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MOBILIZING TANZANIAN WOMEN:
'FEMININE RECLAMATIONS' AND ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

by

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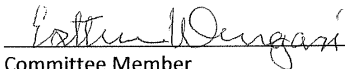
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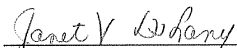
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ABSTRACT

MOBILIZING TANZANIAN WOMEN:

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Amanda Filipczuk-Baker

During the past three decades women’s movements have gained worldwide momentum to form an increasing presence in differently developed nations of the global ‘South’. The thesis explores why women in Tanzania join women’s groups, with focus on feminine consciousness and economic empowerment as suspected motivations for membership. To investigate the topic surveys, personal interviews, and a focus group discussion were administered with grassroots women’s group-members in Moshi, Tanzania over a five week period. Analysis of the results confirms that women’s group-members are motivated by feminine consciousness and economic empowerment. The findings also reveal that the women’s group-members are motivated by notions of gender equality and women’s rights attainments. Overall, it appears Tanzanian women practice an emerging type of global women’s activism movement wherein various ideologies combine to affect social change for women and communities alike.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Focus of the Thesis

During the past three decades women's movements, most commonly associated with industrialized, developed nations of the global 'North', have gained worldwide momentum to form an increasing presence in less industrialized, less developed nations of the global 'South' (Antrobus, 2004). Tanzania is one such nation wherein the formation of a contemporary women's movement has occurred (Meena, 2003). There are now numerous Tanzanian women's organizations championing a variety of women's issues, ranging from maternal health to legal representation. Members of these groups publicly organize to advance gender and social justice agendas, despite a cultural context that generally discourages women from engaging in activities outside of the domestic setting. Given the adverse social climate, what motivates women to join women's groups, and thereby act in a manner that apparently contradicts cultural norms?

While motivations for women's collective action are well documented in academia, no studies have investigated the topic regarding Tanzanian grassroots women's group members (Antrobus, 2004; Drew, 1995; Duncan, 1999; McGuire, Stewart, & Curtin, 2010; Moghadam, 2005; Schneider, 2008; Sheldon, 2005; Steady, 1993; Steady 2006; Tripp, Casimiro, Kwesiga, & Mungwa, 2009; Winslow, 2007). Therefore, in an attempt to add to current collective action literature, this thesis explores Tanzanian women's motivations for joining women's groups. Through the use of surveys, personal interviews, and focus group discussion, this research project directly engages Tanzanian

grassroots women's group-members regarding their motivations for public organizing and apparent defiance of traditional, patriarchal expectations of women's behavior. Their voices declare feminine consciousness and economic empowerment are the main factors driving their participation in women's group activities. Also factoring into their activism is a desire for gender equality and realization of their rights, as dictated by Tanzanian, African, and international women's rights discourses.

A comparison of the research findings with current women's movement literature suggests that a new type of women's movement activist, who promotes a combination of mainstream Western, Global, African, and Tanzanian Feminist and women's movement tenets, is emerging among grassroots groups in Tanzania. Not only does this thesis suggest evidence of a unique type of women's movement activist, it also highlights Tanzanian women's agency as they navigate myriad social and economic barriers of their society. Given its revelations and focus on Tanzanian women's personal accounts, it is my hope that the contents of this study may be used to provide insight into what propels the Tanzanian women's movement, as well as how to strengthen it. Moreover, I hope this thesis will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the African and Global women's movements as they progress in years to come.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis research project is rather complex, and therefore presented in several chapters. Chapter two, *Literature Review*, is an outline of the evolution of feminist ideology as it forms the basis of women's activism. The chapter begins with how the

concept of ideology itself was conceived, and continues through an explanation of multiple feminist paradigms to end with Tanzanian feminist ideology. Activism is then reviewed in the same format. Several theories regarding social and women's movements and their actors and motivations are outlined, beginning with social movements in general and ending with the Tanzanian women's movement. The presentation of this information is intended to provide the reader with foundational knowledge of the subject matter guiding the research, so it may be connected to that which is written in the chapters ahead.

The third chapter, *Methodology*, outlines the importance and potential contributions of the thesis. A presentation of the methods used to investigate the research questions and contextual information about the research setting are described. Specifically, the intent is to provide an idea about my motivations for initiating this project, the way the investigation was designed and executed, and how the social environment inspired the research and the completion of the project itself. The chapter should clarify the sequence of the research project and lend guidance for replicability.

Chapter four, *Results*, describes a detailed account of the responses gathered during the research investigation. When appropriate, the information is accompanied by visual representations of the women's responses, in charts or graphs, or images of the setting as the research was being executed. Thematic trends are noted and provide a basis for categorizing the responses. Several women's quotes are included to emphasize or illustrate topics raised in the research, as well as to allow the words of Tanzanian women

themselves to be expressed. To achieve a sense of the authentic voice of the participants, the responses are reported with little or no editing.

The *Conclusion*, Chapter 5, includes a summary of the results, conclusions and limitations of the research, and suggestions for future lines of inquiry. This chapter synthesizes details of the research findings in order to establish general connections among the individual participants' responses. Then the general connections are linked to formalized theories and conclusions set forth in the literature review. Similarities and contradictions are reviewed and discussed. Additionally, new assertions regarding Tanzanian women activists and implications for the Tanzanian, African and Global women's movements are made based on connections between the research participants responses and the literature review. The focus of the research here enhances and complements understandings in contemporary Tanzania, African, and Global women's movement studies. Listing the limitations of the research is an act of self-reflexivity, an important aspect of feminist research. Perhaps recognizing and reflecting on missteps of this project will lend stability to future research possibilities conjured by this research project. Because the important questions of women's group participation has been narrowly researched, the heuristic nature of the discussion should give rise to important guidelines for future research.

Contextual Basis: Background Information, Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania (Tanzania) is a former British, and once German, colony located in Sub-Saharan Africa (Carlson & Pratt, 2010). When Tanzania

gained independence in 1961, first President Julius Nyerere implemented a socialist system of socio-political organization and economic production entitled *Ujamaa*, the Kiswahili word for “family-hood” (US Department of State, 2010). *Ujamaa*, unfortunately, proved to be an economic failure (Carlson & Pratt, 2010). However economically damaging, *Ujamaa* was successful in forging a strong national identity among Tanzanians that takes precedence over ethnic, regional, and linguistic divisions. Moreover, Tanzania’s unbroken record of political stability is largely attributed to the social policies set forth by Nyerere following independence.

Since withdrawal of state-controlled industry and institutions in 1985, the Tanzanian government has taken several measures to boost the economy via global capitalist methods, including structural adjustment programs and international trade policy relaxations designed to stimulate growth, as advised by international development and banking institutions (US Department of State, 2010). Agriculture has become the most important sector of the economy and employs 80% of the population. Falling prices of cash crops like coffee, tea, cloves, and sisal frustrate agricultural growth and farmers alike, however. The industrial sector is one of the smallest in Africa and is dominated by small and medium-sized enterprises specializing in food processing and textiles. Poor infrastructure, however, hinders manufacturing production and growth, and this sector remains relatively weak regarding national gross domestic product. On the other hand, tourism is a promising economic sector, and several hotels and safari and climbing expedition companies have entered the market in recent years to bring much needed economic stimulus (Carlson & Pratt, 2010).

Since the end of *Ujamaa*, living conditions have marginally improved overall due to the implementation capitalist practices, but life for average Tanzanians remains difficult (US Department of State, 2010). Widespread poverty persists and Tanzania lies in the bottom 10% of economies in terms of per capita incomes. Exacerbated by poverty, health problems, e.g. nutritional, venereal, and parasitic diseases, contribute to complications in an already deficient healthcare system which lacks both facilities and supplies. Malaria is the leading cause of illness and death, and Tanzania ranks sixth highest in HIV/AIDS infections when compared with nations worldwide (Carlson & Pratt, 2010; Central Intelligence Agency, 2010).

Society in Tanzania is divided among several socioeconomic lines. The traditional elite includes those with kinship lines to historical kings and chiefs and the modern elite consists of government officials, successful business people, and highly educated individuals (Carlson & Pratt, 2010). Stratification based on economic standing exists, and those with automobiles, Western style clothing, modern houses, and command of the English language, comprise the upper class. At the other extreme, poor people live in very basic housing and are malnourished, uneducated and clothed in third-hand garments. The ratio of upper class to lower class is roughly 15:85 and, in recent years, the class gap has widened due to the proliferation of modern market ideals championing individual success over traditional communal support and cohesion (Carlson and Pratt, 2010; U.S. Department of State, 2010).

Tanzania follows the values of a traditional patriarchal society to a great extent and there is a marked difference between the status of women and men in Tanzanian

culture (Carlson & Pratt, 2010). Generally speaking, boys are more valued than girls, with families reserving resources, such as food and money for education, for male members. Girls are expected to operate in and serve the domestic sphere throughout their lives and, therefore, are not deemed worthy of receiving formal education. Only women descending from ruling tribal families or who are successful in business or politics are considered to have value comparable to men. Nonetheless if a woman becomes successful in an activity, often the husband or a male relative will try to commandeer the enterprise or the money generated and claim the success for himself. Other societal problems rooted in cultural gender bias include women's unequal access to employment, gender-based violence, trafficking of women and girls, deplorable maternal health resources, and women's lack of legal literacy and political and decision-making power (Mwaffisi, 2008; Tanzania National Website, 2012).

The Tanzanian government recognizes these gender disparities and remains committed to achieving gender equality and the empowerment of women (Tanzania National Website, 2012). To meet this objective, it has enacted various regional and national policies focused on promoting and protecting women's rights. Additionally, Tanzania has committed to upholding internationally agreed upon decrees relating to gender, such as those set forth by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (Mwaffisi, 2008). Such government action is important, yet these policies remain largely unimplemented and symbolic. They do not appear to affect women nationwide, especially those in rural areas.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ideology: The basis of activism

The concept of ideology has been defined in several ways since its inception several millennia ago. While in its origination ideology was understood as a method for destabilizing false consciousness instilled by certain institutions of social life, German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' interpretation of the concept suggested another meaning that would become one of the most salient definitions to date (Lamarche, 2007). Writing during the mid-nineteenth century, Marx and Engels asserted ideology itself was a sort of "false consciousness" that distorts the appearance of conditions of social life and reinforces the economic hegemony of dominant groups. Additionally, they asserted that economic conditions and relationships of social life determine consciousness and that relationships of power, domination, and oppression characterizing the conditions of social life are reflected in societies' economic organizations. Moreover, the nature of that reflection is characterized by the ideology of dominant groups seeking to legitimize existing power structures and obscure actual antagonisms present in society.

In the early twentieth century ideology, for decades associated with unalterable politics of economic and social hegemony and determinism set forth by Marx and Engels, was reconceptualized by Antonio Gramsci (Lamarche, 2007). He offered an analysis of material conditions of life and resultant cultural ideology wherein the two inform and alter one another. In his view, ideology was not solely a tool through which economically

and socially dominant groups maintained hegemony within society. Rather ideology could be relatively autonomous, removed from the realm of oppression, and utilized for politically progressive means. Hence, progressive theory could produce progressive ideology that functioned to undermine political and socioeconomic hegemony. Ideology, according to Gramsci, was integral to political organization and an effective tool of class struggle and revolution. Followers of Gramsci would further these claims to assert that ideology was a central aspect of any revolutionary or progressive struggle intending to emancipate individuals from any sort of oppression.

Feminist Ideologies

Feminism, both an ideology and political agenda, represents Gramsci's conceptualization of ideology as a tool for reforming society and freeing people from oppression. Currently deemed an inclusive worldwide effort to end sexism and sexist oppression perpetuated by systems of patriarchy by empowering women, feminism began as an ideology set forth by Christine de Pizan of Venice at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Lindsay, 2011; Winslow 2007). Woven into de Pizan's various writings are critiques of gender relations and challenges to male authority. Such critiques created a Feminist ideology uniting women to question their place in society by freeing themselves from oppression (Winslow, 2007).

Like ideology in general, the definition of feminist ideology has evolved throughout time to represent several standpoints, the most salient of which is Liberal Feminism. Considered "mainstream" due to its significance in historical and

contemporary popular cultures, Liberal Feminist ideology contends women's unequal status in society is largely due to androcentrism, or male bias, engrained in social, political, and economic institutions and women's equality requires they be granted the same rights and privileges as men (Tong, 2009). In short, Liberal feminists and associated groups seek to end sex discrimination in social, political, economic, and personal spheres of life. Thus, championing the notion of equity, between men and women and among women as a whole, they believe women should realize equity with men in all areas of life and that legislation was the method by which to obtain such equity. Contemporary Liberal Feminists agree that the most important goal of women's liberation is equality, or gender justice, and while they are divided on some issues, Liberal Feminists cling to a continued desire to see women freed from oppressive gender roles that are used as justifications for giving women a lesser place, or no place, in the marketplace, education, politics, and other societal realms (Rogers, 2004; Tong 2009).

Being "mainstream", or "Western", Liberal Feminist ideology is most common among professional, middle-class, heterosexual women of the industrialized nations of the global "North" who place a high value on education and achievement (Lindsay, 2011; Rogers, 2004). These women are privileged when compared with other women in industrialized nations and, moreover, with women in nations considered to be "developing". Liberal Feminist Ideology has also been reinforced by the fact that where it took hold, the economic, social and political institutions were mature and had already advanced to create a less coercive status for men. Hence, the idea of recasting the institutions to accommodate women was viewed as a reachable and efficient goal. The

transfer of this ideology to nation-states with less mature systems, less free of coercive authority, has necessitated a different approach which takes into account in a more fundamental way, issues of race, class, and domestic and global hierarchies. Therefore, while gender equity is an honorable aim, many believe Liberal Feminist ideology is limited in scope and efficacy.

Due to these shortcomings, mainstream Liberal Feminism has been heavily criticized by other U.S. feminist theorists, most of whom are women of color (Tong, 2009). Women such as Elizabeth Spelman and Patricia Hill Collins offer alternative feminist ideologies that critique Liberal feminism's essentialist assumption of universal "womanness" among all women, and its exclusion of African-American women's unique perspectives on womanhood, respectively. These alternative perspectives are known as Multicultural Feminist ideology and primarily address women of the U.S. or other Western nations in its theorizing and application as a contrast to Liberal Feminist ideology dominating those areas.

Women throughout the world, particularly hailing from "Third World" nations, also find Western feminist ideology problematic. Their critiques of "First World" feminism, as it is known by some women in developing nations, principally address the cultural imperialism and Eurocentrism inherent in Western feminism ideology (Mohanty, 1991; Tong 2009). In her groundbreaking essay *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*, Chandra Talpade Mohanty addresses these shortcomings by noting Western feminism's implicit exercise of power in its representation and analysis of "Third World" women as a starting point for the

formulation of “Third World feminisms”, which are geographically, historically, and culturally grounded (Mohanty, 1991). Her critique is aimed at three analytic principles present in Western feminist discourse on women in the Third World: the strategic location of the category “women” regarding contextual analysis, the methods by which uncritical “proof” of universality and cross-cultural validity are provided, and how these two principles blend to produce the image of the “average Third World” woman who leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read” sexually constrained) and her being “Third World” (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family oriented, victimized, etc.).

In critiquing the use of “women” as a category of analysis, Mohanty echoes Spelman and Collins’ critiques of mainstream Feminism for assuming “women” as a homogenous group, regardless of culture, ethnicity, or class. Mohanty (1991) says that, in Western Feminism, “women” is a discursively constructed category which assumes women to be “an always already constituted group, one that has been labeled powerless, exploited, sexually harassed, and so on, by feminist scientific, economic, legal, and sociological discourses... quite similar to sexist discourse labeling women as weak, emotional, having math anxiety, etc” (p. 56-57). The focus is not on finding the specificities that render a particular group of women powerless in a particular context but rather finding cases of powerless women to prove that women on the whole are powerless (Mohanty, 1991).

Mohanty focuses on six ways Western Feminist discourse uses “women” as a category of analysis in its interpretations of Third World women. Each example typifies

the construction of “Third World Women” as a “homogenous “powerless” group often located as implicit victims of particular socioeconomic systems” (1991). These women are represented as 1) victims of male violence 2) universal dependents 3) victims of the colonial process 4) victims of the Arab familial system 5) victims of the Islamic code or 6) victims of the economic development process. Such definitions present “Third World” women primarily in terms of their object status. According to Mohanty, in the context of Western women writing about or studying women of the “Third World”, such objectification must be named and challenged (Mohanty, 1991).

In speaking of the methodologies used to support Western Feminists’ findings of Third World women, Mohanty cites and summarizes three that serve to demonstrate universal, cross-cultural operation of female exploitation via male dominance (1991). First, proof of universalism is provided by arithmetic. As an example of this logic, Mohanty writes, “the greater the number of women who wear the veil, the more universal is the sexual segregation and control of women” (p. 66). Likewise, several examples from a variety of nations also add up to a universal fact that women are controlled via sexual segregation (Mohanty, 1991). Muslim women in many nations wear the veil, thus sexual control of women is a universal fact in those countries.

The problem here is not in stating that wearing a veil is widespread, but in the analytical leap from the practice of veiling to the assertion of its significance in controlling women. Specific meanings attached to veiling differ according to cultural, ideological, and historical contexts. Thus, to assume the practice of veiling in a number of Muslim countries indicates oppression of women via sexual segregation is analytically

reductive and ineffective, especially without considering women's reasons for engaging in the practice.

Second, concepts like reproduction, household, sexual division of labor, family, marriage, patriarchy, and so on are often used to explain women's subordination with an apparent universal applicability and without specification to cultural and historical contexts (Mohanty, 1991). "The" sexual division of labor, for example, assumes a differential value placed on men's versus women's work and is considered proof of women's oppression across societies. Actual devaluation of women's work must be shown through careful analysis of local contexts, just as devaluation of women in general must be shown through similar, careful analysis. In short, "sexual division of labor" and "women" are not comparable analytical categories, and concepts such as sexual division of labor are only useful if they are generated through local, contextual, analyses. According to Mohanty (1991), if they are assumed to be universal, "the resultant homogenization of class, race, religion, and daily material practices of Third World women can create a false sense of commonality of oppressions, interests, and struggles between and among women globally" (p. 68).

Third, regarding methods, there is a tendency among Western Feminists to confuse the use of gender as a superordinate category of analysis with universalistic proof and instantiation of this category (Mohanty, 1991). Categories assumed to be universal, such as gender, and verifiable through empiricism, or fieldwork, are investigated in different cultures based on the demand they exist in different cultures. Discourses of representation are misinterpreted as material realities, and the distinction between

“Woman”, and her lived experience, and “women”, as a socially and theoretically constructed category, is lost. Western Feminist writings and research that blur that distinction create a monolithic image of “Third World women” by ignoring the complex and transitioning relationships between their historical materiality regarding specific oppressions and political choices, on one hand, and their general discursive representations on the other.

Mohanty concludes her critique by detecting a colonialist move in the hegemonic application of First World ideology to Third World contexts in Western women’s scholarship (1991). Nearly all Western Feminist writings about women in the Third World assume “women” as a category of analysis that assumes “women” have a coherent identity within, and distinct from men in their cultures (Mohanty, 1991). To focus on women as a coherent group across contexts, constructs a binary, dichotomous world where women are always in opposition to men, patriarchy is always male dominance, and various systems and institutions of society are constructed and controlled by men. Women and men, then, are entire populations coming into exploitative relations based on disparate, already established categories of experience, cognition, and interests, wherein men possess power and women do not.

In such a binary structure, women’s move from powerlessness to power would entail a reversal of relations that would be identical to the original, but that men would become powerless (Mohanty, 1991). According to Mohanty, this is a faulty solution because “women” are not a homogenous group of “the oppressed” as posited by Western feminist discourse. By contrasting representations of “Third World” women with

themselves Western feminists employ a colonialist move whereby they are the “subjects” of such a reversal of power. Third world women, though, never rise above the generality of their “object” status.

Assumptions of women as a sex class may explain women’s struggles in the West, but the application of “women” as a homogenous group in the Third World appropriates and colonizes the pluralities of the simultaneous location of different groups of women in ethnic frameworks and social class (Mohanty, 1991). “Doing so...ultimately robs them of their historical and political agency” (Mohanty, p 72). By assuming women as a coherent, already constituted group placed in social structures, Western feminist discourse “defines Third World women as subjects outside social relations, instead of looking at the way women are constituted through these very structures” (Mohanty, p. 72).

Ethnocentric universality is employed as legal, religious, economic, and familial structures are judged by Western standards as “underdeveloped” or “developing”, and when women are placed within them, an implicit image of the “average Third World woman” is produced (Mohanty, 1991). While “women” are the oppressed group due to their gender difference, Third World “women” are treated as unique, and as other, because of their “Third World difference”. Such difference includes paternalistic attitudes towards women, relative “underdevelopment” of the Third World, and women who are automatically and necessarily religious (read: not progressive), family-oriented (read: traditional), legally unsophisticated (read: unconscious of their rights), illiterate (read:

ignorant), domestic (read: backward), and sometimes revolutionary (their nation is at war and they must fight).

When “sexually oppressed women” are located within Third World systems and interpreted on a Eurocentric normative scale, not only are Third World women defined in a specific way before they enter social relations, but, since no connections are made between First and Third World power differentials, the assumption that the Third World is not as evolved as the First World is reinforced (Mohanty, 1991). Such feminist analysis homogenizes and systematizes experiences of all groups of women in Third World countries, erasing marginal and resistant modes and insights. Women’s resistance to power, then, can only be understood as cumulatively reactive and does not provide an accurate understanding of power relations. This mis-conceptualization limits theoretical analysis and reinforces Western cultural imperialism. Given the First/Third World balance of power, feminist analyses that further and sustain the hegemony of the West produce a set of universal images of the Third World woman, such as the veiled woman, the chaste virgin, the powerful mother, and obedient wife, and so on. Such images exist in universal, ahistorical simplicity, putting in motion a colonialist discourse that exercises a specific power in defining, coding, and maintaining existing First/Third World connections.

Mohanty concludes by asserting that a comparison of Western feminist self-presentation and Western feminist representation of women in the Third World yields significant results (1991). Images of the Third World woman, conceived by adding “Third World difference” to “sexual difference”, are predicated upon assumptions about Western women as secular, liberated, and having control over their lives (Mohanty, 1991). Such

descriptions are discursive self-presentation and do not align with material reality. Only from the viewpoint of the West can Third World women be defined as underdeveloped and economically dependent. Without the discourses that define Third World women as such, there would be no singular and privileged First World and self-presentation of First World women mentioned above would be problematic. Therefore, one image enables and sustains the other. Mohanty (1991) clarifies by saying,

in the context of the hegemony of the Western scholarly establishment in the production and dissemination of texts, and in the context of the legitimating imperative of humanistic and scientific discourse, the definition of the “Third World woman” as a monolith might well tie into the larger economic and ideological praxis of “disinterested” scientific inquiry and pluralism that are the surface manifestations of a latent economic and cultural colonization of the “non-Western” world. (p. 74)

A wealth of writings concerning Third World women and their relationship, if any, to Western Feminism followed Mohanty’s critique. African activist and scholar Cheryl Johnson Odim dually notes the historical and contemporary differences among women in “First” and “Third” world contexts and emphasizes role of imperialism and race relations as essential factors in Third World women’s oppression (1991). In her essay *Common Themes, Different Contexts: Third World Women and Feminism*, Odim outlines these issues along with misunderstandings between the two groups in an attempt to resolve them and allow Third World women’s voices to be heard.

There is a widely accepted notion among Third World women that Liberal Feminism of the West has the most adherents and is narrowly concerned with the struggle to end gender discrimination (Odim, 1991). While sexual egalitarianism is a goal on which all feminists can agree, says Odim, gender discrimination is not the primary source of the oppression of Third World women. Therefore, mainstream Feminism is insufficient in redressing the oppression of Third World women. Yet, it remains a challenge to construct definitions of Feminism that allow for autonomy and are of relevance to women's struggles the world over while having the breadth necessary for the widest consensus and cooperation.

Odim retains the term Feminism, rather than exchanging it for a term like "womanism" for example, out of concern with the participation of Third World women in defining Feminism and setting its agenda themselves (1991). Moreover the term Feminism, she suggests, connotes a political context in which women are integral (Odim, 1991). Because Feminism is in a process of incarnation, especially at the international level, to eschew Feminism for a new term runs the risk of losing sight of the apparent universality of women's oppression. Therefore, the term still holds value, even for women of the Third World.

Indeed, the fundamental issue for Third World women is not whether there is a general need for feminism, but what the definition and agenda of Feminism will be (Odim, 1991). The desire to create a world in which women are not oppressed demands a need for Feminism. Without it, there would be no focus, no movement that incorporates the struggle against sexism, and women run the risk of becoming invisible. According to

Odim, reaching the goal of equality requires not only the commitment of men but also the constant vigilance and organization of women. Thus, the need for Feminist theory and practice is apparent.

Third World women find the source of their oppression is not limited or primarily attributed to gender (Odim, 1991). Therefore, they have demands that are explicitly political, with work, health, and education as major issues, though not so linked to their impact on women alone but on the entire society. Many Third World women see imperialism as the main enemy on their continents, and of themselves especially. Yet, others contend the equality of women is linked to issues of national and economic development, and the overriding obstacles to women's progress lay in decreasing poverty and inequities in the current world economic order.

In "underdeveloped" societies, oppression is not just a question of distribution of and access to resources, but of their production and control (Odim, 1991). Furthermore, oppression is not only about equal opportunity for men and women or the position of women in society, but creation of opportunity itself and the position of Third World societies relative to others worldwide, respectively. Third World women cannot embrace the notion of a Feminism that seeks to achieve equal treatment of men and women and equal access and/or opportunity for women because, in their context, equity with men often amounts to sharing poverty.

Gender oppression, then, cannot be the pillar on which Feminism stands and Feminism cannot be limited to achieving equal treatment of women and men (Odim, 1991). Feminism as a philosophy must differ from a notion of "women's rights". Even in

the West, women may gain a certain level of parity with men via legal and moral challenges to patriarchy but race and class complicate the potential success of a movement for all women. Indeed, race and class affect women's oppression worldwide, as do economics. Economic surplus in the West, seen by many as a result of colonialism, is often directly related to the oppression of Third World women. Colonial institutions and policies excluded women from public life and reinforced sexual division of labor to weaken colonized communities and create a "hospitable investment climate" for foreign businesses. Thus, Western imperial and economic practices are a bane to women in post-colonial settings.

Odim says another issue with Western feminism regarding Third World women is the assumption that they are somehow more oppressed by indigenous patriarchy than are women in the West (1991). Egalitarian relations between men and women are not a product of Western culture imported to the Third World (Odim, 1991). Actually the reverse is true, because egalitarian or mutually respectful relations were a reality in most precolonial societies. While there may have been precolonial patriarchy, Western patriarchy, racism, and exploitation exacerbated conditions of inequitable indigenous gender relations to create the oppressive conditions under which Third World women labor today.

The concept of gender identity can be embraced by Third World women, but, due to their social positions in the global social hierarchies, they must reject an ideology solely based on gender. According to Odim (1991),

Feminism, therefore, must be a comprehensive and inclusive ideology and movement that incorporates yet transcends gender-specificity. We must create a feminist movement which struggles against those things which can clearly be seen to oppress women, whether based on race, sex, or class, or resulting from imperialism. (p. 321)

Such a framing will allow for an isolation of the gender-specific element of women's oppression while relating it to broader issues. If feminism does not address issues of race, class, and imperialism, it cannot be relevant in alleviating oppression for most of the women in the world, and therefore must be redefined by those women (Odim, 1991).

In tandem with a redefinition of feminism is the need for Western and Non-Western women to set a common agenda, continues Odim (1991). The issue of female circumcision, especially in Africa, is an example of an issue on which both parties need to find common ground (Odim, 1991). There are several African women who battle against the practice, but many resent the near sensationalistic nature of the campaign against female circumcision led by Western women. The fact that female circumcision can be tied to an indigenous cultural context positing women against men apparently renders it more worthy of note than, say, infant-mortality, nutrition, or education, because it aptly supports the image of Third World women as "victims of culture". African women would like to see Western Feminists give the same amount of attention to other issues, but to do so would require an anti-imperialistic stance that identifies and fights against structural elements of many developed nations that participate in the oppression of Third World women. Western feminists must realize internationally orchestrated

exploitation of the Third World is as oppressive to those women as patriarchy, and must restructure their agendas to be more supportive of Third World women's goals as they envision them.

Odim (1991) continues to say that "the participation of Third World women in defining Feminism and setting a Feminist agenda is often primarily a question of power" (p. 323). Because Third World women are members of relatively powerless communities, they are unable to access resources available to First World women (Odim, 1991). Such a reality calls for separate organization of Third World women to clarify issues among their communities, as well as an equal and working relationship with First World women. Issues raised by Third World women must become a part of a serious discussion of Feminist theory, so they will not be ghettoized or relegated to a subculture of Feminism.

For this to arise, First World women must challenge the racism and imperialism of their communities, and recognize and battle the collusion of their communities in the oppression of Third World women (Odim, 1991). Conferences during the U.N. International Decade for women provided a forum where women from both "Worlds" interacted and collaborated with one another on an unprecedented level. At these meetings, the voices of Third World women exposed First World women to what it means to be a woman in disparate contexts and prompted an expansion of Feminism's definition. Such interactions were often contentious, yet yielded fruitful results.

To expand upon those results, Odim asserts that if Feminism is truly concerned about redressing the oppression of women, it must at least recognize that racism and

economic exploitation are primary forces in the oppression of most women in the world (1991). Moreover, it must respect cultures and agree that women in various places are capable of having their own voice (Odim, 1991). Once these requirements are achieved, feminism must endeavor to see the world through non-colonial eyes. Women, she argues, should unite around the things they have common as women, because those commonalities are greater in number across time and space than difference, when correctly connected. Moreover, women should view their oppression in the context of all oppressions, rather than only of gender. Thus, the feminist perspective must be challenged “to envisage a human centered world, in which the satisfaction of human needs, justly met, are a primary goal” (Odim, 1991, p. 326).

With thoughtful and humble acceptance of Multicultural and Third World Feminists’ critiques of Liberal Feminism, Global Feminists focus their efforts on creating a Feminist ideology that addresses women’s conditions worldwide (Lindsay, 2001). Global Feminists recognize the world is evermore interdependent and interconnected, and their ideology extends the notion of multiple oppressions to suggest that the conditions of women’s oppression in all parts of the world are connected to those which occur in other locations. Moreover, they believe no woman will be free until “the conditions of oppression of women are eliminated everywhere” (Bunch, 1993; Lindsay, 2011; Tong, 2009). Global Feminists particularly concentrate on affairs between the so-called “First” and “Third” worlds, heavily industrialized, market-based nations primarily of the Northern hemisphere and economically developing nations located primarily in the Southern hemisphere, respectively, and how such affairs negatively affect the lives of

“Third” world women (Tong, 2009). Thus, issues related to the colonization and exploitation of women in the “developing” world are added to analyses of the intersection of race and class with gender, as Odim suggested (Lindsay, 2011).

Given the different contexts in which women live globally, it is noted that “First” world women concern themselves with different issues than those of “Third” world women. With this in mind, Global Feminists work for change across national boundaries to secure two long-term goals (Tong, 2009). First, they strive for the right of women to have freedom of choice, and the power to control their lives within and outside of the home, as control over one’s life is essential to ensure a sense of dignity and autonomy for every woman (Bunch, 1993). Second, they seek to remove all forms of inequity and oppression through the creation of a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally, to entail the participation of women in national liberation struggles, in plans for national development, and in local and global struggles for social change.

In her essay *Prospects for Global Feminism*, global feminist scholar and activist Charlotte Bunch asserts that Global Feminism is, and must be, a transformational politics that addresses every aspect of life (1993). While Feminists in general want more power for women, Global Feminists seek a change in existing institutions and a new approach to power worldwide (Bunch, 1993). By incorporating experiences and analyses of women in various nations, Global Feminists endeavor to construct a global politics that links and affirms women’s struggles and insights on a variety of fronts. Bunch (1993) contends that, as Global Feminists,

we must show that violence to and degradation of the body are connected to alienation and exploitation at work; we must demonstrate that a world committed to domination at its intimate core in the home more readily accepts ever-escalating levels of domination and imperialism not only between peoples but throughout its structures. (p. 250)

She asserts that by examining and working to end the oppression of women, new insights into various forms of domination, new visions for how societies can exist without injustice at their core, and new energy to bring these possibilities to reality will form.

In the formation of this transformational Global Feminist politics, unique issues and forms of struggle for women in disparate situations will vary (Bunch, 1993). Even so, an understanding and expansion of the commonality and solidarity of the struggle is important. Such transformational politics requires a recognition of social forces, such as race, class, colonialism, poverty, nationality, sexual orientation, and religion which divide women, and should take efforts to end oppressions based on these factors. Yet, fighting on these fronts should operate in tandem with challenging oppression on the basis of sex, not before or after, but as a single struggle with multiple facets.

Bunch notes the problem of valuing cultural diversity without allowing it to be used to justify traditions that are oppressive to women (1993). In fact, cultural imperialism from dominant world powers often exacerbates women's issues and offers little benefit to women in developing nations (Bunch, 1993). Furthermore, women's conditions in the Western world illustrate the inadequacy of the Western mode of "development" as a humane model for others. It is also true, however, that efforts by

some males to justify the continuation or adoption of certain practices oppressive to women as a form of “resistance to Western influence” is challenging to Global Feminists. Women must create new models, allowing for diversity and drawing from the best aspects of the past, while rejecting forms of domination in the name of either tradition or modernization. Bunch (1993) says,

To make global feminist consciousness a powerful force in the world demands that we make the local, global and the global, local. Such a movement is not based on international travel and conferences, although these may be useful, but must be centered on a sense of connectedness of women active at the grass roots in various regions. For women in industrialized countries, this connectedness must be based in the authenticity of our struggles at home, in our need to learn from others, and in our efforts to understand the the global implications of our actions, not in liberal guilt, condescending charity, or the false imposition of our models on others. (p. 251)

For example, when an unsafe birth control device is banned in the U.S. American women and men must demand it be destroyed rather than passed to women in the Third World (Bunch, 1993).

Too often international contact only takes place between the experts of a government or university and not among the activists who are creating and maintaining a political struggle, Bunch observes (1993). She finds most women in developing nations meet U.S. women who are considered experts about their regions, and rarely have contact with local women with whom they might exchange ideas about organizing projects or

protests (Bunch, 1993). Such lack of contact is regrettable, as U.S feminists have much to learn from women elsewhere in the world, as well as much to offer from their own endeavors. Diverse, local feminist bases need to develop greater global awareness and connect to women in the struggle around the world if global feminist ideology is to advance.

To conclude Bunch states that a Global Feminist movement will only come from people connecting to people, rather than from governments (1993). Conferences during the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) provided a glimpse of how powerful such a movement could be, as well as a lesson about the conflicts and creativity inherent in such a possibility, but they are limited by the patriarchal nature of state and intrastate institutions (Bunch, 1993). However, the challenge and the stakes are both great, and therefore worth the effort. Bunch (1993) emphasizes this notion with the quote, “The crisis of survival on our planet demands that we take the risk of trying to develop a Global Feminism that can add to the forces for sanity and justice at work in the world” (p. 252).

Mohanty, Odim, and Bunch all suggest Feminist ideology extend beyond consideration of gender as the locus of oppression to include analysis of additional, particular factors that contribute to women’s oppression on a global scale (1991, 1991, 1993). Moreover, these scholars and activists suggest women in specific locations create their own ideologies and agendas so as to complement a growing body of globally conscious feminists seeking to end women’s oppression worldwide. African women have responded to these notions with the establishment of African Feminism (Mikell, 1997).

Because it operates within the global political economy in which sexism cannot be isolated from larger political and economic forces responsible for the exploitation of both men and women, African Feminism is transformative in human and social terms rather than in sexist and personal terms alone (Steady, 2000). African Feminism is activist and shaped by vestiges of pre-colonial culture, as well as responses to foreign domination, gender-based discrimination, and racist ideologies. The resultant Feminism yields multiple consciousnesses based not just on gender but also on race, socio-economic status, and historical realities. As a representation of an inclusive and compounded form of oppression rendering a majority of black women the most oppressed women in the world, African Feminism is relevant to women of both the African continent and African diaspora. Despite this oppression, African Feminism has enabled these women to develop survival skills, strength, resourcefulness and alliances with women and men within and outside of their communities .

African Feminism faces enormous challenges that go beyond conventional Global Feminists' concerns (Steady, 2000). Many aspects of their agendas, such as women's role in and maintenance of the domestic sphere, lack of access to productive resources, education, and health and social services, violence against women, exposure to injurious cultural practices, employment discrimination, forced or economically coerced prostitution, and sexual harassment are shared. Added to African Feminists' struggles, however, are poverty and malnutrition resulting from international political economic practices and sustained and recurrent armed conflicts.

Overall, the Feminist agenda for African women is comprehensive, holistic, urgent, and human-centered (Steady, 2000). The agenda directly relates to human survival and well-being and sees social and economic development of nations and the welfare and rights of all people as central to its quest for equality. Many African Feminists demonstrate a self-critical stance in which they challenge antiquated customs and cultural practices maintained by religious laws and customary practices and, ironically, by women themselves. Simultaneously, they strive to preserve the many positive and relevant traditional customs which recognize their social, economic, and political importance and contribute to their self-reliance, resourcefulness and empowerment.

Gwendolyn Mikell, African political and economic anthropologist and women's-interests activist, provides a more detailed account of African Feminism in the book *African Feminism: The Politics of Survival in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1997). She says the new African Feminist approach differs radically from Western Feminism with which the world is most familiar because it owes its origins to different dynamics (Mikell, 1997). African Feminist ideology has largely been shaped by African women's resistance to Western hegemony and its legacy within African culture. Rather than concern itself with essentialism, the female body, and radical societal transformation, the slowly emerging African feminism is distinctly heterosexual, pro-natal, and concerned with "bread, butter, culture, and power" issues. To this extent it mirrors the recent growth of Feminisms in other non-Western nations, though the African variant is rooted in a history of female integration within largely corporate and agrarian-based societies with strong cultural heritages traumatized by Western colonization. This distinction has caused friction in

several ways between Western and African women, Western state actors and their African counterparts, and Western and African non-governmental organizations focusing on women's activities. Until recently, the reference points for Western Feminists and African activists have been very different because Western women typically emphasize female autonomy while African women tend to emphasize culturally linked forms of public participation.

African Feminism is also emerging as an outcome of women's responses to national and international political leaders who have attempted to manage recent financial and political crises by further exploiting and limiting women (Mikell, 1997). Women understand that leaders have retaliated on symbolic and explicit levels to the latest female self-assertions. For example, African women traders protesting high prices were beaten or their markets burned and professional women organizing for better wages and working conditions were forced out of positions. During democratization and economic restructuring, male politicians sought to convince women that they were serving women's interests while at the same time denying them additional benefits. These actions have pushed African women toward greater boldness in addressing economic and political factors that determine their status in societies with distinct cultural traditions and historical experiences.

There are two notions on which African Feminism is based (Mikell, 1997). First, is the idea that there is a logical and intrinsic tie between social and ideological structures of communities and the gender-familial relationships of local areas. The second notion is that African women perceive these ties and are active participants in either supporting or

challenging the roles associated with them. They recognize that gender-state dilemmas now operate on new levels, and their actions are directed at bringing sociocultural ideas of gender into the open and defending suggestions for and finding acceptable resolutions.

According to Mikell, African Feminists ground their notions upon the belief that all socio-cultural systems are integrated, albeit unevenly, and changes in one societal arena evoke responses in others (1997). Included in this point of view is that historical class and socioeconomic experiences affect social relationships and shape them in ways appropriate to the society at different points in time (Mikell, 1997). In African societies, male and female roles are specific to original social patterns, worldview, and ideology of that society, but they are slightly reconfigured as the polity encounters new challenges. An acceptance of world-systems theory, particularly that the expansion of Western capitalism and political hegemony altered, and are altering, the dynamics of African societies, are factored into this way of thinking.

Rather than being a Global Feminist perspective, Mikell (1997) says that African Feminism is more aptly termed a micro-global Feminist perspective as it “uses insights from class and gender analysis of recent decades to show how production and reproduction affect gender relations, and to demonstrate how the hegemonic experiences of colonialism shaped the environment” (p. 6). African Feminism also focuses on the historical and contemporary dynamics of the African state itself and its approaches to gender (Mikell, 1997). Such focus allows for an examination of the African polity in its relationships with women, who are among its contributing members.

Finally, African Feminists are carefully observing contemporary developments in Africa in anticipation of a more equitable set of gender relations within state institutions and social life of their communities (Mikell, 1997). As Mohanty, Odim, and Bunch proclaim, new sets of gender relations must emerge from within rather than be imposed from outside, as Westerners have been inclined to do during the past few decades. The consolation is that new, organically formulated relations will disprove the pervading stereotype that African gender roles are steeped in an archaic past, and will show that those roles can change as culture itself is modified by experience. In doing so, African Feminists hope to explain the shape and direction of existing and evolving male and female roles in various societies and illuminate paths to social justice for all people on the African continent.

Tanzanian Feminists and intellectuals follow broader African feminists' ideology regarding gender relations and sources of gender oppression. In her book, *Unsung Heroines: Women's Life Histories from Tanzania*, Tanzanian gender scholar and activist Magdalena Ngaiza suggests pre-capitalist patriarchy, combined with the insertion of capitalism into Tanzanian society, are largely responsible for the subordination of women (1991). She states that pre-capitalist, patriarchal relations in Tanzanian society constituted a system wherein males headed the household and community (Ngaiza, 1991). Division of labor was determined by gender, age, and status and included access to and control of resources, such as means of production, labor, and the products of labor. Women's access to resources was mediated by men in various capacities, depending on the woman's

position as wife, daughter, or sister and most women were disadvantaged in allocations of land, labor, and leisure time.

Upon the arrival of colonialism and introduction of capitalism, patriarchal organization of production and reproduction along gender, age, and status lines was reinforced and expanded to create a peasant production class of all African people (Ngaiza, 1991). Gender relations, however, were modified and influenced by new processes and concepts of commoditization, the nature of the state, international economy, and cultural and ideological constructions of personhood, and masculinity and femininity. Women's subordination, says Ngaiza, is a fundamental aspect of capitalist production and reproduction and facilitates the existence of a peasant class by guaranteeing reproductive labor necessary in sustaining the labor class.

Women and men were allocated into positions of production and reproduction according to which best fueled colonial, capitalist projects and their remunerations were such that they remained economically oppressed (Ngaiza, 1991). Women's contributions as domestic (reproductive) and agricultural (productive) laborers were largely excluded from market value exchange equations and, hence, were deemed unimportant. Such a process rendered women themselves unimportant, invisible in public relations, and devalued in general.

The question of Tanzanian women is contemporarily explained by inserting gender as a category of analysis within theories of underdevelopment, class and strata, and neo-colonialism, in addition to patriarchy and capitalism (Ngaiza, 1991). It is important, according to Ngaiza, to fill gaps in theoretical explanations with accounts of

women's lived experiences. To merely criticize the oppressive systems with theoretical analyses is partially ineffective because it lacks evidence from women's personal lives. Women's accounts of life and livelihood offer representation of how aspects of Tanzanian society are produced and reproduced along gender lines. In doing so, women's words provide insight unattainable through theoretical analyses alone and, perhaps, into practical solutions for gender equality and social justice.

Activism: Transforming Ideology into Action

Social movements, as defined by The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, are “sustained and intentional efforts to foster or retard social changes, primarily outside the normal institutional channels encouraged by authorities” (Jasper, 2007). Collective in nature and driven by a particular ideology, social movements are central to the production of societal values and are critical harbingers of social transformation. Thus, they are powerful facilitators of change within societies (Anugwom, 2007). The general cause of social movements is discontent, with major social divisions and inequalities, based on gender or economic differences for example, being its source (Jasper, 2007). Discontent propels people to act in a manner designed to influence the political, religious, economic or social systems responsible for societal conditions they deem problematic (Smith, 2004). To achieve the changes they perceive, activists assemble in groups and work on a variety of levels, from face-to-face interaction to large scale protests (Martin, 2007). Aside from ideological motivations, activists are driven by a sense of group identity and consciousness that is associated with shared life experiences (Duncan, 1999).

Group identity and status are also cited as integral factors for those who participate in collective action. A person's identity association with either the self or a group is known to influence the tendency to join in collective action, and this is especially true for those who identify with low-status groups (Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers, 2009). Because they affiliate with a low-status group an individual may involve themselves in activist organizations that provide identity affirmation separating and protecting them from higher status groups. For these individuals, level of group identification affects performance in and motivations for collective action, with high identity correlation resulting in efforts to raise entire group status and low identity correlation resulting in concern for personal status elevation. Similarly, authors Zomeran and Spears (2009) report that whether or not a person identifies with a group and the extent of this identification are linked to engagement in the collective action that affects the group with which one identifies. Those who highly identify with a group act in the interest of group status elevation and for broader social change, whereas low identifiers act in order to alter their own status.

Status elevation, either personally or for the group, is a type of reward that motivates people to participate in collective action and build group relationships. Social exchange theory states that individuals engage in activities and relationships based on perceived rewards and costs associated with those interactions and that people seek to maximize rewards and minimize costs in any given social relationship (Agnew & Lehmiller, 2007). Rewards can consist of anything tangible or intangible the individual considers valuable. Tangible rewards, for example, may include increased income,

services, or material goods, while intangible rewards can be comprised of status elevation, as aforementioned, mutual trust or sense of belonging. People weigh rewards of interactions against costs, which include anything an individual considers unrewarding or requiring significant time or effort. In all, evaluations of rewards against costs influence peoples' decisions to partake in social activities and relationships, and whether or not they should continue to engage in them.

The concept of social capital aptly represents an integration of tangible and intangible rewards that motivate people to join in volunteer and community associations focused on fostering social change (Norris & Inglehart, 2006). Originally coined by Robert Putnam, the term social capital refers to “connections among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” or “features of social life-networks, norms, and trust-that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives” (Arneil, 2006; Norris & Inglehart, 2006). Putnam claims that deliberate face-to-face activities and collaboration within voluntary groups promotes interpersonal trust which, in turn, provides the foundation for building civil society and democratic governance necessary for generating and sustaining social change (Norris & Inglehart, 2006).

Gender plays a role in how individuals experience social capital because men's and women's attitudes differ in the issues they prioritize and policies they support (Caiazza & Putnam, 2005). Women, for example, are more sympathetic to policies that benefit disadvantaged groups, such as themselves, and are drawn to activism around issues that emphasize social welfare. However, men are typically motivated to join in

activism associated with business and professional development (Norris & Inglehart, 2006). That women's value social welfare shapes their proclivity to build relationships with others and influences their motivations for becoming involved in public organizing (Caiazza & Putnam, 2005). Thus, women experience social capital differently because they focus on different goals than do men.

The U.S. "women's movement" is a long-lasting social movement that has achieved several goals and continues to strive towards others as it exists today (Duncan, 1999; Schneider, 2008). Activists in this movement are mostly women who prioritize women's issues and are bound and motivated by a distinctive "feminine consciousness", or a politicized gender identification coupling women with a specific political ideology around those issues (Schneider, 2008). Contributing to women's rights activists sense of "feminine consciousness" is the process of "consciousness-raising", which transforms women's personal problems into shared awareness of their social and political concerns. Through this process women are able to understand the intricate relationships between their individual experiences and systemic social conditions. What is personal becomes political. Hence, changed consciousness is a key element of social change. Redefining women's experiences allows for an understanding of the nature of women's oppression, which is essential for assessing needs, establishing goals, providing programs and services, and working toward social change. Significant personal change among the women activists occurs as well, because they begin to understand themselves as part of a larger social group and view personal problems within the context of common social roles and conditions.

The conscious-raising group is the primary mechanism for conscious-raising among women's movement activists in the U. S (Duncan, 1999). First organized in the late 1960's, these groups focus on political analyses and developing feminist ideology among women who assume shared difficulties based on being women. The gatherings also help women understand and cope with personal problems as they relate to gender-role conditioning and to their experiences with gender bias, discrimination, and victimization. Personal attitudes, roles, behaviors, and relationships, as well as social practices and policies, become targets for change via group participation and members subsequently take measures to produce desired changes.

The height of U.S. Feminist activism was, like many social movements, initially concerned with issues affecting women in the U.S (Moghadam, 2005). Concurrently, however, women in other countries became involved in various projects, from post-colonial nation-building to student movements, focused on problems in their own societies, economies, and states. During the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985), representatives of regionally and/or nationally framed feminisms came together for the first time to express their views and a clash of sorts occurred. Western feminists emphasized the need for women's legal equality and sexual autonomy while Third World feminists noted imperialism and underdevelopment as obstacles to women's advancement. Women's political and ideological differences, coupled with the fact that most early national delegations were comprised of men, precluded unity among feminist and women's movement activists.

By the end of the Decade women's groups bridged regional and ideological divides, and a new type of women's organizing emerged (Moghadam, 2005). Several factors influenced this shift. An increased number of educated, employed, and politically conscious women, international economic crisis, neoliberal globalization, feminization of poverty, Islamic fundamentalism, and the spread of feminist ideology in the developing world, facilitated women's worldwide mobilization on an unprecedented scale. As such, in the past three decades the "women's movement" of the global 'North', or industrialized and economically developed nations, has expanded to reach women of the entire world, most notably those of less developed nations of the global "South" (Schneider, 2008). Women's movements now exist in nearly every country and collectively constitute a global women's movement powered by local and national women's groups engaging in collective action to further women's equality and rights attainment. Personal experiences, within cultural, political, economic, and historical contexts, compel women to join these groups and contribute to the formation of unique feminist ideological standpoints (McGuire, 2010).

The result of such standpoints is the emergence of a new collective identity of global feminists (Moghadam, 2005). Activists in this movement, according to P. Antrobus, employ multiple strategies when organizing, to include the employment of "spaces", such as consciousness-raising groups (2004). Feminine consciousness-raising is an important, initial step in recognizing female subordination because it adds a personal and relatable dimension to activism, making it less abstract (Antrobus, 2004). Experiential learning is the basis of consciousness-raising; through reflections on

personal experiences of gender-based oppression and female specific lifeways, women gain a deeper understanding of other forms of oppression based on class, race, class, ethnicity, and culture. This process is important to feminist organizing as it often serves as a stimulus to action that benefits oneself and others. Women's groups, usually made up of a group of friends or community members who share a common ideology of social change, are the spaces in which consciousness-raising and organizing typically begin. These fora provide a safe space in which women can begin to strategize, think critically, and build trust among one another.

“Feminine consciousness” is integral to women's collective action in Africa, as well as to global feminist strategies (Steady, 1993). According to African women's movement scholar Filomina Chioma Steady, women's collective action can be examined within the context of three interrelated parameters. First, elements of female culture that define women's space are crucial in developing feminine consciousness, i.e. an understanding and determination to eradicate gender-based discrimination and exploitation. Second, feminine consciousness is a precondition for promoting feminist ideologies and for transforming society. Third, in multi-ethnic and class societies female models, or feminist ideologies of societal change should fundamentally incorporate aspirations and agendas of women from the socially and economically oppressed groups of those societies.

Political Science and African Studies scholar Alison Drew also notes feminine consciousness as an important dimension of African women's collective mobilization (1995). Drew notes that feminine consciousness, considered by some to buttress existing

sexual divisions of labor and support gendered inequities between women and men, has radical implications in two respects. First, it may propel women to go beyond the bounds of socially-accepted gender roles and, in doing so, they may begin to question and possibly reject their old roles (Drew, 1995). Second, because women's nurturing concerns are multi-faceted and social, rather than strictly economic, when women inspired by female consciousness support and participate in justice movements, they typically act in the interest of the entire community. Female consciousness, then, may be potentially transformative to the extent that it values human life and social needs above all else, and seamlessly connects with quality of life protests and ideologies of social emancipation.

Echoing Drew, Steady asserts that applying feminine consciousness against socioeconomic and cultural marginalization is a manifestation of the transformational nature of female models (1993). Thus, implementation of female models in the political realm is of particular significance (Steady, 1993). Indeed, the modern women's movement seeks to topple the dominant structure of patriarchy by advocating and establishing the actualization of female models through collective action. Contemporary Africa women whose feminine consciousness includes civic concerns and responsibility for social issues and progress have used collective action in response to various political and economic crises. These reactive mobilizations have encouraged women to rediscover traditional means of organizing to solve problems of health, labor, and access to resources, as well as to raise political issues concerning peace and national security.

Steady describes African women's collective action as *the nexus of action and reaction*, an outcome of the tension between women's collective attempts to promote

democratization and development while resisting underdevelopment and authoritarianism (2006). In addition to the above-mentioned interrelated parameters in which women's collective action occurs, it is grounded in three main factors (Steady, 2006). The first is indigenous mechanisms of female mobilization and cooperation, (which can be read as consciousness when grouped with accounts of other historical female culture). Second is the historical experience of colonization, and third is the reality of present-day corporate globalization.

While African women's groups and associations devote significant effort to confronting and attempting to solve political and economic challenges, they tend to prioritize social and human-centered goals rather than focusing on mainstream Western feminist preoccupations about gender equality and women's rights (Steady, 2006). More importantly, they seek to advocate for more democratic institutions and policies, challenge underdevelopment, facilitating access to resources, providing mutual aid in times of hardship, and promoting formal and informal education. African women also advocate for peace, and in doing so, they advance a feminism that is humanistic in orientation and transformative in intention.

Furthermore, African women's groups and associations challenge theoretical expectations and paradigmatic formulations provided by Western feminist discourse (Steady, 2006). First of all, African women have historically operated in the public sphere as rulers and political officials, even in patriarchal societies. When they challenge the state, formulate policies, demand change, and lobby the government for greater female participation in decision-making positions, contemporary women activists operate in the

‘public’ sphere just as their foremothers did. Such realities challenge the ‘public/private’ sphere dichotomies set forth by foundational Western feminist theory and contribute to the debate over politics of representation, domination, and power struggle in feminist scholarship. African scholars and activists prefer to use explanatory models that are more complementary, overlapping, complex, transformative and African-centered when compared with Western feminist models.

Activism within the contemporary African women’s movement also relates to the prevailing political and social climate and, due to recent changes, African women are now able to act in ways previously restricted by rule and structure (Tripp, 2003). While there is no single explanation for women’s heightened activism in Africa, Aili Mari Tripp and her colleagues suggest three key factors should be considered (Tripp, Casimiro, Kwesiga, & Mungwa, 2009). First, there are international influences and the diffusion of ideas and tactics across Africa with respect to women’s rights. Second is a changing resource base in which women’s organizations have greater access to alternative sources of funding. Third is the opening of political space for women as a result of democratization and political liberalization. These factors shape the way in which women activists seek policy changes, the types of issues they take up, and their levels of success.

Contemporary African women’s movements also draw on multiple historic traditions of resistance (Tripp et al, 2009). Some of their tactics are drawn from indigenous women’s strategies that were a part of pre-colonial African societies, such as “political motherhood”. Experiences of anti-colonial resistance and national liberation movements that thrust women into roles beyond motherhood, being a wife or obedient

daughter, are also influential to the African women's movements. Additionally, and perhaps most directly, the movements are a response to the postcolonial party or state controlled women's organizations which ultimately sought to bring women into state-related clientelism while limiting and, sometimes, banning independent women's associations' formation and activities. Current forms of protest and collective action can be traced to these historic processes and include vestiges of past women's activism.

Activism within the Tanzanian women's movement generally reflects that of African women's movements on the whole. The history of official women's organizing in Tanzania begins just before the end of colonial rule with the formation of the National Council of Women of Tanganyika (historical name of mainland territory) in 1952 (Sheldon, 2005). The focus of this organization's work was home care and domestic science issues, and it sponsored lectures and demonstrations on childcare. Running a girls' orphanage was also central to its efforts. In 1962, just after Tanzania gained national autonomy, *Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania* or the Tanzanian Women's Union (UWT) formed. This group is the national women's organization affiliated with the ruling political party, Party of the Revolution, and is responsible for promoting women's issues at the national level. UWT formed a company, *Shirika la Uchumi wa Wanawake Katika Tanzania* (Tanzanian Women's Economic Cooperative) to lead development projects in rural areas and train women in business essentials.

Until the 1990's, women's groups in Tanzania tended to be government affiliated and primarily focused on development issues, as reflected in the structure and activities of *Shirika la Uchumi wa Wanawake Katika Tanzania* (Meena, 2003). Then, in resistance

to government efforts to curtail and intervene in non-governmental women's organizations' work, a new level of political activism began with the formation of independent local district and national level organizations. These groups, which are present in both elite and grassroots communities, aim to foster a gender sensitive political and social environment that would improve women's status while simultaneously providing loci of support to address women's everyday challenges stemming from sociostructural issues such as poverty and lack of access to education and employment resources.

For the most part elite groups have strategic interests, wherein they focus on affecting change in women's status on the structural level, e.g. through legislation. These groups advocate for the advancement women's rights in the areas of violence against women, health and reproductive rights, environmental issues, land rights, women's inheritance, domestic violence, land reform, and children's rights. Grassroots groups interests, on the other hand, largely have practical interests whereby they focus on meeting immediate practical needs such as obtaining adequate food, water, and shelter. Their activism is community-based and works towards providing women with the means necessary for improving their everyday lives via economic empowerment, skills training, and support group activities.

Summary

A review of the literature provides a thorough description of the concept of ideology and its relevance to social change activism. Feminism is an ideology that has

undergone several alterations since its inception centuries ago. From a bourgeois, European white women's brainstorm to the multiple, multicultural and multi-faceted frameworks seen today, Feminism has persisted as an ideology salient to women across time and space.

Mainstream Feminism, as it is dubbed, primarily focuses on white, middle-class women of the U.S. and Western Europe (Lindsay, 2011; Rogers, 2004; Tong, 2009). Because of its limited scope, many theorists criticized this type of Feminism, leading to the creation of Multicultural Feminism (Tong, 2009). Women of color in the U.S. were particularly important to the establishment of Multicultural Feminist ideology and comprise a majority of its adherents. Following Multicultural Feminists, theorists residing in or coming from the "Third World" launched their own set of critiques against Mainstream Feminism. Overall, Third World Feminists considered Western Feminists' theorizing Eurocentric, and found Mainstream Feminism's tendency to create a monolithic image of "the average Third World woman" problematic (Moghadam, 2005; Odim, 1991). They called for Third World women's voices to be heard, and for the establishment of Feminist ideologies relevant to their lived experiences, rather than those exclusive to Mainstream, Western Feminists.

Global Feminists heeded the call for alterations to Mainstream Feminist ideology as it pertains to women of the Third World by positing an inclusive, comprehensive ideology addressing the conditions of women's oppression the world over as a starting point for improving their lives (Bunch, 1993). Global Feminist ideology suggests Feminism should be a transformational political tool by which to attain global gender and

social justice. They advocate the abolition of sexism in conjunction with an end to other sources of oppression, and do not see one locus of oppression as more salient than another. With that said, Global Feminists call for women in locations around the world to define the conditions of their oppressions and develop unique ideologies pertaining to their situations as a means of creating a multi-faceted global effort to emancipate women.

African Feminism is a manifestation of African women's responses to the conditions in which they exist (Mikell, 1997; Steady, 2006). African and Western Feminisms deem some of the same issues important to women's emancipation. Yet there are issues relevant to African women that do not effect women elsewhere in the world that are incorporated into the African agenda. The African Feminist agenda is human-centered and holistic, and seeks to balance inequalities created by imperialism and international political economy, along with sexism. African feminism also draws upon historical women's roles as important and powerful community members who worked alongside, rather than against, men to create and sustain just societies for both women and men.

Feminists and women's issues advocates in Tanzania also see imperialism, particularly the introduction of the capitalist system, along with sexism as most responsible for women's oppression in their nation (Ngaiza, 1991). Where women were once included in economic production, and hence integrated into the public sphere, the capitalist system excluded them from production, relegated them to the private sphere, and rendered them unimportant. For women in Tanzania, examining gender in the context of under-development, class strata, patriarchy, and capitalism is crucial in

understanding the conditions of oppression they experience. The inclusion of Tanzanian women's voices is also crucial to understanding and rectifying their subjugation in Tanzanian society.

After exploring the development particular Feminist ideologies, the review then links ideologies to social movements and activists' characteristics. Driven by particular ideologies, social movements are powerful facilitators of change, collective in nature and borne from discontent based on societal inequities (Anugwom, 2007; Jasper 2007). Those who act collectively to change the systems responsible for those inequities are known to identify themselves with a larger group, usually of low-status, and engage in such action to receive tangible or intangible rewards, such as group status elevation or broader social change (Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers 2009; Martin, 2007; Smith, 2004). Social capital reflects the rewards gained through activism, and is in itself a reward for participating group activities.

The "women's movement" and activists of the global North align with the above mentioned descriptions. U.S. women's movement activists are bound by "feminine consciousness", a specific identity uniting them through their experiences as a women and they have changed several structures responsible for gender oppression in their fight for equality (Duncan, 1999; Schneider, 2008). Consciousness-raising groups foster association with and development of women-to-women identity and encourage women, and others, to critically examine women's experiences with gender oppression and act to change women's political and social circumstances.

Within the context of the “global women’s movement”, activists engage in collective action to further women’s equality, rights attainment, and gender and social justice (McGuire, 2010; Schneider, 2008). Among other strategies, these activists utilize “spaces”, such as women’s groups, as a place for women to link their personal experiences with sociostructural forces causing oppression, conjure methods to change those conditions, and foster unity and trust amongst themselves (Antrobus, 2004). As a result of activities in these spaces, which can be likened to consciousness-raising groups, “feminine-consciousness” among women is raised and activism encouraged.

“Feminine consciousness” is also cited as integral to collective action within African women’s movements, along with several other factors (Drew, 1995; Steady, 1993). Current political and social conditions, such as the global spread of women’s rights discourse and increased access to financial resources and political spaces, affect the ways in which African women’s movement activists engage in collective action (Tripp, 2003; Tripp et al, 2009). Historic traditions of resistance, from both pre- and post-colonial eras, also influence African women’s activism today.

In Tanzania, the contemporary women’s movement has roots in pre-independence nationalist struggle, though has evolved to separate itself from strictly political affiliations to include several non-government, elite, and grassroots organizations (Meena, 2003; Sheldon, 2005). Championing a variety of issues, from inheritance rights to maternal health, these groups also provide a range of services for women, forming a sort of social safety-net where women engage in mutual assistance and support.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Tanzanian women have been featured in numerous scholarly works regarding a variety of topics including maternal and child health, intimate partner violence, (hetero) sexual exchange practices, female genital cutting, HIV prevalence, and even national “erotica” in the form of traditional dancing (Bergsjö, Seha, & Oli-kin’ori, 1996; Edmondson, 2001; McCloskey, Williams, & Larsen, 2005; Mmbaga, Hussain, Leyna, Mnyika, Sam, & Klepp, 2007; Msuya, Mbizvo, Hussain, Sundby, Sam, & Stray-Pederson 2002; Myhre, 2007). Such studies are valuable and illuminating. However most studies such as these support propagation of the “average Third World woman” image, situating Tanzanian women as objects of demeaning or injurious cultural practices or victims of inadequate healthcare infrastructures. There are no studies, to my knowledge, which highlight the agency of Tanzanian women, nor their individual motivations for engaging in public organizing as women’s group-members.

Therefore my research is groundbreaking and important in two ways. First, following Third-World, Global, and African Feminist tenets, it situates Tanzanian women as active, decision-making agents taking meaningful measures appropriate for and beneficial to their lives, families, and communities (Bunch, 1993; Mikell, 1997; Odim 1991). Second, my research examines a heretofore unexplored topic: what motivates grassroots Tanzanian women join women’s groups, a form of public, collective action which apparently counters cultural currents relegating them to the domestic sphere.

Feminine consciousness and general economic empowerment, I assert, are two main factors that motivate women's group membership. For the purposes of this study, "feminine consciousness" is defined as women's sense of personal or collective identity and the way they relate to one another regarding what it means to be female (Lerner, 1993; Minardi, 2008; Tierney, 1999). Feminine consciousness has five parts: 1) the awareness of women that they belong to a subordinate group and that, as members of that group, they have suffered wrongs 2) the recognition that their condition of subordination is not natural, but societally determined 3) the development of a sense of sisterhood 4) the autonomous definition by women of their goals and strategies for changing their condition, and 5) the development of an alternate vision of the future (Lerner, 1993; Minardi, 2008). Economic empowerment is defined as gaining the means necessary to improve one's material conditions in life to meet personal and familial economic needs (Tripp, 2003; Sheldon, 2005).

To investigate my hypothesis, I employed feminist multiple methods research. As feminist research often draws upon multiple social science disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, and political science, to name a few, it also draws on multiple methods (Reinharz, 1992). Multiple methods use both quantitative and qualitative data to validate or refine each other, with the strengths of one type of data often balancing the weaknesses of another. Thus, synthesizing more than one type of data rounds out a study and generates multi-faceted information. With layers of information, a multi-method approach increases the probability that researchers will understand what they are studying and be able to convince others of the accuracy of their findings.

The use of multiple methods is a form of triangulation. Feminist research includes a higher proportion of triangulated data than mainstream research because triangulation pairs well with interdisciplinary feminist theoretical concerns which, according to Shulamit Reinharz, are linked to their specific intellectual, emotional, and political commitments (1992). Multiple methods allow feminists to fulfill their commitment to thoroughness when researching a topic, as highlighted above (Reinharz, 1992). They also enable feminist researchers to link “data-gathering” to action and individual behavior within social frameworks. Multiple methods are also appropriate for projects in which the researcher is on a journey to illuminate previously unexplored or misunderstood topics and experiences. Furthermore, multiple methods increase the likelihood of obtaining research utility and scientific credibility.

In many cases, feminist researchers use multiple methods research to make connections between individual and social worlds and data-gathering and action (Reinharz, 1992). By comparing analyses of individually-oriented inquiries, such as personal interviews, with material reflections of broader social life, like court records or newspapers, researchers can locate women’s individual stories among the social fabric of a society and identify social factors that may contribute to their lived experiences. Using these conclusions, feminist researchers can initiate additional data gathering to form the basis of action-oriented research intended to influence policy and practice.

Feminist researchers who use multiple methods are often associated with an image of someone on a “quest for truth” whose research project is a journey designed to illuminate previously unexplored aspects of social life (Reinharz, 1992). Such a quest

involves discarding objectivity and locating oneself in the place and time in which the research is occurring, rather than in the context in which the project originated. The researcher will often through the project experience psychological questions and contextual issues throughout the project which contribute to the process of discovery involved in their “quest” for knowledge. The researcher may also learn more than expected about themselves and the research participants that contribute to the overall outcomes of the project. Often, then, when multiple methods are employed, “the process becomes a part of the product” (Reinharz, 1992, p. 212).

Because my research topic is multi-facted, I utilized three methods- survey, personal interview, and focus group. I anticipated that using a multiple method approach would provide a multidimensional understanding of my findings. Surveys were used to gather participants’ demographic information and to ascertain why women did, or did not, join a women’s group. The survey method was chosen for its standardization in questioning and ease of administration (Babbie, 2007). This method allows for flexibility in construction, as survey items can be selected according to already gathered observations and desired outcomes. Surveys are also high in reliability, which lends scientific credibility to research (Babbie, 2007; Reinhartz, 1992). However, surveys are often considered somewhat superficial, artificial and relatively inflexible, simultaneously creating an expectation of decreased validity (Babbie, 2007).

Personal interviews were used to clarify some of the women’s reasons for joining women’s groups listed in the surveys. Interviewing complements quantitatively oriented methods, such as the survey, by including opportunities for discussion that result in

increased discovery and description of a topic (Reinharz, 1992). With interviewing, researchers are able to access respondents' ideas, thoughts, and expressions in their own words rather than in the words of a researcher or standardized document. This method is particularly important in feminist researching because it gives women their own voice, counteracting years of women's ideas and words being ignored. Interviewing is thought to be suited to female researchers and respondents, as women are more accustomed to communicating with one another about their thoughts and feelings. Open-ended questioning explores people's views of reality and allows the researcher to draw conclusions from their responses that can contribute to theory formation. Thus, interviewing provides greater validity than quantitative methods and is appropriate for studying nuances in attitudes and behaviors. Interviewing, though, is low in reliability and not appropriate for arriving at statistical descriptions of populations (Babbie, 2007).

The focus group discussion was designed to explore group-members' thoughts about feminine consciousness, a theme observed in both the surveys and the interviews (Reinharz, 1992). The discussion also intended to uncover the role, if any, of feminine consciousness in motivating Tanzanian women to join women's groups. Focus groups, typically comprised of 12-15 people, are relatively easy to assemble, as participants need not be chosen via a particular sampling method (Babbie, 2007). As a socially-oriented research method, focus groups capture data in a social setting to discover individuals' opinions on a given topic (Babbie, 2007; Reinharz, 1992). They have high validity, deliver quick results, and can focus on any topic, thus making focus groups flexible. Weaknesses include locating an appropriate forum for discussion, data being difficult to

analyze, the moderator requiring special skills, and group dynamics hampering fluid discussion (Babbie, 2007)

The use of survey, personal interview, and focus group methods intended to fulfill my expectation of understanding participants' actions within their sociocultural context and understanding certain "truths" about a previously unexplored topic. Triangulation will lend credibility to my work, as well as improve its applicability to analysis of the Global, African, and Tanzanian women's movements. Engaging in this project can certainly be considered a "quest for truth" as its origins reach back to 2010, when I first visited Tanzania. Moreover, the project's completion required a dismissal of objectivity, whereby I positioned myself in the context in which the research took place and personally connected with it. As such, the process involved unanticipated revelations about me as well as the participants; both sets of revelations contributed to the richness of the research.

The Methods

The research project, including employment of and data gathering, occurred during a five-week period during which I revisited Moshi Town and surrounding areas. Before I could begin gathering data, however, I obtained required permission to proceed with the project from the Tanzanian government. Having worked with the local government before, my familiarity with several officials facilitated this procedural aspect of the research, resulting in permissions from the Kilimanjaro Regional Office, Moshi District Administrative Office, and Moshi Office of Community Development.

The required permissions were not granted nonchalantly, however. After providing official documentation from my university stating the purpose of my research, I was required to answer a battery of questions regarding the project objectives and how the outcomes may generally reflect upon Tanzanian society. An official at The Kilimanjaro Regional Office made clear that the Tanzanian government did not wish any research regarding women conducted by foreigners, or otherwise, to cast Tanzanian society in a negative light regarding gender relations. Furthermore, he did not wish the research to negatively impact the women involved in the project. I assured him that, unlike research endeavors like those mentioned above, my research focused on Tanzanian women's agency and women's group participation to highlight positive aspects of their lives, demonstrate women's freedoms to publicly organize and, therefore, indicate favorable aspects of Tanzanian gender relations. After satisfactorily answering two additional officials' inquiries and providing two local character witnesses to vouch for my integrity, I was granted verbal permission from the District Office to conduct my research (See Appendix A #1). The next day I retrieved a letter documenting the District level permission; I presented the letter to officials at Regional Offices of District Administration and Community Development to gain additional, final permissions (See Appendix A #2).

Administration of Methods

Survey

With permissions in hand I began the research with administration of the surveys. Before any of the questionnaires were initiated, however, participants were presented with an informed consent form. The consent form was initially written in English (See Appendix A #3). For use in the project, the content of the form was translated into Kiswahili by a native Kiswahili speaking translator, and printed for distribution to the participants (See Appendix A #4). The form was read and signed by each literate participant. In cases where the participant was illiterate, the translator or I verbalized the content of the consent form; the woman then gave her verbal consent and signed the consent form to the best of her ability, i.e. some of the signatures were initialized or took the form of a simple “x”.

Two questionnaires, named “women’s group-member survey” (See Appendix A #5) and “non-group-member survey” (See Appendix A #6) were utilized for the research, both of which were first written in English. A native speaking Kiswahili translator then assisted in translating the questionnaires (See Appendix A #7, #8) into Kiswahili, which were then printed for distribution to the participants. While I am conversational in Kiswahili and could communicate the purpose and content of the survey, a native speaking, female Kiswahili translator accompanied me to administer the surveys to ensure accuracy of execution and understanding among the respondents, the translator, and me.



Figure 3. 1: non-group-member survey participant

Both surveys were constructed of seven items; one contingency question, two open-ended questions, and four questions for which the respondents were asked to choose an answer from a series of possible responses. All but the last question on the surveys pertained to demographic information. I chose to gather information about age, marital status, number of children, religious affiliation, education, and income levels to gain a general understanding of the sampled population's living conditions. These demographic questions were asked of both "group-members" and "non-group-members" to facilitate comparative analysis wherein I hoped to discern comparative analysis to discover if the two groups differed in demographic characteristics. The seventh, and last, item was an open-ended question asking why the respondent joined, or did not join, a women's group.

In posing these questions, it was my intention to elicit candid responses from each sample set regarding their motivations for, or not for, participating in women's group activities. Additionally, I sought to determine whether the women's responses to these items somehow correlated with their demographic information.

Eighty-four "group-member surveys" were distributed to women's group-members of four women's groups. The translator and I approached women's group-members at women's group locales on regular meeting days and briefly explained the research project to the members. The translator and I asked for ten volunteers from each group to complete the survey, a quota that was easily met and sometimes exceeded. In cases where more than ten women's group-members from a given group desired to participate, I allowed them to do so to avoid being exclusionary and to show appreciation for their enthusiasm. Also, additional survey material would enrich the research process and benefit analysis. Consequently eighty-four rather than forty surveys were completed by the women's group-member sample group.

Fifty-eight "non-group-member surveys" consisting of the same six items concerning demographic information as the "group-member surveys" and one item concerning the respondent's reasons for not joining a women's group were distributed to women who were not members of a women's group of any kind. Respondents for these surveys were much more tedious to obtain because the non-group-members were not as willing as group-members to participate in the research. In instances wherein women were reluctant to participate, the translator and I sustained several minutes of dialogue to familiarize potential respondents with the research, answering questions about the

purpose of the project, as well as my, the *mzungu* (foreigner) researcher's, background. On occasion, this "screening" process took up to thirty minutes before the woman or women would agree, or disagree, to participate. Such interactions significantly reduced efficiency. Other times, administration of the survey to non-group-members took on the form of casual conversation between the respondents, the translator, and me wherein the survey questions and answers were woven into conversation, constituting a flow of dialogue suggesting we three women were acquaintances getting to know one another, a process which also took a considerable amount of time. Many non-group-members refused to participate in the research without some form of compensation. Their requests were denied and they were disqualified from participation. Overall, time constraints, suspicion toward the research, and, frankly, fatigue experienced by the translator and me resulted in the completion of less "non-group-member surveys" than desired. There are enough, however, to make a meaningful, if not completely comparable, contribution to the research.



Figure 3.2: group-member survey participant (left) and translator

Due to heterogeneity among the sample and environments with which we worked, administration of the surveys took on multiple forms. Many of the participants were literate, and therefore able to complete the questionnaire with little assistance. Others, who were illiterate, required the questions be read to them and their answers recorded by either the translator or me after they were verbally received, similar to consent form administration. In these cases administration could be considered an interview survey, rather than self-administered.

Location of administration also varied. The “group-member surveys” were completed at the women’s groups meeting locations. The “non-group-member surveys” were completed at various locations throughout urban and rural Moshi. For example, the translator and I could be found on front stoops of and inside participant’s and/or their family’s homes, at retail storefronts, restaurants, market stands, bars, street corners, street

food vending locales, bus stops, agricultural fields, and random stopping points along urban streets and village trails, depending on where we were directed to find participants. Almost all of the questionnaires were completed while the translator, respondent(s), and I were seated, as being seated is preferred when accepting visitors and conducting business in Tanzanian culture as means of encouraging comfort among the people involved. Only two questionnaires were conducted while standing, as the respondents were between their homes and the agricultural fields in which they labor.

Personal Interviews

Twenty-nine personal interviews were conducted with women's group-members who volunteered to participate in the interview process. The translator and I requested five interviewees from each group during the same visit in which we sought survey participants. While we met and even exceeded our desired number of interviewees, members were not as keen to answer interview questions as they were to complete surveys. From my perspective and that of the translators' such attitudes were present because most women are unaccustomed to voicing their opinions, especially in such a way that would be recorded and shared with people outside of their immediate social circle. The subject of the interview questions also appeared to hinder women's willingness to speak openly with us, as there is a slight taboo regarding gender relations that inhibits women, and men, from publicly commenting about them.



Figure 3.3: interviewee

As with the questionnaires, an informed consent form was signed by each interview participant. All of the interview participants were literate and completed these forms themselves. Five main questions pertaining to women's reasons for joining a women's group were included in the interviews, each with ancillary questions for deeper inquiry (see Appendix A #9). All of the questions are linked to feminine consciousness and economic empowerment though the linkage is not explicit, thus eliminating possibility of leading the respondents.

Questions numbered One and Two concerned elements of feminine consciousness. The first question asked if the respondent joined the group because she believed that she would identify with or be the same as other members and whether or not she thought women, in general, were alike. The second question asked if women were

treated unequally with men and if so, if this motivated them to join the group. Together, these questions were meant to explore whether or not the women's group members participate in women's groups due to a sense of common identity or shared problems based on their experiences as women.

Question Three relates to personal esteem and status elevation, which are tacitly linked to economic empowerment and feminine consciousness. Directly, the question asks if the woman joined a group to feel better about herself, and if her participation has made others think highly of her. While these are questions of esteem, such esteem is often related to economic standing and strengthening of personal consciousness. An increase in these two dimensions often triggers a perceived rise in status elevation among peers. Thus, this item was designed to uncover whether or not the members joined to increase their self esteem, by either economic empowerment or consciousness-raising, or to increase their standing in the community.

Group status elevation is the focus of question Four, and it is also relates to feminine consciousness and economic empowerment. In asking if the woman thinks her women's groups' work will help women to be equal with men, the question is exploring whether or not she is participating in group activities with the intention of improving women's positions as whole. Such motivation entails an awareness that women are somehow unequal with men, a desire to change the situation, and an alternate vision of the future; these factors are associated with feminine consciousness. This question could also be connected to economic empowerment, as being equal with men is sometimes related to having the same economic standing as men. Question Four, then, was created

with the intention of revealing group members motivations for improving women's status as a whole and can be connected with feminine consciousness and economic empowerment.

Question Five of the interview relates to personal betterment. Here, the group member is asked if she sought group membership to help herself personally or to improve certain aspects of her life. The final part of this question directly asks if being in the group makes her feel empowered. All of these queries could refer to either self-esteem or economic empowerment.

Before the interviews were conducted, the translator and I reviewed the questions to ensure thorough understanding of the content. During the interviews, the translator asked the questions in Kiswahili and the respondent provided answers in Kiswahili. The translator then relayed the answers to me in English to ensure my complete understanding. Each interview was recorded with an electronic recording device. As the interviews were semi-structured, I occasionally interjected with additional questions to glean better understanding of the responses; these interjections are recorded as well.

The semi-structured, personal interviews were conducted while seated in different places, depending on interviewees' preferences. Approximately half occurred at the meeting location of the women's group with which the woman was affiliated. Other interviews occurred at the interviewee's homes where we had been invited. Most women were engaging in wage (productive) or non-wage (reproductive) labor upon our arrival at their homes; the work either ceased or continued during the interview process. On a few occasions interviews were paused so the woman could respond to family needs, most

coming from small children, provide service to customers, or welcome visitors. Some of the interviews were conducted on the veranda of a popular retail store and restaurant in one of the villages. Meeting women on the veranda was more efficient because the women were not distracted by their responsibilities, and that working at that location eliminated time spent walking from house to house. We realize, however, that the women who met us on the veranda enjoy a freedom of movement that others may not have due to household and wage-producing responsibilities.

Focus Group (Feminist Group Interview)

Twelve women, three from each women's group, participated in the focus group discussion. I asked a translator from each group, those women who helped me with the surveys and interviews, to be participants so that they could provide translation during the dialogue. Then, I asked the translators to choose two additional women from their respective groups to participate in the discussion alongside them. The translators selected women from their groups based on the women's personalities, mostly whether or not they would be comfortable speaking openly about gender relations with women with whom they were unfamiliar for the purposes of a research project. None of the women had attended such a forum before, and given the taboo surrounding discussion of gender relations, their participation required a bit of courage and adventurousness that could be recognized by their fellow (translator) group member.



Figure 3.4, focus group discussion

The focus group took place on a Saturday, a day during which most women have more time for extracurricular activities, and which also allowed women of both Christian and Muslim religious affiliations to attend without interfering with their worship practices. We set the meeting time at ten o'clock in the morning, though participants continued to arrive until after the noon hour; this sort of indifference to time schedules is standard in Tanzania. Once all had arrived, around half past noon, we began the discussion after "taking tea" to refresh ourselves. To commence, I asked one of the translators to relay the purpose of the meeting to the attendees, i.e. to examine the notion of feminine consciousness and its importance in motivating women to join women's groups. She then explained feminine consciousness (see Appendix A #10) to the group

and ensured everyone understood the meaning of the concept. Next, the translator told a story (see Appendix A #11) that exemplified a common Tanzanian woman's life conditions and the concept of feminine consciousness as it exists among women. Telling a story is of particular significance here. Storytelling is a common tool through which Tanzanians communicate and understand morals, concepts, and ideas to one another. Therefore I chose to utilize a story to which the women could relate in order to solidify the meaning of feminine consciousness to the group. All of the above communication between the translator and the participants was spoken in Kiswahili.

After the story, the women commented at will about elements of the story and its representation of feminine consciousness. The discussion then took various turns in topic according to the women's remarks and observations. Each woman's statements and/or inquiries were either spoken in Kiswahili and translated into English for my benefit, or were spoken in English and then translated into Kiswahili for those participants who are not fluent in English. The participants conversed for two and one half hours and during the meeting used a handheld recording device to record their words.

The focus group discussion was recorded and took place at the office of one of the women's groups whose members participated in the project. This locale was chosen for its space capacity and location. I provided transportation fares and refreshments for the participants. Such provisions may appear unethical, but considering the context, location, and length of the research event, it was appropriate. In Tanzanian culture, it is common courtesy to provide transportation fares and nourishment to any person attending a day-long, non-wage earning function as compensation for time missed from work and/or

family. Therefore, these measures were taken in compliance with culture and to show appreciation for the women's participation.

Sample

Tanzanian women's group-members were the primary target population of study, and the participant sample was obtained by purposive sampling technique. Due to restrictions on time and resources, defining and sampling all Tanzanian women's group-members was not feasible for my project. Therefore, to fulfill the purpose of my research, I chose to collect data from members of four easily identifiable and accessible urban and rural Moshi women's groups who represent a subset of the larger population of Tanzanian women's group-members. Each of these groups, with which I had previously worked in varying capacities, differ slightly in their purpose, function, and composition. For contextual purposes, a description of each group follows.

“Jipe Moyo” Women Care

“Jipe Moyo” Women Care is an HIV women's support and awareness organization of thirty-two members based in suburban Majengo kwa Mtei, Moshi. The Kiswahili words *“Jipe Moyo”* literally translate as ‘take heart’, though when used locally the phrase essentially means ‘have the courage [to do something]’. A non-government organization, *“Jipe Moyo”* was established in 2007 with the mission ‘to organize a group of HIV/AIDS infected people for the aim of educating each other about the illness so that they will follow the institutions on how to live with hope’. Each week they hold a business meeting, during which members discuss the group's income generating project

as well as their individual business ventures, many of which were made possible via loans procured by international volunteers working with “*Jipe Moyo*”. They also meet once a week to discuss their health statuses and that of other HIV positive members in the community. Health meetings also function as a form of emotional support for members in attendance. Support group and home-bound HIV patients are visited by group members twice weekly. “*Jipe Moyo*” also provides English classes to youth unable to enroll in secondary school for financial reasons, given that secondary school fees are exorbitant considering average family income.

“Tusaidiane” Women’s Group

Based in rural Mvuleni, Moshi is the second group “*Tusaidiane*”, a women’s society and non-government organization whose name means “Let’s Help Each Other” in Kiswahili. “*Tusaidiane*” was founded in July 2010 and consists of one hundred members. Their mission is “to provide economic, emotional, and educational support to the women of Tanzania in order to improve their standard of living”. To reach their economic aim, the women collect member fees that are distributed into group or individual members’ savings accounts. The group savings account finances a member hardship fund from which members may receive funds for health or funeral costs for themselves or family members; recipients are selected monthly by group vote upon hearing individuals’ requests for funds. Individual members’ personal savings are released every ten weeks and used to purchase goods, usually household related, at members’ discretion. Seminars about women’s topics, such as health, gender equality, child development, or international women’s perspectives are held weekly to reach the educational goal. Once a

month, the women participate in a support group activity which fulfills the emotional aspect of their mission and serves to build solidarity.

Village Community Bank (VICOBA)

Also operating in Mvuleni, Moshi is (VICOBA) whose mission statement reads “facilitating participation of rural and urban communities in poverty alleviation with innovative solutions, approaches, and professional services through teamwork”.

VICOBA is a locally based element of the Social and Economic Development Initiatives of Tanzania (SEDIT) program which is a non-governmental organization that implements and monitors economic projects at the community level. Beneficiaries of VICOBA include the rural poor, although each branch focuses its efforts on a specific cohort of citizens based on community dynamics. The Mvuleni branch chose women due to the high proportion of widows and single or abandoned mothers among the population. The group formed in 2005 and has thirty-eight members. Members invest in VICOBA shares and, in return, they are able to receive loans for business ventures and/or education or health needs. Business loans incur interest and must be repaid within six month, whereas loans for education and health costs are repaid at will, within reason, without interest. Once each week meetings to discuss members’ business ventures, review and updating of accounts and opportunities for additional investments are held.

“Minjeni” Women Group Trust

Lastly, there is the “*Minjeni*” Women Group Trust, a non-government organization and women’s society operating in the rural Shimbwe and Uru East villages of Moshi. “*Minjeni*” means “shadow” in Kichagga, the tribal language used by an ethnic

group indigenous to the foothills of Mount Kilimanjaro which Moshi neighbors. Minjeni has approximately sixty members and its mission is “to empower our community through raising awareness, developing sustainable approaches to assist the community in poverty alleviation through supporting the role of women, against disease epidemics including HIV/AIDS and promoting education and community involvement within the Shimbwe and Uru East communities in the Moshi region”. The group utilizes five departments, Administrative, Economic, Health, Education and Home-Based Care, Orphans and Vulnerable Children, and Women and Widows Rights to fulfill its mission. Both completed and ongoing projects provide women of the communities with skills training, business capital and management resources, and health education, in addition to a variety of other topics and ventures. Members meet quarterly to discuss the projects in which they are involved and organize future projects.

Non-Group-Members

In addition to the primary sample of women’s group-members, a secondary sample of non-women’s group-members was obtained for my research. Information gathered about these women is intended to provide a comparative analysis of women who do and do not join women’s groups in terms of demographics and individual reasons for participating or not participating in women’s groups activities. The non-women’s group-member sample was obtained by using a snowball sampling technique. Non-women’s group-members are spread throughout the neighborhoods in which the women’s groups featured in this study are located. My research assistants, who were women’s group-

members themselves, and other women's group members directed me to homes or businesses where we might find non-women's group-members willing to participate in the project. After an initial participant was obtained, that woman would often direct us toward other women appropriate for the study, and so on. In some cases, we found multiple participants in one locale, and this clustering effect facilitated efficiency of the research. In all, fifty-eight non-group-members were obtained for the study.

Setting

I have included the following information about the area in which the research was conducted because context influences choices people make and activities in which they engage in their day-to-day lives. Factors such as rural to urban migration, economic instability, and gender relations directly impact women in the Moshi area. Therefore to fully understand the motivations behind their actions, it important to have some background knowledge regarding the conditions in which they are living.

The data utilized for this project were collected in Moshi, which is located in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania. Moshi is the name of two districts, Moshi Urban and Moshi Rural, as well as of a municipality referred to as Moshi or Moshi Town (Moshi Municipal Council, 2012). My research was conducted both in Moshi (Moshi Urban) and in rural areas surrounding the city (Moshi Rural). Moshi is situated on the lower slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro, a snow-capped, volcanic mountain which is Africa's tallest mountain (NationMaster Encyclopedia, 2012). In 2002, census data indicated the population of Moshi was 144,739, with a projected population of 206,728 in 2011 (Moshi Municipal

Council, 2012; National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania, 2012). These figures represent what is termed the “night population”, or those people who reside and sleep in Moshi. However, the “day population” which accounts for those who engage in rural to urban migration for work is estimated to be approximately three times that of the “night population” (Moshi Municipal Council, 2012). The influx of the “day population” is a consequence of declining economic activities in the rural areas.

Once reliant on a robust coffee industry, the economies of the Moshi districts in general have rapidly declined since the 1990’s due to falling world prices of coffee and reduction in coffee production yields in the 2000’s thought to be a result of global warming (Moshi Municipal Council, 2012). Declining economic conditions brought on in part by international political economy and global climate change have resulted in the closing of several agro-industrial businesses and encouraged emigration to larger urban centers such as Dar es Salaam, Tanzania’s business hub, or Mwanza, which has a thriving fishing industry due to its location on the shores of Lake Victoria. Despite the presence of these economically vibrant areas much of the nation continues to suffer the effects of neo-liberal economic policies, i.e. structural adjustment demanding debt repayment schemes, privatization of government services, aggressive resource production and export, and market liberalization, that have rendered the economy ineffectual (.

Tourism is another important industry for Moshi, with Mt. Kilimanjaro as a primary destination for travelers a resultant boon to the economy (Moshi Municipal Council, 2012). Changing world climate has also negatively impacted Mt. Kilimanjaro, which is predicted be glacier free by the year 2029. Such predictions have sent people

scrambling to climb the mountain in time to see its glaciers before they fade, and Moshi enjoys a strong tourist presence as a result. Visitors also come to Moshi for the recently established Kilimanjaro Marathon and to find room and board before launching *safari* (journey) to the nearby Serengeti Plain and Ngorongoro Crater (NationMaster Encyclopedia 2012). Several cultural tourism and volunteer programs are in place as well. These encourage visitors to stay or at least pass through Moshi. The recent world economic crisis has had a domino effect on Tanzania's tourist industry in general and Moshi's tourist industry has suffered as a result (Moshi Municipal Council, 2012).

Several primary schools are available to Moshi residents and enrollments costs are minimal. However secondary school education, which was universally provided in the past, now carries fees which are exorbitant considering average income levels. The result is that most people in Moshi have only primary school education (NationMaster Encyclopedia, 2012). There are two main hospitals in Moshi, Mawenzi and Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Center, and several small clinics where patients may receive healthcare services. All medical care requires fees. Electricity is available but the infrastructure is unreliable and "rolling blackouts" have been consistent for the past two years (Moshi Municipal Council, 2012).

Gender relations in the Moshi area correspond with those of the entire nation (Carlson & Pratt, 2010). Traditional customs dictate division of labor based on sex, relegating most women to the domestic sphere where they are responsible for childrearing, family sustenance, often in the form of subsistence farming, and household maintenance. Marriage practices reflect customs of the Chagga ethnic group, who are

indigenous to the foothills of Kilimanjaro, and call for arranged marriages wherein the groom's family pays a dowry to the family of the bride. Polygamy is common, but declining in popularity as economic conditions worsen; having more than one wife is often financially unfeasible for a man. Women are greatly valued for their ability to bear children, and mothers are typically referred to by their first-born child's name rather than by their own. Girls are generally less valued than boys, with families reserving scarce resources for education or healthcare for male family members. While gender relations are changing due to modernization and globalization and women increasingly attend school, own businesses and land, marry at will, and enjoy other newfound freedoms, they generally continue to hold a status lower than that of men.

Project Origins

The formulation of this research project is connected with my personal interests and experience with women in the Moshi community. Before beginning graduate study in Women and Gender Studies in an International Context, I travelled to Moshi as a volunteer with local women's groups to gain practical experience that would supplement my academic pursuits. What was initially a three-month visit evolved into a year-long stay during which I became involved with the women's groups in varying capacities, as a volunteer, program initiator, researcher, and friend. The extension of my time in Moshi was due, in part, to very satisfying and ever-deepening experiences with the women's groups in tandem with a fascination for the people and culture of Tanzania. Also integral to the extension of my visit was my role as Co-Founder in the establishment of a

women's group in rural Moshi; this endeavor entailed much time and effort. Thus, I have a strong connection with women in the Moshi community, both within and outside of the group I helped form. These connections have held my time and attention and led me to return to Moshi to revisit those women several times since my resettlement in the United States and build a solid rapport with which I believed intimate research could be conducted.

Being personally and professionally invested in the grassroots women's movement in Tanzania, I decided to investigate elements of women's public participation and organizing around women's issues to better comprehend what motivates their actions and how these motivations may factor into social change. It is my hope that further understanding the motivations behind these women's actions will allow me to best assist their projects. Following the completion of my Master's Degree program, I plan to move to Tanzania indefinitely to Co-Direct the group of which I am a Co-Founder and assist in the development of grassroots women's activities. Thus, this research has both academic and practical purposes.

There are positive and negative implications related to my experience and rapport with most women of this project and administration of the research itself. On the positive side, my experience gave me a unique perspective from which to formulate the research design and conduct and analyze the data collected for the project. My knowledge of the women's groups enabled me to create research implements appropriate for gathering the specific information I wished to obtain. My familiarity with the women's group-members lent to ease of access and interaction regarding administration of methods. Overall, my

prior immersion in Tanzanian culture and intimate work with Moshi women's groups affords me a level of understanding, comprehension, and analysis unavailable to a researcher with no or less experience compared to that I possess. Also beneficial is that my being a friend, or at least familiar, to the women's groups members who participated in this project encouraged a level of candor which led to more honest and unrestricted responses on their part.

Conversely, however, being a friend to them could have restricted their responses regarding personal aspects of their lives, for fear of judgment or diminishment of friendship. Additionally, whatever my relationship with the group-members, I realize that my status as a white foreigner complicates my interactions with them to some degree. While some of the women's group members refer to me fondly as *mbongo* (local), there is a legacy of mistrust for foreigners of European descent, especially those who may be attempting to promote the Western concept of Feminism, and there were times when the cultural and socio-economic divide between me and the members was palpable (Ngaiza 1991, Stoler 2002, Weismantel 1997). Despite my efforts to be as open-minded and culturally sensitive as I can manage, there are unavoidable historical and contemporary circumstances that will forever influence my relationships with the women and people of Tanzania that preclude unblemished rapport between us.

Being a stranger to participants also has advantages and disadvantages in research. When administering surveys to non-women's group-members, as opposed to group-members with which I had worked before, I was a stranger on two levels, culturally and neighborly. Sometimes these factors worked to my advantage. Many

women were excited and curious to have a *mzungu* in their midst and were happy to work with me. My status as a “Western” woman, who they may perceive as one who enjoys freedoms unavailable to Tanzanian women, may have encouraged the women to be open about women’s issues because they believed they were talking with someone who is accustomed to frankness about the topic. Also, being a stranger to their communities, they could tell me anything with little fear of their comments recirculating as “gossip” among their neighbors.

In several interactions with the non-group-members, I was met with suspicion and mistrust either because I was a foreigner or because the women were afraid their comments would be given to local government officials and somehow used against them. Here, being a stranger worked against me. As mentioned, there is a legacy of mistrust regarding foreigners of European descent rooted in colonial histories. Mistrust of government is associated with that legacy, as the government is considered “in cahoots” with exploitative foreign powers and corrupt at the expense of the public. Apparent mistrust of their own officials indicates a level of social control that prevents women, and perhaps people in general, from speaking their minds about potentially controversial topics (Carlson & Pratt, 2010).

Chapter 4

RESULTS

The purpose of my research was to reveal what motivates Tanzanian women to join women's groups, with particular focus on feminine consciousness and economic empowerment as incentives for membership. In this chapter I present the results of data collected via surveys, personal interviews, and the focus group discussion. The language composition of this chapter is relatively straightforward. It is written as such to directly represent the women's voices without attempts to insert complicated words or infer meanings into their responses. Their responses follow.

Survey Data

The surveys were designed to capture general demographic information about both women's group members and non-group members, as well as the women's reasons for or against joining a women's group. I investigated both members and non-members to obtain a comparative analysis between the two groups in hopes of finding characteristics the women do or do not share based on membership status. As far as demographics are concerned, the two samples differ only slightly. Regarding age, the women's group-members are generally older than those of the non-group-member sample (see Table 4.1). The women's marital status is comparable (see figures 4.1, 2). Regarding marital status, the largest difference between the two groups lies within the married category, where there are 5% more married women among the group-members than the non-group-members. All other categories differ by 4% or less, if at all.

Relatively, the women's group-members have more children than the non-members (see figures 4.3, 4). Thirty-five and forty group-member respondents have between one and three or four and six children, respectively. Eight women's group-members have more than six children, and only one has no child. Among non-group-members, thirty-five have between one and three children, and twelve have between four and six. Only four of the non-group-members have more than six children, and seven have no children at all.

Education level was comparable between the two groups as well (see figures 4.5, 6). A slightly higher rate of women's group-members have completed some or all of a university degree, while the non-women's group-members have higher numbers of women who have completed some or all of secondary school. As for religious affiliations, there are more Christians women among the group-members than among the non-members.

Roughly three quarters, sixty-three of eighty-four, of the group-members earn income in the form of wages. Approximately two-thirds the non-group-members, thirty-nine of fifty-eight, earn income for wages. Nearly all of the group-members work in the informal market to earn income. Examples of labor activities include street food vending (8), small-scale livestock tending and sales (8), brewing and selling corn beer (3), or selling charcoal, fruits, vegetables, and/or second hand clothes (25). The only formal economy jobs represented among the group members were teacher (2), retail shop owner (4), preacher (1), and government employed birth attendant (1). The non-group-members also engaged in informal economy labor, in much of the same manner as the group

members. The non-group-members engage in more formal economy labor than the group members, however. Their occupations included irrigation worker (1), sugar cane-cutter (1), orphanage caretaker (1), cafeteria cook (2), field digger (for sugar company) (1), landscape plant distributor (1), candy wholesaler (1), retail shop owner (2), and sports bar manager (1). Overall, average weekly income for non-group-members is higher than the group-members by both mean and mode measures (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.1

Age Statistics	Women's Group-Members	Non-Group-Members
Range	28-72	19-70
Median	50	44.5
Mean	43	34
Mode	40	30

Table 4.2

Weekly Income Statistics	Women's Group-Members	Non-Group-Members
Range	500-80,000 Tsh	0*-70,000 Tsh
Median	40,250 Tsh	35,000 Tsh
Mean	13,273 Tsh	15,600 Tsh
Mode	5,000 Tsh	10,000 Tsh

Tsh: Tanzanian Shilling
1540 Tsh = 1 US Dollar

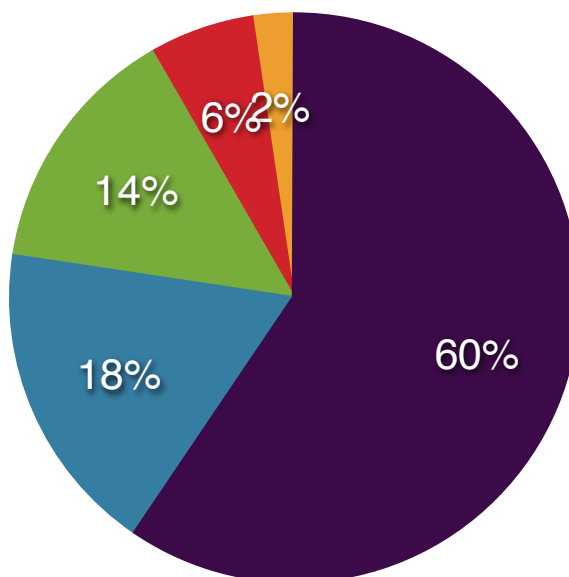
* respondent labored in a family business in exchange for food and shelter, therefore she received no cash income

Figures 4.1, 2

Marital Status

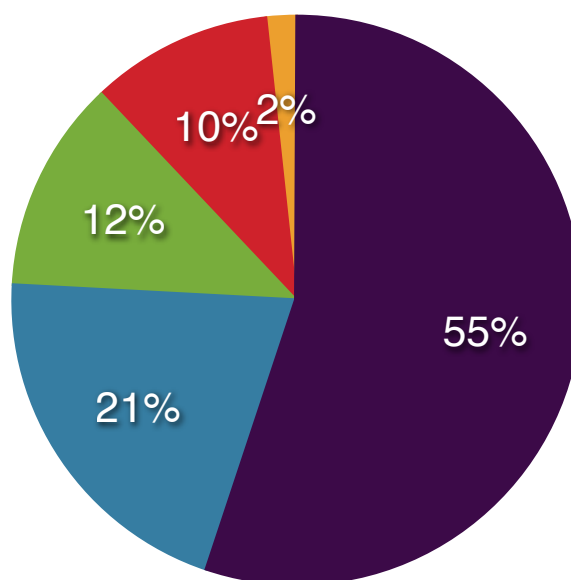
Women's Group-Members

- Married
- Widowed
- Single
- Abandoned
- Divorced

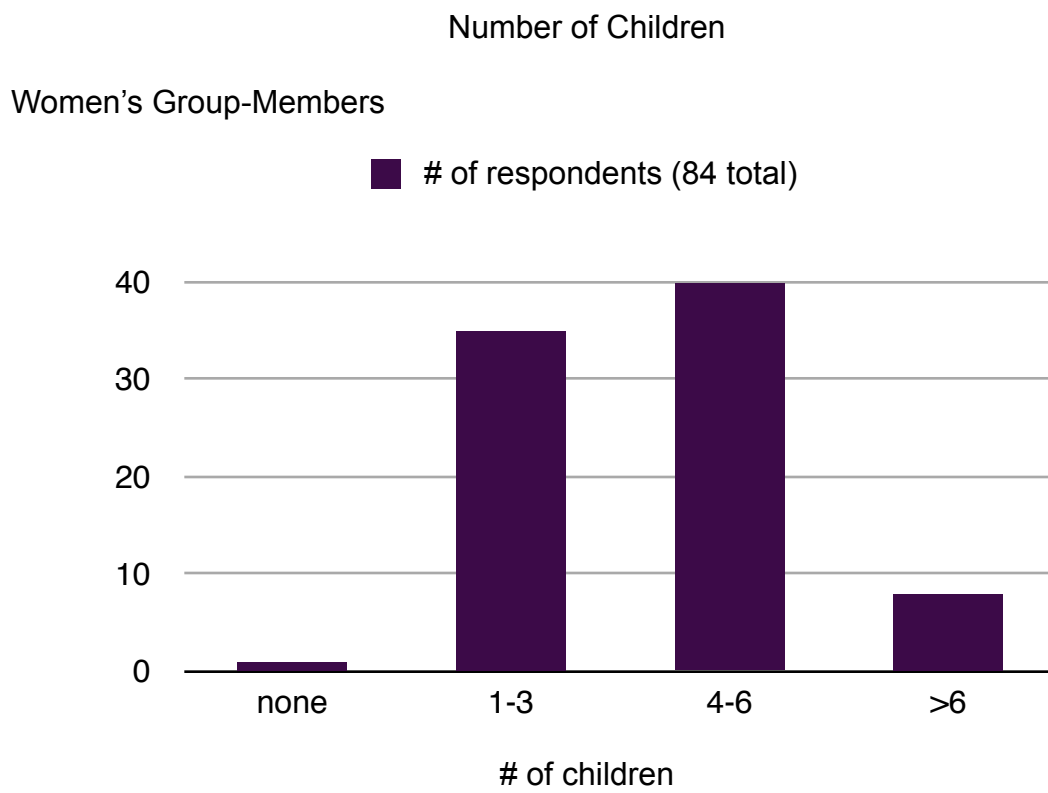


Non-Group-Members

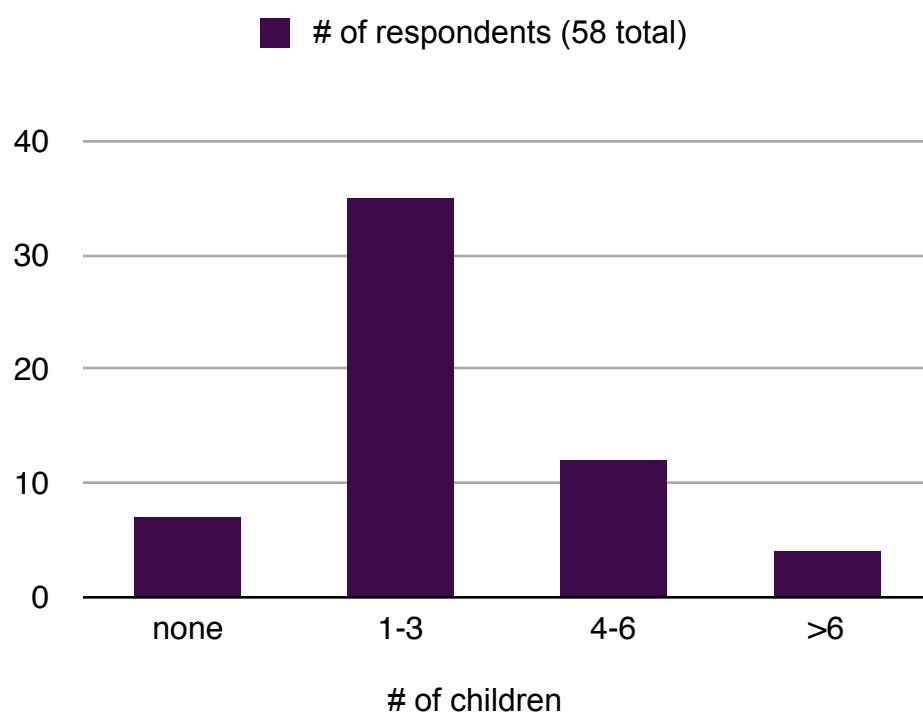
- Married
- Single
- Widowed
- Abandoned
- Divorced



Figures 4.3, 4



Non-Group-Members

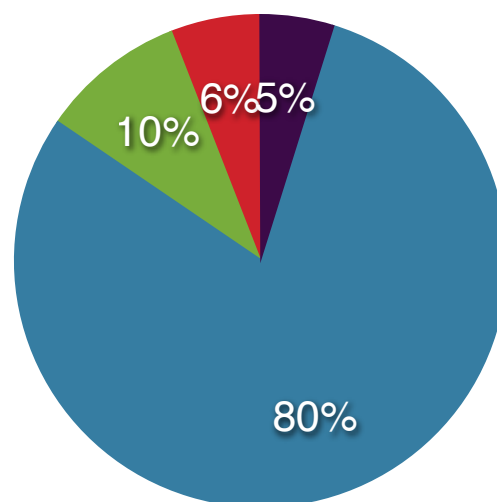


Figures 4.5, 6

Education Level

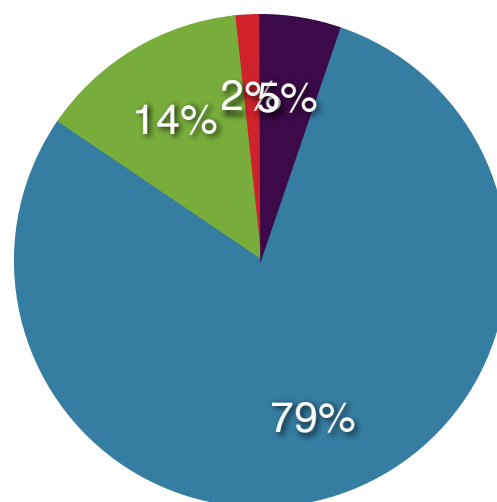
Women's Group-Members

- No Formal Education
- Some or All of Standard 6
- Some or All of Secondary School
- Some or All of University Degree



Non-Group-Members

- No Formal Education
- Some or All of Standard 6
- Some or All of Secondary School
- Some or All of University Degree



Responses to the open-ended question varied considerably among the group-members. The variation in responses was probably due to two major themes which emerged. First, there is a theme of feminine consciousness, wherein the respondents spoke of wanting to help, and be helped by, other women in varying capacities. Their reasons for joining the women's group relating to this theme were, for example, to be inspired by other women, get comfort from them, ease loneliness through women's companionship, to remove stress, to simply be or visit with women, or to generally help each other. Many women said they joined the women's group to "exchange ideas". According to consultation with the translators, to "exchange ideas" means to share problems with one another and suggest solutions for resolving them. One respondent wrote that, because women's problems are the same, it is easy for women to solve their problems by working together. In all, one hundred and nine of the one hundred seventy-eight responses related to the theme of helping or being helped by women in some capacity.

The second theme among women's reasons for becoming women's group-members is economic empowerment. Answers relating to this theme included increasing income, to ease poverty, obtaining money to purchase material items, receiving financial help with various problems (healthcare, school fees, funeral costs), or improving living conditions in general. Some women said they joined their respective groups to gain access to loans, while others joined to learn finance management or how to start a business. One woman became a group-member with the intent of acquiring funds to build a house for herself and family. Another woman sought to be better able to care for her

family with perceived financial benefits of group membership. A total of thirty-two responses referred to economic empowerment.

Other reasons cited for joining the women's group include getting an education, mental stimulation, and broadening of horizons. Responses in this vein numbered twenty-two. Thus, an educational theme is present as well. One woman wrote she wanted to be exposed to the diversity of members in the group she joined. A desire to help with society's problems and to help others with education motivated two women to join.

Some of the answers were somewhat obscure. For example, one woman said she joined to "be able to fight against her life", and someone else mentioned she needed help to get through her "vulnerable situation." Three other women joined "to get help" and two women mentioned getting community development ideas. Lastly, a member said she wanted to get help with her life at home, but in what way was unclear.

The non-group-member surveys revealed multiple reasons why women did not become women's group-members. For the most part, non-members expressed interest in joining a group but had not done so for several reasons. Most of them said they did not join because they had not been invited to become members. Some other women were out of town when a group formed and/or could not become members because the group is currently full. Three additional women stated they were new in town and unaware of the groups. Overall, twenty-six of the ninety-two responses cited lack of invitation, limited group capacity, or unfamiliarity with the group, as a hindrance to group membership.

Economic constraint is the second theme among women's reasons for not joining a women's group. Most responses pertain to not having the financial stability to pay

member fees or repay loans available through women's groups. One woman commented that she would rather spend her money on family needs than on member fees. It should be noted that most non-members assumed that women's groups' operations included micro-finance schemes. This notion discouraged them from joining either because they believed they would not be able to repay loans or because they did not want to encounter trouble for defaulting on their loans. Twenty-one of the ninety-two responses relate to economic constraints.

The non-group-members mentioned several other reasons for not joining a women's group as well. Eleven women cited general mistrust of other women as a reason for not becoming members. These respondents asserted that women's group-members were not faithful to group goals, that they are corrupt, or that their leaders must be bribed for membership. Intentional loan default, quarreling between members, and a lack of "good" groups to join are also deterrents to membership. Ten women said that they did not have time for women's group activities, with three noting childcare and two noting additional domestic duties and cattle tending as demanding of their time. Poor health was cited by five women as their reason for not joining a group. Travel for work or to be with immediate family is another reason why women did not join women's groups. Three women did not see the importance of becoming group-members. One woman said her husband would not allow her to join. Finally, one other woman believed the groups to be exclusive, and only for specific types of women such as widows or those infected with HIV.

Personal Interviews

Question 1

Of the twenty-nine interviewees, fifteen said they joined the group because they believed as if the other members would be like them. Explanations for this sentiment were similar. The respondents assumed that, as women, members shared similar experiences and problems of financial difficulties, harsh standards of living, childrearing responsibilities, and other domestic issues. Therefore their assumption was that gender created immediate similarities between them. One woman said that she thought the members would have the same problems as she but realized, after joining, that some women had bigger problems than hers. Also, because they share experiences as women, interviewees thought they could “exchange ideas” with group members (recall definition of “exchange ideas” from above). Some of the respondents said that they liked to cooperate with other women to solve problems, personally and communally, and assumed that women working together in a group must share the same characteristics. To quote one woman,

I like cooperating with other women. When I have a problem, they can help me, and take care of me when I am sick... they come and help me, take care of me, look after me. I feel more comfortable with women and being with them. I feel I am proud of being with others. (personal communication, 30 March, 2012)

Several women believed the members were like them because they needed financial support. Two women said that it was obvious the group members were like her

because, otherwise, they would not have chosen to join their particular group. Of these two women, one said she chose the group because it matched her needs. She needed

to remove stress. When I go there (group) I get comfort and remove stress. This is a group that helps with finance and with women, so I chose a group I felt would meet my needs and that's why I joined the group. (personal communication 23 March, 2012)

She assumed the other members must have the same needs and be like her in this way.

One woman said that she is like other human beings in general, and believes she has worth. This particular respondent wanted to increase her and others' sense of worth as a woman and believed that the women's group-members shared such a desire.

Twelve women said an assumption of similarity with the group-members did not motivate them to join the group. Nevertheless, several joined because they wanted to "exchange ideas" with members. After they joined, most of these women discovered the members were like them and shared the same life experiences. Such a realization made one woman feel "like I was alive again" (personal communication, 3/23/2012). One respondent recognized that individuals have different lives, and another said that people have differing education, ages, families, and health statuses, so they did not think it was possible for them to be similar to one another. A few women joined to learn about new topics and skills, improve income, to generally have a better life, or to help others.

The remaining two women's responses differed slightly from the others. One interviewee said that she joined the group to become like the other members. When we asked her what was attractive about becoming like the group-members, she said she

wanted to “exchange ideas” and “make contributions and pay fees, 500Tsh, like the other women and get (material) items” (personal communication, 27 March, 2012). The other woman simply said that she thought some members would be like her, while others would not.

When the respondents were asked if they felt they were the same as the other members after joining the group, nineteen responded positively. Again, explanations here referred to women sharing the same life experiences, whether it be financial hardship, harsh standards of living, or managing domestic duties. Several interviewees said that the members themselves were alike because women generally share the same experiences and problems. We asked one woman if men have the same problems as women. Her response was, “No, men do not have the same problems as women because women are the drivers of the home and family and they stay with the children and the home and it’s a lot of work” (personal communication, 30 March, 2012). A few woman said when they “exchanged ideas” they realized they were similar to other members because they discussed similar problems and solutions. This sense of mutual understanding reportedly brought happiness to a handful of women. One woman said that members were alike because women were “in a low quality compared with men... because of the male dominating culture” (personal communication, 31 March, 2012). In most opinions being women rendered them similar, despite differences among them.

Some women, however, emphasized the differences among them. Six respondents recognized that they were alike because of their member status but ultimately decided they were not alike for various reasons. Dissimilarities in “ideas”, emotional capacities,

skill abilities, income levels, and health statuses were noted. Variation among the members was considered a boon to most of these women, as revealed in the following quotes.

“We are women, and I think we will help each other with these things (women’s problems). Our difference in ideas is a good thing because it enables us to help one another better” (personal communication, 27 March, 2012).

“When I see someone has a good business and is a good business woman, I think I could copy that woman and be successful” (personal communication, 27 March, 2012).

The remaining three respondents believed that they were not like the other members¹. One woman noted differences in “ideas” during discussions and these different ideas were the basis for her believing that there were differences between her and other women with these different ideas. “I am not the same because I feel like an orphan and sometimes I feel like a widow” was another woman’s response to this question (personal communication, 31 March, 2012). The third woman believed that she was not like the other members because she has a higher level of education and more childrearing and health knowledge. According to her these factors made her stand apart from the other members, despite mutual cooperation in the women’s group activities.

Twenty-three of the interviewees believed that they were like other women in general. A majority of these respondents simply said that they were alike because they were women. Two of these said that becoming a group-member made them realize women are alike, and such realization brought them comfort. Some elaborated on this

¹ Some ancillary questions were omitted during some of the interviews; total responses vary

point, saying that women share experiences and problems entailed with motherhood, caring for the family, marriage, economic hardship, health maintenance and gendered acculturation. Basically, women's situations were similar and therefore, the women themselves are the same. It was noted that men do not have the same stresses as women, because they do not have the same responsibilities in life. One woman perceived that "they (women) go to get the money" for the family while men do not occupy themselves with this duty (personal communication, 27 March, 2012). On the topic of men being different from women, another woman commented that men's lives are different "because men have a lot of plans, more than women" (personal communication, 27 March, 2012). Two women noted women's treatment in society is different from that which men experience. One respondent spoke out about this issue, and said women's experiences were changing. Her words were,

Of course, I am a woman and they are women too and I can say I am running out of the life which women are passing here in my area. We women are treated the same so I can say that I am similar to the other women but the thing is I have a different idea than many other women because I don't like the way people, I can say men or those people in higher positions, treat women. So, it's like I want to go against those things. But in other things we are the same because we are living in the same situations. Talking about myself and how women are treated because I am a woman... if it comes to the issue of women, anything women, also concerns me. If it's abuse, if it's anything, it's also concerning me" (personal communication, 23 March, 2012).

Some interviewees thought women were similar because of their emotional capacities, which are different from men's, and a few pointed out women's physical bodies were alike. I asked one such respondent if there was anything about women's lives that was the same, as opposed to their bodies. She said "they are the same because they have the same education and emotionally they are the same. Emotionally, women have stress, so they are the same but they experience the stress differently and react differently." (personal communication, 27 March, 2012). One spoke of being "created" in the same way as other women, and attributed this circumstance to divine providence.

Women's similarities and differences were noted by five women. These respondents said that women were mostly the same, in experiences, but that some circumstances and reactions to them differ. Hence they could not say that they were the same as other women. Two women said that there is a difference between group-members and non-group-members. They said group-members are exposed to education within their groups, and that education makes them more enlightened than women outside the group. Another woman noted class difference as a differentiating factor among women. "Yes, we are the same and I am happy. I don't think I am like women in parliament, but I am happy with my status in life (personal communication, 31 March, 2012).

Being the same as other women, either other members or in general, motivated twenty-four of the respondents to become group-members. Again, most interviewees spoke of a desire to "exchange ideas" with other women as a motivating factor in their enrollment. Many find comfort in sharing their problems with fellow women and others believed that spending time with other women helped them with personal development.

A desire to prevent women from being treated badly in addition to utilizing mutual support mechanisms motivated one such woman to join.

Three group members responded negatively when asked if being similar to other women motivated them to join the group. Surprisingly, though, their reasons for membership were similar to those who responded positively to this question. The women said that personal development and opportunities to improve life motivated them to become members. To “exchange ideas” appears to have motivated another. She said,

I needed to share, and I needed to share experiences. Most of the women have more experience with the family, and my family is young and small. A lot of women have bigger families, like (with) eight children who are all grown up. So they have more experience with the family than me (personal communication, 2 April, 2012).



Figure 4.7, interviewee (left) and translator

Question 2

When asked if men and women were treated equally in Tanzanian society, twenty-seven of the respondents said that they were not. The women used examples of inequality in property rights, inheritance, and financial freedom to support their views. Regarding financial freedom, a respondent said that women are expected to be transparent about their earnings and use income exclusively for family needs, whereas men are not. A quote exemplifies this situation.

When men are working, they get the salary... and they will not consider or help the family. But when a woman is employed, all the money she will bring to the family and it will care for the family, different from a man. (personal communication, 3 April, 2012)

According to a few women, sexual division of labor is the basis for women's unequal treatment, with women's inability to work outside the home for wages as a main factor. When a woman does look for work outside the home, said one woman, she will have to bribe a man with sex in order to get a good job. Several respondents noted that women do not have equal access to education, and that women's decision-making power, or agency, is not equal to men's. For some, the existence of a male-domineering culture, wherein "men... think they are better than women", "a man can tell a woman what to do", and "a woman is being oppressed by a man", explains why women are treated differently than men (personal communications, 27 March, 2012; 30 March, 2012). One woman said that an example of women's unequal treatment is the presence of domestic violence against women, and another said the practice of dowry payment allows men to control women.

The mere fact that men are called “men” and women, “women” indicates inequality to one woman; she said difference in title means difference in equality.

Several of these women expressed confusion and frustration over women’s inequality with men, as shown in the following quotes. “Men... think they are better than women, but it’s not true. We are all equal. I don’t know why men think they are better. I don’t know why” (personal communication, 30 March, 2012). “Here in the village, women... they are equal, they have feet and hands. But, somehow, not really equal” (personal communication, 2 April, 2012). Two women specifically voiced frustration over women’s complacency regarding the gender inequality. One said,

Women are not treated equal. But a lot of women, they don’t understand they’re treated unequally because from the very beginning a woman is oppressed by a man, they don’t have any rights. So they don’t understand they are not equal, inside. They see inequality as usual... They see it’s (inequality) normal but it’s not right. (personal communication, 30 March, 2012)

And another expressed,

Women here, they are not treated equally when compared to men. Yeah, it seems like women are inferior. The other thing I don’t like is that women themselves also think that. So, they think they don’t have anything to share. Also, they don’t have anything... I can say they feel like they can’t do anything that people can appreciate. That’s the thing I can say for women. They reject themselves, and that’s because they were treated like that. So you find, it’s like... being like... in their minds. It affects them psychologically, so they feel like that’s the way they

are, (they think) they are weak, they can't do anything, they can't own anything, and everything that comes, only men can bring it. Even the way we are living here. This is the thing I don't like the most. This is the disease which is inside the women because of being neglected and being treated unequally with men. So women, we are dependent. We are thinking, we ourselves, we can't stand without men. So men are everything. So we are like an item, we are only being used to do this and do that (personal communication, 23 March, 2012).

Some respondents, however, think that women's status is changing, albeit slowly. For example, one said that there are households wherein women and men are considered as equal and, even in her household, girls are treated the same as boys. According to her, rights equality is being realized because women are advocating for it in their communities.

Two respondents thought women and men are treated equally in Tanzanian society. One noted recent gender mainstreaming and equality legislation by the national government as a sign of equality. The other woman saw equality on a more immediate level. She said that in the home women are given the same amounts of food and drink as men, therefore they are treated equally.

Gender inequality motivated most (twenty) of the respondents to join a women's group and participate in group activities. Their motivations were intertwined with a desire to learn more about gender inequality. Several women reported their increased awareness regarding gender inequality led to increased confidence to fight against it. Also, one woman said that because women are "lower" than men, joining a women's group is the

only way she could feel comfortable speaking publicly about inequality. Otherwise, there would be no forum for activism.

The remaining women joined the women's group for support or to improve their lives, either financially or healthwise. Some respondents like being with women in a group setting, or working with other women to solve problems. Two of these women believed that joining women's groups, or women's group work in general, will do nothing to eradicate gender inequality.

Question 3

All interviewees said that their involvement in the women's groups has made them feel better about themselves. Reasons for feeling better include an increased sense of agency via skills training, education, or entrepreneurship made possible by group loans. Financial independence or stability also make women feel better, particularly because it eases stress associated with affording healthcare and children's school fees. Conducting projects and simply being with other women generally boosts their spirits. Many respondents spoke of receiving consolation from the process of "exchanging ideas".

Yes, I feel very good because we are women, we have happiness, we are together, we help each other with our problems, and it helps me feel better. We talk (about) a lot of things when we are together. We realize, 'oh,' if we go like this, we will be like this. So, it makes me feel more better. (personal communication, 30, March, 2012)

Yes, almost 90%, I am feeling better now. Because, well... I feel better because even if I have a problem, I feel I have a place where I can explain my problem. Before, I wait (for) my brothers or my husband, to feel embarrassed. I can come and tell Romana (group leader) this and this and this. Then she can tell me, do this and this. Ok, my problem is solved. I can no longer stay sorry... no, no, no, no, no. (personal communication, 31 March, 2012)



Figure 4.8, interviewee with grandchild

One woman said that participating in group activities makes her feel free, because members are taught and encouraged to do things independently, whereas outside the group men oppress women and tell them that they are incapable.

All but two of the respondents said that they joined the group to feel better about themselves. The two women who did not join to feel better about themselves did so to help others. One of these women said that she has a passion for working with the community and hearing people's stories of struggle and survival. According to her, she wants "to do something to bring a light to them" (personal communication, 23 March, 2012). The other woman wanted to help women's group members in particular. She said that she admires members' initiatives to help themselves and wants to assist in making their lives better.

When asked if other people thought highly of them because of their involvement in the groups, twenty-six members responded positively. Various reasons were given for this perception. Some respondents thought their exposure to education and skills training made others assume they were more knowledgeable, and therefore non-participants respected group members' insights. Members' material gains, either through entrepreneurship or savings plans, were also thought to make others think highly of them. Some women said that their emotional health has improved, and they overcome problems more effectively than before. Because they are happier and more confident now, others think highly of them.

The three remaining responses to this question were unique to the women themselves. One woman said that she did not know what others thought "because

everyone has their own thoughts” (personal communication, 3 April, 2012). Involvement in the group entailed stigmatization for one woman. She is a member of *Jipe Moyo*, and transparency regarding her HIV status has resulted in some people looking down upon her. The third woman said that others perceive positives and negatives regarding her involvement. She said that some people admire her for helping herself and others, while a few people think she is squandering her time, or ill, because of her involvement in the group. Her words were,

Some other people, they just wondering, what is she doing there? Maybe she is losing her time. Even my father, he said, ‘You are stupid. Better maybe do something like go to work, doing something that will earn you money. Only staying in the group and you don’t get anything.’ It’s like he was thinking of income. Other people are saying... most of the groups I am dealing with are groups of women and even children living with HIV. So, they are thinking maybe she is also (HIV) positive. So people, they are taking me like that. But I don’t care. So they are thinking maybe she’s (HIV) positive, maybe that’s why she is doing this thing and joining there. And there are people who think I am wasting my time. (personal communication, 23 March, 2012)

Question 4

A majority of group-members, twenty-four, thought women’s groups’ activities help women to be equal with men, with economic empowerment being the main factor in helping them to be equal. Members believed that a woman can be financially independent or contribute an equal amount of money to the household, they will be equal to men. All

of the groups have an economic dimension, therefore each group helps women to be equal with men. Regarding economic empowerment and gender equality, two women said, “Yes, because women are always economically dependent on men. So, being financially independent helps women to be equal” (personal communication, 31 March, 2012). “What kills women is this issue of dependence. I can say it’s the worst disease in Africa... Women are dependent here... so this is like a weapon for making women suffering” (personal communication, 23 March, 2012).

Another positive effect of women’s group’s helping with women’s equality is the role which the groups play in advancing personal empowerment. Several women commented that groups provide rights awareness which encourages women to seek change in gender relations, even if it occurs slowly. One respondent said,

The trouble is the society of Africa. You know women are a little bit behind. So until you teach them, they learn the situation they are (in) and what they have to change to be, that’s when they will see. These men are a little bit furious, a little harsh about us. We have to change, but not for trouble or anything... Softly, until we get what we want. (personal communication, 23 March, 2012)

For a few interviewees, group membership allowed them to see themselves differently. They realized that they could do things “like men”, such as complete projects or own a business; but before joining the group, they did not perceive themselves as capable of such things. They are empowered now and have confidence, whereas before they would not have considered themselves capable of executing such tasks.

Five interviewees thought the women's groups do not help women to be equal with men. One believed as if the groups merely served to prevent women from being idle. Another woman said that the groups allow women to help themselves, but because men are also helping themselves, women will never catch up with men. According to one respondent, group membership helps women improve their families but does nothing to make women equal with men. "They will help the family and that's all" (personal communication, 31 March, 2012). Group activities may empower women, but "men will remain men", said one member (personal communication, 2 April, 2012). Here, she suggests that if gender equality is to be achieved, men must change their behaviors. The remaining interviewee thought that women's groups would not help women be equal with men because women are already working hard, harder than men even, and they still do not enjoy equal status. Thus, additional women's groups' activities will not bring about equality.

When asked if helping women to be equal with men motivated them to participate in women's group activities, twenty-five interviewees answered in the affirmative. They viewed the groups as a forum where women could learn about their rights and build cohesiveness toward gender equality efforts. Three of the four women who were not motivated in this way said that they participated in group activities to "exchange ideas" or to "to be happy" (personal communication, 23 March, 2012).

Question 5

All of the interviewees thought group membership helped them personally. Financial help was most often cited as the personal benefit. Women spoke of getting capital to start businesses or generating or receiving funds to pay for school fees, healthcare, funeral costs, and/or household items. Exposure to skills training or general education about women's health, maternal health, sexually transmitted diseases, business, human and women's rights, or other topics were a source of personal betterment for several respondents. One woman said that following group rules had taught her discipline which she has applied to other areas of her life. Some women said that the emotional support they obtained in the group helps them most. One woman thought her personal benefit was gaining a new perspective on her life and that of others. Her words were,

Yes, I am going to get politeness. I am feeling a little bit better (than others) and a little bit humble about people. Thinking about people who are suffering, while I am working. God has given me everything. I can do, I can change, but others they can't, so I feel pity. (personal communication, 23 March, 2012)

Twenty-eight interviewees said that they joined the group to improve their lives, particularly in areas of financial standing, education, and/or emotional health. Along with seeking improvement in their own lives, a few women wanted to help others as well. To teach the next generation about women's rights and proper health and nutrition motivated one woman. Another respondent desired to be able to teach other women about empowerment. Curiously, one woman said she wanted better care for her family and "to live good with men" (personal communication, 30 March, 2012).

The one woman who did not think her life would improve by joining the group did so “to handle people, that’s all. To handle people who are suffering and those who are unable to do things. That’s what I want(ed) to learn first, to have that heart (personal communication, 23 March, 2012). With these words, she reveals that she joined the group to help others rather than herself.

The interviewees, with the exception of one, said that group membership makes them feel empowered. Most of the women believed they were economically empowered, while others also felt increased agency. These women stated that after being exposed to ideas and education in their groups, they make decisions with more confidence, even talk and walk with more confidence. One woman said that being in the group has helped her believe in herself.

Yeah, it empowered me by getting education. I get education of doing different things. You know, I never thought about the issues of business. You know, I never think, you know, I could be business woman, or doing any business. Of course, I was afraid (of) business, doing business. I was afraid of loss, but being in a group, I get different education, business education to have a business. (personal communication, 23 March, 2012)

The only woman who did not feel empowered by group membership said “not yet” (personal communication, 23 March, 2012). So, perhaps she expects to be empowered. It should be noted that this response came from the one woman who did not join a women’s group with the intent of improving anything in her life.

Focus Group Data

After hearing the story of *Upendo*, the participants agreed that it demonstrates the elements of feminine consciousness. They particularly referred to element five of feminine consciousness, saying *Upendo* was trying hard to act independently and not be undermined by others. *Upendo* solves problems on her own, and the women thought this action exemplified the idea that women should be able to solve problems in their lives without interference from outsiders. Women joining together to help one another, in a form of sisterhood, was also thought to indicate feminine consciousness.

The topic of men mistreating women was raised quickly by the participants, and they implored one another about how to stop the problem. One woman said that participation in women's groups wherein they "exchange ideas" and guide each other could solve this problem. Confidence among women and transparency about mistreatment were mentioned as solutions. The unity of a women's group was said to help bolster confidence and prevent women from hiding their problems. A woman said, "don't deny it" (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Many women in Tanzania and in her area are mistreated by men. She gave an example of women being beaten by drunken husbands for refusing to give them money for alcohol, as told in the story (focus group discussion 4/7/2012). She said that such maltreatment can be overcome by unity among women. If a woman is facing mistreatment, said another woman, she must have the confidence to stand up for herself, and this self-confidence can be obtained through exposure to rights awareness education offered by women's groups.

Then a participant spoke about the tradition of women being taught “the issues of things in the marriage is a secret” (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Apparently, women are expected to remain silent about the negative aspects of marriage. According to one speaker, if a woman tells her parents about domestic violence, the parents say

‘Ahh, you just go back! Go back. You know, we have already ate all of your bride price, so you just go back and be patient. Even I (mother) faced like that and now I am fine. It will be like that for a while...’ (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012)

The participants agreed that widespread acceptance of domestic violence against women allows husbands to take advantage of their wives and perpetuates the mistreatment of women in general.

Another woman interjected by saying that *Upendo*’s financial unpreparedness was a problem. She said that women need to be aware that the future could bring anything, including loss of wages; i.e. that life could change at any time. She suggested that women be prepared to “have another way of living” so they can manage being mistreated by husbands (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Apparently, being financially prepared for an alternate future is important for avoiding mistreatment.

The conversation then returned to the issue of how women are advised to manage marriage during the period of engagement. It was agreed that people are copying the lives of their “fathers” as a matter of tradition. The specific training for girls coming into marriage is called *kicheni pati*, or kitchen party, and it prepares them for conducting behavior in married life. A woman said that, currently, Western culture is influential in

couples' lives and the tradition of *kicheni pati* is taken less seriously. More and more, women are concerned with material aspects of the wedding, rather than how to prepare themselves for marriage. This erosion of tradition results in less consideration of marriage as an institution to be taken seriously and causes some of the problems to which Tanzanian women are subjected to today.

A new woman spoke and inserted the issue of class into the conversation. She said that rich and poor people are living by different standards. Poor women, already facing class discrimination, do not want to share their problems with others, especially women, because they fear further discrimination for acting against their husbands. This fear keeps poor women quiet about their situations, even when the situations are very negative, and this fear is why *Upendo* did not tell anyone of her problems.

Upendo did not seek help after being abandoned because, according to another woman, she was afraid to leave her home without the protection of a man. Without such protection, "she can be raped by the men outside" (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Her unpreparedness was mentioned again, particularly that she was vulnerable because she did not expect to be left alone. It was only after she was brave enough to "go outside to seek advice from other women" that she got help (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Without the other women, *Upendo* would have suffered further.

One woman perceived *Upendo* as proud because she lived comfortably with her husband's income and was not expecting problems in the future. Here, *Upendo* is seen as arrogant because she assumed her needs would be satisfied and was, again, unprepared for hardship. It was noted, however, that her husband was brutish and dominating, and his

disappearance was a cue that *Upendo* was alone and vulnerable to attack by other men. *Upendo* did not speak out about her situation, either before or after her abandonment, because she was, at once, too proud and vulnerable.

Another participant asserted that *Upendo* encountered problems in her marriage because she was not aware of equality. Her marriage experience did not exhibit equality and respect and, because she does not know her rights, she could not demand change in the relationship. Many women in rural areas, like *Upendo*, are unaware of their rights. Therefore, “education must be first in changing mistreatment of women”, said this speaker (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). If women are aware of their rights, she believed women will come to challenge abuse and mistreatment and affect change. According to this participant, women’s groups are key to the process of empowerment through rights awareness.

Another woman agreed that groups are important. She thinks “women are joining a group to get feminine consciousness” (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Women with experiences like *Upendo*’s are joining women’s groups because they recognize their shared plight and seek support in membership. Additionally, women’s groups provide education. She also believed the best way to raise women’s awareness and empower them is through women’s group activism. “So how can you educate a person who is staying in her house? You cannot”, said this group member (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Thus, it is women’s group members’ responsibility to think about how to educate women who are not in groups, as well as how to unite with them because these actions are in line with feminine consciousness.

The conversation then returned to the life of *Upendo* and her husband. One of the women in the focus group said that when *Upendo*'s husband was working and providing everything for the home, the marriage was fine. According to her, when *Upendo* started to earn the husband became upset and problems arose. This attitude is common among Tanzanian men. Most men do not want their wives, or women in general, to earn money. Even when women are bringing money into the family, she said, men will say they are living the "wrong way" (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). Women's groups are good, according to this participant, because they provide a forum where women can work freely and cooperate to improve their families. Furthermore, she said that groups are important because they allow women to be independent from men and the restrictions men may assert in the household.

Another participant said that *Upendo* was relaxed and dependent before she was forced to get a job to support the family. Once she started to earn income, however, she was somehow spiting her husband. This group member believed that *Upendo*'s earning wages was the precipitating factor of marriage disintegration and the point at which the husband began to mistreat her. This participant said that perhaps *Upendo* was hoarding the money to be used for her own needs and this behavior angered her husband who used his money for the family. In her assessment, the husband used force to get the money because *Upendo* was being selfish.



Figure 4.9, focus group participants

“It’s not like that,” responded another participant, “it’s also the character of the men” (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). She said that some men have the practice of keeping their salary from the family and using it on frivolous expenses, such as drinking alcohol. In this way, men torture their families. Hence, it is men’s attitudes that are the problem.

One thing about Tanzanian society, stated one woman, is that it is acceptable for a husband to earn more income than his wife, but an abomination for a wife to earn more income than her husband. Men fear an economically independent woman will mistreat or abandon them. So, *Upendo’s* husband was likely in fear of being inferior to his wife. A different woman said that there was no problem with *Upendo* working. The problem, she said, was that *Upendo* refused to give her husband money when she realized he was

misusing it. “That’s when she started to be beaten” (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). An insightful set of comments from a different participant followed.

Have we ever asked ourselves, ‘Why do these things happen to women?’ To housewives, only housewives, mostly housewives, women who don’t have anything to do, no job, no business. It’s because women, when we are married we forget about ourselves. I forget about who I am. I forget about myself and I am not independent. Women they are not independent. They are just oppressed by men. We forget how we need to be and how we need to do. We just sit down and relax. So a man takes advantage that she’s a housewife. She just have to stay in the house, be with the kids, cook for me and wash for me. So when problems arise in the family, you don’t have an alternative to do. Because first you are not independent; you have to ask, ‘Can I do?’ ... this and this. And because the man has that superiority, he has the power to say no or yes. And you get depressed and you have nothing to do. You just stay in the house. When you do a little business, he comes to take the money. Because you don’t have that power to say no, you have to give out. So when the man misuses the money you feel bitter. ‘Why I do this, and you take the money and do this?’ So that’s why the man becomes wild because he just says, ‘When (before) I was giving you the money and now that you are working you don’t want to give me the money.’ So he has to use power. The man uses power. It’s because we don’t have that education to educate us. We don’t have that education to realize how I am supposed to be and when I am supposed to take some action. When you are oppressed, isolated, you just keep

quiet. 'Let me keep quiet because I need the man.' But if you fight for yourself... a man stands like a man. I am woman, I have my rights. I have my rights, I stand for my own and I can stand like a man. I can take care of myself and take care of my family. So I have to fight. When a man mistreats, you have to fight. Not fight by fighting. No, you fight with your brain. You just talk to him, 'No it's not this way, it's this way.' Seek advice... because we fear when we tell women about our problems, they will be provoking me, mocking me. They will sit down and talk about me. No. That fear... we have to have courage of talking. What we need is courage of talking and being independent. (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012)

The other women recognize that women's economic dependency is an issue in marriage. One suggests a joint bank account. This idea is countered, and the fact that young people take marriage less seriously than their elders is revisited.

In the interest of time, I redirected the conversation to feminine consciousness because I wanted to hear each woman's comments about the concept; I asked that each woman offer her thoughts. The first woman commented about money, saying that men cannot be trusted with money because they do not want to be accountable for the way in which they spend it. I interjected and asked women's thoughts on feminine consciousness be expressed.

The next woman said women join groups to get support from one another in solving their problems, because they all share the same experiences. She found women who are not in groups, or those in the rural areas, are living lives of dependency because they are unaware of women's groups and rights. Those women do not know that

independence is possible. Being in a group, therefore, enables women to prepare for a day when they may have to be independent, according to this speaker.

These thoughts are echoed by the next two speakers. “There is a difference between a woman in a group and a woman who is not in a group” (focus group discussion 7 April, 2012). Women’s in groups are “exchanging ideas” and have an increased sense of well-being. These participants thought women’s group-members were happier, had more education, and were better at solving problems than non-group-members.

I asked the next speaker if feminine consciousness is important in changing mistreatment of women, and if it motivated her to join the group. She said group-members see the importance of being in a group, how it fosters cooperation between women and in the community, and how it helps women to realize their worth. The groups have also shown men that women are valuable to the community, resulting in improved cooperation between men and women. The next two women also commented on the importance of women’s groups. Members gain confidence and economic empowerment from groups, they said, and gain the courage to speak in front of men and work outside the home.

Again, I asked for thoughts regarding feminine consciousness, but the next speaker had more to say about the importance of women’s groups. She said that a woman in a group can help her entire family, and that women should be recruited into groups because women’s group activities help the entire community. The next speaker said she thinks feminine consciousness is more important than groups because it helps women to

understand themselves and each other. Feminine consciousness also enables women to speak to one another about their problems, because it entails mutual understanding between women.

The next woman supported those comments, and added that sharing problems with other women eases stress, which improves women's health because carrying too many burdens has adverse health effects. When you share with others, she said, you will be a better person who does not react badly in negative situations. You will be able to educate others, as well, about the importance of seeking support from women and spread these benefits and ideas in the community.

“Feminine consciousness is a cure for society” (focus group discussion 7 April, 2012). This woman said that this is true because a confident, educated, independent woman is certain to do good things for her community. With the feminine consciousness gained in groups, women are finding life. They laugh, share, and solve their problems together. Ideas formulated in women's groups can be realized through cooperation, but such achievements would not be possible if women stayed apart from one another. The transparency of problems in groups is also important, and is encouraged by feminine consciousness. Women who have feminine consciousness realize that they are connected with other women, do not hide their problems, and are able to work together to solve them. “Feminine consciousness is perfect for being in the group” (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012).

The final speaker talked about how women are integral to child development and that, if women are good role models, they will guide future generations well. Women who

recognize feminine consciousness, join groups, and cooperate with others are good role models because they are proactive in serving themselves and their families. The opposite, she says, can also be true. “You know, if you are a stubborn woman, your family will be stubborn” (focus group discussion, 7 April, 2012). She said feminine consciousness encourages dialogue between people; dialogue is important because “exchanging ideas” will improve people’s lives. According to the last speaker, if a woman’s life is changed she can change the lives of others, especially youth, and entire societies will be changed.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Survey

A review of the survey results reveals minor demographic differences between women's group-members and non-group-members. Higher overall age among the group members could correlate with their higher numbers of children. With more children to support, it is likely group-members sought economic benefits of membership to meet financial needs of the home. Another explanation for women's group-members older overall age could be that their children are presumably older as well and require less care. Therefore the older mothers have more time to engage in women's group activities than their younger counterparts. Older women may also be more connected with historic traditions of women's organizing that younger women are not. That group-members achieved slightly more university level education could indicate a class difference between the two samples. Women's movement activists generally tend to be more educated than non-activists, and the findings support this assertion. However university educated, or "elite", women working with grassroots women may be a sign of unification within the Tanzanian women's movement that defies the literature stating the movement exhibits distinct class differences. Admittedly, there are very few "elite" women among the group-members, but their willingness to work on the grassroots level suggests the class divide may be closing. Interestingly, the non-group-members with less university level education showed higher overall income levels and higher rates of formal labor market employment than the group-members. Income stability could certainly factor into

their reasons for not joining a group, even if they did not explicitly state this in the surveys. Most non-group-members perceived women's groups as economic empowerment vehicles and, given their higher average income, they likely did not join a group because they are financially stable on their own. Thus, they did not assume group membership would bring them tangible benefits and therefore did not join the group.

According to responses to the open-ended question, elements of feminine consciousness motivated members to join women's groups by an overwhelming margin. Group-members had not been exposed to the concept of feminine consciousness, per se, but their reasons for joining a women's group aptly reflect its meaning. Motivations to help and be helped by fellow women and to "exchange ideas" exemplify a sense of sisterhood and mutual cooperation in solving problems and reaching goals, two tenets of feminine consciousness. The sense that women suffer the same problems, another part of feminine consciousness, is also noted in the responses.

The desire to obtain economic empowerment by joining a women's group was the second most cited motivation for membership. This finding suggests the women perceived that group membership would yield tangible benefits in the form of increased income. The desire for economic empowerment signals hardship brought on by poverty and, while nearly all of the members earn income, they are unable to sustain their individual or family needs. Women's groups, it appears, are vehicles for combatting poverty and provide material benefits in the form of economic empowerment. As noted in the context report, the Moshi area, like many others in the developing world, has suffered a severe economic downturn in recent decades. Lack of education and income

opportunities combined with increased living expenses generate poverty and, as reproducers and caretakers of the household, women are responsible for overcoming these burdens. Responses such as to “be able to fight against my life” and to get help with her “vulnerable situation” are indicative of such hardship. Hence, women are seeking alternative means of boosting economic standing, via women’s group participation, to ease financial hardships.

Where economic constraints motivated members to join women’s groups, they impeded non-group-members from joining. This finding is interesting to me because non-group-members had higher incomes and less children than the group members. It appears they would be able to pay group members fees or have the stability to repay loans received from groups, but they were convinced engaging in group activities would entail costs they were unwilling to incur. Perhaps, in light of their relative financial stability, they did not want to take risks involved with loan procurement or expend member fees.

The supposition that women’s groups were merely economic empowerment mechanisms, void of other benefits, is reflected in non-group-members’ perceptions. Rather than assuming they would find mutual support within groups, many suspected mistrust and deception were embedded in women’s group activities. Such attitudes suggest that the women could not perceive the intangible benefits related to feminine consciousness that result from becoming a group member. One woman’s assumption that women’s groups are exclusively based on health or marital status precludes the possibility of membership based on the fact that she, like the other members, is a woman. Believing one needs an invitation to join a women’s group also signals feelings of exclusivity and

absence of sisterhood. Such perspectives, I would argue, indicate a lack of feminine consciousness among non-group-members, whereas it is obviously present among group-members.

Based on this analysis, it appears that the main difference between group-members and non-group-members is their attitudes toward other women and women's groups in general. Group-members seem to possess a level of feminine consciousness regarding women and the women's groups that non-members do not. A degree of feminine consciousness appears to be a precursor to joining women's groups, because thoughts about mutual support in solving similar problems and sisterhood were present among members before enrollment. Thus, they did not acquire these attitudes after joining the group.

Similarly, group-members view women's groups as a positive financial opportunity whereas non-group-members see them as a detriment. Perceived financial or tangible benefits of group membership among members motivated them to join, even though they share similar incomes and living situations when compared to non-group-members. Members' willingness to accept potential costs of group membership and/or loan programs indicates confidence that cooperating with women will yield benefits, tangible and intangible, which outweigh the potential costs of membership. Given the difficult economy, it is understandable one would want to use income for immediate needs rather than on membership fees and requisite loan contributions entailed in group participation. While both sets of women face such decisions, one acts differently from the other. I would argue an underlying sense of feminine consciousness that encourages

cooperation and mutual trust among women and lends to a positive, alternate vision of the future, is a differentiating factor in the women's group members' decision-making processes.

Personal Interviews

According to responses to the first interview question, group-members certainly exhibit elements of feminine consciousness. A shared sense of sisterhood based on common experiences as women is the element most common among the members. The few noted differences between women allude to variations in individuals' life skills and resilience in managing their shared experiences as women. Thus, there is recognition of sameness in difference. Several women's answers to this question suggest that they perceive to be a woman is to be part of a subordinate group. These women also set their own goals and strategies for changing their conditions and seek and provide help to one another in realizing them by "exchanging ideas". The prevalence of this concept was striking. Assuming that they could solve their problems with mutual cooperation indicates a remarkable sense of agency and unity. Perhaps the concept "exchange ideas" is the Tanzanian women's version of "feminine consciousness" and can be likened to or correlated with the Western feminist definition in its own right.

Overwhelmingly, the respondents were motivated to join women's groups because of perceived similarities with other women. They were also motivated by opportunities to "exchange ideas" within the groups. Recognition of similarities and sense of comfort derived from "exchanging ideas" with other women suggests that sense of sisterhood

deepens with group membership. Thus, two elements of feminine consciousness, a shared sense of sisterhood and independent definition of goals and strategies for changing their conditions, are strongly represented among the group members as motivations for joining women's groups.

The respondents who did not join because they believed that they were like other women lack a sense of identification with a group. On the other hand, these respondents were motivated by the possibility of personal development and other life improvements. Their motivations appear to have no connection with feminine consciousness. Rather these members are individualistic in their motivations for group membership. Their responses do not align with the research agenda of this project. It is possible that "to improve life" meant economic empowerment. Economic empowerment is one of the suspected motivations for group membership, but it was not specifically researched with this question. Therefore, it cannot be assumed "to improve live" equates with economic empowerment.

Most answers to the second question reveal members' recognition that they belong to a subordinated group. Moreover, with their estimation that a male-domineering culture was responsible for such status, many of the women realize their subordination is socially constructed. Other reasons for subordination, such as inequality in property rights, inheritance, money management restrictions, and sexual division of labor are derivatives of social formation, but it is not clear if the women perceive them as such. Those who perceive fundamental equality between men and women also refer to social construction of inequality. Thus, another element of feminine consciousness, the

realization that social forces relegate women to a subordinated group, is present among the members as well.

The interviewees also envision the possibility of an alternate future regarding women's status, another element of feminine consciousness. Gender inequality, and the possibility of gaining gender equality, motivated most of the women to join their respective groups. Within the groups, members gain an enlightened perspective on their social positions as women and orchestrate strategies to improve their status. Therefore their feminine consciousness and activism for gender equality are strengthened via membership. Even some of those women who did not explicitly state gender inequality as a motivation for membership said they enjoy being in a women-only setting that provides mutual support and cooperation to solve their problems. Responses from these women show that, while they may not be concerned with the inequality aspect of feminine consciousness, they do utilize sisterhood and individual agency to improve various aspects of their lives.

Most members perceive that many women in their communities think gender inequality is "normal", or that women are "inferior" because they have been socialized to believe as such. Members, however, recognize gender inequality as unjust and unnatural and view themselves as agents in changing the status quo of unequal gender relations. It appears members view themselves and their social status through a lens of feminine consciousness, an important step to challenging systems of oppression. Thus, the women's group-members appear to possess and be motivated by feminine consciousness, while non-members do not.

The two women who thought women were treated equally with men cite two opposite areas of social life, legislation and domestic behaviors, as indicative of equality. Interestingly, these women's thoughts represent two types of thinking among group-members. One member thinks on a more abstract, socio-political, or strategic, level and the other on a more immediate, personal, or practical, level when considering equality. Together, these women's thoughts suggest both strategic and practical interests are present among grassroots women's group-members.

If gender inequality did not motivate women to join a women's group, they joined to get support from other women or improve their financial situations. Feminine consciousness and economic empowerment are associated with these motivations. These responses do not necessarily recognize women's shared subordination, but they do exhibit sisterhood and a desire for improved financial status through economic empowerment. Therefore, these women's motivations correspond with their peers', but via different dimensions.

Feeling better about oneself is a consequence of membership for all interviewees and economic empowerment is central to this revelation. The ability to meet their families' material needs eases financial burdens and gives members great satisfaction. Sisterhood is important to feeling better about oneself too, as "exchanging ideas" provides consolation and boosts spirits. When combined, economic empowerment and feminine consciousness build members' confidence, ease stress, and increase happiness, all of which motivate them to remain active in their groups.

Such personal developments among women's group-members are apparently observable to others, as most interviewees felt as if people in the community thought highly of them as a result of material gains and other positive changes brought on by group membership. Garnering esteem from others is an unintended effect of membership, as none of the interviewees joined a women's group so others would think highly of them. Rather, they joined to feel better about themselves, and their expectations have been met via economic empowerment and increased feminine consciousness.

If members did not join to feel better about themselves, they did so to help others. Compassion and desire to help other women (and men) underly these women's motivations for group membership. Their reasons for joining are apparently selfless and represent community-centered mindfulness, two characteristics commonly associated with being "feminine" but they are not related to "feminine consciousness" per se.

According to the findings, women's groups help women to be equal with men, mostly because they foster women's economic empowerment. Financial stability promotes gender equality because it allows women to be independent from men in the home, said the interviewees. Recall, economic dependency upon men is "like a weapon for making women suffering". Thus women must protect themselves with economic independence.

Personal empowerment via consciousness-raising also helps women to be equal with men. Again, consciousness-raising enables women to see themselves differently and provides motivation for seeking change in gender relations. An increased sense of agency also encourages women to step outside of their typical gender roles to engage in, for

example, entrepreneurship or rights advocacy. Therefore, the desire for gender equality, via economic empowerment or consciousness-raising, is both a precursor and outcome that motivates women to join women's groups and advocate for change in gender relations.

Women's group membership was not considered a tool of gender equality by all of the members, and a few had fairly pessimistic views about women becoming equal with men. These few women could not envision gender equality because "men will remain men". This assumption is insightful because it suggests awareness that men's minds and behaviors must change if gender equality is to be realized. Acknowledgement of men's "running head start", so to speak, on women regarding positions in social life connotes the idea that men will not relinquish their privileged positions to allow or help women become empowered. These interviewees think, no matter how hard women work, apparently they will not be equal to men. According to their inability to envision a different future for themselves and women's status, these women do not exhibit elements of feminine consciousness.

If the notion of achieving gender equality did not motivate women to join a women's group, they were, for the most part, motivated by other elements of feminine consciousness. To "exchange ideas" was the most common, alternate motivating concept which, as discussed before, aptly represents feminine consciousness. One woman was motivated by a sense of duty to the group. While this does not specifically point to feminine consciousness as it is defined in the study, a sense of duty to help fellow women indicates sisterhood and desire to work with other women. These feelings match the

motivations of other members who joined to “exchange ideas”. Together, then, these women display elements of feminine consciousness, despite the fact that they eschew gender equality as a motivation for membership.

Group membership helps women personally and economic empowerment helps them most. Personal enrichment through education, skills training, and mutual support provided by women’s groups also improve members’ lives. Such rewards were expected by the members and have been received with joy. Moreover, members feel empowered by the economic, educational, and emotional improvements they receive from group activities.

The one outlier who said she did not join for personal gain or to feel empowered by group membership had a unique agenda. She joined her respective group, a support group for HIV+ women, to gain a sense of humility. As an HIV free individual, she admired the HIV+ women for their courage to be transparent about their health statuses. She also sought to understand their lives and assist in their struggles, as she perceived them to be less fortunate than she is. Her motivations exhibit feminine qualities of compassion and community mindfulness, which are foundational for feminine consciousness. Thus, this woman appears to possess feminine consciousness as well.

Focus Group

The focus group discussion touched on several themes. Feminine consciousness was the theme on which the conversation was to be based. However, topics changed considerably during the discussion and feminine consciousness was discussed very little

compared with other subjects. Nevertheless, several important insights and perspectives were discovered.

The focus group participants briefly discussed feminine consciousness, basically to express a general understanding of the term and to confirm that *Upendo's* story exemplified the concept. When the topic changed to women's mistreatment by men, it showed that the women in the discussion group are aware of women's subordination to men. Sisterhood, or unity among women, was said to ease these trials resulting from subjugation. The social construction of subordination was hinted upon, as well, with mention of traditions and behaviors that perpetuate the mistreatment of women.

Economic aspects of life were connected with *Upendo's* hardships. Financial preparedness, or lack thereof, was mentioned several times in the discussion as a possible solution or factor in women's problems. This conclusion echoes other women's ideas taken from the surveys and interviews, i.e. that economic empowerment is an important element of gender equality. The importance of finances in women's lives was mentioned several times and was occasionally tied with class status. That a woman of lower economic status like *Upendo* suffers discrimination unlike that of a woman of higher class status suggests poor women not only suffer subjugation by gender but also by class. Hence, the focus group discussion touched upon an intersectionality of oppression that some Tanzanian women apparently face.

Erosion of local tradition due to the intrusion of Western culture was referred to as deleterious to the institution of marriage and, therefore, women's treatment therein. This comment is interesting because "culture" is oft-cited as a tool of women's oppression,

especially when referring to women of the developing world (Mohanty, 1991). Moreover, the blame here was placed on the woman, the bride-to-be who did not take her ensuing marriage seriously. Men's lack of preparation for marriage was not considered troublesome for marriage, only women's preoccupation with vanity and entertaining was so viewed. The women in the focus group do not exhibit the sisterhood element of feminine consciousness with these comments. Rather they are divisive and accusatory towards women. Such sentiments reflect the lack of sisterhood found among surveyed non-group members and suggests women's enmity is ubiquitous in Moshi, even among women's group members.

Lack of preparation was revisited. Without a man, a woman is unprotected, both financially and physically, from other men. Abandoned women are left vulnerable in several ways, a situation for which the participants felt a woman should be prepared; *Upendo* was not. Women's pride was also perceived as problematic to marriage and gender relations. Here again, it appears it is a woman's responsibility to avoid maltreatment by men, not men's responsibility to discourage or cease their behavior. These comments represent the common practice of "victim blaming" wherein the abused or mistreated party, in this case *Upendo* or women in general, is held responsible for the offenses committed against them. Such logic is often used in for the explanation of sexist behaviors and does not represent feminine consciousness.

Rather than be blamed, some focus group participants believed women should be given rights awareness to challenge and change patterns of mistreatment. This type of education is provided by women's groups, as is the recognition and development of

feminine consciousness. It is the responsibility of women's group-members to educate non-members about their rights, so all women can challenge mistreatment by men. Reaching out to women and educating them for the sake of solidarity is a marker of feminine consciousness and serves to challenge the divisiveness present in Tanzanian women's relationships.

Social norms regarding economic dynamics within the home appear to affect women's lives in Moshi. When a woman earns income, especially if it is more than her husband, it is a shame to the man. Interestingly, the same can be observed among couples in many other parts of the world, including the U.S (Rogers 2004). Women's economic independence is a threat, and as men lose financial control over their wives, they exert control in other ways, such as with physical force. Because men are supposed to control family finances, a woman's transgressions regarding savings or allocation are met with punishment, even when the woman's actions benefit the family. These arrangements are the norm. Moreover, it is the norm for a man to be superior and to control a woman in the family. Men's behavior and attitudes regarding control of money and women in the home must change, because they "torture" families. Women's groups, with their encouragement of feminine consciousness and financial independence among women, are important in ending women's subjugation. According to the focus group, feminine consciousness is a tool that can be used to end the mistreatment of women. Furthermore, because "a confident, educated, independent woman is certain to do good things for her community," the development of feminine consciousness via group membership contributes to the betterment of entire communities. A changed, liberated woman will reflect well on her

family, too, and change its members lives and opinions regarding gender relations, thus affecting social change for generations to come.

Summary and Theoretical Connections

Based on the results from the research sample, feminine consciousness and economic empowerment motivate women in Tanzania to join women's groups. Multiple theoretical connections can be made with these findings. Feminine consciousness, which includes group identity, drives the women to join groups to address discontent they experience due to gender and other sociodemographic divisions and foster social change (Duncan, 1999; Jasper, 2007; Martin, 2007; Smith, 2004). As members of a low-status group, most of the women identify their socially constructed subjugation via feminine consciousness and strive to elevate themselves and fellow women by attaining gender equality (Derks, van Laar & Ellemers, 2009). It appears the members highly identified with one another and other women but remained concerned for both group and personal status elevation. This attitude is contrary to Zomeran and Spears' (2009) assumption that interest in personal status elevation correlates with low identification with the group. These women, then, appear to associate high identification with other women with both group and personal status elevation, thus demonstrating a type of collective action that is societally and self serving.

The women in the study perceive group membership will yield rewards, and they join women's groups based on expectations of receiving them (Agnew & Lehmiller, 2007). Feminine consciousness and economic empowerment represent intangible and

tangible rewards that motivate members to join women's groups. The women expend their time, labor, and money to receive the rewards of group membership and consciously decide to continue activities based on the high benefits, and low costs, of group membership. Taken together, the rewards can be seen as a form of social capital motivating women to join the groups (Norris & Ingelhart, 2006). The women make connections among themselves that enable them to pursue shared objectives of personal and community empowerment (Arneil, 2006; Norris & Ingelhart, 2006). Group activities facilitate interpersonal trust, an aspect of feminine consciousness that provides the basis for these groups to become sources of social change in their communities. That the women's group-members are concerned with benefitting a disadvantaged group, as well as the community at large, demonstrates that women experience social capital differently from men based on their preference for activism associated with social welfare (Caiazza & Putnam, 2005).

The members are decidedly bound by a sense of feminine consciousness, and utilize their groups to raise that consciousness, much like activists of the U.S. women's movement (Duncan, 1999). It appears that the global women's movement has reached Tanzania as evidenced by the presence of multiple women's groups furthering women's equality and rights attainment in the Moshi area (Antrobus, 2004). Following Global Feminists and African women's movement activists, women's group members in Moshi employ their "spaces" or groups to develop feminine consciousness, build trust, and orchestrate strategies for the eradication of gender based discrimination and social injustice (Antrobus, 2004; Steady, 1993). Feminine consciousness as an integral element

of women's group-members' motivations and activities exemplifies Steady and Drew's assertions that it is essential in African women's collective action (1993, 1995). The research also supports the notion that feminine consciousness is a precondition for group membership which leads to the promotion of feminist ideologies among grassroots women (Steady, 1993). Members' group agendas are an expression of those ideologies and provide models for social change in their communities.

Feminine consciousness among the group-members does not appear to buttress existing gender relations (Drew, 1995). Rather, it encourages members to step outside of their traditional gender roles and engage in activities not traditionally slated to women, such as entrepreneurship. Because the women's group members in the study act out of concern for their families, and hence communities, they demonstrate a manifestation of a socially-oriented feminine consciousness that is noted among African women's movement scholars. The group-members, who are motivated by socially-oriented feminine consciousness, use of feminine models of change to address social problems arising from various political and economic crises (Drew, 1995; Steady, 1993).

Implementation of such feminine models in the broader political realm could transform society at large (Steady, 2006). Yet, the members do not appear concerned with expanding their agendas beyond the local context. Therefore, their activism does not have much political salience. Women's group members' collective action in Moshi does not exemplify *the nexus of action and reaction* resulting from tension between promoting democratization and development and resisting underdevelopment and authoritarianism. They do use female mobilization and cooperation as a reaction to solve problems of

health and access to resources. However their grassroots-orientation grounds their activism in practical interests rather than the historical experience of colonialism or reality of present-day globalization, as suggested by Steady (2006). While their activism is theoretically connected with these two factors, and the desire for economic empowerment is certainly related to globalization, they are not identified as motivations for joining women's groups in this study.

The members are motivated, in part, by notions of gender equality and women's rights. These findings defy theoretical claims that African women's groups are not preoccupied with mainstream Western Feminist concepts (Steady, 2006). Most of the members recognize that women are oppressed because of their gender, and economic and educational equality were oft cited as means of creating more equitable gender relations. The women's group-members also consider rights advocacy pertaining to issues such as inheritance, divorce, or violence against women to be important. Moreover, they are not concerned with promoting democratic institutions or challenging underdevelopment. They do follow African Feminist tenets by facilitating access to resources, providing mutual aid in times of hardship, promoting formal and informal education, and having human and community goals. However, they appear motivated by Western Feminist concepts as well.

Another contrast with the literature is the absence of explicit political motivations among the women's group-members, as mentioned above. The members' recognition of the importance of rights advocacy hints at political motivations; however, the members do not explicitly state such in their responses. Moreover, they do not promote democratic

institutions, development policies, or peace (Steady, 2006). These discrepancies can be explained by two realities. First, as aforementioned, the women in the sample are of grassroots class; hence their interests are more practical rather than strategic, focusing on changes that affect their immediate needs rather than abstract, policy-level changes. Second, peace advocacy, as seen in other African nations, is unnecessary because Tanzania has not experienced civil strife since its independence in 1961 (Carlson & Pratt, 2001).

The women's group-members do challenge theoretical expectations and paradigmatic formulations provided by Western feminist discourse (Steady, 2006). While they do not operate in the "public" sphere by acting as officials or lobbying their government, the women do publicly organize to advocate for social issues and foster change. This behavior opposes the notion of public/private dichotomies set forth by foundational Western Feminist discourse and defies typical notions of "the average Third World woman" (Mohanty, 1991). By joining women's groups, the women in the study exhibit a level of agency often assumed to be absent among women of African, or "other" cultures.

Changing political and social climates appear to affect the women's group-members' activism (Tripp et al, 2009). International diffusion of information has made them aware of the women's rights discourse, and they have incorporated these ideas into their group agendas. Such information bolsters the development of feminine consciousness and desire for economic empowerment among the women. Political stability since liberalization has provided a civic climate wherein community associations

can form and operate peacefully and women's groups are an expression of that freedom. (Carlson & Pratt, 2001). Access to alternative sources of funding however, does not affect their activism as much. The women's groups do receive funding from international volunteers who work with them; because they operate on such a small scale, the groups cannot access pools of funding provided by large international gender equality entities, such as United Nations Women.

Grassroots, non-government affiliated women's groups are a response to state-controlled women's organizations that originally dominated the African and Tanzanian women's movement arena, and the women's group-members are part of that resistance (Tripp, et al 2009). They also step outside of their roles as obedient wives and daughters through public organizing. Such activity is a vestige of pre-colonial societies' inclusion of women in community decision-making processes and leadership and women's roles in national liberation movements. So, in a sense, they are reclaiming their roles as important community and political figures. Other historic traditions of resistance among African women, such as "political motherhood", appear tacitly salient to contemporary Tanzanian women's activism. While "political motherhood", per se, is not an explicit factor in group-members' activism, most women cite desire to improve their children's lives as a reason for joining women's groups; such sentiment can be linked to the concept of "political motherhood".

The women's group-members exemplify grassroots women's organizing in Tanzania. They work together to generate strategies for meeting their immediate practical needs while focusing on needs of the community. Economic empowerment is a critical

aspect of their work, along with mutual support which is a manifestation of feminine consciousness. Members' concern for women's rights suggests a fusion of grassroots and elite interests, rendering their activism multi-faceted and complex.

For the most part, the sampled women's group-members' activism illustrates that which is described by Third World, Global, African, and Tanzanian Feminist and women's issues scholars. Feminine consciousness is overwhelmingly present among the members and motivated them to join women's groups. Economic empowerment is another primary motivation for membership which represents a reaction to conditions of poverty as uniquely experienced as Tanzanian women. Yet, they are also concerned with women's rights and equality agendas. It appears their activism is unique because it bridges the divide between practical and strategic concerns. Perhaps these women, then, represent a new kind of grassroots activist capable of operating in both theoretical and practical realms to facilitate comprehensive change gender relations and their communities at large.

Conclusion

This research has outlined the evolution of Feminist ideology and activism as it applies to Tanzanian women's movement ideology and practice. Grounded in the focus of that literature review and enhanced with observations made during personal working experience with Tanzanian women's group members, I asserted feminine consciousness and economic empowerment are the primary motivations for joining women's groups. By joining women's groups they participate in public organizing to advocate women's and

social issues. Such behavior defies social norms relegating women to the private sphere and contests the image of “average Third World woman” (Carlson & Pratt, 2001; Mohanty, 1991; Ngaiza, 1991). I presented detailed information about the survey, personal interview, and focus group methods by which my assertion was researched, and followed the methodology section with results of the inquiries. According to those results, feminine consciousness and economic empowerment are, in fact, primary motivations for Tanzanian women’s group members’ activism, with few exceptions. Most of the findings align with literature about global, African, and Tanzanian Feminism and women’s movements. It appears, however, that contemporary Tanzanian women’s group members are more concerned with equality and women’s rights than posited in the literature. The research, then, is groundbreaking because it focuses on a heretofore unexplored topic and gleans information that contrasts and can be added to current African and Tanzanian women’s movement literature.

Feminine consciousness is noted as integral to women’s activism in Western mainstream and African Feminist and women’s movement writings. It is not cited in information on the Tanzanian women’s movement but, with the completion of this research, feminine consciousness as a motivation for Tanzanian women’s activism may be added to the literature. The presence of feminine consciousness among the members and its function regarding contemporary collective action point to historical instances where African women employed uniquely feminine spaces and perspectives in roles whereby they made decisions to affect change in their communities. Thus, I conclude contemporary Tanzanian women’s group members’ activism today is a sort of “feminine

reclamation” of women’s power and consciousness once valued and utilized in pre-colonial African community affairs.

While the members do not necessarily identify as feminists, the presence of feminine consciousness and the content of their responses signal distinctly Feminist attitudes. They recognize they are oppressed because of their gender and that changing that oppression requires action. These two realizations are the pillars of Feminist ideology, historically and transnationally. Also noted are women’s biological and psychological differences from men, but those differences do not imply inferiority to men in the members’ minds. Thus the Tanzanian women claim a value that different is not by definition inferior, another major theme within Feminist literature. On the contrary, the women seem to value their unique emotional capacities and endeavor to learn from one another’s feminine ways of thinking and problem solving. Finally, they see social and economic systems as responsible for their oppression and are working to change, or better manage, that which marginalizes them.

Moreover, the researched women can be considered members of feminist organizations. They follow a feminist ideology concerning women’s economic and material conditions, operate according to feminist values of mutual support and cooperation, personal growth, and empowerment, aim for feminist goals of changing women’s status and opportunities in society, the outcomes of their activities materially and subjectively change them and their social environments, and they became group members during the contemporary Tanzanian women’s movement (Martin 1990).

Economic empowerment is cited as a motivation for women's activism in mainstream Western, African, and Tanzanian women's movement literature. Economic concerns were central to the Tanzanian Women's Cooperative Union and, due to forces of international political economy and environmental change that have brought the nation into a state of extreme poverty, they continue to be a concern in the contemporary context. Women, being responsible for domestic maintenance and food supply, have borne the brunt of these forces and are searching for ways to provide for themselves and their families. Hence, they seek the economic empowerment offered by women's groups as a means of survival and stability.

In conclusion, Tanzanian women's group members' activism is primarily motivated by a blend of feminine consciousness and economic empowerment, which are symbolic and material elements of Western and African women's movement theory and activism, respectively. Feminine consciousness is strong among them, and "feminine reclamations" increase their agency in reacting to contemporary conditions rendering them socially and economically marginalized. Economic empowerment is a motivation, primarily because of those marginalizations, and further increases their agency in managing difficult living situations. Rights attainment and gender equality also motivate Tanzanian women's group members to act collectively. Based on these motivations, it appears Tanzanian women's group members employ an ideology that is a unique combination of Western mainstream and African Feminist and African and Tanzanian women's movement elements. The research and the women involved, then, are groundbreaking regarding Tanzanian women's movement literature and represent,

perhaps, an emerging type of global women's movement activism wherein North and South ideologies combine to affect social change for women worldwide, at all socioeconomic levels.

Limitations and Ideas for Further Research

While this research is important and unique, it has several limitations. First, the sample size is relatively small. Moreover, the sampling techniques utilized do not guarantee a random or unbiased sample; therefore it may not accurately represent the larger population of Tanzanian women's group members. My familiarity with the researched women may negatively affect the validity of the project and my lack of fluency in Kiswahili limits the research. If I were fluent in Kiswahili, communication with the participants would have undoubtedly been clearer. Moreover, with command of Kiswahili, I could have designed the research questions better.

The research instruments themselves had limitations. The survey, for example, included questions (particularly the item regarding weekly income) that were confusing to many of the participants. The informed consent form was difficult to administer as well, especially to those who were non-group members. Ultimately, consent forms were obtained for each participant, however explaining the consent process significantly stalled the research process on several occasions. A few of the interview questions seemed redundant due to translation issues; nuances expressed in the English version did not translate into Kiswahili and translation difficulty could have skewed the results. Upon reflection, it is evident that follow-up interviews would have facilitated research analysis.

There were instances where vague responses were given, and clarification via follow-up interviews would have resulted in more thorough analysis. The focus group was an effective tool and gathered much of the women's insights, yet the intended topic was not focused upon. It was clear that the members' were far more interested in practical matters, such as ending women's oppression, than abstract ideas such as feminine consciousness. This dilemma, I believe, is a consequence of their grassroots nature and my academic orientation, which often do not align.

As a woman from the United States, I hold a very different perspective of feminism and women's movement activism when compared to those of the women in the study. Because of my privilege as a Western woman with specialized education in women and gender studies, I may have inaccurately interpreted some responses and inserted assumptions or ideas into the research that may not accurately reflect the women's thoughts. Cultural differences between the respondents and myself, as mentioned before, may also preclude authentic understanding or interpretation of their responses.

Based on the results of this research, several ideas for further inquiry have emerged. The idea of "feminine reclamations" engages me to explore women's roles in pre-colonial Tanzanian societies. Pre-colonial women's roles in several nations, such as Nigeria and Sierra Leone, and their connection with contemporary African Feminism and women's movements are documented but, to my knowledge, such connections have not been made in the Tanzanian context. On the same note, it would be interesting to research why older women, suggested to be more historically minded, are more involved in women's group activities than younger women. Initially, it appears African women and

women from the U.S. are similar in that the younger generation seems less interested in women's empowerment than the older generation; a thorough investigation of older women's interest in women's issues and comparative analysis with U.S. women could be thought-provoking (Duncan, 2010). I am also interested to know what effect, if any, *Ujamaa*, the post-independence African socialism-based philosophy of the nation's first President Julius Nyerere, has had on contemporary women's public organizing. I am also interested to know what effect, if any, *Ujamaa*, the post-independence African socialism-based philosophy of the nation's first President Julius Nyerere, has had on contemporary women's public organizing. *Ujamaa* effectively instilled the idea of community cooperation throughout the nation and whether or not Tanzanian women specifically retained that philosophy could be a fascinating study.

Moving past individual group members to study the progress and activities of the Tanzanian women's movement as a whole would also be interesting. It could be useful to compile a study women's groups in other regions, compare and contrast the findings, and share the information inter-regionally in an attempt to build a more cohesive national women's movement. There seems to be little work completed and published in this area; therefore, such an endeavor would be useful. Because of the apparent presence of Feminist ideologies and activism, it would also be interesting to research to what degree Tanzanian women's group members have been exposed to Feminism, in both its Western and African incarnations, whether or not they agree or disagree with the tenets, and if they identify with either's ideologies and aims. I am also curious to explore Tanzanian men's reactions to the local women's movement and whether or not they could be more

fully utilized in affecting change in gender relations. There are men involved in several women's groups in the Moshi area and it would be interesting to know more about their involvement and potential for being women's movement activists in the Tanzanian context. Lastly, applying and researching the concept of social capital (in the networking and relationship building sense) in a developing nation context could yield important insights into community-building projects and their potential to improve living conditions for those living during a time of remarkable economic, social, and political transformations.

APPENDIX A

1. Moshi District Government Research Permit

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU
TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA
MKOA WA KILIMANJARO:
Simu ya upepo: ADMIN MOSHI
Simu: 027-2752211
Fax: 027-2752184
E-Mail: raskilimanjaro@yahoo.co.uk
Kwa Kujibu Taja:-
E.10/29/VII/350



OFISI YA MKUU WA WILAYA,
S.L.P. 3042,
MOSHI.
20/03/2012

Afisa Tarafa.
Hai Mashariki,
MOSHI

Yah: **KIBALI CHA UTAFITI – AMANDA FILIPCZUK BAKER**

Ninamtambulisha kwako Amanda Filipczuk Baker ambaye anasoma Shahada ya pili katika Chuo cha Towson University Maryland Marekani.

Amanda amaruhusiwa kufanya utafiti kuhusu **"Analysis the dynamics of team work and small groups in pursuit of their goals."**

Tafadhali mpe ushirikiano ili aweze kukamilisha utafiti wake.

Kibali cha utafiti wake ni kuanzia tarehe 19 Machi, 2012 hadi 30 Aprili, 2012.


H.S. Mgoja
**KATIBU TAWALA WILAYA
MOSHI**

**KATIBU TAWALA WILAYA
MOSHI**

Nakala:- Amanda Filipczuk Baker,
c/o Minjeni Women Group,
S.L.P. 8638,
MOSHI ✓

2. Kilimanjaro Regional Government Research Permit

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

KILIMANJARO REGIONTelegrams: **REGCOM KILIMANJARO**

Telephone: 027-2754236-7/2751381

E-mail raskilimanjaro@yahoo.co.uk

Fax Na; 027 -2753248/2751381

In reply please quote:



OFFICE OF REGIONAL COMMISSIONER,

P.O. BOX 3070,

MOSHI

Ref. No. FA.228/276/03/130

19 March, 2012

District Administrative Secretary,

MOSHI**RE: RESEARCH PERMIT FOR M'S AMANDA FILIPCZUK BAKER**

The above headlined subject refers.

We wish to introduce to you **M's AMANDA FILIPCZUK BAKER** who is pursuing masters Degree Program at Towson University Maryland USA. At the moment she plans to conduct research.

The Focus is "**Analysis the dynamics of team work and small groups in pursuit of their goals**".

Permission is hereby granted to allow her conduct the research from 19th March to 30th April 2012.

Kindly give her the required cooperation and make sure that she abides by all governments directives.

O. B. Msuya

For:- REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

KILIMANJARO
 for, Regional Administrative Secretary
KILIMANJARO

Copy to:- AMANDA FILIPCZUK BAKER
 c/o Minjeni Women Group
 P. O. Box 8638
MOSHI

3. Informed Consent Form, English

Informed Consent Form

I, _____, agree to participate in the research conducted by Amanda Filipczuk-Baker, principal investigator and graduate student in the Women and Gender Studies Department at Towson University. This research will span approximately 4 weeks and is being conducted to explore Tanzanian women's group members' motivations for activism. The information obtained from this research will be included in the principal investigator's Master's Thesis, and hopefully will contribute to the study of African women's movements.

I understand that I will be expected to participate in research activities, to include one or all of the following: survey, interview, or focus group discussion. The survey consists of items pertaining to demographic information and personality types. The interview pertains to motivations regarding self-identification with a larger group, desire for group and/or personal status elevation, and personal gain. The focus group will concentrate on "feminine consciousness" and political aspects of activism. No known physical risks are associated with these activities, though I understand the topic under study may evoke heightened emotional responses in me.

As a participant, I understand that my involvement in the research project is voluntary and that I may withdraw my participation at any time. All information will remain strictly confidential. Although the information I provide will be included in the principal investigator's Master's Thesis and may be published in the future, I understand my name will not be used. If I have any questions about the research, I understand that I may contact Dr. Rita Marinho, the principal investigator's research supervisor, at 011-410-704-5250, or Dr. Debi Gartland, Chairperson of the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Participants at Towson University at 011-410-704-2236.

(date)

(Signature of Participant)

(date)

(Principal Investigator)

4. Informed Consent Form, Kiswahili

Fomu ya Utaarafiwaji wa Ushiriki

Mimi, _____ nakubali kushiriki kwenye utafiti huu unaofanywa na Amanda Filipczuk-Baker, msimamizi mkuu na ni mwanafunzi wa shahada ya digrii ya kwanza wa idara ya masoma ya jinsia katika chuo kikuu cha Towson. Utafiti huu utafanyika kwa takribani wiki 4 na utafanywa kwa uchunguzi wa wanachama wa vikundi vya wanawake kufahamu kwanini wanashiriki katika vikundi husika. Maelezo yatakayo patikana kwenye utafiti huu yatawekwa kwenye uchunguzi mkuu wa utafiti wa wisho wa shahada ya masta na kwa matumaini mengi yatachangia kwenye mafunzo ya uhamasishaji wa mabadilko ya wanawake Afrika.

Naelewa kwamba nitatarajiwa kushiriki kwenye shughuli za utafiti huu na kuwemo katika moja au kwenye yote yafuatayo uchunguzi,kuhoji au kutilia mkazo kwenye majadaliano kwenye kikundi. Uchunguzi utakuwa na maswali kuhusu mtu binafsi (wewe mwenyewe). Uhojaji utakuwa na maswali kuhusu kama utakuwa umejiunga na kikundi husika kwa sababu unafikiri kiujumla upo sawa na wanachama wengine au wewe binafsi unataka kuwa kwenye nafasi nzuri kwenye jamii au kikundi kuwa kwenye nafasi nzuri zaidi kwenye jamii au unataka kufaidika mwenyewe. Majadiliano ya kikundi yatatilia mkazo kwenye ufahamu wa kike na mabadiliko ya sehemu ya kisiasa ya shughuli za wanawake.Hakuna madhara yoyote ya kimwili yatokeayo kwenye shughuli hii.hivyo naelewa,maswali ninayoulia uliza yanaweza kumfanya mshiriki kupatwa na hisia.

Kama mshiriki, naelewa ushiririki wangu katika huu mradi huu wa utafiti ni wa kujitolea na naweza kukataa kuendelea kushiriki wakati wowote. Maelezo yote yatakuwa ni siri na pia yatabaki kuwa siri.Ingawa maelezo ninayotoa yatawekwa kwenye uchunguzi mkuu wa utafiti wa mwisho wa shahada ya masta na yanawezwa kuchipishwa huko mbeleni. Na jina langu halitatumikiwa. Kama nitakuwa na swali nitaweza kuwasiliana na profesa bibi Marinho, msimamizi mkuu wa utafiti, namba za simu,011-410-704-5250, au bibi Debi Gartland mwenyekiti wa taasisi ya uangalizi wa bodi ya ulizi ya washiriki wa haki za binadamu katika chuo kikuu cha Towson, kwa namba za simu,011-410-704-2236.

 (tarehe)

 (Sahihi ya Mshiriki)

 (tarehe)

 (Mchunguzi Mkuu)

5. Women's Group-Member Survey

Women's Group-Member Survey

Introduction: This questionnaire asks for general information about you.

Directions: Answer the questions in this section by writing a response or by putting an X in the box next to the most appropriate option for you.

1. What is your age?

2. What is your marital status?

- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Abandoned
- ☐ Single

3. How many children do you have?

- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-3
- ☐ 4-6
- ☐ more than 6

4. What is your education level?

- ☐ Standard 6
- ☐ Some Secondary School
- ☐ Secondary School Diploma
- ☐ Some University
- ☐ University Degree
- ☐ More than University Degree

5. What religious tradition do you follow?

- ☐ Christianity
- ☐ A mix of Christianity and traditional beliefs
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ A mix of Islam and traditional beliefs
- ☐ Traditional beliefs only

6. Do you earn income?

☐ Yes →→→

☐ No



If yes, how do you earn income?

- ☐ Food cultivation
- ☐ Second hand clothes sales
- ☐ Charcoal sales
- ☐ Fruit/vegetables sales
- ☐ Raising and selling pigs/chickens/goats
- ☐ Retail/shop owner
- ☐ Clothes tailor
- ☐ Cleaning services
- ☐ Other _____

How much money do you earn per week?

7. Why did you join the women's group?

6. Non-Group-Member Survey

Non-Group-Member Survey

Introduction: This questionnaire asks for general information about you.

Directions: Answer the questions in this section by writing a response or by putting an X in the box next to the most appropriate option for you.

1. What is your age?

2. What is your marital status?

- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Abandoned
- ☐ Single

3. How many children do you have?

- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-3
- ☐ 4-6
- ☐ more than 6

4. What is your education level?

- ☐ Standard 6
- ☐ Some Secondary School
- ☐ Secondary School Diploma
- ☐ Some University
- ☐ University Degree
- ☐ More than University Degree

5. What religious tradition do you follow?

- ☐ Christianity
- ☐ A mix of Christianity and traditional beliefs
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ A mix of Islam and traditional beliefs
- ☐ Traditional beliefs only

6. Do you earn income?

- ☐ Yes →→→
- ☐ No ↓

If yes, how do you earn income?

- ☐ Food cultivation
- ☐ Second hand clothes sales
- ☐ Charcoal sales
- ☐ Fruit/vegetables sales
- ☐ Raising and selling pigs/chickens/goats
- ☐ Retail/shop owner
- ☐ Clothes tailor
- ☐ Cleaning services
- ☐ Other _____

How much money do you earn per week?

7. Why have you not joined a women's group?

7. Women's Group Member Survey, Kiswahili

Uchunguzi wa Wanachama wa Kikundi cha Wanawake

Utangulizi: Hii ni kwa ajili ya kuuliza na kupata maelozo ya jumal kuhusu wewe.

Maelekezo: Jibu maswali kwenye hii sehemu kwa kuandika jibu au kuweka alama ya x kwenye kiboxi ambacho kina jibu ambalo umechagua.

1. Una umri gani?

2. Upo kwenye uhusiano wa ndoa?

- ☐ Umeolewa
- ☐ Umetalakiwa
- ☐ Mjane
- ☐ Umetengwa
- ☐ Sina mtu

3. Una watoto wangapi?

- ☐ Sina
- ☐ Mmoja mpaka watatu
- ☐ Wanne mpaka sita
- ☐ Zaidi ya sita

4. Una elimu kiasi gani?

- ☐ Elimu ya msingi tu
- ☐ Hauku maliza sekondari
- ☐ Umehitimu sekondari
- ☐ Haukumaliza chuo
- ☐ Umehitimu chuo na kupata shahada
- ☐ Una elimu ya shahada ya chuo na zaidi

5. Wewe ni dini gani?

- ☐ Mkristu
- ☐ Mchanganyiko wa ukristu na imani za kimila
- ☐ Msilam
- ☐ Mchanganyiko wa uislam na imani za kimila
- ☐ Imani za kimila tu

6. Unapata kipato?

- ☐ Ndiyo →→→→
- ☐ Hapana ↓

Kama ndio unapata vipi?

- ☐ Kwa njia ya ulimaji vyakula(mkulima)
- ☐ Kuuza nguo za mitumba
- ☐ Kuuza mkaa
- ☐ Kuuza matunda na mboga za majani
- ☐ Kukuza ngurue/kuku/mbuzi
- ☐ Mmiliki wa duka la rejareja
- ☐ Mshona nguo
- ☐ Mtuo huduma ya usafi
- ☐ Mengineo: _____

Unaingiza kiasi gani cha fedha kwa wiki?

7. Kwanini umejiunga na kikundi cha wakina mama?

8. Non-Group Member Survey, Kiswahili

Uchunguzi kwa Wanawake Wasio Wanachama wa Kikundi cha Wamama

Utangulizi: Hii ni kwa ajili ya kuuliza na kupata maelozo ya jumla kuhusu wewe.

Maelekezo: Jibu maswali kwenye hii sehemu kwa kuandika jibu au kuweka alama ya x kwenye kiboxi ambacho kina jibu ambalo umechagua.

1. Una umri gani?

2. Upo kwenye uhusiano wa ndoa?

- ☐ Umeolewa
- ☐ Umetalakiwa
- ☐ Mjane
- ☐ Umetengwa
- ☐ Sina mtu

3. Una watoto wangapi?

- ☐ Sina
- ☐ Mmoja mpaka watatu
- ☐ Wanne mpaka sita
- ☐ Zaidi ya sita

4. Una elimu kiasi gani?

- ☐ Elimu ya msingi tu
- ☐ Hauku maliza sekondari
- ☐ Umehitimu sekondari
- ☐ Haukumaliza chuo
- ☐ Umehitimu chuo na kupata shahada
- ☐ Una elimu ya shahada ya chuo na zaidi

5. Wewe ni dini gani?

- ☐ Mkristu
- ☐ Mchanganyiko wa ukristu na imani za kimila
- ☐ Msilam
- ☐ Mchanganyiko wa uislam na imani za kimila
- ☐ Imani za kimila tu

6. Unapata kipato?

☐ Ndiyo →→→

☐ Hapana



Kama ndio unapata vipi?

- ☐ Kwa njia ya ulimaji vyakula(mkulima)
- ☐ Kuuza nguo za mitumba
- ☐ Kuuza mkaa
- ☐ Kuuza matunda na mboga za ,majani
- ☐ Kukuza ngurue/kuku/mbuzi
- ☐ Mmiliki wa duka la rejareja
- ☐ Mshona nguo
- ☐ Mtuo huduma ya usafi
- ☐ Mengineo: _____

Unaingiza kiasi gani cha fedha kwa wiki?

7. Kwanini hujajiunga na kikundi cha wamama?

9. Interview Questions

1. Did you join the women's group because you felt as if the other members would be people like you and share the same experiences as you? If yes, please explain. Do you consider yourself to be the same, for the most part, as the other members in the group? Please explain, if so. Do you consider yourself to be similar to most other women? Did any of these thoughts or feelings motivate you to join the group?
2. Do you think women here are treated unequally, when compared with men? Please explain. If so, does this motivate you to participate in the women's group?
3. Has your involvement in the group made you feel better about yourself? If so, please explain how. Has your involvement in the group made other people think highly of you? If so, please explain how. Did you join the group to feel better about yourself, or for others to think highly of you?
4. Do you think the work that you do within the group, or the group's work in general, helps all women to be equal (with men)? If so, in what way(s)? If it does not help all women now, do you think it will eventually? In what ways? Does helping women to be equal motivate you to participate in group activities? If so, please explain how.
5. Do you think being a member of this group will help you, personally? If so, in what way(s)? Did you join the group to improve certain things in your life? If so, please explain. Does being in the women's group make you feel empowered?

10. Feminine Consciousness, as defined and explained for the Focus Group Discussion

Psychologically speaking 'consciousness' is often defined as: 'A sense of one's personal or collective identity, including the attitudes, beliefs, and sensitivities held by or considered characteristic of an individual or group.' Therefore "feminine consciousness" usually refers to the way women relate to themselves and what it means to be female, e.g. gender roles. In gender studies or gender communication in particular this aspect has a profound influence on the way a woman interacts with others and the way in which she perceives herself as an individual.

Feminine consciousness comes in five parts: 1) The awareness of women that they belong to a subordinate group and that, as members of such a group, they have suffered wrongs, 2) the recognition that their condition of subordination is not natural, but societally determined, 3) the development of a sense of sisterhood, 4) the autonomous definition by women of their goals and strategies for changing their condition, and 5) the development of an alternate vision of the future.

11. Focus Group Narrative


Upendo is married and lives with her husband and their three children in a rural village, approximately 15 miles from the nearest city. Her husband is seasonally employed by a nearby sugar processing company, which entails about 6 months of work per year. Because of the inconsistency of her husband's work Upendo must earn income to help support the family, which she does by selling produce she herself has grown. Any money she earns is given to her husband, who controls all of the family's money, including that which he earns seasonally.

The inconsistency of her husband's employment leaves him without work for long periods of time. During these times, he often drinks alcohol in the village, spending most, and sometimes all, of the family's income. This causes tension between Upendo and her husband. Furthermore, when he drinks alcohol, he sometimes treats Upendo badly, either through verbal or physical abuse.

One night, her husband came home very drunk and Upendo was upset because he spent the money she earned on alcohol, leaving them with no money for their children's school supplies. The two began arguing intensely. The next morning, Upendo's husband left the house and did not return, abandoning Upendo and their children. Upendo now has no substantial financial support and is left vulnerable to thieves and other dangerous men, who know she is alone at home without a man to protect her. She has no family of her own nearby to help support her because she moved away from her home village to be with her husband after they were married.

When the other women in the village heard Upendo's story, many could sympathize with her because they had experienced all or some of the same things Upendo had. They could understand Upendo's feelings because they, too, either worked but had no control over family finances, had husbands who abused alcohol, were abandoned, were mothers, moved away from their homes to be with their husbands, were vulnerable to attack or thievery due to lack of a male presence, had engaged in arguments and fighting with their husbands, had struggled to find money to help their children, or shared another commonality with Upendo that was based on being a woman. Because the women understand what Upendo was experiencing, some of them help her by cooking a meal for her and her children. Most women in the village have very little to give, but some support Upendo just by listening to her story and providing emotional support to her. Because they are women, they understand what Upendo is experiencing, as they too have experienced the same things.

12. IRB Approval Number




APPROVAL NUMBER: 13-A001

To: Amanda Filipczuk-Baker
1900 Sulgrave Avenue Apt. 1E
Baltimore MD 21209

From: Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, Melissa Osborne Groves, Member

Date: Wednesday, August 15, 2012

RE: Application for Approval of Research Involving the Use of Human Participants



Office of University
Research Services

Towson University
8000 York Road
Towson, MD 21252-0001
t. 410 704-2236
f. 410 704-4494

Thank you for submitting an Application for Approval of Research Involving the Use of Human Participants to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Participants (IRB) at Towson University. The IRB hereby approves your proposal titled:

Why Rebel? "Feminine Consciousness" and other Motivations for Activism Among Tanzanian Women's Group Members

If you should encounter any new risks, reactions, or injuries while conducting your research, please notify the IRB. Should your research extend beyond one year in duration, or should there be substantive changes in your research protocol, you will need to submit another application for approval at that time.

We wish you every success in your research project. If you have any questions, please call me at (410) 704-2236.

CC: R. Marinho
File

13. Notice of Approval



Date: Wednesday, August 15, 2012

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

TO: Amanda Filipczuk-Baker **DEPT:** WMST

PROJECT TITLE: *Why Rebel? "Feminine Consciousness" and other Motivations for Activism Among Tanzanian Women's Group Members*

SPONSORING AGENCY:

APPROVAL NUMBER: 13-A001

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Participants has approved the project described above. Approval was based on the descriptive material and procedures you submitted for review. Should any changes be made in your procedures, or if you should encounter any new risks, reactions, injuries, or deaths of persons as participants, you must notify the Board.

A consent form: ☒ is ☐ is not required of each participant

Assent: ☐ is ☐ is not required of each participant

This protocol was first approved on: 15-Aug-2012

This research will be reviewed every year from the date of first approval.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Melissa Osborne Groves".

Melissa Osborne Groves, Member
Towson University Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX B

Supplementary Photos



1.1, *Jipe Moyo* members, Majengo kwa Mtei, Moshi, TZ



1.2, *Tusaidiane* Members, Mvuleni, Moshi, TZ



1.3, *Minjani* Leadership, Quarterly Meeting, Rau, Moshi, TZ



1.4, VICOBA member and her pig enterprise, made possible by VICOBA loans Mvuleni, Moshi, TZ



1.5, women's mini-market and hot food stand, Majengo kwa Mtei, Moshi, TZ



1.6, teenage girl with laundry, Mvuleni. Moshi, TZ

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