her father's or brothers' family land for they could not find her a piece of land so

⁵⁰ *Pilau* contains rice, beef, cardamoms, cinnamon, cumin seeds, corianders, cloves and black pepper.

that she could build a house to stay with her four children. She told me that most of their family land had been sold by her brothers and father to Wasukuma⁵¹ and other local land investors. *Mama Chupa* told me that she quarreled with her brothers and her father but that did not help at all. So, she decided to solicit money through kitchen party ceremonies, food vending store income generating activity she did and selling clothes bought from Dar es Salaam. After ten months she was able to save I million Tsh (USD 613.497) which enabled her to buy a piece of land she had built her home.

Mwaipopo (2001) who does his fieldwork in Saadani fishing community in Tanzania illustrates that despite neo-liberalism which facilitates an increased competition between women and other people who use coastal space, women have been increasingly able, to economically contribute to their households through money realized from shrimps catching and income generating activities especially fish frying. Though the study does not refer to land but it helps me to illustrate that on the face of hardship the majority of rural women strive to negotiate their position within any given social, cultural, political and economic changes.

Inspired by Mwaipopo, I argue that apart from the challenge the majority of Warufiji women get after divorce, most of them instead of being victims within the context of neoliberal land grab, negotiate their position by engaging into a multitude of income generating activities or solicit cash income through kitchen party ceremonies to purchase land.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have developed my argument from Chapter three concerning the contradiction between Warufiji organic nature regime, their social, economic and cultural set up and the Tanzanian government land projects with the neoliberal outlooks. Through presenting and analyzing the hub and spoke as well as block farming business models, I have shown the contradictions emerging between government's projects with neoliberal land grab outlooks and the Warufiji gendered land redistribution experiences. The contradictions has resulted in what Scott (1985) calls 'everyday acts of resistance'-- a concept I will further use in the following chapter in my discussion concerning Warufiji's ways of resisting government projects with neoliberal outlook which appear to be harmoniously implemented.

⁵¹Wasukuma are pastoralists from the northern west of Tanzania. In the year 2007 they were shifted to the southern part of the country due to lack of pastures.

CHAPTER FIVE: WARUFIJI REBELLIOUS CULTURAL RESOURCES WITHIN A NEOLIBERAL LAND GRAB FRAMEWORK

I have argued before that what may be defined as land grabbing is not a recent trend in Africa, unfolding as it has from the colonial era and through the postcolonial period until the present day. Apart from the already documented case concerning German attempts to grab land in Kilosa, Rufiji, Tabora and in Sukumaland for cotton growing experimentation, it is also documented that by the 1960s Kenya, South Africa and Algeria had experienced massive land grabbing by European settlers. Arguably, the only substantial aspect which differentiates the colonial era land grab and the present one is the fact that the African states act as middleman in facilitating the process of land grabbing (Chachage 2005; Kamata and Mwami 2011; Borras Jr and Franco 2013:1742).

The trajectory of state facilitation of foreign direct investment in commercial farming in RRB goes as far back as the 1970s. Then, the Tanzanian government got into an agreement with Iran's government to start a rice cultivation irrigation scheme in the lower Rufiji River (Kamata and Mwami 2011). The project collapsed, however, after some time as the early government liberalization policies paid very little attention to agriculture. As I have already mentioned above, in 2006 the government gave more thrust in the promotion of large scale farming, so starting inviting foreign investment into agriculture sector in growing palm-oil, jatropha and sugar for ethanol crops for producing energy biofuels as an alternative fuel source (Massay 2012:2-3; Kamata and Mwami 2011).

Apart from the initial stages of the year 2006 in commercialization of Tanzanian agriculture on 3rd August 2009 the President of Tanzania launched *Kilimo Kwanza* as a central pillar in achieving the country vision 2025. The basis of *Kilimo Kwanza* was to challenge and taking advantage of the numerous opportunities to modernize and commercialize agriculture in Tanzania. *Kilimo Kwanza* was formulated under the patronage of Tanzania National Business Council (TNBC) which is a forum for public/private dialogue on strategic issues for the economic development of Tanzania.

The launching of *Kilimo Kwanza* facilitated even more RUBADA and other government institutions search for land to meet foreign land investors' needs. As such Warufiji are confronting new realities relating to global and local interests in acquiring land in RRB -- they

have choices to make -- to either resist and struggle or 'comply with' the investors (Kamata and Mwami 2011). What are the responses of the ongoing land grabbing processes to Warufiji? How does the rebellious Majimaji uprising cultural resources reflected in Warufiji's lives and cultural order in terms of gender? As outlined in Chapter two, the Majimaji uprising occurred in 1905-1907 almost 109 years back. How is it possible that Warufiji are up to the present instilled with the rebellious cultural resources? These are some of the questions that I want to answer in this chapter.

Majimaji Uprising and Warufiji Rebellious Cultural Resources

“You know the Spanish crusade against Muslims and the expulsions from Al Andalus [in 1492] are not so long ago.” — Al Qaeda spokesman (after claiming responsibility for the 2004 Madrid bombing). [Quoted from Anderlini 2007:2].

During my informal interview with *Mzee* Sudi as partly recounted in Chapter three, I also asked him about the Majimaji uprising. He told me that he was not yet born during the uprising. His grandfather -- a survivor of the uprising -- had told him stories of the war, how it happened and how they resisted the Germans' cotton plantations, taxation, etc. He kept on telling me that many old people of his age tell stories of the Majimaji uprising to their children and grand children. He remarked. “It is no wonder that Warufiji are so courageous up to now -- you know what -- we do not fear anybody. Have you heard what we did to the Coast regional commissioner during Ujamaa village campaign”? I told him I did not. He told me:

During Ujamaa village campaign we refused to get shifted to another village -- we were used to our lives here. The Rufiji River is near -- we used to fish. They wanted to move us to an area with no water -- nothing. In 1979 the Coast regional commissioner back then came and ordered us to go to a new village. We told him that we would not go -- he did not listen -- so he insisted -- mhhh we locked him in the village office to show him that we meant what we said. He was later rescued by the police from Utete. There on we were bothered no more and we were not shifted to the Ujamaa village.

When approaching popular and personal memories, as an analyst, one should always be careful. For one *Mzee* Sudi's narration and the quotation above illustrates the point also argued

by Bertelsen (2002:12) that memory “[...] may serve as an analytical tool to grasp the past’s presence in and for re-constructive practices”. In recounting how Honde people in Mozambique reconstruct the past’s presence in daily practices after the war, Bertelsen (2002:59) goes on to point out that “[...] individuals different experiences of violence implies different aspects from the reservoir of their memories will be communicated in various (and varying) settings. These may partly be [...] aspects of the social formation of oral histories [...]”. Bertelsen’s argument resonate with Anderlini *et al* (2007) who shows how people in a certain cultural context come to collectively believe or act in the same manner with the past generation even after a very long period of time as the above quotation shows. They argue that “[...] social memory is created over time by intergenerational communication [...] each new entrant has no direct memory of the past, but nevertheless forms a belief about it from [...] the written or oral historiography [...] received from their predecessor”. In addition to that as argued by Crumley (2002) [quoted from Anderlini 2007:2], “[...] Individuals pass on their behaviors and attitudes to others in various contexts but especially through emotional and practical ties and in relationships among generations”

Based on *Mzee Sudi*’s narration and the above points by Bertelsen, Crumley and Anderlini *et al*, I argue that Warufiji rebellious attitudes demonstrated in the form of what is often called ‘everyday acts of resistance’ (Scott 1985) I observed during my fieldwork in RRB were not spontaneous actions: Instead these were actions supported by various forms of memory passed intergenerational that were seen to be relevant against the backdrop of ongoing neoliberal land grab practices. Thomson (2014:110- 111) defines ‘everyday acts of resistance’ “as any subtle indirect and non-confrontational act that makes daily life sustainable [...] they include some combination of persistence and individual effort to accomplish a specific goal vis-à-vis the government”. She particularly uses the concept of ‘everyday acts of resistance’ to explain power relation between Rwandans peasants and the government and the methods Rwandans use in their daily lives resisting top-down government orders. Moreover, Scott (1985) arguably holds that ‘everyday acts of resistance’ are not necessarily expressions of collective defiance nor does it need to involve physical and material protests in the streets -- instead they might comprise a broader set of practices such as (negotiation, gossip reduced effort, petty theft etc), often hidden and invisible, and understood in a un-confrontational forms of class struggle. On the other hand,

Wendy and Ebenezer (2014:6) point out that ‘everyday acts of resistance’ between the dominant and the dominated, powerful and powerless, even when apparently appear ‘local’, they might also be against powerful global forces such as the neoliberal land grabs.

Here I will particularly use Wendy and Ebenezer’s, Thomson and Scott’s conceptualizations of ‘everyday acts of resistance’ as an analytical concept to analyze the nature and scope of power between Warufiji men and women and Tanzanian government in the implementation of land projects with neoliberal outlook and a neoliberal land grab process. In everyday acts of resistance Warufiji men and women use different spaces in airing their discontents and frustrations -- while men use ‘public domain’ as shown in the handing over of tractors’ case -- women often use ‘domestic domain’ in terms of songs sung during the enclosed dance sessions in *Kinyamu* rite of passage to represent their discontents towards contexts constraining them. Apart from gender distinction, Warufiji use gossip also as a way of resisting domination as will be recounted hereafter.

A case of Tractors Handing over

“Sister Rose, we are ready!” Chaurembo, the personal secretary of the Sugar Plant limited, foreign investor company, called me. I was invited by Mr Mgesi -- recalled from chapter two, he is a Tanzanian coordinator of Mahakaushal sugar and power industries company from India, to attend to the handing over of tractors event to the village chairpersons⁵² of Chumbi A, B, C, Nyamwage and Mohoro east and west villages which took place at Chumbi B village. Mr Mgesi told me that it was the preparation of *mashamba* before *masika* season (long rain) and the tractors were to help the villagers in digging their farms for a cheaper price of 35,000 Tsh (USD 217) to 40,000 Tsh (USD 249.22) charged with the individuals owners of tractors in the villages. Digging villagers’ *mashamba* was one of the social corporate obligations of the company. In Tanzania, the project has its headquarter at Dar es Salaam, the capital city of the country. As pointed before the company’s activities in RRB are under the supervision of Mr Mgesi --. One of his tasks is to negotiate for land deals in RRB villages on behalf of the company. The company plan to establish sugarcane plantation, erecting a modern sugar cane factory which will incorporate among others production of cane sugar, ethanol for blending with vehicle fuel and

⁵² All chairpersons were men

electricity co-generation using biogases from the factory to be established at Chumbi A, B and C villages. Up to now the company had been able to acquire 779.178 hectares (Chumbi C), 530.152 hectares (Chumbi A), 2182.314 hectares (Chumbi B), 1725.008 hectares (Nyamwage) and 1399.268 hectares (Mohoro) of land.

Upon Chaurembo's call, we (I and Chaurembo) hurriedly got into the Toyota double cabin car driven by Mr Mgesi. He told us that we were to pick the government press journalists (Mr Mwamfupe, Shani and Mwajuma) at Ikwiriri centre travelled from Dar es Salaam to cover the event. So we went straight to the small restaurant where the journalists were and started the journey to Chumbi B. The event was to take place at 5 pm and we were late by half an hour. Mr Mwamfupe reminded Mr Mgesi that we were supposed to be at Chumbi B before dawn because the video camera would not work properly when it is dark. We reached at Chumbi B by 6 pm and welcomed by chairpersons of the mentioned villages. After the greetings and introduction were over the handing over of tractors event to the villages chairpersons started.

There were about eight tractors around. Mr Mwamfupe asked each chairperson to climb onto the tractors around while holding the steering wheel. At the same time, Mr Mwamfupe asked Mr Mgesi to, in turn give the tractor key he was holding to each chairperson to symbolize the handing over. He did so while saying; "On behalf of your villagers, I am giving you this tractor's key in order to dig your villagers' farms as we agreed". Each chairperson answered "Thank you -- that will be done as we agreed". Then Mr Mwamfupe asked Mr Mgesi to say how the company helped the villages whose land, one could argue, they had taken. The manager said that the company as its social corporate obligation had built deep wells and repaired village health centers for Chumbi A, B, C villages. He also added that the company planned to construct schools sports grounds and construct rural roads to facilitate easy communication amongst the villagers. Mr Mwamfupe then asked the village chairpersons how they benefitted from the company. The chairpersons in turn openly said that they were not satisfied with the amount of money 40,000 Tsh (USD 249.22) the company was charging the villagers for digging one hectare each year for the same amount was charged by individual owners of tractors in their respective villages.

Other village chairpersons, bitterly, said that the project had taken too long to start sugar cane plantation and build the industry as they were promised when Mr Mgosi requested for land. The chairpersons said that villagers expected to get employed in the sugar industry to be built at Chumbi B village to reduce the unemployment rate and improve the living standard to the majority of villagers. They kept on saying that following the company's promise to establish sugar cane block farms, villagers were eager to start their own sugar cane farms and sell to the sugarcane industry expected to be built at Chumbi B village. One chairperson particularly said:

We are tired of empty promises from the company. They have promised us a lot of things but up to now nothing has been done. It is now more than two years -- no industry -- no sugarcane plantation. If they cannot do what they have promised us they better get our land back. If it is the government that is delaying the process we want to know. If it is you we want to know also [referring to Mr Mgosi]. Just get our land back and we will know what to do with it. So far we have sacrificed a lot for giving this land to your company [referring to Sugar Plant limited].

Mr Mwamfupe then asked Mr Mgosi to respond to the village chairpersons' complaints. The manager admitted that it was true that the project had taken too long to start but that was because of the government bureaucracy in formally leasing the land they had already been given. He said that the company could not invest onto the land which is not formally leased. In addition to that Mr Mgosi promised the village chairpersons that the digging fees would be reduced from 40,000 Tsh (USD 249.22) to 35,000 Tsh (USD 217) for one hectare. Upon saying this, all village chairpersons cheerfully applauded that they were able to influence changes.

Not only that but everyday acts of resistance were also reflected in the daily talk of Warufiji in the form of gossip -- especially at times or in contexts when their open resistance was silenced by the government. For instance, when we went to Nyaminywili village for an open awareness creation meeting, the villagers did not allow us to hold a meeting because they wanted the village government ousted from power. The village government was accused of embezzlement of village money. So, that day we could not hold the meeting for we were told earlier on that the meeting should be held only when the villagers were willing. However, the case was later on reported to the Utete police station and those who were involved in preventing

the meeting were caught and put into detention for a week. Then with the help of the District Executive Director (DED) the BRN team was able to hold an awareness creation meeting scheduled on another day.

When I went to Nyaminywili village, Mr Shemkwale again-- one of the people who was put in detention told me what happened. He bitterly said “Our village leaders are very bad in deed -- apart from using our money [referring to village money] dishonestly they also take bribe from Wasukuma and let them stay in the village. Some Wasukuma have even bought pieces of land. We agreed that we should not sell the village land to Wasukuma”. He told me that he no longer wanted direct confrontation with neither the District administration nor the village leaders but he would never ever keep quiet from saying how dishonest the village leaders were. He told me that he knew -- gossiping against village leaders was not going to help but in a way he felt relieved from his anger towards the village leaders and the district administration. I was then alerted that in order to make their life manageable especially at the presence of government intervention Warufiji use gossip as a form of resistance.

Thomson (2011:109) argues that “The process of individual empowerment to challenge or resist government policy is rooted in one’s willingness and ability to speak out against government policy or openly defy the directives of government officials. It is this process of becoming self-aware of the individual capacity to defy government that [...] Thompson identify as ‘political consciousnesses’”. Drawing from Thomson argument when observing the nature of Warufiji ‘everyday acts of resistance’ in the form of open statement and gossip, I noted that their consciousness were rooted borrowing from Scott’s (1990) [quoted from Thomson (2014: 110)] assertion that “[...] when people are treated poorly, they resist”. However, ‘everyday acts of resistance’ as outlined above were not constrained to open statement and gossip only but were also reflected into songs’ content in the enclosed session during *Kinyamu* rite of passage, the subject matter of the following section.

Rebellious Cultural Resource in Ritual Performance: The Case of the Enclosed Session Songs during *Kinyamu* Dance Rite of Passage

Usinibabaishe, usinitishe, kama wewe ni mwamba njoo uniambie, kwa nini unakwenda kusema pembeni?

[My translation of the song] Do not terrify me, if you are more powerful, come and tell me what bothers you, why are you saying what you want to say behind my back?

That is one among many songs that were sung when I attended the enclosed dance session of *Kinyamu* rite of passage at Mohoro. During the dance I observed that women attending the dance use songs to express their discontents towards each other. Usually a woman who wants to express her discontent goes to the drummers⁵³ -- and asks for a song whose content expresses what she wants to tell the woman she is in conflict with. The woman who chooses a song from the drummers is often accompanied with her friends and relatives dancing in a circle. Then, after the woman who asks for a song is left alone dancing while taking off some of her clothes known as *kuwachezea wali* dancing before the initiated girls -- another sign of integrating the initiated girls in a grown up women's community⁵⁴.

That particular song I pointed out at the beginning of the section was chosen by Siwema, some of her friends and relatives joined her -- danced for about five minutes and left for Siwema to *kuwachezea wali*. Siwema took off some of her clothes at the same time, along with the drummers sung loudly. She seemed to express something to someone from the song she had chosen. I asked *Mama Chausiku* why Siwema seemed to be directing the song to someone else not the initiated girls. *Mama Chausiku* told me that Siwema was in conflict with another woman, accusing her of having an affair with her boyfriend. She kept on telling me that traditionally they used to sing the songs that aimed at teaching the initiated girls to well behave in a new status they entered with in the society after they pass through *Kinyamu* rite of passage. She said:

⁵³ Most drummers are men. They often stay outside the enclosed area since they are not allowed to see the dance. Men are singing the songs chosen by women attending the enclosed dance.

⁵⁴ Another sign as pointed out in chapter one is when the girls are given gifts on Saturday after coming from the bush.

“Many of us are currently using the enclosed dance session as a space of airing our discontents even towards male village leaders who might have misused their powers -- knowing that their wives or concubines will tell them [male leaders] about what was sung concerning them during the dance”.

Cihodariu (2011:189-190) argues that folklore songs are in particular more than a form of communication because when relating to the political sphere songs take on the form of elaborated discourse. She particularly argues that “[...] when a society does not have the direct power to punish those who hurt it, it uses an indirect form of punishment through songs that will work retroactively in the future, when the ‘bad guys’ will be remembered [...] in a certain way”. Inspired by Cihodariu and drawing on my analysis of ‘everyday acts of resistance’ in connection to songs sung during the enclosed dance session of *Kinyamu* rite of passage, I argue that the directionality of ritual may vary -- that is it may go from accusations of neighbors to political contents.

In addition to that other chosen songs were sung as a form of resistance towards the socio-economic forces beyond Warufiji. For instance, after Siwema finished dancing before the initiated girls, Siwatu asked for another song which goes:

Nimevurugwa mie, nimevurugwa mie

[My translation] I have been tampered, I have been tampered.

I asked *Mama Chausiku* who had tampered Siwatu. She answered “no one -- the song refers to many things one of which is life difficulties. You know nowadays life is not easy. Everything needs money and there is no way you can depend on your boyfriend, your husband or even your relatives for your upkeep”. She added. “Even those [referring to husbands, boyfriends and relatives] do not have enough money to give someone else.”

As I have already dealt with extensively above, in the context of neoliberalism, most Third world countries became compelled to concede to neoliberal approaches to development as the conditions for receiving financial aid since the 1980s. The need to encourage foreign investments and a much hoped for economic boost made Third world countries adopt economic liberalization policies and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). SAPs programmes

stressed on the establishment of open-market economy. *Mama Chausiku's* answer implies that neo-liberalism has led to changing roles of women in the traditional Warufiji households through an increased monetarisation. Traditionally, men (even those who are not married but live with their female relatives or parents) were expected to provide for their households. Warufiji women are at present expected to contribute to the upkeep of their households along with men.

Thus, the changing positions for both Warufiji men and women have created numerous problems such as the alteration of the traditional roles of men and women. In order to relieve their frustrations Warufiji women use songs such as the one which was sung by Siwatu as a way of making their life more manageable. For, as argued by Cihodariu (2011: 190), sharing songs “[...] bonds the groups and brings a note of psychological relief”.

Conclusion

Everyday acts of resistance, as illustrated in the case studies above, provides insights into the way in which people who are constrained by various forms and contexts of power, domination or forces of marginalisation, such as the neoliberal land grab and government pressure may use gossip, open statements and songs to redress the discontents, emotions and frustrations they daily face to manage their lives without directly confronting these contexts. To Warufiji, everyday acts of resistance as recounted in the above ethnographic accountings are engrained in history and memories of Majimaji uprising rebellion (1905-1907) initiated in Rufiji and spread to southern parts of colonial Tanganyika. Not only that I have also seen that Warufiji everyday acts of resistance are gendered where by men and women -- seen as two distinct groups -- use different spaces in airing their discontents whereas often men use open statements, women use songs sung during the enclosed dance session in *Kinyamu* rite of passage.

Thomson (2014:110) argues that “the resistance literature in Africa focuses largely on organised and national-level resistance to colonialism in the 1960s and 1970s”. I, however, argue that though I did not observe large-scale, collective or organised forms of resistance against the neoliberal land grab or the government during my fieldwork, other forms of resistance as recounted in my ethnographic material above are equally important in showing the means by which the dominated manifest their political interests and opposition to processes and contexts constraining them.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In this thesis I set out to deconstruct the taken for granted assumptions concerning the state/legal approaches to the implementation of what I have defined as neoliberal land grabs, especially in terms of how these relate to the Warufiji gendered land relations as well as the multiple meanings of land in Rufiji River basin. I have argued that most of the taken for granted Tanzanian government -- oriented neoliberal land grab practices contradict with Warufiji social, cultural and economical set up.

As discussed at the start of my thesis, my general inspiration for this analysis comes from Foucault's concept of 'power-knowledge and his critique of 'objective truth'. According to Foucault 'truth', in its absolute sense, is relative as each society (defined broadly) arguably has its regime of truth that might not necessarily ring true in another (Foucault 1991). Based on Foucault's concept of 'objective truth', I argue that the meaning of land is not homogenous -- people and communities -- arguably 'societies' in Foucault's sense -- conceptualize and understand land in unique, distinct and, sometimes, contradictory ways. More specifically, as put forward by Casey (1996), land is, then, far more than a biophysical entity; it is inherently multidimensional encompassing psychical, physical, cultural, historical and social elements.

Informed by Casey and Foucault, I have further used Escobar's constructionist approach to recount how the meaning of land is produced within the Warufiji organic nature regime. To recall, Warufiji land is conceptualized as divided in three categories namely: first, the bare land with no crops, second the bare land with crops and third the crops especially mango, coconut and cashew trees. One can inherit any of the three land categories. Warufiji conceptualization of land is contrary to a state or legal definition of land which is singular (rather than multiple) and understood to encompass soil above and below the surface of the earth with plants germinated or grown on it, buildings, rocks and mountains.

Inspired by Casey, Escobar and Foucault, I have argued that a critical understanding of the current land grab process in Tanzania must be understood beyond legal or state -- oriented approaches and instead must include specific contexts and how these articulate with/are in

conflict with local conceptions relating to dimensions of gender and the socio-cultural order in general.

In the introduction Chapter, I have used Foucault's concept of 'power-knowledge' and 'objective truth' and the terminology 'my boss' (which represent a figure of the national elite) in the context of neoliberal land grab to point out that the definition of land which largely inform its uses is firmly grounded in power relations of class and gender. Similarly, Broch-Due (1999) argues that men and women are differentiated as per socially constructed ideals reflected in everyday acts, actions, gestures and behaviours which are not solipsist and fixed but inherently social, and processual. As such men and women are differently (yet dynamically) placed within gender discourses in a particular cultural context. The gender dimension is particularly important in the ongoing neoliberal land grab in Tanzania because, as also argued by Doss *et al* (2014:12), land market relations are inherently gendered. It is, therefore, crucially important to examine the way in which men and women are affected differently in the process of, for instance, land commodification.

I have argued throughout this thesis that the commodification of land has always contradicted what I have termed the Warufiji organic nature regime as well as Warufiji broader social, political, economical and cultural set up. However, apart from the hegemonic nature of neoliberal land grab's global force and reach, Warufiji continuously negotiate their positions within such a framework -- as well as engage in acts of resistance as analysed in chapter five.

A number of other researchers -- Dzodzi (2003), Isaksson and Sigte (2009) and Kamata and Mwami (2011), for instance -- argue that the allocation of land following customary law discriminates against women as wives, widows, divorcees or daughters, because in both patrilineal and matrilineal societies women's access to land is indirect through husbands, fathers or sons. Put differently and at a general level, women may in these African settings be considered as victims within the customary law land allocation framework. However, during the enclosed dance session in the *kinyamu* rite of passage, I have from a phenomenological point of view, recounted the way Warufiji women may still be seen to 'own' and 'control' land. The enclosed dance is performed in the circled area and no one -- even top district and village leaders -- except women, who have gone through the ritual, are allowed entering. Therefore, women in Rufiji River basin may 'own' and 'control' land the enclosed dance is celebrated beyond

state/legal or within a patriarchy patrilineal land ownership frameworks. This example shows the importance of actual going into particular socio-cultural contexts and seeing how gender is negotiated and articulated in relation to power instead of merely assuming broad and general frameworks underscoring a hierarchical gendered set up.

I have developed a similar argument concerning land ownership in Chapter four showing the contradictions between Tanzanian government conceptualization of land ownership to that of Warufiji. I have used the case of Customary Certificate Right of Occupancy (CCRO) issuing project to illustrate my case. This is because to Warufiji, a documentation of wives' names on a CCRO does not guarantee them allocation of land in case of divorce or the death of the husband. Traditionally, with regards to Islam religion (which largely inform most of the wider Warufiji cultural context including how divorce should be handled), upon divorce a husband is supposed to give his wife any 'substantial' amount of wealth which will help her to start a new life. However, 'substantial' is an ambiguous term for it may not include land or any remarkable wealth which may be of help to a divorced wife. This is done with an assumption that the divorced wife will go back to her paternal family for support and, again, we see that land is highly gendered in specific ways within the Warufiji context.

In order to facilitate Tanzanian development the government adopted the so-called Big Result Now (BRN) initiative, based on the Malaysian Big Fast Result (BFR) -- more or less in the classic adaptation of a blue print development model. However, as Wilson (2005:151) stresses, in order to implement specific development models, it is imperative to consider the social, cultural, economic and political set up of each country so that the adopted blue print is contextualized to suit the local environment. As outlined in the thesis, BRN focuses on six areas of the economy, including agriculture. In agriculture, the focus is on the facilitation of land foreign direct investment through the establishment of commercial farmers. The commercial farmers had been developed by using hub and spoke as well as block farming models. The models are oriented to the production of paddy and sugarcane crops for market consumption. The Tanzanian government set out to use the so-called hub (being conceived of as the investor) and spoke (represented as local communities, in this case the Warufiji) business model in order to create good harmonious relationships between foreign investors and Warufiji, and also to maximize production of paddy and sugarcane for market consumption. However, based on my

fieldwork experiences and analysis I have realized that there was much of the contradictory understanding between the set business models (hub and spoke and block farming) to that of Warufiji social, cultural and economic set up.

For one, the establishment of block farms had involved the cutting down of cashew, coconut and mango trees -- as we will recall a distinct category of land within the Warufiji organic nature regime. Further, Warufiji men and women depend on mango, coconut and cashew trees as a source of cash income and cutting down of mango, coconut and cashew trees may therefore, deprive the majority of Warufiji of this source of cash income. In addition and as outlined in Chapter four, while Warufiji is a patrilineal society where by the intergeneration wealth passes through male blood line, the inheritance pattern, nonetheless, largely follow Islam religion whereby both male and female inherit land. However, upon marriage women leave the inherited 'physical space' of land under the custodianship of their male relatives. This has two major implications:

Firstly, due to a flourishing land market following the various neoliberal processes detailed in the thesis, male relatives (including fathers) are tempted to sell land under their custodianship to Wasukuma and other land local investors. And upon divorce, which are prevalent in RRB, many Warufiji women cannot claim back the land left under the custodianship of their male relatives. This has forced them to invent kitchen party ceremonies and engage in a multitude of income generating activities as a means of soliciting money which will enable them to buy pieces of land as well as taking care of their children as many women prefer to take their children with them in case of divorce.

Secondly, the focus on paddy and sugarcane crops in the implementation of, most specifically, BRN will leave the majority of Warufiji women -- seen as a group -- in a more vulnerable economic situation. This is because even when a woman fails to acquire 'a physical space' of land for whatever reason, most of them own coconut, mango and cashew trees, a source of cash income. Therefore, the focus on paddy and sugarcane coupled with clearing of coconut, cashew and mango trees for block farming establishment may deprive the majority of Warufiji women with cash income which can be solicited out of coconut, mango or cashew products.

Moreover, block farms had been divided into 2.5/5/10 hectares and each villager had been allocated a piece of land she /he was able to attend to. For one of the conditionality of being given a piece of land was one's ability to efficiently attend to the farm. Traditionally, Warufiji are subsistence farmers who use hand hoes to cultivate not more than 2.5 hectares farms. This implies that if one has more than he/she is able to attend to she/he will have to hire extra labour to efficiently attend the farm. However, as pointed out by Hogan *et al* (2000:14-22), the majority of Warufiji are engaged in several income generating activities which enable them to earn a substantial amount of money for subsistence. This implies that it is difficult for both Warufiji men and women to have some extra money to hire extra labor to work on bigger block farms of more than 2.5 hectares. Five (5) and the (10) hectares block farms had, therefore, been owned by commercial out growers from outside Kipugira, Nyaminywili, Kipo and Ndundunyikanza villages hence leave the majority of Warufiji as labourers. However, women are more disadvantaged due to the Warufiji gendered division of labour which allocates more domestic chore to women than men. If a woman, then, has to hire an extra labour to attend to block farm of more than 2.5 hectares, she should work even harder to solicit money for the same.

Not only that but also block farms have disrupted the traditional pattern of land allocation. Warufiji forefathers lived in the area where block farm had been established. Warufiji were moved to Kipo, Kipugira, Nyaminywili and Ndundunyikanza villages --upper land -- following the year 1968 Rufiji River overflow. The establishment of block farms had, however, not followed the traditional land allocation practices; instead each villager had randomly been given a piece of land which did not follow traditional family land claims. This has first, disconnected Warufiji with the nostalgia of their families' background and histories. And second, deprived the Warufiji with the *mpandio/mboto* spirits to guard their *mashamba* against magically usurp of crops hence threatening households' food security. Food provisioning -- as outlined in chapter four -- is the domain of women in the Warufiji gendered division of labour. Women are supposed to make sure that members of their households are fed. The deprivations of *mpandio/mboto* spirits to guard Warufiji *mashamba* against witches may lead to crops magical usurp hence challenge women's food provisioning role.

The articulations between and contradictions of the two nature regimes that my analysis has revolved around namely: Warufiji organic nature and capitalist regimes -- have forced Warufiji to find means of resisting the ongoing neoliberal land grab practices in the form of -- borrowed from Scott (1985) -- 'everyday acts of resistance'. As shown in the last chapter, most explicitly, Warufiji everyday acts of resistance are aimed at resisting both the Tanzanian government's middleman role in facilitating foreign direct investment through commercial farms and the neoliberal land grab as a global force. For instance Warufiji acts of resistance were reflected in open statements against representative of foreign land investors -- Mr Mgosi -- the manager of the Sugar Plant limited company, during the handing over of tractors to Nyamwage, Chumbi A, B and C, and Mohoro west and east villages, village chairpersons from the named villages openly aired out their complaint with regards to delay in the establishment of sugarcane plantation and sugar industry which were expected to reduce unemployment rate to Warufiji.

They also openly said that they were not comfortable paying 40,000 Tsh (USD 249) as so-called digging fees as the same was charged with the owners of private tractors. I argue that despite their concerns were not dealt with at that particular moment, the chairpersons had been able to influence decision within the neoliberal land grab framework for after the complaint Mr Mgosi promised to reduce the digging fee from 40,000 (USD 249) Tsh to 35,000 Tsh (USD 217). Everyday acts of resistance were also reflected in songs' contents sung during the enclosed dance session in *Kinyamu* dance rite of passage. The songs, apart from directed to other women attending the session, also crucially reflect Warufiji's women discontents towards the neoliberal land grab and village leaders who misuse their power. Put differently, the songs contents and the critical force of the ritual oscillate between accusations of other women of various morally questionable acts to a highly charged politics of discontents directed against the current land grabs.

Not only that but Warufiji also use gossip as a means of showing discontents against the government leaders who are accused of embezzlement -- especially when their demands are silenced by the government. For instance when I went to Nyaminywili village after the BRN team failure to hold an awareness creation meeting, following villagers demand to ousted village government in power, Mr Shamkwale who was detained because of his involvement in the event

told me that village leaders are taking bribe, they are also misusing village money. Mr Shamkwale knew gossip would not help to change ‘bad’ behaviors of village leaders, but he told me that he felt relieved telling me his feelings towards village leaders.

In this thesis I have seen that the Tanzanian government’s approaches in engaging with, practicing and facilitating the globally conditioned neoliberal land grab in RRB as unfolding in various cultural, political, social and economic domains of the Warufiji -- contradict local understanding in such fundamental matters as the meaning of land, land ownership and control, gendered division of labour, etc. The ways in which such contradictions are understood and acted upon I have in this thesis labelled everyday acts of resistance.

Borras Jr and Franco (2013) have extensively recounted the impact of neoliberal land grab in various parts of Third world countries. Their analysis however does not show how neoliberal land grab impact women and men as distinct groups with different experiences, behaviors, roles in a certain cultural context. In this thesis I have argued that the basis of land relations in terms of ‘access’, ‘ownership’ and ‘control’ in Tanzania is linked to the positioning of people in terms of gender. One therefore has to be careful when studying the impact of neoliberal land grabs in order to denote how each group is affected with the process. As it has throughout shown in my thesis, I argue that Warufiji men and women are differently impacted as a result of the neoliberal land grabbing process. In this way, the subject of my thesis contributes to a broader debate concerning the anthropology of the gendered impact of the neoliberal land grab in Africa.

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