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## **The Hadza and Kaguru of Tanzania: Gender Roles and Privileges at Two subsistence levels**

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Following the pivotal work of Julian Steward in the 1960's, cultural ecology emerged as a distinct theoretical orientation within the discipline of anthropology. In "The Concept and Method of Cultural Ecology", one of Steward's few summary explanations of the approach, he defines it as "the study of the processes by which a society adapts to its environment...to determine whether these adaptations initiate internal social transformations" (Steward 1977: 43). Central to this study is the identification and consideration of both the physical and social environments of a group and how these translate into the particular subsistence strategy of the society. With this information, a researcher seeks to determine how the evolution of other cultural traits in a society is influenced and even directed by these adaptations (Steward 1977: 44-45). Using this strategy, I intend to provide a cultural-ecological interpretation of the roles and place of women in two societies of Tanzania possessing two different subsistence techniques. With a comparison/contrast of the two, this paper will demonstrate that the particular subsistence adaptation of a group towards a given environment can be shown to have definite links to the ways in which women function within that society.

The paper is divided into three main sections. The first discusses the ecology of the Hadza, a hunter-gatherer society of northern Tanzania. Included in the section are a description of the physical characteristics of the Hadza environment, an overview of their significant social interactions past and present, and a discussion of the particular subsistence techniques which the Hadza have adopted. The second section provides a parallel account of the ecology of the Kaguru agriculturalists of east central Tanzania. The third and final section uses the ecological information presented in the previous two studies to analyze several aspects of women and women's roles in these two societies. With the information provided by these examples, I expect to show the centrality of a group's subsistence mode to the formation of its cultural attitudes and practices in regards to women.

### **The Ecology of the Hadza**

In the northern area of Tanzania, near Lake Eyasi, live a group of people generally referred to as the Hadza. This particular society has been the subject of extensive studies by anthropologists (e.g. Woodburn, Blurton Jones, Hawkes, et al.), and their observations have been central to the understanding of hunter-gatherer life ways today. Though the continuation of Nyerere's post-independence "nation-building" strategies has pressured many Hadza to

adopt more sedentary agricultural lifestyles, Kaare (1994) points out that the majority still follow traditional patterns of hunter-gatherer subsistence. Indeed, he notes a definite intention among the Hadza to insure "the reproduction of the hunting-gathering way of life" (Kaare 1994: 330). For this reason, I use earlier yet still relevant ethnographic examples of Hadza life in addition to more recent overviews in order to give a picture of those Hadza still living according to their hunting and gathering strategies.

The physical habitat of the Hadza seems to present a very inhospitable environment to the outside observer. Woodburn (1968a: 50) describes it as a "dry, rocky savanna, dominated by thorn scrub and acacia trees and infested with tsetse flies." However, this general description does not convey the diversity which exists within Hadza country. The area varies greatly from region to region, encompassing wide spaces of open grasses, rivers, areas of trees such as acacias and baobabs, and patches of rocky terrain (Woodburn 1968b). Moreover, the Hadza themselves do not necessarily mark these differences. Instead, they refer to four named "regions": *Mangola* (the Mangola River), *Sipunga* (Sipunga mountains), *Tli'ika* (the west), and *Han!abi* (the rocks). None of these areas have defined boundaries, however, and the distinction between regions can even change based on the location of the speaker (Woodburn 1968b: 104). It seems that the Hadza by far prefer the tree and rock covered areas for settlement (Woodburn 1968a).

Despite the initial semblance of barrenness the terrain gives, it actually holds a rich diversity of both plant and animal resources. Probably the most well known aspect of the region is its capability to support large and varied herds of animals. The range of biological groups in the area includes everything from elephant, antelope, giraffe, and lion to hare, tortoise, and hyrax (Campbell 1995). More centrally related to Hadza life, however, are the plant materials which, despite appearances otherwise, flourish in this area. Among those plants that the Hadza recognize and use are a variety of berries, several kinds of roots, and baobob fruit (Woodburn 1968a). Perhaps the most important quality of the Hadza's physical environment, however, is the relative constancy of their resources. Though the region does revolve around a seasonal cycle of wet and dry periods, each about six months in duration (Campbell 1995), the animals and plants important to the Hadza are almost always in abundant supply and, as will be seen, lead to a relatively stable subsistence strategy.

Hadza social organization shares many of the characteristics associated with other contemporary African foragers (e.g. !Kung, Mbuti). The focal unit appears to be the band of about eighteen adults in which they dwell throughout much of the year (Campbell 1995). However, once into the dry season between June and November, the Hadza begin to aggregate into much larger groups. While Woodburn (1968b) debates the assertion that this aggregation is linked to environmental changes, most authors argue for the lessening of water resources as an important factor in this group transition (Campbell 1995). Whatever the causal factors, however, these changes in size and composition are recognized by the Hadza and they consider it a very important part of their society (Woodburn 1968a).

As far as the influence of other groups on Hadza social life, several important points are stressed in the literature. Ndagala (1988) states that, though very well known in academic circles, the Hadza remain relatively unrecognized by Tanzanians other than those agriculturalists and pastoralists in their immediate vicinity. With these neighboring groups,

the Hadza have rather significant contact, ranging from occasional trade to working as wage laborers in their gardens (Ndagala 1988; Kaare 1994). Moreover, because the Hadza do not traditionally recognize land rights and ownership, they allow other peoples to enter their land area and use it, a process which has led to a serious marginalization of the subsistence activity of the Hadza over many years (Woodburn 1968a; Kaare 1994). This sudden proximity to other groups and the accompanying competition for brides has also had an effect on Hadza marriage practices (Ndagala 1988). As a result, many Hadza now try to keep their outside contact relatively minimized and thus "continue an essentially independent socio-economic system" (Campbell 1995: 61).

Perhaps the most influential external factor on Hadza society, however, has been the Tanzanian government. Because the Tanzanian administration regards the traditional life ways of the Hadza as "archaic or primitive and as disgusting to the nation" (Ndagala 1988: 65), much pressure has been put on the education and settlement of the Hadza. Many researchers cite specific instances of government programs in which Hadza were moved into housing areas and furnished with water and supplies with the intention of helping them adopt agriculture (see Ndagala 1988; Blurton Jones, et al. 1994; Kaare 1994). Though a limited number of Hadza did go on to higher education and more agricultural lifestyles, however, the projects as a whole eventually failed and most Hadza returned to open land and their easier and more stable hunting and gathering lifestyle (Blurton Jones et al. 1994). Indeed, the majority of the literature indicates an overall failure of such "villagization" schemes to work. Nevertheless, these pressures from the Tanzanian government continue to impinge upon Hadza life today.

Given these environmental and social factors, the traditional hunting and gathering subsistence strategy of the Hadza makes very good sense. With the large number of resources at hand, the "ease of subsistence" that Woodburn (1968a) originally described remains true. Though the Hadza who continue to follow traditional hunting and gathering are by no means ignorant of agricultural cultivation and the possibilities it entails, the relative ease of living off the land makes it unnecessary to do so (Ndagala 1988). In fact, so great is the variety to be found that the Hadza neither have nor recognize any need for conservation of or preservation of food resources (Woodburn 1968a). (A trait observed in other hunter-gatherer cultures such as in the famous quote of a !Kung hunter by Lee (1968:33): "Why should we plant, when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?") Both older and more recent studies show us that the Hadza spend little more than two hours a day collecting what they eat. Nevertheless, the Hadza remain nutritionally well based, even taking in four times the minimum in daily protein requirements (Ndagala 1988: 66).

As to the actual subsistence of the Hadza, gathering is a very important aspect of their life in nutritional terms. Well over 80% of their diet consists of plant materials taken from the forest (Campbell 1995: 59). The task of gathering for overall group use falls upon women and children. They go out each day, no more than an hour or two from camp, and collect plant products at a leisurely pace, satisfying their own hunger first and bringing back the remainder to camp. The plants brought in consist of four types of roots, five different berries, and a fruit pulp and kernel (Woodburn 1968a). Included in this gathering are such treats as honey and bee grubs as well. Of course, some of this intake may be supplemented with

agricultural products from neighboring peoples, but one study of the Hadza in the Tli'ika region showed that only five percent of the food came from these sources (Blurton Jones et al. 1994: 192). Though the percentage probably does vary according to the area and contact with neighboring peoples, the authors indicate that this data does seem generally applicable for those Hadza which have not actively adopted agricultural practices. As for water, camps are usually located in close range of the water sources that are distributed throughout the region. It is also important to note that Hadza men gather as well; they regularly go into the forest when hungry to find plant food to eat. However, this gathering is strictly related to their own personal satisfaction and they never gather for the group as do women and children (Woodburn 1968a).

Hunting is the other important aspect of Hadza subsistence, and it benefits greatly from the large number of animals available. The Hadza hunt virtually every possible food animal in the area except the elephant (Campbell 1995). Their methods consist almost exclusively of bow and arrow hunting, often with poisoned tips. This role in their subsistence belongs exclusively to men. Leaving from the camp individually or in small groups, the hunters go into nearby areas stalking and shooting animals upon sight. Much like women out foraging, men prepare their kill on the spot, satisfying their own hunger first (Woodburn 1968a). Anything remaining is brought to camp to be eaten by all. Campbell (1995: 61) also identifies scavenging as an important part of acquiring meat, perhaps providing up to 20% of that which is taken. However the meat is procured, it is always considered the fundamental part of the Hadza diet. Though quantitatively subsisting on vegetables above all, the Hadza consider themselves as hunters and claim to be going hungry if they do not have meat available (Woodburn 1968a).

### **The Ecology of the Kaguru**

The Kaguru agriculturalists of east central Tanzania present a very strong contrast to the hunter-gatherer Hadza. Residing in a totally different physical and social environment, the Kaguru have adopted altogether different subsistence and social practices. Also, because the Kaguru follow a relatively settled lifestyle, especially since colonization, they have undergone less governmental pressure to change than the mobile Hadza. Of course, such governmental pressures do exist, including the pressure to produce cash crops as well as to adjust to various Tanzanian educational reforms (Beidelman 1986; Meeker and Meekers 1995). However, because of their agricultural status, the overall Kaguru population has not become divided at various stages of "modernization" like many of the Hadza. Among the anthropologists who have studied the Kaguru are Beidelman, Meekers, Franklin, and Meeker. What follows is an overview of the Kaguru environment and associated subsistence patterns based on these researchers' observations.

Though they live within the same national political boundaries, the Kaguru habitat contrasts markedly to that of the Hadza. Calling the 3600 square miles which they occupy Ukaguru, this population lives in an area of substantial ecological variation. Towards the east lies an area of lowlands filled with both rivers and stretches of dry plain. It only accounts for

one-fifth of Ukaguru's total area and, since it frequently floods and is far too open, remained sparsely populated for most of Kaguru history (Beidelman 1986: 13). Further westward are the Itumba mountains. This range extends across Tanzania and, while providing an area of abundant rainfall, is also very cold and varies as to whether it offers vegetation and arable land or only rocky terrain (Beidelman 1971). This area contains some iron deposits and forest for wood as well, so it served somewhat as a resource base in addition to its uses for growing crops such as maize, tobacco, and some fruits and vegetables (Beidelman 1986). Finally, one comes across the plateau highlands of Ukaguru in the west. These plains contain richly fertilized river valleys as well as areas of scrub bush and woodland. Though not all areas of this zone are fit for agricultural production, it makes up over half of the total Kaguru territory and most cultivation takes place here (Beidelman 1986).

The Kaguru live in villages of usually six or seven families, connected by paths and gardens in somewhat of a network pattern. As in many African communities, positive social relations within the local residence are central to daily life. Indeed, "the main strategy for social advancement is to secure followers or dependents, rather than gaining access to land" (Meekers and Franklin 1995: 318). With outside groups, however, the Kaguru have had a much less peaceful history. Because the Kaguru traditionally gave warfare low value, they were often susceptible to raids and attacks by their larger neighbors such as the Masai, Baraguyu, and Kamba (Beidelman 1971). For this reason, much of Ukaguru's lowlands and to some extent plateaus were left sparsely settled because of their lack of defensibility. Moreover, these raids acted as important social influences on the development of an agricultural tradition among the Kaguru because cattle raising lost its productivity with the constant theft of the animals (Beidelman 1971).

The artificial boundaries created by conflict soon gave way to new ones, however. Unlike the Hadza, who were relatively ignored by colonialists in their time, the Kaguru experienced several changes in the time that Tanzania was occupied. Colonial governments became especially interested in their area upon finding that the Kaguru lowlands responded well to the cultivation of sisal (*agave sisalana*), a valuable cash crop. Little time passed before the area became full of large sisal plantations (Beidelman 1971). The Kaguru felt these influences in several ways. Few were actually displaced in this change. In fact, the protection of a powerful colonial government was probably one of the bigger influences in the growth of Kaguru production and settlement. Though often for its own questionable reasons, the government opened up and protected large areas of land for settlement and clearing which were once indefensible, and therefore inaccessible, for the Kaguru. Even Kaguru political leadership changed as many began to seek the favor (and arms) of the German and British colonizers (Beidelman 1986).

As far as interaction with the modern Tanzanian government, the Kaguru have been part of several nationwide development programs since independence as well as in recent years. These improvement schemes have included an emphasis on enhancing the cash economy as well as increasing primary and secondary educational opportunities (Beidelman 1971; Meeker and Meekers 1995). Among those implementations most seriously affecting the Kaguru population as a whole, however, are the attempts to encourage "large-scale farming, which is dependent on land, modern technology, and capital for fertilizers and wage-labor" (Meeker

and Meekers 1995: 1). Such goals significantly impact many of the fundamental aspects of Kaguru life which, as will be seen, often center around the group's agricultural practices.

With the open lands, relatively heavy rains, and particular history of their region, one can understand how the Kaguru have come to rely upon hoe agriculture as their primary means of subsistence. So central is domestic plant production to their lives, in fact, that the Kaguru recognize four types of farm land according to the production and resources connected to it: individual house garden land (*malulu*), fertile valley gardens (*malolo*), fields of regular use and fallow (*migunda*), and short-term/long fallowing bush lands (*miteme*) (Beidelman 1971: 16-17). Because of these many varieties of soils and the varying rates of both rainfall and soil exhaustion, the land holdings of Kaguru are necessarily widespread and often dispersed. Moreover, these differences in land distribution also lead to a slight variation in agricultural practices. Whereas the Kaguru in the river valley regions find the area more suited to continuous cultivation, those people living in the higher, drier regions often practice a more slash-and-burn type of agricultural production (Meeker and Meekers 1995).

The crops of the Kaguru represent a diversity of types and species, often depending upon the area in which they are growing. By far the most popular crop is maize (*zea mays*), both because of its resistance to heavy rain and its short growing season. Sorghum and millet can either act as fillers or, as is the case in the more westerly areas, hold more of a central place in the diet of the people (Beidelman 1971; Meekers and Franklin 1995). Regardless of the basic crop structure, however, government pressure constantly pushes the Kaguru to produce more cash crops such as castor (*ricinus communis*), tobacco (*nicotiana tabacum*), cotton (*gossypium hirsutum*), and sunflowers (*helianthus annuus*) for sale on the market. In fact, despite the dangers of fluctuation in this market, many Kaguru enter into such arrangements because they must pay taxes to the government in cash (Beidelman 1971). Though small amounts of livestock such as chickens, sheep, and goats may be kept in a settlement, their importance is negligible if not non-existent in relation to the economic structure of the group (Meekers and Franklin 1995).

Given the centrality of cultivation to Kaguru life, what are the productive processes that are involved in this subsistence strategy? Long before the entrance of the colonial government, the Kaguru had access to iron in the mountains which they smelted to form hoes. Few if any other tools were used---a fact which often remains true even with the possibility of more advanced technology (Beidelman 1971). At the end of the dry season, the Kaguru rather leisurely clear and burn their fields, making fire another valuable tool (Beidelman 1986). Though men are traditionally identified with this stage of the work, women can and do take part. However, "Kaguru family resources are controlled by the husband" (Meekers and Franklin 1995: 318).

Once they have finished with the clearing, the work for a Kaguru family becomes much more pressing and immediate. Because the cycle of growing depends so much upon accurate timing with the first rains of the season, all planting, weeding, and cultivation must occur quickly and intensely within a certain time frame (Beidelman 1971). Success in agricultural ventures varies in accordance with the labor that can be provided at this time. Indeed, maximization of crop yield can only be accomplished through the intensification and increase of workers rather than by more elaborate technology or different usage (Meekers and Franklin

1995). Though such practices do increase the yield at harvest, however, food shortages can and do occur in the otherwise fertile regions of Ukaguru because of droughts, flooding, or rodent infestations (Meekers and Meeker 1995).

The actual agricultural cycle can best be described according to terms which the Kaguru use for a growing season or *miaka*. Again, this season is described and centered around the rains (*mfula*) which are "the central determinant of their labor" (Beidelman 1986: 88). First, several light sweeping November rains (*ng'hokola some*) occur. These first indications of the beginning of the wet season precede a few more weeks of dry weather. Soon into December, however, the trembling rain (*ifulu ididime*), with all of its thunder and lightening, begins to take place and the hoeing of fields begins. Before the end of the month, the *mhinga* or unexpected rains, so-named because of their unpredictability, signal the time for planting of staple cereals throughout the time of the *mhili* (second phase) to February. The hot and humid time of weeding (called *chifuka* or weeds) follows until the time of reddish hue (*luhungu*) when trees begin getting their new leaves.

By April, the heaviest rains (*sangila*) arrive and the Kaguru plant a second set of crops including "beans, peas, tomatoes, potatoes, and groundnuts" (Beidelman 1986: 89). The time of *masika* or monsoons begins in May but ends relatively quickly in June with the winds (*inyota* or coolness) that come. Even more importantly, this time marks the beginning of harvest during which many marriages and social gatherings occur. This focus on social ties lasts through dry season (*chibahu*) which hits suddenly in late July and continues with little or no rainfall until late November. At this point, the cycle recommences and the Kaguru ready themselves to begin anew once again (Beidelman 1986: 90). As the large number of terms existing in the language shows, these seasonal divisions and related agricultural practices represent an essential part of Kaguru life.

### **The Roles of Women Among the Hadza and Kaguru**

Using the information on subsistence and ecology given above, I now turn to an examination of these practices in relation to women among the Hadza and Kaguru. This study consists of the identification of four core aspects of females' roles in these societies: sexual stratification, marriage practices, child rearing, and the ideological perceptions of women. In showing the connections between the previously demonstrated environmental adaptations and these four cultural traits, I hope to support the cultural-ecological interpretation of women's roles as being linked to the subsistence patterns of a particular society. I also hope to emphasize the nature of such interpretations by highlighting the contrasts among Hadza and Kaguru women which can be attributed to their differing means of existence.

One of the most evident depictions of women's roles from an outside perspective is the division of sexes which occur within a society. Most often, these divisions are not only linked to subsistence practices but are central to them. In the two ethnographic examples, these divisions are manifested in very different ways. Among the Hadza, the standard axiom that "women gather and men hunt" holds true in the general sense. Yet, though each sex has a specific role to fulfill for the group, the specific subsistence strategies of the Hadza reveals

subtle variations on this theme. For example, the previous study also demonstrates that each individual (regardless of sex) can and does satisfy his/her own hunger first and foremost. This fact seems to stem from the abundance and constancy of resources in the environment which allows each person to rely less upon others for sustenance than in many societies. As a result, both men and women gain a certain amount of independence in respect to each other. Indeed, Woodburn (1972) points out that many Hadza can and do live on their own for quite some time. Of course, he notes that this holds less true of women because they lack the weapons of defense against both non-human and human attackers in the forest. This distinction stems from the fact that hunting and the associated tools are considered linked to males.

Another example of sexual division among the Hadza occurs at the time of large aggregations in the camp during which males gather to talk and gamble. Even this can be linked to the subsistence of the Hadza, however, in that such games are used to distribute weapons and tools made from rarely available materials which the general population would not otherwise have the opportunity to use (Barnard and Woodburn 1988). The division would seem to relate to the fact that such goods are only accessible by the men. Nevertheless, Blurton Jones, Hawkes, and Draper (1994) cite several references, based on the observation of such divisions, to a supposed "sexism" that is pervasive in Hadza society. There does seem some question, however, as to whether this value judgment can be applied to the actual attitudes of the Hadza simply because of these divisions. Actually, in looking at the subsistence patterns given above, the overall equality of the two sexes, especially in comparison to societies with less easily accessible and low maintenance sources of food, seems central to Hadza society. As Kessler (1976: 39) points out in her anthropological survey of women (based largely upon Woodburn's descriptions), "the lack of stress involved in subsistence is extended to other subsystems of the culture, and therefore a generally relaxed and tolerant relationship between the sexes prevails."

In looking at Kaguru views on the sexes, it would seem that the Kaguru place a much greater emphasis on the differences between men and women. Indeed, a later overview of their ideologies concerning the two will emphasize this point. However, in actual practice, their social divisions are not always so distinct. For example, it was already noted that, within the agricultural production of the Kaguru, men and women generally perform the same tasks despite the fact that some may be considered "men's work". In fact, very few actions are considered absolutely off limits to women except herding, roof thatching, and several ritual activities (Beidelman 1980). Undoubtedly, this willingness to let the sexes share similar responsibilities derives from the fact that the Kaguru horticultural production requires so much labor that one cannot afford to exclude any potential worker (see Boserup 1970 for further discussion of sex roles and their relation to agriculture). Nevertheless, practices such as the land tenure system, which keeps women from owning large tracts of land, serve to heighten other aspects of sexual stratification (Meeker and Meekers 1995).

Marriage practices also reflect much of what women mean to a society. Here too, one can see important links between the ecology of the Hadza and Kaguru and the patterns of marriage which their societies follow. With the amount of work required within the Kaguru subsistence techniques, especially since the influx of cash cropping, labor is at a premium. In

fact, the wealth and relative success of a man can depend upon the availability of wives and children to work. Because of this fact, polygyny is, not surprisingly, a common practice. In their study on the subject, Meekers and Franklin (1995: 317) note that, though "economically advantageous" for men, such arrangements actually take away resources from women since the matrilineal society of the Kaguru does not encourage sharing among co-wives. Yet, because Kaguru women must look to their husbands as providers (despite the fact that the majority of work will rest upon their shoulders), they are forced to marry much earlier than men while their fertility is still a desirable "commodity" (Beidelman 1986). Moreover, though many women use the threat of divorce as a lobbying factor, it occurs infrequently because there are few other opportunities for them and because their families are under strong obligations created by bride wealth payment (Meekers and Franklin 1995). In the end, working with the resources available becomes the only viable option. Though other factors may exert an influence in the marriage process, subsistence labor plays a large, usually central, role.

Among the Hadza, we find a very different outcome related to marriage. Woodburn (1968b) notes that, though ceremony is considered important, only the public recognition of cohabitation is truly needed to signify a union between a man and woman. The relative independence in the acquisition of food by Hadza men and women has already been described. As a result of this "subsistence egalitarianism", both men and women feel much freer and risk less in opting for changes in partners, a fact evidenced in the relatively high "divorce" rate of 49 per 1000 years of marriage (Woodburn 1968b: 107). This is not to say that marriage does not constitute obligations within Hadza society. There exists an expectation for men to fulfill a rather long if not continuous set of obligations to their mothers-in-law (Kessler 1976). The mobile nature of the Hadza hunter-gatherer system, however, requires that residence patterns show a great deal of flexibility, so these requirements cannot be too binding. The central factor is that a man must continuously make a choice to stay with his wife. If he leaves for any extended period of time, "his house has died"...and he has no further rights over her and her children" (Woodburn 1972: 205). Obviously, the fact of social and economic mobility of the Hadza has given women an active and influential role in regard to marriage.

Another subject consistently linked to women's roles and place within a society is child care. Like the other aspects of women's lives, the types of strategies for child care and the associated attitudes of mothers and children seem rooted in the ways people attain food and other resources. Among the Hadza, we find children who begin foraging in the forest from a very early age, many times independently. This development can be linked both to the relatively large amounts of food and water available as well as the fact that Hadza country is open and easily navigable (Blurton Jones et al. 1994). Because the children stand little chance of getting lost, their mothers do not worry if they go for a short time into the surrounding area to forage and even encourage them to do so (in contrast to the !Kung and other groups; see Blurton Jones et al. 1994).

This involvement of children in the Hadza subsistence strategy affects the mother-child relationship significantly. Above all, Hadza women apparently have more children than women in some societies because the cost of bearing and raising children is effectively lowered by these practices (Blurton Jones, et al. 1994). However, Blurton Jones, Hawkes,

and Draper (1994) point out that according to the dependent: producer argument, this also means that, though less attention must be given to an individual child, Hadza women must work harder to support the overall larger number of children. This fact explains why Hadza child care also obliges women to take the children to more distant patches of land for berries and other plant foods. In such areas, the work of the children is maximized, increasing the return for the group despite a personal loss for the mother (Hawkes, et al. 1995).

I have already demonstrated how the child care of women in Kaguru society is affected by subsistence. Women must nurture their children on the limited resources which they and their co-wives share, so most women jealously guard what they and their children receive. Agriculture requires more labor, and while more wives might mean more land and profit for the family, new wives and new children also represent threats to a woman's own offspring since "each co-wife is ultimately responsible for providing for her own children" (Meekers and Franklin 1995: 320). Thus, the subsistence system negatively affects Kaguru women in relation to their children by forcing them to provide but not allowing the access to resources to do so. Also, the relatively unstable production of the Kaguru makes reliance on kin a necessity (Beidelman 1986: 15). Therefore, the husband's need to keep ties secure within the matrilineal descent system of the Kaguru means that he will often devote more concern to his sister's children than those of his wife. Though most women would have a brother doing the same for them, Meekers and Franklin (1995) note that these women nevertheless feel resentful about their husband's lack of concern towards his own children. Therefore, many Kaguru women feel that they possess a great burden in child care and focus daily on the needs of their children.

In looking at the status of women, it is also necessary to examine the attitudes towards women which exist among these groups. Whether within social practices, statements made by the members of the group, or common myths among the peoples, one can find a variety of ideologies in regards to women and their roles in society. The most interesting revelation from such an examination of these views seems to be how far removed a group's perception of women's contributions can be from the roles these women actually play. For example, if the statement "Kaguru men need women more than women need men" is true based upon the labor requirements of their agriculture (Beidelman 1980: 150), then the ideological constructs of this society, which emphasize the lesser and polluting nature of women in relation to men, seem to be total inversions of their subsistence practices. Nevertheless, social views are arguably as much a part of the daily life of women among the Hadza and Kaguru as the more concrete manifestations which have been examined. Moreover, just as the other aspects of women's lives, such perceptions do show some important links to subsistence and ecological factors.

Interestingly enough, the symbols of the sexual divisions in Kaguru society are subsistence tools which serve little actual use in production among the Kaguru—the bow of the male and the oil jar of the woman (Beidelman 1980). This fact again seems to emphasize the gulf between subsistence ideology and subsistence reality among the Kaguru. Beidelman (1986), however, examines several myths relating to men and women which indicate a polarization between the sexes, one being rational and strong the other uncontrollable yet weak. He links this dichotimization to the small, and therefore extremely important, material culture of the

Kaguru, as well as to the alternating cycle of dry and wet seasons which have been shown to have such a focal place within the agricultural Kaguru life (Beidleman 1986: 210-211). Moreover, he demonstrates that the routine nature of daily cooking and cleaning which has become a part of Kaguru women's lives in addition to agricultural duties actually serves to reinforce the divisions in the society by providing a sharp contrast to the seasonally based work of men (Beidelman 1980). Though these perceptions of the Kaguru female nature often seem rather ephemeral in relation to actual practice (see the example of ignoring social divisions so as to increase the labor pool), it appears that the ideological conceptions of women's roles among the Kaguru do have their roots in more concrete subsistence practices and environmental variables. Indeed, because the Kaguru agriculture requires the daily combined efforts of both sexes, such ideological divisions may substitute for the physical division available to groups like the Hadza with their hunter-gatherer systems.

Among the Hadza, the views of women and their roles in society are similarly affected by cultural perceptions of subsistence. For example, though the bulk of their diet consists of plant materials, the Hadza refer to themselves as hunters, a common trait among many hunter-gatherer groups. In fact, meat is considered the central part of their existence, one which they cannot imagine lacking (Woodburn 1968a). Hawkes (1991) suggests that this fact stems from the high visibility of hunting and the accompanying return to the camp with a large kill. This leads to a need to "show-off" absent from gathering. Because the acquisition of meat by hunting is a function wholly attributed to males, the relative worth of work performed by women becomes ideologically less important. This theory also explains why Hadza men will consistently hunt large game despite the fact that such goals necessitate many days without success (Hawkes 1991). The distribution of meat often is used to highlight differences as well. Particular portions of the animals belong solely to initiated males in group rituals and women who go near the meat will be punished; "mass rape is even said to be a possibility" (Gibson 1988: 177). This fact stands out strongly in light of the otherwise egalitarian distribution of meat which the system otherwise encourages. Apparently, however, it reinforces the nature of Hadza subsistence as based upon the male dominated hunt. Obviously, this factor in Hadza life plays a very large part in fashioning the society's attitudes towards women.

### **Conclusion**

With the examples of these Tanzanian groups, we find two societies in which the methods of subsistence possess strong ties to the places women occupy and how other members of the society view them. Among the Hadza, it seems that the hunter-gatherer adaptation of the society gives women a generally less restrictive role in many areas, especially in light of the abundance of food resources available to them. It also leaves room for separation among the sexes which, depending on one's outlook, can hold either negative or positive outcomes for women. Among the Kaguru, we see that their intensive agricultural practices have led to more controlled and structured placement for women in the society. Moreover, ideological and practical concerns affect these roles at different levels.

Expanding these findings, it appears that subsistence does indeed influence much of what women do and mean within any given society. Of course, it is important to note that these examples are not intended and cannot be taken as predictive models of any kind. It had already been shown that the hunter-gather Hadza differ in many respects from the hunter-gather !Kung. Similarly, Kaguru agricultural practice is only one of many different agriculturalist forms of subsistence. Just as these generalized terms for subsistence strategies often mask important differences from group to group, then, so too would a generalization about the effects of any particular subsistence pattern from these limited examples hide the variations in women's roles in different societies. For this reason, I conclude by simply stating that this comparison of the Hadza and Kaguru provides examples of how different environments and subsistence practices can produce differing roles and attitudes for and towards women. Now that these links of subsistence to women's lives can be clearly seen, the next step would include a broader yet detailed analysis of these links. This examination would allow the discovery of possible generalizations as well as explanations of where and why variations develop. In the end, such studies may offer a clearer and more accurate understanding of women and their roles in society.

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