

WIDER WORKING PAPERS

**Grassroots Strategies and Directed
Development in Tanzania: The Case of
the Fishing Sector
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WP 58

August 1989

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IN TANZANIA: THE CASE OF THE FISHING SECTOR**

Paper presented at the annual meeting of
the African Studies Association,
Chicago, Illinois October 28-31, 1988

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Edited copy 4 Dec 1988

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Helsinki, December 1988

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INTRODUCTION ¹

This paper examines how the development policies and strategies which Tanzania has adopted have affected one particular part of the population, the artisan fishermen and women in the villages on the coast between Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam. To this day they are predominantly of Zaramo origin. They have lived in close proximity to Dar es Salaam and with the growth of the city have become increasingly marginalized.

The particular angle from which I look at the effects of the Tanzanian development policies, in general, and strategies of industrial development, in particular, relates to the larger questions: How have the politics of Tanzania succeeded or floundered in the intended efforts to benefit the poor majority and to make them self-reliant? What alternatives would there have been? The focus is on the strategies people who are not in the mainstream of development have applied in response to pressures coming from what I have chosen to call "directed development".

The study relates to a more general problem concerning groups of people who amidst the national and international quest for development become dispensable in favor of "the

¹ My study is part of a larger project carried out under the leadership of Professors Frederique Apffel-Marglin of Smith College and Stephen Marglin of Harvard University within the programme on *Systems of Knowledge as Systems of Domination* in the World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER), UNU, Helsinki, Finland. The studies of Prof. Benno Ndulu of Dar es Salaam University Aili Tripp of Northwestern university, Evanston are complementary to mine.

majority" or general national interests. Development interpreted as modernization demands that the immediate interests of what seem like small minorities are foregone for the benefit of "the whole".

Directed development is here exemplified by combined efforts of the Government, through its ministries, local district officials and Party leaders and the external assistance agencies. The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation, referred to in short as NORAD, represents the development agencies. NORAD has been responsible for the Mbegani Fisheries Development Center (MFDC) near Bagamoyo in cooperation with the Government of Tanzania for twelve years. Examining the case of the Bagamoyo fishing communities provides an opportunity to look at the interaction between a foreign agency and the Government, and the interaction between both of these with people at the grassroots level. The issue of technological change in relation to artisan fishermen/women and small producers, in general, serves here as the focal point through which other issues are viewed.

In regard to the artisans and other small-scale producers the Tanzanian development planning and practice did not follow the policies as spelled out in the ideological statements. The national industrial strategy proposed to decentralize industrial development and take it to the districts. In spite of well intended policy statements implementation failed to attend to producer groups with relatively high potential capacity for production. The means of sustenance became more

and more reduced also in the communities of artisan fishermen/women while they waged the struggle for survival.

I argue that the discrepancy between the resources allocated to the modern sector and the resources set aside for the small producers, artisans and micro-entrepreneurs has been based on a misconceived notion about the so-called "traditional sector" and its potential in development. For too long the artisans, fishermen/women included, have lacked opportunities for pursuing self-reliant development; they have lacked the basic equipment and materials at prices they could afford. They have, however, gradually gained more space to forge ahead, because of the changes in the policies and in the sectoral strategy under external and internal influences. People have gained increasing reliance on their own resources under duress, not because of the repeated government exhortations to be self-reliant.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE BASIC INDUSTRY STRATEGY

Tanzania published her Basic Industry Strategy (BIS) in 1975, the same year in which the villagization legislation was passed and the rural development operation was at its peak.² In the Basic Industry Strategy the first on the list of priorities was production of consumer goods for the majority. Further down among the priorities were use of simple, less capital-intensive technologies and promotion of small-scale industry and handicraft development. But these competed with

² United Republic of Tanzania. The Villages and Ujamaa Villages (Registration, Designation and Administration) Act 1975. For an extensive analysis of the strategy I refer to Skarstein and Wangwe, 1986, 28-52.

other important objectives which rose to the forefront.³ They emphasized intermediate and capital goods and to this end some general criteria were given for the choice of technology. This was bound to contradict the immediate goals that the country had set for herself to the effect that the goods produced must serve the basic needs of the majority of the people.

BIS aimed at achieving less dependence on highly developed economies and more South-South inter-regional trade. For this reason the emphasis was also on creating capital goods production and utilization of the basic natural resources of the country. The conditions for starting such industries and for creating trade were recognized to be dependent, among other things, on the achievements of the agricultural sector in production of food and commercial crops. This included in practice also the fisheries sector. It meant that these sectors directly served industrial development and trade for foreign exchange, even at the expense of people's own sustenance.

The foreign inputs into Tanzania's industrial sector are not least to blame for the country's increased dependence on external aid. Initially, manufacturing of consumer goods had increased markedly so that towards the end of the decade in 1970s Tanzania produced about 70 per cent of her import substitution consumer goods, and even some cloth for export. The degree of import substitution in intermediate goods was 35 per cent. However, the consumer goods oriented industrial sector was based on imported technology which not only failed to bring about a transfer technology, but also reproduced

³ Msuya, 1981; UNCTAD, 1982

foreign patterns of consumption. It did not promote structural transformation of the economy. (UNCTAD, 1982) Although Tanzania has reasons to blame itself that the industrial sector was heavily supported from external sources and that its performance declined rapidly, the external agencies must carry much of the blame. Foreign aid continued to support the expanding industrial sector with high import requirements without much questioning, because providing the imported capital goods and spares gave them the best returns. Finally the Tanzanian Government was compelled to reduce drastically the foreign aid allocations to manufacturing industries. (Skarstein, 1986:98-100)

The capacity utilization of industries was affected also by reduced allocations of foreign exchange because of the conflict over conditions set by the IMF. In 1980 the foreign exchange allocations met only about 11 per cent of the real needs. (Havnevik and Mwene-Milao, 1983:1)

A general weakness in development assistance programs has been too much investment into industrial enterprises which have generated demand for increased imports and too little attention given to training and other resources toward building the base of technological development and industrial structure. Without a base the top cannot stand. The grave shortage of technically highly trained people was recognized and with it the need to expand drastically the training program for them. For example, the Bagamoyo fisheries development center, MFDC, which was run largely with funds obtained as development assistance, spent most of its

resources in training higher level fisheries officers rather than in equipping local artisan fishermen/women.

The diminished attention paid to the grassroots level was not congruent with the country's stated priorities nor with the more general policy of self-reliance.

Some efforts were made to balance the field of technical development. The BIS suggested decentralization of small-scale industrial production in order to make it possible for the products to be consumed near the place where they were produced and thus to avoid unnecessary transport costs. This could be done only if the scale remained small. A basic objective was to provide the majority of the population with opportunities both to produce and to have products available for consumption. The BIS envisaged the industrialization process to be in line with small-scale industry and with various types of artisans' productive activities, fisheries included and did not tackle the issue of potential conflict between the two.

The crucial issue here is how the rural artisan sector has succeeded in linking up with the so-called modern technological development, be it within fishing technology or industrial development. If the imported sector invades the space which has earlier belonged to the domain of artisans and common villagers, this sector becomes a hindrance to the development of the true majority.

Skarstein and Wangwe make the observation that the link between large and small-scale industries remained unclear and vague in the BIS. (Skarstein and Wangwe, 1986,50) While the document stressed that the government-sponsored Small

Industries Development Organization (SIDO) should work together with relevant parastatals and ministries to frame a plan for the development of small-scale production in designated industries, there was nevertheless an implicit bias against small-scale industries. The BIS planners anticipated long delays in production by small-scale methods and thus made the provision that investment in large-scale factories could be started in the immediate future. (Ibid.) They anticipated organizational difficulties and predetermined that utilization of small-scale production would mean sacrifice of time, cost and quality which in turn would affect the choice of the customer and thus marketing of the goods. (Ibid.52)

Pessimism toward small-scale sector was ill founded. Planners and policy makers set on ideas of modernization ignored the statistical evidence which showed the cost-effectiveness of small-scale technologies. In 1982 President Nyerere quoted figures which showed that the productivity per worker had been higher in the small-scale industries sector than in medium and large-scale industrial units. The 1977/78 Census showed that the annual output in small-scale 3,978 industrial units employing 52,284 workers was Tsh 845.3 mill. The average labor productivity of a worker in small-scale units was Tsh 16,110 per annum while it was Tsh 14,172 per annum in the major industries with heavy capital investment, yet the small units used only 3 per cent of the total import-requirement for the industrial sector on the whole. In the following five years the productivity of the small producers had declined much less than in the larger industries in spite of the odds against which they had to struggle. According to

Small Industry Development Organization (SIDO) report in 1980 output per unit of investment in the small-scale sector was about five times as high as in the large-scale sector. (Quoted by K.S.Kim, 1988,96)

What pertains to the small industries sector could be applied also to artisans and artisan fishing. Similarly, the BIS approach to industrial production in general parallels developments within the fisheries industry. It is obvious that a class-bias comes through in the way the planners have analyzed the existing production systems. It was not thought that the rural majority were accustomed both to produce and consume goods in the local style and quality. Each region and area were used to their own type of tools and utensils, including vessels and fishing gear. In many cases, if not in most, production has become hampered because people have lacked basic materials and tools, not because the scale or quality would have formed an obstacle.

Providing the small-scale producers with the necessary means of production would most certainly have been both a cheaper and more labor-intensive solution to initial technological development than the solutions which were adopted. In a study made of artisans in Bagamoyo District Kiyenze demonstrated that the price of factory made hoes (TS 24/7/1978) was higher than the village made hoes (Tsh 9.30) and the factor price did not include the transport costs for acquiring a hoe. Moreover, they were rarely available at the market places. The capital invested per worker in producing factory made hoes was estimated to be Tsh 30,652, while a rural blacksmith could sustain his trade with an investment of

only Tsh 280. (Kiyenze, 1985:112,216; DN 11/12/1978) Even if Kiyenze's estimate were too low, local production has other benefits often not considered. Industrialization had made people less dependent on local producers, yet village smiths produced both better quality and cheaper hoes, modeled to shapes familiar to people.

There has been all along a prevailing assumption among the planners and implementers that the peasants and artisans were traditionalists, that their technology was inferior and they were slow to change. Rapid development could not be built with their cooperation. In reality this very mentality appears to have caused the delays and deepened the division between the "modern" and artisan sectors.

The objective in the BIS was phrased in such a way that the production of goods was to be taken to different districts. It did not suggest that the actual needs, resources or plans of the respective districts and villages would first be identified and made known. In the village skills survey conducted in three Tanzanian districts in 1974-75 the most common needs that the villages identified were lack of tools and materials as well as of people who would spend time in the villages to show the villagers how to improve their skills. (Rudengren and Swantz, 1976:9-22) When experts came they themselves determined the content of their visits and "teaching".

What happens is that "expert sphere" takes over from the "user sphere" (Pacey, 1983:49). One cannot take technology to people from outside by ignoring their actual requirements, their own technology, and their specific tools, raw materials,

fuel, and facilities. People define their own needs and resources. They know what hinders them from further developing their own techniques; to be able to link up with plans coming from outside they must be listened to.

I see the main difference in technological development in the periphery to be in the manner in which production is achieved. One is through improved tools and increased size of enterprise with added workers and increased division of labor to the point that it is desirable by the participants, before breaking off to form another unit. The other way is through the dispersal of small-scale manufacturing units from urban areas to rural centers in order to provide some places of employment and to create linkages. The former builds on so to say organic continuity (contrary to Durkheim's use of the concept "organic"), the latter promotes innovation from outside. Both are part of the course that development takes. With innovation from outside it is seldom possible for the majority to take the initiative and it may lead to faulty planning. If it means, as it often does, that the people are left without attention and lack resources, then the measures which were intended to be "innovative" become detrimental to the ongoing development of the rural majority.

Development based on ideas of modernization is identical with a variety of diffusionist theories, whether anthropologically or geographically formulated, in that they assume that innovations diffuse from the center to periphery. When development is centrally planned, local initiatives are ignored and materially not supported. It results in discarding development from below and rejecting economic, technical and

social continuity, i.e. cultural continuity. This in turn frequently results in people's rejection of useful innovations.

Decentralization of industries must be kept conceptually apart from local technological development although the two should ideally be linked. Otherwise instead of local technology benefiting from decentralization the latter eliminates indigenous know-how and skills, pushes them to margins, "detools" them and in the end paralyzes them. In the fisheries sector this has meant promotion of trawling, freezing units and motorized transport for marketing by outside traders at the expense of artisan fishing communities' sustenance. As will be shown later, the fishermen/women need first to be equipped to carry out their trade effectively on their own terms. Then they eventually will be able to lift the level of their technology to what they consider suitable and possible to achieve and maintain in the prevailing conditions.

Within the former interdisciplinary research which the author was responsible for in Bagamoyo District it became very clear that the rural technology greatly suffered because there was no strategy which would have equipped or even protected the traditional technologies, i.e., the artisans engaged in smithery, pottery, carving and making a great variety of artifacts, the pastoralists engaged in herding their cattle or the artisan fishermen fishing with hooks and lines. (Kiyenze, op.cit. Swantz, 1981)⁴ While the small-scale industries development was to have been enhanced through the establishment of the government-run Small Industries

⁴ The study is referred to as Jipemoyo, "take heart"

Development Organization (SIDO) there was no demarcation of the respective areas of operation. It was evident that SIDO served mainly the urban centers, even if it occasionally organized sporadic courses for rural artisans and provided some of the groups with tools at random.⁵ However, according to the 1977/78 Census well over one third of the registered small industrial units were in the rural areas.

The village skills survey gave evidence that crafts were well developed and formed a substantial part of internal market in the studied villages. But the constraints were enormous. There was dearth of gear, supplies, tools and raw material, yet availability of basic gear, tools or implements for productive purposes is the basic requirement within the artisan sector. It made a quick turn-over to mechanical methods even less feasible. Women who got their income from processing and marketing fish worked against equally great odds. Most of the fish went outside the villages leaving at times the villagers without a proper supply.

Investing in existing technology on the grassroots level would be a major policy decision which by and large has not yet been implemented. Even in times of economic constraints, public policy choices have been made which have led to greater consumption than production. Investment into means of production at the village level has been left wanting both by the country itself and its supporters.

One of the basic reasons for this failure to support people's efforts to produce locally and also for local

⁵ Kiyenze, 1981:73 ff; 1985; Swantz, fieldnotes from Diozile, Mboga and Msoga, UTAF, 1976-77

consumption is a false and biased view of what is profitable. The cost/benefit estimates are not taken seriously because those who read them do not trust them since they do not know the local facts. The information supplied by SIDO has also its weaknesses, it differs from the statistics of the Bureau of Statistics but this does not change its basic message. (Havnevik, 1986:275-6)

In the case of fisheries, it is known that 98 per cent of fish production is in the hands of artisan fishermen. There are no adequate statistics of the volume of fish caught or marketed since the catches have been only sporadically recorded. In most of the places where recording was done in earlier years it had been discontinued, when observed in the Coast Region in 1985-1988, during visits to the Mara and Tanga Regions in 1986 and reported by Hasset from the Lindi Region in 1983.

Another reason for the failure to support the artisan sector is simply the generally held but biased view of the excellency of developed technology and concomitantly the idea of non-profitability of basic village technologies. Yet, in the meantime, these technologies cannot develop further because their almost minuscule import requirements and other necessary resources have been systematically rejected, in spite of the contrary rhetoric. Worse yet, even when there are needed resources in the country they are not available on the basic level where there is motivation and spontaneous beginnings for self-reliant development. The image of stagnant technology is false.

By equipping the local fishermen/women they could be incorporated into local production systems. They could be encouraged to offer apprenticeship to young people who are eager to participate in such a lucrative sector as fishing. So far the little beginnings of incorporating the youth seldom receive attention. The channels for applying for loans are blocked because the officials whose duty it would be to pass on the applications do not follow them up. The expense of bribing and travelling back and forth to the administrative centers is beyond the youths' financial means. Young people stay in rural centers in much greater numbers than 15 years earlier when I made studies of school leavers in the same areas. (Swantz, 1974) There are unutilized opportunities for the government and external agencies to take hold of. One cannot but conclude that not only is development hampered by misallocation but there has been developing a wider and wider rift between the government and Party on one hand and the grassroots citizens on the other hand. To conclude, the technological development strategy does not favor the poor majority with technical development potential.

THE FISHING SECTOR

The Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism is responsible for the fisheries development in the country. The management and administration of the sector is shared with the regional and district authorities. The Mbegani Fisheries Development Center (MFDC) near Bagamoyo was started in cooperation with the Norwegian

aid agency, NORAD, to support this work. It was completed in 1984 at the cost of 150 million Norwegian Krone (approximately USD 22.4 million), while the operational costs budgeted for 1984-87 were NOK 36.0 million (USD 5.4 million). About an equal amount was allocated to cover the expatriate costs. In reality the costs have risen higher.

In face of this, one can ask how the Government has seen its role in the fisheries sector in relation to general development goals and how it has carried out that role. The general policy of the country has been to look after the needs of the poor majority. Within the fisheries sector this was converted to practical goals in early 1970s when a USD 9 million World Bank loan was made available to increase the volume of fish production. Fishing villages were provided with boats, gear and landing stations and weighing and recording catches was more or less regular. Cooperatives were encouraged but only few have continued to operate persistently. An earlier case study of Sadani provides a good example of this.

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The initial efforts of the Development Center to help the artisan fishermen were shortlived. The Ministry responsible decided that positive impact from the candidates trained at the Center was best secured through post-training engagement as skippers on training and fishing vessels, in boatyards and fishprocessing units as well as engineers on these types of vessels. At the same time the training of extension staff continued but the higher technology colored the teaching program. Understandably, it was thought that the foreign

⁶ Swantz, 1976, ms. report for the Vice President on Sadani village

experts could most profitably teach technology the country lacked. The goals were later stated in this order: 1) to increase fish production through improved techniques; 2) to earn foreign exchange through sale of surplus fish and luxury marine foods, such as prawns and shrimps; 3) to produce the required manpower in the fisheries sector and 4) to enable fishermen to increase their catches and improve their earnings. (Evaluation.. 1986,47) In practice the second, earning foreign currency, rose in significance above other points.

Ironically, following the original principles would in fact have brought the best results also in terms of bringing in foreign currency. Had the artisan fishermen been able to go on without obstruction they would have continued to produce the needed luxury marine foods as well as needed food for local consumption. Instead of equipping the fishermen, 40 per cent of the fishing gear manufactured in Dar es Salaam was exported. The incoming profit was swallowed by the non-profitable "modern" trawling vessels and equipment. In practice the students were oriented toward industrial technology, yet the ratio of catches of artisanal fishermen to industrial catches was 98:2 in 1986. The goals led to training almost exclusively for use of technology of an industrial capital intensive type. Because of its design, the training vessel of Mbegani was not used for any training other than trawling. Even when the short courses for young fishermen and later also for a few women were started the main emphasis was on trawling with smaller motor boats instead of developing

intermediate technology geared to improvement of what was in use.

Trawling had not brought in any extra foreign currency reserves. The upkeep of trawling vessels had taken the income and even loaded TAFICO, the Tanzania Fisheries Corporation, with extra expenses. Tsh 300 mill. investment had produced reported catches worth Tsh 20 mill. in nine years. (Bryceson, I., 1985, 12) The 1985 accounts ended with deficit. TAFICO cooperation with Japan mainly benefited Japan, which was buying the catch of the boats run by Japanese skippers and chief engineers, in cooperation with TAFICO.⁷ The trawlers in Bagamoyo run by BAFICO, Bagamoyo Fishing Corporation, have gone out of operation having been totally unprofitable. In addition, trawling for prawns close to Bagamoyo and Sadani interfered with the gear of artisan fishermen although that was not the reason for quitting.

The bias in training was reflected in the attitudes of the graduates and the extension staff. When discussing with a student on a day of his graduation about my own research and its aim of seeing how the artisan fishermen were helped by what was being taught in the Center, his response was revealing, "What we learn here is such high technology, going goes higher and higher [demonstrating with his hands how high], that it has nothing to do with ordinary fishermen". Yet he had had his training for extension service and was to go out to the districts.

An extension officer on the shores of Victoria-Nyanza complained that he could not get around for lack of transport

⁷ Information from interviews in TAFICO, May 1986

in fulfilling his duties. When it was suggested to him that he could use the same means as the fishermen did, a canoe with a sail, and get to all the fish landing places swiftly, his response was, "How can I teach them progress if I use the same equipment that they use?" In his own mind he should have at least had a bicycle.

Another extension worker, when asked how he saw his task and what benefit the fishermen got from his work and from the Government, replied, "They benefit much. We register them." To the question what help registering gave them, he answered, "We can control the fishing."

A group of Pande fishermen had restarted their cooperative and were in the process of selling their fish on the floor of the landing shelter when the fishing officer chanced to come in while he was visiting the Center. There was an outburst of words, with the officer demanding to know why they had not swept the floor? His second concern was how could they be operating as a cooperative when they had not come to register as one? No fishing officer had come around the place for months. As rare as an operating cooperative was he should have been overjoyed to actually find one in operation.

COASTAL VILLAGES AND THEIR FISHING TECHNOLOGY

This is not the place for a general description of fishing technology in the coastal villages. I refer to the reports mentioned in the text for further details. However, a few aspects pertinent to the large gap between the resources of the artisan fishermen (98 per cent) and the "modern"

technology are focussed on. First the situation as found in 1985 and 1986 is described. In the end scattered observations on the changes 1987-1988 are highlighted. Pande (pop.1,120)⁸ and Mlingotini (pop.1,264) in Bagamoyo District and Mbweni (pop.1,862) in Kinondoni District, Dar es Salaam Region are fishing communities along the Indian Ocean.

The whole area went through the havoc of villagization, carried out in 1968-76, the ramifications of which are still being felt. The new policy orientation was based on assumption that if people moved to live in village units, communalism and communal farming could be implemented and agriculture modernized. By putting individual fields together, mechanized cultivation would be possible and people could be provided with needed services (health, education, water, etc).

In practice, the implementation of villagization, at the time when it was carried out, hurt as much as it supported the development process which had begun well. In many parts of the country, moving took place under pressure, at times even compulsion. In some cases people firmly resisted and their complaints were heeded. But in general, the rural people's decision-making was in this matter taken out of their hands. Development, which began as a process from bottom up, was

⁸ Figures are from the years 1985 and 1986 as also other village data if not otherwise stated. Past tense used refers to that time. More information in Swantz, ML, *The Role of Women in Tanzanian Fishing Societies*, NORAD 1986. I participated also in an evaluation of Mbegani Fisheries Development Center in 1986, Evaluation Report 4.86. Also *Women Studies: Research Report on The Role of Women in Tanzania Fishing Societies*, and a report by Campbell, IDS, Women's Study Group, Univ.of DSM 1986.-

turning to development directed from above.⁹ However, the village organization and self-rule established has given the village people a channel through which to air their views and, above all, to discuss those affairs which they can manage without any assistance from the bureaucracy.

Pande was only a hamlet before the villagization process in 1974-76. While most of the people now living in Pande were affected, in Mlingotini only one third had to demolish and rebuild their houses as a result of villagization policies. In Pande even many of those who already lived there had to tear down their houses or they were torn down for them if they did not stand in a right place or angle. Many still consider their present houses to be temporary. The rest of the people came from the hamlets around. The initial order from the District had been for the people to move to Mlingotini, but that the people did not agree to. They sent a delegation to the Party Headquarters in Dodoma to put in a complaint. The message from the headquarters changed the action. Pande remained where it was and still is at present and thus some saved their houses from being demolished.

Mbegani Fisheries Development Center was established already in 1966 in the midst of the fields and fishing grounds of Pande and the surrounding hamlets. The shore from which the Pande fishermen still go out and where they keep their boats is within the fenced and guarded area of the Center, only 20 yards below the head office. Before the Center was started in

⁹ For further details cf. Swantz, 1982, 62ff. I refer also to Hyden's much debated treatise *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania* (1982) and Coulson *Tanzania A Political Economy* among many other useful studies.

its new form a landing station had been built on the Mbegani beach which served as a place for weighing, recording and selling the fish. The records 1977-1984 showed an intensive marketing activity at the Pande/Mbegani auction "market". Local boats as well as boats from further away came to land and sell fish there. The weighing scale was in operation until 1978. At one time up to 55 boats landed fish there. The effect of "modernizing" the fishing sector could be visibly observed with the declining trade year by year at Pande/Mbegani beach. No records were kept after 1984 and by 1986 the number of boats had been reduced to nine *ngalawas*, outriggers. There were no nets and no other type of boats were used, not to mention engines. One licensed local buyer and his assistants, who depended on casual arrangements for transport, controlled the whole trade. A few teams of two or three women using a piece of sheeting, *utanzi*, pulled in small shrimp or tiny fingerlings. They suffered from lack of gear as did also the fishermen. Because of the weak supply of suitable cloth the women hardly cared to identify themselves as *watanzi* fisherwomen.

Men and women had gone out to fish from the shore next to the gear stores of the Center, which were well-supplied with fishing equipment, but they had not been able to obtain any kind of gear, whether hooks, handlines, *utanzi*-cloth or gill-nets, not to mention engines or boats. The prices for gear, if available at all, were excessive in town and the only handline most could afford was too thin for pulling in larger fish. Pande village recorded 90 of its residents as fishermen in

1985 and 70 in 1986, but even in 1986 only 30 at the very most fished regularly.

At a village meeting for fishermen a group of young men expressed their interest in fishing but not with the old and poor equipment and little prospect for change. The Development Center could potentially have supported more effective intermediate ways of fishing but this was not the case either. The traditional gear and outriggers were not being replaced with motorized vessels or improved gear. With the change of policy in 1987 supplies could be sold at Mbegani to fishermen/women. As a result in less than a year the first two or three fishermen were able to acquire their own improved outrigger boats and the first one had already purchased an engine in the beginning of 1988.

Mlingotini is an old coastal center. It was known as a bulwark of traditional coastal medicine, witchcraft and genies, *jini*, practiced by men of some religious book-learning. Stories about special powers that villagers had aroused fear in outsiders. "Even children laughed" at the medicines of a visiting *mganga*, a medicine man, who was much feared in other places. Such stories were useful as a strategy against intruders for protective purposes. Even Dar es Salaam politicians and bureaucrats seeking job promotions knew of the power of Mlingotini *waganga*. To perpetuate such beliefs might have been in the interest of the local population. It could be useful in situations in which local power could be exercised against the officialdom. ¹⁰

¹⁰ E.g. at the time when the Maasai were supposed to go to school the local bureaucrats feared to go to their houses and asked us to do it for them. Similarly in Dar es Salaam places like Manzese were considered

In Mlingotini fishing had always been an important activity. Unlike Pande, quite a few fishermen fished with gill-nets. Two boats had engines, operating off and on. Fishermen went by boat from Mlingotini to buy ice at Mbegani for transporting their fish. A trader usually brought a small truck which left in the wee hours of the morning to bring the fish to Dar es Salaam market in time for the morning auctioning. Apart from buying ice, which was also available in Bagamoyo town and transported by bus and on foot, the fishermen did not recognize any other benefits from the presence of the Center. On the contrary, they complained that their own activity was limited because of it, since they no longer could use the shore for beach seining and their passive gear was disturbed by trawling.¹¹ Three of the young men had gone to a short course and learned techniques of trawling, but saw no use in what they had learned since no motor boats nor trawling equipment was available to them. Women were doing *utanzi* fishing of shrimps and fingerlings seasonally.

Mbweni lies closer to Dar es Salaam than the other villages. It is an old historical center with a number of well built Swahili type houses. A couple of newer structures have been built by a well known fishmonger who also has invested in houses in Dar es Salaam. The main occupation of the residents was fishing, while traditionally only little agriculture was practised by women. Government institutions and a growing number of commercial fields owned by urban dwellers in the

such that a bureaucrat could not go just to talk to people. Similarly all kinds of prejudices were against Rufiji.

11 MFDC denied having trawled in waters where the local fishermen had their nets. Other commercial trawling from the city was being done there, however.

neighborhood as well as regular twice-daily fish transport to town have given people mobility and employment opportunities. Several teams of women were engaged in *utanzi* fishing and could get good income from selling a basketful of fingerlings or small shrimp seasonally, especially in January and February. These fingerlings fetched Tsh 500-1,000 per basket at a time when the price of a canoe was quoted as Tsh 12,000. (The Role of Women...Tungaraza, 1986,16) Women complained that only small quantities of poor quality fish were available for them to purchase at the local market since traders took the bulk of the fish to the city where the prices were higher. The fishermen took a share of fish to their families, but not nearly all the households had active fishermen. Because Mbwani was in another District and not in Bagamoyo, the fishermen there could not benefit from the MFDC.

Since Dar es Salaam had a large expatriate population in addition to estimated local population of two million, it had a good market for fish. It attracted young fishermen from Zanzibar who came in large numbers to Mbwani and other beaches and fished off the mainland shore, building shelters on the beaches near the larger villages. They fished in teams, knew the prices and gathered good profits.

A couple of local fish traders of Mbwani had the means to own pickups and keep the trade going most of the time. They controlled the local purchasing and transporting of the fish. There were times, however, when this became difficult because of the lack of spares and fuel. The scarcity of goods showed up also in that sailboats came to be used in place of earlier engine-propelled boats. Not differently from other fishing

communities, patron-client relationship was created as the traders who invested in boats and gear were in the position to act as patrons for poorer fishermen or customers who often needed loans and credit. In fact, a dependency relationship can come to the point that fishermen become more or less hired workers for the *tajiri*, "rich man", who assumes the role of a benefactor. Fishing takes place within a complicated sharing system with a long history, where remuneration depends on social standing, ownership of boat and gear, type of fishing, etc.

There was also large scale fishing, relatively speaking, organized and owned by external, often urban owners of boats, engines, sails, nets, etc. They have had capital to invest and the capacity to replenish damaged equipment, the most critical factor in fishing. Much of the local fishermen's potential income went in this way into the wallets of fishmongers and boat owners. They suffered thereby if the catch was small. However, the sharing took into consideration these fluctuations to an extent and the remuneration depended on the need of the workers. On the other hand, the returns had an element of "luck," as those concerned expressed it.

If the scale of fishing was bigger and the fish were kept in ice in the boat, the returns could be so lucrative that a team of nine had handsome earnings from a few days fishing trip. They could earn several thousand shillings each after taking off the owner's share, which was from one half to two thirds, depending on the arrangement. The scope was wide and took into consideration the nature of the social relations, whether kin or mere hired men were employed. So far the

Government has been unable to touch this sector in a successful manner.

The presence of a major fisheries development project amidst artisan fishermen and women had thus had a minimal positive effect on their fishing activities until 1986. Rather than supporting those with little initial capital for improving their trade, the Development Center led to lost opportunities for them. There had been a general reduction of artisanal fishing in the immediate area of the Center. In fact, the closer the Center was, the less local fishing was carried out. It serves as an illustration of technological break with little benefit to the actual majority. It could be argued that "underdevelopment" took place when resources were placed in the "modern" basket at the expense of the surrounding communities. Since the Center had not been able to improve the local fishermen's means of fish production one is justified asking whether in fact the presence of it with another technological level was not only neutral but affected negatively the artisanal fishermen's trade.

On the other hand, the presence of the Mbegani Fisheries Development Center has meant "development" to the relatively few who were trained as teachers and were thereby lifted to "modern" life style. It could be considered "development" also for the 500 who got employment at the Center in various jobs. As long as the training vessel went out it also provided fish for the local people. Each local buyer could buy no more than 3 kg of small, often poor quality fish which was not marketed outside. The bigger fish could be sold directly to fishmongers who in 1985 had purchased as much as the other local buyers,

mainly women who processed fish for sale in the villages (71,000 kg). The Center also produced income for the Fisheries Department, which benefited from the marketed fish. Ice was sold mainly to fishmongers and commercial prawn traders as well as to some institutions like prisons.

It is questionable how the Center can be maintained after the foreign agency leaves, which now pays 75 per cent of the running expenses plus the expatriate salaries. This "vanguard of ' modern' living" amidst fishermen and farmers, an urban presence in a rural setting means maintaining 160 buildings, an estate and a tarmac road (3 km) leading to Mbegani from the main Bagamoyo road besides all the other expenses. (Tungaraza, 1986:16) If it is to be anticipated that in future the fishermen and farmers are left with the responsibility to pay the Government in taxes and licences for the support of institutions like Mbegani (now there are no prospects that it could become self-supporting) their operational style must be reassessed now.

THE POLITICS OF LIBERALIZATION

In the face of of the severe economic crisis which Tanzania faced in 1980s the Government has prepared several restructuring and adjustments programs: the National Economic Survival program (NESP) in 1981 and 1982, the Structural Adjustment program (SAP) in 1982, the Tanzania National Agricultural Policy (TNAP) in 1982 and the Economic Recovery program (ERP) in 1986. Starting from 1984 the strict rules which until then had applied to imports were liberalized. The

transport sector was improved by allowing import of commercial vehicles by residents if they could raise the foreign exchange outside the official allocation system. This was followed by an own-funded import scheme whereby a range of commodities could be imported similarly by funds outside the allocation system. Exporters could also retain a proportion of their export earnings to fund imports which they require for their production activities or own-funded imports. First imported luxury goods abounded but soon people began demanding commodities which would help them in their efforts to earn basic living. Many started a *mradi*, a personal project, for earning income. This together with other measures which loosened earlier tight regulations had a positive effect on the grassroots people's capacity to supplement whatever little they had earned before.

It seems that the Government orientation toward the development of fisheries also took a new turn. The training courses in MFDC are now more purposefully directed toward artisan fishermen and take in some, even if far too few, women students, even if a practical strategy in terms of the fishermen's/women's potential resources or their needs is yet to be formulated. In the meanwhile, when the people have in one way or another acquired even the bare necessities they have shown energy and innovative capacity. Given a little more space for self-reliant movement small things could grow to be significant in Tanzania's pursuit for better quality of life.

PEOPLE'S RESPONSE AND PEOPLE'S STRATEGIES

Should the Government really want to improve the small producers working conditions a much more thorough understanding of people's strategies would be needed. If the extension staff is not trained in real life situations in contact with grassroots people there is a long way to penetrating their strategies. In fact, one of the strategies is to keep "outsiders" aloof and thus to create space for making one's own decisions. Even if it means accepting limitations if one determines one's operational parameters it gives some sense of security.

There is a variety of ways in which the people on the coast have been able to sustain their lives in the recent economic crisis. People make use of traditional and new approaches and develop strategies which incorporate what the Government might have to offer without committing themselves to anything of which experience sends warning signals to them. They also use in many ways what James Scott has called "weapons of the weak", in this case more or less persistent stubborn "go-slow" action when necessary. Thereby people create space for action of their own determining.

In the city some of the traditional ways of creating networks, groups and cooperation were revived and reformulated. In the villages the old ways of relating were still alive, but they were being modified to suit the people's needs. In the fishing communities, after repeated efforts to start and restart fishing cooperatives as was the case in Pande, there has been a return to patron-client or patron-worker relationships. It appears that those entering the

trade, because it is now lucrative, are willing to be employed even in terms of hired workers, if they thereby benefit from the fairly secure tradition of patronage. Most fishermen continue to fish singly, in pairs or in teams of three, depending on the gear and the size of boat. Women in turn have extended their traditional credit system to new dimensions.

One of the consequences of liberalization has been a rapid acceleration of micro-enterprises run by men and women from virtually all the sectors of society. Small-scale producers in the city have benefited more readily from the greater availability of goods and freer markets than the artisans and peasants in the villages who often have had less chance to make acquisitions. On the other hand, availability of land for cultivation and for growing basic foodstuffs has compensated for lack of commodities and has even been an incentive for return migration to the villages. The presence of youth in the villages is particularly noticeable. This means also greater mobility and interaction between the towns and villages.

Villages on the seashore and close to the border areas have had opportunities for trading of fishing goods for other much needed commodities with people from neighboring countries. To a small degree this has been allowed even legally, if the value of goods has not exceeded the permitted moderate sum. Much of it has been illegal which means that the prices of goods have been hiked by the time they have found their way to the villages. Some have invested in houses or trees and established trading links with inland areas, others

have used the new "space" with serendipity extending the borders of operation to new dimensions.

When fishing gear or even boats and engines became available on the free market, the high prices of market commodities excluded the majority; except in the case of necessary food items, only a few had the capacity to make use of the imported goods. But the changed policy of the Government allowing direct sale of fishing gear by MFDC has started to play an important role in the income-earning capacity of the fishermen/women because of the greater availability of the tools for production.

The change in policy is reflected also in the training courses at Mbegani which now are more purposefully directed toward artisan fishermen/women, even if the women students are too few. The best results of cooperation with the artisan sector have been in the boat building department of MFDC. It has already a tradition in building improved *ngalawas* which some of the local fishermen have been able to buy. The local craftsman who initially introduced the local craft to the Center's boat-building yard has now been able to take on his own contract and make use of the Center's machinery for techniques he learned in a shared boat-building project. The simple gesture of selling gear to fishermen in Bagamoyo District has made a visible difference in the volume of fishing and in the size of catches, even if the area covered is so far limited. The number of boats has started to climb, more fishermen go out to sea daily, and more importantly, young men have joined the older ones in fishing. In Pande, one of the more established fishermen had already bought an

outboard engine, the only one seen in years, for his improved *ngalawa* boat which he had bought for a regular, not artificially raised price. The care with which the owners of the new boats were looking after them was heartening to see.

Some villagers have accumulated capital for new enterprises like transporting and selling coconuts or pineapples upcountry. Fishermen who had been active in village politics and used the profits from fishing to buy up trees and land were looked at askance by the full time fishermen. This became evident when leaders for the fishermen's cooperative were being elected. It was one reason why it had been hard to keep the fishermen's cooperative going. Full time fishermen would accept only others like them into their organization. This is one of the characteristics found in most of the new self-initiated small enterprises. There is a careful choice of trusted partners. It is also a reason why externally directed organizations do not work.

Male youth have become actively involved in several forms of money earning activities. In ten years the trend has been reversed and the girls are now the majority in many coastal primary schools. E.g. in Bunju A there were 70 more girls than boys although the numbers were equal in the first two standards. The boys are satisfied after obtaining the basic skills of reading and writing sufficiently to start trading. The older, often barely literate men need the help of their sons or relatives and eventually the young men branch out on their own. Young men are engaged in cultivating their own fields and vegetable gardens which they irrigate. They fish in pairs, they sell fresh fish which they transport on a bicycle,

they bargain for their fathers and uncles and transport fish to the market, returning with bundles of money notes. Some youth have formed "brigades", making bricks for 10 Tsh a piece. They clear fields, work in saltworks, burn charcoal, sell fruits in stalls, belong to drummers' and dancers' troupes and perform for money. Most of the teahouses, an institution on the coast, are run by young men who might also run a black market business on the side. Some are tailors, carpenters, tinsmiths, others do minor or even major repairs in bicycles and cars or other machines.

One of the worst developments within the fishing sector has been dynamiting and thus destroying the coral reefs in which fish hide. This is for a great part a result from dearth of low level fishing gear and the obstacles described in this paper. Especially young people who experience little support to their self-reliant efforts are tempted to take short cuts. But even more fateful is that the wealthy and corrupt enter this form of destroying national and natural resources. Seeing that it can be done by those higher up, those with lesser means lose any respect they might have had for authorities.

The developments among women have been the most heartening in many ways, not least because the women have taken matters into their own hands in a new way. It is worth noting that pressure coming from down below from the ordinary citizens in Norway has had its share in affecting change in the orientation of the Mbegani Center. Women have got more attention than before, research has been conducted looking specifically about the potential for women's action, women's courses have been organized and families have been helped by

opening up rice farming land for the workers. The response of the women has been quick and encouraging, even if they still meet many hurdles on the way.

One of the surprising things has been the readiness of women to take on jobs they have never done before. A training seminar was run following substantial contacts with women from the three villages and following their needs and wishes. The women of all ages were not afraid to tackle mending or weaving nets, smoking fish and talking about family planning at their own instigation. Two of the village groups set as their goal to buy transport for their villages through their initial fishing and other income earning activities. Some of them may have been utopian, but they went about planning in a realistic manner.

As a result from the seminar, the women in the three villages obtained a loan for starting their planned activities. They were paying the loan back from their income. The Mlingotini group bought one of the improved outrigger-boats from Mbegani to transport fish bought from there and sell them in Dar es Salaam market. It had always been thought that women were dangerous for sea going and should not even enter a boat, not at least if she was pregnant, the village women of all ages were out to show that those myths belonged to the past. They used the boat for a fish marketing project. They went to buy the fish by boat although so far had not yet started themselves doing the actual boat fishing. The Mlingotini women's group also had a kiln built for smoking fish with the assistance of students from MDC who, as the

outcome of the change in policy, were placed in turns there for a part of their practical training.

Women's role in life has given them tenacity which they carry over to public life. Where the women's projects do not succeed there are specific traceable reasons for it. Projects are started from outside of the women's actual experience, ability or need. Women's turn is regularly also pushed to the "Phase Two" of a development project cycle and often the project never gets that far. At other times an outsider, usually a man, interferes and appropriates funds. This had been the case in an earlier attempt of Pande women to organize themselves. Women often pay more levy for their mini-scale sales than men and are pressed to lower their prices. The larger the scale of trade the smaller the levy proportionately. A stall selling for a whole day paid 2 Tsh a day while the women, each selling one plate of fried fish or pastries would pay one shilling for it. Similarly an individual fisherman selling 100-300 Tsh worth paid the same levy as the fishmonger who still in 1988 was paying 4 Tsh for a large *tenga* basket of fish, fetching several thousand shillings at the auction.

The girls also topped the short list of those who got places to continue in secondary schools and most of them at least completed the Primary School. Girls have often been selling pastries, sweets, fried fish, fruit etc. for their mothers. A plate of sweets sold for one shilling each brought as much money as a woman earned cutting stones at the quarry for 7-8 hours. Parents acknowledged daughters' faithfulness in remembering and supporting them. This had changed the attitude

which earlier considered girls' education a wasted effort. Young women also had the courage to move about which their elders often lacked. Their self-confidence was startling when compared with the retiring secluded young women two decades ago. A young woman sitting behind a store counter was a case in point. I asked her where the shopkeeper was (a man whom I knew). Her quick response was, " I am the shopkeeper." She was the sister of the man and they both had an equal share in the inherited shop.

The women's manifold activities, too varied to be described here, become unfolded when one talks with women who ask for transport. An early divorce after one or two children, possibly a second marriage or open relationship and an engagement in some kind of money earning activity, however small in scale, is a common pattern. An evidence of women's economic activity is the credit system whereby a group of women set aside an agreed sum of money in a given period (one week, two weeks). Money is each time given to one member of the group, each getting her turn. In Mlingotini women interviewed belonged to 13 different credit groups, *upato*. 144 women contributed a total of about Tsh 85 000 per month in 1986 (official rate of 1 USD = 40 Tsh in 1986). In Pande women belonged to similar groups, but there were some who said they were too poor to join them. 100 Tsh was said to be the usual amount put down at one time. While modern forms of organization which required handling money seldom worked well these credit circles based on women's own choice of trusted partners operated well enough to be perpetuated.

Most commonly women earn income in fishing villages by frying fish and selling it for a small profit. I calculated that a woman regularly engaged in this kind of sale earned an average of 200 - 300 Tsh per week in 1986, assuming that she sold fish three days a week. It is unlikely that she would do it more often since acquiring the fish is a time-consuming affair. Even at best, the return for all the labour that she puts in is very small. But for the women it is important that it is their own money over which they have power of decision. As one woman put it, "I don't know what my husband gets or spends, it is not his business to know mine."

While great changes have taken place in women's lives women are also the ones through whom the society expresses its desire for continuity. The basic weave of life is still affirmed on occasions in which people feel most at home, in the many ritual gatherings through which social relations are actualized. The woman maintains this continuity while introducing the following generation to the essential symbols of their social group. Mlingotini women could give only one woman as an example who had not gone through the traditional puberty rites and the period of seclusion. I met no girls in other villages either who would not have been secluded at least for a shorter period and then had the rituals performed at the time of coming out. In fact, after finishing the seven years of Primary School the girls were still secluded what was quoted to be a period of one year. They would sit in their house or yard doing permitted household chores while waiting for their coming out festivals when their adulthood was publicly recognized. This affirmation of tradition and the

symbolic reality which thereby encircled the woman continued to anchor the total society into it. Thereby the people kept contact with their own social ground and retained capacity to the world around them. Thus tradition was not an obstacle to development neither development obstacle to tradition.

At the cross-roads of new and traditional forms of cooperation conflict occurs. The traditional modes of relating and networking or forming a community are satisfying and provide security. Those responsible for organizing a society which can link up with other modern societies, or for developing an economy that works within the world economy cannot be satisfied with the traditional social formations. The same argument which was put forth above in relation to technology pertains also to social and economic relations. In fact, there is no technology without these relations. People have to be allowed to organize themselves, **starting from where they are** and building up a social system which can operate also increasingly satisfying the new demands. But it has to go through the people's own experience and capacity to organize and not to come as an order from above.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Tanzanian development policy aimed at self-reliance but ended up with directed development. This has been evident in the way the industrial strategies have been implemented and in the direction technological development took in practice. This paper has shown this to have been the case within the fisheries sector and particularly in the obstacles that the

artisan fishermen/women have faced in trying to sustain themselves and to produce fish both for internal consumption and for export. I have argued that had a greater part of the resources gone to the artisan sector instead of the modern fishing technology and training, there would not only have been enough fish to feed the nation but also to export. Furthermore, technological development would have happened in the way which would have equipped the fishermen/women to upgrade their technology, lifting it up within their own means and capacity to maintain. Development would have taken place from below instead of being introduced from top in ways which have not been congenial to the existing conditions and which in many cases have been experienced as intrusions. The same pertains also to people's forms of organization.

There have been sufficient indications of changed attitudes and new approaches to income-earning and exercise of skills in situations of hardship and scarcity. With more space for people to act from their own ground they will demonstrate their capacity for self-reliant development. This is already taking place, particularly among women. At the same time, for this development to gain in strength, more analysis is needed of the ways that people relate to each other. The officialdom and impersonality principle on which the bureaucratic system embedded in Western models rests requires a thorough overhaul in cultural reality which simply is not congruent with it.

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