

Kumiko Sakamoto, Ms., Acad, Social Science, Japan: *Women and men in changing societies: Gender division of labor in rural southeast Tanzania* [A2]

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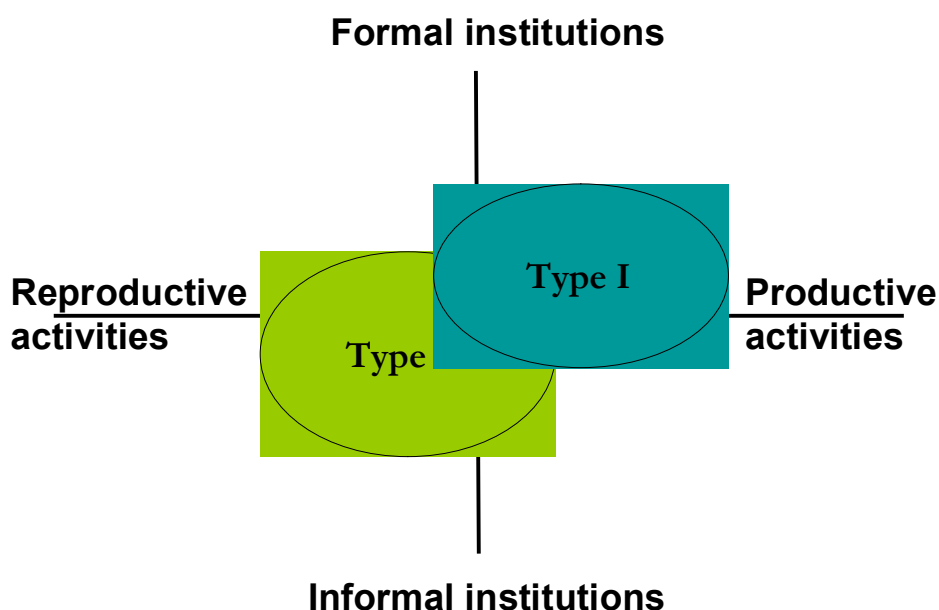
Summary

In continuation to my discussion on the African moral economy characterized by informal reproductive activities, I evaluate gender division of labor in rural southeast Tanzania as an example of how women and men live in changing societies. The necessity of cash increased also in the research villages as in many other areas of the world, influencing the gender division of labor. For example, working for money or cash crops is biased towards men, although not exclusive of. On the other hand, housework is exclusively done by women. However, doing agricultural work for food is considered the most important work, and is shared between women and men. In comparison to gender segregation of men (and increasingly women as well) into the productive sphere and women into reproductive sphere in Type I societies, the research indicated a mixed picture. On the one side, there is gender segregation, and women are overloaded with reproductive work and men relatively idle as a result of lack of productive work in a Type A society. On the other side, there are also area that women and men share work linking reproduction and production for subsistence. Maintaining or regaining such area of shared work for subsistence is of importance as an alternative to exclusively productive world of capitalism, not only in Africa but also for the world.

Introduction: Production and reproduction

I have argued in my last year's paper that, in comparison to many capitalist or industrialized societies which have come to emphasized productive activities through formal institutions such as the state or the market (Type I societies, Diagram 1), the African moral economy can be characterized as societies that emphasize reproductive activities through informal institutions (Type A societies). Although there are different problems also within Type A societies, its characters and value system can provide lessons for Type I societies for endogenous development.

Diagram 1: Type A & Type I societies and institutions

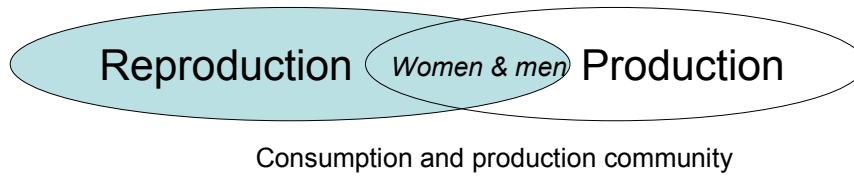


However, I have also noted social exclusion and marginalization of social groups as one of the challenges in Type A societies that need further scrutiny especially in light of the fact that most societies are influenced by the outside world. Boserup (1970) analyzed how men were provided access to cash crop during colonial rule and how women became marginalized and burdened in the reproductive sphere through the process of economic globalization. Illich (1981, 1982) also argued that vonocular gender in the subsistence economy was transmogrified into sexist in the capitalist world, marginalizing women into shadow work. This can be interpreted in Diagram 2 as “transmogrification” from subsistence economy to Type I society. In this paper, I revisit this framework, by analyzing my research in one of the villages in southeast Tanzania in order to understand the gender division of labor in changing societies.

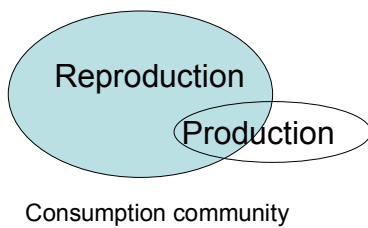
The direct research for this paper was done in four weeks during August to September 2006, in 2 villages in Lindi Rural District, Lindi Region. The analysis is based on formal interviews to 57 women and 57 men (total 114 women and men) in the 2 villages, supplemented by observation and informal interviews during the same time residing in one of the households. Some information is supplemented by research which was done during August 2001 (Sakamoto 2003) and other literatures on the region.

Diagram 2: Gender division of labor in Type A and Type I societies

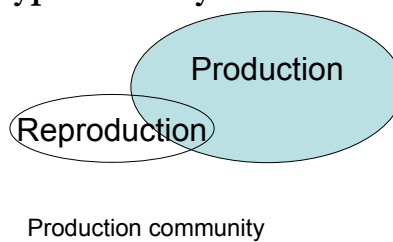
- **Subsistence society**



- **Type A society**



- **Type I society**



Note: See Sugimura 2006 for Consumption community (Community of consumption).

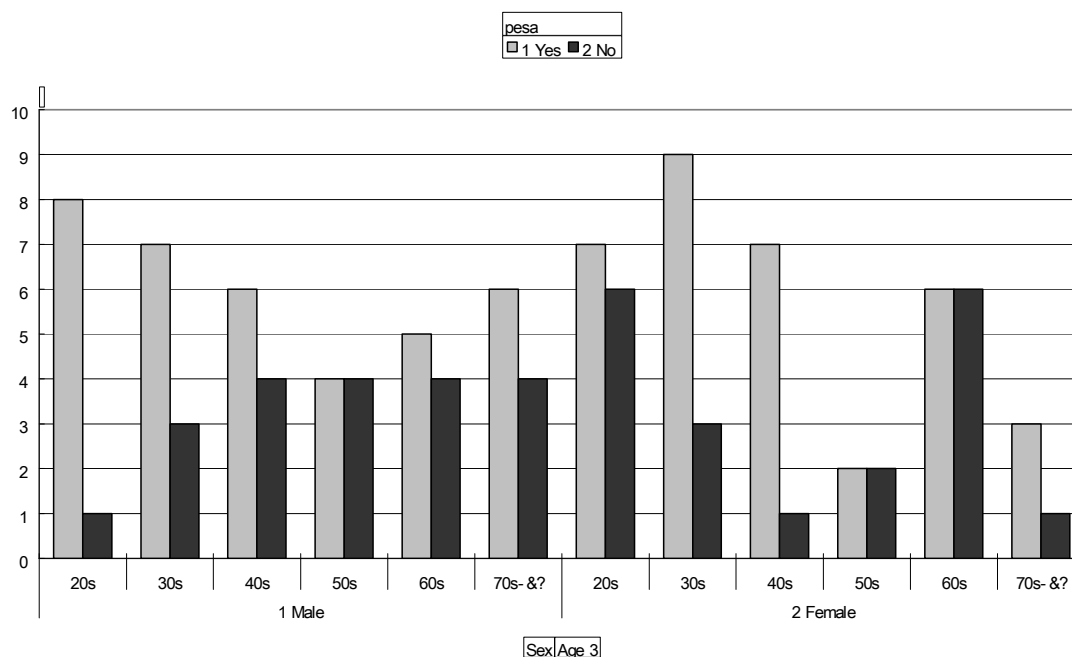
Firstly, the perceptions of men and women on the necessity of cash will be introduced. Secondly, crops cultivated by women and men will be introduced in order to understand the division of labor between women and men. Thirdly, gender division of labor between productive and reproductive activities will be analyzed. Based on the case study, conclusions will be drawn.

1. Necessity of cash and production

The necessities of cash and pressure for more production have become stronger in most parts of the world. The research villages are situated about an hour from Lindi City, and a market exists within the village, therefore, it is not a surprise that it is no exception.

In the interview, 61% (70 responses) answered that the need for money has increased from before, in comparison to 34% (39 responses) that answered that it hasn't. Both women and men consider that the need for money increased, but the age group of the peak differs. The peak for men for need for money is the 20s, whereas the peak for women is the 30s (Diagram 3). This may be related to the fact that men need to pay money as bride price to the family of the bride-to-be. Women seem to be in need for money at the age one is expected in society to have married and/or to have had children.

Diagram 3: Has the need for money increased from before?



Source: Based on interviews in 2006.

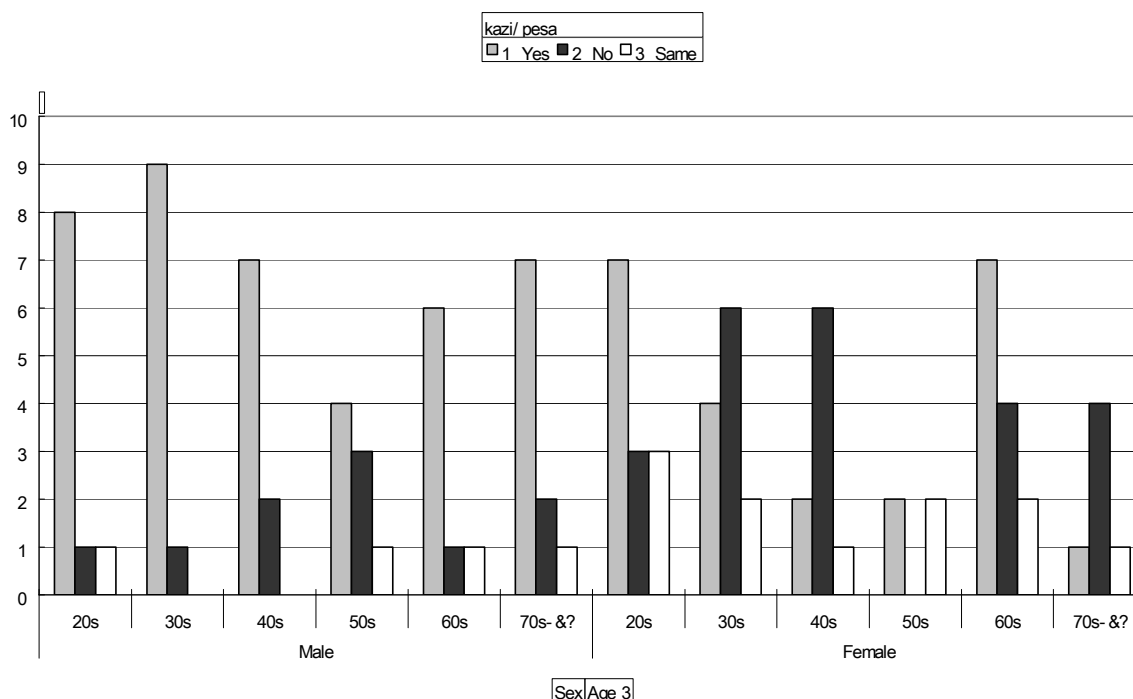
People are in need for money “all the time” (39%, 45 responses), for health problems (37%, 42), or hunger (35%, 40), or for education (6%, 7).¹ In another interview done in Lindi Region, food (30%, 151), clothes (26%, 131), education (10%, 51), and health/drugs (10%, 49) were considered the most important usage of money.²

In relation, 56% (64 respondents) do more work for money, such as cultivating cash crops or doing business. On the other hand, 29% (33) answered that they do not do more work for money, and 13% (15) that it hasn't changed. Looking into the sex and age disaggregated data, all age groups of men answered that they do more work for money. On the other hand, women of the 30s, the 40s, and the 70s (and above or unknown age) stated that they do not do more work for money. While most age groups correspond with the age group that is in need for money (Diagram 3), women in her 30s, 40s, and 70s show a distinct contrast that most of them are in need for money, but are not doing more work for money.

¹ Asked as multiple choice.

² Also asked as multiple choice to 216 valid responses in August 2001 (Sakamoto 2003).

Diagram 4: Do you do more work for money compared to before? By sex and age



Source: Based on interviews in 2006.

In this section, we have confirmed that the need for money has increased in the research villages. It has also become clear that women of her productive and reproductive age (30s and 40s) is especially in need of money, but are not working more for money. It's implication will be analyzed in the following sections.

2. Crops cultivated by women and men

The two major grain crops are maize (76%, 87 responses) and rice (68%, 77), with relatively more farming of maize. In comparison, the traditional African food crop, millet, is farmed by less people (32%, 37), followed by cassava (28%, 32) and some sweet potatoes. The main vegetable (sub-food crop) is *mbaazi* (green beans, 28%, 32), with other vegetables such as tomatoes and spinach. The major cash crops is cashew (27%, 31), coconuts (21%, 24), and sesame (15%, 17), but is not cultivated by all. Table 1 indicates the seasons and the place of cultivation.

Table 1: Season, major crops, and cultural events of research villages, Lindi Rural District, Lindi Region

Topic	Month	Ownership No.	%	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Seasons:				<i>Kifuko</i> (rainy season)					<i>Kiangazi</i> (dry season)						
<i>Rain</i>				X	X	X	X	X	X						
Major crops:															
Place	Crops (Swahili)	Crops (English)	Crop type												
Mountains	<i>Mahindi</i>	maize	Staple	87	76%	Plant			Harvest						Plant
	<i>Mama</i>	millet	Staple	37	32%	Plant				Harvest					Plant
	<i>Mhaga</i>	cassava	Staple	32	28%	Plant					Harvest				Plant
	<i>Mbaazi</i>	green beans	Sub	32	28%	Plant	Take out grass					Harvest			
	<i>Koraha</i>	cashew	Cash	31	27%	Harvest								Harvest	
	<i>Ufuta, simsim</i>	sesame	Cash/Sub	17	15%	Plant	Take out grass				Harvest				
Near the lake	<i>Kundi</i>	beans	Sub			Plant		Harvest	Plant		Harvest				
	<i>Mahindi</i>	maize	Staple	87	76%						Harvest				
	<i>Mwanga</i>	rice	Staple/Cash	77	68%	Plant	Take out grass		Preparation		Harvest			Cultivate	Plant
	<i>Nazi</i>	coconuts	Cash/Sub	24	21%							Harvest			
	<i>Nyanya</i>	tomatoes	Sub	9	8%										
	<i>Kunde</i>	beans	Sub											Harvest	
<i>Bamia</i>	ladies fingers	Sub								Plant					
<i>Mabosa</i>	pumpkins	Sub													
Major cultural events:															
<i>Jando & Uvaya</i>										X	X	X			
<i>Kianguli</i>										X	X	X	X		

Source: Based on interviews (formal and informal) and observations in 2001 and 2006.

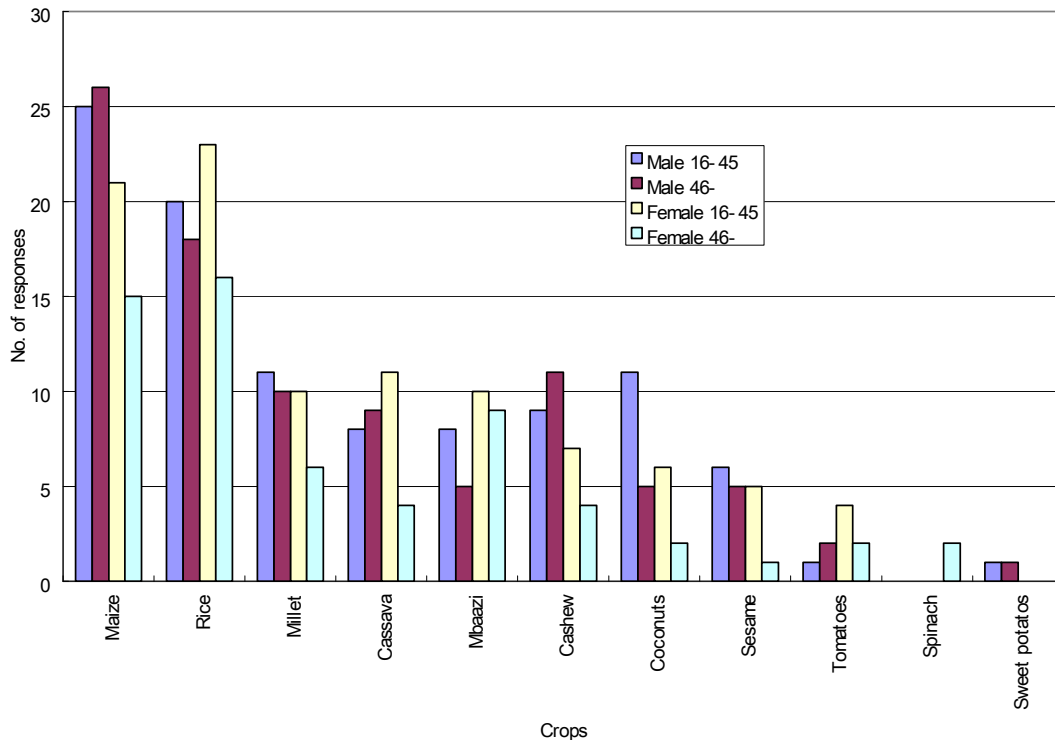
Let us compare their crops to what is usually eaten. In the morning, tea is drunk (68%, 78 responses) with cassava (48%, 55) or porridge (43%, 49). In the noon, the most typical menu is *ugali* from maize (96%, 109), followed by rice (24%, 27) and cassava (19%, 22). In the evening, the preferred menu is rice (79%, 90), but people will opt for *ugali* (51%, 58) if it is not affordable. Millet (18%, 21) and cassava (17%, 19) is also eaten, especially in the rainy season with less food. The food crops more or less correspond with the food that people eat, but tea and *mboga*³ is frequently bought from the market.

As for gender differences, more women farm vegetables, such as *mbaazi* (beans, 33%, 19), tomatoes (11%, 6), and spinach (4%, 2) in comparison to men (23%, 13; 5%, 3; and 0%, 0 respectively). For all the cash crops such as cashew, coconuts, and sesame, more men (35%, 20; 28%, 16; and 19%, 11 respectively) farm/own them in comparison to women (19%, 11; 14%, 8; and 11%, 6 respectively). Although not exclusive of the other sex, the tendency is consistent with the general understanding including that of Boserup (1970) that the women have been responsible for food crop and men have occupied their space for cash crops.

On the other hand, for the two major food crops, about the same proportion of women (68%, 39 responses) and men (67%, 38) farm rice, whereas more men (89%, 51) farm more maize than women (63%, 36). In consideration to the fact that maize is mainly a food crop, whereas rice is a food and cash crop (proportion or all of the harvested rice is sold), this contradicts with the general understanding that women are the major cultivator of food crop and excluded for cash crop. Although to a lesser extent, more men also answer that they farm millet (38%, 21) and sweet potatoes (4%, 2) in comparison to women (28%, 16 and 0%, 0 respectively).

There is also a difference between age and sex groups (Diagram 5). The major difference in the cultivation/ownership of crops may be based on the early retirement of women in cultivation in comparison to men.

Diagram 5: crops cultivated by men and women



³ Literally, *mboga* means vegetables in Swahili, but people refer to fish and other sub-food used for *mchuzi* (soup to accompany *ugali* or rice).

Source: Based on interviews in 2006.

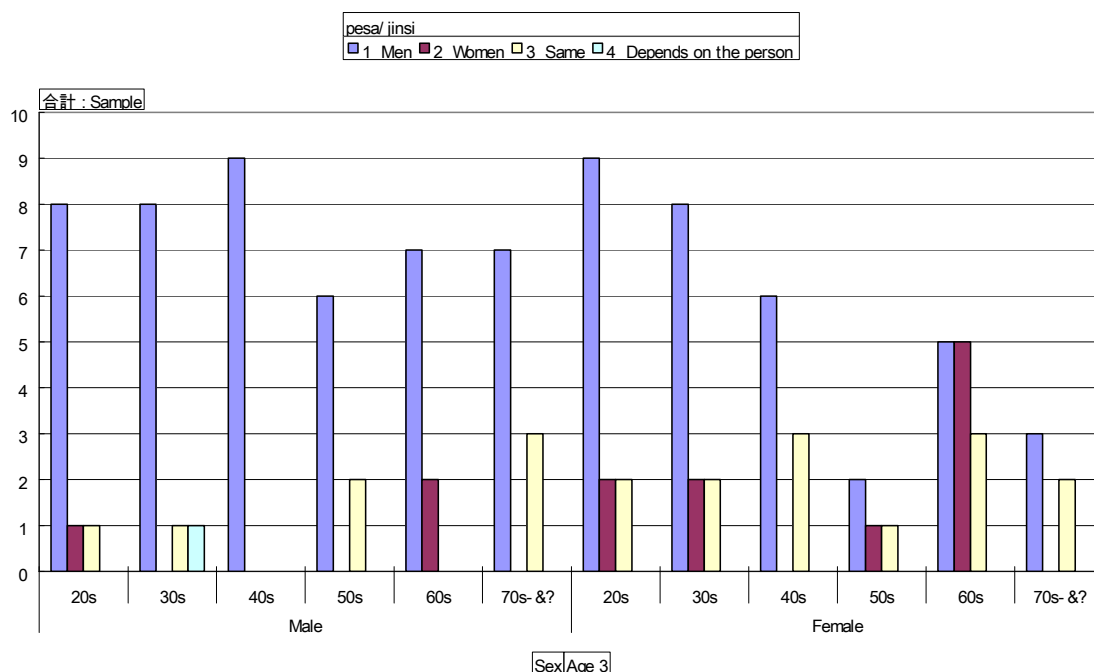
The farming system of the area had both consistent and contradicting areas in comparison to previous literatures of African agriculture considering women to be responsible for food crops and men for cash crops. The consistency was that more men had access to traditional cash crops such as cashew and coconuts (although not exclusive of), whereas women farmed vegetables such as beans and spinach. The contradictory part was that men were the main cultivator of food crops such as maize and millet, whereas both women and men farmed rice (food and cash crop) to the same extent.

This agricultural division of labor may be explained as following. Coconut was introduced by the Arabs along with the Islam religion. Iliffe argued that women in the regions of Islam influence were “spared the agricultural drudgery which was their lot in most inland societies” (Iliffe 1979, p.38). This Islam influence may have decreased the women’s role in the food crops such as in maize that were introduced to Tanzania during the proceeding Portuguese rule, and also in coconuts.⁴ In addition, cash crop such as the cashew introduced during the colonization was dominated by men. The women’s role in rice may be a relatively new crop that both women and men take part in. The gender division of labor in agriculture has dynamically changed over the course of history, and is likely to change in the future based on daily negotiations.

3. Gender division of labor

In the interview, majority of the people think that “men do more work for money” (68%, 78 responses), followed by the opinion that the “both sexes work for money” (18%, 20), and then “women do more work for money” (11%, 13). There was also an answer that it depends on the individual. Although both more men and women answered that “men” worked for money, the answers that stated that “women” worked more for money came from women. All age groups of male respondents answered that “men” do more work for money, whereas most answers that considered “women” to be doing more work for money came from the women in the 60s (Diagram 6). The answers of women in the 30s and 40s that “men do more work for cash” correspond with previous answers to themselves not working for money (Diagram 4).

Diagram 6: Women and men working for cash



Source: Based on interviews in 2006.

⁴ The periods crops were introduced to Tanzania are summarized in Sakamoto 2003, Table 2-1.

While more men and women considered men to be doing more work for money, it was not exclusive of women. On the other hand, almost all of the respondents (96%, 110) regardless of their sex and age considered that women did more work for the house. This corresponds with Table 2 indicating a typical daily time schedule of young men, old men, young women, and old women in dry and rainy seasons.⁵ While farm work is shared between men and women, women do all the housework.

⁵ Based on focus group discussions by each group (young men, old men, young women, and old women) done in 2001 in the same villages (Sakamoto 2003).

Table 2: Time use of young/old men and women of the research villages

Dry Season

Time / age	Sex	Men		Women	
		Young	Old	Young	Old
5AM					Wake up and clean up the
6AM	Wake up				Fetch water for cooking, prepare breakfast and eat breakfast (porridge)
7AM	At the field		Drink porridge/ tea and do agricultural work of the dry season	Sweep the house	Go to the field
8AM			Field: cultivate maize, plant crops of the dry season	Prepare breakfast	Work on the farm: plant maize, spinach, tomatoes and cabbage
9AM				Go to the field and do farming of the dry season	
10AM				At the field	
11AM	Return from the field			At the field	Go through the forest to fetch firewood for coal
12AM	Lunch			Prepare food for the family	Return home
1PM	Rest			Housework for noon	Reach home and do housework
2PM	Other work and business				Cook tea and <i>ugali</i> , and eat lunch
3PM			Return home and eat	Pound food for supper	Rest
4PM	At the field		Rest, games (<i>bao, karata</i>), radio sports	Get vegetables	Rest
5PM				Cook food for supper	Grind rice
6PM	Return from the field			Bath children and self	Put <i>mbaazi</i> on the fire, and go to the lake to fetch water for bathing
7PM	Walking (<i>matembezi</i>)		Supper	Supper	Grind coconuts for red beans (<i>maharage</i>)
8PM	Walking (<i>matembezi</i>)			Put children to sleep, and talk with husband	Cook rice
9PM	Supper		Sleep	Continue talking	Eat supper (all)
10PM	Sleep			Sleep	Bath
11PM					Sleep
12PM					
Farm work		8	8	3	5
Housework				9	8
Rest/leisure		3	3	1	2

Rainy Season

Time / age	Sex	Men		Women	
		Young	Old	Young	Old
4:30AM					Wake up and sweep the kitchen
5AM					Fetch water for cooking, prepare breakfast and eat breakfast (porridge)
6AM	Wake up				Go to the field
7AM	At the field		Drink porridge/ tea and do agricultural work of the rainy season	At the field/ farm	Field work: cultivate and plant
8AM			Field work of the rainy reason: rice	At the field. Cook porridge for	
9AM				At the field: cultivate	
10AM				At the field	
11AM				Obtain vegetables and return from the field	
12AM				Cook lunch	
1PM	Return from the field			Rest	Cut firewood
2PM	Lunch			Rest	Reach home and cook (vegetables)
3PM	Rest			Cultivate	Bath
4PM	Walking (<i>matembezi</i>)		Return home and eat		Eat supper (all)
5PM			Return home and eat (rest)	Prepare supper	Rest
6PM				Cook supper	Sleep
7PM	Small business		Supper	Bath children and self	
8PM	Home		Supper (rest)	Talk a little bit	
9PM	Supper		Sleep	Sleep	
10PM	Sleep				
11PM					
12PM					
Farm work		7	10	7	9
Housework				5	2.5
Rest/leisure		4	2	2	1

Source: Based on focus group discussion in 2001 (Sakamoto 2003).

Table 3 lists the work that men and women consider as men's work and women's work. It may be noted

that many of the work that is considered “men’s work” have lost its significance due to land pressure, such as “to cut the forest to get a farm” are performed only on special occasions and other work such as “to put the roof on the house” have become a specialized work. As a result, many of the remaining daily reproductive workload falls upon women. The women’s workload is recognized by both women and men, and I have organized an occasion to enable a lively discussion on their division of work. A few men suggested that some of the work such as cutting firewood does not have to be exclusive a women’s load, and would be good to help each other. The suggestion was welcomed by women, although such change in actual division of work would depend within the household.

Table 3: Division of work between men and women

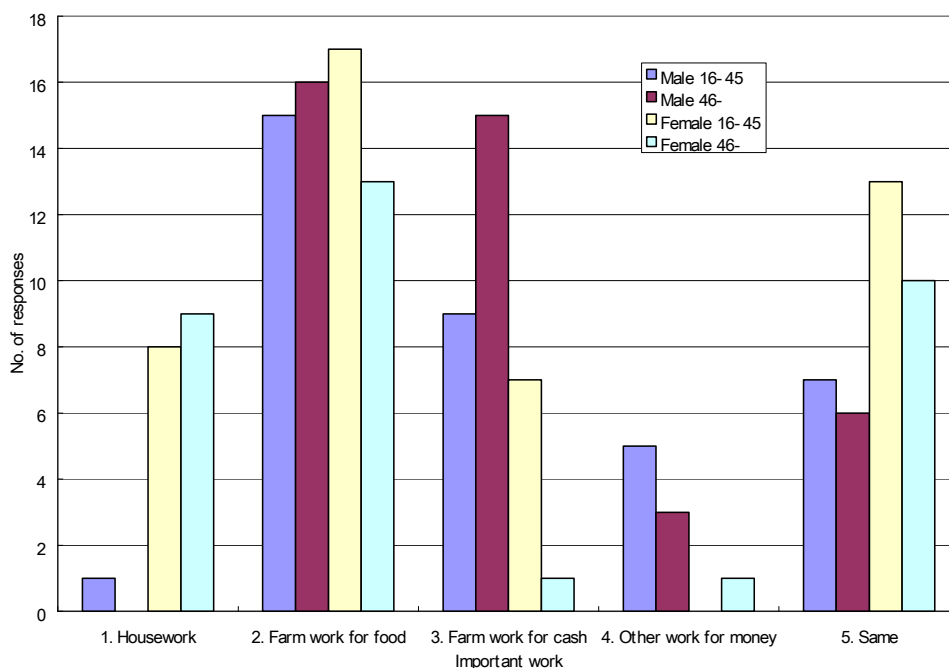
discussed by	Men's work		Women's work	
	Young men	Old men	Young women	Old women
Family members	To guard the family	To ask to marry <i>When someone dies, to bury the body</i>	bear children To watch children To take care of the husband	
House	To cut tree <i>To put the roof on the house</i>	To cut trees to build a house	fix the wall of the house with mud	fix the wall of the house with mud with hand <i>To cut grass for the house</i>
Farm	To farm To plant To harvest <i>To bring home crops from farm to house</i>	To cut grass of the farm <i>To cut the forest to get a farm</i> To make a hole (for planting)	To cut grass To farm (common) To plant To harvest	To farm To plant
Energy			To cut firewood To fetch water	To cut firewood To fetch water
Food	To get food for the family <i>To cook (single men only)</i>	To kill livestock for food	To cook	To pound rice, maize, and millet To grind millet To cook
Environment			To clean the environment To wash cloths	To sweep To wash cloths
Fashion				bread hair To pierce ears
Wild animals	<i>To chase away dangerous animals</i> <i>To hunt animals</i>	To kill or hunt dangerous animals		
Special work	To fish To make traditional beds To build	To fish To but wood to make door, chair ... To make bed from rope To get honey To watch livestock	To make pottery To do business	To make pottery

Source: Based on focus group discussion in 2006.

Now we turn to women’s and men’s perceptions on the kinds of work. The most common answer when asked the most important work was “farm work for food” (54%, 61) followed by answers that they considered “all the work” important (32%, 36), “farm work to get money” (28%, 32), “housework” (16%, 18), and then “other work for money” (8%, 9). Among those answers, 20 (18% of total) responded that both of the farm work is important, 23 (20%) responded only “farm work for food” is, and 12 (11%) responded that both “farm work for food” and housework is important (Diagram 7). This indicates that the policy since independence that emphasized agriculture still lives within people.

Looking into sex and age disaggregation, both men and women, young and old, also considered farm work for food most important (Diagram 7). However, men (21%, 24), especially older men (13%, 15), consider farm work for cash almost as important and a few (7%, 8), especially young men (4%, 5), consider other work for money important. On the other hand, not a few women (15%, 17) both young and old, give housework its importance.

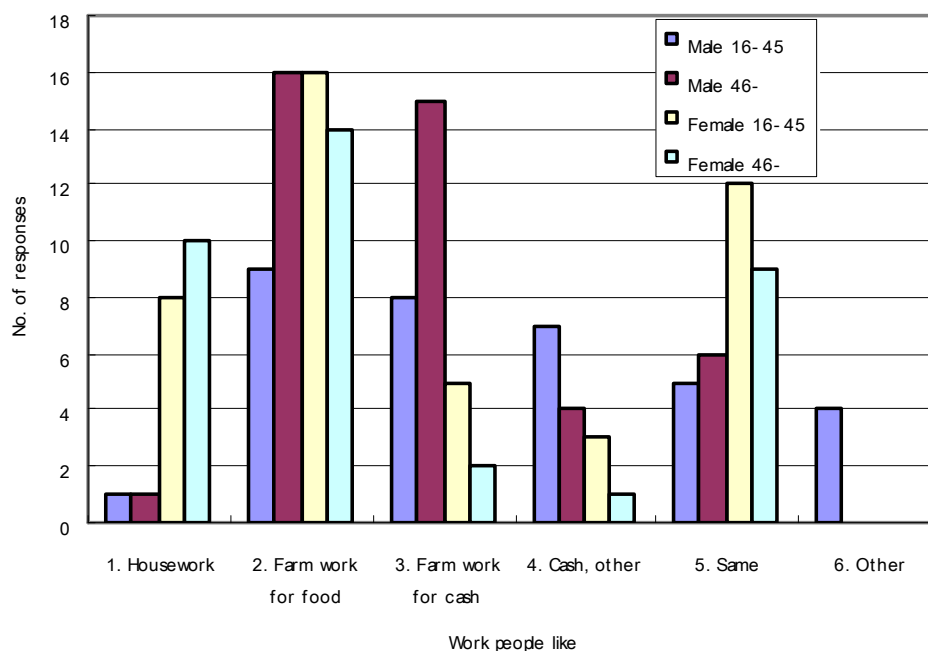
Diagram 7: Work considered as important by women and men



Source: Based on interviews in 2006.

Almost half of the respondents (48%, 55) also answered that they liked farm work for food, followed by the answer that they liked all kinds of work (28%, 32), farm work to get money (26%, 30), housework (18%, 20), and other work for money (13%, 15) in the same order as the previous question. There were also answers that stated that they don't really like any kind of work, but they are doing it for their living or that's the only work that they can do. The major difference was the increase of "other work for money" (5%, 6). The combination of the work that they "like" show a similar trend that many like both farm works (17%, 19), followed by "farm work for food" only (18%, 20), then "farm work for food" and housework (11%, 13). Both women (26%, 30) and men (22%, 25) liked the farm work for food that they considered the most important. Men also liked farm work for cash (20%, 23), and women liked housework (16%, 18). However, there were a few young men that considered farm work for food important but they liked other work especially for money (Diagram 8).

Diagram 8: Work women and men like



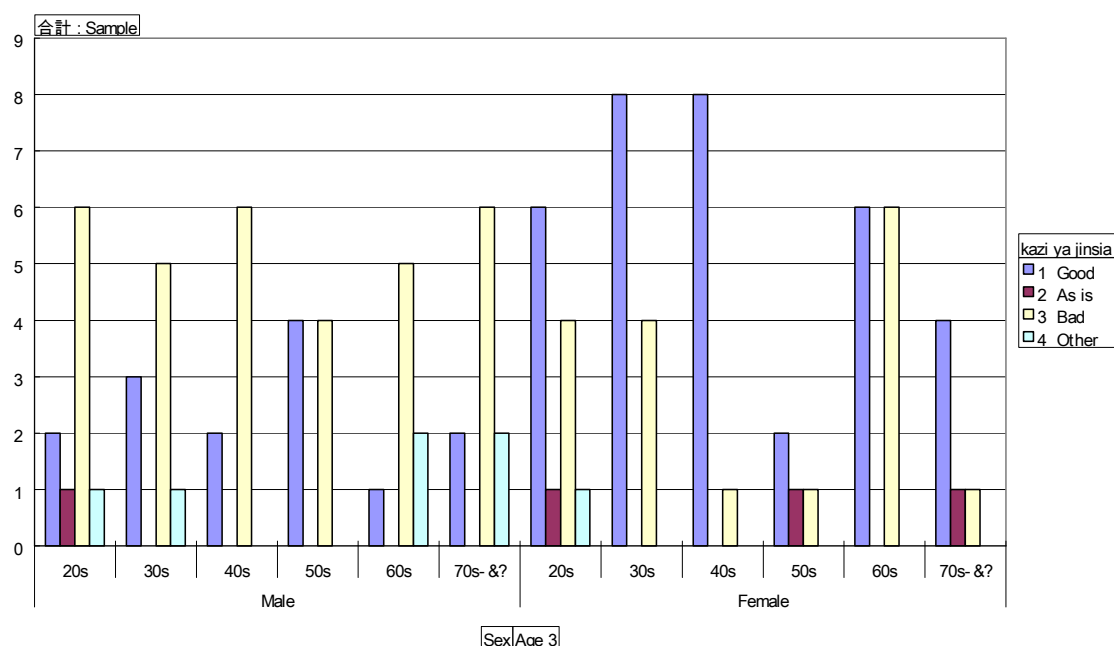
Source: Based on interviews in 2006.

In reference to Diagram 2, the division of labor in the research village can be described as following. As a result of the influence of the cash economy there are areas that segregated men in the productive sphere and women into the reproductive sphere. Within Type A society, the area for production is limited, and in comparison to women in the reproductive sphere, men in the productive sphere seem as if idle. However, the area of subsistence that women and men share work is also prevalent

About the same number of respondents answered that they considered division of labor good (42%, 48) or bad (43%, 49). According to Diagram 9, more women considered it “good” in comparison to more men considering it as “bad”. Focusing on the women in the 30s and the 40s whom many were in need for money but not working for money, they seem to especially welcome the demarcation of gender role. According to these results, it may be interpreted that women are satisfied with their reproductive role, but men are unhappy with their segregation in the productive responsibilities and would like to be involved in reproductive activities as well. However, this contradicts with the contents of the group discussions where women complained their workload. Also in consideration to the interview process, this result to this question needs to be used with caution.⁶

⁶ There may have been a problem in communicating the contents of the question. The term “gender division of labor” was not easily understood at first by the respondents, and had to be explained using their responses to other questions. The explanation needed extra effort for the interviewer to be neutral about how the question was set, and in my experience, women hesitantly but strongly starting complaining their work overload only when the setting was right. Comparing answers per interviewer, I have registered both answers, but other interviewers registered answers biased to either of the answers.

Diagram 9: What do you think about the division of labor?



Source: Based on interviews in 2006.

Conclusions

Gender divisions of labor under the influence of the cash economy have a mixed picture. Relatively more men engage in more work for money, and all women engage in housework indicating gender division of labor between productive and reproductive sphere. However, both men and women engage in farm work for food, and consider it the most important work. In this respect, the shared responsibility of men and women in food production is an important area for food security, linking production and reproduction creating a space of endogenous gender relationships. In this respect, the thrust to promote cash crop instead of food crop⁷ should be taken with caution to avoid food insecurity and segregation of gender roles.

The case from southeast Tanzania provides an example where mutual relations and subsistence are sustained even under the influence of the cash economy. When we turn to the gender relations that have been accumulated through the history including the influence of the cash economy, there are explicit area that the influences of the cash economy have further segregate the men in the productive sphere and women to the reproductive sphere. This is a worldwide phenomenon of human deprivation as a result of the capitalist economy. From this perspective, the shared responsibility of men and women in food production in this case of Tanzania links reproduction and production, corresponding to the direction of endogenous development that I have previously envisaged (Sakamoto 2005a, 2005b). Under the influence of the cash economy and capitalism, will African societies continue further segregation of productive and reproductive spheres, or will they be able to indicate examples of endogenous development overcoming human alienation? Turning to industrialized countries, it also depends on how men can regain their reproductive role in societies (Okuma 1974). Sustaining or regaining such area of shared work for subsistence may be of importance as an alternative to exclusively productive world of capitalism, not only in Africa but also for the world.

Acknowledgement

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⁷ Such as by IMF (2006).

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変容する社会における女性と男性 - 南東タンザニア農村における男女分業 -

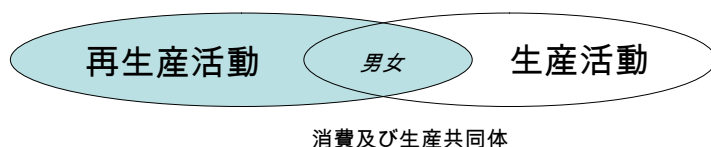
阪本公美子

要約

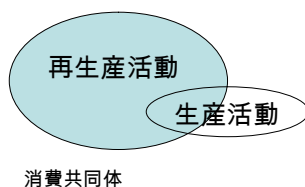
本論においては、インフォーマルな再生産活動に特徴づけられるアフリカ・モラル・エコノミーの議論の延長上において、変容する社会における女性と男性の生き方の一例として、南東タンザニア農村における男女分業を取り上げる。研究対象とする農村においても、世界の他の多くの地域がそうであったように、現金の必要性は増加しており、男女分業をも影響している。例えば、現金や換金作物のための労働は男性に限定されているわけではないが、より多く賄っている。他方、家事は、女性のみよって行なわれている。しかしながら、食糧生産は、最も重要な仕事として位置付けられており、その仕事は、男女ともに行なう。男性（及び、近年においてはますます女性も）生産領域に隔離する一方、再生産領域に女性を隔離するI型社会と比較すると、本調査地の現象は、A型社会とサブシスタンス経済の組み合わせで説明することができる。つまり、男性が生産活動をより多くアクセスしているものの、A型社会で図解されるように生産活動は限られており、女性の再生産活動における負担が比較的大きくなっている。しかしながら、生産活動と再生産活動をリンクさせる食糧生産において男女が仕事を共有するという現状は、サブシスタンス経済の図式に沿うものである。生存のための仕事を共有する領域を維持或いは再生することは、アフリカのみならず世界におけるさまざまな社会において、生産活動のみに特化した資本主義代わる社会の構築のために重要な視点ではないだろうか。

図： サブシスタンス経済、A型社会、I型社会

・ サブシスタンス経済



・ A型



・ I型

