

THE STATUS OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE FAMILY IN TANZANIA



Introduction

This brief relies on data and findings from the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) report for Tanzania conducted in 2022, complemented by online literature.¹ To empower women in other important areas, gender equality in the home and private spheres is essential. Nonetheless, discriminatory social norms and traditional roles are frequently the strongest and hardest to overcome within the home and family.²

Since gender stereotypes are not limited to the family and are often repeated in the community, the business, and other institutions like schools and governance systems, these discriminatory social norms have far-reaching effects. Traditional gender stereotypes, for instance, that limit women and girls to caring for the home and household duties may prohibit them from pursuing professional jobs, entering the workforce, or taking on leadership roles in their communities or society at large. In addition to females marrying before the age of 18, being monetarily reliant on men, having a lower status and less decision-making authority in the household, and experiencing abuse and harassment in private, rigid gender standards inside the family can also have this effect.

There are two primary sections in this policy brief. Each part focuses on one of the two primary forms of discrimination against women and girls in the home: unequal distribution of unpaid care, domestic work, and decision-making authority, as well as female child marriage. These two issues are crucial because they have several detrimental effects on various facets of women's and girls' lives. The analysis provides the current status of women in Tanzania and

the 31 regions that comprise the country for each component. The study then reveals how discriminatory social institutions contribute to Tanzania's unequal outcomes, especially social norms, attitudes, and stereotypes. These include the high percentage of women who marry before turning 18, their disproportionate share of unpaid care and household work, and their limited ability to make decisions for themselves and their families. Lastly, each section reveals a few key factors contributing to the discriminatory social norms and attitudes limiting Tanzanian women's opportunities.

Girl child marriage

Child marriage is acknowledged as a violation of human rights that constitutes a threat to the health, well-being, and future of girls.³ It also hinders a nation's progress and has substantial financial consequences.⁴ Adolescent pregnancies are frequently linked to girl child marriage and carry significant risks for maternal, newborn, and morbidity, as well as increased social isolation and intimate partner violence.⁵ Lower educational achievement is also linked to child marriage, particularly in secondary education. This, in turn, limits women's and girls' ability to make decisions, be financially independent, be empowered, and contribute to the socioeconomic advancement of their families, communities, and society at large. Future generations may be affected by these long-term detrimental repercussions of child marriage. For example, child marriage raises the likelihood of teenage pregnancies, which increases the risk of stunting, wasting, or underweight in children. These

outcomes adversely affect the welfare outcomes and long-term human capital development for all citizens.⁶

A National Plan of Action to End Violence against Women and Children in Tanzania 2017/18-2021/22 has been implemented in response to this, and it specifically addresses child marriage. The goal of the plan is to bring the rate of child marriage down to 10 per cent by 2022 while acknowledging the detrimental effects of the practice.⁷ The National Integrated Communications and Outreach Strategy to End Violence against Women and Children and an Outreach Toolkit 2017/2018-2021/2022 are attached to the action plan. The significance of putting an end to child marriage is also recognized in Zanzibar's National Plan of Action to End Violence against Women and Children 2017-2022. The strategy notes that child marriage is a risk factor for violence against women and children in addition to being a destructive practice in and of itself.⁸

One of the most important steps in combating this detrimental practice is the National Plan of Action to End Violence against Women and Children in Tanzania 2017/18-2021/22, which specifically addresses child marriage. However, executing legislative and policy measures is necessary to succeed⁹, especially given the area's difficulties.¹⁰ The strategy should take into account the effects of poverty as well as the requirement for economic empowerment.¹¹ The strategy should involve dedicated leadership, foster mutual understanding, and define roles and responsibilities at the national and sub-national levels to guarantee its implementation.¹²

To forbid child marriage for minors enrolled in primary or secondary education within Tanzanian territory, the Education Act was revised in 2016. Therefore, it is prohibited for anyone to wed a student and vice versa.¹³ Most recently, Tanzania declared in November 2021 that all Mainland Tanzanian kids who left school would have the chance to return. This includes young women who dropped out of elementary or secondary school because they were pregnant and were not permitted to return.¹⁴ However, as of December 2021, there had not yet been the implementation of an official policy or legislative measure to amend Tanzania's Education Act, which discriminates against pregnant girls.¹⁵

Despite implementing several programs and the corresponding advancements, coordinated endeavors are still required to eradicate the practice, especially in light of the COVID-19 epidemic. The likelihood of girls being coerced

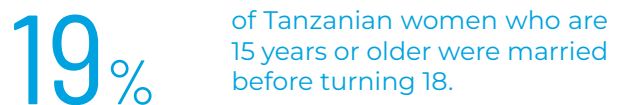
into child marriage has increased as a result of the ensuing external economic shocks, rising poverty rates, and restricted access to services, including child protection and reproductive health services.¹⁶

The prevalence of underage marriage among girls persists as a significant concern in specific regions of Tanzania

Tanzania has a high rate of child marriage, with girls being the primary victims:



According to SIGI Tanzania,

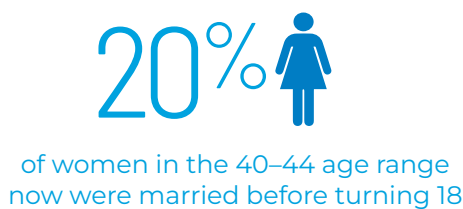


Tanzania does better than the average rate of 31 per cent for the East and Southern Africa area when it comes to child marriage among women aged 20 to 24 (SDG indicator 5.3.1), with the proportion being slightly smaller at 16 per cent.¹⁸ The persistence of girl child marriage may be attributed to gaps in the law governing marriage.¹⁹

In Zanzibar, for instance, there is no legal minimum age for marriage, but in Tanzania's mainland, girls can legally get married at 15 with a court order. In comparison to metropolitan environments, child marriage rates are substantially higher in rural communities. Compared to 12 per cent in urban regions, 23 per cent of women in rural areas who are 15 years of age and older report being married, divorced, or widowed before turning 18 years old. Comparably, the percentage of women in rural regions (24 per cent) who married before turning 18 compared to those in urban areas (4 per cent) is much greater for those between the ages of 20 and 24. The regional results indicate that child marriage is a problem that is not uniformly prevalent throughout Tanzania. In certain areas, it is particularly severe. In partic-

ular, almost 25 per cent of girls and women in six regions who are 15 years of age and older were married before turning 18.²⁰ This percentage rises to 37 per cent in Kaskazini Pemba. Four regions, Mara, Morogoro, Shinyanga, and Simiyu, report girl child marriage rates of over 30 per cent, according to the SDG indicator.

Over the past 50 years, there has been a steady decline in child marriage; however, it seems that this trend has stopped recently. Changes in the incidence of child marriage over time can be shown by comparing the rates of girl child marriage across various age groups. For instance,



which indicates that



This method shows how Tanzanian female child marriage has changed over several decades. 45 years ago, the child marriage rate was approximately 33 per cent, as indicated by 33 per cent of women between the ages of 65 and 69 in 2021 who had married for the first time before turning 18. Over 20 years, this rate steadily declined, reaching 19 per cent among women in the 50–54 age range. However, according to the age bracket data, things haven't moved forward much since the mid-1990s. Specifically, the rate of girl child marriage falls between 16 per cent and 21 per cent for the age groups 20–24 to 50–54, with little variation.²¹ Based on data from SIGI Tanzania, these trends are consistent with findings from other sources, such as census figures and the results of the Demographic Health Survey, which demonstrate a similar long-term trend in the decline of child marriage, albeit with a plateau since the 1990s.²²

The marriage of girls has profound adverse effects on women's health and the accumulation of human capital

The probability of teenage pregnancies, that is, childbirths before the age of 20, increases with girl child marriage. In Tanzania, adolescent pregnancy is still a serious issue. Approximately



More than one in four women who are currently 15 years of age or older in nine regions became pregnant for the first time before turning 20.²³ Research indicates a robust statistical relationship between the age at which women get married and the age at which they have their first kid. In Tanzania, women marrying later in life tend to have their first child later.²⁴

As a result, being a child bride dramatically raises the chance of becoming pregnant as a teenager, even after adjusting for other sociodemographic variables.²⁵ In this sense, adolescent pregnancies are more common in Tanzanian regions with higher rates of child marriage. Significant health hazards are associated with the high rates of adolescent pregnancies for both the young mother and her unborn child. Adolescent moms are more likely to experience maternal mortality and morbidity than women over the age of 20, and their offspring are more likely to have lower birth weights, premature deliveries, and serious newborn disorders.²⁶ When a mother passes away during childbirth, the baby who survives may face several difficulties, such as inadequate nutrition due to not breastfeeding, a higher chance of suffering from interrupted schooling, or challenging living conditions.²⁷

Simultaneously, female child marriage is seen as a socially acceptable way to end unplanned pregnancies.²⁸ Since child marriage is a socially approved institution, adolescent pregnan-

cies resulting from it are frequently accepted in Tanzania. Unwanted pregnancies are seen as problematic when they happen early.²⁹ The process involves a combination of parents seeking to avoid societal disgrace linked to out-of-wedlock adolescent pregnancies and the individual responsible for the pregnancy aiming to evade potential legal consequences, including a 30-year jail sentence, the maximum penalty for impregnating a pupil or girl under 18 years old in Tanzania. Frequently, both parties agree to an illicit marriage between the girl and the prospective father, who then assumes responsibility for her well-being and care. In instances such as Shinyanga, where girl child marriage rates are notably high, and 50 per cent of women report giving birth before turning 18, the primary drivers of child marriage include adolescent pregnancies, peer pressure, girls seeking financial means for small purchases, and household poverty.³⁰ In more severe cases, this same mechanism is employed to conceal instances of rape followed by pregnancy. Child marriage between the rape survivor and the perpetrator is often viewed as an acceptable “solution,” allowing the girl’s family to safeguard their honor and the aggressor to avoid legal consequences.

In Tanzania, the custom of child marriage is ingrained in cultural and gender disparities, especially when the girl has been sexually assaulted.³¹ There isn’t enough political will to enforce the rules against child marriage, even though both local and international legal frameworks prohibit them.³² Early marriage is viewed as a feasible choice for females in many tribes, providing them with social status and protection from other risks.³³ Women frequently participate actively in decision-making, and local opinions toward early marriage are nuanced.³⁴ These results underline the necessity of a multifaceted strategy that tackles the underlying reasons for child marriage in Tanzania and gives girls the freedom to make their own decisions.

The educational attainment of girls who marry young is more likely to be lower.³⁵ In Tanzania, females are typically married off at the age of sixteen, when they are supposed to start secondary school. Even after adjusting for a number of sociodemographic variables, there is a strong positive correlation between child marriage rates and the proportion of women who do not have a formal education. On the other hand, they negatively correlate with increasing percentages of secondary educated women. Girl children marrying young often results in the discontinuation of their education.

It’s against the law for anyone to marry a girl or boy who attends primary or secondary school in Tanzania’s mainland.³⁶ Consequently, families that wish to marry their daughters may be inclined to pull them out of school before planning the wedding. However, a husband can disagree with his young bride going to school and instead want her to take care of the home. When adolescent pregnancies arise from child marriage, the responsibilities of raising children might prevent girls from pursuing further education. Girls’ education was further restricted until November 2021 by a law against school pregnancies, which forbade teenage mothers from finishing or picking up their education.³⁷

Child marriage has detrimental effects on the educational attainment of girls



Research from the SIGITanzania database indicates that there may be a bidirectional relationship between education and girl child marriage, with girls who have dropped out of school or have low educational attainment being more likely to marry before turning 18.³⁸

Higher percentages of women with primary and secondary education are substantially linked to reduced rates of girl child marriage, even after controlling for sociodemographic variables.³⁹ At the national level, compared to

30% of women who did not complete their primary education 

15% of women who completed their primary education 

1% of women who completed their secondary education 

35% of women without formal education were married before turning 18.⁴⁰ 

Several fundamental drivers are present. For example, females already out of school may be encouraged to marry as soon as possible if they believe marriage will help them advance in society. Young marriage may also be seen as desirable in situations with structural impediments, such as poverty or restricted access to education.⁴¹

There are significant ramifications for women's empowerment and human capital development. Women's empowerment and secondary school completion depend on attending secondary school, which frequently acts as a roadblock to acquiring additional human capital, especially in the workplace.⁴² Women with higher educational attainment, as opposed to those with lower educational levels, tend to allocate greater resources towards their children's health and education while having fewer offspring. This dynamic positively affects the productivity and well-being of the succeeding generation, as highlighted by Duflo.⁴³ The imperative of keeping girls in school and facilitating the reintegration of young mothers is underscored. Tanzania has implemented initiatives such as Vocational Training courses and Focal Development Colleges to create a supportive environment for adolescent girls.⁴⁴

The Alternative Learning Skills Development project also targets adolescents who have discontinued their education for potential reintegration.⁴⁵ Criticism has been directed at these measures, asserting that they might inadvertently establish alternative educational pathways for pregnant girls and young mothers who are denied compulsory education rights. Moreover, concerns include some colleges' non-cost-free nature and distant locations, posing barriers to access and attendance.⁴⁶ In response to these shortcomings, an announcement in November 2021 was made to lift the ban preventing young mothers from returning to school, aiming to address these issues.

Restrictive gender norms that deny women and girls the ability to make decisions about their own lives and relationships, as well as bride prices and the social acceptability of the practice, all contribute to the persistence of female child marriage.

Bride price can serve as an indirect incentive for the occurrence of girl child marriage

In Tanzania, the price of a bride is a social institution closely related to marriage. Nine out of ten women or girls nationwide have been married with a bride price, and in the vast majority of these situations (84 per cent), the bride's parents receive the money, which was paid for either by the groom or by the groom's parents. Even though it's a widespread norm in both rural and urban regions, Zanzibar has a far higher proportion of married women who were married for bride prices than Tanzania's mainland. In Tanzanian society, social support for the practice is high, irrespective of age, gender, or residential status. 90 per cent of people believe a bride price is necessary for marriage.

Bride prices are customs rather than social institutions. While they may not be damaging to women and girls in and of themselves, some attitudes surrounding them have the potential to undermine women's agency and empowerment seriously. The consequences of bride price have been the subject of conflicting studies and evidence.⁴⁷ Empirical research, for example, reveals that women who have paid for their brides tend to be happier in their marriages or experience less violence than those who have not.⁴⁸ Though the custom often demands repayment of the bride price in the event of a divorce, it also raises concerns about the husband's ownership of the bride, incentives for child marriage, the prevalence of teenage pregnancies, and the possibility of being trapped in an abusive relationship. For example, 75 per cent of people in Tanzania think a husband owns his wife after paying the bride price. This presumption may have far-reaching effects, limiting women's autonomy, well-being, and ability to make decisions for themselves and their families.

The transactional aspect of bride prices may also promote the practice of marrying young girls. In situations where a family's financial resources are scarce, female child marriage could be seen as a way to lessen that burden. First, marrying a daughter may free up resources within

75% of people in Tanzania think a husband owns his wife after paying the bride price.

the household that were previously needed to support the girl/bride. Secondly, the bride's family will get the bride price in cash or valuable in-kind assets. Focus group talks show that families occasionally marry their daughters for financial reasons and that girls are frequently seen as a source of money because of the bride price. Particularly in the context of economic hardship and restricted access to health care and child protection services, the COVID-19 pandemic has raised the likelihood of child marriage.⁴⁹ Empirical data indicates that mitigating the financial circumstances of families may have a preventive effect on child marriage.⁵⁰ A possible drop in the bride price payment for girls who have given birth or who are no longer virgins may further increase pressure on young marriages. Therefore, families may encourage an early marriage that lowers the chance of an adolescent pregnancy out of wedlock to receive an enormous reward.⁵¹ Furthermore, families might be encouraged to marry their daughters as soon as possible by the higher bride prices paid in Tanzania for younger brides.⁵²

The societal approval of this practice sustains the continuation of girl child marriage.

An increase in the frequency of this detrimental practice is linked to social approval of child marriage. After adjusting for a number of socio-demographic factors, the percentage of the population that believes it is acceptable for a girl to marry before the age of 18 is positively and significantly correlated with the occurrence of girl child marriage.⁵³ Such opinions are held by 19 per cent of people nationwide, with 13 per cent thinking that a girl should get married before turning eighteen. By contrast, only 6 per cent of people think it's appropriate for a boy to get married before turning 18.

There are notable differences in the social acceptance of child marriage between rural and urban settings, as well as between regions. Compared to 11 per cent in urban areas,

24% of people in rural areas believe that a woman should marry before age 18

Similarly, a higher percentage of people in rural areas (15 per cent) than in urban areas (9 per cent) believe that a girl should get married before turning eighteen. The social norms that endorse and promote child marriage also

differ significantly throughout areas. While the percentage of the population that believes that girls should not marry before the age of 18 is less than 10 per cent in seven regions⁵⁴, the percentage is more than one-third in four regions.⁵⁵

Variations in opinions on the right age for men and women to get married may be explained by social norms, especially those that are connected to limiting masculinities. The average age at which respondents felt that a woman should marry is 18.5 years old, while a man should marry at 22 years old. In addition, almost all Tanzanians (92 per cent) agree or strongly agree that the family's primary provider should be a "real" man. It takes time to reach financial security to the point that one can support a family financially, let alone find a decent place to live. Therefore, many people think that males should wait to get married to have enough time to set up these circumstances before establishing a family. The fact that women's marriage eligibility is set lower than men's may be an indication of the pressure that women face to marry younger than men due to restrictive gender norms, such as the value placed on virginity at marriage and traditions like bride price.

The acceptance of girl child marriage within society is grounded in ingrained gender norms that curtail the decision-making power of women and girls over their own lives and relationships.

Restrictive gender norms are a major factor in the concentration of decision-making power in the hands of men, which robs girls and women of agency over their lives and relationships, especially when it comes to marriage.⁵⁶ Approximately one-third of people in the country think a daughter should be allowed to choose her husband and the terms of her marriage. A quarter of respondents favor the father making all of the decisions, while a third favors both parents making decisions together. Rigid masculinities that assign men the role of head of the household and chief decision-maker are directly linked to these norms.⁵⁷ In line with this, 76 per cent of Tanzanians believe that a man needs to have the last word at home to be seen as a "real" man. However, just 46 per cent of respondents think that a woman should have the last say at home to be a "real" woman.

Adolescent girls in Shinyanga participated in focus groups where dads made decisions on their daughters' marriages, including choosing a husband and coordinating the bride price payment with the groom or his family. Usually, mothers were notified when these choices and

plans were finalized.⁵⁸ A considerable proportion of the national population feels that a boy should decide about marriage. At the same time, a minority supports the view that a mother should decide about her child's marriage. These viewpoints highlight the gendered aspect of decision-making by emphasizing the limited autonomy that girls have, particularly in comparison to boys, in choosing their marriages and the predominance of men, especially fathers.

Girls have limited control over decision-making processes regarding their marriages

In Zanzibar and other parts of Mainland Tanzania, attitudes limiting females' authority over their marriages are increasingly prevalent. Compared to just 28 per cent in Zanzibar, 37 per cent of people on Tanzania's mainland think that a girl should be able to decide, on average, about her marriage. On the other hand, forty per cent of Zanzibar's population believes that a father should be the only one to make decisions regarding his daughter's marriage.⁵⁹ There are notable regional differences in these attitudes: in nine regions, more than half of the population supports a girl's decision-making role in her marriage, whereas in four regions, a similar number supports paternal control.⁶⁰ When making decisions about marriage, men and boys typically have more power than women and girls. More than forty-five per cent of people in Zanzibar and on Tanzania's mainland think that a boy or young man should decide what to marry.

A contributing factor to child marriage is discriminatory social norms and behaviors that support male guardianship. The likelihood of child marriage is considerably higher in situations where women and girls lack agency and autonomy when making marriage-related decisions.

40% of women who married as minors married before age 18

20% of women who married as minors married after age 18

On the other hand, compared to girls married later (14 per cent), a larger proportion of marriages involving girls married before the age of 18 (18 per cent) involved the father making all of the decisions. Age-based restrictions and gender norms that limit women's and girls' abilities to make decisions combine to increase girls' susceptibility to child marriage.

A major contributing factor to the continuation of child marriage is restrictive social norms, including the expectation that women stay virgins until marriage. The stress of remaining a virgin after marriage could be especially strong in situations where unplanned pregnancies are stigmatized and perceived as a danger to the family's reputation.⁶¹ A little over 40 per cent of Tanzanians concur that remaining a virgin when getting married is essential to being a "real" lady. In contrast, 30 per cent of respondents think that remaining a virgin until marriage is necessary to be a "real" guy, which reflects relatively unequal gender norms surrounding sexuality.⁶² The percentage of people who think a "real" lady should be a virgin when she marries varies greatly between places; in Geita, it is 15 per cent, while in Zanzibar, it is over 65 per cent.

Individuals with lower economic status and less education are more likely to embrace discriminatory social norms that support or justify the practice of child marriage

The likelihood of women holding opinions in favor of girl child marriage is equal to that of men. But as people get older, there is a decreasing chance that they will think that a girl should marry before becoming eighteen or that this is a suitable practice. Furthermore, a person's residence is important. In general, rural areas are more likely than urban areas to uphold child marriage as a valid practice, and Zanzibar is more likely than Tanzania's mainland.

People with lesser educational attainment are also more likely to adopt viewpoints that support or legitimize the practice of female child marriage. More specifically, people who have had at least some formal education are less likely than people who have not received any formal education to state or think that a girl should marry before the age of eighteen. Furthermore, the more educated a person is, the less likely they are to have such discriminating views; this effect is greatest for those with a secondary or university education. These findings imply that education is crucial for empowering boys and girls

and can change women's expectations beyond marriage, motherhood and social conventions.⁶³ For example, the likelihood of thinking that a "real woman" should get married or stay single before getting married declines with increasing educational attainment. Those who have completed more schooling are likewise more inclined to think that a woman or girl should make marriage-related decisions.

Like educational attainment, wealthier households are also associated with a lower likelihood of discriminating attitudes that support female child marriage. This is the case for every assertion that was examined. The effect is largest for those who fall into the wealthiest quintiles. The findings are in line with the robust relationships that have been shown between wealth and education.

Domestic dynamics, roles, and responsibilities within a household

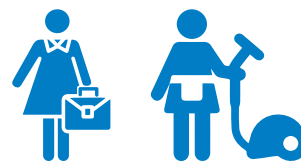
Asymmetric power dynamics within the home and the unequal distribution of unpaid care and household labor have major long-term effects on women and girls. Women and girls' time for education, training, and paid work is limited by gendered divisions of labor that designate unpaid care and household duties as their responsibility. In addition, women's economic empowerment may be hampered by men's unequal decision-making authority in the home, which may restrict their capacity to launch a business or look for employment, as well as their ability to own and utilize assets like money and land.⁶⁴ The health and development of women's human capital, as well as that of their families, can also be negatively impacted by men having the last word in domestic matters, especially those pertaining to health-care and education. Accordingly, the disparities resulting from intra-household dynamics affect women's roles and duties in the home and society at large, influencing their engagement in public life and sense of empowerment. These gendered divisions of labor are greatly influenced by the power dynamics that exist within the home, particularly the control that women have over resources and their access to extra household networks.⁶⁵ However, the influence of women's material circumstances and relative resources on spouses' involvement in household chores varies⁶⁶ (Sanchez, 1993). The interaction of gender and social class, which might influence women's employment ideas and behaviors, further complicates these relationships.⁶⁷

The burden of unpaid care and domestic work, as well as total work, tends to be higher for women compared to men

Compared to men, women perform far more unpaid caregiving and household work. Compared to males, women devote an average of 4.4 hours per day to unpaid caregiving and household chores. There are virtually few differences between Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar and between rural and urban areas. As a result, women devote three times as much time as men to unpaid caregiving and household chores.

How are unpaid care and domestic work measured?

Household and non-household tasks



To gauge how much time people spend on a list of particular jobs each week, SIGI Tanzania included a number of questions in their survey. The questionnaire covered 16 jobs, all classified as outside employment (e.g., buying groceries or fixing the house) and domestic, care, and parental obligations.⁶⁸


Six tasks were identified as essential household duties in the assessment of unpaid care and domestic work out of the 16 tasks for which data were gathered. These jobs were chosen because they were simple routines, played a vital part in daily life, and were associated with characteristics typically associated with women. Cooking for the family, cleaning the home, doing laundry, cleaning the restroom, caring for the elderly, and tending to the ill or disabled are the six fundamental household duties. Indicators like time spent and women-to-men ratios were calculated for total unpaid care and domestic work, which included all 16 tasks, and basic unpaid care and domestic work, which only included the six core tasks, to offer a thorough study.

Women bear a double burden since they perform a disproportionate amount of unpaid caregiving and household work in addition to taking on a substantial amount of paid work,


which increases their overall workload. Women in the labor force work five hours a day on average nationwide, compared to six hours for men. Consequently, women shoulder a notably greater portion of the overall workload, averaging 9.4 hours a day (paid and unpaid) than men's 7.4 hours. The circumstances of Zanzibar and the Tanzanian mainland are rather different. Women perform far more unpaid caregiving and household work than males do.

Men are the primary decision-makers in the household


Most Tanzanians

 **60%** reside in homes where parents jointly decide about their children's education and health. However,

over

 **25%** of them reside in homes where mothers are not involved in decisions about their children's health

almost

 **33%** of them reside in homes where mothers are not involved in decisions about their children's education

suggesting that the father is the only one in charge of these matters in these families. There are notable differences between rural and urban locations. In rural areas, there is a higher percentage of homes where the fathers make all the decisions for the health and education of their children. In addition, fathers are heavily involved in deciding whether or not to allow their children to marry.

Men also have the majority say over household income, especially in rural areas where farming is a common source of income.⁶⁹ Data gathered from focus groups in the rural Shinyanga community shows that decisions about the money earned from farming are made exclusively by men. Men can access markets and decide whether or not to sell crops. Men frequently decide how to spend the proceeds after the sale without consulting their spouses or other household members who helped cultivate and harvest.⁷⁰ Women typically

have more influence over the money they make, whether they run their own companies or work in tiny industries like selling snacks, small fish, or vegetables from their gardens. They may frequently be able to purchase food, household goods, or minor assets. But even after gaining some degree of control over the money produced, women still struggle to access financial possibilities like Village Savings and Loans Associations and to purchase big assets like land.

Conclusion

These deeply ingrained prejudices are the result of traditions and rituals that have been passed down through the generations. Even after accounting for several sociodemographic variables, women are more likely than men to think that women should perform all of the household's basic duties. Women view this division of labor as usual and appropriate. Focus group talks made it abundantly evident that, despite women's awareness of the unfair distribution of tasks, the division of duties within the household remains inflexible and rarely questioned. It is considered unusual and abnormal to deviate from the accepted standard.

Traditional attitudes about the role of married women are seen in the tendency of males to provide unpaid care and household duties, which is strongly correlated with their marital status. Compared to single men, married men are much less likely to offer basic unpaid care and household duties, and this difference is more pronounced for lone men than for men who live with a partner. The findings imply that women should take on more unpaid caregiving and household responsibilities after marriage.

Traditional views of women's and men's responsibilities in the home also place males in the position of decision-makers and expect women to defer to their husbands' authority. About 75 per cent of Tanzanians still think that males should have the last word when making important decisions for the home. Interestingly, compared to women, men are more likely to hold these biased beliefs. It becomes clear that education level plays a significant role in forming these attitudes. As education levels rise, the prevalence of these prejudiced viewpoints declines. Across the country, the percentage of people who feel a man should have the last word in important home decisions is 79 per cent for those with no formal education and 83 per cent for those with only an incomplete basic education. By comparison, the aforementioned

numbers decrease to 65 per cent for persons who have finished secondary school and even lower to 56 per cent for those with post-secondary qualifications, like a university degree.

According to Tanzanian social standards that regulate intra-household relationships, men are expected to defend and provide protection for women. In particular, these conventions state that married women must get their husband's consent before leaving the privacy of their homes to enter public areas. A significant majority of people nationwide, 92 per cent, think that a woman should ask her spouse or husband's permission before leaving the country or traveling to another city, and 86 per cent agree that she should ask permission before seeing her relatives. Notably, opinions that support limiting a woman's freedom of movement without her husband's consent are strongest regarding recreational activities like visiting pubs, movie theaters, or sports fields. These deeply embedded prejudices are still present in both Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar, as well as in both rural and urban regions. They highlight a basic feature of Tanzanian restrictive masculinities, which equates being viewed as a "real" man with having the power to defend and dominate women in the home. This includes controlling women's actions and capacity for decision-making.

Programmatic and Policy Recommendations

Girl child marriage

1. **Revise the legal framework to establish 18 years as the minimum legal age for marriage for girls, without any exceptions:**
 - i. Expedite the amendment of the Education Act No. 25 (1978) to prohibit child marriage during school attendance and amend the Law of Marriage Act to increase the minimum age of marriage for girls from 14 to 18.
 - ii. Explore the possibility of enacting a law in Zanzibar that sets the minimum legal age for marriage at 18 for both girls and boys.
 - iii. Consider translating laws regarding the minimum age for marriage into local languages and distributing a simplified version of the text nationwide, collaborating with radio stations, schools, community leaders, traditional or religious figures, and civil society organizations.
2. **Raise awareness about the detrimental effects of child marriage on women, girls, and society at large:**
 - i. Focus awareness programs in places where child marriage rates are rising (Dodoma, Mara, Morogoro, Mtwara, Rukwa, and Shinyanga) as well as in regions where the practice is common (Kagera, Kaskazini Pemba, Shinyanga, and Simiyu).
 - ii. Investigate the use of social media, mainstream media, and community discussions; furthermore, strengthen the involvement of groups led by women and young people to confront detrimental societal norms, attitudes, and behaviors that support child marriage.
 - iii. Educate parents on allowing girls to continue their education instead of getting married young. Girls should know their rights and opportunities beyond the conventional roles of wives and mothers.
3. **Back long-term, multi-sectoral programs employing a gender-transformative approach to address the factors contributing to child marriage:**
 - i. Fund programs that mainly target child marriage at the nexus of sexual and reproductive health services access and child protection to address common underlying causes and maximize synergies.
 - ii. Step up efforts to end poverty, improve livelihoods, and expand access to affordable secondary education, especially in rural areas where there is a greater percentage of child marriage, which is linked to poverty and lower educational attainment. Research suggests that financial assistance programs for families or girls provided they remain single and attend school, effectively postpone the age at which girls marry and boost secondary school enrollment.
 - iii. Provide funding for programs that empower young and teenage girls by improving their life skills, encouraging critical thinking, and promoting agency; in addition, counseling and specialized services related to sexual and reproductive health are provided.
 - iv. Encourage boys and men to identify negative aspects of masculinity, embrace gender-neutral attitudes and behaviors, and learn about their accountability, authority, and responsibility in bringing about change in the area of child marriage.

4. Strengthen the ability of educational institutions and local health services to recognize girls who may be at risk of child marriage to foster better collaboration. Give thorough instruction on sexual and reproductive health, placing a strong emphasis on partnerships built on consent and positive masculinities.
 5. Carry out more studies to obtain a better understanding of how bride price and other gender-restrictive attitudes and practices influence the prevalence of child marriage.
 6. Take advantage of the influence of mentors and role models on people at different levels to promote positive masculinities and motivate women and girls to pursue goals other than getting married and having kids.
2. Reduce the time women dedicate to unpaid care and domestic work:
 - i. Make use of infrastructure development initiatives to increase community access to essential utilities, such as power and water, to relieve women and girls of the burden of unpaid caregiving and household labor.
 - ii. Create a welcoming policy environment and offer state-sponsored incentives (such as income assistance, tariff modifications, direct subsidies, or cross-subsidies) to entice private companies to provide water and power services in isolated and rural areas.
 - iii. Make sure women are represented in decision-making positions and incorporate a gender perspective into infrastructure projects from the beginning.
 - iv. Make formal and public investments in childcare programs, such as kindergarten, center-based day care, and family day care. Create cash-transfer initiatives to encourage the use of childcare services.

Intra-household dynamics, roles and responsibilities

1. Recognize and measure women's disproportionate share of unpaid care and domestic work:
 - i. Provide training on the planning and executing time-use surveys to strengthen the capabilities of Zanzibar's Office of the Chief Government Statistician and the National Bureau of Statistics.
 - ii. Organizing time-use surveys methodically into nationally representative surveys that NBS and OCGS employ to enhance the estimation of unpaid care and household labor.
3. Redistribute within households the responsibilities for unpaid care and domestic work between men and women:
 - i. Cash-transfer schemes connected to children and family allowances should be used to involve fathers in childcare duties. Ensure that the child's primary caretaker receives any cash benefits, not only the mother.
 - ii. Encourage employers in the formal sector to increase the scope of their current paid paternity leave programs and to make the leave non-transferable.

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