

Gender implications of agricultural commercialisation: The case of sugarcane production in Kilombero District, Tanzania

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Sugarcane growing in Kilombero Valley, Morogoro, Tanzania (Helen Dancer, 2014)

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Summary

Since the global food crisis of 2008 the Tanzanian government, amongst other African governments, has made food security through increases in agricultural productivity a policy priority. The emphasis in Tanzania is on commercialisation, with a particular focus on large-scale rice and sugarcane production. Gender equity within African agricultural production is a critical issue; yet limited empirical research exists on the gender implications of agricultural commercialisation now taking place in the region. This paper presents findings from fieldwork conducted in Kilombero District of Tanzania in 2013 and 2014. The research takes the country's largest sugar producer – Kilombero Sugar Company Ltd – as its focus and analyses the socio-economic implications of the commercialisation of sugarcane production from a gender perspective. The findings demonstrate the significance of gender relations in the development of commercial agricultural business models, local socio-economic development and land titling measures. They also illustrate the pressures and benefits for relationships and resource-sharing within households in the transition from food crops to sugarcane production.

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Table of acronyms

AU	African Union
CCRO	Certificate of Customary Right of Occupancy
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation
KCCT	Kilombero Canegrowers Charitable Trust
KSCL	Kilombero Sugar Company Limited
MKURABITA	<i>Mpango wa Kurasimisha Rasilimali na Biashara za Wanyonge Tanzania</i> (Property and Business Formalisation Programme)
NAP	National Agriculture Policy
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
RAI	Responsible Agricultural Investment
SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania
SBT	Sugar Board of Tanzania

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1. Introduction

Since the global food crisis of 2008 the Tanzanian government, amongst other African governments, has made food security through increases in agricultural productivity a policy priority. In 2009, *Kilimo Kwanza* ('Agriculture First') marked the beginning of a series of Tanzanian government policies aimed towards the commercialisation of agriculture and land-based investment. This has been followed by two initiatives that focus specifically on large-scale rice and sugarcane production: the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT) and Big Results Now. These domestic initiatives are in turn linked with high-profile international policy agendas on food security and land-based investment deals, notably the 2012 G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition Initiative, and a G8-Tanzania Land Transparency Partnership Agreement of June 2013. However, throughout the recent global and national policy debates, issues of gender equity in commercial agriculture have received relatively little detailed consideration.

In order to understand the social and economic consequences of this kind of agrarian transformation, it is critical to evaluate the nature and extent of gender-differentiated impacts and their implications for the wider political economy. The latest internationally comparable data indicate that women comprise an average of 43 percent of the agricultural labour force in developing countries (FAO 2011a:4). This ratio of labour increases to almost 50 percent in sub-Saharan Africa (Ibid) – a higher proportion than any other region in the world. Several recent studies exploring large-scale commercial land deals in Africa have drawn attention to gender-differentiated impacts. However, there have been few recent empirical case studies focusing specifically on gender and commercial agriculture.

This working paper responds to the call for new empirical research on gender and agricultural commercialisation in Africa. It takes sugarcane – a strategic crop under the SAGCOT and Big Results Now initiatives – as its focus. At present, there are four commercial sugar producers in Tanzania: Tanganyika Planting Company (TPC) in Kilimanjaro, Kagera Sugar in Kagera, and Mtibwa Sugar and Kilombero Sugar Company Limited (KSCL), both in Morogoro. Of these four companies, KSCL has the largest output of sugar and number of outgrowers engaged in sugarcane production in the country. The company is situated in Kilombero Valley in the SAGCOT project area of south-central Tanzania. It operates on a nucleus estate–outgrower model for the production of sugar. The Ministry of Lands has declared its ambition to use this model together with block farming in order to bring smallholder farmers into commercial agriculture (Nshala et al. 2013). The government through the SAGCOT initiative has identified KSCL as the model for its planned nucleus estate–outgrower schemes (SAGCOT 2012).

The fieldwork conducted for this paper by Helen Dancer and Emmanuel Sulle in April 2014 builds on research by Emmanuel Sulle and Rebecca Smalley in Kilombero District during 2013 (Smalley et al. 2014). The previous research by Smalley et al. considered the effects of the privatisation of KSCL on its operations and surrounding communities. The present working paper analyses the gender-differentiated impacts of commercialisation of sugar production in Kilombero. It also considers the wider socio-economic implications of agricultural commercialisation from a gender perspective.

2. Research aims and methods

2.1 Aims and research questions

The aims of this study are two-fold. The first is to make research-based recommendations on the gender construction of the labour process in sugarcane production in Tanzania, to inform the future development of policy and working practices within the sector. The second is to offer broader insights into the gender implications of agricultural commercialisation and accompanying land titling programmes for households and the wider political economy.

The paper addresses the following key questions:

1. **Context** – What is the significance of local social and political context on the development of commercial agricultural business models and their gender implications?
2. **Livelihoods** – What gender-differentiating features exist in the business models and employment opportunities within sugarcane production?
3. **Households and family life** – What are the gender-differentiated impacts of the transition from food crop to commercial sugarcane production within households?
4. **Land titling** – What is the impact of current land titling policy initiatives for sugarcane producers on male and female land-holding in agricultural investment areas?
5. **Participation** – To what extent are the voices and interests of male and female farmers represented in decision-making processes within commercial agriculture and local government administration on land matters?

As a whole, the paper seeks to draw lessons and models for good practice concerning gender equity. It considers what policy-makers might do to address the current challenges and gender imbalances within commercial agriculture and their implications for the wider political economy.

2.2 Study area

The field research for this study was conducted at KSCL itself and in two nearby villages, Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje. Kilombero District is situated in Morogoro Region, about 350km to the west of the country's financial hub of Dar es Salaam. KSCL and Kilombero District were chosen for a number of reasons. First, the region is considered the most successful for sugarcane and rice production in the country (SAGCOT 2012). Second, Kilombero is now the target district for large-scale agricultural development initiatives under SAGCOT (Smalley et al. 2014). Third, the business model at KSCL has been identified by the government as a model for the development of commercial agriculture elsewhere (Nshala et al. 2013; SAGCOT 2012).

The two villages in the study are located in the fertile Kilombero Valley in the upper section of the Rufiji Delta – Tanzania's largest river basin. The cane-growing area that encompasses the nucleus estate and outgrowers' farms is bounded by the Udzungwa Mountains National Park to the west, and Mikumi National Park and Selous Game Reserve to the east. The principal economic activities of the study villages are farming of both cash and food crops – mainly sugarcane, rice, maize and vegetables – and some grazing of cows, goats and sheep. The district receives rainfall in two distinct periods, with a long rainy season between March and May and short rains from November to February. There is sometimes uninterrupted rainfall from October to March (Harrison and Laizer 2007). Presently, within Morogoro Region, Kilombero District is the second most populated (407,880) after Kilosa District (438,175). According to the National Census of 2012, the population of Kilombero District comprises 202,789 men and 205,091 women. There are a total of 94,258 households with an average household size of 4.3 people (NBS 2013).

2.3 Data collection and analysis

The fieldwork for this study began with key informants in Dar es Salaam, Morogoro and Kilombero. The authors conducted 20 individual interviews, including with representatives from the Sugar Board of Tanzania, KSCL and outgrowers' associations, as well as district land, agricultural and community development officers and village leaders. Within the outgrowers' associations particular attention was paid to gaining the perspectives of women in leadership positions. In Msolwa Ujamaa village, where there are a number of established farmers' groups, the authors conducted two focus group discussions with four and nine participants respectively. The research team conducted 60 surveys with villagers in Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje. KSCL provided a range of quantitative data on employment within the company. Data on employment in the area was also gathered from the Tanzania Plantation and Agriculture Workers' Union office in Kilombero. The authors were assisted in data collection by male and female fieldwork assistants – Lameck Malale and Prisca Peter Kiganza.

The team undertook 30 surveys in each of the two villages, consisting of structured interviews with members of village households. Forty-eight of the respondents were married, nine were non-married female heads of households (whether single, separated or widowed) and three were non-married male heads of households (single men and widowers). The background profile of survey respondents is set out in the Appendix. The survey involved an equal number of male and female respondents. A proportionate number of respondents were selected at random from each of the sub-village areas (*vitongoji*) to ensure geographical representation. The survey produced gender-disaggregated data on a range of issues including land ownership and acquisition, land titling, livelihood sources, crops grown within the household, membership of farming groups and the

Map 1. Map of Tanzania showing the case study area around Kilombero Sugar Company (in grey) and key regions of economic migration into the study area



Source: Smalley et al 2014: 4

socio-economic impacts of sugarcane production at a household level. The quantitative data has been compared with the qualitative data collected through key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

Despite the paucity of recent research on gender and commercial agriculture generally, the present study has the benefit of a historical comparison with a 1995 study by Mbilinyi and Semakafu on gender and employment in sugarcane production in Tanzania – just three years before Kilombero Sugar Company was privatised in 1998. The report is discussed in more detail throughout the findings and discussion in this paper. Where possible, longitudinal comparisons have been drawn between the data from the 1995 study and the data collected for this paper.

3. Background

3.1 Gender in Tanzanian policy on land and agricultural commercialisation

National law and policy

There are two distinct but co-dependent areas of law and policy that are relevant to an analysis of the gender impacts of agricultural commercialisation – first, land law reform including land titling; second, agricultural commercialisation and investment policy. Recent policy developments on agriculture and food security should therefore be viewed against the 1990s backdrop of land law reform. These earlier reforms aimed to create a more favourable climate for land investment through formalisation of land tenure. Equally, since the Law of Marriage Act of 1971, successive legal and policy developments have sought to address gender discriminatory customary laws and practices concerning women's interests in land and other matrimonial property.

The Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999 represented the first comprehensive statutory reform on land matters in Mainland Tanzania since national independence. The Land Acts were preceded by the National Land Policy of 1995, which stated: 'In order to enhance and guarantee women's access to land and security of tenure, women will be entitled to acquire land in their own right not only through purchase but also through allocation' (MLHUD 1995: para 4.2.6). This commitment was reflected in section 3 of the Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999, which enshrine the right of every woman to 'acquire, hold, use and deal with land ... to the same extent and subject to the same restriction ... as the right of any man'. The equal right of men and women to inherit land has remained the most contentious issue. Local gendered customary practices of inheritance and land tenure (which are mostly patrilineal) remain important in many areas of Tanzania. Inheritance law was not changed as part of the 1990s land law reforms. This has resulted in

inconsistencies between land, marriage and inheritance laws on issues of gender equality (Dancer 2015). However, equal land rights for men and women now form part of the proposed new Constitution for Tanzania. If adopted, this would represent a further step towards realising gender equality on land matters and harmonising laws on property relations more generally.

Unlike other areas of law and policy, agricultural development programmes such as *Kilimo Kwanza* and SAGCOT do not appear to place gender issues high on their list of priorities. The overarching aim of *Kilimo Kwanza* has been to modernise and commercialise agriculture across all scales of production in Tanzania. *Kilimo Kwanza's* implementation framework comprises ten 'pillars' of detailed proposals; but only one pillar includes a brief reference to 'gender-mainstreaming' and strengthening the position of women in agriculture (TNBC 2009). More recently however, the 2013 National Agriculture Policy (NAP) includes the aim to ensure that the 'equitable participation of men and women in the production of goods and services in agriculture is promoted while ensuring that benefits are equitably shared' (MAFSC 2013: 30).

Two further specific initiatives on agricultural investment are of particular significance to the present study. SAGCOT is a public-private partnership, which aims to foster investment in agriculture in an area covering one third of the southern central corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT 2011). This area had previously been set aside for agricultural investment as part of the implementation of *Kilimo Kwanza*. In addition to SAGCOT, the Ministry of Agriculture is one of five ministries piloting the implementation of Big Results Now, which aims at achieving rapid progress in commercialisation and other agricultural policies in priority crops (Smalley et al. 2014; Cooksey 2013). The emphasis of Big Results Now is on the implementation of SAGCOT plans. It has set a national target of establishing a further fifteen commercial deals in sugarcane farming (MAFSC 2013: 18). As before, reference is made to gender equity in these policies, but not in any detail.

Acquisition of legal title to land has been identified as a key factor that has delayed implementation of SAGCOT and Big Results Now. Indeed, it remains the case that implementation of land surveying and registration under the 1999 Land Acts has been slow, and the majority of land in Tanzania is held under informal customary tenure (Knight 2010). Although the Land Acts recognise unregistered interests in land as legally enforceable, unregistered customary rights of occupancy are still regarded as informal in commercial contexts (Mkapa 2013). In an attempt to formalise land rights under the Land Acts, in 2004 former Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa launched the Property and Business Formalisation Programme (*Mpango wa Kurasimisha Rasilimali na Biashara za Wanyonge Tanzania* – MKURABITA). MKURABITA aims to bring land and business assets existing in the informal economy into the legal and

formal economy. It also specifically promotes the use of formalised assets by the poor in accessing economic opportunities in the formal market (MKURABITA 2008).

Presently, MKURABITA holds responsibility for commissioning and facilitating land use planning, land demarcation, and issuance and registration of certificates of customary rights of occupancy in several villages in the country (MKURABITA 2008; USAID undated). Policy implementation is now much focused on accelerated titling in strategic areas of agricultural investment. SAGCOT is a prioritised area, and includes the two villages that form the focus of the present study. The implications of accelerated titling programmes on land tenure and titling for men and women in these areas is therefore a critical issue in terms of gender-differentiated impacts of agricultural commercialisation.

Regional and international voluntary guidelines

One of the notable responses by both regional and international bodies towards the rapid and widespread large-scale acquisition of land for investment in developing countries has been the introduction of a series of voluntary guidelines. Among these are the African Union (AU) Framework and Guidelines; the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Voluntary Guidelines for the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security; and the 2014 Principles for Responsible Investment in Agriculture and Food Systems (RAI) produced by the FAO Committee on World Food Security (CFS). Presently, there are about six sets of voluntary guidelines; however, this paper highlights the three that place particular emphasis on the role of women in agriculture and poverty reduction.

The AU Framework and Guidelines were released in 2009 and jointly formulated by the African Union Commission, the African Development Bank and the Economic Commission for Africa. The guidelines aim to assist African states in designing legal and institutional frameworks to govern land through new national land policies that guarantee secure land rights for existing customary owners and for future investors. The guidelines observe that 'throughout Africa, agricultural production and preservation of land resources is primarily the responsibility of women and children', yet women's access to land remains a serious problem – particularly in rural areas. In addressing this challenge, the guidelines suggest that states enact legislation which would 'allow women to enforce documented claims to land within and outside marriage' (AU 2009: 15).

The FAO Voluntary Guidelines were formulated between 2009 and 2012 through broad consultation with stakeholders from UN member states, civil society, the private sector and academia. The purpose of the FAO Voluntary Guidelines is to serve as a reference point for improving governance of tenure of land, fisheries and forests. The guidelines are premised on the idea that

secure tenure is a precondition for food security and for the progressive realisation of the right to adequate food. They are the first global instrument on the tenure of land, fisheries and forests, and build on a consensus of accepted best practice in line with existing binding international laws and covenants. The guidelines stress that mainstreaming gender is critical towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals, especially goals three, promotion of gender equality and empowering women; and one, eradicating poverty and hunger (FAO 2013a: 3).

Like the FAO-initiated guidelines, the core value of the RAI guidelines is the inclusion of the food system in the debate on agricultural investment in developing countries. The RAI guidelines advocate that responsible investment in agriculture and food systems fosters gender equality and women's empowerment, including:

Ensuring that all people are treated fairly, recognizing their respective situations, needs, constraints, and the vital role played by women;

Advancing women's equal tenure rights, and their equal access to and control over productive land, natural resources, inputs, productive tools; and promoting access to extension, advisory, and financial services, education, training, markets, and information;

Adopting innovative and/or proactive approaches, measures, and processes to enhance women's meaningful participation in partnerships, decision-making, leadership roles, and the equitable sharing of benefits. (CFS 2014)

All the existing regional and international guidelines are voluntary and non-binding. They emphasise the need for interpretation and consistent application with existing obligations under national and international laws, and with due regard to voluntary commitments under applicable regional and international instruments (CFS 2014: 4; Sulle and Hall 2014a). To some extent, recent Tanzanian policy on land and agricultural investment has addressed some of the issues reflected within the various international guidelines. However, Tanzania has yet to enact specific legislation to resolve the tension between gender-discriminatory customary laws of inheritance and the statutory framework on land and matrimonial property rights. The guidelines themselves have yet to be translated into binding domestic law and policy. Moreover, many of the recent policies on agricultural commercialisation give extremely limited attention to gender in their implementation framework documents.

3.2 Overview of gender and agricultural commercialisation

Since the global food crisis of 2008, and until recently, there has been a significant absence of gender analysis in the mainstream literature on land investment and

agricultural commercialisation in Africa. This is despite the fact that a body of gender and development scholarship on agriculture has arisen since the 1970s and the publication of Ester Boserup's book *Women's Role in Economic Development* (Boserup 1970). Studies since 2008 specifically examining gender and commercial agriculture include those by Daley (2011), FAO (2011a) and Behrman et al. (2012). The need to bring gender analysis into mainstream policy discussions has recently gained momentum. In March 2014 an African regional conference held in Stellenbosch, South Africa took 'Agricultural Investment, Gender and Land in Africa' as its theme. New case studies focused on gender, large-scale land investment and the commercialisation of agriculture are being produced. As discussed in the previous section, gender is also becoming more integrated into policy formulation on land and agricultural investment at international and national levels.

Within the existing gender literature, Doss et al. (2014) identify three broad methodological approaches to the study of gender and land-based economic activities: human rights frameworks, which speak to state human rights obligations; liberal economic frameworks, which emphasise gender equity in policies on land and agricultural commercialisation; and the feminist political economy approach, which locates itself in broader questions of globalisation and economic liberalisation. Across the literature, they identify common themes including the effectiveness of titling, registration and customary law in circumstances of land dispossession; the loss of common property resources; changes in business structures and livelihood opportunities; household food security; and participation in local land administration. Most case studies to date have used qualitative research methods. The authors highlight a need for more mixed-method and quantitative research to enable a more systematic analysis of gender implications in the wider political economy.

The present study uses mixed methods to investigate the gendered impacts of agricultural commercialisation in a specific location. It provides empirical evidence of changes in livelihoods, tenure relations, land titling and participation in local institutions at the local level, as well as their gender-differentiated effects. It also contributes to feminist debates around political economy, including the impact of agrarian change on gender relations within the household, local food security and social power relations, and highlights the importance of contextual specificities to the analysis.

Gender and inclusive business models

Large-scale agriculture in Africa may be categorised into one of three forms: plantation farming, contract farming or commercial farming. In terms of labour, plantation farms often rely on both resident and non-resident/migrant labour. This contrasts with contract farming where, for example, farmers contract with a single central estate as outgrowers. In the third model, multiple

commercial farms of varying sizes may operate within an area (Smalley 2013: 3). The general consensus amongst proponents of large-scale agricultural commercialisation is that poverty reduction efforts and rural development can only succeed if small-scale farmers participate directly in agricultural production and not simply as labourers (Poulton et al. 2008). Inclusive business models are therefore important in mitigating the potentially adverse socio-economic impacts of large-scale land acquisitions for agricultural investment (Lahiff et al. 2012; Cotula and Leonard 2010; Vermeulen and Cotula 2010).

Inclusive business models may be defined as 'those which do not leave behind small-scale farmers and in which the voices and needs of those actors in rural areas in developing countries are recognised' (Vorley et al. 2008: 2). The concept of inclusivity is linked to social concerns. It is argued that unlike other business models, the inclusive business model strives to achieve both financial and social goals (Halme et al. 2012: 746; Kistruck and Beamish 2010; UNDP 2010). In theory, key features of an inclusive business model in agriculture include:

the ownership of the business and of the key project assets such as land and processing facilities; the participants' ability to influence decision-making processes; risks shared by the parties in the business including political and reputational risks; and the way economic costs and benefits such as financing and prices are shared among the participating parties. (Vermeulen and Cotula 2010: 35)

In terms of gender equity, inclusive business models must necessarily enable both men and women to have equitable access to resources such as land, the capacity to earn significant income, and the opportunity to participate in business negotiations and family decision-making processes (Daley and Park 2012).

Inclusive business models face a number of market-related barriers. These include deficient market information and regulatory environments, and lack of physical infrastructure or access to financial services (UNDP 2010; Prahalad 2005). Equally, Halme et al. (2012: 746) argue that there is an over-emphasis on external challenges in the existing literature, which has 'downplayed the significance of internal aspects of the innovation process, particularly when it comes to MNCs'. Inclusive business models have been criticised for failing to address the power relations within which different actors are embedded (Margues and Utting 2010). What is clear is that the analysis needs to take into account the individual characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of each business model (Lahiff et al. 2012; Navarro and Pellizzoli 2012; Vermeulen and Cotula 2010).

Studies analysing gender-differentiating effects across different commercial agricultural business models date back to the 1980s. Plantation agriculture has historically been associated with expropriation of land and labour

exploitation (Smalley 2013: 52) and has often been shown to have a negative impact on intra-household gender relations, labour patterns and wage inequalities (White and White 2012; Sajhau and Von Muralt 1987). Class intersects with gender in terms of exploitation of poorer women who have limited livelihood options and represent a 'captive labour pool' for farms and plantations (Smalley 2013: 59, citing Hayami 2010; Lansing et al. 2008; Cramer and Pontara 1998; Devereux et al. 1996; Loewenson 1992; Mbilinyi 1988). High levels of mechanisation may also have the effect of excluding or including women from the labour market depending on the kind of labour that mechanisation has replaced (Dolan and Sorby 2003).

A number of studies on contract farming have drawn attention to the class and gender-differentiating effects of contract farming practices founded on household production and intra-household relations (among others: Daley and Park 2012; Evers and Walters 2000; Warner and Campbell 2000; Darity 1995; Mbilinyi and Semakafu 1995; Carney and Watts 1990; Mackintosh 1989). This body of research has consistently found that expansion in cash crop production usually has the effect of increasing women's workloads overall. At the same time women's bargaining power within the household often declines as most cash-crop income is retained by men. To date, the general consensus within the literature on contract farming has been that in areas of commercial pressure on land, women with limited access to resources have tended to lose out in contracting arrangements (FAO 2011a; Schneider and Gugerty 2010). It is also recognised, however, that the gender implications of agricultural commercialisation on women's farming are not uniform. A number of studies demonstrate that local social norms and practices concerning gendered roles and participation in decision-making must be taken into account when considering the gender consequences of different business models (Smalley 2013: 59; White and White 2012; Oya 2010; Mate 2001).

Navarro and Pellizzoli (2012) observe that in order to integrate women into the market, recommendations are often made for governments to strengthen property rights and create a good investment climate, while the private sector invests in gender-inclusive value chains. However, based on findings from their Mozambique case study in 2011, the authors question this 'integrating smallholders into the market' approach. They argue that in practice, contract farming revenues are usually too small and time-limited to really empower smallholders and improve social mobility. Moreover there are risks associated with dependency on a single buyer, leaving smallholders with little bargaining power and diminished household food security. There is also the potential for disempowering outcomes for women where public-private partnerships lack a specific gender strategy.

The present study supports many of these findings, but with a caveat that the particular socio-economic and political history of the villages appears to have militated

against some of the most gender-differentiating effects of contract farming found in other studies.

Gender and sugarcane production

Contemporary studies on the gender construction of the organisation of the labour process in sugarcane production in Africa are few. Mbilinyi (2010) offers one recent commentary on the subject. Sugarcane farming in Rwanda is the subject of one of four recent country studies of commercial pressures on land conducted by the International Land Coalition (FAO 2011a). However, the insights into gender issues form part of a much broader overall focus. The study investigates the community impacts of commercial land leasing for sugarcane production in Rwanda's marshlands, where many local farmers experienced land dispossession. The Rwandan case shows gains for women in terms of increased employment and self-employment, and strong participation in decision making. However, these benefits are weighed against the relatively low wages for company employees, and the reduced food and livelihood security as a consequence of restricted tenure (Daley and Pallas 2014).

Another recent FAO study is that of certified fair-trade sugarcane company, Kaleya Smallholders Company Ltd (KASCOL) in Southern Zambia (FAO 2013b). The gender-inclusive aspects of the business model include the provision of land to its outgrowers on a share-cropping/lease basis, as well as a succession clause enabling men and women to inherit land, and fire and rain insurance. The study reports around 27 percent of smallholders engaged in production with KASCOL were women. The authors attribute the lower proportion of women smallholders in sugarcane production to gender differentiating factors within the household. These include differences in access to unpaid family labour; choices in converting domestic plots from food production to sugarcane; participation in governance and selection structures; and diversity of income strategies.

The present study has the benefit of a historical comparison with Mbilinyi and Semakafu's 1995 study on gender and employment in sugarcane production in Tanzania. Their study was conducted shortly before privatisation of Kilombero Sugar Company in 1998. The main objective of the study was 'to facilitate an increase in the proportion of women in more-skilled, better paid jobs in plantation production and to make more employment options available to women in sugar cane plantations' (Mbilinyi and Semakafu 1995: 1). This earlier research encompassed all of Tanzania's sugarcane producing companies, including Kilombero Sugar Company. It examined the gender-based differentials in employment and production processes in the sugar industry, as well as in land tenure and sugarcane outgrowing. It further considered the significance of sugar wages to household incomes and expenditures, and how work and living conditions might be improved. The report is discussed in further detail below. Longitudinal comparison with the

data from the current study has allowed for analysis of gender differentiation in commercial sugar production pre- and post-privatisation.

3.3 Sugarcane production in Kilombero District

Arab and Asian farmers introduced sugarcane to Kilombero Valley initially on a small scale in the early 1900s, and later on a commercial basis in the 1930s (Kopoka 1989). However, it was not until the 1960s that smallholder farmers settled in the area and began growing sugarcane in their fields alongside the main agricultural crops of millet, rice and maize (Baum 1968). Maddox et al. (1996) state that during the colonial administration, communities in Kilombero Valley were confined to restricted areas to allow the establishment of forest plantation and conservation projects. By the 1950s high soil fertility and the potential for irrigation led the colonial administrators to consider Kilombero as an agricultural priority area. Dutch agricultural experts carried out surveys for a sugarcane estate in 1957 (Nombo 2010). This eventually led to the establishment of Kilombero Sugar Company in 1960 – a joint venture financed by the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), Standard Bank of East Africa and two Dutch development finance agencies. The company started to crush sugarcane in 1962, mainly supplied by 'a few large Indian and European estates, [the] settlement scheme with 250 smallholders and a group of 14 African farmers' (Baum 1968: 23). The company eventually developed an estate of around 1,600ha, and in 1960, a sugar-processing factory – known to date as K1 – on the southern side of the Ruaha River with 75 percent foreign ownership (Mbilinyi and Semakafu 1995: 31).



Photo 1: KSCL irrigation infrastructure (Emmanuel Sulle, 2014)

The company aimed to operate on a nucleus estate-outgrower model supported by one of its bankers, the CDC, which had facilitated outgrower schemes in several African countries during the 1960s (Buch-Hansen and Marcussen 1982). Following independence, the Tanzanian government under Mwalimu Nyerere was also instrumental in the expansion of sugarcane production in the country. Nyerere established the Tanzania and Zambia Railway (TAZARA) connecting Dar es Salaam in

Tanzania with Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia, which passes through K1 (Smalley et al. 2014; Monson 2009; Beck 1964). In 1967 the government nationalised K1 and established a second factory, K2, on the northern side of the Ruaha River with funding from the World Bank and Danish government. K2 became operational in 1976, opening up further opportunities for outgrowers and labourers in the area.

Like many sub-Saharan countries, Tanzania adopted structural adjustment programmes in the late 1980s, followed by the privatisation of publicly-owned economic production sectors including sugarcane estates and mills between 1998 and 2001. In 1998, Kilombero Sugar Company was privatised to Illovo, the South African sugar corporation which today owns 55 percent of the shares. Illovo has itself been a subsidiary of Associated British Foods since 2006. Twenty percent of the remaining shares in KSCL are owned by ED&F Man, a UK-based sugar merchant, and 25 percent by the government of Tanzania. Currently the company runs two irrigated estates covering an area of 8,022ha and two mills. Around 8,500 outgrowers cultivate an area of 12,000ha of sugarcane, which they supply to the mills for processing.

Since privatisation 15 years ago, KSCL has increased its output to 130,000t of sugar per year. This is still, however, below the annual target of 200,000t agreed with the government. KSCL officials say the company is able and willing to expand its operational capacity including cane crushing, but the current business environment does not allow this to happen (Interview, senior company employee, Kilombero, 29 September 2014). In addition to these challenges, the company's geographical expansion is limited due to its location between the Udzungwa mountain range, Selous Game Reserve and Mikumi National Park. The only available area for expansion locally is land which is owned by outgrowers who also face land scarcity for food crop production in the area. As such, the company's present strategy is to look for land further afield. Potential locations include the newly surveyed area of Mkulazi to the east of Morogoro, which is now under auction through the Tanzania Investment Centre.¹

Amongst Tanzanian sugar companies, KSCL is considered to have the most favourable terms of operation with outgrower farmers (Gabagambi 2013; Massimba et al. 2013). Indeed, the government through the SAGCOT initiative has identified KSCL as the model for other nucleus estate-outgrower schemes (SAGCOT 2012). The current partnership between KSCL and outgrowers allows each party to own its basic assets: the company owns its estate and sugarcane processing facilities, while the outgrowers own their land. Some outgrowers also own cane production and transportation equipment. Both the company and outgrowers operate within the terms of the Cane Supply Agreement (CSA), which is signed by the company and outgrowers'

association leaders every three years. The CSA provides for the division of proceeds of sugar products and it can be amended before every season as necessary.

In terms of accessing the company's processing facilities, the KSCL model is somewhat inclusive. KSCL issues local outgrowers' associations with quotas for cane harvesting. Therefore, after registering their sugarcane plot with the regulator – the Sugar Board of Tanzania (SBT) – each farmer must join an outgrowers' association to enable their cane to be harvested. Any Tanzanian resident over 18 years of age with as little as half an acre (0.2ha) of land (one acre or 0.4ha for some associations) can join a cane outgrowers' association. This is however, below the required minimum farm size of 0.4ha within a radius not exceeding 40km from a registered miller, to which an outgrower has the obligation to sell sugarcane, as stipulated by the Tanzanian sugar industry regulations (FAO 2012).



Photo 2: Unharvested cane left to seed (Helen Dancer, 2014)

In practice, today farmers face a web of challenges in getting their cane harvested. Sugarcane is ready for harvesting 12-18 months from the time seedlings are planted. After this period, sucrose levels, which are the main determinant of a farmer's income, decline. The company's limited capacity to crush cane means that every season not all outgrowers' cane will be harvested. This has serious financial consequences for farmers who depend on revenues from sugarcane to sustain their households. It further leads to favouritism within canegrowers' associations (Smalley et al. 2014; Massimba et al. 2013). Before privatisation there were two canegrowers' associations in the area

– Ruembe Canegrowers' Association and Kilombero Canegrowers' Association. However, dissatisfaction with the system, linked to limited factory capacity and a climate of favouritism within associations, has led to a mushrooming in the number of associations to fifteen. The consequences of this proliferation in associations are discussed in more detail below.

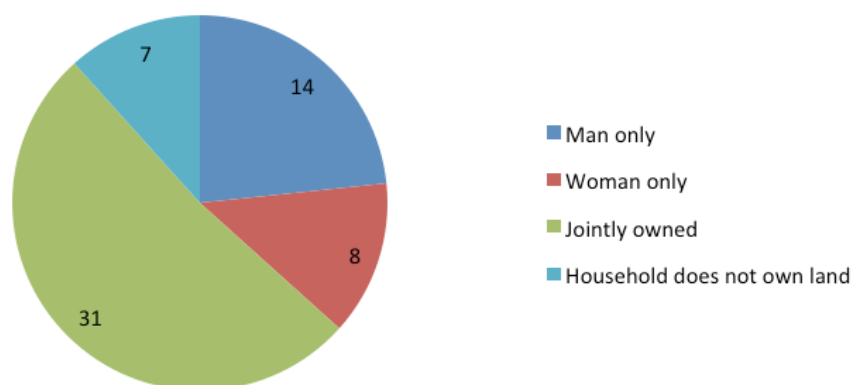
4. Findings and discussion

4.1. Context

The two villages in this study have distinct histories, which have resulted in differences, both in land tenure patterns and social relations. In Msolwa Ujamaa, prior to the 1960s most land belonged to a single individual member of the leading Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) party. Some land was given in parcels to a limited number of people to establish a village. Other land was later nationalised and became the village farm. As part of the Tanzanian Socialist (*Ujamaa*) policies of the 1960s, plots were allocated to both men and women of the village on an equal basis. Villagers were also required to work on a communal farm (Smalley et al. 2014: 7). By comparison, land-holding in Sanje today shows a marked differentiation between four large-scale farms comprising over 500ha, and villager-owned small plots of around 1.6ha (4 acres). The large-scale farms were originally acquired during colonialism by a small number of foreign owners; however, unlike in Msolwa Ujamaa, they were not redistributed or brought under communal control. Whilst *Ujamaa* policies were practiced in Sanje, this was not to the same extent as in Msolwa Ujamaa. The inequality in distribution of land in Sanje between four large-scale farmers and other villagers continues to this day. The relative scarcity of land has led to villagers in Sanje making appeals to local government and the Ministry of Lands to intervene. In response, one large-scale farmer offered a portion of his farm to the village to be used for settlement and as space for the village office, whilst retaining his title over the land.

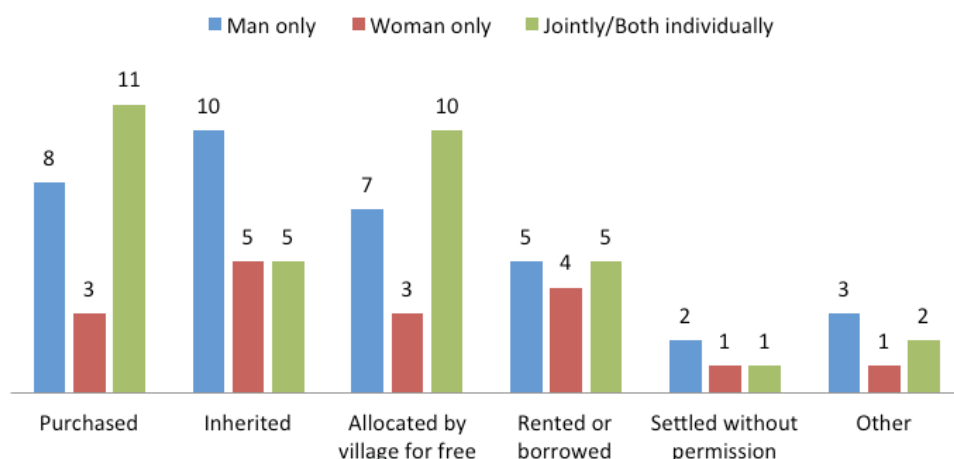
Both villages have accommodated a high but steady proportion of migrants from other regions of Tanzania over time (see Appendix). Combined with the *Ujamaa* practice of villages allocating equal-sized plots of land to men and women, this has made it common for both men and women to own land (Figure 1), and to obtain it through various modes of acquisition (Figure 2).

Figure 1. Household land ownership by gender in Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje villages (n = 60)



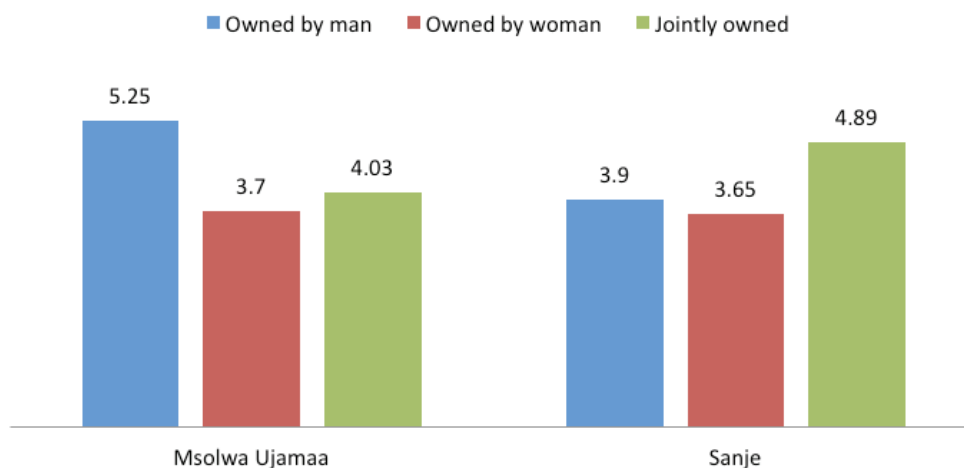
Note: 'Ownership' includes land acquired by inheritance, allocation, purchase or settlement without permission, but excludes renting and borrowing. From the sixty surveys, six households in Msolwa Ujamaa and one household in Sanje did not own any farmland. Of these seven households, five were households of married couples and two were single female-headed households. With the exception of one of the single female-headed households, all of the households that did not own farmland rented instead.

Figure 2. Modes of acquisition of land in Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje village households (n = 60)



Note: Land acquired jointly includes land which was purchased, rented or borrowed, settled on without permission or acquired in some other way. Land acquired by both spouses individually includes land which was inherited or allocated by the village for free.

Figure 3. Average number of acres owned in Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje village households (n = 60)



Note: Mean average data excludes one male-owned farm of 29 acres in Msolwa Ujamaa, two male-owned farms in Sanje (17 and 25 acres) and one jointly-owned farm of 19 acres in Sanje.

Table 1. Modes of acquisition of land in Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje village households

	Msolwa Ujamaa (n = 30)			Sanje (n = 30)		
	Man only	Woman only	Jointly/Both individually	Man only	Woman only	Jointly/Both individually
Purchased	3	0	5	5	3	6
Inherited	5	2	4	5	3	1
Allocated by village for free	4	2	6	3	1	4
Rented or borrowed	2	2	5	3	2	0
Settled without permission	0	0	0	2	1	1
Other	1	1	1	2	0	1
Totals	15	7	21	21	10	13

Note: 23 households acquired land through at least two different modes of acquisition.

Despite this, the survey indicates that in both of the villages, in households where only one adult holds land on an individual basis, men are generally twice as likely as women to have acquired land in their sole name (Figure 2 and Table 1). In Msolwa Ujamaa the average size of plots owned by individual men is more than 0.4ha (one acre) greater than the plot sizes held by individual women. By contrast, in Sanje, where plot sizes are on average smaller for most villagers, the gender difference in size of land-holding is much less (Figure 3).

Land is acquired in multiple ways within the villages. Overall, purchase and allocation have been just as common forms of land acquisition as inheritance – reflecting the socio-economic history of the villages and the steady influx of migrants over time. Significantly, the *Ujamaa* history of the villages has meant that customary land tenure is not a feature of land-holding in either Msolwa Ujamaa or Sanje today. This presents a contrast with other parts of Tanzania where customary practices of land tenure and inheritance have resulted in strong gender differentiation in land ownership. Whilst the survey reveals a degree of gender inequality in plot sizes and inheritance of land in particular, it is much less than in other parts of rural Tanzania where patrilineal norms

remain a strong feature of local land-holding practices. The patterns of land-holding that currently exist in the survey villages make the acquisition and use of land by both men and women a normal part of village life. This is in turn reflected in the proportion of women registered as canegrowers with local associations (see 4.5 below).

Block farming

Currently, both the Tanzanian government and KSCL are promoting block farming as a more efficient land-use model for sugarcane production than individual outgrowing. The company's Kilombero Canegrowers' Charitable Trust (KCCT) is also helping outgrowers' associations to establish block farms and facilitate access to loan schemes for their members. To date block farming accounts for a small proportion of the total area under outgrower cane; however, the practice of block farming is not new. It began in Msolwa Ujamaa in the 1970s, where the pre-existing system of communal farming under *Ujamaa* made it a relatively easy system to introduce. Indeed, most block farms in the area today are located in Msolwa Ujamaa. The village has maintained its village farm for growing cane, generating an average of TZS 120m (equivalent to US\$73,439 per annum).²



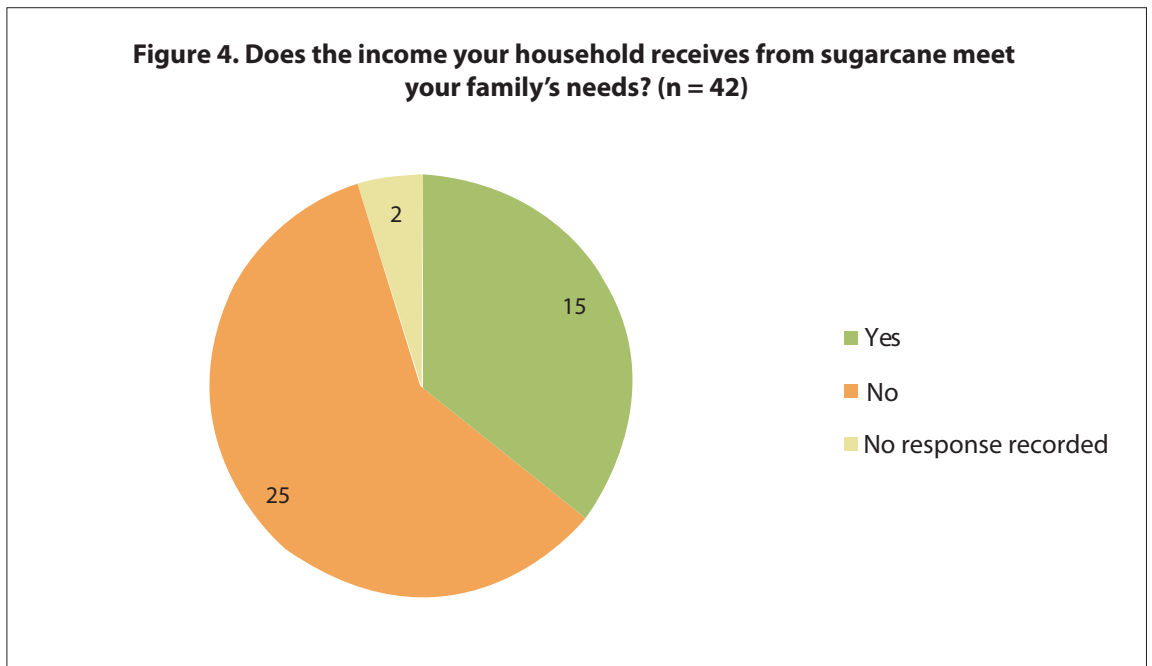
Photo 3: Sugarcane farm in Msolwa Ujamaa (Emmanuel Sulle, 2014)

The history and patterns of land tenure in the villages in this study make it possible, in principle, for block farming schemes to be introduced in the area in a gender-equitable way. Both men and women participating in our research saw benefits and disadvantages to block farming. In a focus group discussion with members of one women farmers' group in Msolwa Ujamaa the women said that although block farming is voluntary they felt somewhat pushed into joining due to the risk that their cane would not be harvested if they remained as an individual canegrower. They said that while farmers who cultivated alone received a higher income than those participating in a block farming scheme, the risks were also higher and therefore, on balance, they preferred the block farming arrangement. Both male and female farmers we met expressed reservations about the scheme. Loss of control over land that is associated with merging individual plots into a greater whole is a serious concern for household livelihoods and food security where farmers depend on monocropping in an uncertain sugar market. Between April 2014 and November 2014 alone, the price of sugar reduced from

approximately TZS 63,000 (US\$38.6) to 53,000 (US\$32.4) per tonne (Smalley et al. 2014).

4.2. Livelihoods

Our survey findings indicate that in 2014 sugarcane was the most significant source of income for the majority of households in the study villages. Of the 60 respondents in this study, 42 said that sugarcane was grown in their households and 39 said that income had been received in their households from sales of sugarcane in the last year. However, employment at KSCL was unusual among the 60 households. Just three respondents said that their households had members who were employed by the company: two men who worked for KSCL on a seasonal basis and one man who held a permanent position as a senior supervisor. The company reports that in 2013, one-third of its employees were 'local citizens of the country' (KSCL Human Resources). Therefore, whilst the company does employ people from the local area, it also relies significantly on migrant labour at all levels of the workforce, from seasonal workers to senior management.



Despite the importance of sugarcane for the local economy, the uncertainty surrounding outgrowing means that many households in the study villages derive their income from multiple sources. Eighteen respondents said their households also obtain income from sales of other crops and 15 households had members engaged in other forms of informal business enterprise. Local restaurants, shops and guesthouses provide employment opportunities for both men and women. Forty households kept some poultry and seven households kept other livestock – whether cattle, goats or pigs. Thirty respondents said their households employed others to assist them with cane cultivation. Twenty-three respondents said that members of their households did

work for other farmers. They generally preferred this to casual opportunities with the company due to the system of payments and relatively lower rates of pay at KSCL. Mbilinyi and Semakafu reported similar findings (1995: 7). Then and now, many villagers expressed a preference to work on outgrowers' farms rather than undertake casual unskilled work for KSCL.

Barriers to entry in canegrowing exist for both men and women. Canegrowing is capital-intensive, particularly in the first year, when ploughing, seeds, fertilisers and pesticides are needed as initial inputs. Demand for land in the survey villages has created a strong market for both sale and lease of land. However, despite the heavy initial

investment required, only eight respondents from the 42 canegrowing households said that their households had received any start-up assistance. Many saw this as a significant challenge for being able to take advantage of new opportunities in sugarcane.

One way in which villagers have responded to this challenge has been to pool resources through membership in a local farmers' group. These groups are popular in both Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje, particularly for women. One-third of the 30 female respondents in the survey said that they were members of a village women's group. In comparison with cooperative societies, which are more established in Tanzania, farmers' groups and associations in Kilombero Valley are relatively new and have grown both in number and in the areas they cultivate since sugarcane estates and mills were privatised (Mlingwa 2010; Sulle 2010). Whereas cooperative societies are regulated by the Ministry of Agriculture, associations formed by sugarcane outgrowers are registered and regulated by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Their leaders are directly accountable to the members who elect them. Many groups are started at the initiative of the members themselves, who regard it as a way to improve their livelihoods. Some groups have received external start-up assistance from local government or non-governmental organisations (NGOs), although some members also commented that they needed further on-going assistance to be able to maintain their activities. Despite the challenges they face, farmers' groups and associations are active and engage in a variety of self-empowerment initiatives, including livestock-keeping and rice production.

Gender-differentiated features of sugarcane outgrowing

According to one senior SBT employee, in the case of family land it is generally the head of the household who will be registered as the owner with the Sugar Board. Individually-owned land is typically registered in the name of that individual – whether a man or a woman (Fieldwork interview, April 2014). The number of registered outgrowers has grown since privatisation. A senior employee at KSCL estimated that at present around 30 percent of registered outgrowers are women and this percentage has steadily increased over time. This estimate in fact broadly corresponds with the proportion of male and female outgrowers registered with the individual canegrower associations we contacted (see 4.5 below). This represents a significant change from Mbilinyi and Semakafu's 1995 study, where it was reported that hardly any outgrowers were women in their own right (with only one reported at KSCL) (Mbilinyi and Semakafu 1995: 6). There are a number of possible explanations for this increase in the number of registered female outgrowers. One senior KSCL employee observed that it is becoming more commonplace for land to be registered with the Sugar Board in a woman's name upon the death of her husband. Another company interviewee noted that in

light of the mushrooming of canegrowers' associations and challenges for households in getting their cane harvested, couples are being strategic and registering as members of different associations to spread the risk (Fieldwork interviews, April 2014).

Many villagers in the study area undertake casual work in sugarcane production, whether for other farmers or for KSCL. There are notable differences in the type of work and income of men and women, both for other farmers and for the company. Weeding, pesticide and fertiliser application tasks are undertaken on a casual basis on outgrowers' farms, and on a seasonal or casual basis at KSCL. In both cases, it was widely acknowledged in our key informant interviews and survey findings that women and older men do most weeding, whereas men do most of the pesticide and fertiliser work. In Mbilinyi and Semakafu's study, it was also observed that in the early 1990s both men and women perpetuated gender stereotypes of strong masculine cane-cutters and weaker women and older men as weeders (Mbilinyi and Semakafu 1995: 5).

It is difficult to make a clear comparison of the wages paid in these different areas of casual employment by individual farmers. Some villagers we interviewed said that they paid people who worked for them on a per-acre basis. One farmer said he paid weeders TZS 50,000 (US\$31) per acre. A group of two or three people might take up to three days to weed an acre, equating to an individual wage of between US\$3.4 and US\$7.8 per day, depending on the number of people involved, number of days taken and extent of weeding required. Similar figures for weeding were quoted elsewhere – between TZS 7,000 (US\$4.3) and 15,000 (US\$9.2) per day depending on the amount of weeding done. Pesticide application is paid on a per-acre or per-container basis. One farmer said that he paid TZS 7,000 (US\$4.3) per acre sprayed, but that it was possible to spray more than one acre in a day. Another paid TZS 10,000 (US\$6) per container of pesticide sprayed, but observed that it was not possible for one person to apply a whole container of pesticide within one day.

Gender differentiation in employment at KSCL

By comparison with the wages paid on outgrowers' farms, in April 2014 KSCL wages for work done mostly by women were lower than for work done mostly by men. Wages for weeders, for example, were lower than those for pesticide application and cane-cutting. Weeders working on a seasonal basis of six days per week were paid TZS 5,499.46 (US\$3.4) per day. Those employed on a daily casual basis were paid at a lower rate of TZS 5,118.30 (US\$3) per day. Pesticide application was paid at a rate of TZS 5,875.15 (US\$4) per day for seasonal workers, and TZS 5,679.11 (US\$3.5) for casual daily workers. All of these wages were lower than those paid to cane-cutters working a six-day week, who earned TZS 6,435 (US\$4) per day. Mbilinyi and Semakafu (1995) reported

similar income-differentiation between weeding and cane-cutting in their 1995 study. At first glance the 1992 wage statistics suggest parity between weeders and cane-cutters, with both earning the same basic wage of TZS 134/70 per day along with a bonus scheme for regular attendance and task completion. However, cane-cutters were also able to enhance their wages through an incentive scheme for additional work done above the daily 'task'. There was no additional piece rate wage paid to weeders (Ibid: 5, 73).

In 1992 the largest gender gap at KSCL was observed in field work and in skilled positions (Ibid: 5). In 2013 it was still the case that there were clear gender differentials in labour at the company. Women accounted for around 17 percent (250/1,509) of seasonal agricultural workers at KSCL (KSCL Human Resources data; see Table 2). Seasonal work lasts for 8-9 months of the year and is mostly undertaken by young male migrant workers from Iringa and Mbeya regions. Hostels are provided, which reportedly become congested, and seasonal and temporary workers tend to leave their children at home. Despite these conditions, the company says that it offers alternative accommodation for female seasonal workers, and free childcare for 3-7 year olds is available for all employees. However, cane-cutting, pesticide-spraying, harvesting and pan-boiling in the factory are still largely jobs performed by men. It is now less unusual than in the past for women to work in cane-cutting, but this form of employment remains male-dominated.



Photo 4: Hostels for seasonal workers at KSCL (Helen Dancer, 2014)

In terms of the KSCL workforce as a whole, Mbilinyi and Semakafu (1995: 3) found that whilst the number of women employed in the sugar industry had increased up to 1995, women still represented a minority of the workforce and were mainly hired as low-paid manual workers, either as weeders in the field or as cleaners, guards, messengers, nurses and typists in the administrative sector. Gender discrimination was both blatant and unconscious, with paternalism and gender stereotyping of supervisory roles resulting in few women

being employed as headmen despite their large numbers as field workers. Headmen were also reportedly the most common offenders for sexual harassment – from innuendo to rape (Ibid: 4). The authors then argued that plantation companies made use of pre-existing gender inequalities and gender typing, which manifested itself in paternalistic or patronising management styles.

The Tanzania Plantation and Agriculture Workers Union (TPAWU) has been active in addressing issues of gender discrimination and harassment in the workplace for a number of years. Established in 1998, it is the only union that deals with the agricultural sector. It has a strong membership base and represents employees from KSCL and other companies linked to the agricultural sector, such as staff employed by Unitrans, Ruembe Canegrowers' Association and KK Security. Save for senior employees, membership of the union is high amongst both male and female permanent employees. Both the union and KSCL Human Resources manager confirmed that there have been incidents of harassment of female employees in the past; however, nowadays complaints are few. One KSCL employee told us that employees in management positions are required to sign an anti-bribery contract, and sexual abuse is classified as a bribe. The situation concerning sexual harassment in the workplace appears to have improved considerably since privatisation, with both the union and company following up on any grievances and taking disciplinary action.

Gender differentiation in the casualisation of the labour force

In 2013 the proportion of women in the KSCL workforce was 16 percent (Table 2). Women comprised 13 percent of permanent staff. At first glance this compares favourably with the 1992 data, when women comprised 8 percent of the total workforce and 11 percent of permanent staff. However, currently only 27 percent of women and 36 percent of men are employed on a permanent basis. This represents a sharp reduction from the 64 percent of 779 female employees and 44 percent of 9,213 male employees in 1992. The difference is explained by the relative decline in the number of permanent jobs in favour of seasonal and other non-permanent employment. Between 1992 and 2014 there has been a striking reduction in the number of employees at KSCL, while overall production has risen. This may be a consequence of company restructuring following privatisation and/or increased mechanisation in sugarcane production. In the 2013 fiscal year KSCL employed a quarter of the number of people it employed in 1992. The biggest reduction has been in the number of staff employed on a permanent basis.

Table 2. Longitudinal comparison of employment status in the KSCL workforce by gender

Year	Men		Women		Total	
	1992	2013	1992	2013	1992	2013
Permanent	4008 (44%)	760 (36%)	495 (64%)	110 (27%)	4503 (45%)	870 (34%)
Seasonal	4861 (52%)	1259 (59%)	228 (29%)	250 (61%)	5089 (51%)	1509 (59%)
Other non-permanent	344 (4%)	117 (5%)	56 (7%)	49 (12%)	400 (4%)	166 (7%)
Total	9213 (92%)	2136 (84%)	779 (8%)	409 (16%)	9992	2545

Source: 1992 data from Mbilinyi and Semakafu (1995: 68); 2013 data supplied by KSCL Human Resources, April 2014. Percentage figures for men and women represent the proportion of all men and all women working in each category of employment. Percentages in the vertical total column represent the proportion of the workforce working in each category of employment.

Mbilinyi and Semakafu (1995: 70) observe that in 1992, 65 percent of women in permanent employment were hired in administration, compared to 17 percent of men, meaning men had a wider range of permanent employment opportunities than women. They also noted that it was a stated intention of Kilombero Sugar Company to reduce wage costs by keeping long-term

workers on casual, temporary or seasonal terms (Ibid: 72). Today, women also continue to be employed largely in semi-skilled positions, many as office workers, cleaners or administrators. In 2013, 79 percent of female employees worked in semi-skilled and unskilled positions, as compared with 68 percent of men (Table 3).

Table 3. Gender-disaggregated data for employment by job level at KSCL in 2013

	Men	Women	Total
Senior managers	42 (5.5%)	2 (1.8%)	44 (5.1%)
Middle managers	35 (4.6%)	2 (1.8%)	37 (4.3%)
First line managers	85 (11.2%)	13 (11.8%)	98 (11.3%)
Skilled	81 (10.7%)	6 (5.5%)	87 (10%)
Semi-skilled	417 (54.9%)	82 (74.5%)	499 (57.4%)
Unskilled	100 (13.2%)	5 (4.5%)	105 (12.1%)
Total	760	110	870

Source: Data supplied by KSCL Human Resources, April 2014

For KSCL to meet national agendas for gender equality in the workplace and be recognised as an employer of choice, it is necessary for the company to increase the proportion of its female employees. However, one senior manager identified two main challenges to achieving this: location of the work, and nature of the activities. It is difficult to attract women to work in the location unless their husbands are willing to come with them and gain employment in the area themselves. Another female manager observed that there is a constant flow of young men who come to work at the company for a couple of years; whilst women appear to be more reluctant to leave their husbands behind in town. Equally, the observation was made that when women marry they tend to move away from the area (Fieldwork interviews with two KSCL managers, April 2014). There have been some attempts to offer spouses employment with the company wherever it is possible to do so.

A second challenge observed by both SBT and KSCL members of staff was that few women train to acquire the technical expertise and qualifications necessary for employment in the higher and technical grades. Where women have the skills and abilities the company promotes them. One female employee we interviewed described how she had worked her way up from unskilled temporary contractor to a senior manager in the factory laboratory. The company offers sponsorship to women from the local area to pursue further studies in processing and chemical engineering. However, throughout Tanzania many men and women who complete higher levels of education migrate from their villages to the larger towns and cities in search of skilled livelihood opportunities and urban living. In order to attract more skilled male and female graduates KSCL would need to offer salaries and living conditions that were competitive with employment in urban centres

and extraction industries that require similar levels of technical expertise but pay higher wages.

Support for households has improved since privatisation through the work of KCCT. At the time of Mbilinyi and Semakafu's (1995) study sugarcane companies in Tanzania provided hospital and child care services, primary schools and limited transport. The majority of workers owned or rented their housing in nearby villages, save for cane-cutters who were housed in camps. Housing units for single women were reportedly poor quality. There were limited opportunities for in-house training (Ibid: 7-8). Mbilinyi and Semakafu observed a management strategy then to reduce wage costs by keeping long-term workers on casual, temporary and seasonal terms. Higher costs were attributed to permanent female workers, and especially the 84 days of paid maternity leave that companies were legally required to provide to them (Ibid: 5).

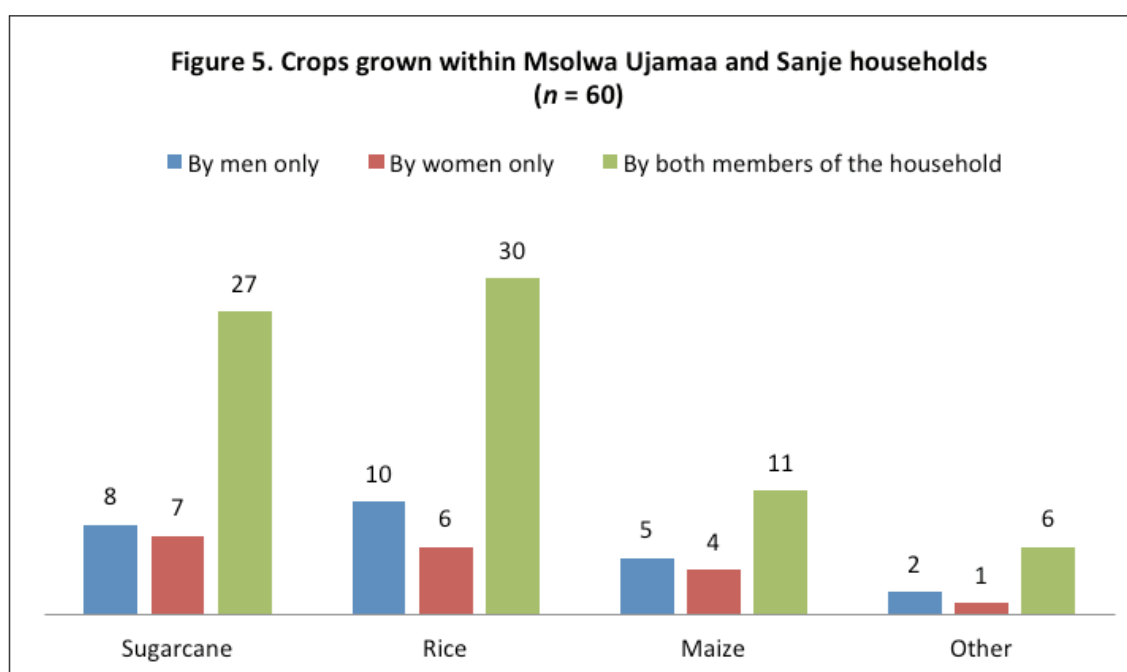
Today the company says that it offers a range of support services for families. Permanent employees have good housing within the company compound, schooling, childcare and health facilities and local transport around the factory site. However, 82 percent of seasonal and temporary workers employed by KSCL are men. In order to achieve a more gender-balanced workforce the company would need to reverse the trend away from dependency on seasonal, young male migrant labour and increase the number of permanent employment opportunities. This would make employment at the company a more attractive prospect for both men and women, who would not have to make the stark choice of leaving their families for several months of the year to pursue livelihood opportunities. However, the company's capacity to invest in its workforce is limited by the viability of the domestic sugar market. Outgrowers and company representatives alike spoke of the detrimental impact of cheap sugar imports on the domestic business environment for sugar production. Policy interventions

that strengthen the capacity of the domestic sugar market would in turn increase productivity for both outgrowers and the company.

4.3. Households and family life

Many studies on gender and agricultural commercialisation have found that changes in systems of commodity production, particularly the shift from food crop to cash crop, can have a significant impact on the gender dynamics of intra-household decision making (among others, Sulle and Hall 2014b; Daley and Park 2012; Arndt et al. 2011; Whitehead 2009; Dolan 2001; Evers and Walters 2000; Warner and Campbell 2000; Darity 1995; Mbilinyi and Semakafu 1995; von Bülow and Sørensen 1993; Carney and Watts 1990). This is particularly so where companies enter into outgrowing contracts with male heads of households, placing control over revenues in the hands of men while reducing women's sources of revenue from food crops that were previously sold in local markets (Dolan 2001).

In Kilombero since privatisation there has been a dramatic transition from food crop to sugarcane production in local village households. In the study villages, survey respondents from all 42 cane-growing households said that their households had previously grown food crops on their land before moving to cane. Whilst 46 households in 2014 grew rice, only 18 had recently sold food crops to provide an income. We do not have baseline data on intra-household resource allocation and decision-making before the transition to sugarcane. However, findings from our 2014 survey indicate that the proportion of men and women involved in sugarcane growing in Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje villages is roughly equal (Figure 5). These findings can be compared with the proportion of men and women actually registered as canegrowers at Msolwa Ujamaa and Sanje canegrowers' associations. In 2014, 48 percent of registered outgrowers at Msolwa Ujamaa and 31



percent registered at Sanje were women. This indicates some bias in favour of male registration (and therefore receipt of income from sugarcane production) within Sanje households; but there is no significant difference between the figures for Msolwa Ujamaa. The proportion of female canegrowers registered at Msolwa Ujamaa is notably higher than for other local associations and other sugarcane studies (for example KASCOL in Zambia). One explanation for this is the village's history of apportioning equal plot sizes to men and women and the absence of gendered customary land tenure patterns. This in turn has consequences for power relations within household decision-making where women who are registered outgrowers receive the income from sugarcane production.

The reduction in locally available land for growing food crops has created dependency on sugarcane monocropping for household livelihoods. This has adverse consequences for household food security with fluctuations in the price of sugar and the risks associated with cane harvesting. Scarcity of land for food production in the local villages means that many families look for land further afield in Ikule, Signali and Kiberege to grow food crops (Smalley et al. 2014). Thirty-three survey respondents said that their households grew food crops outside of their village. This presented practical and economic challenges to families faced with dividing their labour across two locations. Twenty-four survey respondents said that farming outside the village was a joint effort between husband and wife; in five households the man did the farming and in four households (two of which were female-headed) the woman was solely responsible. In 25 households the decision to farm outside the village was a joint one. Six respondents said that the man had made the decision, and two respondents (both from female-headed households) said that it was the woman's decision. Respondents spoke of the increased financial costs associated with dividing their resources across two sites. They also described the challenges they faced as parents in leaving their children unsupervised to undertake farming responsibilities together some distance away from the family home. Some female farmers commented that it was now impracticable to grow rice and maize in areas where sugarcane grows 'like a forest', making it unsafe to farm and making theft of food crops commonplace.



Photo 5: Sugarcane before harvest-time (Helen Dancer, 2014)

The survey indicated clear trends in the overall impact of sugarcane production on households and family life. The majority of respondents saw benefits in housing, children's welfare and education and water supplies (Figure 6). However, most respondents perceived a detrimental impact on access to sources of firewood, food crops for selling and subsistence, and grazing for livestock, all of which carry potentially adverse consequences for household food security and nutrition (Figure 7). Between the sexes, it is notable that more men than women perceived an increase in food crops for consumption (12 men, 5 women) and sale (7 men, 5 women). Correspondingly, more women than men perceived a reduction in food crops for consumption (14 men, 19 women), although this was not the case for decline in food crops to sell (19 men, 17 women). The reduction in sources of firewood would appear to be due to the extent of land clearance required for sugarcane production, coupled with an expansion of sugarcane monocropping in the area to the limits of the surrounding national park boundaries, where firewood collection is prohibited.

Several respondents commented that where children had been left unsupervised by their parents some children worked as casual labourers and/or truanted from school. There were some concerns expressed that girls were at particular risk of becoming pregnant if left alone without parental support for extended periods of time. These matters of concern require action to be taken by families, communities and KSCL in its community work. However, these problems should also be viewed in the context of the survey findings, which indicate that most people considered there had been a general improvement in children's welfare and education. KCCT has recently partnered with local government to provide infrastructure and equipment for maternal health facilities in the area. There is also a proposal for a girls' dormitory to be built at one of the local secondary schools to protect girls who might otherwise be vulnerable to abuse or sexual encounters on their long unaccompanied journey to school from other areas in the district.

Ultimately, however, the solution to the problem of declining household food security, family separation and children's vulnerability lies in a rethinking of land use and the scale of monocropping within the area. One group of villagers we met had taken steps to address the problem themselves by forming a rice farmers' group to enable them to grow rice in the village, alongside sugarcane. This was a mixed farmers' group, although the majority of members were women. They had collectively rented a farm in the village for rice-growing. They measured their success by the fact that they had been able to support their families and send their children to school. The government had provided subsidies, inputs and access to loans to support their efforts. Steps are now being taken by both families and KCCT to address the problem of land shortage for food crops. In the long term the rice farmers commented that rice was a more favourable crop – both commercially and for subsistence.

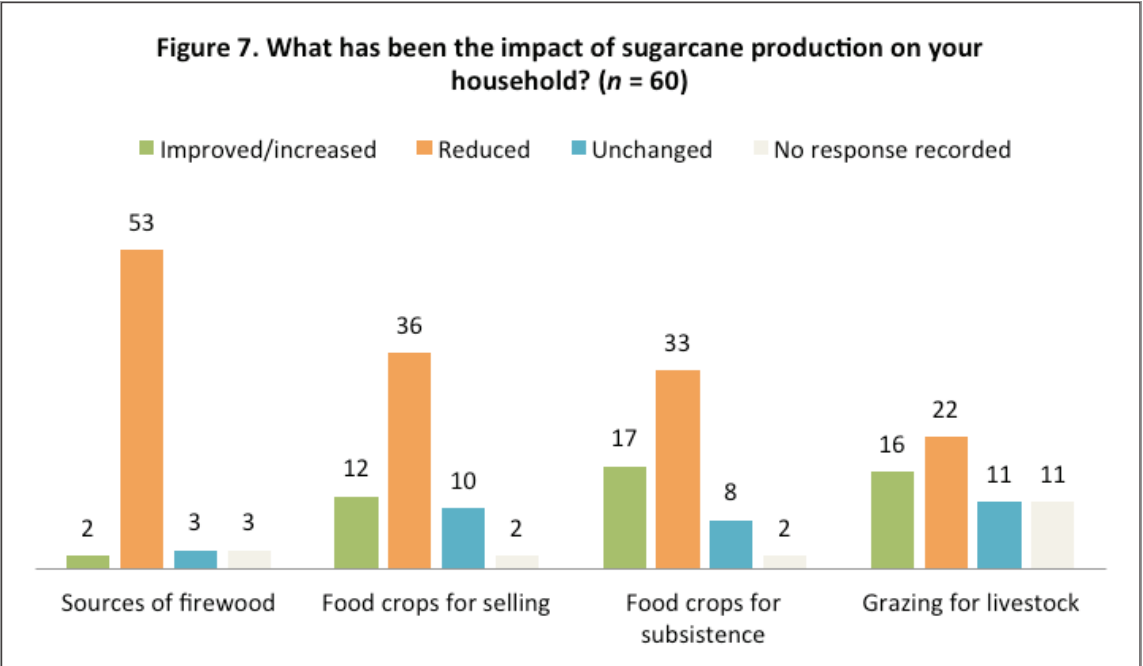
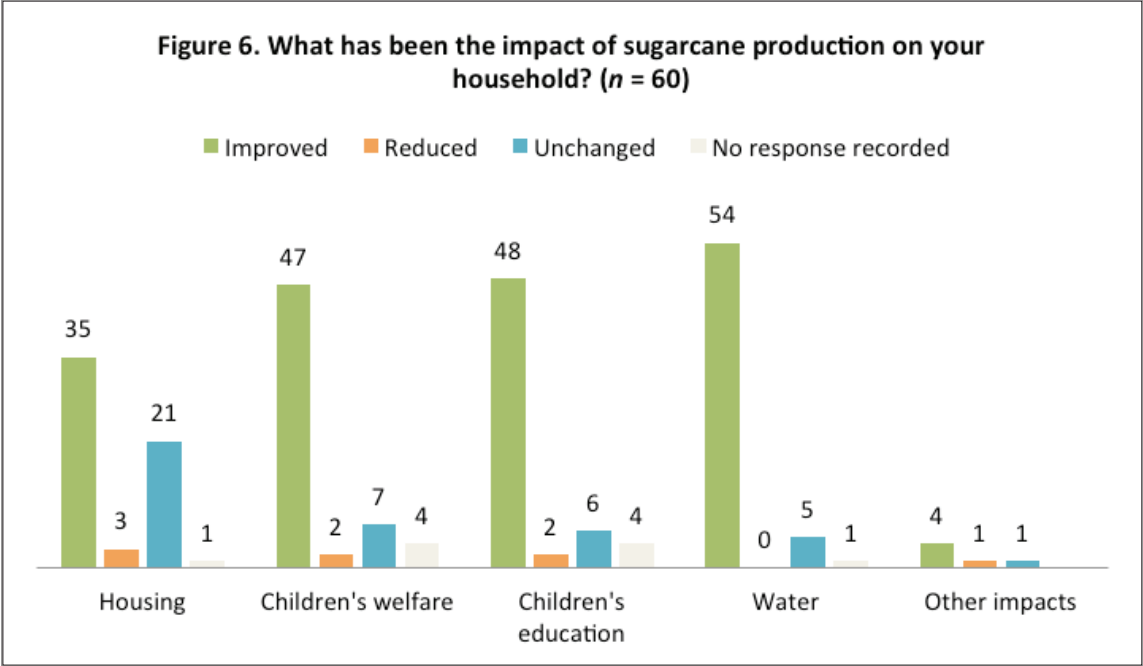


Photo 6: Rice farm at Msolwa Ujamaa (Helen Dancer, 2014)

It offers multiple yields per annum and does not have the same risks attached to harvesting and payments as canegrowing. More irrigation schemes that take account of the challenges associated with them (Cooksey 2012) and a strategic overview of land use within the area are needed, however, if smallholders are to maximise the social and economic opportunities and benefits of growing rice close to home.

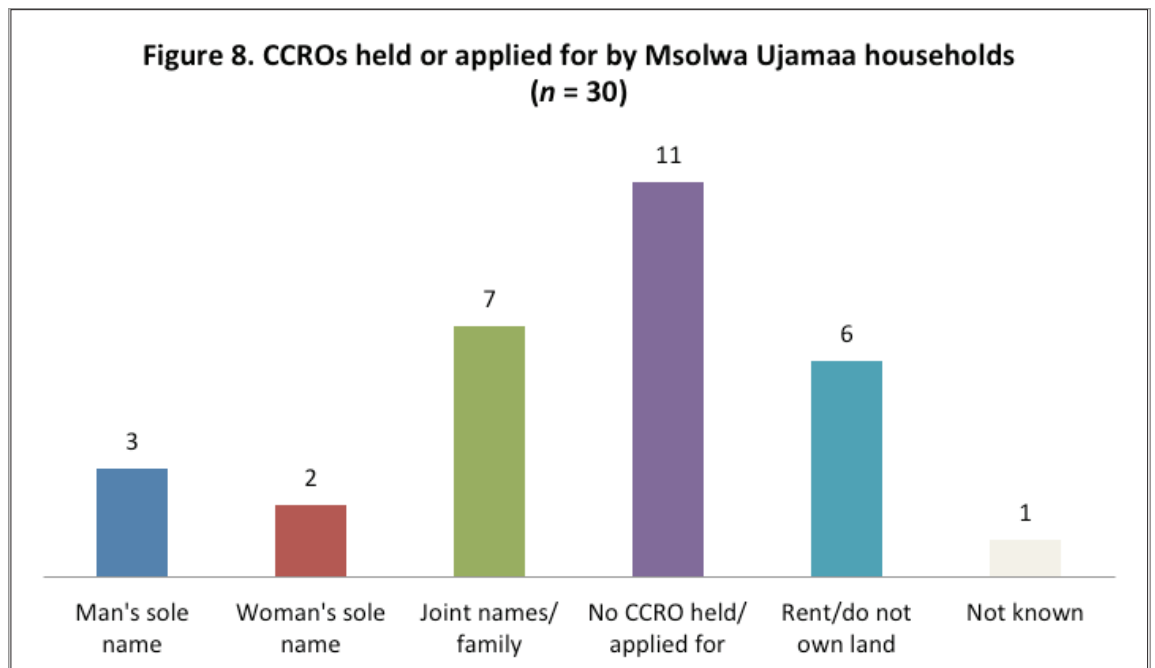
4.4. Land titling

Until recently, save for a few pilot projects, there had been very little progress in implementation of land titling under the Land Acts in rural Tanzania. However, the current policy on agricultural investment in rice and sugarcane production has led to a prioritising of accelerated titling programmes in strategic areas. SBT is working with MKURABITA in sharing geo-mapping data that has already been compiled for registering outgrowers' plots for sugarcane production (Interview with senior SBT representative, April 2014). Kilombero District is one such area where pilot titling projects under MKURABITA and Big Results Now are being implemented. The driving force is to identify surplus land which may be harnessed for investors. This will have a significant impact on access to and ownership of land for future generations within local rural communities (Sulle 2015). As at November 2013 there were 102 villages in Kilombero. All but 15 had been surveyed; however, some of these villages have subsequently been reconstituted as small townships, whilst others, including Sanje, have disputed boundaries (Interview with Kilombero District Land Officer, April 2014). Surveying is a necessary step towards villages acquiring their village land certificates. Under the Village Land Act 1999 village boundaries must

be defined and villages must hold a village land certificate before an individual within the village can apply for a Certificate of Customary Right of Occupancy (CCRO).

At the time of conducting our fieldwork in April 2014 ten villages in Kilombero District fell under the MKURABITA and Big Results Now pilot projects: Msolwa Ujamaa, Sonjo, Sanje, Mkula and Katarukila (MKURABITA); and Msolwa, Mpanga, Ngalimila, Viwanja Sitini and Matema (Big Results Now). Land titling was not yet in progress in all of these villages – for example in Sanje, where the dispute over village boundaries had yet to be resolved. This was confirmed in our survey, where only one out of 30 households held or had applied for a CCRO. In the exceptional case, the land in question had in fact been located in Msolwa Ujamaa village.

Msolwa Ujamaa received its village land certificate in July 2013 and in April 2014 it began the process of registering CCROs. The first wave of registration in Msolwa Ujamaa has focused specifically on sugarcane farmers. We were informed that approximately 660 CCROs were in the process of being registered (Interview with Msolwa Ujamaa Village Executive Officer, April 2014). At the time of our fieldwork the initial list of applicants had been posted on the walls of the village office for inspection. Both men's and women's names appeared on the lists and many people had applied for certificates for multiple plots of land. At the time of conducting our fieldwork, there were no gender-disaggregated figures available from the village or district to show the proportion of CCROs being registered in men's, women's or joint names. However, our own small survey in Msolwa Ujamaa suggests a spread of sole and joint titling in both men's and women's names in practice (Figure 8).



During our fieldwork the issue of land titling in the village was explored in two focus group discussions – one with four members of a women farmers’ group, and one with members of a rice farmers’ group, attended by seven women and two men. The women farmers’ group described a meeting of the village assembly where officials from MKURABITA had come to explain the idea of titling to them. The names of some 700 cane farmers had already been identified and were read out to the village assembly. The women described initial resistance to the idea of titling by some farmers. MKURABITA officials came back a second time to emphasise the benefits for villagers of obtaining a CCRO as part of a village titling programme. Villagers were also informed of how CCROs could be used to apply for loans and to provide more tenure security for their children. The women said that this encouraged more villagers to accept the titling proposals. All of the women in the focus group discussion said that they liked the idea of land titling as it gave them the possibility to recognise what belonged to them. They also supported including the names of husband, wife and other family members on the title.

In the focus group discussion with the rice farmers everyone present said that they wanted their land to be formally titled. There was some discussion amongst the group as to whether land was being registered in the sole name of a man or woman or held as a family. One woman said that in the case of family land they would agree together as a family that one person may hold the land on behalf of the rest of the family. She added that some husbands insist that the land is held in the man’s sole name to prevent disputes between the children. However, the focus group participants also said that in most cases they thought the land would be held as a family. In such cases, a man who was married would record his wife and children on the CCRO of each plot owned by the family. The survey results reflect the views expressed in the discussion.

The group was asked what they thought about the principle of equal rights to land for men and women. One man said that he thought what was needed was a change of mindset, and that the government is trying to do this. He believed that in the next few years this would happen as more children are educated at secondary level. He saw male domination as a thing of the past, but added that ‘equal rights’ was not about women dominating men. Another woman member of the group agreed, adding ‘*Tunajua haki sawa*’ (We know [it’s] equal rights).

Our survey was small, but did not reveal any strong correlation between mode of acquisition of land – whether by inheritance, purchase, allocation or cultivation – and the decision to record the names of other family members on the CCRO. This finding may be contrasted with titling programmes in Kenya (Kenya Land Alliance 2004; Shipton 2009; Joireman 2008; Ensminger 1997; Mackenzie 1993) and other regions of Tanzania, where patriarchal social relations and patrilineal land tenure practices appear comparably stronger. A Tanzanian study by Pedersen

and Haule (2013) contrasts the proportion of land titles held in men’s and women’s names following recent pilot projects under the Business Environment Strengthening for Tanzania (BEST) programme in Babati and Bariadi Districts, and an NGO-led project in Kiteto District. Whereas the BEST pilot project was primarily focused on business interests, the NGO-led project had integrated women’s land rights into its title implementation activities for a number of years. The precise figures are unclear; however, the highest unpublished figures indicate that up to 25 percent of titles under the BEST project were registered in female or joint names, in contrast to 35 percent following the NGO-led project. Therefore, prevalence of titling in women’s and joint names was at least 10 percent higher in the NGO project area.

The pattern of land titling reported elsewhere differs significantly from the pattern observed in the present study. District level figures are needed in order to confirm the small sample found in this study; however, the experience of Msolwa Ujamaa offers important lessons for future land titling initiatives in Tanzania. These preliminary findings suggest that local norms of land-holding in the village are not strongly gendered. This may in part reflect the village’s *Ujamaa* history, where male and female villagers have historically been allocated plots on an equal basis. It may also in part reflect the high levels of migration into the village from different regions of Tanzania. Against this social and political backdrop, land titling initiatives in Msolwa Ujamaa have been met with a positive response by many male and female sugarcane farmers in the village, who have been given the opportunity to acquire title. The findings here are locally specific and small, but illustrate that in an area where it is common for both men and women to hold land, both sexes have sought to have their names recorded on CCROs. In the majority of cases in our sample, households were applying for titles on a joint or family basis. Systematic collation of gender-disaggregated figures for CCRO pilot projects is, however, needed to confirm the extent of any gender-differentiated impact in land titling on a wider scale. For future land titling initiatives it will be important to look at local social practices of landholding in an area as a predictor of how this will translate into gender differentiation in land titling. Studies suggest that good local leadership, community cohesion and spaces for debate – including women-only spaces – are critical factors to the implementation of titling activities (Knight 2011).

4.5. Participation

In the context of agricultural investment, the RAI voluntary guidelines of 2014 emphasise the importance of developing processes which ‘enhance women’s meaningful participation in partnerships, decision-making, leadership roles, and the equitable sharing of benefits’ (CFS 2014). The importance of gender balance in decision-making and leadership processes has been recognised in domestic law and policy on land

governance, but is less apparent in policy formulation on agricultural commercialisation and investment. The Land Acts of 1999, and other local government legislation, include provisions which make a conscious attempt to increase the participation of women in land governance institutions. This includes a minimum number of female representatives in local land administration institutions and dispute resolution fora, as well as quotas for female councillors at district level.

Despite the local history of *Ujamaa*, as at April 2014, there was a low level of participation by women in leadership positions within the district and the study villages. At local government level the vice-chair of Kilombero District Council was a woman. Besides the seven special seats on the council that were reserved for women, only one of 23 other ward councillors in the district was a woman. There were just two female chairpersons at village level in the district. At Msolwa Ujamaa seven out of 25 village council members were women. District Council officials told us that at *kitongoji* level women put themselves forward for positions. In terms of popular participation, the registers for village assembly meetings that were available to us to view at Msolwa Ujamaa village office indicated that a significant proportion – although less than 50 percent of villagers that attended meetings – were women.

The local picture is somewhat contrasting with more senior levels of management in the sugarcane sector. The Board of Directors of SBT represents key stakeholders in the industry. Members are appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture and the chair is appointed by the President of Tanzania. In April 2014, whilst approximately half of SBT's 37 employees were women, the most recent Board had been composed entirely of men. At the leadership level in canegrowers' associations within Kilombero, only one of 15 association chairpersons was a woman. The treasurer of Msolwa Ujamaa canegrowers' association was also a woman. Both men and women are employed as agricultural extension officers in the local area.

What gender issues are raised by the male dominance of leadership positions in canegrowers' associations? Our research did not disclose evidence of a difference in treatment of registered canegrowers in terms of their ability to get cane harvested based on gender. To confirm this would require a detailed gender-disaggregated study of cane harvesting statistics across the different associations. It was apparent from our interviews and conversations with local people that it was not uncommon for villagers to pay bribes to get their cane harvested. Hence where there are obstacles to cane harvesting due to favouritism, anecdotal evidence suggests that this is linked to the economic status of the household and size of land-holding, rather than the gender of the registered canegrower.

In April 2014, of the 15 local canegrowers' associations, only Muungano canegrowers' association had a female chairperson. The constitutions of canegrowers'

associations vary; however, often a higher threshold of land ownership – for example ten acres (4ha) – is a prerequisite for leadership positions. Moreover, it is not unusual for chairpersons of canegrowers' associations to own far in excess of 40ha (100 acres) of land. Like other association chairpersons, Muungano's chairwoman owned a very substantial acreage of land that she had inherited. In an interview, she recalled that she had started her own association due to the difficulties she and other outgrowers had experienced in getting their cane harvested. She mobilised ten farmers; she was the only woman amongst them, but they wanted her to be the leader, telling her '*Chereko chereko na mwenye mwana*' (You have to be part of the dance). By April 2014 her association's membership had grown from 65 members to 284 – currently 91 women and 193 men. Whilst she was the only woman on the Board of Trustees, five out of ten members of the association's council were women. By comparison, Sanje canegrowers' association had 379 members of which 119 were women. At Msolwa Ujamaa canegrowers' association, of the 956 members in 2014, 456 were women and 494 were men. All executive committee members were men (women hadn't contested).

Why don't women contest for leadership positions in canegrowers' associations? Muungano's chairwoman said this was a question that she was often asked, but that it was difficult to give a simple answer. She reflected that women need access to capital because canegrowing is capital-intensive. There is also a need for farming education and extension services. Equally, she added that it was important to move away from the idea that women can't do it and move to a new system where we believe women can do it. A further explanation given by one male canegrowers' association secretary lay in the working conditions of leadership in sugarcane production. At harvest time leadership involves going to the fields at night, as harvesting and loading is done day and night within a 24 hour period. Women do not want to be out at night. Our interview data as a whole, however, revealed that leadership positions in canegrowers' associations in practice often require social or economic capital – whether a large acreage of land, or connections. In many ways the experience and background of Muungano's chairwoman is the exception that proves the rule. It is possible for women to access leadership positions within canegrowers' associations, but, just as men, they require the social or economic capital and confidence to be successful.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

The nucleus estate–outgrower model at KSCL has been identified by policymakers as a successful business model upon which to base a national strategy for the commercialisation of sugarcane and rice production in Tanzania. However, our survey findings show that there are barriers to entry into outgrowing for men

and women in Kilombero. In practice most villagers are given little start-up assistance in producing a very capital-intensive crop. It is notable that despite these challenges, our findings confirm Mbilinyi and Semakafu's (1995) observation that local people in Kilombero still want to stay on their land and produce for the available market, rather than work as unskilled labourers for the company. These findings reflect a wider view amongst proponents of large-scale agricultural investment: poverty reduction and rural development is better addressed by considering smallholders as farmers and not as company workers (Poulton et al. 2008). A further common finding in the literature on commercial agriculture is that there is a need for greater support for both male and female smallholder farmers in terms of public investment in the provision of goods and services such as extension services, irrigation and road infrastructure, so that they are able to access markets. This finding is reiterated here and will be an important factor for ensuring that policy implementation under SAGCOT and Big Results Now is truly inclusive.

The perspective of many people in the villages close to KSCL is that sugarcane production has brought both positive and negative impacts to their households. Our survey shows local people's perceptions of positive impacts on housing, children's education and welfare generally, and access to water. However, the practice of sugarcane monocropping over some 20,000ha in Kilombero has also resulted in several negative socio-economic impacts, particularly concerning food crop production, livestock keeping and sources of energy (firewood), all of which are important for household food security and nutrition.

Local outgrowers made the transition from food crop production to sugarcane in the hope of improving their livelihoods. However, uncertainties in the sugarcane market at a local and national level mean that families have no guarantee that their cane will be harvested. At the same time families face increased household food insecurity due to dependence on sugarcane revenues. Sugarcane is a tall crop that also provides a nesting site for crop-eating birds. Local villagers commented that this made it impracticable and risky to grow food crops on a small scale in an area that was otherwise surrounded by cane. Families have responded to these problems in various ways. Many families have looked for extra land further afield to grow some food crops. However, this has the consequence of increased costs associated with farming in two separate areas, family separation and, in some cases, difficulties in ensuring that children are adequately supervised and protected when their parents are farming away from home.

Some concerns have been expressed over girls' vulnerability to sexual encounters if left alone by their parents for extended periods. KCCT has worked in partnership with some local schools and clinics to improve maternal health facilities and provide dormitory accommodation in schools for children who travel extended distances to school. However, such

measures, whilst addressing symptoms, do not address root causes. Local farmers' groups in the study villages are alert to the problems and have taken collective action on a small scale to pool resources for livestock-keeping or growing rice collectively close to home. However, more irrigated areas for rice farms and other crops are needed to make this a possibility for the local population as a whole. Ultimately, the solutions to problems of household food insecurity and family separation lie in the wider political economy. At a business and policy level companies and governments must work together to formulate policy which allows for a move away from monocropping towards greater crop diversity in local areas and ensure that cheap imports of sugar do not jeopardise the livelihoods of local producers.

In terms of employment within the company, one of the most significant gender-differentiating impacts we found was the relative decline in women's permanent employment at KSCL since privatisation. The workforce in 2014 is one-quarter of the size it was in 1992, prior to privatisation. The majority of job cuts have been permanent positions, and the impact on female employees has been proportionately greater than on men. Across the workforce a disproportionate number of women continue to occupy the lowest paid jobs at KSCL and few reach senior grades. There are many reasons for this. One is that the pool of female skilled labour in the agricultural sector is small owing to the relatively small proportion of women who acquire the necessary technical and professional qualifications. A second is the casualisation of the workforce post-privatisation in favour of seasonal migrant employment. These are employment conditions which are largely only attractive to young men from other regions, who are in a position to leave their families for months at a time in search of livelihood opportunities.

In order to make employment at KSCL a realistic and attractive prospect for both men and women the company will need to invest more in permanent employment positions so that families are not forced to separate. However, the company's capacity to invest in its workforce is in part limited by the viability of the domestic sugar market. Macroeconomic factors such as cheap sugar importation, and the limited processing capacity of the factory at KSCL, have created problems for the company and local farmers alike. Policy interventions are needed to strengthen the capacity of Tanzanian cane-growers and the domestic market, increase the possibility of more girls studying science subjects, and create favourable working conditions for both men and women in Kilombero.

The business model for outgrowing at KSCL is to some extent inclusive for both men and women. Our study reveals that in 2014 approximately one-third of registered outgrowers in the study villages were women. However, the reasons for the relative inclusivity of men and women in sugarcane production in Kilombero appear to lie not in the business model itself, but in the social and

economic history of the area. Both of the villages in our study grew as a result of *Ujamaa* policies. Historically, men and women have been allocated equal plot sizes for farming by the village. Customary practices of land tenure are not a feature of land-holding in either of the survey villages. Purchase and allocation of land within the villages is just as common as acquisition by inheritance. In addition, steady migration levels into the area over time have created a market for sale and lease of land.

Local patterns of land-holding which are relatively gender-equitable have in turn set the scene for both men and women to be able to gain access to the sugarcane market as outgrowers. Our provisional findings on gender and recent land titling in Msolwa Ujamaa also indicate that women's names are likely to appear on the majority of titles, whether as joint owners or individuals. Full district level data is awaited to confirm these initial findings. If confirmed, they would compare favourably with land titling projects in northern rural parts of Tanzania where women's names on titles are in the minority – even after extended programmes of gender sensitisation. Both male and female villagers we met in Msolwa Ujamaa were in favour of titling and saw advantages in terms of tenure security and opportunities to raise capital. However, risks of female marginalisation associated with land titling projects in Tanzania have been documented elsewhere. A recent systematic review of land property rights interventions in developing countries concludes that whilst tenure security is important, any tenure reform may have negative social effects on women's access to land and displacement of the poor (Lawry et al. 2014: 11). In Msolwa Ujamaa the conditions for gender-equitable outcomes in land titling are favourable. They point towards the kinds of socio-economic and village management conditions that are necessary for ensuring greater gender equity in land tenure reform.

Wider lessons from the research

What wider lessons can be drawn from this study to address the current challenges and gender imbalances within commercial agriculture and their implications for the wider political economy?

1. **Context matters:** the history and local political economy of an area has a very significant impact upon the way that agrarian reform and new agricultural business models are implemented in practice, and their implications for gender relations. In the study villages, an important legacy of *Ujamaa*, coupled with high levels of migration into the villages to the present day, is that landholding between the sexes is relatively equitable. This appears to have had significant consequences for gender equity in

terms of land titling and women's participation in local level structures and as registered outgrowers.

2. **Both gender and class affect the levels of participation of women in partnerships, decision-making and leadership roles** within the sugarcane sector and local institutions. Changing social attitudes to gender equality is one factor affecting this, but the social and economic capital and confidence of individuals is also critical for women to participate and lead on an equal basis with men.
3. **Within the sugarcane industry, privatisation, mechanisation and casualisation of the employed labour force has disproportionately affected women's employment.** In order to redress this gender imbalance, the trend towards casualisation needs to be reversed in favour of more permanent employment opportunities. To ensure equal pay between men and women for farm work, rates of pay for tasks that are largely performed by women, such as weeding, need to be brought into line with the higher wages paid for work traditionally performed by men, such as fertiliser application and cane-cutting. Policy interventions that strengthen the capacity of the domestic sugar market are also needed to facilitate improvements in working conditions and increase productivity for the company and outgrowers alike.
4. **Increased monocropping of sugarcane in the context of an unstable domestic sugar market has a negative impact on household food security and family life of outgrowers.** Family separation, caused by land scarcity for food crops in monocropping areas, poses a risk to children left without parental support, particularly girls. The initiatives of local farmers' groups in addressing these issues need to be supported through public investment in the provision of extension services, irrigation and road infrastructure. This also requires policymakers and companies to step back from monocropping and facilitate greater crop diversity within local areas. This would promote economic stability within the household and local economy, improve household food security and enable men and women to access markets and keep their families together.

End Notes

- 1 See the invitation for the expression of interest for the sugarcane and rice site at: <http://www.sagcot.com/news/newsdetails/artikel//>

[invitation-for-expression-of-interest-for-the-tender-of-the-mkulazi-site/](#)

- 2 The March 2014 official exchange rate of US\$1 = 1,634 Tanzanian Shillings has been used throughout this paper.

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Appendix

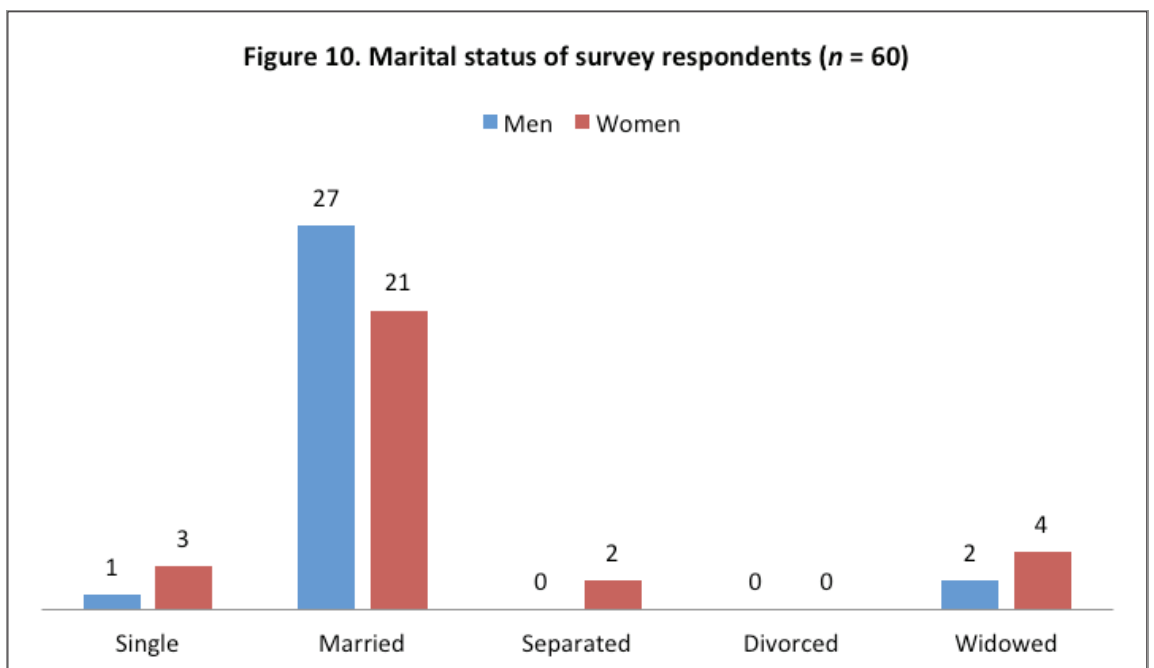
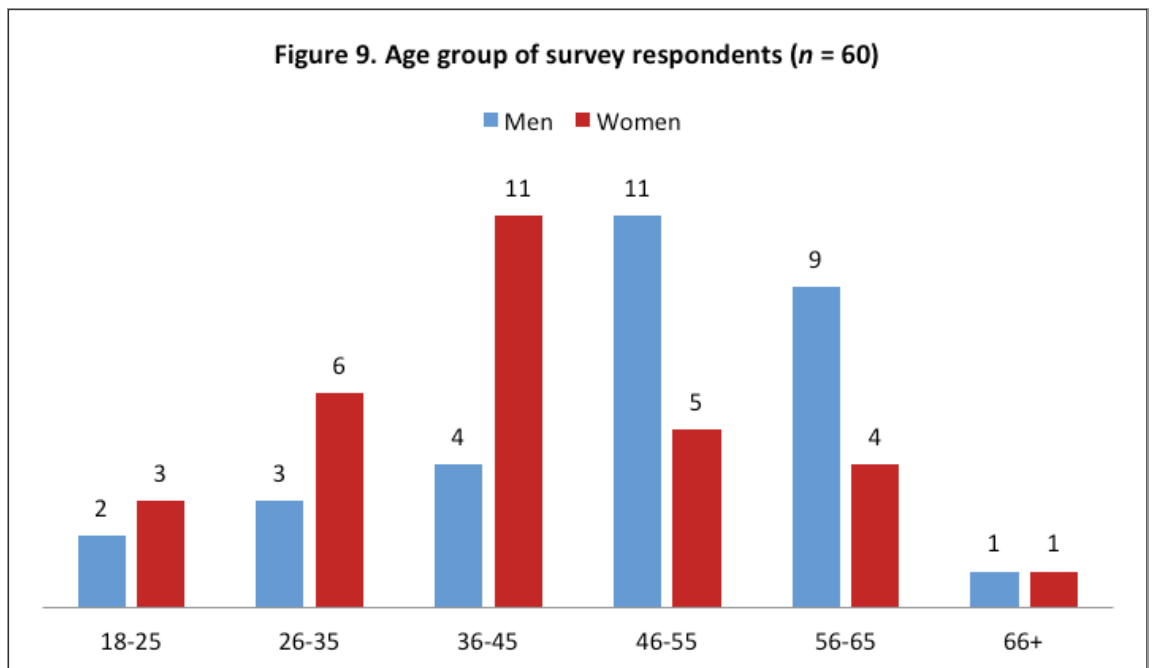


Figure 11. Educational background of survey respondents (n = 60)

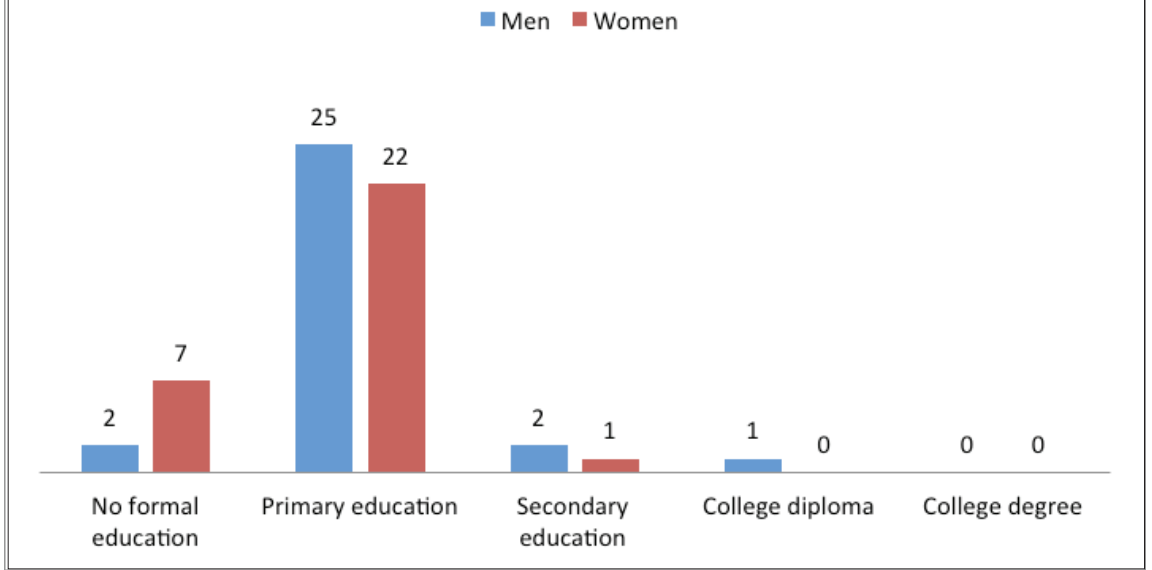


Figure 12. Birthplace of survey respondents (n = 60)

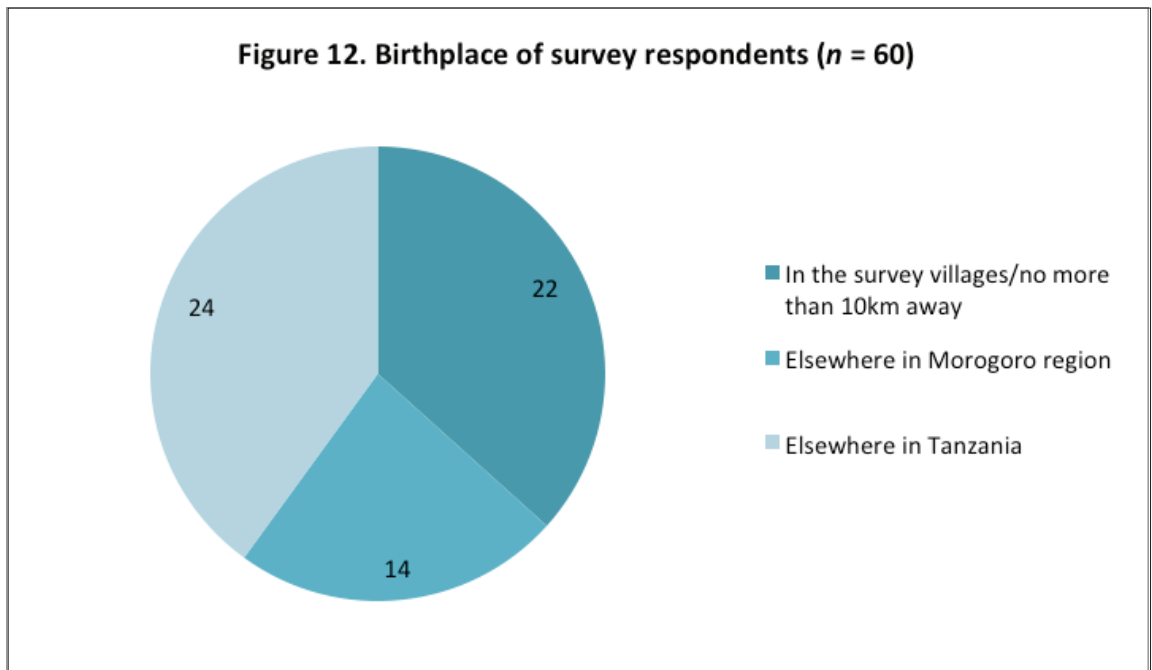
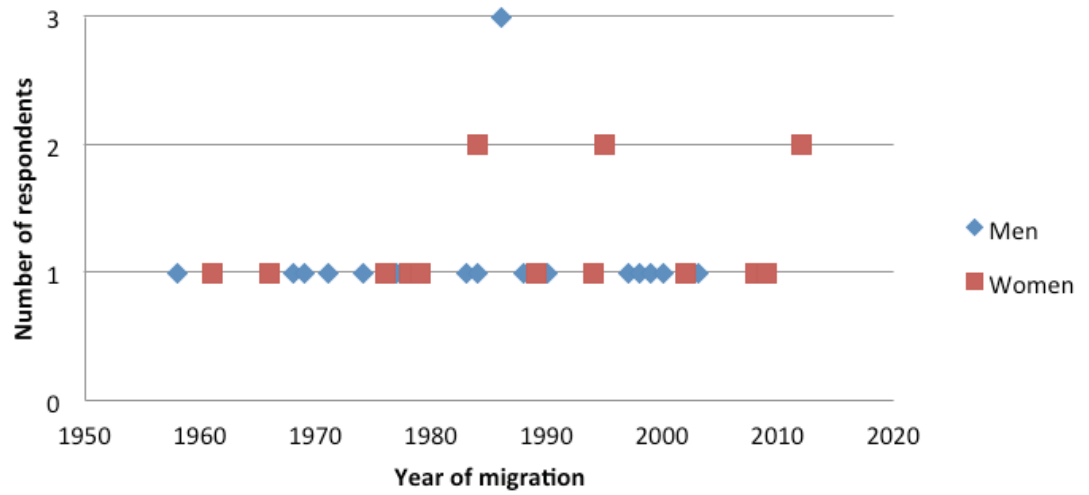


Figure 13. Year of migration of survey respondents born more than 10km from survey villages (n = 38)



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