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Source: *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Autumn 1991), pp. 55-71

Published by: [International Journals](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23029812>

Accessed: 17/06/2014 16:45

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THE FAMILY IN TANZANIA

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The article starts by defining the terms and basic characteristics of the family institution. Then it moves to explain and analyze the changing roles and relationships in the Tanzania context.

The article stresses the changing roles which have been happening due to the impact of the foreign cultures and ideologies. Specifically, the role of family in socialization process has been minimized due to the introduction of formal education.

With regard to the demographic variables, it is noted that while death rates might be reduced due to the general improvement of health facilities, birth rates will increase.

With the weakening of kinship ties due to urbanization, those roles played by the family, likely counselling, will die. As a result, divorces and "solo parents" will increase in the society. Polygamy currently practiced in the country is like to decrease due to socio-economic reasons like the level of education among the women and the economic difficulties in running large families.

The article concludes by saying that the family institution is changing and the trend is towards small families units.

The aim of this paper is to briefly look into family situation in Tanzania. It is a general introductory analysis of the institution as it is found in the country today. I consider this to be an introduction, for a complete work on family in Tanzania needs a more detailed and extensive work.

The present work is based on researches which were conducted in Tanzania by the author in the past few years.

Family as a social institution is related to other institutions in one way or another. Whenever a change occurs to one institution, it affects the family as well. It is from this standing point of view that family in Tanzania can also be understood. One will note in this chapter that some of the changes affecting the family are unavoidable for they are from outside the family institution.

This must be understood clearly for when one says the factors are externally, it implies that the changes originate from outside. At the same time, the external

factors which force the family to change are those which occur within the society in which the family finds itself existing side by side with other institutions.

Some fifteen years ago, Goode (1963) made a statement that families throughout the world are facing some changes. His statement was based on comparative data he had collected from various parts of the world. His hypothesis was that most families are changing from an extended to a conjugal pattern; ties with kinsmen and relatives are being loosened and more emphasis is put on nuclear family.

In this chapter, we are going to test this hypothesis in the light of Tanzania situation. Least we make sweeping statements, let me make an observation from this very beginning of this chapter. Family in any country will change because it does not exist in isolation from other realities of the societal dynamism. Such changes may be different from one country to another depending on other variables and institutions whose changes touch the family as well.

For this reason, changes which touch the family in Tanzania will not be necessarily of the same kind and level as those which have occurred in another country even if it is in Africa. The readers will note in this chapter that there are areas which have definitely changed very fast from the traditional ways of doing things and those which have not changed or are having slow changes.

At a theoretical level we can argue that this is due to the fact that there are areas of social changes in a society which happen very fast and those which take time. To illustrate this point let me mention two examples from Tanzania. The first area which seems to have been affected by changes very fast within family life is the choice of spouses. Many young people now a days are choosing their own life partners even without the consent or advice from the parents. Such a procedure could not have happened in the past. The second area which seems to take a long time before real effects of changes have taken place is the polygamy marriage system. As it will be noted later on in this chapter, this phenomenon is still in Tanzania. It can, however, be noted that some gradual changes are beginning to happen, especially among the elite women with regard to polygamy marriages. It is a slow change, but it is taking place nevertheless.

One can argue that the reason for its slow change is caused by the fact that there are some ideologies (religious) which foster such practices. In Tanzania where 30% of the population is said to belong to Islam faith which allows polygamous marriages, some women will continue to allow themselves getting married to polygamous husbands. This will be more so for the less educated women than the educated for the simple reason that the educated one can support themselves economically while the less educated ones are not able to do so. The trend of Tanzania education whereby the emphasis is laid on the Universal Primary Education, and few chances for getting higher education, this situation will remain for a while (Mbilinyi 1972).

Whenever changes occur in a society and consequently effect social institutions including family, even the roles of these institutions in the society

change. This is because the social relations among the people are always effected by the societal changes whether abrupt or slow.

The changes happening in Tanzania can be grouped into two main categories. The first category belongs to the changes which have been planned and introduced from outside. This include the superstructures of the society whose ideology of the country based on the broad context of *ujamaa* demands equality of all the people regardless of sex, religion or race. Since 1967 when the *Arusha Declaration*, the blue print of the national ideology, was proclaimed, many statements, documents even legal measures have been introduced in the country which effect the family institution. The change of mode of production from crude capitalist to socialist/cooperative oriented, the changes in settlement patterns in rural areas as encouraged through village settlement programmes and the educational reform system, to mention a few, could be singled out as changes which effect the family very much.

The second category of changes are natural ones which may or may not depend on the planned changes. These may include population changes, the recruitment of labor force and production relation, value and attitude changes.

As it will be noted in the following few pages, some of the changes may have been inevitable while others may have been caused by planned changes. The chapter does not intend to be an exhaustive treatment of the family institution in a changing society like Tanzania, but as an introduction to a further research and study on the issue.

Based on the above general theoretical framework, we are now proceeding to look into some aspects of the family institution in changing society of Tanzania.

1. BASIC FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

I. Demographic variables

Tanzania is a predominately rural country. It is estimated that 93% of its population live in rural areas and the rest live in cities/towns and urban settlements.

According to the preliminary 1978 census results there are 17,551,925 people living in Tanzania. Of these 8,610,636 are males while 8,941,289 are females. This is an increase of about 5,245,840 people for the past eleven years since the last census which took place in 1967. The Isles population stands at 475,655, of these 236,196 are males and 239,459 are women.

It is too early to get some more information on this revealing population growth and the impact it has on the family, but one thing is clear: Tanzania population is on the increase. It has maintained the projected trend of 1967 where the population growth stood at 2.7%. With the improvement in health facilities as indicated in the current Third Five Year Plan (1978-1983), it is likely that the population will continue to grow steadily before any decline of birth rate is experienced because of the introduction of a better family living programme (family planning). It is usually considered to take about fifteen years before any effect of better family living is realized.

The 1978 preliminary census results cannot be used in all areas of this section of our chapter for simple reason of inavailability. I am, therefore, going to use the already existing census data and other survey results for the purpose of regenerating information and analysis on family of Tanzania.

TABLE I: SOME DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES IN TANZANIA

Popualtion under 15 years	45%
Children per family	7
Birth rate	4.7%
Death rate	2.2%
Population growth	2.7%
Life expectation	47

Source: Ministry of Health, Dar es Salaam 1978

As it can be noted above in Table I, the size of the family is large. In 1967 it was reported that a woman, in her lifetime, can bear up to 6.6 children. Although polygamous marriages do not necessarily guarantee a large number of children to be born into a family, it can be hypothesized that with the improvement of health conditions in the country, the possibility of a family unit to have up to a dozen children or more at a time is unlikely. Of course, this will vary from one area to another depending on the ecological situation.

For example, Henin and Egero (1972) found that while total fertility in rural areas (mainland) was 6.7, in urban areas it was 4.4. So Table I above should be looked at as a representative of the whole country while allowing some differences as pointed above. It is a general pattern that rural areas families in Tanzania are larger than those in urban. This can be explained by comparing life style of families in these two areas of Tanzania.

In urban centers most of the women are exposed to better family life programmes than their counterpart in the rural areas. Thus, most of women are more aware of family planning techniques than those in the rural. Furthermore, the working women generally prefer a small number of children than a large number in that costs of living are more expensive in urban centers than in rural. The mother has few hours for breast-feeding due to the working hours. This necessitates bottle feeding which means buying milk for the baby. If one has a domestic servant, one has to pay him/her the required minimum wage of not less than Tsh. 380/ per month.

This is not the case in rural areas. Peasant women brest-feed their children. If they do not have enough milk of thier own, they get fresh cow's milk at a relatively cheap price. Furthermore, although peasant women work hard, too, they get time to feed their children regularly unlike their counterpart in urban centers.

Looking after the children is not real a problem since there are always people available for that task without pay. These may be the grandmothers or children who can manage to do the job.

Another demographic variable which can be noted in Table I above is the relative high rates of both birth and death rates. Most children die in the age group between 0-5 years. According to Henin/Egero (1973), again, children who survive to about five years are 74% only for the whole country. The situation is a little better for urban areas where the survival rates for children to five years is 85%. This again can be explained by the fact that urban centers used to have better health facilities than rural areas until recent years when the emphasis has been more service to the rural people. The effect of such changes of policy will not be realized until sometime later.

The difference of family size between rural and urban people can be attributed to the attitudes towards family size. Most of the rural people prefer a large number of children as an insurance for old age (Omari, 1977). therefore, to have more children is still an expected role for any couple. Another reason may be attributed to the death rates which families of these two areas experience. While rural stands at 2.29%, the urban stands at 1.46% (Henin/Egero, 1973). It is, therefore, logical for the parents to prefer a large number of children since they are not sure who will survive to adult age.

It is, however, very gratifying (as noted above) that the aim of the government as spelled out in the current *Third Five Years Plan* is to increase health services to all areas of the country. When this happens, naturally, the death rates will decrease while birthrates will either remain the same or even increase. Even with the introduction of better family life programmes (as noted above) will not help to regulate the population increase unless more efforts are being mounted for the purpose of that end. (Omari 1976)

2. FAMILY STRUCTURES

Family structures are determined by the culture they find themselves in. Furthermore, some social changes may also influence the family structure in a given society.

One of the points I want to emphasize here is that due to the influence of Western education and the decline of the role of family in socializing the youth, the choice of life partners is almost left in the hands of youths, now a days. Youths spend most of their times at schools or working places, where the interaction between sexes takes place. The process of the selection of life partners takes place as well. The parents' role of selecting life partners for their daughters and sons is becoming less noticeable. Many marriages which take place in urban centers are those whose proposals were not initiated by the parents.

The above process affects the family structures in Tanzania very much. There are more inter-ethnic and inter-racial marriages taking place in the country than before. The observable trend in the country is that the kinship preference is no

longer observed among the youth. Instead, a growing class alliance, based on education, is becoming stronger.

The point made above needs some empirical data to support the observable trend. It can, however, be said that the present trend, whereby the marriages of people of the same education or at least of the same level seem to be on the increase side, will continue. And this will definitely weaken the old family structures whereby people from the same villages married to each other.

In Tanzania, another aspect of family situation which can be identified is the existing types of marriages. We can at least identify two types of marriages in Tanzania which are officially accepted and recognized by the state. These are: polygamous and monogamous marriages. Since 1971 when the *Marriage Act* was introduced in the country, it has become open to all people to choose what type of marriage they want to enter into at the time of marriage ceremony. This kind of new regulation was not allowed to the Christian before. Even now, it is not a free ride for all people. For the Christians who are normally not allowed to marry more than one wife, there is a proviso inserted for this purpose. It is not the aim of the state to interfere with the people's beliefs. So Christians will have to fulfil their beliefs first before they can marry the second wife and so on. Even among the Muslims, it is not an automatic certificate that after 1971 everyone can become a polygamist. A husband who wants to marry another wife will have to first get an acceptance from his first wife before anything can be accomplished. This is a proviso inserted in the Act for all, regardless of the religious affiliation. Before the introduction of this Act, only Muslims were allowed to be polygamists.

This is a dubious situation, for the woman does not have a choice despite the fact that there is such a provision. I know of several marriages whereby women had no other alternative but to give consent to their husbands to marry another wife.

Polygamous marriages have existed in Tanzania for many years. It is reported that in Tanzania the polygamy rate stands at 1:25. But it is said that the crude polygamy rate increased from 1:20 in 1957 to 1:25 in 1967 (Kisembo et. al., 1977). Even within the same country there seem to be variation. For example, Iringa Region has the rate of 1:50; Kigoma, 1:48; Mara, 1:37; Mbeya, 1:37.

My own views about polygamous marriages in an African society like Tanzania is that they are on the way out although the data presented above seem to deny my assertion. The more women become well educated and independent economically, the less they will be subjected to such a situation. Even among the Muslim where, according to their religious beliefs they are allowed to marry more than one wife, things will change.

Although polygamy is on the decline, I foresee the increase of divorce. The available data is not very alarming but the breakdown of kinship, the introduction of new norms and the emerging of new sub-cultures, especially in urban areas, will encourage this trend.

In 1967, when the census was carried out, the divorce rate stood at 3.4 for males and 5.5 for females. I do not foresee a decrease to the above figure; on

contrary, I predict an increase. The increase, however, will depend on the ecological zone. As it was noted in the *1973 National Demographical Survey of Tanzania*, there is a slight difference of occurrence of divorces between rural and urban, the latter having a higher rate than the former. This is likely to be the case in the future.

The last point I want to raise in this subsection is in connection with lineage systems in Tanzania. There are two main types of lineage systems: These are patrilineal and matrilineal. Most of the ethnic groups in Tanzania are both patrilineal and patrilocal. There is, however, a belt mainly in the southern part of the country which is predominately matrilineal. The same belt goes across central Africa to western Africa. The ethnic groups involved in this southern Tanzania belt are: Wayao and Wamakua.

Other ethnic groups which were matrilineal in the past but have changed are: Wazaramo, Waluguru, Wakwere and Wanyiramba. The reason for changes are not clearly known. It is hypothesized in this work that the influence of Islam belief on the coastal people like Wazaramo, Wakwere and Waluguru might be the reason behind such a change. In the case of Wanyiramba, the colonial government in collaboration with the local leadership of that time, changed the lineage system in the 40s. The main reason of change was centred, around the inheritance system rather than anything else.

In the case of Wakwere, Wazaramo, Waluguru and Wandengereko, although they have not changed completely into patrilineal, I foresee them being so in the future. At present, they follow a double descent lineage system. Most of the families name their children following the matrilineal system whereby the names of the relatives of the female's side are given to the children. To a lesser degree, the inheritance practice follows a mixture of Islamic tradition and traditional patrilineal practices.

In addition to the two type of marriages systems I mentioned above, there is one type of marriage which is observable among the people of North Mara. The practice which is followed is as follow:

An elderly rich woman can betroth a young girl, fulfil all the required things like bridewealth and so on. After the Marriage is arranged and accomplished, the girl comes and lives with the elderly woman. Then the elderly woman arranges for a relative man to cohabit with the young woman so as to beget children for the elderly woman. The "married" woman is regarded legally "married" to the elderly woman since she fulfills all the requirements. The children born in such a kind of marriage are the heirs to the elderly wealth.

The aim of such a marriage is to have heirs to the accumulated wealth of the woman rather than anything else as far as I can trace the history of the practice.

II The changing roles and relationships

The family is the smallest and basic social unit in any society which can be analyzed adequately and given any sociological significant interpretation (Anderson, 1971; Murdock, 1949; Goode, 1961; Goody J., 1971). All the above

mentioned authors, to mention a few, treat the family institution from different angles but have one thing in common in that they recognize the importance of family in any given society.

Although the family is a universal social institution, concepts and even meanings attached to it may differ from one society to another depending on the structural relationships which operate in those different societies. It may also differ because of cultural traits of a particular society, even in a country like Tanzania. At present, there are about 120 different ethnic groups in Tanzania. Each ethnic group has its own historical and cultural background which affects family institutions. It would be unwise, therefore, to try to get every feature of each ethnic group with regard to family. Nevertheless, what is being presented in this short chapter is a summary of main representative features of the institution in the country.

The concept of family in Tanzania, like in many other African societies denotes a social unit which may either be monogamous or polygamous but may include other members such as uncles, aunts, married and unmarried children and grandparents. These may either be living in the same compound with different houses or the same house but having different and separate rooms. They may also be living in different compounds where separate houses are built. Yet all of these identify themselves as a family, and their social relationship has to be conceived and understood from that context.

Although there are differences which exist, between Western and African understanding of family, basically when we analyze the role and function of the family in a given society they may not, in principle, have many differences between them. The role and function may be limited to few people depending on the level of social formation of a particular society, but, in essence, it is the same everywhere. Let me elaborate this point.

One of the functions and roles of a family is a reproduction process. Every one of us is a product of the family because of such a process. The majority of us can even identify our parents, especially the mother, and are living with them. But some do not even know who their biological parents are. We may have social parents whom we are living with and that is all. The important thing is that we have an institution in which we belong and can identify ourselves with.

In Tanzania, like in many African societies, children, are considered to be of importance. The government and society at large value the children, they support and invest a lot in matters of provision of basic services to the children. For Africans in general, children serve as a connection between generations. They are a connection between the present generation and the coming one. They form the long chain of kinship relations in a society. Thus, a man who does not want to marry and beget children, is denying his/her responsibility to provide the future of his/her kinship.

In 1971 the *Marriage Act* was introduced in the country to normalize some abnormalities which existed before, with regard to the child born outside wedlock.

According to that Act, there is no "illegal" child in Tanzania. All children born in the society have the right to live and enjoy the best of life. It is on this basis, among others, that in Tanzania education is free from class one to University. The same applies to medical services. The government considers it her duty to provide the basic services to the children.

It was in the same Act that an affiliation bill was introduced. Although it has some problems, especially at the implementation level, women are no longer the only supporters to the children born out of wedlock. Their fathers are supposed to be responsible in supporting them financially.

Because the role of reproduction is mainly looked upon as that of a woman; up to this day one of the main reasons of marriage among the men is to have someone who will bear children for them. If it happens that a woman is unable to give birth, there are two main alternatives; either the husband marries another woman or divorces "the barren woman". Ironically, it is the woman who is always supposed to be barren and not the man.

Another general social function and role of the family which is very important in Tanzania society is socialization. Children born to the family have to be brought up in certain manners and ways. It is considered to be the role of the family and nation to socialize the child. At the family level it is understood that, since there are no sufficient day care centers in the country (Omari 1974) most socialization will take place at home. Even in those areas where some day care centers have been introduced, the role of the family in socializing the young has not been removed completely from the family level. The working mothers are encouraged to breast feed their children; parents are supposed to spend some time with their little ones after working hours in which they can have time to socialize the young.

There are other agents for socializing the young people which have recently been developed in Tanzania. With the coming of Western education and civilization to Africa, the role of the family in socialization is being weakened. After the child has entered formal school, the parents are no longer the only agents for socialization. There are teachers and peer groups. Although even in traditional society such agents existed, they were more or less related to the family since they either came from among the kinsmen or village. Today it is no longer the case. A child can have as his/her teacher someone whom they have never met before. Furthermore, it is this person who is not a relative to the child who spends most of the time with the child. Many children spend up to eight hours a day in school, away from home if they are day school pupils. If they are boarding school children, they spend months and months away from home in a different environment than their usual homes.

This kind of situation does affect the socialization process very much in any given society. Children get information of new ideas and norms from different people. Sometime they do not get the whole picture of the idea, especially controversial ones. A good example in this case is on matters concerning family

life education. The parents do not have enough time to talk with their children on matters related to sex and family thinking is that their children are being taken care of such matters by their teachers. Unfortunately, the teachers again do not have time for such topics. Since topics dealing with family life are not included in the school curriculum, they do not see why they should deal with them at all. Some teachers can only teach or deal with such issues at the level of general school discipline but not as a specific topic which is to be handled like other subjects on an equal basis. In this way socialization, although an important matter in school, takes minor emphasis. Children are left to find out by themselves or, if they are lucky, to have parents who are ready to handle such matters.

The situation is not that hopeless in all areas. Families in rural Tanzania are still in their traditional structure. Therefore, to some extent, they can afford to deal with family life education at home. But their counterpart in urban areas, where traditional family structures are beginning to breakdown as we will note later, the children are not as fortunate as those in rural.

Another point which needs our attention here in connection with socialization is that the political party has its hand in every school through its youth wing movement. Through the youth wing movement, children are inculcated with the nationalistic ideology. This is a part and parcel of national programme and stand: to build among the young people certain attitudes and ethos. Desirable as it may sound, it weakens the role of the family in the socializing process.

The argument in favor of this process can be advanced, and it goes this way: If we are to build a nation-state with the absence of tribalism, then the state must ensure that her citizens are socialized in a desired manner which will ensure the elimination of tribalism cleavages. In urban areas where a new kind of family structure is emerging, children are beginning to narrow their concept of family and limit it to a few close members of the kinship group.

The family in African situation and, in particular, that of Tanzania has another role. That is, economic. At this level, one could identify two sub-levels of the same role. First is that which is related to the general aspect of the system and the other is the way labor force was recruited and utilized for the general purpose of the unit.

Since the effect of this role goes beyond the nuclear family, it is important to note that there are other social institutions built on it or connected with it. It is from this understanding that we will appreciate the attitude and expectation of the society at large towards the family.

Every member of the family is expected to contribute to the well being of the family. This philosophy has been taken by people like Nyerere (1968) to expand and apply it to the nation-state economic relation. Coming to the family level, especially in rural areas, economic production still depends on the family labor force available. It is, therefore, a productive as well as consumptive social unit (Chayanov 1966). The more members you have in the family the more work you are to handle and, sometimes, more production.

It is from this standing point of view that we can appreciate the polygamous marriages system whereby some men were married to more than one wife at a time. It was a way of recruiting more labor force to the family unit.

This aspect of African society has been criticised by many writers in that it represents oppression to the women. Some writers have even gone to the extent of seeing this as an exploitation system of women by men (Nyerere 1968, Swantz 1975). Surely the division of labor based on sex enhanced this tendency in one way or another. Women become the larger portion of productive force and contribute more than men. Yet, their contribution does not give them a higher status in the family or society for that matter (Ngalula 1977 Lebeuf 1963).

One would assume that those who contribute much in labor and productive force would at least acquire high status within the society. One way of explaining this phenomenon is to use production relation and value system theories. While the former explain the existing contradiction in the society, in that women are the main contributors to the labor force but do not share the products or fruits of their labor equally with men, the later explain the value attached to the materials controlled by men.

Traditionally, men controlled those rare commodities and skills. In this way they ensured their superiority over women whose control over some commodities and skills, although very important, were not of the same value. One would cite skills like hunting and the control of meat as a rare commodity; metal work and forge which was controlled by men and was regarded as a special skill with value in a society like that of Wapare of Tanzania (Kimambo 1969).

Today it could be argued the same that although the commodities have changed a little bit, the production relation and values attached to certain products commodities have not changed. Men, due to cultural background (Mbilinyi 1972) had the chance to acquire more education than women. As a result, they are in high positions and control decision making in various spheres. Women, although an important section of the labor force, do not control the upper level of posts and decision making machinery. Furthermore, when it comes to the numbers of women working for monthly wages, they are small in number when compared to that of men. Those who happened to get into these monthly wage income bracket, they fall in the lower and lower-middle categories of the working class.

It can, therefore, be concluded that since men control the rare commodities, money, by holding high posts in the monthly wage group, even if women are an important labor force, they do not control the decision making. Furthermore, in terms of cash income based on salaries, men, by virtue of holding upper posts within the system, control this rare commodity—cash. This leads to their having high status within the society.

In the above situation blended with cultural background, men will continue to have high status despite the women's participation in the productive force. The only way out is the change of production relation and the enlightenment on the side of men which will effect change of attitudes.

The psychological role of the family is still observed strongly in rural areas. As we will note in a later section of our chapter, in urban areas the situation is changing a little bit.

As a social unit, the family plays the role of supporting emotionally the members of the unit. Generally, each member of the family is to look after the other materially and non-materially in every aspect of their existence. This is one of the contributing factors to the low divorce rate as mentioned earlier in our chapter. Whenever there is a misunderstanding among the members there are ways and methods of handling them. As it will be noted later, this is one of the roles which is undergoing changes, especially in urban areas where kinship ties are beginning to breakdown. Since the members who were usually the counsellors such as grandparents, aunts and uncles are living in rural areas, far away from the urban centers, families living in urban centers have to handle their own problems without any assistance from the relatives. With the absence of adequate counseling facilities in urban areas, this will remain one of the major social problems whose gap will need to be filled.

III The impact of foreign cultures and ideologies

What has been said briefly in the previous section indicates some changing roles of the family in Tanzania. Such changes have not come abruptly. As the society itself changes, the same applies to social institutions generally, and particularly to the family. Some of the changes are due to the foreign impact but others are results of the internal dynamism of the social institution itself because of the fact that its members interact with the outside world. So whatever happens to the society at large may effect the family directly or indirectly via its own members.

Most of the changes and their impacts to the family to be mentioned below have some historical relation with colonialism. I am going only to mention few of the agents which have had some great impact to the family in Tanzania.

First, the Western educational system with its individualistic tendency killed many good traditional norms and values which operated through the family. People like Lema (1976) and Tiberendwa (1976) have argued that the Western educational system which produced many white collar job experts like clerks and interpreters, can be viewed as having both negative and positive contributions to the African society. But others like Rodney (1972) would only see the negative aspect of Western education in Africa - that is, to be used to exploit the Africans.

The most affected area in family is the whole spectrum of family life education. This is related to the socialization process which has changed considerably.

Since education was formalized and institutionalized so as to produce people who would serve the colonial state, few who got a chance to get the education were socialized in Western manners. Traditional institutions responsible for socialization process, including family, were either weakened or destroyed.

Furthermore, such institutions were either termed "primitive" or irrelevant. In this way, the role of parents in educating and socializing the youth was minimized.

In this process many Western cultures and values were introduced; in many respects, half baked. As a result, we have our young people getting "bookish" education. The present effort being done by the Ministry of National Education, is to get away from this type of education. Nyerere in his booklet *Education for Self-reliance* (1967) puts this as one of the major reform which has to be introduced into the educational system in Tanzania.

Unfortunately there are areas in which this cannot be carried forthwith and bring about changes. One of the areas with which I am very concerned is in family life education. According to the Western educational system, such teaching would concern only sex education. This is a one sided aspect-biological, which in traditional African society was treated along with other topics within the context of family life education.

At present our youths are not well prepared to adequately handle issues related to this area because they are not equipped with the knowledge needed. Either they have what I have called a "biological view" only of the whole issue, or they get their education about the matter from books, films and other pornographic literatures. In most cases they have half-truths about the issues on family life education. Young people are on their own in search of truth because neither the parents nor the teachers are in a better place to handle the sensitive issues of adolescents. The efforts to introduce a special course in schools dealing with family life education has not materialized yet. Since most of the parents and teachers of today were themselves socialized in the Western oriented schools, a new orientation in both contents and context of the course to be taught on family life education is desirable.

A family life education course/subject in schools is a desirable thing, for the majority of youth display ignorance on this matter. A survey which I did three years ago among 100 students at Secondary schools in Dar es Salaam showed that, the majority had some knowledge of "sex education" but not "family life education". Their sources of information varied but the majority, especially the girls, said they obtained from either books (literatures) or peer groups. The biology classes also helped a little bit to enlighten. But such knowledge was far short from being family life education a comprehensive whole knowledge on family life matters. It may be pointed out here that the present encroaching problem of pregnant girls in schools is an indication of lack of this knowledge among our youths.

The second area where foreign culture has had its impact to the family is economics. I am not going to discuss all aspects with respect to this area, but only those which have relevance to the theme of our chapter.

The capitalist mode of production introduced to African societies through the money economy has affected the family in many ways. One of them is the whole production relation in the family. As touched upon above, the contribution of women to the economic development of the society cannot be overstressed.

But it is an obvious fact that women are not enjoying high status in the society. As it has been argued above, money as a rare commodity has tended to uplift men to higher status than women.

The most effected traditional institution related to the family which can be interpreted under this sub-section is bridewealth (bride price). In most traditional societies, the concept of bridewealth was not an economic exchange but a kind of a token in appreciation of the new family relationship which is to be established through the marriage. In many societies in which I conducted researches on this issue, the old people said categorically that in the traditional societies there was nothing of "buying a wife" and "selling the daughter", concepts and connotations which have come about with the coming of cash economy. Today, bridewealth is being used by some families as a way of getting a fortune.

For example, among the Wasukuma, bridewealth stands between 20-50 heads of cattles. Among the Wagogo it stands between 20-30 heads of cattles. Given the price of a head of cattle which stands at about Tsh.600/= - 800/=, to get enough heads of cattle for bridewealth is a problem. It is from this kind of situation that most youths and enlightened parents are against any form of bridewealth in Tanzania. The National Women's Organization has tried to push the matter to the extent of having law introduced to curb against such practice. But all has been in vain. Even the *Marriage Act 1971* does not speak of this institution.

Surely, the way some parents are demanding for bridewealth of their daughters, the whole cultural institution has been changed into an economic exchange institution; daughters being commodities of exchanged for cash. It could not be so if the money economy were not introduced to the society.

IV CONCLUSIONS

From the above discussion we can make some concluding statements with regard to the future of this institution in a country like Tanzania.

First, the polygamy practice will decrease in the near future. This is due to the level of education of the women, hence economic independency. People are beginning to realize some social problems arising from the practice of marrying to a more than one wife at a time. Since there is no polyndry marriages system in Tanzania, I can only state a polygamy marriage system.

While polygamy may decrease, there is a likelihood of having more divorces than before. This is my second observation I want to make. With the breakdown of kinship ties, which originally served as counseling centers at times of marriage crises, more young people are likely to have as the final resort divorces and separations whenever faced by marriage crises beyond their ability to resolve the differences. Perhaps such trend will be more pronounced in urban areas than in rural areas where the kinship ties are still strong. In the case of urban areas, not only the families are heading towards nuclear family units but also have impacts from other cultures which affect the institutions very much.

Related to the above, although different in nature, there are new trends among the young women to lead a "solo mother's" life. After the girls had pregnancies outside of wedlock, some prefer to lead single lives in spite of the fact that they have children. This is a new trend because in many of the traditional societies, this could not happen.

A solo mother's life is a new trend which will affect the marriage institution very much. One of the effects is that children will grow in incomplete families and this has some deficiency in the socialization process. At the present it is not an alarming problem, but it is on the rise. The other effects will be the tendency of the young women of not respecting the institution itself. In the traditional society one would be looked down if she led a single life, especially with children. At present, such sanctions are no longer operating in our many ethnic groups in Tanzania.

As a result of social changes taking place in Tanzania society, the young people no longer depend on the parents and relatives in the selection of life partners. This is my fourth and last point I want to make as concluding remarks for this chapter. In many ethnic groups in Tanzania it was a custom for the parents or relatives to select life partners for their children. But it has been pointed out previously, this is no longer the case: Young people select their own life partners at places of work and schooling and just report to their parents - of their decisions. They get into marriage of their own choices and accord.

With the weakening of kinship ties, the other general effect to the society at large I want to make here is the increase of urbanization on one hand and the development of individualism tendency among some urban dwellers on the other hand. At present, though kinship ties are weakening, many urban people have their rural ties in ways of investment like houses or farms and/or have relatives living in the rural areas. Most of the people go to their home areas during their holidays. People born in rural areas are buried at their birth places when they die. All these indicate some kind of ties to the rural areas among the urban dwellers of rural origin.

So family institution in Tanzania is in the process of changing. Whether for better or worse, it will depend on other factors. One thing is sure, the trend is towards a nuclear family rather than an extended one; monogamy rather than polygamy and fewer children than many.

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