

ATTITUDES OF TANZANIAN HUSBANDS TOWARDS THE EMPLOYMENT OF THEIR WIVES

By

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INTRODUCTION

This article provides a summary (1) and implications of a study of the personal attitudes of over 2,000 husbands and/or husbands-to-be towards the employment of their wives and/or wives-to-be in Tanzania. It stems from a long term research project conducted between 1975–1979 aimed at the description and understanding of the personal attitudes of husbands and their impact on female employment opportunities.

The choice for the study of husbands' attitudes as a factor in the employment opportunities of women, was made because of our belief that, in the face of government policy and/or legislation (2) against barring women to take up wage employment, there can be no general male antipathy towards it that could openly be shown; or even if it were, have an adverse influence on their actual engagement in paid jobs.

On the other hand, it was believed that, even if a general male support existed for female employment, it would still need the 'ratification' of it by each individual man when it comes to his own wife's employment, if such a support is to have an effective positive influence. This is because traditionally, the status of a woman in Tanzania vis-a-vis her husband is that of a minor person, (3) and as such, she may neither be able without the consent of her husband to engage in an independent profession or occupation, nor refuse if told by him to do so (4).

Thus, indeed, the only source area of such opposition and/or support if it is to have an effective adverse or positive influence respectively, on the actual engagement of women in paid jobs, has to be that which involves a private life and relationship, that is, in marriage, in which a man has some 'sovereignty' over his wife and discretion on the issue of her economic activities.

It was therefore thought that the only male attitude that will or can have an appreciable positive or negative influence on female employment opportunities is that of husbands rather than that of the male population in general. As a result, it was decided that this study rather than discuss the general male attitude towards female employment, would be far better to confine itself to that which matters more, i.e. the attitude of husbands and/or husbands-to-be.

Indeed, this reasoning led to the hypothesis proposed here and which underlie this study that: «Since one of the social activities which both parents and girls in Tanzania value most is Marriage and the consequent activities of reproduction (5); and since the majority of Tanzanian women are married, or intend to get married (6); the poor representation

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of women in the labour force (7) in general, and certain occupation in particular, is mainly due to the unfavourable attitude of husbands and/or husbands-to-be towards their wives' employment outside their homes and/or those types of occupations. The argument being advanced here is that the attitude of husbands and/or husbands-to-be tends to dampen the wives' and/or wives'-to-be enthusiasm to take up wage employment and/or join certain occupations when and if these are not viewed favourably by their husbands and/or husbands-to-be, lest they break their marriages or lose their chances of contracting marriages respectively.

THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Our starting point is the individual employed husband and/or husband-to-be. Our interest is his personal values and opinions and what they tell us about his attitude towards the employment of his wife and/or the type of occupation that he can allow her to take.

The sample selection procedure was designed to obtain a diverse group of husbands and/or husbands-to-be, in terms of socio-economic and cultural variables (age, income, ethnicity and geographical location). The sample came from more than fifty districts of mainland Tanzania. These were grouped into three income categories. The number of husbands and/or husbands-to-be in each income category were as follows:

Low income (i.e. shillings/8)	380-510	800
Middle income (i.e. shillings/8)	511-1000	800
High income (i.e. shillings/8)	over 1000	800
Total		2,400

In summary we are therefore dealing with over 2000 husbands and/or husbands-to-be from a variety of districts and ethnic groups. The men come from different socio-economic and cultural groups and represent the major groups of men in the country. They are an experienced group; the average number of years spent in wage employment is about ten, while the average age in our total sample is about thirty years. For those married, the average number of years spent in marriage is about fourteen.

It should, however, be noted that not all the variables and/or factors mentioned will be used in the analysis presented in this article. This is due as earlier stated to space limitations. They will, however, be fully used in the comprehensive study report now in preparation.

METHODS OF STUDY

The main method used in data collection was a questionnaire comprising both closed and open questions which the respondents had to answer in our presence. (Some of these questions and their responses have been tabulated here in tables one and two). The questionnaire was presented to the respondents in Swahili, a language widely spoken and understood by every one in Tanzania.

In addition to the questionnaire, we also conducted some informal interviews and/or conversations, again in Swahili with some of the respondents. This method proved very fruitful for it helped in eliciting some informations, attitude and/or opinions which could not have been obtained from the responses to the questionnaire. These were in fact used as a means of cross checking the validity of these responses.

Finally, a bit of observation was also made when we paid visits to twenty-nine dual worker families and thirty-two of those families in which only the men worked. This was an attempt to learn something on how the partners in these two types of families interact and relate to each other in the home. Although we were aware that whatever findings that we would make from these observations could not easily be used in the analysis of this study due to difficulties of quantifying such findings, we believed that they would, nevertheless, provide us with some insight in our attempt to understand the attitudes and opinions of husbands on the question of their wives' employment.

SUMMARY OF STUDY RESULTS

Table one shows that although the feeling that a wife should seek and get the permission of her husband before she takes up wage employment is still very strong among Tanzanian husbands and husbands-to-be; the traditional male objection to their employment is becoming increasingly less and less strong compared to the pre-independence era. This may be due to the socio-cultural changes in the society that came with increased western education among both men and women (10) and the emergence of socialist ideology in the country which emphasized the equality of all human beings irrespective of sex, race, colour or religion (11). This ideology also extolled the value and need for every able bodied person to work. Thus mere 'housewifing' of the traditional type was not only seen as unsocialistic but also as outmoded and old fashioned by both men and women themselves (12).

This is exhibited by the fact that more than half of the husbands and/or husbands-to-be, do not or would not openly oppose the employment of their wives provided that:

(i) they are not taking up jobs that would require them to travel many times away from home/their station, and/or stay late at the place of work, or take some of their work home;

(ii) their positions are lower than their husbands' in the occupational hierarchy;

(iii) their jobs yield a smaller portion of the family exchequer and do not claim control over it (13). Thus logically very few (less than one third) of them have, or would be prepared to take for wives women who are academically/professionally better qualified or earn more, or are more highly placed, than themselves.

Indeed, it is possible that because men look for all these conditions before they decide to marry a working girl; or allow their wives to look for a job, only two fifths (43.4%) of them are actually having working

wives. This is despite the desire of many of them both married (56.7%) and those who aspire to marry (62.8%) to have their wives or future wives working respectively. Indeed, it is most likely therefore that girls and parents who (as stated earlier) value marriage and the consequent activities of reproduction much more than any other socio-economic activity, will shun those occupations and/or qualifications which will make the former less acceptable in the marriage market. Such occupations and/or qualifications will be unpopular among girls and their parents because they are unpopular to men as female occupation and/or qualifications. The result of such attitude and values system of both men and women, will obviously be a limitation in the employment opportunities of the latter.

Thus Tanzanian women if they want to expand and/or improve their employment and advancement opportunities have yet to change such attitude and social value system with regards to matrimony and child-bearing and heed Guinean President Sekou TOURE's advice that:

«... the woman's first husband must be her work, since work never fails to give her both responsibility and economic security» (14).

Unless this is done, it is obvious that female employment opportunities will be dictated by male tastes and values; and unless these change from the present stance which is largely conservative to a more liberal and/or progressive one, female employment opportunities will remain limited both in structure and scope.

It is, however, interesting to note that, apart from the restrictive conditions men demand for the employment of their wives, some of their attitudes are facilitative to female employment. For instance, nearly half of them do or would regard their wives as 'workers first and wives second' (15) (48.4%), and would not oppose 'their bringing some of their work home' (49.3%). These attitudes will inevitably lead to a relaxation of some of the restrictive conditions, thereby opening further the opportunities of employment hitherto closed to them.

Perhaps the most important of all these facilitative male attitudes, and the finding of which is contrary to our expectation, is their increasing willingness to help their wives in the house chores e.g. cooking, cleaning, laundry, child care etc... (16). Indeed, such increased participation of husbands in routine household tasks will inevitably make the wives' employment outside their homes more feasible by lessening the demands of their conventional home makings.

On the question of what occupations are suitable for women, the attitude of men is generally a reflection of the existing sex role stereotype. More than four fifths of them gave the traditional female occupations of clerical/quasi clerical; medical/quasi medical and teaching/quasi teaching (in short those jobs which involve human contact and/or service to others), as the most suitable for women with any amount of education.

Only less than two percent gave technical and/or related occupations as being suitable for women of whatever academic qualifications. Even for women with only primary education, only 1.3 per cent of the

Table One — Men's Attitude Toward the Employment of their Wives

	Yes	No	Total	N(a)
Are you married?	48.5	51.5	100.0	2400
If 'yes', is your wife working?	43.4	56.6	100.0	1152
If 'no.', are you prepared to let her look for a job?	56.7	43.3	100.0	652
If not married, are you planning to marry a worker?	62.8	37.2	100.0	1248
If you are married to a worker, was she before you married her?	76.4	23.6	100.0	500
Do you generally support the idea of women working?	56.2	43.8	100.0	2410
If you are married or plan to get married to a worker:				
a) do/will you regard her as a worker first and a wife second?	48.4	51.6	100.0	2324
Did/does/will your wife need to ask for your permission to take up a job or continue working?	67.4	32.6	100.0	2400
Does/will your wife if working have control over her earnings?	51.7	48.3	100.0	2318
Would you allow your wife to take up a job that needs:				
a) to stay late at the place of work?	40.0	60.0	100.0	2360
b) a lot of travelling away from her station?	38.9	61.1	100.0	2356
c) to take some of her work home?	49.3	50.7	100.0	2384
Would you tolerate for the sake of boosting up family income to let your wife take up a job that fits her low education but not your status?	18.6	81.4	100.0	2400
If your wife is/were a worker do/ would you help her in her household duties e.g. laundry, cooking, child care, dish-washing, sweeping the house etc. in order to lessen her over load resulting out of her dual role?	52.5	47.5	100.0	2186
Would you be happy if your wife is/were:				
a) more highly placed than you?	22.8	77.2	100.0	2098
b) earning more than you?	30.6	69.4	100.0	2196
c) better qualified than you?	16.4	83.6	100.0	2010

(a) Only those to whom the question applied and/or answered it have been recorded here.

men gave domestic science oriented jobs as suitable for them. It is thus obvious that, with this attitude of men towards occupations for which women have a natural inclination and in which they would have a big advantage over men, their occupational opportunities will further be limited, since these will not take them up since men do not want them to.

An attempt was also made to find out the reasons why men favour or oppose female employment, so that the future employment opportunities of women may be placed on focus. To the questions: 'Why do/would you allow your wife to take up wage employment'; the majority (51.2%) of the respondents gave 'the need to lessen leisure and idleness which might breed prostitution among housewives in towns', and 'money or money related reasons' as the answer (17).

These men believe that, when a woman is kept busy earning money, or producing crops for the family, in the case of rural areas, then she has very little time if any, to be tempted; and in addition to that, the responsibility to cater for the family is also shared between the two partners. Money and the need to share the responsibility to feed the family is apparently one of the greatest motivations for those urban men who encourage their wives to work. It is a way of lessening the contradiction and tension in the family which normally develops after migration in the towns where one spouse — the wife — acquires much more leisure and the other — the husband, much more work than they were accustomed to, in the villages, where the latter were idle and the former busy for most of the time as President NYERERE once observed:

«It would be appropriate to ask our farmers, especially the men, how many hours a week and how many weeks a year they work. Many do not even work for half as many hours as the wage earner does. The truth is that in the villages the women work very hard. At times they work for twelve or fourteen hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. The men who live in villages and some of the women in towns are on leave for half of their lives. The energies of the millions of men in villages and thousands of women in towns which are at present wasted in gossiping, dancing and drinking are a great treasure which could contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations» (18).

Thus tension builds up in the family when the man finds himself in an unaccustomed role of being not only the bread winner but the sole family bread winner. Quite a good number of men are therefore, other conditions permitting, very likely to welcome the opportunity of having their wives working, not only as a means of curbing the possibility of prostitution but as a way of lessening their own burden by enabling them to contribute to the family income.

The relationship of socio-economic status of the husband to the employment of the wife is, however, not entirely clear from the findings. For if economics were the main point at issue, as the replies would suggest,

the men in the low income group followed by those in the middle income brackets, should respectively show the greatest and greater willingness for their wives to work. On the contrary, it was men in the high income group who overwhelmingly (68.5%) said they supported their wives to be employed. These were followed by those in the middle income group (58.2%). The poorest (low income) men were the least (40.7%) interested in a working wife. They seem prepared to go short rather than allow it (19).

The difference in attitude towards the employment of wives appears to stem from the absence of what would be regarded by the low and middle income men as suitable employment openings for their wives. The latter will always look for jobs for their wives that would favourably reflect on their middle socio-economic status. But with men's preference of marrying women with lower qualifications than themselves, most of these in the middle income group marry women with primary rather than secondary education (20). As a result, the better acceptable employment openings for them are not many. The majority of the occupations which are accessible to them will not be acceptable to their husbands e.g. domestic service and other related or similar jobs; factory hand; cleaner; messenger; hotel/bar waitress; chamber maid etc. The middle income man is then 'forced' to leave his wife home rather than let her have any job that fits her education but not his status.

The same applies for the men in low income group. Most of the wives of these men are illiterates or have education below that of primary school. The job opportunities for such calibre of women are almost nil (21) and the few that are, like cleaning/sweeping streets and public conveniences, ayah and other domestic chores in private households are again objectionable to most husbands, who would rather leave the wives at home than allow them to take up such jobs.

The high income men on the other hand with wives fairly educated are very likely to find them jobs or in jobs that are acceptable to them.

Since only slightly less than half of men in the sample oppose the employment of women outright, we thought it is important to find out why they do so, in order to know what has to be done to change such a male attitude and in order to improve employment opportunities for them. In response to an open ended question: 'If you are against the employment of wives, give one main reason why you are against it', the reasons listed in table two (22) were given.

The majority and most common reasons relate very specifically to the issue of possessiveness, suspicion and over protectiveness of men over females, and their general desire for the perpetuation of their dependence on, and inferiority vis-a-vis men and male chauvinism in general. The general male attitude towards women thus seems to be derived from the sex-role stereotype and male chauvinism, themselves being the result of traditional servile identity relationship between the two sexes. This is exemplified by MBWALE's comment which he once made that: —

«Some weeks ago, one woman... came up with the idea that the society should now consider as to how many days in a week a husband must do the washing, cooking, sweeping etc... This is completely unacceptable. From days immemorial, the kitchen has been part and parcel of a woman's life. This story will be valid up to doomsday. Another old story, is that of weapons being part and parcel of men's life. Whenever something dangerous invades a village, it is expected without questions, that men are to take up their weapons and combat the intruder» (23).

Most husbands, however, who opposed their wives working, explain that working 'spoils' a woman; but they tend to see this in either two different senses. Some meant a moral spoiling: 'If my wife earns money she becomes too independent and does what she likes. I cannot control her; for example she drinks and goes to a bar alone, and I think it is because she is employed' (low income man). 'A married woman who takes up employment of any kind, becomes cheeky and disobedient to her husband' (middle income man). 'The problem of a working wife is that she will need someone else to cook for her and look after her children; she meets too many men; also may admire her boss who might be more highly placed than her husband and so may easily be tempted by him (24); she is also very likely to demand equality at home' (high income man).

Other husbands, particularly those in the low income group, meant physical spoiling with implied fears for fertility: 'My wife' (said one low income man) 'is not to work because I cannot get any suitable employment for her; that is light work that would not ruin her health and thus ruin the chances of expected off-spring'. Other major fears are concerned with their getting expensive tastes which the husbands may not be able to satisfy, and the possibility of their acquiring higher status and salaries than that of their husbands which might later result in their looking down upon them.

Thus, indeed, it can in short be said that on top of other bad behaviours which may develop in working women, the neglect of the home and children as a result of the involvement of housewives in wage employment or the harmful effect on the balance of family relationship are the biggest fears harboured by most husbands (25).

CONCLUSION

Four major points can be raised from the findings made in this article. The first is that the two reasons – money and prevention of prostitution given by the supporters of married females' employment as the main motives, cannot be characterised as objective determinants. For, each one seems to motivate different individuals in different directions. For example, supporters of female employment say that they would like their wives 'to earn money in order to contribute to the family income'. Those who oppose it cite exactly the same earning power as the reason which

'compel' them to prevent their wives to take up wage employment lest they get spoilt by it by making them 'cheeky', too independent and disobedient.

Again, while supporters explain that 'employment keeps wives busy and they are left with no time for temptation'; the opponents of female employment bar their wives from it on the ground that 'it exposes them to too many men, thereby making them too loose and spoilt generally'.

Thus it is obvious that the factors which motivate men to allow or prevent their wives to take up wage employment are complex and should not be taken in a simplistic way. To a certain extent, perhaps, the various 'reasons' are invoked simply as rationalizations for preferences which may purely be personal and beyond the reach of statistical analysis.

The second point is that, though mentioned by many supporters of female employment, 'money' is not the decisive factor in the decision of husbands to allow their wives to take up wage employment. This is because it does not follow the expected logic, that the low income husbands would be the most permissive in so far as the opportunity of their wives to earn money is concerned.

The third point is that, since the majority get married; and are not prepared to jeopardize such a chance, to expand and/or improve future employment opportunities will depend on the change of attitude of: (i) men towards certain occupations with working conditions which they now oppose being taken up by their wives and/or wives-to-be; (ii) women themselves towards the whole question of marriage as advised by President Sekou TOURE that: «... the woman's first husband must be her work...»

The last point is that since men have some superiority complex in their relationship with women, the latter's employment opportunities will again depend on the change of attitudes of men, this time against marrying women with higher qualifications and income than themselves. Otherwise female education and so their employment will always have (as it is now or had been in the past) to be at lower levels than that of men if they are to preserve their marketability in the matrimonial market, unless, as suggested above, women themselves change their stand over the question of marriage.

In short therefore, it can rightly be argued that the present and future employment opportunities of women, as had been in the past, heavily depend on the attitudes and perception of men towards it and the expected consequent behaviour of employed women. Thus, indeed, the hypothesis we proposed at the beginning of this paper has largely been upheld.

FOOTNOTES

1. Space limitations make it impossible to present here detailed results of all our work. This will, however, be made in a comprehensive study report that is being prepared for other purposes.
2. The Law in Tanzania forbids discrimination in matters of employment based on sex, race, religion etc.. See for official stand on the issue Nyerere, J. K., *Freedom and Socialism*, Oxford University Press, Dar-es-Salaam, 1978, p. 5.

3. Jaribu, Pilli, 'Women in Thralldom', *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 16.10.77.
4. Ibid.; Although there is no law in Tanzania requiring a woman to have her husband's permission before she can take up wage earning employment, ethnic custom sometimes requires that the husband's permission should be sought and obtained before a woman can take up employment; but even if there is no such requirement in certain ethnic groups, in practice the husband's consent or agreement is sought; See ILO, *The Employment and Conditions of Work of African Women*, African Regional Conference. Report II Addis Ababa, 1964, p. 142, Table 8.
5. Chijumba, B.J., *Women in Wage Employment: A Study of their Opportunities, Needs and Problems in Tanzania*, Ph. D. Thesis in preparation to be submitted to the University of Dar-es-Salaam in 1980, ch. 2.
6. Ibid. ch. IV.
7. In 1974, women comprised only about 10% of the entire labour-force in Tanzania; see United Republic of Tanzania, *Survey of Employment and Earnings 1973-1974*, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Dar-es-Salaam, 1977, App. V(a) and V (b) pp. 51-52.
8. \$ 1 is roughly equivalent to shillings eight.
9. Chijumba, B.J., op. cit. ch. 2.
10. Ibid., ch. 3.
11. Ibid.
12. TANU, *The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy of Socialism and Self Reliance*, Published by the Publicity Section, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1967, p. 3; *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 8.8.76; see also Necylucumay Mubeya's letter to the Readers' Forum *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 27.8.78; Ngatara, Ludovic, 'Urban Women should Work' *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 4.12.77.
13. ILO, *ibid.*; In Tanzania, as the findings show, a woman is sometimes free to spend her earnings according to her wishes. But this as the ILO findings state depends mostly on family arrangements and agreements. It is therefore difficult to generalize. See also Pangani, Angelina, 'Wanawake Wapewe Haki Kazini', *Uhuru* (Tanzania) 18.2.77, for a report of cases in which husbands confiscate their wives' salaries. Such an act may to some degree act as a demotivator for a housewife to look for or remain in wage employment.
14. Quoted by Martin Cisse, Jeanne, Guinea's Extraordinary Ambassador in *Africa Woman*, No. 1 October/November, 1975 p. 34.
15. Despite this fact, it is still true that quite a good number (more than 50%) of husbands still regard their spouses as 'wives first and workers second' and reserve the right to stop them from work for any reason. See for examples of these A Special Correspondent, 'Pangs of Labour Among Women' *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 5.2.78; and Pangani, Angelina op. cit.
16. This finding is surprising for Tanzania whose society is more heavily based on sex role stereotype compared to those societies in the West whose findings are in direct contrast to this. See ILO, *International Comparative Research on Time Budgets - Report to the VIth World Congress of Sociology*, Evian, September 1966. An analysis of the findings of the country research is included in Govaerts, F., *Loisir des Femmes et Temps Libre*, (Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1969); and in *A Report to the XXIII International Congress of Sociology*, Caracas, 1972. See also ILO, *Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers*, International Labour Conference, 60th Session, Report VIII. Geneva, 1975 pp. 63-64.

17. Similar reasons were also given by men in Uganda, one of the East African Countries which is culturally very close to Tanzania. See Sofer, C., 'Urban African Social Structure and Working Group Behaviour at Jinja Uganda' in International African Institute, *Social Implications of Industrialization in Africa South of the Sahara* UNESCO, 1956, P. 619.
18. Nyerere, J. K., *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, Oxford University Press, Dar-es-Salaam, 1968, pp. 30-31. See also Ngatara, Ludovic op. cit. For further discussion of this point in other countries, see Forthome, Georges, *Mariage et Industrialisation*, Liège, 1957, pp. 43-5.
19. This is contrary to 'a general international findings that other things being equal, the proportion of working wives falls off the higher the husbands come on their country's income scale'. See for example Forgarty, Michael et al., *Sex, Career and Family*, George & Unwin (London) 1965 p. 28; Aregger, C.E. (ed.) *Graduate Women at Work*, Oriel (for British Federation of University Women) 1966, p. 33.
20. The men were asked: 'If you are married or plan to get married, what is or will be the educational level of your wife or wife-to-be?' Four levels of: (i) below primary; (ii) primary (I-VII or VIII); (iii) secondary (form I-VI) and (iv) over secondary, were suggested and the respondents were asked to tick off one of them as their choice. Out of the men who answered the question, the following are the statistics: *High income*: 5.8% over secondary; 53.2% secondary; 38.6% primary; none below primary education. *Middle income*: None above secondary; 34.4% secondary; 62.7% primary; none below primary education. *Low income*: None above secondary or secondary; 39.6% primary; 59.8% below primary education.
21. Some organizations now require primary education even for those jobs which were formerly offered to illiterates. See for example Swantz, Marja-Lisa et al., *Women Workers In Dar-es-Salaam*, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Research Paper No. 43, 1974, p. 8.
22. This list is shortened with the combination of those responses which were seen to be close to one another by putting a stroke between them.
23. Mbawale, Joachim, 'Women Must be Serious', *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 24.6.79; For similar views see also Makus, George J., 'Women's Motherly Obligations' *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 30.10.77.
24. This seems to be no idle fear in Tanzania. See for example of this: Mdoe, M.S. 'This Manager Makes Love in His Office', *Daily News* (Tanzania) 2.3.79; and Makus, George J., 'Women's Motherly Obligations', *Sunday News* (Tanzania) 30.10.77, who complained of married women who after sexual contact with their bosses, «identify themselves with the superior positions of the bosses at their places of work, so that back home their begin to look down upon their fellow workers - their husbands as inferior».
25. For similar findings elsewhere, see UN, 'The Participation of Women in Community Development', *International Social Service Review*, (United Nations Publication, Sales No. 60.IV.11), p. 53.

RESUME

Cet article qui se fonde essentiellement sur le dépouillement d'un questionnaire adressé à quelques 2000 Tanzaniens mariés et célibataires à propos de l'emploi des femmes mariées ou destinées au mariage, a pour but de regrouper les différentes opinions se rapportant à ce fait social et leur impact sur les chances réelles des tanzaniennes de trouver un emploi.

L'urbanisation et les difficultés financières et économiques résultant de la crise que traverse actuellement bon nombre d'économies poussent certains époux à accepter le travail salarié de leurs conjointes :

- a) pour éviter l'oisiveté, mère de tous les vices, et plus particulièrement, de la prostitution urbaine.
- b) pour constituer un apport financier appréciable au ménage.

Cependant, Beat J. CHIJUMBA précise que ces deux raisons ne peuvent pas être caractérisées comme des «déterminants objectifs», et ceci parce qu'elles semblent être le fer de lance des partisans aussi bien que des opposants au travail féminin en Tanzanie. En effet, pour ces derniers, la femme travailleuse et salariée a tendance à négliger ses tâches domestiques et à acquérir une certaine indépendance qui la rend «effrontée et désobéissante»; ils pensent encore que les tentations s'offrant à elles sont beaucoup plus nombreuses, tentations d'infidélité conjugale et tentations de complexe de supériorité vis-à-vis de leur conjoint. Ainsi, l'auteur lui-même reconnaît que dans ce cadre sociologique, la rationalisation est difficile, car les préférences sont tout à fait personnelles et les analyses statistiques n'y trouvent pas un terrain privilégié. En fait le mariage étant l'une des valeurs-clé de la Femme et de la Société tanzaniennes, et la Femme tanzanienne étant toujours considérée comme inférieure à son époux, son emploi et son statut social dépendent effectivement de l'attitude des hommes, qui se répartissent selon trois échelons dans cet article :

- les bas revenus qui sont les plus réticents; leurs épouses sont les plus souvent illettrées et les seuls emplois qui s'offrent à elles sont ceux de bonnes à tout faire, nourrices, balayeuses de rues... etc., ce que la plupart des maris refusent catégoriquement.
- les revenus moyens qui épousent des femmes ayant une instruction primaire et qui refusent que leurs partenaires acceptent des emplois pouvant dégrader leur statut socio-économique. Partant, les possibilités d'emploi pour ces femmes sont très limitées.
- les revenus élevés dont les femmes — le plus souvent des intellectuelles — ont un niveau d'instruction supérieur et peuvent trouver des emplois adéquats et satisfaisants.

Beat J. CHIJUMBA essaie alors de délimiter les raisons pro ou contre le travail des femmes en Tanzanie, en vue de déterminer «ce qui doit être fait pour changer l'attitude des hommes et pour améliorer les possibilités d'emploi des femmes».