

Gender Disparities in Expenditure of Income from Tobacco in Urambo District, Tanzania

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Abstract

In Tanzania, gender education has been being provided through various mass media. Therefore, it was expected that family resources would be equitably, if not equally, utilized. However, incidents of men squandering income from tobacco and denying their wives of benefiting from the income are common in Urambo District where the most important cash crop is tobacco. The reasons for this problem are not clear. Thus, the research from which this paper has emanated was conducted in the district during the agricultural season 2009/10 to determine gender-based factors for equitable and inequitable expenditure of income from tobacco. It was found that men's proportion of expenditures (35.2%) and that of women (12.1%) of the household income were significantly different at the 0.1% level of significance ($p = 0.000$). Ten percent (10.0%) was spent by children, and 42.7% was spent by whole households, i.e. family-wide expenditures. This implies great disparity in expenditure of tobacco income as men spend disproportionately higher than women and children. Patriarchy, women's humility and fear of being divorced appeared to be among the main factors for the disproportional expenditures. The results substantiate the need for more efforts in provision of gender education through mass media and training on financial management among tobacco farmers.

Key words: gender, expenditure of income from tobacco, equity, equality

1. Introduction

Gender refers to socially constructed roles and socially learned behavioural practices and expectations associated with men and women. Women and men are different biologically; for instance, women can give birth to and breast-feed children, but men cannot (World Bank, 2001). Gender identifies social relationships between men and women. It refers to the relationship between them and the way this relationship is socially constructed. Gender is not synonymous to women; it considers both men and women and their interdependence. Gender equity and equality are key terms in this paper. The former refers to fairness for both men and women by giving them equal opportunities to access and own resources (productive/economic and social) while the latter denotes the state of resemblance and likeness in basic needs acquisition and use to both women and men (Temba, 2004). It is the situation whereby there is no discrimination on the basis of a person's sex in the allocation of resources and in the access to services.

Therefore, the research from which this paper is based was done to determine gender-based factors for equitable and inequitable expenditures of income from tobacco. The specific objectives were to: (i) estimate household tobacco earnings per year; (ii) determine the proportions of income from tobacco spent by men, women, children, and by whole households; and (iii) find factors influencing men's domination of tobacco earnings and their improper money utilization. Moreover, two hypotheses were tested. The first hypothesis sought to find if the mean expenditure of income from tobacco between men and women at the household level was significantly different; the second one was about determining whether there was significant difference in the proportions of tobacco income expenditure by women between households with less and those with more male domination. As a starting point, it was found necessary to review the equity theory by John Stacey Adams.

2. Theoretical Issues Regarding Gender Equity

2.1 Equity Theory by Adams

The equity theory attempts to explain relational satisfaction in terms of perceptions of fair/unfair distributions of resources within interpersonal relationships. The theory is considered as one of the justice theories. It was first developed in 1963 by John Stacey Adams, a workplace and behavioural psychologist, who contended that employees seek to maintain equity between the inputs that they bring to a job and the outcomes that they receive from it against the perceived inputs and outcomes of others (Adams, 1965). The structure of equity in the workplace is based on the ratio of inputs to outcomes. The equity theory posits that individuals who perceive themselves as either under-rewarded or over-rewarded will experience distress, and that this distress leads to efforts to restore equity within the relationship. It focuses on determining whether the distribution of resources is fair to both relational partners. Equity is measured by comparing the ratios of contributions and benefits of each person within the relationship Chapman (2001). According to Adams (1965), anger is induced by underpayment

inequity, and guilt is induced by overpayment equity. Payment is the main concern and, therefore, the cause of equity or inequity in most cases.

2.2 Equity Theory Propositions

The equity theory consists of four propositions:

- (i) Individuals seek to maximize their outcomes (whereby outcomes are defined as rewards minus costs).
- (ii) Groups can maximize collective rewards by developing accepted systems for equitably apportioning rewards and costs among members. Systems of equity will evolve within groups, and members will attempt to induce other members to accept and adhere to these systems. The only way groups can induce members to equitably behave is by making it more profitable to behave equitably rather than inequitably. Thus, groups will generally reward members who treat others equitably and generally punish (increase the cost for) members who treat others inequitably.
- (iii) When individuals find themselves participating in inequitable relationships, they become distressed. The more inequitable the relationship, the more distress individuals feel. According to the equity theory, both the person who gets “too much” and the person who gets “too little” feel distressed. The person who gets too much may feel guilt or shame; the person who gets too little may feel angry or humiliated.
- (iv) Individuals who perceive that they are in an inequitable relationship attempt to eliminate their distress by restoring equity. The greater the inequity, the more distress people feel and the more they try to restore equity.

Adams called personal efforts, and rewards and other similar 'give and take' issues at work respectively 'inputs' and 'outputs'. Inputs are defined as each participant's contributions to the relational exchange and are viewed as entitling him/her to rewards or costs. Inputs are logically what we give or put into our work, but outputs are defined as the positive and negative consequences that an individual perceives a participant has incurred as a consequence of his/her relationship with another one. More specifically, Adams used the term 'referent' others to describe the reference points or people with whom we compare our own situation, which is the pivotal part of the theory. Adams's Equity Theory goes beyond and is quite different from merely assessing effort and reward. The Equity Theory adds a crucial perspective of comparison with 'referent' others (people we consider in a similar situation). Equity is dependent on comparing own ratios of input/output with ratios of 'referent' others (Chapman, 2001).

2.3 Applications of Adams's Theory to this Paper

In terms of how the theory applies to work and management, we each seek a fair balance between what we put into our job and what we get out of it. Importantly, we arrive at our measure of equity by comparing our balance of effort and reward, and other factors of give and take, particularly the ratio of inputs to outputs with the balance of ratios enjoyed by other people, whom we deem to be relevant reference points or examples ('referent' others) (Chapman, 2001).

The authors of this paper found it pertinent to apply the equity theory by Adams since it has direct application to this paper's main objective that was to determine gender-based factors for equitable and inequitable expenditure of income from tobacco between men and women at household level. Unlike at job or market places where there are employees and employers, the authors apply the equity theory to the tobacco farming households whereby men, women and children are the targeted groups. The hours spent on tobacco production are regarded as their inputs while the amount of money (income) received from tobacco production are regarded as their outputs. If men's and women's expenditures of income from tobacco are quite disproportionate, that is termed inequitable expenditure in this paper. In order to find out the disparities in labour contribution and expenditure of income from tobacco among men, women and children, the Harvard Analytical Framework is used. Therefore, it is reviewed below, among other Gender analysis Frameworks (GAFs).

2.4 Gender Analysis Frameworks (GAFs)

A gender analysis framework is a tool or instrument used to analyze gender inequalities. It is used to analyze the roles and responsibilities of men and women, access to and control over resources, decision making, and power of men and women (Wassenaar, 2006). There are quite a number of gender analysis frameworks, but the following six are the ones that are mostly used, depending on the task in hand, the context, and the resources available (March *et al.*, 2009): the Harvard Gender Roles Analytical Framework, developed by researchers at the Harvard Institute of International Development; the Gender Planning Framework by Carolyn Moser; the Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) by Rani Parker; the Capacities and Vulnerabilities Analysis (CVA) Framework; the Women

Empowerment Framework (WEP) by Sara Hlupekile Longwe, a gender expert from Zambia; and the Social Relations Framework by Naila Kabeer.

For the research from which this paper is based the Harvard Analytical framework was adopted. This is a data gathering tool that charts and organizes information that can be adapted to many situations and has four components: activity profile, access and control profile, influencing factors, and project cycle analysis. The tool was adopted since it is based upon allocating resources to women as well as men in development processes. The activity profile and the access and control profile fit an explanation for disparities in benefiting from household resources between men, women and children at household level. The framework has been used by some other researchers elsewhere in studies closely related to this one, and some examples of the uses are given below.

2.5 Findings of Previous Related Researches

Literature shows that there is parity in labour contribution and great disparity in income expenditure among men, women and children within households. For instance, Kuenyehia (2003), using results of a research done in Nigeria, reports great disparity in income expenditure between men and women within households as the majority (73.2%) of women respondents, when asked who had the final say on how to spend their households' incomes, said their husbands, while only 6.8% of women respondents said they had the final say, and 20% said a joint decision was usually taken. Hence the wives' incomes were more subject to control by the husbands than the husbands' incomes were subject to control by wives. FAO (2004) also reports inequitable income expenditure in Zambia as shown in Table 1.

In Table 1, it should be noted that the earlier an item is listed, the higher the priority it is given. If more than one item is listed on a line, it indicates that those items are equally ranked. If that is the case, one may summarize the aforementioned examples by saying that women appear to have lesser leisure income expenditure than men. For example, while men spend their income on beer, women spend their income on buying kitchen utensils and household items, and while men "marry new wives", women buy food for their households.

3. Sources of Data

3.1 Geographical Location of the Study Area

The research on which this paper is based was conducted in Urambo District which is one of the six districts of Tabora Region, in the central-western part of Tanzania. The district covers an area of 21,299 km² and had a population of 370,796 in 2002 which grew at the rate of 3.6% per annum between 1998 and 2002 (URT, 2003). The district is administratively divided into 27 wards, but the research was confined to four wards (Songambebe, Igagala, Ukumbisiganga, and Uyumbu). Four villages where tobacco was highly produced, one from each of the four wards, were selected for the research. The villages were Songambebe, Mtakuja, Lumbe, and Izimbili.

3.2 Population, Sample, and Sampling

The study population was all tobacco farming households. A hundred and twenty (120) households comprising husbands and wives, 30 households from each of the four villages, were selected from which information required for the study was obtained. The sample size was determined based on literature, which says that the bare minimum number of cases for a sample or sub-sample in which statistical data analysis is to be done is 30 and that in most cases 100 cases is taken (Bailey, 1994). Based on the literature, the sub-sample of 30 households from each of the four villages and the total sample of 120 households were large enough for this study. However, three households were dropped out because they did not meet the criterion of each household in the sample having a husband and a wife; the sample then remained 117. Simple random sampling was used to obtain respondent households from each village.

3.3 Instruments and Data Collection

Copies of a questionnaire, a focus group discussions (FGD) guide, and a key informant interview guide were the instruments used for data collection. The questionnaire was prepared based on the essentials of a good questionnaire, i.e. short and simple, and organized in a logical sequence moving from relatively easy to more difficult questions. Technical terms, vague expressions and those affecting sentiments of the respondents were avoided. Besides using the above instruments for data collection, direct observations on household resources and items on which men and women spent their income from tobacco were used to get insights into the proportions of expenditure of income from tobacco that was grown during the agricultural season 2009/10.

3.4 Data Analysis

Quantitative data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). More specifically, descriptive statistics including frequencies, cross-tabulations, means, graphs, tables and percentage distributions of responses were used for data presentation. T-test was used to determine whether there were significant differences in expenditures of income from tobacco between men and women, and between the same categories of household members where there was less and where there was higher domination by husbands, albeit the domination was determined subjectively by asking women whether they were dominated by their husbands little or much. Qualitative data collected were analysed by observing themes of the discussions, and agreement and disagreement in responses given by various interviewees. Strong words said by the respondents about proportions of income expenditure, patriarchy and men's domination of income from tobacco were quoted, to show empirically the views of the interviewees.

4. Empirical Findings from the Research

4.1 Gross and Net Income Received by the Respondents from Tobacco

The incomes received from tobacco production were estimated by asking the respondents the amount of money they had received from the 2009/10 tobacco season. It was found that the average gross income received by tobacco growers during the tobacco season 2009/10 was TZS³ 4,270, 613 per household while the average net income was TZS 2,829,949 per household. The net income was found after cost deduction. Moreover, the net income received was lower when compared to the national average income of 2008/09, which was TZS 3,163,000 per household. However, the low income doesn't justify men's habit of squandering it. Farmers lack basic skills on financial management which is vividly shown by men's habit of squandering and misusing incomes from tobacco while women remain with little amount.

4.2 Proportion of Expenditure of Income from Tobacco

The proportions of expenditures were grouped into four groups: household head's expenditure, spouse's expenditure, children's expenditure, and family-wide expenditure. The average proportions of expenditure of the household income from tobacco are presented in Figure 2, which shows that the average proportion of husbands' expenditure of income from tobacco (35.2%) was more than four-fifths (82.4%) that of family-wide expenditure (42.7%) and almost thrice that of wives' expenditure (12.0%). Wives' expenditure was almost the same as that of children (10.0%), and women's and children's expenditures combined were only 62.5% of husbands' expenditure. Family-wide expenditures included food, house construction or repair, assets, medical care, and buying livestock. Wives and children's main items for expenditure were food, shoes, travelling and others. Husbands' main items of expenditure were drinking and "marrying" besides those for wives and children. The expenditures are further explained below.

4.3 Items for Expenditure

Despite the fact that men spent higher income from tobacco than women and children, the research found that women had more items for expenditure than men. Moreover, women's items for expenditure were less expensive vis-à-vis men's. For instance, while men spent much of their incomes on travelling, drinking and marrying additional wives, women spent their incomes on adding food varieties, and buying kitchen utensils (Table 2). The findings relate to those of some other previous studies. For example, FAO (2004) found that women in Zambia appeared to have lesser leisure income expenditure than men. Men's luxurious items of expenditure lead to inequitable proportionality of expenditure of income from tobacco between them and women.

4.4 Hypotheses Testing Results on Proportions of Expenditures

Paired-samples t-test was used to compare mean expenditures of six pairs, one pair after another one, to determine whether expenditures between each of the pairs were significantly different. The aim was to find out whether the income spent was equitable for men, women and other household members. The first hypothesis sought to find if the mean expenditure of income from tobacco between men and women at the household level was significantly different. The results in Table 3 show that the proportions of expenditure of the income by men and women were significantly different at the 0.1% level of significance ($p = 0.000$). Therefore, the first null hypothesis of the research is rejected while the alternative hypothesis is confirmed. The fact, particularly in the sample, is that mean expenditures of income from tobacco between men and women at the household level

³ TZS is Tanzanian Shilling; 1 USD = about TZS 1,600 in 2013

differed significantly.

The results also showed that the proportions of expenditure of income from tobacco between men and children differed significantly at the 0.1% level of significance ($p = 0.000$). Moreover, the proportions of expenditure between women and the whole household differed significantly at the 0.1% level of significance ($p = 0.000$). However, women's mean expenditure did not differ significantly from that of children ($p = 0.067$). This is because children and women are denied by men of benefiting from tobacco income. Unexpectedly, the proportions of expenditure of income from tobacco between men and whole households did not differ significantly ($p = 0.064$), which shows that men spent a lion's share of their households' income. This is indicated by the proportion of the income they spent that was almost equal to what was spent on all family-wide expenditures.

With regard to the second hypothesis, which was about determining whether there was significant difference in the proportions of tobacco income expenditure by women between households with less and those with more male domination, the independent t-test results showed that women's proportions of expenditure were lower among women in households with more male dominance (TZS 218,199) than those in households with less male dominance (TZS 453,400). The mean expenditures were significantly different at the 1% level of significance ($p = 0.005$). Therefore, the second null hypothesis of the research is rejected while the alternative hypothesis is confirmed. This indicates that, in areas with high male dominance of income from tobacco, women's expenditures were low, and vice versa.

4.5 Factors Influencing Men's Dominance of Income from Tobacco

From the findings of the study, a number of cultural and gender-based factors in terms of practices, habits and slogans that contribute to men's dominance of income from tobacco were found and are presented in Table 4.

4.6 Factors for Equitable Income Expenditure

A follow up question was asked to obtain specific reasons for equitable expenditure of income expenditures; the results are presented in Table 5.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

On the basis of the above findings, it is concluded that there is great disparity in the proportions of tobacco income expenditures among men, women and children at household level. Men spend a lion's share while women and children remain with little amount or occasionally none. This is because normal men's items for expenditure including clothes and shoes are more expensive than those of women and children, and men involve themselves in luxurious things which include alcohol abuse and extra-marital affairs. Moreover, there are some negative effects of inequitable income expenditure between men and women, which include family dissolution as a result of separation or divorce, especially when women reach the peak of their tolerance to men's tendency of squandering household income and denying their wives and children of benefiting from the income. Unless major constraints with regard to men's tendency of squandering income from tobacco are tackled, women's emancipation and equity in household expenditures will not be attained. Moreover, the government's effort to promote gender equity and equality as it is held by the slogan (in Kiswahili) "*hamsini kwa hamsi*", which literally means "fifty by fifty", will not be achieved.

5.2 Recommendations

In view of the conclusion, the following recommendations are made, in order to bring about equity and equality between men, women and children in households' expenditures of income from tobacco. Since there are great disparities in the proportions of income expenditure between men, women and children within household while one of Tanzania's policies is to bring equity and equality, the Ministry of Community Development Gender and Children is urged to make more efforts on provision of gender education through mass media, and come up with programmes for mainstreaming gender among tobacco farming households and nation-wide at large. Gender education should also include helping men to overcome the fear that by providing equal rights, women will rule over them. This will help to reduce patriarchy and men's dominance of income from tobacco. Another recommendation is that the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs is urged to help tobacco farmers in Urambo District access education on financial management. It should include planning and good budget formulation, which will help them spend their incomes properly. It is also recommended that Urambo District Council should conduct training sessions on financial accountability for all tobacco farmers. Local government leaders should

enact by-laws to punish all men who will squander tobacco income. Moreover, the people of Urambo District should be educated that squandering income from tobacco is a source of their income poverty and a threat towards their own development. Therefore, they should be urged to spend their tobacco income equitably since both men and women's inputs in tobacco production are equitable. Lastly, but not least, the people of Urambo District should internalize gender education which is normally provided through mass media. Men in Urambo District should understand that to provide women with equitable expenditure of income from tobacco will not prevent them from being heads of their households, and it is not a way to make women rule over them.

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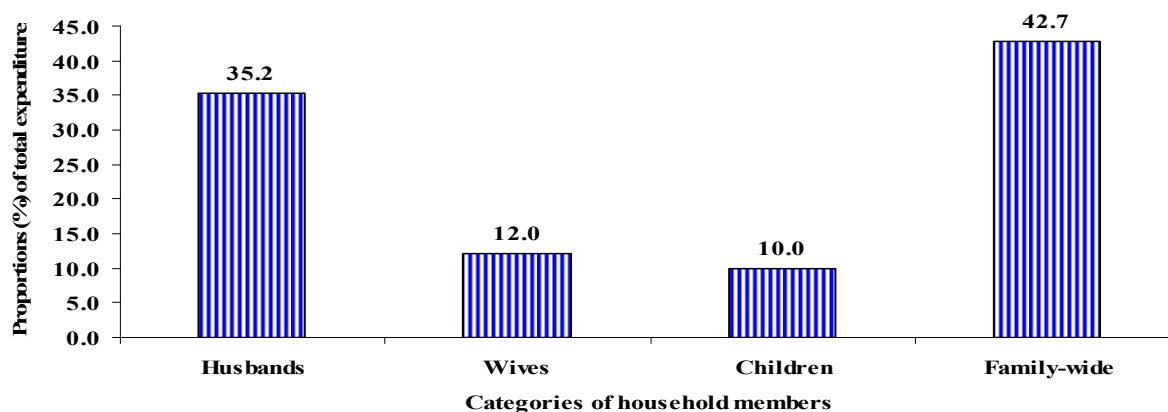


Figure 1. Proportions of expenditure of income from tobacco

Table 1. Ranking main items of expenditure according to women in Zambia

Women's expenditure	Men's expenditure
Food	Marrying new wife/girlfriends
School fees	Cattle, fertilizers and food
Clothes	Seed and farm implements
Medical expenses	School fees
Kitchen utensils and household items	Beer

Source: FAO (2004).

Table 2. Items for and average amount of expenditures

Item	Husbands' expenditure (TZS)	Wives' expenditure (TZS)	Children's expenditure (TZS)
Clothes	71,509.09	53,143.12	60,103.45
Shoes	46,476.64	43,687.63	46,849.56
Travelling	264,080.45	91,967.74	70,000.00
Drinking	178,833.33	28,823.53	-*
Marrying additional wives	523,342.11	-	-
Kitchen utensils	-	43,621.95	-
Additional foods	-	85,179.49	-
Cosmetics	-	44,604.17	-
School	-	-	62,227.27
Entertainments	-	-	12,421.82
Others	230,136.36	40,981.98	15,425.93
Total	1,314,377.98	432,009.61	267,028.03

* Means not applicable

Table 3. T-test results comparing proportions of expenditure

Pairs compared		Mean proportion (%)	t-value	Sig. (p-value)
Pair 1	Husband's proportions of total expenditures	35.2	9.535***	0.000
	Wives' proportions of total expenditure	12.0		
Pair 2	Husband's proportions of total expenditures	35.2	11.114***	0.000
	Children's proportions of total expenditures	10.0		
Pair 3	Husband's proportions of total expenditures	35.2	-1.873 ^{ns}	0.064
	Family-wide proportions of total expenditures	42.7		
Pair 4	Wives' proportions of total expenditure	12.0	1.849 ^{ns}	0.067
	Children's proportions of total expenditures	10.0		
Pair 5	Wives' proportions of total expenditure	12.0	-11.556***	0.000
	Family-wide proportions of total expenditures	42.7		
Pair 6	Children's proportions of total expenditures	10.0	-12.433***	0.000
	Family-wide proportions of total expenditures	42.7		

*** Significantly different at the 0.1% level

ns No significant difference

Table 4. Factors influencing men’s domination of tobacco income

Factors	Frequency*	Percentage (%)
Men claiming to have used more labour than women	88	7.4
Inadequate gender education for women’s emancipation	88	7.4
Men’s greed	83	6.9
Women’s love of their families	83	6.9
Men’s infidelity	82	6.8
Women’s ignorance of their rights	82	6.8
Husband's negligence of their families	79	6.6
Men’s selfishness	78	6.5
Women’s humility and inferiority complex	78	6.5
Patriarchal system	78	6.5
Men’s superiority complex	78	6.5
Women’s fear of divorce	76	6.4
Men’s sexual jealousy	75	6.3
Women’s lack of confidence	75	6.3
Traditional barriers	73	6.2

*Multiple responses were allowed

Table 5. Specific factors for equitable income expenditure

Factors	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Deciding together on which items to spend income on	75	12.2
Monogamy	73	11.9
Education on financial management	72	11.7
Gender awareness	58	9.4
Women’s stability	31	5.1

*Multiple responses were allowed

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