COMMUNITY SOLUTIONS TO GENDER DISCRIMINATION OF UKEREWE SCHOOLGIRLS

by

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study used tenants of critical ethnography to examine gender discrimination of schoolgirls in and around secondary schools on the main island of Ukerewe, Tanzania. Overarching questions included: In what ways (if any) do girls feel pressured or manipulated into sex acts with their teachers or fellow male students? How, if at all, do girls perceive they will benefit if they choose to have sexual relations with teachers or male students? When girls experience gender discrimination or abuse in/around school settings, whom do they tell (if anyone)? What are local women's perceptions of how the justice system (local- and country-level) handles abuse claims of schoolgirls? Thirty in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Ukerewe women and participant observation was performed at 5 secondary schools with schoolgirls (n = 400). A thematic analysis was conducted using data from the interviews, participant observations (including the girls' skits, group discussions, and reading from journal assignments), and my own observations made at the school and living in the community. The ecological-

transactional theory was utilized to identify themes at the various levels of the girls' lives and making recommendations for interventions and policy change. Member checking was conducted with my advisors: my Kiswahili interpreter and elders in the local community. Change that empowers and protects schoolgirls in the Ukerewe district is possible. Finally, potential family, community, school, and policy-level changes are addressed.

INDEX WORDS: Gender discrimination, schoolgirls, adolescents, critical ethnography, Tanzania, sexual abuse

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DEDICATION

After my first time in Tanzania in 2008, it was clear that I would not be able to stop with a one-time experience. What was compelling me? Not just the stories of the girls' lives or the community's gracious hospitality; it was feeling that I had a responsibility to these women and girls. I could no longer plead ignorance. Now I knew. Now I was beginning to understand the beauty of their strength, but the horror of their existence. A horror that was not because of them, but was because of what was – and what is – done to them and what is *not* done to stop it.

In the pages that follow, I am trying to tell *their stories.* I am trying to represent them as accurately as possible. And I am doing this out of conviction. I deeply believe that all humans are intrinsically valuable and created with purpose; girls suffering from discrimination and abuse do not have the opportunity to fulfill the purpose for which they exist. This dissertation is dedicated to these girls and women, in hopes that it will somehow be a catalyst for change.

In addition to the girls and women of Tanzania, I dedicate this dissertation to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. One of the most common themes in the Bible is the emphasis it places on seeking justice and serving the oppressed. For example, Jesus, in Matthew chapter 23 ridicules the Pharisees because they are living pious lives, but are not considering the things that matter to God. Jesus says,

> Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you tithe mint and dill and cumin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law: justice and mercy and faithfulness. (Matthew 23:23, English Standard Version).

In the book of Isaiah, one of the major themes the prophet dwells on is the lack of justice. Isaiah writes,

> Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your deeds from before my eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do good; seek justice, correct oppression; bring justice to the fatherless, plead the widow's cause. (Isaiah 1:16-17).

In the Proverbs, King Lemuel writes,

> Open your mouth for the mute, for the rights of all who are destitute. Open your mouth, judge righteously, defend the rights of the poor and needy. (Prov. 31:8-9).

Not being able to separate my faith from what I do, and coming from the stance that it is important to be upfront and transparent, I acknowledge that this is my attempt to open my mouth for the destitute – my attempt at defending their rights. Lord, please bless my efforts.

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One does not pursue a Ph.D. (and actually obtain one) alone. It takes a host of others supporting and guiding along the way. Just as it takes a village to raise a child, it took a village to get me through this process! While I am sure there are many I have left out, I must acknowledge these few. Their steadfast support has kept me going.

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To my Tanzanian "Mamas", this is for you. None of this would have been accomplished without you. I hope it serves to bring some sort of redemption to your lives and of future generations.

To my family – particularly my parents – thank you for always loving, for always pushing me to follow my path and to pursue it whole-heartedly to the Lord.

Gregory – Thank you for being my perpetual editor – draft after draft, not giving up on me in the dark days, for drying my tears. Your unwavering love has been a constant source of strength.

Most importantly, my Redeemer, my strength and my song, who because of Your great mercy, rescued me when I had nothing to offer. In response to this great love, I pray my life will be one that brings redemption and hope to others.

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PART I

PRESENTING THE MOTIVATION, DESIGN, AND JUSTIFICATION FOR EXAMINING GENDER DISCRIMINATION OF SCHOOLGIRLS IN UKEREWE, TANZANIA

Part I of this dissertation takes you through the background of how and why I, a white, middle-class, American woman, ended up on a remote island in the middle of Lake Victoria conducting my dissertation research. Studying gender discrimination of schoolgirls in this part of the world is no small task, nor is there any glory in it, but I am not in it for the glory. I chose to do this because I deeply believe that if I can contribute even in the smallest way towards liberation of the oppressed, I must do that.

Chapter one of this section provides an overview of my reasoning behind conducting this dissertation, while giving the reader a taste of how the literature justifies this work. Here I also acknowledge my own researcher subjectivity, which I describe later in the literature but is woven throughout. Chapter two presents a review of the relevant literature that speaks to the need for this research, and also has served to guide and inform my questions and research design. Here I also provide more background on my theoretical framework for research design as well as my philosophical standpoint in conducting this research. The last portion of Part I is chapter three, where I detail my methods of gaining access to participants, the data collection process, and describe the data analysis process.

Epistemologically, I believe that if I have the knowledge and power to make even the slightest difference for their good, then I am responsible to do that. I believe the gifts and privileges I have been given were given to me for a purpose.

This research and its outcomes are just one small effort towards fulfilling that purpose.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The government of Tanzania has made strides to bring about policy changes that would end gender discrimination and protect girls from sexual exploitation. For example, the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (1998) establishes penalties for the crimes of rape and sexual exploitation; the Child Protection Policy (1996) identifies cultural traditions that need to change in order for girls to receive equal status at the village level. More recently, the Law of the Child (LoC, 2009), reformed and consolidated many previous laws to make them consistent, and also brought Tanzania's laws into line with many of the international and regional conventions to which it is a party. Also significant, the LoC makes clear that a child has the right to live free from any form of discrimination, and obligates teachers to report to a social welfare officer, any abuse they may see taking place against a child. However, recent studies have found that gender discrimination still takes place, sexual exploitation and rape included.

I became concerned about gender discrimination and possible sexual abuse of girls in Ukerewe, Tanzania after seeing Ukerewe girls ages 10-18 act out such scenarios during clubs I led for three consecutive summers (2008, 2009, 2010). During these clubs, girls were provided with a safe place where they could develop skits, journal, and speak about issues they face in their community that they would like to change and develop solutions and resolutions to those challenges. In this chapter, I present a brief overview of the problem and location of my research, provide a summary of related

literature and useful definitions, offer my philosophical stance and subjectivity statement, and present my theoretical foundation, research questions and my rationale for using qualitative methods.

Statement of the Problem

As I expressed in the above section,

> …it is thought that sexual exploitation of young girls is common within educational institutions in much of Africa. Coercive sex or rape and unequal sexual relationships between young school girls and older men, including teachers, are the most obvious manifestations of sexual exploitation of school girls, though data are scanty. (Mgalla, Schapink, Boerma, 1998, p. 19)

In Tanzania specifically, some studies have found that often the sexual perpetrators of these young girls are their teachers or fellow male students, and that it is not uncommon for the school setting to be the location where this exploitation takes place (Evans, 2002; McCrann, Lalor, & Katabaro, 2006; Mgalla, 1998; Vavrus, 2003).

Although some researchers have reported on this issue in Tanzania (Evans, 2002; McCrann et al., 2006; Mgalla, 1998; Vavrus, 2003), there is a need for more studies that specifically focus on gender discrimination and sexual abuse of Tanzanian schoolgirls, particularly in regards to abuse by teachers in and around the school setting. As well, there is a need for more research on the girls' understanding of the justice system and on what girls do if faced with a potential abuse situation. This type of knowledge will assist the government, non-profits, and community members to develop interventions and programs that protect girls and empower them to resist abuse.

Location of the Research: Ukerewe, Tanzania

The continent of Africa is divided in multiple ways (geographically, politically, linguistically, people groups, etc.). However, when I talk about sub-Saharan Africa, where Tanzania is located, I am using geography to define "sub-Saharan", which I think is the simplest explanation. Geographically, any country south of the Sahara is considered sub-Saharan (Penuel & Statler, 2011). The Saharan portion is considered North Africa.

Africa is also broken down into five smaller geographic regions: Central Africa, Northern Africa, Southern Africa, West Africa, and East Africa. Tanzania is situated in East Africa just south of the equator, its eastern boarder being the Indian Ocean. Bordering countries include: Uganda, Kenya, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Burundi, and Rwanda. Three lakes also touch the Tanzanian boarder, Lake Nyasa, Lake Tanganyika, and Lake Victoria. The Ukerewe District is an island district in the section of Lake Victoria that belongs to Tanzania. The largest island within the district of Lake Victoria is named Ukerewe.

Definitions

The following Key terms are used throughout this dissertation. Here I provide definitions for these key terms to establish a common understanding as to how I am using them.

Gender discrimination – as defined by the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), "*discrimination against women* means any distinction, exclusion or restriction or any differential treatment based on sex and whose objectives or effects compromise or destroy the

recognition, enjoyment or the exercise by women, regardless of their material status, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all spheres of life" (p. 4-5).

Sexual abuse – As defined in Tanzania's Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (1998), *sexual abuse* "means illegal sexually oriented acts or words done or said in relation to any person for gratification or for any other illegal purposes."

Sexual exploitation – Tanzania's Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act of 1998 spells out what qualifies a person to be found guilty of *sexual exploitation* of a child. The portions relevant to this study include, when a person:

- knowingly allows a child to remain in a situation that causes the child to be sexually abused or participate in any type of sexual activity "or in any obscene or indecent exhibition or show";
- procures the child for sexual intercourse, abuse, exhibition or show;
- uses his or her influence or relationship over the child to procure the child for the above sexual acts;
- uses violence or threats to manipulate the child into sexual intercourse or activity;
- gives money, goods, or other benefits to a child or his/her parents in exchange for sexual intercourse, sexual abuse, or indecent exhibition of or with the child.

Child (or minor) – also referred to as "girl" in this study, means anyone under 18 years of age. This is the age of a child set by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

Brief Overview of the Literature

As previously mentioned, there has been some research conducted around the issue of gender discrimination and sexual abuse, but there is still a need for more. Here I briefly review some of the previously conducted research on this topic.

One study of female university students in Tanzania found that 27.7% of the participants had experienced childhood sexual abuse; follow-up interviews found the incidents had never been reported to authorities (McCrann et al., 2006). Others have found that the sexual perpetrators of these young girls are often their teachers or fellow male students, and that it is not uncommon for the sexual exploitation to take place in the school setting (Evans, 2002; McCrann et al., 2006; Mgalla et al, 1998; Vavrus, 2003). Young girls that are taken advantage of may end up pregnant, married, HIV positive, or forced to quit school.

Instead of helping the girls get an education, a teacher might use his power over the girls and manipulate their desire to get a good education by asking for sexual favors in exchange for good grades; or he might demand that the girl perform a sex act if she wants to go on to the next grade. Specifically, the United Nations (UN) reports:

> Studies suggest that sexual harassment of schoolgirls is common throughout the world, to varying degrees by teachers themselves as well as by students and that it may be particularly common and extreme...Teachers often see the sexual harassment among students – most often girls – as normal part of school life, and therefore ignore it. Under these circumstances it is difficult for students to report it. (UN, 2006, p. 119)

Lalor (2003) conducted a literature review on child sexual-abuse in sub-Saharan Africa, and found this to be true as well. He cautions:

> …we should note the widespread concern in the region regarding *the levels of sexual exploitation and assaults against schoolgirls by male pupils and teachers*. This has been documented in South Africa by Human Rights Watch (2001). In three provinces visited by Human Rights Watch, cases of rape, assault, and sexual harassment of girls committed by teachers and male students were documented. Girls were fondled, raped in school toilets, empty classrooms, hallways, and in hostels and dormitories" (p. 449, emphasis mine).

Researchers have found that the country of Tanzania is no exception to this tragedy (Evans, 2002; McCrann et al., 2006; Mgalla, 1998; Vavrus, 2003). In fact, Evans (2002) reports that in school settings in Tanzania, as well as in other African countries, some male teachers are guilty of sexually harassing their female students. She says, "a girl's refusal to have sex can lead to public humiliation, unfairly low marks, exclusion from class or corporal punishment" (p. 57). The learning environment for girls is unfriendly; girls sometimes are insulted, teased, discriminated against, and even beaten (Evans, 2002). McCrann et al. (2006) interviewed university students in Tanzania, and found that 27.7% of the participants had experienced childhood sexual abuse. Rates for females were higher than males, and betrayal of trust, bribes, and physical force were frequently cited as the means. Follow-up interviews with six of the respondents found that neighbors

and teachers were to blame in these incidents, and the incidents had never been reported to authorities.

Theoretical Perspectives

In this study, the ecological-transactional developmental model was used to examine how girls negotiate risk situations and what risk vs. protective factors influence whether girls are able to be resilient in response to abuse or attempted abuse. This model was first developed to explain factors at each ecological level, along with the individual's own developmental organization process, which interact to shape the individual's course of development (Cicchetti & Toth, 2000; Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2009). Initially the model was used to examine child maltreatment. It builds on Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, which spells out different levels to a person's environment. These levels include the microsystem, the everyday environmental encounters such as within the family or school; the mesosystem, the interrelationships among the child's various settings, such as when a parent comes to the school or when siblings bring family problems to school; the exosystem, the people or institutions that impact the children, but usually more indirectly, such as parents' relationships outside the home or at work; the macrosystem, the larger cultural and political context that influences how the child interprets people and events in each system; and the chronosystem, which incorporates the influence of time (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Jordan, 2004). According to the ecological-transactional model, a child's development is influenced by the interplay of all of these systems, as well as how she chooses to interact with the situations at each level. This research will primarily focus on girls' interactions and decisions at the

micro, meso, and chrono levels, but will have major implications for the macrosystem.

One example of the application of this model in regards to the development of an intervention might be this: in relation to the chronosystem, as the child develops and changes, so does her environment and the way in which she interacts with that environment. In that sense, she can continue to develop coping mechanisms, and environmental supports can be put into place across time. As well, it becomes important to put protective factors in place that not only buffer a child from risks, but also encourage her constant positive development. This will allow her to interact with the world in a way that continually increases and builds the protective factors and allows her to be part of creating an environment that continues to be supportive.

My research also sought to uncover what protective factors (e.g., strong family support, excelling in school, involvement in clubs, approachable police officers, etc.) and risk factors (family disruptions, poverty/material needs, etc.) exist that are common indicators of the girls' resilience despite discrimination, sexual abuse, or attempted abuse. In a classic study on resilience by Masten and Reed, resilience is defined as a type of "phenomena characterized by patterns of positive adaptation in the context of significant adversity or risk" (2002, p. 75). There are four characteristics a person possesses that demonstrate resilience; these are: *self-confidence* (a sense of purpose) and *self-esteem* (a sense of self-worth); *self-efficacy* (believing they can make a difference or cause change); and possessing multiple *social problem-solving skills* and approaches (Rutter, 1985 as cited in Evans, 2005).

As you will see in the studies reviewed in the review of the literature section, one of the major protective factors is positive social relationships. That being the case, from an ecological-transactional perspective, the child not only responds to the relationships in his or her environment, but also helps to elicit what the relational responses was, particularly at the microsystem level. This speaks to the importance of children having a place they can feel supported through peers and trusted adults who care about their development.

Philosophical Perspective

Philosophically, this research was conducted using tenets of critical ethnography. As explained by Madison (2005) in the introduction of her book *Critical Ethnography*, a critical ethnographer uses

> resources, skills and privileges available to her to make accessible—to penetrate the borders and break through the confines in defense of—the voices and experiences of subjects whose stories are otherwise restrained and out of reach. This means the critical ethnographer contributes to emancipatory knowledge and discourses of social justice. (p. 5).

Use of a critical ethnography requires the researcher to consider the question, "how do we represent Others and their world for *just* purposes?" (Madison, 2005, p. 14). Critical ethnography grew out of the idea that "cultural aspects of domination and exploitation needed to be discussed", examined and uncovered (Clair, 2003, p. 13). Unlike a traditional ethnography, which, according to Clair, "grew out of a master discourse of colonization," (2003, p. 3), a critical ethnographic perspective seeks to bring to light oppressive practices that are embedded in society (Clair, 2003).

Research Questions

My interest in this topic stems from previously having the privilege of conducting girls' "day camps" in Ukerewe, Tanzania. Through these camps, girls learned to express some of the challenges and barriers they face in their daily lives and develop solutions to those challenges. Some of the "solutions" the girls developed and portrayed in their skits had to do with telling their teachers they did not want to be involved with them sexually. This led to my interest in learning more from these girls about this issue in the Ukerewe community. The purpose of this study was to discover if and how girls are taken advantage of or solicited for sex in and around schools in the Ukerewe community, and to learn what risks and protective factors exist at the various levels of the girls' lives that impact their likelihood to give in to or resist discrimination and abuse. Specifically, I explored:

1) In what ways (if any) do girls feel pressured or manipulated into sex acts with their teachers or fellow male students?
    a. What are some of the motivations or ways the girls perceive they benefit if they choose to have sexual relations with teachers or male students?
2) When girls experience gender discrimination or abuse in/around school settings, whom do they tell (if anyone)?
3) What are local women's perceptions of how the justice system (local- and country-level) handles abuse claims of schoolgirls?

Subjectivity Statement

> *Start where you are. The experiences in your life, both past and present, and who you are as a unique individual will lead you to certain questions about the world and certain problems about why things are the way they are. It is important to honor your own personal history and the knowledge you have accumulated up to this point, as well as the intuition or instincts that draw you toward a particular direction, question, problem, or topic – understanding that you may not always know exactly why or how you are being drawn in that direction.* (Madison, 2005, p. 19).

According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research "begins with assumptions, a worldview…and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (p. 37). Freeman et al. also say that "neither research participants nor researchers can be neutral, because…they are always positioned culturally, historically, and theoretically" (2007, p. 31). Finally, Morrow (2007) says, "it is common for qualitative researchers to make their worldviews, assumptions, and biases explicit to assist the reader in understanding the researcher's stance vis-à-vis the research" (p. 210). In order to be upfront and honest about my assumptions and worldview, I first must admit that I am operating on the notion that gender discrimination and sexual abuse of schoolgirls does happen on the Ukerewe Island. I have heard this plainly from the women that I have worked with in years past, and girls have expressed that they are aware of this happening in the skits they have created in the camps I have

conducted with them. In terms of gender discrimination, girls have told me that they receive unequal treatment from some of their teachers.

I also have to admit that I have a strong sense of justice; I do not want to conduct research simply for the purpose of gaining knowledge. This is why critical ethnography undergirds the philosophical approach to my research, because a critical ethnographer "feels a moral obligation to make a contribution toward changing those conditions" of unfairness or injustice "toward greater freedom and equity" (Madison, 2005, p. 5). My goal pre-data collection was that *if* I found that sexual abuse by teachers was a common occurrence for girls on the Ukerewe island, that the Ukerewe local government and possibly Tanzania's government would not stand for it, but would mobilize to strengthen laws and policies that will protect these girls from being taken advantage of and exploited.

Finally, as Rossman and Rallis (1998) so eloquently state, "as the inquiry process [of qualitative research] grows from curiosity or wonder to understanding and knowledge building, the researcher is often transformed. In many cases, the participants are also changed" (p. 5). I hope that through my research I am changed for the better. I also hope that a change occurs for the girls and women who participate in this research in that they are truly empowered to protect themselves and speak up for their rights.

Rationale for Qualitative Design

According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research is used when there exists a problem or issue that needs exploration, when silenced voices need to be heard, to gather a complex and deep understanding of the issue at hand, and when

participants need to be empowered to share their stories. Because this study seeks to garner a deep understanding and thick, rich description from participants about gender discrimination and sexual abuse that sometimes takes place in and around the participants' schools, as well as some of the factors that impact those experiences and their results, and aftereffects of the abuse/resistance to it, use of an interpretive qualitative method proves to be far superior to any quantitative method I could use. Morrow (2007) lists several assets to choosing qualitative research. In particular, she reminds us "qualitative research can be used to formulate interventions, such as in schools or other organizations, as well as to contribute to social change" (Morrow, 2007, p. 212).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

> *At the societal level studies around the world have found that violence against women is most common where gender roles are rigidly defined and enforced and where the concept of masculinity is linked to toughness, male honor, or dominance. Other cultural norms associated with abuse include tolerance of physical punishment of women and children, acceptance of violence as a means to settle interpersonal disputes, and the perception that men have 'ownership' of women.* (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002, p. S8).

In this chapter, I begin by discussing gender discrimination based on literature particular to sub-Saharan Africa. I follow with research specific to Tanzania, and then compare Tanzania to the United States. I then talk about the importance of this research by bringing in potential outcomes of sexual abuse of girls in sub-Saharan Africa specifically and follow with more general research (not particular to the sub-Sahara). I follow with description of the ecological-transactional model and how I use the model in my study to look at protective and risk factors with the goal of developing interventions that could build resilience. I then talk about Theatre of the Oppressed, one of the techniques I used when working with girls in Ukerewe. Finally, I review a wealth of laws and conventions that Tanzania is a party to that are supposed to protect the rights of women and girls.

Gender Discrimination and Sexual Abuse in sub-Saharan Africa: How it is Perpetuated

A vast amount of literature documents incidents of gender discrimination and violence towards women and girls on a global scale. Let me start by saying that gender discrimination and violence are often entangled issues. In countries where women and girls have historically not been valued to the same degree as men and boys, violence is often the result of gendered attitudes that hold a negative view of females. These values are often held in the home, in schools, and in society in general. In one example provided by Heise et al. (2002), studies conducted in many countries have found a frequent use of violence of husbands towards their wives. This "physical chastisement" is seen as "the husband's right to 'correct' an erring wife" (p. S8). Violence against women in the home can lead a child to hold the view that violence against women and girls is normal. Leach (2006) articulates this problem eloquently. She says,

> Violence in schools cannot be divorced from violence in the home, the community and the workplace. This violence originates in the imbalance in power between males and females, in the gendered hierarchy and separation of tasks and responsibilities, and in socially accepted views of what constitutes masculine and feminine behavior. (p. 27).

This view of females is not only constructed in the home, however, as Leach (2006) continues, but the school is also a primary site where the construction of gender identity and gender norms takes place,

> …built on socially sanctioned inequalities. The structures and practices which fill the school day with explicit and implicit rules, norms, and symbols serve to guide and regulate behaviour. In so doing, they reinforce the unequal gender relations already reproduced in the home, and perpetuate and institutionalize notions of male superiority and dominance… (p. 27).

The United Nations (UN) 2006 *World Report on Violence Against Children* reviewed many of the causes of gender-based violence, attributing such violence to "gender inequality, stereotypes and socially imposed roles" (p. 118). The report suggests that sexual violence may stem from "the desire to punish or humiliate girls because of their sex or sexuality, or by sexual interest and bravado" (p. 118). Lalor (2008) notably reports that childhood sexual abuse has many methods of manifesting itself in sub-Saharan Africa, as it does in other regions, specifically, "…incest, commercial sexual exploitation (ranging across the spectrum of 'exchange sex') and rape" (p. 98). However, as he rightfully notes, "perhaps more so than other regions, understandings of child sexual abuse in SSA [sub-Saharan Africa] must be cognizant of economic factors, cultural norms governing sexual relationships, and the generally low social status of women and children." (p. 98).

In school. One of the first landmark reports on sexual abuse taking place in schools was released by Human Rights Watch in 2001. Focused on South Africa, they found that sexual abuse and harassment of schoolgirls was common all over the country and within all levels of society and ethnic groups. Such abuse included rape, assault, fondling, aggressive advances, and being verbally degraded and was perpetuated by teachers and students alike. They found it was not uncommon that

school officials did not address the abuse and in fact, sometimes even concealed it. This often resulted in further victimization and stigmatization of girls who did report the abuse. They also found that many girls left school entirely because of how unsafe they felt.

Human Rights Watch (2001) found that for the most part, there was a lack of justice for the abused girl, and that many girls suffered in silence. There seemed to be a confusion among school officials as to the process of reporting cases of abuse, who's responsibility it was, and there was a lack of support towards the girl who was brave enough to come forward with the report. As well, police, prosecutors, and social workers were frustrated with the school administrators, claiming they neither helped bring the perpetrators to justice nor brought aid the victims.

In terms of data collection, researchers used a combination of interviews with girls who had experienced abuse or rape, interviews with girls' parents, teachers, and social workers, as well as focus groups and followed-up on reports made to nongovernmental organizations about school-based violence. Researchers also made school visits. Human Rights Watch (2001) concluded with recommendations that first, South Africa develop a national plan to address the layers of issues presented in their report. They urged the National Department of Education to create standard guidelines that could be disseminated throughout the country that would lay out procedures for schools to follow when sexual abuse was reported in their school, including punishment for the perpetrator and how the victim should be treated. The report also reminded South Africa of the many international and national laws to which the country was a party that obligates

action to be taken to prevent further violence (e.g., the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child).

Not long later, another thorough report on the issue of sexual abuse of schoolgirls was released after a study was conducted by Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani, and Machakanja (2003). Their research took place in three countries – Zimbabwe, Ghana, and Malawi with schoolgirls, schoolboys, teachers, school district officials, parents, and community members in urban, peri-urban, and rural settings. The study was built on an earlier study (phase 1) that had been conducted in 1998-1999 in Zimbabwe by Leach and Machakanja. The goal of the first study was to uncover barriers that existed within schools that were preventing the achievement of gender parity in the schools (their has been a push towards this on an international level for the last decade or so). The initial findings from the Zimbabwe study found that a culture of tolerance of abusive behavior and violence towards girls discouraged girls from staying enrolled in school and contributed to the low achievement of those who did stay enrolled. In particular, they found that the abuse of girls by schoolboys, teachers, and adult men in and around the school was not uncommon and that nothing was being done to stop it. Key findings from the first study included:

- Testimonies of daily abusive behavior experienced by schoolgirls from older schoolboys – including sexual advances, assault and threats of rape;

- Unsolicited abuse of girls by gangs of male pupils while girls were trying to get to or home from school;
- One-fifth of the girls in the initial Zimbabwe study reported they had received sexual propositions from their teachers;
- This type of behavior was accepted as normal, and usually, no action was taken to combat it.

The report released in 2003 (phase 2) was a follow-up to the Zimbabwe study and was expanded to include Malawi and Ghana. The researchers not only collected data around this issue, but they worked to disseminate their findings and develop interventions and strategies to address the issue and cause change on a community level. The researchers noted that they knew of few other studies that had been conducted in-depth around this issue besides a few media studies that had taken place in South Africa. They note, "this was therefore unchartered territory in terms of in-depth ethnographic style research exploring with pupils, teachers and parents why and how the abuse of girls takes place in schools" (p. 2). Therefore, the Leach et al. (2003) report is a seminal piece of research; my own research will add to the small body of literature on this issue.

The specific objectives of the second phase of the Leach et al. study (which was covered in the 2003 report) were to:

- Raise awareness of the abuse of children's (especially girls') rights in schools;
- Share information on effective ways to tackle abuse;

- Collect new information about the prevalence of abuse of girls in schools and gather data on how this abuse impacts girls' school participation and achievement;
- "Trial and monitor" various strategies to counteract abuse of girls in schools and identify successful strategies;
- Identify changes in policy and practice that are changed due to such research.

In Ghana and Malawi, three schools were identified to participate in the research. In Ghana, participants included 48 girls aged 11-15 (predominantly), 27 boys, 23 teachers, 15 parents, 4 education officials, and both the district social welfare officer and the second in command of the Women and Juvenile Unit of the Ghana Police. The schools in Ghana that were selected to participate were chosen at random. In Malawi, 106 girls, 65 boys, 13 teachers, and three male head teachers participated in the study. As well, in the community of the rural school, a focus group discussion with 3 School Committee members and 2 Disciplinary Committee members was held. Schools in Malawi were selected to participate because of recent reports of teachers sexually abusing girls made by primary education advisors.

Selected findings from the study are as follows:

- Schools are "a breeding ground for potentially damaging gendered practices" (p. 132) because aggression and bullying largely goes unpunished and an attitude of male superiority (teachers and students) is accepted as normal. As well, pupils are pressured to abide by the

"explicit" roles and norms of their gender in the way they behave and interact (p. 132).

- It is difficult to disentangle whether girls were forced into sexual relationships or whether they freely entered; the researchers concluded that there was a mixture of both. However, based on the interview data, poverty, coercion, and threats or intimidation were prime reasons for why girls ended up in such relationships.
- It was not uncommon to find teachers that openly proposition schoolgirls for sex. Even officials from the Education Ministry and the district office confirmed that schoolgirls are impregnated by their teachers.
- Some girls reported they did not come to school out of fear of being sexually harassed or humiliated.
- In some cases, parents condoned the sexual relationships of their daughters with schoolteachers because of the favors the girl received in return – dire poverty kept parents from being able to provide their daughters with basic school needs.
- In other cases, parents do not know how to complain, and if they do complain, they are often threatened by the teacher and forced to remain silent.
- All three educational systems (Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ghana) held a "culture of silence" (p. 136) around these issues. In many cases, the teachers would concede that such abuse happened but would present the cases as being too complicated to bring to court.

In any case, the research conducted by Leach et al. (2003) did in fact raise awareness of the issue, and the researchers worked with the girls and community members to bring change within the schools and communities. For example, in Malawi, the research resulted in an NGO applying for and receiving funding to teach counseling in schools. In Ghana, a community performance was held around the issue, which included information for parents on how to work through the legal system to bring justice to their daughters if they were ever to be abused.

I found this study to be very valuable. The work the researchers conducted is very similar to what I wanted to do, and their deliverables are also similar to potential outcomes of my study.

A study conducted by Sharkey (2008) found through her interviews with a female principal of an all-girls school in Uganda, that sometimes even those who seem like they would be committed to elevating the status of girls are actually not. For example, the principal interviewed in Sharkey's study reported that the girl students need kindness, they need education, and that school is a place where they can develop self-confidence and self-esteem. However, contrary to what one might expect coming from an all-girls school principal, the principal also stated that she did not believe in the rights of girls. She said, "if girls are given rights, all of society would turn bad. Believing in girls' rights is like playing with fire. No, girls should not have rights" (p. 573). This just proves that even among those who seemingly would be pro-girl-child, this long-term separation of the rights of males and females is deeply rooted.

Much of the research on abuse and exploitation of girls in sub-Saharan Africa has been conducted in South Africa. One of the leading researchers on this topic in South Africa is Rachel Jewkes. In a study conducted by Jewkes, Levin, Mbanaga, Bradshaw (2002), the researchers conducted a very large cross-sectional quantitative study on rape. The study took place in 1998 and included a nationally representative sample of 11,735 women ages 15-49. The researchers found:

- 1.6% of the women reported they were raped before the age of 15;
- 85% of the rapes took place when the girls were between the ages of 10 and 14, and 15% between 5 and 9 years of age.
- The most common perpetrators were schoolteachers, responsible for 33% of the rapes. They were followed by relatives (21%), strangers or recent acquaintances (21%), and boyfriends (10%).

The authors of this study noted that schoolteachers perpetrating rape of their students has also been reported in many other African countries. They noted,

> …through such abuse, not only is the girl's body violated, but also her right to education. Not only is the risk of HIV-1 transmission increased through the sexual act, but in many countries, child rape has increased the likelihood of unsafe sexual practices during later years, including having multiple partners, participation in sex work, and increase in risk of rape in adulthood." (p. 320).

In society. Others have documented specific cases of how gender discrimination and sexual abuse or exploitation plays out in society. According to Leach and Humphreys (2007), "regardless of contextual variations, the causes of

gender violence are similar, originating in structural gender inequalities in various social arenas" (p. 55). This structurally embedded discrimination of females is dangerous because in many areas it has become so deeply rooted in society that it is viewed as normal practice. Girls raised in such a climate do not realize their individual rights and might end up victims of more severe violence such as rape, but do not feel they have the power to seek justice towards their perpetrators. As the UN reports,

> Harmful cultural stereotypes that demean children because of their sex or their known or suspected sexuality create environments in which children can be abused with impunity, including by adults in positions of trust and authority. (2006, p. 119).

In reviewing the literature, Muganyizi et al. (2010) found that many studies indicate that individuals that have more stereotyped ideas about gender roles or rape are not as likely to consider forced sex as rape, and are more likely to blame the victim and excuse or rationalize the offender's crime. So, even girls that hold negative or traditional stereotypes about females being second-class citizens are more likely to assume that they cause or deserve the violence or discrimination they experience. Often, even if they recognize that they are not deserving of discrimination, they are scared to challenge the cultural norm because of the potential of retaliation that could take place in the form of a physical attack or rape (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). As Watts and Zimmerman (2002) reported, this unequal status of women "helps to create their vulnerability to violence, which in turn fuels the violence perpetrated against them" (p. 1232).

Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, and Rose-Junius (2005) conducted a qualitative study in South Africa and Namibia on perceptions of child rape and child rearing. The data was derived from 77 semi-structured interviews (47 in Namibia, 30 in South Africa) and 3 small group discussions (South Africa). Among their findings were:

- In poorer families in South Africa, sexual relationships between teenage girls and much older males were not only accepted, but were sometimes encouraged if the relationships were likely to benefit the girl's family monetarily;
- In the mind of the interviewees, men could not help nor could they control their sexual desires (even toward young girls) and if a girl was raped, it was because she provoked it (either by dressing inappropriately, drinking with older men, etc.).
- Many service providers in both countries thought that the cultural rules of respect (obey adults without question) made children more vulnerable to rape – particularly if they are being taken advantage of by an older male they have been taught to respect.
- More specific reasons for why men choose to rape included: their position of power (they had the right to do so), out of entitlement, as a means of control, and as a means of punishment.
- As well, if rape of a young girl did take place, the blame was placed on the girl if she was older, or on the girl's mother if she was younger.
- In many cases, the girl was forced to marry the rapist (even if she was as young as 12 years old).

- If rape took place within a family, usually this would go unreported. Several interviewees reported that "maintaining gender hierarchy and family structures were more important than taking action against an abuser" (p. 1817).

The researchers concluded that patriarchal values and the gendered hierarchy that exists in both South Africa and Namibia contribute to the vulnerability of girls to rape and the often-unchallenged crime of committing it. The researchers suggest that in order to prevent child rape, the status of women and girls must change on a societal level.

It is crucial that I highlight the use of *culture* as an excuse to justify gender roles. As already implied, in many cases, the right to maintain one's own culture is disempowering to women and is even used to maintain unequal gender roles. As Waetjen and Mare (2010) explain, through the politics of culture, women

> …are situated in an ambiguous and painful position…as culture is politicized as a legal and secular 'right', gender is depoliticized to become a normatively 'private' and 'customary' domain. Asserting the rights of women can come to be defined as cultural treason. Women who do so risk losing access to resources and important kinds of community over which men preside…Practising one's culture, like one's religion, is a matter of rights and human dignity. And yet, as is indeed the case around the world, this sets up a contest between cultural rights and gender equality. (p. 75-76).

McCloskey uses a theoretical reason to explain why men molest and rape girls and women:

> Certainly one set of answers falls under a single theoretical canopy: that men sexually abuse because they believe that they have a right to do so, that they hold traditional and rape-supportive beliefs about men's sexual prerogatives and women's (or children's) blame. (1997, p. 558).

She goes on to explain that as a result, men believe that females are sexually subordinate to males, "and that the age of their victim might be determined more by opportunity than by child fetishism per se." (p. 558). Meaning that some young girls that end up sexually abused are not necessarily taken advantage of by men who are suffering from pedophilia, but are taken advantage of on account of their subordinate position as girls and that they happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Lalor (2004) published an important literature review on the issue of child sexual abuse in sub-Saharan Africa. His review included all peer-reviewed papers that were written in English and cited in the Social Sciences Citation Index, and he also looked at reports from international and local NGOs, including the UN. The focus of Lalor's review was on the sexual abuse of children in their homes and in their local community. He found a lack of published studies on childhood sexual abuse conducted in sub-Saharan Africa, except in South Africa. He also cited a briefing paper for the 2nd World Congress against CSEC [Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children] that reported the lack of adequate data on this issue in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Specifically,

> …neither CSEC, nor child sexual abuse in the home/community can be easily

> quantified in sub-Saharan Africa due to a lack of adequate data and that CSEC cannot be analyzed in isolation from the broader problems of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation…" (p. 440),

which takes place in the child's home, community, school, workplace, and even in brothels. Lalor (2004) noted two overarching reasons for why researchers have not studied sexual abuse as an issue in SSA. These include the fact that:

- Many believe this is a more recent phenomenon – that child sexual abuse has not been an issue in SSA in the past, but can now be attributed to "insidious forces of modernity, 'foreign influences,' and rapid social change" (p. 440).
- There are so many other social problems impacting children and families (war, poverty, disease, homelessness, etc.) that sexual abuse has been overlooked.

While the Lalor's (2004) review primarily included prevalence studies (most of which were conducted in South Africa), he did examine the different reasons for the phenomenon of sexual abuse and exploitation of children and adolescents. He stated that, although it was not the primary focus of his paper,

> …we should note the widespread concern in the region regarding the levels of sexual exploitation and assaults against schoolgirls by male pupils and teachers. This has been documented in South Africa by Human Rights Watch (2001). In three provinces visited by Human Rights Watch, cases of rape, assault, and sexual harassment of girls committed by teachers and male

students were documented. Girls were fondled, raped in school toilets, empty classrooms, hallways, and in hostels and dormitories" (p. 449). Lalor (2008) suggested that sexual exploitation of women and girls commonly occurs in societies "where patriarchal views regarding the satisfaction of male sexual urges are dominant, women's social status is generally low and poverty is widespread" (p. 105).

Often, relationships are in the form of adolescent girls receiving financial incentives or gifts from older boys or men in exchange for sex. The older boys or men providing the financial incentives are often referred to as *sugar daddies* and are usually older and wealthier. Lalor (2008) notes that these type of relationships are "most likely to occur in conditions of poverty and deprivation", though "such relationships have also been noted amongst the middle and privileged classes…" (p. 98). These men use their wealth and resources to exchange sex for money, gifts, or needed goods. This can especially be a problem among girls who are poor and in need of money for food, school fees, or other survival resources. In another report, Lalor (2005) noted that these type of exchanges take place over a spectrum of need, from poor adolescents participating in order to survive, to university students and children of parents that are better off participating in order to receive more luxury items. But pervasive poverty has forced women and girls (especially in the cities) to trade sex for life necessities (i.e., food or shelter). Lalor (2005) noted that it cannot be anything but exploitation when this takes place among the poor and powerless.

Lalor (2004) cited one study that found that female students who lived far away from school were frequently forced to accept rides to school from men who

would later require payment for the rides to be given with sex. This is a phenomenon that I heard about from local women in Ukerewe, Tanzania; it accordingly happens there too.

Some of these exchanges would be classified by Western society as prostitution. However, there are other, more long-term relationships that are characterized by trading sex for needs but the relationships are more complex and can be described as looking more like the male is a "benefactor" (Lalor, 2008, p. 97). *Transactional sex,* or sex in exchange for money or goods, while not a new phenomenon, has more recently been a topic of study. A study conducted by Mwanga, Mshana, Kaatano, and Changalucha (2011), which I will talk more about in the next section, made it clear that transactional sex takes place in many different forms, but includes the "exchange of sex for material support including money and gifts" (p. 7), in sub-Saharan Africa (or at least in Tanzania), it is not seen as the same thing as female sex work or prostitution. Many women and girls who participate in transactional sex would not see themselves as prostitutes or sex workers. Lalor (2008) too, makes the point that the term "prostitution" is not an adequate term to describe "the spectrum of exchange sex behavior" and, is not an appropriate term to use in reference to adolescence (p. 98).

Other societal issues influence childhood sexual abuse in sub-Saharan Africa. In his review of the literature, Lalor (2008) found many studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa have reported that for many girls, their first sexual experience often took place with violence or was forced, and that often the first experience of sex took place during early adolescence.

I would add that these conditions also highlight the role of socio-cultural conditions as they influence men's decisions to sexually exploit women, the culturally-embedded view of their right to sexually exploit women and girls that often exists, and the lack on the part of women and girls to report the abuse or seek justice on their own behalf. As well, such circumstances draw attention to "the role of socio-cultural factors in the transmission of HIV" (Lalor, 2008, p. 105). This is an important outcome to note (and I will return to it later) – that girls in sub-Saharan Africa who are forced to have sex against their will often end up with more than lost virginity, but with HIV prevalence rates so high in that region of the world, these girls could also likely contract HIV.

Lalor (2004) concludes with three over-arching dominant explanations for sexual abuse in SSA, which I will reemphasize.

- The crumbling clan authority and contact with the "harmful elements of modernity" because of accelerated social change (p. 456).
- The high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the region may be a contributor, either

  because of myths that suggest that sex with a virgin may cure sexually transmitted disease, or because young girls are less likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS and therefore are more desirable sex partners. (Lalor notes that this explanation is in need of further investigation.)
- The traditional male-dominated society may be a reason for sexual abuse of girls. There is a perception that male sexual urges cannot be controlled.

> As well, African children are socialized to obey adults no matter what, which may also put girls at risk or make them vulnerable.

Important to note, the vulnerability of children in sub-Saharan Africa to acquiring HIV through sexual abuse and exploitation (including child rape, early sex due to coercion, transactional sex, and even incest) has only recently been realized (Lalor, 2008).

Finally, Van den Bergh (2008) discussed the processes of entering adulthood in sub-Saharan Africa as it pertains to sexual initiation from historical, socio-cultural, and political/economic standpoints and the changes that have taken place over the last several years. She reported that in previous generations, the elders and parents were responsible for transferring knowledge of sexuality to youth. She claimed that today, however, the process of learning about sex seems to be more and more regulated by the youth as they are increasingly gaining access to such knowledge because of globalization and increased access to technology. She also discussed the "commodification" of sexual relations, claiming that in poor socio-economic conditions, the commodification is causing youth to become more and more vulnerable (p. 99). Van den Bergh noted,

> Through the commoditization of sexuality, the young and female remain dominated by patriarchal structures, which are locally strengthened by increasing poverty and class differences, and exacerbated by global neo-liberal economic structures. These economic underpinnings, in a context of AIDS, significantly increase children's and the youth's vulnerability because they then remain easily manipulated by elders. (p. 114)

She also reported that countries in sub-Saharan Africa lead the world in largest number of youth between the ages of 15 and 24 living with HIV, most of these being girls. Van den Bergh also noticed that in the area of Tanzania in which she conducted her dissertation research, many girls were making their sexual debut before the age of 14 years and neither girls nor boys thought they were at risk for contracting AIDS as they thought only street children and adults were vulnerable. She reported that the pupils interviewed for her dissertation research reported that adults did not offer them guidance or preventative skills in sexual matters.

In sum, all of these researchers have found that culture plays a key role in the perpetuation of gender discrimination – in the family, in the school, and in society in general. Cultures that have more traditionally held patriarchal values are more likely to expect women and girls to allow males to play the dominant role in society, and if women or girls refuse, they can be sexually harassed. As well, many of these studies also captured the economic element to this abuse – that girls sometimes use sex acts to generate needed money in order to survive, and that often families do not discourage girls from such activity – in fact they may encourage them to use their bodies in whatever way may generate an income.

Research Specific to Tanzania

There have not been many studies of childhood sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of schoolgirls conducted in Tanzania. Yet, enough studies have been conducted to indicate that these are issues in Tanzania that justify further research.

Studies reporting prevalence and perpetrators. In this section, I present studies that either focused on prevalence of sexual exploitation or abuse, or focus on

how the sexual abuse took place (what type of perpetrator or how the victim was manipulated).

USAID conducted a qualitative study in Tanzania in 2008 to hear community members' perceptions of gender-based violence. Focus group respondents indicated that several in Tanzania thought that in certain circumstances, rape would be considered acceptable behavior of men and boys. Reasons that might justify rape included: uncontrollable hormones, girls or women accepting gifts from the men (therefore the women owed sex in return), men could not convince the women to willingly marry them or have sex with them due to lack of money, and use of alcohol (by women and men). As well, these focus groups found that sexual violence goes beyond violence perpetrated by acquaintances or strangers. USAID also reported that young women may end up coerced into sexual activity because of the offer of economic gains (i.e., money or gifts) and that this is usually not seen as rape.

Because of the dire poverty of many families in Tanzania, children often have to earn money to pay for their school fees and supplies. When the entire household suffers from poverty or economic pressure, girls are usually the first to be withdrawn from school, especially secondary aged girls (traditionally). As Lalor (2008) explained, this is when "sugar daddies" sometimes come in and begin to trade sex with adolescent girls for money that can be used for school fees, supplies, or household expenses. Evans (2002) also mentions that in school settings in Tanzania, as well as in other African countries, some male teachers are guilty of sexually harassing their female students, and "a girl's refusal to have sex can lead to public humiliation, unfairly low marks, exclusion from class or corporal

punishment," that the learning environment for girls is unfriendly, they sometimes are insulted, teased, discriminated against, and even beaten (Evans, 2002, p. 57). This discrimination and harassment is a direct violation of the rights of girls to gain an education (Evans, 2002).

In Tanzanian Schools. Mgalla, Schapink, and Boerma (1998) claimed that within much of Africa, sexual exploitation of young girls is not uncommon within educational establishments. They reported that despite the lack of data, schoolgirls are often coerced into sexual relationships or rape, and claimed that the "most obvious manifestation" of this takes place with older men – including teachers. At the time of their study, they reported that there had been no research on the sexual relationships between teachers and students, before theirs, but that the "sexual offenses which take place within African educational institutions are often not redressed, especially if teachers are involved" (p. 19) (though one would think that a teachers involvement with a student would be reason for authority involvement).

The Mgalla study gathered a large random sample of 1219 schoolgirls with a mean age of 15 in 62 different schools from three districts in Tanzania. The schools were also randomly selected from a list of 253 primary schools. The girls that participated in the study were asked to list common problems girls their age faced, and to whom they went to for help with such problems. They were also asked questions about their sexual experiences, i.e., if they had ever had sex, age of first sexual experience, condom usage, whether they had ever been pregnant, had an abortion, or had a baby, and were asked questions to generate an understanding of whether they had ever been sexually exploited. Mgalla et al. (1998) found that 52%

of the girls reported having had sex before, and the median age of first sexual intercourse was 15 years.

In each primary school that was included in the study, the head teacher and guardian were also interviewed. (Guardians were women teachers who were appointed by fellow teachers and/or the school board as the teachers who schoolgirls were to go to if they were experienced sexual abuse or violence or needed sexual health advice.) Nineteen percent of the guardians/teachers interviewed reported that they had either discovered or had been informed of sexual relationships taking place between schoolgirls and a male teacher, and thirty-seven percent thought that there were sexual relationships between girl students and male teachers at the schools. Overall, in schools where guardians existed 5% of girls had contacted the guardians to report a problem with a male teacher in the school. Similar to other studies that have been conducted in SSA, the researchers reported that male teachers' abuse would range from rape to misuse of their authority to coerce girls to have sex with them. This coercion ranged from using grades as bribes or even refusing to allow a girl to attend school if she resisted the teacher's request for sex. The researchers did not report much in the way of what type punishment was implemented towards teachers who had been caught exploiting schoolgirls, beyond them being transferred to another school.

In a study conducted by McCrann, Lalor, and Katabaro (2006) that took place with 487 students from a Tanzanian university, the researchers found that 27% of respondents (31% of females and 25% of males) reported one or more unwanted sexual experience before the age of 18. The purpose was to find out if the students

had experienced childhood sexual abuse (CSA). In this study, they used three criteria to determine if the experience qualified as CSA:

- the participant was under 18 at the time of the sexual experience,
- the participant did not want the sexual experience to take place,
- the perpetrator was 5 or more years older than the victim.

The most common experiences in the McCrann et al. (2006) study were unwanted fondling or kissing, but unwanted sexual intercourse for girls was reported by 11.2%. Of note, none of the respondents reported their perpetrators had been strangers; some specifically reported they had been teachers and neighbors. Eleven percent of males and nine percent of females reported participating in the sexual incident because they were bribed or enticed. One concerning discovery was that many of the incidents were not one-time events, but occurred over long periods of time; this can have more long-term behavioral outcomes for the victim (p. 1349). Again, most participants in this study mentioned poverty as one of the major causes of childhood sexual abuse—victims agree to participate in sex in exchange for money.

In a qualitative study conducted by Plummer et al. (2007), the researchers wanted to see if schools are a good setting for adolescent sexual health promotion in rural communities. The study, conducted from 1999-2002, was based on participant observation and informal interviews conducted with those the researchers developed relationships with in nine villages. The focus was views and experiences of current pupils, recent school dropouts, and parents and teachers in rural Tanzanian primary schools around the Mwanza area. The researchers found three

major problems with teacher/student relationships: corporal punishment, handling of pupil pregnancies, and sexual abuse of pupils by teachers. Most interviewees estimated that 1-3 girls per school became pregnant and dropped out of primary school each year. Interestingly, "by contrast, the official figures for the Mwanza Region in 2003 were that an average of only one girl in seven schools dropped out due to pregnancy" (Plummer et al, 2007, p. 493). Participants also reported that usually if a schoolgirl got pregnant, the girl's family would directly negotiate with the man or boy or his family to compensate the family of the girl by paying the bride price (i.e., often this meant forcing the girl to marry her abuser). Sometimes, the teachers would get involved, and the boy or his family would be forced to pay the girl's family and the teachers; in exchange for funds the schoolteacher would attribute her dropping out of school to a reason other than pregnancy and would not report the pregnancy to the authorities.

Some school districts required a mandatory pregnancy exam that some students reported as being embarrassing to them, "as it was done by hand, they were told to remove all of their clothes, and the person doing the exam was a man" (Plummer et al, 2007, p. 494). In this study, reports of sexual abuse of female students by male teachers, specifically, seemed common. As the authors explained,

> Usually, this involved stories about one or two male teachers per village who in recent years had impregnated schoolgirls…, been caught having sex with pupils…, and/or had pressurized girls to have sex…" (Plummer et al, 2007, p. 494).

Participants reported that usually the punishment for teachers consisted of: being dismissed, transferred, suspended, fined a small amount, marrying their pupil, or being discovered and voluntarily leaving the village. As well, the researchers reported that adults sometimes did seem to know about abuse, often which was on-going, but they usually did not try to prevent it either because of a lack of evidence, did not think it impacted their family, or "felt little recourse" (Plummer et al, 2007, p. 495). As an example, there was only one reported case a of teacher/pupil sexual relationship that actually went to court. In the sexual abuse cases by teachers that the participants discussed, nearly all consisted of the teacher bribing authorities out of punishment. This may have been because in many cases, villagers highly regarded teachers or saw them as powerful figures. This view of the teachers could have resulted in the villagers' unwillingness to prosecute teachers for sexually exploiting schoolgirls.

Vavrus (2003) discussed the great risk that girls face when choosing to be sexually active at a young age in Tanzania. She stated,

> in Tanzania, as in many countries, the HIV infection rate is increasing most rapidly among youths under the age of 25. Currently, 60% of new HIV infections in Tanzania occur among young women and men between the ages of 15 and 24, and girls from 15 to 19 years of age are six times as likely to be infected as their male counterparts. (Vavrus, 2003, p. 236, citing UNICEF 2000b)

In reviewing the literature, Vavrus mentions (as have others that I have already mentioned) that paying school fees is an issue for females students, and in that some

studies have found that parents' acknowledge that when girls receive school fees by men other than her father these 'sponsors' usually also either become sexual or marital partners (p. 237).

In Tanzanian Society. In looking specifically at rape, Muganyizi, Kilewo, and Moshiro (2004) reported that though rape is usually "recognized as a universal problem regardless of development status, at present there is still scanty literature on rape from less developed countries" (p. 138). Of the 1004 women from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania who were interviewed in their study, nearly 20% had been raped before. Of the most recent rapes, 92.4% were perpetrated by someone known by the victim. Even more concerning, 33.8% of events were disclosed to non-legal people (family member, friends, etc.), while only 10.1% were disclosed to the police or other legal authorities. Of participants, 142 women reported a rape occurring within the past 2 years; ages of these women ranged from 12 to 50 years, median age 18, and 50.5% of those raped reported a repeated rape. The most common reasons for not reporting to a legal agency were: they wanted to avoid publicity/shame (49.3%), they feared the response of their guardian/parents (26.3%), and settled outside the legal system (16.9%).

In another study, Njau, Mtweve, Manongi, and Jalipa (2009) randomly selected 953 primary school pupils aged 10-14 from a rural area in northern Tanzania to participate in an interview about their intentions to remain a virgin until marriage. Approximately 54% of the interviewees were girls. Of the 522 female respondents, 71.5% had no intention to remain a virgin until marriage. This study is important because the findings contradict many tribal traditional norms,

where virginity is highly regarded in girls and pregnancy outside of marriage is shamed (and abortion is not a legal option). The authors also reported that "girls who said they had the confidence to refuse sex with a person with authority or power more likely to have the intention to remain a virgin" (p. 163). The authors claimed that their findings justify life skills education programs that address "the vulnerability of primary school pupils, particularly girls, to be coerced into sexual relationships after receiving money or gifts" (p. 164).

Williams, McCloskey, and Larsen (2008) claimed that there is a need for more research on sexual violence in Tanzania. These researchers analyzed data collected from a face-to-face survey with 1,835 women in Moshi, Tanzania to learn if their first experience with sexual intercourse was violent. They found that 10.9% of the women in their study reported that their first experience of sexual intercourse was forced; as well, an overall 26.6% of women in the study reported that their first experience of sexual intercourse was either unwanted or forced. The researchers also claimed that

> …those who report that it was forced are more likely to report tolerance for violence later in life and experience of physical violence in the previous 12 months, to have attempted suicide, and to have problems with alcohol use. (Williams et al., 2008, p. 340).

The World Health Organization (WHO, 2005) also has reported information on sexual violence after conducting a multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence. They found that 19% of respondents in Dar es Salaam (a large urban city, N=1820) and 16% of respondents in Mbeya (a more rural area, N=1450)

reported that since the age of 15 years, someone other than a partner had been *physically* violent towards them. The main perpetrators reported by participants were teachers, who were cited by more than half of all the women who reported physical abuse. Of those who experienced *sexual* violence were 1 in 10 participants; boyfriends and strangers were the most frequently mentioned perpetrators.

The WHO researchers also interviewed participants about abuse before the age of 15. They found that about 10% of respondents reported an experience of sexual abuse before the age of 15. In both Dar es Salaam and Mbeya, approximately 15% of women reported that their first sexual experience was forced. In fact, researchers found that the younger a woman was when they first experienced sex, the more likely that sexual experience was forced; about 40% of participants that reported a forced first sex experience were under the age of 15 at the time of their first sexual experience (WHO, 2005).

Even more alarming, the WHO researchers also found that 29% of women who had experienced physical violence in Dar es Salaam and 30% in Mbeya had not told anyone about the violence—the study interview was their first disclosure. As well, almost 60% of all the women who reported an experience of physical partner violence had not sought help from formal services or a person in an authority position. Strikingly, of the 56% of women in Dar es Salaam and 48% in Mbeya who did not seek help, they did not because "they thought the violence was 'normal' or not serious enough to require help" (WHO, Factsheet, 2005). Finally, of the women who did seek outside help for violence, the most common reasons for seeking the help reported by participants was: 1) not being able to endure the violence any

longer (59%), or 2) being badly injured (25%). As this study makes clear, there are multiple levels of cultural changes that need to take place so that women can be protected from violence and be empowered to confront violent perpetrators and hold them accountable.

Mwanga et al. (2011) carried out a qualitative study in three different northern Tanzanian districts, one of which included Ukerewe. Their goal was to discover the contexts and sexual behavior (including attitudes, perceptions, and practices) of people vulnerable to HIV in order to inform AIDS prevention and intervention research. The researchers conducted semi-structured interviews (n=96) and focus groups (n=48) with participants aged 18-60 who reported being sexually active. One form of transactional sex, called *chomolea*, is reported to be a quick, cheap exchange of sex for material goods or a very small amount of money (around the time of the study, about $2.00USD). The researchers found this form of sex to be rather common in Ukerewe, especially around the fishing areas, and that using protection such as condoms was rare. Participation in this form of sex often resulted in acquiring HIV. The researchers also reported that other contexts in which HIV infection was commonly contacted was at overnight social functions involving an excessive consumption of alcohol. These included attending discos and wedding ceremonies. At these social functions participants often drank too much alcohol, often resulting in unsafe sex. Participants also reported that youth – not just adults – often attend overnight discos, drink too much alcohol, and commonly fall victim to unplanned and unsafe sex or even rape (with adults or other youth). These practices (transactional sex and attending discos or other overnight social events

together with an excessive use of alcohol) raise the participants' vulnerabilities to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections and diseases. What's more, the researchers also found that a lack of knowledge on how to use condoms and the limited availability of them are other factors that influence the spread of sexual diseases. The researchers concluded that in terms of HIV/AIDS and other STI interventions, more strategies need to be implemented that reach adolescence, that teach other forms of economic empowerment, that teach gender-sensitive health, that reach orphans, and that address harmful cultural behavior and practices and provide health education and promotion at all levels of the community.

Tanzanian Culture. Culturally in Tanzania, women still are not seen as equals to men, despite the fact that they are legally equal. Ishengoma (2004) discussed the socio-economic disparities experienced by the female gender in Tanzania. Though women serve as the family's producers and manage the household, they are often not allowed to make decisions or determine how family resources are allocated. The colonial era was structured so that it strengthened the already existing patriarchal system at a local level as well as in the family. Women were not allowed to own property, despite being the main farmers. "Consequently, male dominance and control of resources limits women's decision making, efficacy and productivity at household and societal levels" (Ishengoma, 2004, p. 55).

For example, in Tanzania, though women are now legally allowed to own land, culturally they often are still prohibited from doing so. Their not owning land inhibits their ability to gain any sort of credit from banks as well. They also have less

access to markets because of inferior education and institutional barriers to training. The study found that women in the Morogoro region experience:

- Lack of access to capital, limiting their ability to contribute to household food security;
- Lack of access to land;
- Lack of decision making power.

This may seem like a random thing to include in this review. However, it is actually important and relevant to the issue of sexual abuse and exploitation because disparity between females and males leaves women and girls in a very vulnerable state, and makes them easy targets for men who are looking to trade money or goods for sex.

In another study conducted in Moshi, Tanzania, researchers McCloskey, Williams, and Larsen (2005) investigated power disparities and gender inequalities in marriage. They selected 150 clusters within the 15 wards in the Moshi Urban District for interviewing, and 18 households were randomly selected within each cluster. They found that 21% of the women surveyed reported having been physically or sexually attacked or threatened with violence in the past 12 months; lifetime prevalence of physical and sexual violence was an overall 26%. Findings from this study indicated that women who had a lower education (primary school or less) were more likely to be abused than those with higher educational obtainment; polygamous relationships were associated with higher levels of violence than monogamous; women who had five or more children were at the highest risk of experiencing partner violence.

Annan-Yao (2004) suggested several strategies to improve gender inequalities in Africa. A few of these strategies included:

- Eradicating mental and social attitudes that are prejudicial towards the rights of women and girls through legislation, as well as at the community level by way of advocacy, communication, education, and information.
- The promotion of policies that keep girls in school, improve the quality of education and school environments, and train teachers to be gender-friendly – treating both girls and boys equally – in countries where girls' enrollment rates in school lags behind boys.
- Teaching of both girls and boys about the dangers of premature sex. This will help girls recognize the significance of a decision to engage in early sex – that this decision is more than just a casual exchange for money or to meet economic needs.
- The creation of laws that allow pregnant teenage girls to return to school after they have their baby.
- Females "who have experienced FGM [female genital mutilation], early marriage and other gender-based traumatic experiences should be organized to talk about their physical trauma to their peers and discuss their psychological trauma in public in order to discourage practitioners and girls from consenting to such harmful practices that exacerbate gender inequalities" (p. 16).

To summarize, in Tanzania, as in the other sub-Saharan African countries where

research has been conducted, researchers have found the issue of teachers taking advantage of their female students is something that is a concern and in need of further investigation. As well, researchers have found that women and girls often view sexual violence as normal and do not feel empowered to bring the violence to justice – including rape – due to their not holding the same societal status as males.

Brief Comparison of Tanzania to the United States and other Countries

Sexual Abuse in Schools. The United States Department of Education commissioned a study, *Educator Sexual Misconduct: A Synthesis of Existing Literature*, published in 2004 (Shakeshaft, 2004). Shakeshaft reviewed seven existing studies that used six major data sets that had examined prevalence of educator sexual abuse or misconduct. The largest study that Shakeshaft reviewed used data collected in Fall 2000 for the American Association of University Women (AAUW). The sample was a stratified, two-state design of 2,065 of 8th – 11th grade students drawn from a list of 80,000. The researchers reported that of the students sampled, 9.6% reported sexual misconduct by educators (contact or noncontact) that was unwanted. Of students that had any type of sexual misconduct experience in the school, 21% reported it was from educators, while 79% reported the misconduct was from other students. Of the seven studies reviewed, this study apparently had the most accurate data available, "because of its carefully drawn sample and survey methodology" (Shakesshaft, 2004, p. 20). Overall, however, the studies reviewed offered estimates that ranged from as low as 3.7 to as high as 50.3 percent of U.S. students that have been subjected to sexual "misconduct" by school employees.

This same study reviewed literature that discussed consequences of allegations of sexual misconduct by educators in the U.S. Like what was found by studies conduced in Tanzania, these studies, too, found that schools and districts in the U.S. often fail to take abusers out of the classroom. For example, one study reviewed that had been conducted by Shakeshaft and Cohan (1994) reported that of 225 cases in New York of educator sexual abuse, despite the fact that all of those blamed for sexual abuse of a student had actually admitted to the abuse, but none of the were reported to authorities and only 1% lost their teaching license. As well, only:

- 35% received a negative consequence for their actions;
- 15% were terminated or not rehired (if not tenured);
- 20% were formally reprimanded or suspended;
- 25% received no consequence or were reprimanded informally or "off-the record";
- Nearly 39% left the district (their choice), most with positive recommendations or intact retirement packages.

Even more alarming, 16% who had left were reportedly teaching in other schools, and it was not known what the other 84% were doing.

Sexual Abuse in General. Pereda, Guilera, Forns, and Gómez-Benito (2009) conducted a meta-analysis using 65 published articles covering 22 different countries on the prevalence of child sexual abuse in samples drawn from the community and students. Their findings revealed that world-wide (based on the 22 both developing and developed countries), 19.7% of women (7.9% of men) had

suffered some form of sexual abuse before the age of 18. However, when broken into regions, Africa had the highest prevalence rate, at 34.4% (the lowest rate was Europe at 9.2%). It is important to note, however, that South Africa made up the majority of African studies included in the analysis (Tanzania and Morocco were the other two African countries), and South Africa is known for having a high rate of sexual abuse (see Jewkes et al., 2005). In comparison, 19 studies from the United States were included in this meta-analysis (with a total sample size of *N*=19,380). Based on the studies included, the researchers found the prevalence rate in the U.S. to be 25.3% - which is not much better than Tanzania's rate. (The researchers reported Tanzania's rate to be 31.0%, however this was only based on one study with an *N* of 204. Nevertheless, this rate is comparable to findings of other studies, as reported earlier.)

Prevalence rates of childhood sexual abuse range from 12% to 35% of women reporting unwanted sexual contact or experience before the age of 18. Apparently, rates of CSA in other countries are comparable with U.S. rates, according to a study Putnam cited that was conducted by Finkelhor in 1994 based on studies in 19 countries. He found a prevalence rate ranging from 7% to 36% for females. Importantly, he also found that only about half of the victims across all studies had disclosed the abuse.

Potential Outcomes of Sexual Abuse of Girls in sub-Saharan Africa

The following studies discuss the long-term impacts of sexual abuse or early sexual activity of sub-Saharan African girls. Many of these studies present the overarching issue as this: that such abuse or manipulation places girls on a

completely different developmental trajectory, ultimately impacting their life course (Elder & Shanahan, 1998). As Elder & Shanahan (1998) explain, "any change in the life course of individuals has consequences for their developmental trajectory, and historical change may alter both [life course and developmental trajectory] by recasting established pathways" (p. 983). For example, in her research with girls in Tanzania, Vavrus (2003) had students complete a questionnaire and write an essay in Swahili, which was then translated into English by a Tanzanian Swahili instructor. Describing the major outcomes of early sexual activity, one of the participants confided,

> Among the major events that have happened to me during these four years is my beloved friend and fellow student got pregnant and so got married. She got pregnant while still a student and had to stop her studies. This is why a large percentage of Tanzanian women are uneducated or don't hold public offices—a factor that leads us to be mistreated … Boys don't have this problem because: (1) it is not easy for them to be discovered because girls are afraid to say who impregnated them; and (2) many men prefer running around with female students because they believe such girls are pure and safe from AIDS…" (p. 245).

Lalor (2008), too, discussed the seriousness of early sexual activity – especially that of unwanted sex. For example, in Tanzania, contraction of HIV/AIDS is a serious risk for sexually active or sexually abused children. As Lalor says,

> …in addition to direct infection, sexually abused children may be at increased risk of future HIV infection because of the association between child sexual

> abuse and other high-risk behaviours. A significant literature in the U.S. has demonstrated that children who experience sexual abuse may later in their adolescent and adult lives become involved in high-risk behaviour such as early onset sexual behaviour, drug use, prostitution, multiple sexual partners and exposure to repeat victimization (Lalor, 2008, p. 102-103).

Williams et al. (2008) refers to the many impacts sexual abuse can have at multiple levels of a person's life. They report,

> Sexual violence at first intercourse is associated with several life-course variables,
>
> including more sexual partners, having a partner who makes low contributions to the household or who has alcohol problems, and increased risk of physical violence. (Williams et al., 2008, p. 343).

In their study on gender inequality and intimate partner violence in Moshi, Tanzania, McCloskey, Williams, and Larsen (2005) found in their review of the literature, that having less than an eighth-grade education, having many children, and having experienced sexual abuse in childhood were characteristics of women associated with intimate partner violence. As studies seem to indicate, abuse as a child can set women on a life-course trajectory of abuse throughout their lifetime.

As the literature indicates, gender discrimination and violence is still prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa and is embedded within cultural norms. In order to change that, work must be done at the grassroots level—in partnership with community leaders—to change discriminatory attitudes and practice towards women and girls. As also is clear in the literature, more research needs to be

conducted on this issue in order to develop interventions and policies that will prevent discrimination and abuse of girls.

More General Research on Outcomes of Childhood Sexual Abuse

In this section, I present what the research has found as other potential outcomes of childhood sexual abuse. These outcomes vary depending on the person, the type of support system she had after the abuse, the type of abuse that took place, the relationship of the abuser to the abused, and the duration and frequency of abuse. Not all of these are outcomes for each girl who has experienced childhood sexual abuse. As Cicchetti and Rogosch (2009) make clear in their research on resilience in maltreated children, there are multiple factors that go into determining how a child will respond to maltreatment. These outcomes can be influenced by a child's biology, psychological factors, environmental factors, the timing, duration, and frequency of the abuse or maltreatment, etc. (I discuss much of this in greater depth in the section on resilience.)

In the last few years, some researchers have begun to examine more neurobiological, immunological, and neuroendocrinological dysfunction that are a result of maltreatment (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2009). Suffice it to say that my own research will not add to this body of literature, and that in this literature review, I will not delve into that research as it is beyond my scope of work. However, I think it is important to note that researchers have found that chronic stress and maltreatment do impact an individual in each of these areas, often causing severe impacts on brain functioning and development, though this sort of maltreatment does not impact all individuals in the same way (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2009).

It is important for me to also emphasize that my own research will not capture outcomes of abuse (in terms of development). However, an understanding of developmental outcomes as a result of childhood sexual abuse is crucial in being able to clearly articulate and advocate for the development of interventions on behalf of those who are being abused and the creation of policies and programs that will prevent abuse from taking place in the first place.

Sex abuse leads to aversive outcomes. Senn, Carey, Vanable, Coury-Doniger, and Urban (2007) studied associations between sexual abuse characteristics in childhood and adolescence and later sexual risk behavior. Participants were attending an STD clinic in upstate New York, and were considered sexually abused if they reported experiencing a sexual incidence:

- before age the age of 13 and the perpetrator was 5 or more years older, or
- between the ages of 13 and 16 with the perpetrator being 10 or more years older, or
- before the age of 17 and the sex was forced or coerced.

The researchers found that those who experienced sexual abuse involving penetration and/or force were more likely to report sexual risk behavior as adults (number of lifetime partners, number of previous diagnosis of STD, etc.) than those who were not sexually abused and than those who were abused but did not experience force or penetration. Of participants who were women, those who experienced abuse with penetration (force or not) were more likely to report episodes of sex trading.

These findings are worth considering in application to an environment or cultural context like that of Tanzania, where the consequences can be more detrimental than in countries like the United States. As already mentioned, in Tanzania, for instance, girls are at greater risk for contracting HIV/AIDS simply due to the higher HIV/AIDS prevalence rate. Additionally, early pregnancy usually means an end to education, often means forced marriage to the baby's father, and almost always means family and community shame and sometimes shunning or disowning.

Putnam (2003) reviewed ten years of research on childhood sexual abuse. He noted that child sexual abuse covers a wide range of sexual activities, including: "intercourse, attempted intercourse, oral-genital contact, fondling of genitals directly or through clothing, exhibitionism or exposing children to adult sexual activity or pornography, and the use of the child for prostitution or pornography" (p. 269). Because the diversity of experiences that qualify as CSA, outcomes for those who experience the abuse also vary. As well, the child's age, relationship to the perpetrator, duration and frequency of abuse all have an impact on the outcome. Because of all of these factors, it is impossible to generalize outcomes to all who experience childhood sexual abuse.

Putnam's (2003) review found that CSA has been linked with a range of adult psychiatric conditions, problematic behaviors, and neurobiological alterations. Outcomes have included:

- Depression (typically 3-5 times more common than in women who did not experience CSA);

- Sexualized behaviors – one study Putnam reviewed found that CSA is "associated with a significantly increased arrest rate for sex crimes and prostitution irrespective of gender" (p. 272);
- Increased risk for earlier pregnancy;
- Increased neurobiological alterations in adults who experience CSA – possibly because of brain maturation that did not take place because of developmentally sensitive periods that where inhibited from taking place correctly because of the CSA;
- CSA also possibly negatively impacts the immune system.

Putnam also raises the issue that these outcomes interact with a child's social world to influence (and possibly alter considerably) her life trajectory.

Noll, Trickett, and Putnam (2003), stressed, "the effects of childhood sexual abuse are thought to be largely deleterious and possibly pervasive throughout development." After reviewing the literature, Noll et al. (2003) reported that effects of childhood sexual abuse can include:

- sexual risk-taking behaviors, early coitus, sexual avoidance or sexual dysfunction, and compulsive sexual behaviors;
- later distortions in sexuality (potentially heightened sexual activity, sexually permissive attitudes, etc.);
- prostitution;
- teenage pregnancy.

Heightened sexuality or preoccupation with sex can include:

> …excessive masturbation, sexual obsession, increased sex play, and early coitus as well as evidence for sexual aversion and avoidance such as negative feelings about sex, sexual dysfunction, greater anxiety regarding sex, more sexual guilt, and an avoidance of sexual thoughts and feelings. (p. 576)

Participants in the Noll et al. (2003) longitudinal study were females being assessed for the long-term impact of child sexual abuse on female development. Females who experienced childhood sexual abuse were referred by Washington, D. C. protective service agencies to participate in the study. Eligibility criteria included:

- female victim, ranging from 6 – 16 years of age;
- the victim had disclosed abuse which had been substantiated within 6 months prior to participation;
- the sexual abuse involved either penetration, genital contact, or both;
- the abuser was a family member (i.e., parent, stepparent, sibling, uncle, or even live-in boyfriend of girl's mother)
- the non-abusive parent/guardian had to be willing to participate.

Noll et al. (2003) found that participants who experienced childhood sexual abuse began having voluntary intercourse at a significantly younger age. Girls who experienced abuse also reported less "birth control efficacy" (p. 582), were of younger age than the comparison group when conceiving their first child, and were more likely than the comparison group to be teen mothers. The researchers concluded that childhood sexual abuse may increase the risk for both early and risky sexual activity, as well as teenage pregnancy. Those who experienced

childhood sexual abuse were also more likely to be preoccupied with sex than those in the comparison group.

Interestingly, the researchers concluded, "sexual ambivalence results when sexual preoccupation and sexual aversion occur simultaneously" (p. 583). Those individuals who reported sexual ambivalence may "maintain a seemingly contradictory compulsion to recreate the sexual arousal associated with sexual exploitation," despite the shame and betrayal they may feel (p. 583). Another important conclusion was,

> A victim not physically forced into adult-child sexual relations may be more likely to consider herself a willing participant in the abuse and engage in self-blame to a greater degree than someone for whom culpability lies indisputably with the perpetrator. This guilt and self-blame may result in considerable confusion about issues surrounding sexual arousal, thus contributing to the development of sexual ambivalence. (Noll et al., 2003, p. 583).

Finally, the researchers concluded that the experience of sexual abuse as a child might put women and girls at risk for "sexual distortion" during adolescence or in adulthood. As they note, "sexual distortion can take many forms, and each form can be independently predicted by distinct psychological functioning variables earlier in development" (p. 584).

In another study by Noll, Horowitz, Bonanno, Trickett, and Putnam (2003b), the researchers wanted to discover if there was a relationship between childhood sexual abuse and future physical victimization, sexual revictimization, deliberate

self-harm, and lifetime histories of considerable traumas. They used a prospective, longitudinal design to conduct this research. Additionally, they sought to more fully understand the outcomes of successive victimization by exploring symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), dissociative incidents, and sexualized attitudes as potential revictimization mediators. Ultimately, the researchers wanted to see if dissociation, PTSD, and sexualized behavior were different for girls who experienced childhood sexual abuse compared with those who did not. For the purpose of this research, victimization was defined as "harm perpetrated by an outside source that serves as a reenactment of the initial abuse" (p. 1453-1454). Self-harm, was defined as "a direct reenactment inflicted by the survivor herself and represents a certain internalization of the trauma" (p. 1454). The researchers did not include self-harm as part of revictimization, but did examine it as part of this research.

Noll et al. (2003b) defined dissociation as "a psychophysiological process whereby information—either incoming, outgoing, or stored—is actively deflected from integration with its usual or expected associations" (p. 1455). They cited previous research, which had found higher rates of dissociation among those who had been victims of sexual abuse and had been found to be a factor leading to revictimization. Participants (n=70) were female victims aged 6 to 16 referred by Washington, D.C. protective service agencies that had disclosed abuse within 6 months prior to participating, likely the same participants as the previous study. Perpetrators were either family members or a mother's live-in-boyfriend. The non-

abusing parent was also required to participate in the study. A group of comparison girls was also recruited (n = 70). The researchers found:

- Sexually abused participants were twice as likely to have been raped or sexually assaulted than non-abused participants;
- Abused participants were almost four times more likely to have inflicted a form of self-harm than non-abused;
- Abused participants reported physical revictimization at significantly higher rates;
- Abused participants also reported more "significant subsequent lifetime traumas" (p. 1465) than non-abused participants.

They concluded that

- Though dissociation was used by many as a method of coping, it often put participants at increased risk for physical harm;
- "Sexual preoccupation was positively correlated with being raped or sexually assaulted" (p. 1466)
- Victims of sexual abuse may see themselves as "damaged goods" (p. 1466) and therefore may be more vulnerable to revictimization because they "lack the self-efficacy and personal control to ward off unwanted sexual advances" (p. 1466).
- Beyond any other forms of child maltreatment, the strongest predictor of self-harm was being sexually abused.

These findings speak to the need of curbing childhood sexual abuse not only because children should not be abused in the first place, but if abused as children,

they are far more likely to be abused as adults. As well, they have an increased likeliness of either becoming passive or apathetic and allowing (or at least not preventing) abuse to take place in their adult lives as well. They also have a greater likelihood of not caring for themselves as they should, because they do not recognize themselves as being valuable.

Paolucci, Genuis, and Violato (2001) conducted a meta-analysis of research on the effects of child sexual abuse, published in thirty-seven peer-reviewed journals between 1981 and 1995. They wanted to see if they could find consensus in the existing literature on the impact CSA has on development. After totaling participants from the articles reviewed, the researchers ended up with 25,367 participants. Across all studies reviewed, a total of 9,230 (or 36%) reported experiences of childhood sexual abuse. Paolucci et al. (2001) found an inconsistency in prevalence of CSA from study to study and attributed this to: differences in definition of CSA, differences in measurement, in samples, and in methods of reporting. The researchers claimed that the "inconsistencies in reports of both the short- and long-term sequelae of CSA have created confusion about the impact and severity of CSA on human development" (p. 17-18). The studied outcomes of CSA in this review included: posttraumatic stress disorder, suicide, depression, sexual promiscuity, victim-perpetrator cycle, and poor academic achievement.

The definition Paolucci et al. (2001) used to define CSA was: "any unwanted sexual contact (ranging from genital touching and fondling to penetration) during the period in which the victim is considered a child by legal definition and the perpetrator is in a position of relative power vis-à-vis the victim" (p. 21). The

victim-perpetrator cycle was defined as “acts of sexual victimization directed against others following a single or repeated instances of having been sexually victimized” (p. 22).

Paolucci et al. (2001) found in their review that many empirical studies have found many symptoms of maladjustment and maladaptation are associated with sexual abuse during childhood or adolescence. The developmental impact can include:

- Depression, anxiety, and other internalizing disorders (most frequently);
- Dissociation;
- Conduct disorders and/or aggressiveness; and,
- Inappropriate or early sexual behavior and activity.

More specifically, some of the difficulties CSA victims may struggle with include:

> …sexual maladjustment, interpersonal problems, educational difficulties, acute
>
> anxiety neuroses, self-destructive acts, somatic symptoms, loss of self-esteem, prostitution and delinquent criminal behavior, depression, and actual or attempted suicide. (p. 19).

Among effects reported most frequently are PTSD symptoms and sexualized behaviors. Major findings for participants in this meta-analysis who experienced CSA included:

- 21% increase over the baseline in depression;
- 21% increase in suicide outcome;
- 20% increase in PTSD;

- 14% increase in sexual promiscuity;
- 10% increase in academic performance difficulties; and
- 8% increase in victim-perpetrator cycle.

Of importance, the researchers found no statistical differences per type of CSA abuse experienced by the victim, the age of the victim at time of abuse, the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim, or the number of abuse incidents. The researchers thought that

> …it may be that the experience of CSA itself stands out as a negatively significant event, which does not discriminate across individuals but rather affects human development in a consistent manner. (p.31).

It also could be that the data used in this study possibly were "too crude and imprecise to allow for detection of differences" (p. 31). In any case, the researchers did conclude that regardless of the victim's age, gender, or socioeconomic status, child sexual abuse is linked to the development of PTSD and depression, sexual promiscuity, the "victim-perpetrator cycle" (p. 33), risks of suicide, and poor academic performance.

Other studies have found similar outcomes. McCloskey (1997) reported that studies have found sexual abuse victims sometimes display a variety of the following:

- A school or work performance decline
- Anxiety and/or fear
- Low self-worth or feelings of depression
- PTSD

- Increased aggression
- Suicidal ideation
- Substance abuse patterns as adults.

As well, McCloskey (1997) reported that early maturity places girls at greater risk "of sexual advances from boys and men outside the family. This biological risk factor, therefore, interacts with the exploitive sexual ecology to increase these adolescents' risk of subsequent assault" (p. 567). This could be a factor as to why some Tanzanian schoolgirls may be singled out by their teachers or by male classmates above others. As McCloskey also describes, early childbearing due to sexual abuse places girls at greater economic vulnerability that could lead them to remain in a sexually abusive relationship because they have no where else to go.

Another potential outcome to sexual abuse as a child could be that as adults, these girls may end up being more sexually promiscuous and even prostitutes (McCloskey, 1997). Other studies reviewed by McCloskey found a high proportion of prostitutes had reported childhood sexual victimization. However, often this was incestuous or long-term.

Despite all of this, McCloskey explains that many girls who are sexually abused display "psychological resiliency" (p. 569). However, she also pointed out that,

> There is some reluctance in the field to emphasize the evidence of psychological recovery from sexual abuse because of fears that such information was received as support for trivializing the experience, since

there is of course such a long social history of discounting the impact of rape. (p. 569).

Whether girls respond resiliently to sexual abuse or not, this should not minimize the need for sexual abuse to stop taking place altogether.

Trickett and Putnam (1993) also looked at the impact of child sexual abuse on females – specifically to see if sexual abuse directly impacted psychological or biological developmental processes. The theme of the finding of their research was: "…there may be directly traceable mechanistic relationships between the impact of sexual abuse on specific psychological and biological developmental processes for females and some of the adult outcomes of abuse…." (p. 81). They found specifically,

- Childhood sexual abuse may be linked to adult psychopathology (i.e., multiple personality disorder, borderline personality disorder, somatoform disorders, eating disorders, some types of chronic psychosis…); and
- Additionally, the backgrounds of female prison populations, prostitutes, and psychiatric outpatients – in particular, those being treated for anxiety, depression, as well as phobic disorders – are have been discovered to have very high rates of sexual abuse in their backgrounds.

They also reported, as others have found, that it is likely that the degree of trauma is impacted by:

- the severity of the abuse (type, age, duration, and frequency);
- the closeness of the child's relationship to the perpetrator;
- whether other types of abuse also take place (physical, emotional, etc.).

In general, they reported developmental impacts to be either psychological or cognitive. Specifically, they reported that in a child's psychological development, the most relevant areas thought to be impacted are feelings of self-worth, views about power and control, objective evidence of and beliefs about ones cognitive and social capabilities, feelings of depression/negative affect, aggressiveness, dissociation, and sexual acting out. They also report that trauma that comes with sexual abuse interrupts a number of the intrapsychic conditions that further cognitive development, resulting in a drop in achievement. As well, the child may have increased dissociation, which may cause problems in attention and memory.

Trickett and Putnam (1993) also discuss puberty as a time that proves to be especially challenging and stressful for sexually abused girls. They cite three reasons for why this is:

- It is possible that the sexual maturation that takes place during puberty, can induce the psychological trauma the sexual abuse caused, because the girl must cope with both her own and others' responses to her development of secondary sex characteristics and escalated sexual feelings. As well, as was the sexual abuse, the physical changes that take place during puberty are out of the child's control.
- Even under ordinary circumstances, parents can tend towards being extra concerned when their children (especially girls) begin sexual maturation. This concern is likely to be greater for the girl who was experienced sexual abuse by a family member.

- Sexual abuse may actually be related to early entry into puberty. For girls, this has been shown to be related with negative outcomes (for example, low self-esteem and low school achievement). However, it is unclear whether early entry into puberty may be a reason for the abuse (i.e., it may be why the girl was chosen, as she may be further developed than her peers) or if the abuse caused her body to mature early.

Again, as others have found, these researchers found that children who have experienced sexual abuse also:

- Are associated with increased levels of "inappropriate sexuality" (p. 85), which has been found to be associated with a increased occurrence of revictimization;
- Show poor performance in school;
- Possibly have increased rates of teenage prostitution and pregnancy;
- Are often reported to be found aggressive.

Also notable, the authors of this study explained that some researchers think that girls who physically develop early are at greater risk of being sexually abused, that it is early maturation that is not abuse causing early maturation but early maturation "causing" abuse.

A study in Africa has also found aversive outcomes*.* There have been a limited number of studies conducted in Africa on the specific outcomes of child sexual abuse. Recently, however, Brown, Riley, Butchart, Meddings, Kann, and Harvey (2009) conducted a large-scale study with data from five African countries – Namibia, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe – through use of the Global

School-based Student Health Survey. The data was collected in 2003 and 2004; participants (N=22,656) were students primarily aged 13-15 years of age (though some were older and some younger). The purpose of the study was to learn about childhood exposure to physical and sexual violence and associated outcomes. Lifetime exposure to sexual violence was reported by 9-33% of the respondents (depending on the country, but the overall mean was 23%). The researchers found:

- those who experienced physical and sexual violence (both) had more than twice the odds ratio of feeling lonely all or most of the time than those who did not experience either type of violence;
- persistent sleep problems due to worry were two times greater among children who experienced sexual violence than among those that did not experience it;
- children exposed to sexual violence were more than twice as likely to have had suicidal ideation than those not exposed;
- of all children, one in five boys and one in ten girls reported multiple sex partners, and more than one in five children said that they had a sexually transmitted infection;
- children exposed to either physical or sexual violence (or both) had significantly increased odds of reporting risky sexual behaviors or a history of STI.

These are important findings, as the researchers found that one in ten children were exposed to both physical and sexual violence, and that exposure to either or both types of violence resulted in multiple adverse childhood health behaviors. Many of

these behaviors have the potential of leading to negative health outcomes in adulthood as well. For example, in countries were HIV and STIs are more prevalent, lives characterized by promiscuity or risky sex are at an increased risk for contracting something of the sort – most likely leading to an earlier death.

In sum, each of these studies have found that sexual abuse or sexual violence lead to (or at least increase the risk for) adverse outcomes. Each of these studies have cited a host of internal and external problems, from depression and suicidal ideation to sexual risk taking behavior and sexual promiscuity, decreased achievement in school, and even an increased risk for revictimization. In short, though child sexual abuse does not necessarily destine one for continued problems in life, it does increase the possibility. I think it is also safe to assume that in countries where HIV/AIDS is rampant, the long-term impacts can be life-threatening.

Also important, most of the studies that look at long-term outcomes of childhood sexual abuse examine cases where the abuser was a parent or family member. I did not find any studies that looked at long-term impacts of sexual abuse of a schoolgirl by her teacher. There is an opportunity for further research to be conducted in this arena.

Additionally important to note, in Tanzania if a schoolgirl is discovered to be pregnant she is forced to quit school. While I have been unable to find the mandate to expel pregnant students in any Tanzanian laws, many have held the belief that a girl who gives birth and is then allowed to return to school will encourage other girls to also get pregnant (AllAfrica, 2010; AllAfrica, 2011). While the Bunge

(parliament) is currently discussing a law that would allow her to return after delivery, the law has not been passed yet.

While my own research (at least for the purpose of my dissertation) will not add to the body of literature on the long-term impacts or outcomes of sexual abuse, it does draw on this research in order to justify the need for policies and intervention to prevent this abuse from taking place.

The Ecological-Transactional Model

Making connections. The ecological-transactional model (Cicchetti & Toth, 2000; Cicchetti & Valentino, 2006) emphasizes the importance of developing support systems on multiple levels, as well as within the child. I used the ecological-transactional developmental model throughout this research, taking into consideration how girls negotiate risk situations and what risk vs. protective factors influence whether girls are able to be resilient in response to abuse or attempted abuse. The ecological-transactional model was first developed to explain the interaction between factors at each ecological level and the individual's own developmental organization process; the model was used to consider how these interactions and transactions shape development (Cicchetti & Toth, 2000; Cicchetti & Valentino, 2006). In particular, the model has been used to identify how a child develops as a result of an abusive situation.

Scholars recognize that no model can adequately explain child maltreatment (Cicchetti & Toth, 1995). Nevertheless, the ecological-transactional model provides one helpful perspective. The model builds on Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, which spells out different levels to a person's environment. This includes the

microsystem: the everyday environmental encounters such as within family or classroom; the mesosystem: the interrelationships among the child's various settings; the exosystem: the people or institutions that impact the children, but usually more indirectly; the macrosystem: the larger cultural and political context that influences how the child interprets people and events in each system; and the chronosystem: which incorporates the influence of time (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Jordan, 2004). As explained by Cicchetti and Toth (1995), "a consensus has emerged [among scholars] regarding the contributions made by a variety of *transacting factors* operating at various levels of the individual, familial, and social ecologies," meaning these levels are not completely separate, but overlap and influence each other (p. 544, italics mine).

Initially, the transactional model's main focus was on the "reciprocal interactions of the environment, the caregiver and the child," which interact to contribute to the child's developmental outcomes (Cicchetti & Valentino, 2006, p. 134). Cicchetti and Lynch (1993) expanded this into the ecological-transactional model, which "explains how processes at each level of ecology exert reciprocal influences on each other and shape the course of child development" (Cicchetti & Valentino, 2006, p. 134). As well, factors (resilient or risk factors) present at each ecological level can "influence processes in the surrounding environmental levels" (p. 134), leading to resilient or maladaptive outcomes.

Resilience and Influential Factors

Resilience. In a classic study on resilience by Masten and Reed, resilience is defined as a type of "phenomena characterized by patterns of positive adaptation in

the context of significant adversity or risk" (2002, p. 75). The four characteristics a person possesses that demonstrate resilience include: *self-confidence* (a sense of purpose), *self-esteem* (a sense of self-worth), *self-efficacy* (believing they can make a difference or cause change), and possessing multiple social problem-solving skills and approaches (Rutter, 1985 as cited in Evans, 2005). Luthar (2005) makes clear that resilience is not a trait in itself (though some may argue that it is genetic), but can be fostered or encouraged through a positive, supporting environment. As well, in studying resilience, it is not something that is measured directly; rather resilience is "inferred," based on the knowledge that a person is doing fairly well in spite of considerable adversity (Luthar, 2005).

Cicchetti and Rogosch (2009) make clear that in developing prevention and intervention strategies, it is important to understand how children develop and exercise competence despite experiencing maltreatment or a multitude of stressors. Multiple factors contribute to a child's ability to respond to a stressor or maltreatment in a resilient manner – with risks decreasing their likelihood of a positive response and protective factors increasing that likelihood.

Risks. Masten and Reed (2002) refer to a risk as the "elevated probability of an undesirable outcome" (p. 76). Risks are the negative consequences that come as a result of a negative situation. As Cicchetti & Toth (1995) explain,

> An increased presence of enduring vulnerability factors and transient challengers associated with different forms of violence at all ecological levels makes the successful resolution of state-salient developmental issues more

> problematic for children. The result is an increased likelihood of negative developmental outcomes and psychopathology. (p. 545).

By identifying risks, we can create supports that enhance protective factors, and thereby buffer the potential for future risks. Major risks for sub-Saharan African children include living as street children (Orme & Seipel, 2007), poverty, homelessness, and unemployment (Dass-Brailsford, 2005), psychological difficulties (Cluver & Gardner, 2007; Makame, Ani, & Grantham-McGregor, 2002), contracting HIV/AIDS or increased physical and psychosocial vulnerability (Daniel et al., 2007; Evans, 2005), negative cognitive, social, emotional, and psychopsysiological functioning as a result of community violence (Govender & Killian, 2001; Barbarin & Richter, 1999; Barbarin et al., 2001), depression, anxiety, and conduct problems (Ward et al., 2007), presence of a step-parent in the home, frequent violence in the home, and level of mother's employment (Madu & Peltzer, 2000). These risks are no small items, and all could lead to perpetuation of poverty or other cyclical problems, such as HIV/AIDS, an early pregnancy, or dropping out of school.

Protective Factors*.* Protective factors in the life of a child can increase her possibility for resilient outcomes. Protective factors, or "compensatory factors" as Cicchetti and Toth (2000) refer to them, include "parental physical and mental health, adequate financial resources, low levels of community violence, marital harmony, and a child's adaptive developmental functioning prior to the experience of maltreatment" (Cicchetti & Toth, 2000, p. 93). Important to note, these factors as described by Cicchetti and Toth are not based on findings from studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa; findings could be different there. The presence of protective

factors are strong indicators of resilient outcomes. As Cicchetti and Toth (1995) explain,

> …the presence of enduring protective factors and transient buffers at any level of the ecology may help to explain why some maltreated children display successful adaptation in the face of violence either within their communities or within families. (p. 545).

This speaks to the importance of developing and fostering interventions at multiple levels of an individual's life.

Protective factors can be within or outside the individual. Those within the individual are qualities such as temperament, self-esteem, locus of control, or cognitive strengths (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2009; Werner, 1993). They can also include possessing an easy-going temperament, social skills, charisma, high intelligence (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2009; Luthar, 2005).

Protective factors found outside an individual can include sources of support, a close bond with a parent or caregiver, structure and consistency, rules and routine within their family, educational opportunities, or a supportive relationship from a mentor or someone outside the family (Luthar, 2005; Werner, 1993). Outside protective factors such as supportive relationships can serve to promote internal protective factors, such as self-efficacy (Werner, 1993).

Whether the risk factors are HIV/AIDS, community violence, or living as street children, it is important to note the common protective factors present in the lives of children if we want to develop interventions that promote positive outcomes. Several studies have found the presence of social or school support

increased positive outcomes, whether through family support or support from other significant adults or from peers, (Barbarin et al., 2001; Barbarin & Richer, 1999; Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2009; Evans, 2005; Ward et al., 2007; Govender & Killian, 2001; Daniel et al., 2007; Makame et al., 2002; Dass-Brailsford, 2005; Culver & Gardner, 2007; Orme & Seipel, 2007). Studies have found significant protective factors to be attending school, having opportunities for learning, or other school activities such as after-school programs (Barbarin & Richter, 1999; Cluver & Gardner, 2007; Makame, Ani, & Grantham-McGregor, 2002; Ward, et al., 2007) and high academic motivation (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2009; Barbarin, et al., 2001). Implications from research on resilience are that efforts to support families and communities are key in strengthening children's resilient outcomes – children need to be able to develop supportive relationships with caring adults (Luthar, 2005).

Significant to my work with Ukerewe girls is that involvement in activities such as sports, playing, or drama has also been found to be a factor that supports resilient outcomes (Cluver & Gardner, 2007). Similarly, being both present and future focused rather than focusing on past hardships, focusing on their work, the presence of community resources, and personal creativity were all protective factors that supported resilient outcomes of Ghanaian street children (Orme & Seipel, 2007).

What I have already reviewed are required areas of understanding if we want to rightly inform the development of innovative policies, programs, and interventions to protect children in sub-Saharan Africa. I have presented the current situation of girls in Africa, the impacts of abuse (what potentially will happen to

many girls – approximately 30% if numbers are accurate – if serious intervention does not take place), how individuals are impacted by abuse, and what sorts of personal and environmental characteristics can buffer or shield a child from negative effects of abuse. What follows is description of one tool that can be used to discover strengths, identify risk and protective areas, and develop solutions at the various levels of a girl's life.

Theatre of the Oppressed

Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* is a theoretical tool that advocates the use of drama and theater techniques as tools that offer people "an alternative language to discuss, analyze, and resolve oppressions" (Low, Akande, & Hill, 2005, p. 220) based on Boal's claim – that theater can be a mode of life rehearsal (Boal, 1992). Boal's work was influenced by Paulo Freire (i.e., *Pedagogy of the Oppressed)*. As Freire (1970) explains, there are two distinct stages to the pedagogy of the oppressed, as "a humanist and liberation pedagogy". These include:

- Stage 1: where "the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis, commit themselves to its transformation;" and
- Stage 2: where "the reality of oppression has already been transformed" and the pedagogy no longer belongs to the oppressed but "becomes a pedagogy of all people in the process of *permanent liberation*" (p. 36, emphasis added)

Using various techniques (Image Theatre, Invisible Theatre, and Forum Theatre, etc.), Boal would persuade people to ponder and speculate as they discovered themselves, each other, and created community.

Castañeda (2006) explains Boal's method of theatre as *theatre with an agenda*, "not simply to know and represent the world in theatre but to change the world" (p. 77). The goal is to cause social change to concerns *identified by the community*, and not by an outsider (Castañeda, 2006). Boal's techniques invite participants to act out experiences, concerns, and cultural and community issues that may be more challenging to put into words. Boal himself describes *Theatre of the Oppressed* as a language that involves all areas of human activity, used to "create an opportunity for freedom which produces dialogue" (Boal, 1997, p. 5).

My goal in working with the Ukerewe girls was to get them actively dialoging about possible solutions to the things they perceived as challenges, and either act them out, journal about them, or describe them to their audience (myself, my collaborator/interpreter, and the other girls). According to Low et al., through such techniques, "…participants come to understand that if people want to make change, they must engage the problem and find solutions" (2005, p. 220).

The goal with the girls I have worked with was not that *we* (the outsiders) would find solutions for them, but that they would develop their own solutions – solutions that they saw as feasible and that could be empowering for them. Though the girls were assisted in thinking about and exploring possibilities, they ultimately were the ones who were in charge of the topics and the potential outcomes. Boal's ideas can be used to provide people with tools and opportunities to explore themselves in a safe place. As well, they can discover aspects of society that may keep them oppressed, and perhaps can develop a way to challenge or even change those aspects.

What follows is a review of the current charters, agreements, and policies that have been established to protect girls from such abuse.

Current Laws and Policies that Protect Tanzanian Girls

This section is excerpted from my article that covers culture, gender, and rape and reviews Tanzania's policies towards girls (in-process) but has been condensed.

As noted before, the Tanzanian government (as well, the African Union) has recognized the persistent discrimination against women and girls in their country and on the African continent. In an effort to elevate the status of women to equal that of men, both the Tanzanian government and the African Union (and its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity) have passed several charters, treaties, and agreements for that purpose. While many of these have a particular emphasis on establishing gender equality, others simply acknowledge that gender inequality is still a prevalent issue. In this section, I review several policies, procedures, and conventions, beginning broadly with Africa and ending with a more narrow focus on three Tanzanian policies – the country's Child Protection Policy, the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act, and the Law of the Child.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The UN's CEDAW was the first human rights instrument on a global scale that formally recognized "the influence of culture and tradition in restricting women's enjoyment of their fundamental rights" (Khutsoane, n.d., p. 3). The UN General Assembly adopted the CEDAW on December 18, 1979 and it went into force on September 3, 1982. The Convention was signed by Tanzania on July 17, 1980 and ratified on August 20, 1985. According to Khutsoane, the CEDAW

enlarged "the understanding of the concept of human rights by recognizing women's rights as human rights" but also addressed situations specific to that of women (p. 2). For example, the CEDAW:

- Condemns all forms of discrimination against women and agrees "to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women," (PART I, Article 2). It establishes a number of measures in which to carry this out.
- PART I, Article 2, Section (a) and (b) requires states parties to pass legislation to declare "the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions", including the adoption of appropriate sanctions; section (f) requires states parties "To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women."
- PART I, Article 3 requires states parties to ensure that women have the opportunity to advance and develop to the same level as men, in all aspects of society.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). A landmark document, the UN General Assembly adopted the CRC in November of 1989, and the Convention entered into force in September of 1990. The CRC was signed by Tanzania in June of 1990 and ratified a year later. In a nutshell, this Convention

- Acknowledges the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, where the UN "proclaimed childhood is entitled to special care and assistance" (CRC, p. 1);
- Recognizes the family as the "fundamental group of society", where children "should be afforded the necessary protection and assistance so that it can fully assume its responsibilities within the community" (p. 1);
- Establishes a child as a person below the age of 18, not to be subjected to discrimination for any reason, including his or her sex;
- Declares that parties to the CRC shall do everything within their power to ensure the child is "is protected against all forms of discrimination…" (p. 2).
- Mandates that parties take "all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and emotional measures to protect the child from all forms of physical and mental violence, injury or abuse…maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse…" (Article 19, p. 5).
- Requires parties establish programs to support the child if maltreatment does take place, as well as bring in judicial involvement "as appropriate" (p. 5).
- Requires parties "undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse", (Article 34) and protect the child from "all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare," (Article 36).

- Methods of implementation and prosecution of violators are left to be defined by each state party.

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. The Organization of African Unity passed the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (or the Banjul Charter) on June 27, 1981 and was ratified by Tanzania in February of 1984. The Preamble specifically states the intention of the Charter, which is

> …to achieve the total liberation of Africa, the peoples of which are still struggling for their dignity and genuine independence, and undertaking to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, Zionism and to dismantle aggressive foreign military bases and all forms of discrimination, particularly those based on race, ethnic group, color, sex, language, religion or political opinions. (African Charter, Preamble, 1981).

Article 2 of the Charter specifies that every individual, "without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, color, *sex*, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status," shall be entitled to the liberties recognized and guaranteed in the Charter (p. 2, emphasis mine).

The Charter only gets specific to women and children in Article 18, number 3, where it requires states to "ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women and also ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions." In Article 19, though more general, the Charter reads, "all peoples shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect and shall have the same rights. Nothing shall justify the dominion of a people by another." However, it does not provide for a method of overcoming

culture or tradition that may in fact perpetuate gender discrimination in the community. Though, according to Bond (2011), "the Charter lacks effective women's rights guaranties" (p. 451), perhaps it can be assumed that countries who ratified the Charter would be responsible for coming up with how they would enforce and guarantee these rights.

The Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa (The Protocol). Adopted by the Assembly of the African Union in July 2003, the Protocol was drafted by members of the African Union out of a concern that, despite the many human rights instruments that had been ratified by states all over the world, African women were still "victims of discrimination and harmful practices" (Protocol, p. 3). The authors wanted to eliminate any practice that hampered or prevented the "normal growth", including the physical and psychological development, of women and girls in Africa. The Protocol does the following:

- Calls states parties to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women by passing legislation, ensure the laws are implemented, integrate a "gender perspective in their policy decisions," take action (whether corrective or "positive") in areas where discrimination is still present, and to support initiatives enacted on multiple levels – "local, national, regional and continental" – that exist to abolish all forms of gender discrimination, (Article 2, p. 5);
- Requires states parties to change the social and cultural patterns that perpetuate the idea that either sex is superior to the other;

- Requires that states parties establish systems where women who suffer from abuse or sexual exploitation can seek, justice, therapeutic support, and training to equip them for self-sufficiency;
- Eliminates discrimination against women and girls in the education sector;
- Spells out protection for the girl-child from "all forms of abuse, including sexual harassment in schools and other educational institutions and provide for sanctions against the perpetrators of such practices" (Article 12, p. 13); and
- requires that human rights education be included at all levels of the school curriculum, teacher training included.

The Protocol "…offers new hope for promoting gender equality on the continent. In addition to strong substantive rights, the Protocol provides important procedural rights to ensure that women have a voice in the ongoing examination and reformulation of cultural practices and customary law." (Bond, 2011, p. 427 – 428). Tanzania signed the Protocol on in November of 2003 and ratified it in Marcy of 2007.

African Youth Charter (AYC). Adopted by the African Union July 2, 2006 the AYC went into effect August 8, 2009. Tanzania signed the AYC on November 13, 2008 but has not yet ratified it. The AYC recognizes the work of the African Union, acknowledges the UN and the numerous declarations the UN has passed on human rights, including the Millennium Development Goals, and recalls the multiple "historic injustices" Africans have suffered over the centuries. It affirms the value of

African youth, declares that youth is Africa's "greatest resource" (p. 2), and recognizes with concern, the poverty and hunger, inequalities, gender discrimination and violence, etc. that African youth endure. Article 2 of the AYC focuses exclusively on non-discrimination, establishing that every young person is entitled to rights and freedoms regardless of his or her sex, ethnic group, race, etc. It also requires parties to "take appropriate measures to ensure that youth are protected against all forms of discrimination on the basis of status, activities, expressed opinions or beliefs" (Article 2, Number 2).

Article 23 of the AYC is devoted entirely to girls and young women. It requires that states parties acknowledge the existing discrimination towards girls and young women and its need for elimination, as already established in multiple human rights conventions. In order to do so, it would have states parties:

- Pass legislation to eliminate such discrimination;
- Ensure young women and girls are afforded with the same rights and privileges as boys at all levels of society;
- Develop programs to educate girls and young women of their rights, including their right to equal access to education;
- Both enact and enforce laws that protect young women and girls "from all forms of violence, genital mutilation, incest, rape, sexual abuse, sexual exploitation, trafficking, prostitution and pornography";
- Develop action-oriented programs "that provide legal, physical and psychological support to girls and young women who have been

> subjected to violence and abuse such that they can fully re-integrate into social and economic life."

Though the AYC requires states parties to implement legislation to enforce these rights, it does not spell out specific methods of enforcement or accountability. Instead it leaves the responsibility of enforcement up to the African Union Commission. This is a significant weakness in the Charter.

Though Tanzania has not ratified this Convention, at the time of the Convention's development, the government of Tanzania had already passed two policies that fulfilled many requirements set out in the AYC – the Child Development Policy and the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act.

Tanzania's Child Development Policy (CDP). In 1996, the government of Tanzania passed a Child Development Policy (CDP). The policy is well-designed in that it discusses the broad needs children have due to their status as children, but also focuses on many of the more specific needs that children in Tanzania face. The CPP includes some of the cultural practices that need to be abolished to improve the state of Tanzanian children, while acknowledging the country's progress and identifying some of the existing gaps. As well, it recognizes the role of the family in ensuring the policy's implementation and specifies practical ways the CDP can be implemented at various levels of society.

The introduction of the CDP (chapter 1) acknowledges a weakness in laws already established in Tanzania because of inconsistency – i.e., multiple interpretations of what constitutes a child. For example, Tanzania's Marriage Act, passed in 1971, until the recent passage of the Law of the Child in 2009, allowed

girls to marry at the age of 15 (though boys were not allowed to marry until 18). The CDP establishes a child as any person under the age of 18, in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and Tanzania's National Constitution. It recognizes several actions the government has taken to improve the status of children such as: the creation of a special government ministry to be responsible for coordinating child development programs, establishing juvenile courts and preparing a National Program of Action around the issue of child survival and protection. Nevertheless, the CDP also acknowledges that the situation is still far from adequate, citing that 150,000 Tanzanian children below the age of five die each year, and that over 2 million suffer from malnutrition. It further acknowledges that some of the reasons why child rights have been violated are because the community is still not fully aware of the rights and do not have the procedures to raise awareness or mobilize. I would venture to say that this is still true today.

A strength of the CDP is that it explicitly states some of the challenges the country as a whole will need to overcome to raise the status of Tanzanian children. For example, point 13 admits that

> …many children are still not accorded proper protection. Acts of oppression, exploitation and brutality against children are on the increase as a result of shortcomings in the administration and enforcement of laws which protect children's rights as well as a decline in morality. (p. 7).

And points 15 and 16 present some of the barriers girls face on account of their gender, claiming that that the societal problems women face "is a result of the socialization of the girl child which is based on gender discrimination and

oppression. Society values boys more than girls…" (point 15, p. 8). Other problems girls face due to their gender, include:

> …gender discrimination in education, heavy workload compared to the boy child; female genital mutilation which endangers her health and even causes her to be infected by HIV/AIDS, early pregnancy and mistreatment such as rape, defilement, harassment, molestation and abuse. (point 16, p. 8).

Five rights, aligned with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, are laid out in the second chapter of the Tanzania CDP. These include: survival rights, development rights, protection rights, participation rights, and the right not to be discriminated against. In chapter four, which focuses on child development, the policy points out existing gender biases in culture and tradition (point 65) and emphasizes the importance of the family context in child development. Point 66 states,

> The moral development of the child is also affected by family conflicts, the use of abusive language by parents, marriage breakdown, adult involvement in harming children (defilement, harassment, abuse, rape, etc.) especially girl children,…(p. 25).

Chapter five of the CDP is focused on child protection. It begins by recognizing the long-term implications of child protection, which includes enabling "children to grow into good citizens who are responsible for their own and the national development" (p. 31). The first point in this chapter (point 86) addresses the issue of gender and acknowledges that there has been an increase in the

numbers of abused children. The CDP attributes this to the moral decline of the nation, specifically stating that children:

> …need protection against all forms of abuse, especially gender abuse, bad practices and cruelty, for example female genital mutilation, forced early marriage and also drug abuse. Because of the decline in morality and neglect of our traditions and customs, there has been a large increase in cases of rape and defilement of children in our society. (p. 31).

Chapter five also contains several measures to ensure that children are protected. These primarily deal with the education and mobilization of parents and guardians, communities, and institutions, encouraging them to make the implementation of child rights a priority. It includes the abolishment of outdated laws, and calls on families and communities to "take strong action against violators of children's rights", establish a follow-up system to combat violence and cruelty to children, and finally, "denounce, castigate and punish strongly all acts of rape, defilement and exploitation of children" (p. 32-33). One section even spells out the roles of parents, guardians, community, government, and institutions in guaranteeing that children are protected under the CDP. Two measures in particular (points 98 and 99) have to do with overcoming and changing cultural norms, abandoning rape and defilement of children, and bringing justice to cases where the law is disregarded and children are exploited. Point 98 specifies the importance of community involvement in issues of child protection in overcoming "norms and values which endanger the life of the children…" (p. 34). Point 99 specifies the need of the community to "rebuke and

denounce rape, defilement and exploitation of children. Law enforcing institutions should mete out harsh punishments for such acts" (p. 34).

The CDP concludes with a push to the entire country, specifying that its success "will largely depend on every individual, family, community, institution, department, ministry, religious denomination and other people' organizations" (Number 101, p. 36). This calls for families and communities to do away with certain aspects of culture, such as boys and men being privileged over girls and women within families and schools. As I will discuss in detail later, there is still a need for this push in Ukerewe, where women and girls largely are still undervalued. Families and communities need to be told about their rights and be made aware of the mechanisms that are available to enforce such rights. Some of those mechanisms were made more explicit by the passage of the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act.

Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA). The SOSPA, enacted by Tanzania's parliament in 1998, is significant as it amended several previous laws, such as the Criminal Procedure Act of 1985, the Evidence Act of 1967, and the Minimum Sentences Act of 1972. Its purpose was to "further safeguard the personal integrity, dignity, liberty and security of women and children" (SOSPA, 1998). The Act defines rape as sexual intercourse with or without consent when the female is under the age of eighteen unless she is the man's wife and even specifies that when a person "in a position of authority, takes advantage of his official position and commits rape on a girl or woman" is liable for punishment. Under the SOSPA, punishment for adults who rape may range from life in prison to as little as thirty

years in prison with corporal punishment and a fine, as well as compensation to the victim – this amended Section 131 of the Penal Code. Notable is that even persons who *attempt* to rape are accounted for in this policy change, and penalties are established if they are convicted.

Under the SOSPA, section 138 was also added to the Penal Code. This section includes the crime of sexually exploiting children through use of influence to take advantage of a child, by threatening or using violence towards a child, or providing monetary compensation or other benefits to a child or his parents in exchange for sexual favors. Under SOSPA, anyone who committed the crime of sexual exploitation of a child was liable for up to twenty years in prison and no less than five, however, these penalties were increased in 2009 under the Law of the Child and are now set at a minimum of fifteen years and maximum of thirty (without the option of fine). The definition for sexual exploitation of a child includes any sort of sexual activity, including intercourse or "indecent exhibition or show" (Section 138).

One notable inconsistency in the SOSPA is the punishment spelled out for rape and for sexual exploitation of children. Sexual exploitation of children is more broadly defined than rape in the policy and includes sexual intercourse with a child, but so does rape. Yet, the punishment for rape is stricter than for sexual exploitation. The implications for this inconsistency in particular are that it is up to a judge to choose to charge for rape. If the judge is a male, he may side with the male defendant on the account of his gender.

Law of the Child (LoC). The LoC was passed by Tanzania's parliament in 2009. One of its major strengths is that it reforms and consolidates many previous

laws pertaining to children to make them consistent. The law predominately focuses on establishing the rights of children (anyone under the age of 18), bringing Tanzania's laws into line with the international and regional conventions to which the country is a party, and providing further regulations for foster care, adoption, custody, and employment of children. The LoC establishes that a child has the right to live free from discrimination of any sort – gender, race, religion, language, etc. (Part II, 5.1-2).

Another strength of this law is that it obligates teachers to report any sort of abuse they may see perpetrated on a child to the appropriate social welfare officer (LoC, Sub Part II, 59A). As long as there is active implementation of this law, having teachers as mandatory reporting agents could potentially curb the numbers of schoolgirls experiencing sexual abuse from other teachers and students. The LoC also increases the penalties in the Penal Code for sexually exploiting a child from as little as five years in prison to fifteen years and raises the maximum time one can serve from twenty years to thirty, without the option of a fine (Sub Part IV, 178).

Critical Ethnography Perspective

According to Thomas (1993), critical ethnography is "a type of reflection that examines culture, knowledge, and action" (p. 2). A critical ethnography is, in many ways, like a conventional ethnography, using qualitative interpretation of data and traditional ethnographic rules of methods and analysis (Thomas, 1993). However, it is distinct from a conventional ethnography in that critical ethnography describes *what could be,* not what is, as conventional ethnography does. A critical

ethnographer is concerned with critique, which not only "assesses 'how things are'", but

> with an added premise that 'things could be better' if we examine the underlying sources of conditions…critique is iterative, moving back and forth between examining the assumptions and foundations of how things are, how they got that way, how things might be changed, and why we should care in the first place. (Thomas, 2003, p. 46).

The main difference is that while "conventional ethnographers study culture for the purpose of describing it; critical ethnographers do so to change it" (p. 4).

According to Thomas (2003), social critique, as used by critical ethnographers, was initially "borrowed from the Greeks by the Romans" and is derived from the Latin term "*criticus*, meaning to shift." It

> denotes an evaluative judgment of meaning and method in research, policy, and human activity. Critical thinking implies freedom by recognizing that social existence, including our knowledge of it, is not simply a 'given', imposed on us by powerful and mysterious forces. This recognition leads to the possibility of transcending the immediacy of existing social or ideational conditions. (Thomas, 2003, p. 47).

Critical ethnographers should not only reflect on their research, but continually "reassess" their own work

> with the same rigor that we access the foci of our analysis, always bearing in mind that things are never what they seem, and that social justice is not

> simply a goal, but a vocation to which all scholars ought strive with credible critique. (Thomas, 2003, p. 53).

Madison (2005) describes critical ethnography as beginning "with ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular *lived* domain" (p. 5). Specifically, those who use the critical ethnographic orientation are concerned about the inequalities of society and use their work to hopefully cause positive social change (Carspecken, 1996). According to Thomas,

> …at its simplest, critical ethnography is a way of applying a subversive world view to more conventional narratives of critical inquiry…it offers a more reflective style of thinking about the relationship between knowledge, society, and freedom from unnecessary social domination. (Thomas, 2003, p. 45).

As Madison describes, critical ethnographers hold a "compassion for the suffering of living beings" (p. 5). The critical ethnographer recognizes that her subjects are living within a context that is disempowering, recognizes that this could change, and obligated "to make a contribution toward changing those conditions toward greater freedom and equity" (p. 5).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to learn if and how gender discrimination and sexual abuse of girls by their teachers takes place, and to learn what risks and protective factors exist that may impact the girls' likelihood to give into or resist the abuse present at the various levels (i.e., microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, chronosystem) of girls' lives. Additionally, I wanted to find out how

protective factors and risk factors impact the girls' ability to be resilient. I also was seeking to learn the girls' perceptions of the justice system and if they feel like they can confide in anyone outside of themselves. Specifically, my overarching questions included:

1) In what ways (if any) do girls feel pressured or manipulated into sex acts with their teachers or fellow male students?
    i. What are some of the motivations or ways the girls perceive they benefit if they choose to have sexual relations with teachers or male students?
2) When girls experience gender discrimination or abuse in/around school settings, whom do they tell (if anyone)?
3) What are the women and girls' perceptions of how the justice system (local- and country-level) handles abuse claims?

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

> *Lalor (2008) noted that numerous studies in sub-Saharan Africa report high levels of coercion and violence reported in first or early sexual relations. "These studies are primarily quantitative, and are often based on very large sample sizes. There is a need for qualitative studies to complement these studies and further explore the extent of violence associated with early sexual relations and to decipher respondents' understanding of terms such as 'rape', 'force' and 'trickery'." (p. 105).*

To steer the design of this research, I took the advice of Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle, Roulston, and St. Pierre, (2007) who offer the following question as guidance, "how can we best listen to, work with, and represent the people our work is intended to serve?" (p. 30). In this chapter, I explain the design of the study, the sample selection, site of the research, ethical considerations, my data collection, analysis, and how I addressed trustworthiness. I will also clearly make known limitations of my study that relates to the methodology.

Type of Qualitative Design

This study was conducted from a critical ethnography orientation, as explained in the literature review section. According to Patton (2002), critical ethnography "combines the focus on culture with commitment to use findings for change" (p. 131); a critical ethnography uses tenets of critical theory and ethnography. Bentz and Shapiro (1998) explain that a critical theorist wants to

increase and expand her understanding of human and social affairs, and that understanding is "usually won in part through some kind of immersion in the particular realities of human existence, behavior and interaction, social structures and processes," which also is required of ethnographic research (p. 158). In my case, I did not conduct this research to simply study the women and girls of Ukerewe for research's sake, but with a commitment to make heard the voices of the less powerful, in this case, those of the Ukerewe women and girls. As Patton (2002) says, this type of study aims "to expose injustices to more activist forms of inquiry that actually engage in bringing about social change" (p. 549). A critical ethnographer, throughout her research process, considers how her work will make the greatest contribution to equity, freedom, and justice (Madison, 2005). This has been my goal in conducting this research.

Conducting an ethnographic study requires intensive time in the field; this worked well for me as I was in the field for nearly six months, had already spent several weeks in this community during previous summers, and maintained ongoing relationships with many of the women. According to Harrowing and Mill (2010), "a critical ethnographer endeavors to disrupt commonly held assumptions and reveal underlying operations of power and control" (p. 725). As I spent time with the women and girls of Ukerewe, I hoped that if I uncovered situations where those in power may be keeping women and girls disempowered, I would be able to help both the girls and the community become aware of the assumptions that both the community and the girls may unknowingly (or even knowingly) be holding. Assumptions could range from: a belief that the women and girls are not worthy of

justice, that they deserve abuse, that abuse is normal, etc. I also hoped that this would cause community-level change that would confirm the value, worth, and dignity of the women and girls. In my interactions with the women and girls with whom I worked and who participated in my study, I tried my upmost to confirm their dignity and worth in the way in which I interacted with them and validated their stories.

Site of the Research

The Ukerewe District is an island district that belongs to Tanzania, and it is located in Lake Victoria, sub-Saharan East Africa. The largest island within the district is also named Ukerewe. The island itself has only had electricity since 2005, and electricity for schools and many homes has still not yet been completely made available.

Tanzania as a whole is one of the poorest countries in the world. According to the CIA World Factbook, in terms of per capita income, Tanzania is in the bottom 10% of the world's economies (2010). USAID (2010) reports that 4 of every 10 Tanzanians live in poverty. More than a fourth of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is accounted for by agriculture and 80% of Tanzania's labor force is employed in agricultural practices (CIA, 2010). The World Bank reported that in 2009, the Gross National Income was $500, a number that has steadily been increasing ($350 in 2005, $410 in 2007). Thirty-six percent of the population lives below the poverty line (CIA World Factbook, 2010).

Forty-three percent of the population is between the ages of 0 and 14, 54.1% are ages 15-64 years, and 2.9% are 65 or older (CIA, 2010). The median age is 18.3.

Life expectancy at birth is 52.49 years. Tanzania has the 12th highest rate of AIDS in the world, at 6.2% of the population (according to 2007 data). In comparison, rates of AIDS among the U.S. population is 0.6%. According to USAID (2010), HIV/AIDS is the leading cause of death among Tanzanian adults; malaria is the leading cause of death among Tanzanian children. Mainland Tanzania is made up of 30% Christian, 35% Muslim, and 35% indigenous. However, I was told by an older Ukerewe woman that Ukerewe has a much greater population of Christians than Muslims, but I have no way of verifying that.

The Ukerewe district is composed of 38 islands (Nickols, Mullen, & Moshi, 2009); this study was conducted on the main island. Forty-one primary schools and 19 secondary schools exist in the Ukerewe district (Nickols et al., 2009). Women who grew up on the island or at least had lived on the island for most of their childhood and all of their adult life were asked to participate in the interviews. As well, only those girls who attend secondary school on the main island were participants in the girls' clubs.

As I have already said, I chose Ukerewe as the site for my research because I already had relationships with local Ukerewe women and girls from previous development work I conducted during the past three summers. My work initially began through the Gertrude-Mongella – University of Georgia Initiative. My previous work in Ukerewe primarily consisted of conducting day-camps/girls' clubs for adolescent aged girls in the main island. This required me to partner with women leaders in the Ukerewe community, working closely with them to create an atmosphere that allowed the girl participants to feel comfortable sharing many of

the challenges they face in their lives and work out practical solutions to those challenges through journal entries, games, and drama activities. As well, each time I worked in the Ukerewe community I visited with government officials to gain their blessing and to keep them informed on what I and my colleague/s were doing. Because I had a history in the area, I already had a level of trust established with many leaders in the community. This time as soon as I arrived in Ukerewe I met with government leaders to (again) gain their support and show them that I had gained research clearance from COSTECH (Tanzania's agency that approves research) before beginning my research.

Sample Selection and Strategy

Four-hundred and thirty (n = 430) participants were solicited to participate in this research: 1) 30 adult women (mothers, government workers, teachers, etc.); and 2) 400 secondary schoolgirls.

Participants: Ukerewe Women. Though my focus was to learn about the lives of girls, 30 interviews with adult women were conducted to gain the women's perspective on what life was like as a girl in Ukerewe. I opted to interview women directly, as opposed to girls, because I was concerned for the safety of the girls and for my own safety. As well, I realized that by interviewing women and doing participant observation with the girls, I could gain a chronological understanding of abuse. I obtained IRB approval from the University of Georgia's IRB and a research permit from Tanzania (COSTECH) to conduct these interviews. In selecting the women participants, I used a combination of opportunistic sampling, maximum variation sampling, and snowball sampling. A maximum variation sample was used to obtain a

diverse sample, using the following factors: geographic location on Ukerewe, age, job, education level, and religion. A maximum variation sampling strategy is a type of purposeful sampling. The goal of using such a sampling strategy is to see if central themes emerge across variation in a small sample (Patton, 2002). This sampling strategy is used by first, identifying diverse characteristics or criteria needed for the sample and second, selecting a sample of participants that vary within the chosen criteria. The purpose of my using this combination of sampling was to be able to triangulate my findings within the group of women participants and with what I found from the girl participants. As well, I did not want to limit my women participants by being too strict on who could and could not participate.

Participants: Ukerewe Schoolgirls. Approximately 400 secondary schoolgirls were invited to participate in a girls' program where I conducted participant observations (discussed below). Five schools were chosen from across the island. The first two schools were chosen out of convenience -- I already had connections at both through *Gumzo la Wasichana - Tanzania* (GUWATA, in English, "Girls' Talk - Tanzania"). GUWATA is local community organization made up of women who are concerned about women and girls in their community. Some of these women hold meetings with girls regularly in their wards.

The other three schools were chosen using purposive sampling, using the following criteria:

- After visiting the Assistant of the District Education Officer for Secondary Schooling (his boss was on safari, which in Kiswahili really just means he was on a

journey), these schools were on a list of schools with the highest pregnancy rates in the district;

- The schools were within biking range for the researcher. (The decision to keep the schools in biking range came about after my interpreter and I got stranded when we took a daladala (mini-bus) to one of the first schools and no daladala ever came to take us back. We waited for several hours for a ride and finally had to call someone to pick us up, and he proceeded to charge us the equivalent of $20 USD, which we knew we could not afford to continue to pay if this were to happen regularly.)

Before meeting with girls at the schools for the first time, my assistant and I met with the school's Headmaster. In some cases we met with the Second-Master if the Headmaster was not present (which was actually quite often). We explained our two-pronged goal:

1. To establish clubs for girls in secondary schools where they could come learn about their rights, be encouraged to stay in school, learn how to resist early pregnancy, and build relationships with an older women who could assist them if they were to experience sexual abuse or rape;
2. My research, which would ultimately inform the local government about some of the issues girls faced in their lives, including why and how girls get pregnant while still in school, and would provide recommendations for the government about how both the government and the community could better support schoolgirls.

Initially, all girls were invited to attend the "girls' club" we were organizing in the schools. However, after over 200 girls showed up in the initial introduction day,

this being an unmanageable number, we decided to limit participants to girls in Form 1 (girls in their first year of secondary school). I did not keep a record of whom the girls were, which will further ensure that confidentiality is not breached. Girls were asked to assent to participate. The University of Georgia IRB approved a waiver of parental consent. Girls were not asked to sign any forms in order to keep them at the lowest risk possible. This is based on the suggestion I received from the chair of the University of Georgia's IRB.

I enlisted two women leaders from the community who had established relationships with the girls to help recruit and be present during the clubs, and to help me navigate the community dynamics throughout the island. The first, *Adilah*[1], was my primary assistant and also served as interpreter in my interviews. She is a teacher at one of the local secondary schools and coordinator of *Gumzo la Wasichana*, the girls' club with which I worked closely. The other, older woman, I recruited to help me in this project is a retired schoolteacher who I am calling Mama *Saada*[2] in this paper. They are both well respected in the community by men and women alike, as well as by the girls. We had worked together in the past. I had the opportunity to discuss my research goals with both women in 2010 and both were supportive of it.

Data Collection Methods

Semi-structured Interviews. In-depth, semi-structured interviews with 30 Ukerewe women was the primary source of data. Semi-structured interviews follow an interview guide developed in advance, but such questions leave freedom for the

[1] Adilah , a pseudonym for my interpreter' real name, means "justice" in Kiswahili. .
[2] Saada is a Kiswahili girl's name that means "Help" or "Assistant"

direction of the interview to deviate should the interviewee choose to bring up additional information (Nicholls, 2009). I also attempted to collect follow-up surveys (i.e., one open-ended question) as a secondary data source to compliment the data, however, as I will discuss later, only one follow-up survey was returned. My initial goal behind collecting the surveys was to provide the women with the opportunity to either confirm in writing what they had already said, or they were able to elaborate in ways in which they did not feel comfortable during the interview. Interviews with the women gave me the opportunity to:

- Discover if the childhood experiences of these women was similar to the current experiences of these girls;
- Find out if the women's perspective of the girls' lives matched what seemed to be the girls' reality;
- Find out if the women knew of or had heard about girls in Ukerewe who had encountered difficult situations of gender discrimination or abuse with older men (such as their teachers) and if so, how the community responded;
- Learn if the women were aware of the laws in place to protect girls and other women from gender discrimination and abuse;
- Learn about the women's view of the justice system.

In addition, the interviews with the women helped (and will continue to help) formulate community interventions and policy recommendations.

Multiple sources of data helped me triangulate my findings. Triangulation is a qualitative tool used to ensure that what a researcher finds is credible. It involves

collecting data from multiple sources and is one of the strengths of qualitative research (Wolcott, 2009). Patton (2002) explains that it is not abnormal for different sources of data to yield different insights, which does not weaken a study, but provides the researcher the ability to gain greater knowledge of the phenomenon. This was one reason for collecting data from multiple sources using multiple methods – it helps a researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the lives of her subjects.

I am grateful that I already had a level of trust in the community – in particular, women leaders. Morrow (2007) reminds us that effective data gathering depends on relationships with participants. She says language can be used as a tool to "plumb the depths of this experience to glean meanings that are not otherwise observable and that cannot be gathered using survey or other data-gathering strategies" (Morrow, 2007, p. 211). Madison (2005) emphasizes that a "critical ethnography requires a deep and abiding dialogue with the Other as never before" (p. 8).

Though I was the primary interviewer, I had a bi-lingual (Kiswahili/English) woman leader (Adilah) present to translate and help ensure I understood the predominately Kiswahili-speaking women completely, and to help make sure I asked the questions in a way that the women fully understood. As well, Adilah helped me make sure that each interviewee was as comfortable as possible as she described and discussed this very heavy issue.

Upon entering the community, I spoke only elementary Kiswahili, but time in the community prepared me to understand and converse more and more competently. My current knowledge of the Kiswahili language has been acquired through:

- Spending time in Tanzania and learning basic greetings through studying and through interactions with Tanzanians;
- An online Kiswahili 1010 course through the University of Georgia's Georgia Center for Continuing Education (I would have preferred taking the course in-person but was in Washington D.C. for an internship at the time);
- One-on-one tutoring for approximately 2 weeks during the summer of 2010;
- Auditing Kiswahili 1020 (Spring 2011);
- An 8-week intensive Kiswahili course, the Summer Cooperative African Language Institute, hosted at the University of Florida (Summer 2011) and funded by the U.S. Department of Education;
- Six months living in Tanzania during the course of this research, Winter/Spring 2012.

Between my basic Kiswahili and the women's English, we were able to understand each other, particularly with Adilah present to translate. I made effort to use my Kiswahili often, however, despite my lack of fluency, because it helped the women and girls realize that I truly did want to know them and understand their culture.

The demographic information I collected included: age, religion, education level, area in which the woman lived, if she was employed (if so, doing what). This

information was judged to potentially be important in determining risk or protective factors in the women's lives.

I also asked Adilah to serve as the contact for participants should anything arise after the interview they felt they needed to discuss. Morrow (2007) reminds us,

> …because participants in qualitative investigations often disclose information of an emotional and sensitive nature, and because the relationship between interviewer and interviewee is often very intimate, the researcher's responsibility to treat participants with high regard and respect is paramount (p. 217).

None of the interviewees contacted her about my research after the interview was over, but I did see several of the women again around town and in other parts of Ukerewe. Each time they greeted me, hugged me, and seemed genuinely interested to hear about how the research was progressing.

Pseudonyms were used in place of the actual names of the women interviewed and identifying information will not be reported. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. I transcribed all the English, and hired someone removed from the research and the Ukerewe area to transcribe and translate the Kiswahili. Although I had an interpreter, I wanted to ensure the best/most appropriate English words were used in translation.

The questions I asked, points of clarification I made, etc. were included in the transcriptions, as were the comments and explanations made by the woman leader/translator and the responses made by the woman being interviewed. Riessman (2008) denotes this type of interview conversation – which includes the

participant (or narrator), researcher (or investigator), and translator as a "trialogue" (p. 48). Notes were taken during the interviews as a supplement. I did not seek follow-up interviews. Interviews lasted between 37 – 90 minutes and were collected over a period of four months (February - May 2012).

At the end of each interview I distributed a piece of paper (i.e., the one-question survey) with the question: "Is there anything we did not talk about that you want me to know?" I asked the interviewee, to return the paper within two weeks, giving her time to reflect. The purpose of this open-ended question was to give each woman the opportunity to express thoughts and opinions she wanted me to know but may have been embarrassed or ashamed to say out loud during the interview – or may have just forgotten to include. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) emphasize, "the goal of understanding how the person you are interviewing thinks is at the center of the interview" (p. 106). Because the topic is one that could have made the women feel awkward or uncomfortable, I wanted to give them the opportunity to explain anything additional that they may have wanted for me to know in a way that, hopefully, lessened their discomfort. However, only one interviewee returned the paper. I reflect on the reason for this in the next chapter.

An additional purpose (beyond that which I have already mentioned) of conducting interviews with the women was to triangulate findings from interviews with the women to findings from participant observations with the girls.

Participant Observation. As part of my work in the community, I partnered with local women leaders to establish clubs for girls at five different schools on Ukerewe Island. As I have already mentioned, I had previously worked with several

girls and women on the island in a similar fashion in the past, conducting "day-camps" for girls. In these camps, the girls were encouraged to journal about, discuss, and develop skits about their lives (see literature review section on Theatre of the Oppressed). Previously, topics ranged from things they like about living in Ukerewe, their families, and education to things they would like to see change. Sexual abuse and exploitation were topics brought up by several of the girls in their group skits year-after-year; several times the perpetrator (in the skits) were teachers or schoolboys. The development of such skits obviously did not confirm that the girls were actually experiencing sexual abuse by their teachers or fellow male students, but the skits were what led to my research questions.

In working with women and girls across the island to establish such clubs, girls had a chance to get to know other girls and women mentors where they could gain support. They also had opportunities to learn about their rights and what to do if they were harassed by older men (who they could seek for help, etc.). Secondary school in Tanzania is taught in English, so many of the girls I worked with understood me when using English, though I always had Mama *Saada* or Adilah present to translate. The girls seemed to enjoy hearing English from a native speaker!

As I worked with local women to establish these clubs, I participated in many of the activities. I took field notes of the process, of ideas and statements the girls' made, and wrote down the skits they developed and thoughts and dreams they shared. I then expanded my notes and added in my own reflections after leaving the clubs. The expanded notes and reflections served as a primary source of data. Throughout this time I did not record the girls' names or identify anyone in any of the field notes. If I

publish any of the data from the observations (i.e., description of skits, etc.), I will use pseudonyms to represent the girls and not their real names. Additionally, I will use "composite figures" and "composite communities" (i.e., vague descriptions of the girls and communities so that they will not be identifiable) in any published work, so as to keep their identities protected.

Data Management and Analysis

I transcribed my data (the English part) throughout the collection process in order to begin identifying themes early and began to analyze my data during that time. According to Reeves (2010), a qualitative researcher should ask questions of the data throughout the process in order to make decisions that narrow or focus the study and ensure that the data being collected is what is needed to answer the questions at hand. Patton (2002) also says that the process of transcribing "offers another point of transition between data collection and analysis as part of data management and preparation"…transcription "provides an opportunity to get immersed in the data, an experience that usually generates emergent insights" (p. 441). As mentioned previously, I hired a transcripionist/translationist who was fluent in both English and Kiswahili and was removed from the Ukerewe area and from the research to type the Kiswahili and translate it into English. My goal was to ensure I got the most accurate English translation possible. In locating a good transcriptionist, I sought guidance from Dr. Lioba Moshi, a Tanzanian-American Professor at the University of Georgia who I regard as a mentor and trust immensely. She provided me with a referral. As well, after I received each transcribed/translated interview back, I took several hours going-line-by-line

through each interview double-checking that it was accurately done. As I will discuss, this served as part of my data analysis.

I began conducting the analysis immediately after the first interview as I journaled about what I heard. After each interview, I spent time reflecting on how I felt the interview went, including new information I learned in that interview, connections I saw between that interview and previous interviews, and even included a description of how I thought the interviewee felt. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) suggest that this helps the researcher link findings to other aspects in the data. This is also an important part of reflexivity; "reflective memos" help a researcher keep track of her assumptions and questions (Butler-Kisber, 2010). This also helped me be aware of the way I could have been impacting the data, some of the social dynamics taking place, and some of the questions or points of clarification I may have needed to make with Adilah or with my doctoral committee.

Through this process, I noticed themes beginning to emerge. During my transcription of the English and in my double-checking of the Kiswahili transcription/translation and comparing it with the English, these themes began to solidify. Finally, I wrote a preliminary report for local Ukerewe leaders before I left the island. In writing that report, I again read through all of the interviews, once more identifying the most common themes that came out of the words of the interviewees. After the themes were identified, I went back through the text of each interview and categorized statements the interviewees made that supported the themes. This confirmed that these themes actually were in the data and were not things that I was trying to plant there.

I also used a journal to keep record of my thoughts, feelings, and assumptions through the process – as well as my experiences in the community and in the culture. Journaling my thoughts and feelings helped ensure my feelings about what I was finding did not get enmeshed with the feelings of the women or girls.

This process of analysis was both an inductive and deductive approach. The inductive aspect was the first step in my process of analysis, which involved identifying themes and categories in the data. Butler-Kisber (2010) describes this process as the "coarse-grained phase" of data analysis – when the researcher reads and re-reads her field texts to get to know the data – writing reflecting notes and identifying emerging categories.

I looked for patterns and identified emergent themes within and across the interviews. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) quote Boyatis (1998) explaining a theme as "a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 6, citing Boyatis, 1998, p. 161). The goal is to set aside prior assumptions about what the data say, and instead grasp the interrelationships of the various dimensions that exist within the data (Patton, 2002). Step-by-step, this looks like:

- Generating text "from a body of 'raw' data – data drawn from the field" (p. 643). In this case, these were the interview transcripts, my field notes and reflexive notes after interviews and observations, and my journal;
- Reading the raw text and forming "naïve" codes of what the data appeared to be saying;

- A more "scrutinized" look at the data and sharing "the early ideas" with the woman assistant who was been present with me for the data collection to ensure my ideas were grounded in the data;
- Comparing my themes to what I found in the literature;
- Continued data collection, comparing the new data with the patterns and themes already identified. (Adapted from David Nicolls, 2009).

Nicholls (2009) explains, "slowly as categories coalesce and become better organized, explanatory frameworks begin to emerge" (p. 644). As I worked through this process, my understanding of my data became more intimate and led me to gain a better and deeper knowledge of the lives of the Ukerewe women and girls.

In keeping with the ecological-transactional model as my over-arching theory, I looked for the themes and categories that emerged at the various ecological levels and identified how the girls interacted within these levels. This was the deductive aspect of my analysis, where an existing framework was used to organize and analyze my data (Patton, 2002). During this portion of the analysis I was more focused on the implications of my findings. My use of the deductive approach predominately entailed looking for factors that existed at each ecological level of the girls' lives and served to be protective or risk provoking. I present these findings in the next chapter, but to provide examples, on the micro-level, items which could be within the girls or within their families that serve as protective or risk factors might be: a desire to be connected with other girls on a regular basis, motivation to walk to and from school in groups, or having a mother who regularly visits the school. On the meso-level, which could be the girls' understanding of the justice system and

their trust of it (or lack thereof), it could be that girls who know and understand the law are more likely to feel empowered and as a result, their understanding of the law serves as a protective factor because these girls are able to seek help if someone attempts to abuse them. I also looked for policy implications for each ecological level, specifically at the macro-level.

Rather than trying out ideas and themes on my participants, the woman leader who was assisting me served as my corroborator of these themes. Since she was part of the process, it made sense to do my member checking with her and we talked about what I was finding quite regularly.

Accessing Data Quality

In qualitative research, trustworthiness is central to the research. The concept of trustworthiness is parallel to the concept of validity and reliability in quantitative research. According to Merriam and Simpson (1995), as researchers, we want to feel confident in our research findings, "for what we do affects the lives of real people" (p. 51). This study very much affects the lives of real people, specifically, people in the more vulnerable aspects of the Ukerewe society. A study that is trustworthy ensures that it does what it is designed to do. Three aspects of trustworthiness include: credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), and dependability (reliability).

To ensure credible (or internally valid) findings, initial target participants were women with whom I already have established relationships. I also worked to build trust with the participants. In the interviews, I tried to be clear in the purpose of my research, what I was going to do with the data, and tried to relate to the women as I

asked the questions and responded to their answers. With the girls, I did my best to involve a woman from their own village or school in leading the clubs. This was not only to ensure that my findings from the girls were credible, but also to make it more likely that the clubs would continue when I was gone. In the past, club participants were willing to discuss and even act out topics as sensitive as being solicited for sex. Based on past willingness, I expected the girls would be open about these issues – and they were. Additionally, I piloted my interview questions with a female Tanzanian faculty member at my university and she assured me that women would be willing to answer the questions and that the questions did not breach cultural mores. To further enhance credibility I used:

1) Peer review/member checking: I asked the Ukerewe woman present during the clubs and interviews with women to listen as I talked through what I was finding with her and affirm or disaffirm what I thought I was seeing. I did this throughout the process, and the review became more of my focus near the end of the interviews and as I was deeper in the analysis process (April–May 2012).

2) Extended period in the field: Because I was in the field for nearly six months, data collection and analysis took place over an extended time period.

3) Multiple data collection methods were used (triangulization, e.g. observations with girls, interviews with women, and my own field observations/journal).

Transferability (or external validity) is concerned with how applicable the findings of a study are to other situations, specifically with the usefulness of the findings to inform the work of others (Morrow, 2007). In this study, I used two methods to safeguard transferability:

1) Primarily, thick, rich description was used to ensure I was fully capturing the participants' thoughts, experiences, actions, and the setting of the research (Patton, 2002). Thick descriptive data also refers to the "narrative developed about the context so that judgments about the degree of fit or similarity may be made by others who may wish to apply all or part of the findings elsewhere" (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, p. 77).

2) I used multisite design by recruiting:

a. club participants from multiple schools across Ukerewe; and
b. women interviewees at various levels of society (teachers, government workers, farmers, etc.), with different religions and ages, and across the island wards.

In qualitative research, reliability is concerned with whether the findings are dependable, make sense, and are consistent with the collected data (Reeves, personal communication, April 21, 2010). Freeman et al. says "a key source…of standards of evidence and quality throughout the history of the scientific method and its application in qualitative inquiries has been the systematic and careful documentation of all procedures – *an account of practice* – to provide a record for the researcher's ongoing contemplation as well as for peer review" (2007, p. 26). To ensure dependable (i.e., reliable) findings, I employed two methods:

1) I kept regular contact with my doctoral committee from the Department of Human Development and Family Science, sending detailed emails to keep them abreast of my activities and what I was finding, so that they could monitor my progress and offer guidance.

2) Only two weeks after returning from the field, I attended a qualitative writing retreat, where I was immersed in my data all day every day for a week writing my findings chapter, met with Dr. Corey Johnson, the instructor of the course each day to talk through what I was finding and if my findings were making sense, and talked through what I was finding with my peers.

Ethical Considerations

Because of the nature of this research (i.e., minors, gender discrimination, and sexual abuse), there were (and still are) numerous ethical situations to consider. First, because one major aspect of the research aimed to discover the experience of girls who have been sexually abused, someone has attempted to abuse them, or they have been discriminated against by their teachers, there is the possibility one or many of the participants may still come into regular contact with a teacher they know to be an abuser. Such girls may have been or felt threatened due to being students in the school where the abuser teaches. Thankfully, this was never reported to me directly by any of the girls (i.e., reporting a specific abuser in their school). If this had been the case, I would have worked with the women leaders to decide the best course of action that would have provided the least amount of harm to the girls.

Another situation that could have caused an ethical dilemma is that women or girls could have confided in me with the expectation that I do something that would bring justice to them or their friend or neighbor. And ultimately, this is what I would like to see happen. In several cases, after the interviews women asked me what I was going to do with the data. I explained my plan to leave a preliminary

report with the local government that would include recommendations, and promised I would have the other report sent by December 2012. Women were also glad to hear that I was regularly meeting with so many girls, explaining to them their rights, and encouraging them in their education.

Finally, as noted by (Lalor 2008), "sub-Saharan Africa has almost two-thirds of all people living with HIV" (p.99). This should – and does – compel me to find out how sexual abuse and exploitation of young girls takes place so that I can help develop interventions and policies that protect the Ukerewe girls – and girls everywhere – before they join this number.

Protecting Myself

In the Ukerewe community, I am lucky that before beginning this research, I previously knew and had worked with women, some of whom are respected elders. Though the questions I asked of my participants sound risky, I was careful to keep aligned with the women leaders and elders in the community. Being associated with them served as added protection.

As well, from working in the community for three previous summers, I learned that when an outsider comes into a community in Tanzania, it is expected that you visit the government officials and get their "blessing" on your work. After this has been granted, the community knows that you have been welcomed by the government officials, which serves as an additional source of protection. In Ukerewe, the district commissioner is a woman who I knew from my work in the past (both 2009 and 2010). She is supportive of the empowerment of girls, was supportive of our girls' program in the past, and in 2010, expressed support of me

returning to Ukerewe to conduct research. Upon arrival to Ukerewe, I met with her before beginning my research to discuss my plans and to gain her blessing.

In the chapter five, I present my findings. I address the five themes that came out of the interviews I conducted with the women and the observations I made with the girls. Before that, however, I present a chapter on the context, focusing on what life was like for me in Ukerewe.

PART II

INTERROGATING AND TRANSFORMING THE DATA: DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS, AND MY INTERPRETATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During my previous visits to Ukerewe, I was limited in my interactions. Each visit lasted no more than a month and each night I was tucked away safely in the confines of my gated hotel. Not exactly an ethnographer living in the culture. However, my time in the field collecting dissertation research data and the subsequent findings you are about to encounter were quite different. This time you will find me living among the people as a resident and as a *neighbor.*

Chapter four focuses on context as I try to present Ukerewe, a vibrant, diverse, and culturally rich island to the reader, albeit, as critical ethnography would demand, through my own historical and cultural lenses. This chapter is central for understanding the analytic and interpretive claims that I make after it; not only do I describe what Ukerewe life is like, but also acknowledge my positionality and illustrate the challenges I faced being a white, educated, married American woman and the colonial legacy those subjectivities carry with it. In her book *Critical Ethnography*, Madison (2005) claims that critical ethnographers are "accountable for our own research paradigms, our own positions of authority, and our own moral responsibility relative to representation and interpretation" (p. 7). Thus, in chapter four I present Ukerewe through my worldview, and take authorial responsibility for the unavoidable impartial and situational representation of my analysis and

understanding of the lives of girls and women in Ukerewe. I included email correspondence between my mother and I to help communicate some of my thought processes. Some of the emails I included were crafted to reiterate an experience or emotion and were not actual emails sent – though most of the emails from me were actually sent.

In chapter five I detail the analytic themes I identified from my interview, observational, and field note data. Each theme is first represented by a short story crafted so that the reader can better understand how that "theme" reflects the lives of Ukerewe girls in the community. The story is grounded in my field note data. Following each composite story, I explicate the analysis with a description of the theme and provide examples from my fieldwork that support it. Five themes are presented in this fashion: women and girls have historically not been valued, transactional sex, some teachers in Ukerewe manipulate their girl students into sex, no justice, and deterioration of culture. The well known ethnographer, John Van Maanen (2011), might label the way I have represented my data as "advocacy tales", a form of representation that he claims, captures "those ethnographies that attempt to address some of what the authors see as the major wrongs in the world" (p. 170). He goes on to claim that "a main theme advanced by this work follows the old sociological maxim that good work should 'comfort the troubled and trouble the comfortable.'" (p. 171). As a warning, my findings are indeed troubling.

Finally, in chapter six I provide a summary and connect the themes back to the literature. Given the unique features of this work and the practical and political importance of it, implications are also discussed. I also explore the way this colonial

legacy and my subjectivities influenced the way my participants both presented themselves in our interactions and how they responded to my interview questions (Twine, 2000). Finally, as is important for all major scholarly contributions, I discuss the limitations of this work, chart directions for future research and discuss what I learned about myself as a researcher as I engaged in the process of ethnography in Ukerewe.

Despite the many barriers I faced in not being Tanzanian, a fluent Kiswahili speaker, or male, I am hopeful that this inquiry can bring Ukerewe girls one step closer to relieving the Ukerewe girls of some of the oppression they regularly face.

CHAPTER 4

THE SETTING: LIFE IN UKEREWE FOR A WHITE, WESTERN WOMAN

As mentioned, this chapter provides a snippet of what life was like for me, a western white woman living in Ukerewe. I have included emails to help the reader see how I was processing my experiences.

Making Preparations

The below email describes how I decided on my topic and some of the preparations I had to ensure my research would be feasible. There were so many details to work out in terms of where I was going to stay, getting research clearance in Tanzania, and getting enough financial support to be able to afford the costs! Below, I provide a taste of some of this through an email conversation between my mom and I.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com April 6, 2011 1:59pm
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Research topic decided - Moving to Tanzania!

Dear Mom,

Don't freak out now, but I'm moving to Tanzania! I finally landed on my research topic. Since I've been to Ukerewe three times before, you know I have been wanting to return to gather dissertation data, but now I know what on – and my committee just approved my prospectus!

In the past, my work with the Ukerewe girls has left me with so many questions. But mainly, I want to know if these girls are being taken advantage of by their teachers. Previously the girls I worked with created skits that they performed for me, local women leaders, and their peers, and some of those skits included them

telling teachers they were not going to have sex with them. So I want to know if this is actually happening to them or if this is something they have just been warned about by women in the community. More generally, I'll be looking into gender discrimination. So, I'm planning to move to Ukerewe for about 6 months to really get to know the culture while collecting this data. I think cultural attitudes will have a lot to do with whether this happens or not, and if it does, how it's handled.

And guess what? I've convinced Greg to come with me. But he won't be there the whole time. I guess after 7 years of marriage we can make that work, though! I'm planning to leave Athens mid-January, and he'll join me a month later. I'm sure you're wondering what he's going to do about his job…well, he's going to quit. We hope he'll be hired back when he returns in June, but there is no guarantee. I know we're taking a risk, but this is an adventure we want to take together!

Love, your favorite daughter,
Rachel

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To: "mom" mom@gmail.com April 7, 2011 7:31am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: You've got questions – I've got answers…well, sort of…

Dear Mom,

So I'll leave January 2012 and plan to come back sometime in July. I haven't yet confirmed the official dates yet - it's too far away. But of course will let you know as soon as I buy my tickets. I'll need to spend the first few days in Dar es Salaam while my research goes through the approval process and then to get some kind of research visa.

I don't know what I'll do without Greg. Hopefully not be too lonely. And I don't yet know how I'll get all my stuff to Ukerewe, but don't worry! I'll figure it out! I've got the next nine months to figure all this out!

Your favorite daughter,
Rachel

P.S….I will call this weekend, things have been crazy

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To: "Rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu April 8, 2011 5:19am
From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: You've got questions – I've got answers…well, sort of…!

Dear Rachel,

It sounds like the research clearance and visa could be kind-of complicated. Do you have anyone that can help you with that? And where are you going to stay in Dar? It is quite a big city. Isn't it the biggest East-African city after Nairobi?

Love,
Mom

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Time to Go

It was difficult to leave family and friends, and to be honest, I am not sure my research would have happened had I not had Tanzanian friends in Georgia who had relatives still living in the country. I owe a debt of gratitude to the generosity of many amazing Tanzanians who served as my hosts. In addition, there were so many things that required adjustment on my end. One thing I will address is the climate.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com January 22, 2012 7:31pm
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Just wanted to say goodbye again!!

Mom,
I'm sitting here in the Atlanta airport waiting for my flight and just wanted to say bye again!! It's hard to believe that after all these months of planning, the time to leave is actually here! It has always felt so far off in the future. I'm a little nervous since I haven't been to Dar before, but am so thankful my friend's mom will be there to meet me at the airport. What a blessing!

I love you very much and will email you as soon as I get internet connection. Try not to worry!
Rachel

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To: "Rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu January 22, 2012 7:59pm
From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Just wanted to say goodbye, too!

Dear Rachel,

Of course you know I am sitting right by the computer hoping you'll email me! I'm not gong to lie – I'm nervous about this! It's not every day your only daughter up and moves to the other side of the world!! I'm trying not think about everything that could go wrong. Please be careful! Don't get me wrong – I am so excited for you! But I'll feel much better when Greg gets there!

Are you going to run while you are there?

Love you very much,
Mom

****

The Dry Season at the Equator. Dar es Salaam in January can only be described as hot – almost fatally so. The average temperature is around 29 degrees Celsius (or 85 degrees Fahrenheit). As a southern-born girl from Georgia, 85 degrees does not sound so bad. But the heat in Dar feels much worse than that. In fact, it is almost debilitating. Even first thing in the morning, if you walk outside, the sweating begins immediately. When I first decided to go to Tanzania I was excited that I would be missing most of winter in the United States. I have never enjoyed cold weather and have never longed for cold in my life. But suddenly, being in Dar made me change my mind. It was unlike any heat I had ever experienced – even in Georgia. If I took a shower to cool off or to wash of the sweat, as soon as I was finished I would begin sweating again! This was the dry, hot season. But it still felt humid to me!

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The Research Clearance Process

Obtaining research clearance was like a job in itself. I am so grateful to the many people that gave me advice on how to do this, and supported me throughout the process. In Tanzania particularly, I could not have gotten this done without my host mother in Dar es Salaam.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com January 27, 2012 4:33am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Tanzania, safe and sound!

Dear Mom,

I made it through customs in Dar and got my VISA with no problems. Praise the Lord! But afterwards I went to pick up my bags, only to discover they were likely still in Nairobi. So, I filled out paperwork describing the bags so that I could return to claim them later. (Which I did later that afternoon, and thankfully nothing was missing!)

At the airport, my host mother (who I call "Mama" which is typical African) was waiting for me on the other side of security. She is the mother of a friend of mine from Athens (who is Tanzanian) and she is wonderful!! It was so nice after a 31-hour trip to be greeted with a firm hug and a "Karibu, Rachel" (karibu = welcome). She is so generous. I have not stopped eating since I arrived. But in all seriousness, I have no clue how I would have navigated everything without her.

On Wednesday after breakfast I called COSTECH (the office that grants research clearance) to see check on the status of my application. I had been told my application would be reviewed on Tuesday (the day I arrived). Much to my surprise, the man on the phone said my application was APPROVED!! Which meant the next step was I needed to go to their office and sign paperwork. I will say, because of the horror stories I had heard about the amount of time it took to receive approval and how common it was for COSTECH (the office that approves research) to completely change an applicant's research topic, I was still so anxious and still keeping my fingers crossed....

Traffic in Dar is terrible. There is one major road that connects Dar (which is on the coast) with the rest of the country. So seriously, from Mama's house I think it took two hours to get into town when it should have only taken about a half

hour. If you thought 316 was bad, you should see this. You wait at the light for probably 20 minutes (or more) at a time at a complete stop. I was thankful she had air-conditioning in her car – but I sweat through the back of my shirt, nonetheless. While waiting, you are surrounded by street venders selling everything. Pineapples, cashews, knives, pineapples, maps of the world, clothes, pineapples, hats, sunglasses,...did I say pineapples? When the light turns green, everyone races through, the venders jump out of the way, and it is literally like a speed race to the next stop. There are so many people on motorcycle ("pikipiki") not wearing helmets that zoom in and out of traffic and in between cars. I am so glad I am not driving here!

We first went to get my cell phone re-activated, then went to the internet so I could let everyone know I made it, then went to COSTECH. I was thankful that my friend's brother went with us and helped me get to and through COSTECH. Apparently, COSTECH, located inside the Administration of Science and Technology, is really just a *one-roomed* office with *one* guy that reviews every application with the assistance of *one* secretary. At least, that is what it seemed. So when we arrived he confirmed that my application was approved, now (before paperwork) we needed to go deposit the $300 fee in the COSTECH account at the bank down the road, then we could come back and finish the paperwork. (Thankfully, I knew about and had budgeted for this fee.) So, we went to the bank (where they still use carbon paper and I, in my ignorance, put it in-between my deposit slip backwards) and deposited the money. Then, we went back to COSTECH, signed the paperwork, got receipts, agreed to give them a copy of my dissertation and any publications, and got my letter of approval. Yippee!!

Next stop, immigration...so I thought that I would need to change my travel visa to a "research visa". Apparently I was wrong. There is no research "visa". We went to a small office (so small, I don't think they even had electricity) located in downtown Dar. There, I was told I needed 4 passport pictures and to fill out more paperwork, and then I could apply for a "resident's permit" for a woppin' $550 that I had (literally) *not* banked on. I typically don't carry spare passport pictures around (though in this case, I actually did have some back at the house) but conveniently, there was a place across the street where I could go get the pictures made. We went across the street to the outdoor booth (i.e., a guy with a camera, tacked-up blue material, a printer underneath the booth's seat, and a pair of scissors that happen to be shaped like the size of passport photos). We got the pics, only to return to discover that we would actually need to go to the main immigration headquarters on the other side of town to process the paperwork. And, that we actually needed 5, not 4, passport pictures. Arg. So at this point it was probably 2pm and it would take likely take 2 hours to get across town. So going to immigration would have to wait until Thursday. What a long

day!! It took another 2 hours to get back home, where we ate a late lunch and rested out of the heat.

Thursday we went straight to immigration after breakfast. (Which meant we left the house at 9am and didn't get there until 11am). Traffic! Upon arrival (to a nice, new, fancy immigration building) I was given a number and told to wait. They organize the numbers by immigration type, which reminded me of the way the DMV works. So when my number was called, we went to talk to the man behind the counter where I learned that this was "a process", as he referred to it, and that it could take up to 18 days! I was given a form to fill out and a list of things I would need to attach. Thankfully, I had all of these things with me (my CV, copy of letter from COSTECH, copy of passport, etc.) we just had to go and make the copies. We went across the street and went from shop to shop looking for a copier that worked. The power was out, but we finally found one shop at the end that was operating with a generator. We made the copies, came back to return the paperwork, and I was told that I would have to come back later to pay the money. I asked why I couldn't just pay the money now to help the process along, but apparently that was not an option. Mama, who was waiting for me on a bench, must have seen the distressed look on my face, because she came to help. She asked him the same question, and before long I was lost in translation, because they began speaking very quickly ("harakaharaka") in Kiswahili and I could not keep up. Apparently she convinced him to at least let me come back earlier than usual to pay the money, but I still couldn't pay today. He gave us his cell phone number and told us we could call him Friday to see where the paperwork was. Perhaps we will be able to go back on Monday and pay the fee, but then there is still an additional step. (I am not clear on what that step is at this point.)

So, all that to say, I am stuck in Dar until who knows when...I am, however, SO GRATEFUL that of all places to be stuck, I am at least stuck with probably the most gracious woman in all of Dar. I honestly don't know where I'd be without her! I am also so thankful I had not already purchased my plane ticket to Mwanza (where I go to catch the boat to Ukerewe).

Please pray the immigration officers will find favor with my application and that it will move swiftly through the process. I'll keep you posted!

Love,
Rachel

P.S., Mom – yes, I'm running but don't worry. "Mama" lives outside of the city so I'm not exactly running through Dar. Plus, I've been so jet-lagged I'm really not going very far. I haven't run more than a 10 miler since I've been here. It's too hot to run more than that!

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To: "Rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu January 27, 2012 5:03am
From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Tanzania, safe and sound!

Dear Rachel,

I am so glad to hear you made it safely and that you already have your research clearance! That's wonderful. Dad and I have been praying for that. Glad to hear you are eating well. I suppose having too much to eat is better than the alternative. We will pray your resident permit is approved quickly! So glad you are safe!

Love,
Mom

P.S….10 miles seems kind-of far to me.

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On Greetings

In Kiswahili, one greets someone older than them with the word "Shikamoo," literally, "I clasp your feet," and the older person returns the greeting by saying "Marahaba" (which just means "very well" or "good"…a response to "shikamoo"). Women and girls do a little bow when they greet using shikamoo, men and boys do not. You would think you would use the shickamoo/marahaba greeting when someone was significantly older, but you can be expected to use that greeting if someone is even as few as four years your elder. Respect is given based on age and gender, not based on accomplishments, education, or whether or not you have earned respect.

The age-thing is a little frustrating for me, because quite honestly sometimes it is impossible to tell how old someone is. There have been several times where I

have been walking down the street or entering a room and an older lady (sometimes maybe she just thinks she's older) has snubbed, "marahaba!" (The younger person is supposed to initiate the greeting.) This is a little annoying, because half the time I think we are probably similar ages and she is just underestimating how old I am. But I have noticed men don't demand this greeting of respect as much as the women do. But in the Kikerewe language, the greetings are more hierarchical than in Kiswahili. As I wrote in my journal on May 21,

> …Women not only bow, but they always greet any adult man with, "(B)wachasugu", always bowing – usually even old women to young men – while men say to any aged woman, "(B)wachamawe." Women who are younger say "(B)wachasugu" to anyone who is older – man or woman. From my interpretation, this means that the greetings communicate that men are more deserving of respect than women – even older women – while older women are more deserving than younger women. So the order of respect would be: All Men – Old Women – Young Women – Children (who are greeted with "(b)wachata"). So children and women – even through greetings, are taught that men are more important, and that women and girls are inferior. It is ingrained…does this play into their absolute submission, unwillingness to question a man, and man's ideas that women are more possessions/property than equals?

I can't help but wonder if this ingrained order of respect is one critical thing that has continued to hold women and girls back from confronting their abuse. Perhaps they

feel like they have no power and will simply be abused by the superiors to which they report, if they were to try.

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Ukerewe – At Last!

I included this section to provide greater description about the location of Ukerewe. I want the reader to understand just how remote this island village is.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com January 30, 2012
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Ukerewe, at last!

Dear Mom,

After a very long day's journey – a 7:30am flight from the Dar airport meant getting up at 4:15, arriving in Mwanza by 10am, and then waiting around in Mwanza until the boat left at 4:00pm – I arrived at the port of Nansio, Ukerewe as dusk was setting in, about 7:15pm.

I had been a little nervous about getting through Mwanza with all of my things – finding a taxi that charges a reasonable rate can be a challenge, plus there was this issue of what to do for 6 hours until the ferry's departure time. Usually I would opt for just walking around the city exploring. Mwanza is really beautiful, built on rolling hills with giant, majestic rocks scattered all over and a magnificent view of Lake Victoria. But the bags were a bit of a set back. I was grateful to find what seemed like the nicest taxi driver ever. By the time we got to the port I knew I could trust him. He told me about his entire family and was so excited I knew "kidogo" – a little – Kiswahili, as broken as my Kiswahili is. We went to the port, got my ticket, and he took me to a hotel where I could keep my bags behind the desk and go eat. Before leaving he showed me where I should go to get a taxi for my return to the port and made sure I was well taken care of by the waitress.

The hotel was extremely nice, and judging by the extensive Indian Cuisine the menu offered, I believe was owned by Indians. I ordered vegetarian Massara (I think is how it is spelled), which comes with giant homemade cheese squares in a spicy, thick vegetarian stew. The rich mixture of spices overwhelmed my senses and made my mouth water as the server set the bowl down in front of me.

YUMMY. I hoped my stomach wouldn't pay for this later – like on the 3.5-hour boat ride.

I took another taxi back to the boat and arrived just before 1pm, only to learn that the captain of the boat had decided to leave the port at 4pm instead of the usual 2pm departure because of a political convention/rally in Mwanza. Nothing dangerous, just a whole lot of the CCM party members sporting their bright green and yellow colors getting each other riled up to show their CCM pride. So this meant I either needed to get another taxi back to the hotel for more sitting or park myself under a tree for 3 hours at the port. I chose to stay at the port to save myself some change. So I sat on my stuff for 3 hours, inhaling the overpowering aroma (or stench, I should say) of FISH…the fish market is right next-door. I thought this decision to wait at the port might have been a mistake after having to practically chase off a couple of marriage proposals and several pleas for my phone number. One guy even asked for Greg's number after realizing I wasn't going to give him mine. He said he wanted to see if Greg would be interested in exchanging wives. I felt sorry for this guy's wife, even if he was just kidding! After a while I suppose they got the drift because they backed off.

On the other side of the Lake at the Ukerewe port, Adilah[3] and Mama Saada[4], the two wonderful women with whom I have been working the past several years were there to greet me with warm smiles and firm hugs. "Karibu (Welcome to) Ukerewe, Rachel!" What a joy to be with them again! We hired a couple of guys to carry my bags and all walked together in the dark to the La Bima Hotel, where I've stayed every other time I've been here. We passed women selling bananas (ndizi) and avocado (parachichi) by the soft glow of oil lanterns – like a step back in time. Other women squatted over small charcoal fires by the road roasting corn that smelled overwhelmingly like popcorn. They sold for about 10 cents for a whole ear, 5 for a half. For most, this is an affordable evening snack.

As we walked, Mama Saada, the older of the two women, held my hand. Her eyes are not so good in her old age, especially in the dark. But her grasping of my hand was just as much out of affection as it was for balance. The women went with me to my room and we chatted about what I needed to accomplish in the next 5 months. They were very supportive as I explained in greater detail my research needs and my desire to assist them in creating programs and mentorship opportunities for the Ukerewe girls. They were not surprised by either goal, only had not heard all the details yet, particularly of the more practical aspects of the research. Then we made plans of how we would tackle the next few days.

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[3] *Adilah, a pseudonym for my interpreter' name, means "justice" in Kiswahili.*
[4] *Saada is a Kiswahili girl's name that means "Help" or "Assistant" in Kiswahili.*

Love, your favorite and best daughter,
Rachel

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The Ferry. Ukerewe is a very remote island district in Lake Victoria and the only way to get there is by ferry. The main ferry can be caught in Mwanza twice a day, and takes about 3.5 hours. The ferry ride costs 6,000 Tanzanian Shillings (TSH) for a first-class ticket, equivalent to about $4.00 USD. While that seems rather inexpensive to most Westerners, the majority of people from Tanzania opt to travel second-class. Those tickets cost a whole thousand shillings less (less than one U.S. dollar). The second-class area of the boat is on the bottom level, and is much more crowded. The ferry regularly over-sells and you can find people sitting with the cargo or on the floor, which in my opinion may actually be better than riding first-class. The first-class chairs are big and fuzzy, but there is little to no legroom, no real designated space for luggage, and I am not sure the chairs have ever been cleaned. Greg got to where he brought gold-bond powder to sprinkle on the chairs we sit in to "freshen them up."

The whole boat reeks of fish, not because we are in the middle of a freshwater lake, but because people regularly travel with freshly caught fish to give as gifts to whomever they are headed to visit, and usually these fish are stored in either plastic bags or, if packaged well, a plastic bucket with a lid. By the time we reach whichever destination in which I am headed – Mwanza or Ukerewe – I am more than ready to get off the boat!

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Getting Settled on the Island

Life in Ukerewe is different than life in the United States. This section is meant to provide the reader with a taste of some of the experiences I had getting settled. Again, I am grateful to the wonderful women who adopted me during my time there and helped to ease the shock of the transition. Though I had been to Ukerewe three times before, it was much more complicated to move there and attempt to live as part of the community.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com February 6, 2012 5:02 am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Karibu, Ukerewe!

Dear Mom,

Today we went to the government offices, though several of the officials I needed to speak with were "on safari." This doesn't mean they were out looking at animals in the Serengeti, it actually just means they had a few days off and likely were still in Mwanza for the political convention. So I explained my purposes for coming to Ukerewe and received my blessings from the "acting" district commissioner and community council chair (I'm not sure that's the right title) and assured them I would provide them with a report once I've analyzed the data. Afterwards, we brought copies of my passport, resident permit, and research approval forms to the immigration office. We'll have to go back to meet the actual DC and other official later in the week, but I've gotten all the official "go ahead" approvals that I need.

The rest of the day was spent looking at prices for beds, mattresses, bikes, etc. I should know by the end of the day where Greg and I will be staying for the next 5 months. I wish Greg were here to help me make the decision, but honestly, I really have only been given one option, a room which Adilah found for us. It sounds like it will be a single room with a bathroom in a small, gated area where several other people are also renting single rooms. The owner of the room agreed that if we bought and left the furniture for the room, we could live rent-free. If we go with this option we'll need to hire someone to cook for us. There's not a kitchen, but apparently she'd just cook on an outside stove. Cooking here

takes forever, but especially outside with charcoal! As much as I love to cook, my priority obviously needs to be my research.

I asked Adilah about renting a small house, but apparently they don't rent out furnished houses in Ukerewe and we would need to purchase all the furniture, plus pay rent. I'm not sure this is an affordable option; though I'd much prefer it since that way we could have visitors.

I miss Greg. And I wish my Kiswahili were better than it is…

Love,
Rachel

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To: "rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu February 6, 2012 5:40 am
From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Karibu, Ukerewe!

Dear Rachel,

I think hiring a cook is a good idea. You didn't move to Tanzania to spend most of your time cooking. Plus I know you want to eat traditional Tanzanian foods while you're there, which you obviously don't know how to cook. (But you should learn! We'd all love to try the traditional foods when you get home!)

Rent-free sounds like a great option! I'm sure you and Greg can deal with the small space. It'll be "cozy," but I'm sure after spending the last month without him you'll just be glad to have him there!

Love and miss you,
Mom

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To: "mom" mom@gmail.com February 12, 2012 6:13 am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Getting settled in Ukerewe…

Dear Mom,

I moved into my room Wednesday morning and have been getting settled. As I mentioned in my last email, rather than paying rent, the person who owns the room agreed to give me free rent if I purchase the bed, mattress, and mosquito

net and leave all three when I leave so he can rent out a "furnished" room. Because he knows Adilah, one of the women with whom I'm working closely, I trust this arrangement and don't think he's going to go back on his word. So with the help of Adilah, I bought a bed frame (beautifully hand-crafted, by the way, I wish I could keep it), a very firm mattress (firm enough that I can do pushups on it, seriously), and the net. Adilah and Mama Hakima loaned me a table, three chairs, curtains, plates, and glasses. I am so grateful for their help and generosity!

As for my room, it's rather quaint, to say the least. I have in-home water (well, sort of…it's not very reliable but I do have it sometimes), a "squatty potty", a shower (that only sometimes works, and even when it works, half the time the water comes out brown), no sink, but a faucet. I also have electricity (which has been a little more reliable than the water so far), but only one outlet. It's hard to believe that if I had moved here 7 years ago, electricity wouldn't have been an option! The island has only had electricity since 2005.

I've also had several critter visitors (ants, spiders, roaches, etc.) and a gecko of some sort. I'm happy to keep the gecko around as I believe his primary diet is mosquitoes. My floor and walls are both cement, and the walls are egg-yoke yellow. The ceiling reminds me of a giant checkerboard but instead of black and red, the squares are painted in white and sea-green. I sometimes find myself starting at one of the squares in the corner of the room that, symmetrically, is supposed to be sea-green as opposed to white.

Adilah also took me by the hospital – just in case I need it. Here malaria is the leading cause of death for children and Adilah told me she gets it several times a year. Yikes. I'm taking my doxycycline for malaria prevention pretty religiously, I just hope it works! The hospital apparently does have pretty good medicine on hand for that sort of thing, though I'm under the impression that the medicine can cause severe side effects for children (such as loss of hearing – but don't quote me on that).

This week I have also already conducted two interviews. The first was OK (she seemed really nervous and I'm not sure she was adequately briefed on what I'm doing) – the second was EXCELLENT (she knew me in the past and knew what to expect). It looks like from here on out I'll be conducting two interviews a week until I reach at least 20 (no more than 30). I also met with three women leaders (Adilah, Mama Hakima, and Mama Amina[5]) who are going to help me get set up at each secondary school – where I'll be working with them to create clubs for girls. This is a bit of a daunting task as there are 21 secondary schools on the

[5] *Amina is a Kiswahili name that means "peaceful."*

> island. I am very grateful for the help of these women in all this. The task would be impossible without them.
>
> Love and miss you!!
> Your daughter

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On Mzungu and Being White

Mzungu (singular) or Wazungu (plural) are basically just white people. White people = anyone that is lighter skinned than Tanzanians. This obviously includes white Americans and Europeans, but also includes Chinese, Japanese, Latinos, etc. Basically, if you aren't a black African (keeping in mind that there are white Africans), then you are a Mzungu. In Ukerewe, I am called "Mzungu" if someone does not know my name. Actually, I am regularly screamed at by children and adults alike. "Mzungu! Mzungu!" Usually, a response from me is not required nor is it expected. It's like the spotting of the white faun in C.S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe.* Seeing me brings good luck, and probably also riches.

Actually it is rather frustrating, this perception of white people. I am not only daily asked for money, gifts, etc., but people regularly take advantage of me. Not only is it frustrating, but it is exhausting to be continually yelled at and harassed because of my skin color. Each day I feel like I am enduring a one-way verbal battle, and I am on the receiving end. As I noted in my journal on February 20,

> [I am] so tired of people assuming I am rich because I am white!! I am tired of people asking me for money every day, expecting me to have a ton of money, taking advantage of me, and I am tired of corruption. Even people who are seemingly trustworthy are in it for themselves. It is frustrating to come to a

> community to try to "do good" and cause positive change, but have the community take advantage of you. How do you change perceptions?

On June 4, I wrote the following about missing home:

> …I think the main thing is that I am sooo tired of being called "Mzungu" everyday, all day, yelled at constantly. I was telling Greg yesterday that I constantly feel like I'm being beaten up. All day long people yell at me. Sometimes they are simply being friendly, but most of the time I either feel like a leprechaun or like I am being harassed…and I'm just tired of it!...For example, I can be passing someone's house and their kids can be out in the yard doing a crazy "mzungu" song and dance – and no one (besides me) seems to think that [it] is rude. In fact, sometimes it seems like it is encouraged! In the U.S., at least this day and age, if our kids behaved like that we would be mortified! Oh, we would be so ashamed we would discipline our kids and would ask the person targeted for forgiveness. Here, their parents start yelling, too!

One of the hardest parts about living in Ukerewe was that it was so remote, so it was not common to see a white person in that part of the country. When we went to the city of Mwanza, on the other side of the lake, we didn't experience the same verbal harassment and people did not seem to hold such unfounded stereotypes about us (though we did have the occasional taxi driver trying to take advantage of us). But it was like being in a different world.

I tried to explain what this was like to my "Mama" who took care of me in Dar es Salaam. (She basically adopted me as her daughter.) She is a Tanzanian woman

whose husband used to work for a rather large international organization, so she is well traveled and speaks excellent English. While staying with her on my way out of the country, I got up to run each morning. Two consecutive mornings I came across some girls on their way to school. They yelled at me in English, "white people, white people!" The first day I was far enough away that I simply let it go. But the second day I ran right past them and they did it again. I was done. To keep a long story short, I basically told them off in Kiswahili. Later that day, I recounted the experience to "Mama". I thought she would laugh and that would be the end of it, but instead, she got rather defensive. As I noted in my journal on July 2:

> *…She said it was an African's right to call people by their skin color and she didn't consider it rude at all. I guess she's never had people screaming at her all day long every day for 5.5 months so maybe she really doesn't understand, but I couldn't for the life of me make her understand that there is a difference between someone identifying you by your skin color and someone identifying you by your country or continent. In my mind, it is not even the same thing at all…all I can say is I am just so ready to get home at this point, where I can simply just be a person.*

I have never felt like I would ever be able to say that I could relate to the Black American's experience before now, and there are of course many aspects of which I will never be able to understand whatsoever. But after almost 6 months of being yelled at every day multiple times a day because of my white skin, I feel like I at least can relate to what it feels like to be targeted because of my skin color. What

a tragedy that not even 50 years discrimination because of skin color was still commonly practiced – and even legal – in the U.S.

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Making Progress

The below section simply describes some of my experiences in collecting data. I was surprised at the willingness most of the women showed in discussing such heavy issues. The majority of them were very open! Additionally, I mentioned International Women's Day, which we celebrated with a parade and then an assembly in the main town on Ukerewe. It felt ironic to me to celebrate this day dedicated towards women and then for me to be researching gender discrimination. It just goes to show that while we can celebrate women all we want, there is still much to be done if women are going to obtain the equal rights and respect they well deserve.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com March 11, 2012 6:22 am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Progress, progress, progress!

Dear Mom,

I have now interviewed 12 women. Most of them have been VERY willing to talk, though some have been a little bit anxious and hesitant to say very much. Initially, my interview goal was 20 women, but since I've already had 12, I think I'm going to aim for 30 (my committee advised me to get IRB approval for 30, in case I ended up able to get more than 20). I'm thankful my committee had such foresight!

My visits to the schools have stalled, but I believe will pick back up again this week. Last week we took time off from visiting schools (for my work) because of International Women's Day on Thursday. Adila was helping a Swedish NGO

conduct forums at three secondary schools (actually, very similar work to what I am doing) to talk with the girl students about International Women's Day, women's importance in the world, to the economy, to families and communities, etc. Then on Thursday we had a big parade of women and girls (in which I participated) march down the main road of Ukerewe into the big "stadium" (really just a couple of soccer fields with a wall around them and a small stage on the side) for a celebration. The celebration consisted of a speech by the District Commissioner (a woman), a performance by a dance troop, and lots of dancing by all. All the women who participated wore matching Kongas…a konga is a big piece of material used for anything from a skirt, to a head wrap, to something you can use to tie your baby on your back. It was a wonderful time to celebrate women and encourage the girls who will (hopefully) be leading Tanzania in the future.

It is still rather hot here, especially mid-afternoon, but nothing like January and February, where the heat was so stifling it was debilitating. Literally, I would come back from biking from a school visit completely wet with sweat. Now, at night it cools down to probably the low 70s. From what I understand, the weather is only going to get better in terms of heat, though we should be coming into the rainy season any day now.

Love you so much!
Rachel

P.S. – Greg just got here like 2 weeks ago and he's already practically fluent in Kiswahili. (Well, maybe not fluent but he picks up languages so fast it is insane.)

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To: "rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu March 11, 2012 6:40 am
From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Progress, progress, progress!

Dear Rachel,

Your International Women's Day celebration sounds wonderful! How hopeful for the future of women and girls in Ukerewe! Will you bring me a Kanga from women's day? I hope you are taking lots of pictures.

Congratulations on already getting through 12 interviews! That's great!
Glad to hear the weather is cooling off for you there.

Not surprised to hear about Greg. Maybe he'll also learn Kikerewe while he's there.

Love,
Mom

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Women and girls

It is an interesting dichotomy, that is, the supposed rights of women and girls and the actual lives of most women and girls in Ukerewe. It gets even more complicated when you realize that Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, past-president of the Pan-African Parliament was born and bred in Ukerewe. Additionally, the current district commissioner is a woman, as was the previous (though the district commissioners are assigned their position by the national government, and usually they are not actually from the district in which they serve). Yet in nearly every single interview, women either told me, or their stories implied, that gender discrimination is still prevalent in Ukerewe. Despite the many policies and declarations that have been created to support equality of women and girls, implementation is another story. Ironically, though many of the women complained about this, many of these same women seemed to do a whole-lot-of girl-blaming when it came to the issue of sexual abuse and harassment, saying that girls brought the abuse on themselves by wearing short skirts (these skirts I did not see) or by not being strong enough to say "no."

On the other hand, I am humbled by some of the women. Many of them thanked me for caring enough about them to come to Ukerewe and spend time learning about their lives. They thanked me for the opportunity to speak to someone

who wanted to listen. And they challenged me to take what I was learning, to write it up and give it to community leaders, to make my own recommendations, and to make a way for change. What a tremendous responsibility!

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To: "mom" mom@gmail.com March 30, 2012 5:27 am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Just a typical Tanzanian day!

Dear Mom,

Yesterday I completed my 23rd interview. I can't believe how quickly these have gone! I'm getting some excellent (though depressing) data from these women. As for the visits to the schools, though I haven't been getting to go as often as I initially hoped, they have still been going well and I am getting good information from the girls, as well as providing them an opportunity to talk about their lives and hopefully discover feasible solutions for challenges.

As for daily life, Greg and I are in a pretty good routine. For me, each day starts with a run at 6:45, and in the last two weeks I've acquired a running partner (he grew up with our next-door neighbor). This has been great because I've been able to explore new parts of the island, as he obviously knows his way around, plus I'm not willing to risk going too far off of the familiar path alone. So after returning home from the run and showering off (or rather, pouring water on myself from a bucket), our cook comes with breakfast around 8:30. This can consist of anything from local oatmeal (called uji, which I love) to boiled bananas (also good), to local donuts, to chapattis. To get a good picture of what chapattis are, think of either a thick greasy (not crispy) fried tortilla, when made with flour, or a cross between an omelets and pancakes, when she adds eggs. Greg likes to sprinkle sugar on his egg-chapattis, and I like peanut butter on my plain ones. After that I usually spend the morning transcribing interviews or something of the sort.

After about 11am, each day can vary. Sometimes I go to a school, sometimes I have an interview (usually later in the afternoon), and if I don't do either, sometimes Greg and I spend a few hours in the afternoon after lunch practicing our Kiswahili with one of the guys who works with our cook. For lunch, we eat in town at the catering place where our cook, *Dodo*[6], works. In the evenings, Dodo brings dinner around 6:30pm. Lunch and dinner can be anything from rice and

[6] Dodo in Kiswahili means "plump and loveable"

beans (the best beans are cooked in coconut milk) to fish (samaki) to boiled bananas with meat – kind of like meat and potatoes. There is almost always some sort of cooked green vegetable on the side and some kind of fresh fruit (mango, pineapple, bananas, avocado, etc.). And lately, we've also had homemade, fresh avocado juice to go with it. Sometimes, on superior days, we get avocado mixed with passion fruit – a great mix of sweet and tart. Those days are the best.

This week I had an experience I'll never forget. Polisi (my running partner, yes, his name is "Police", not sure if that's his nick-name or what) and I were coming back from a run in a direction that is not often traveled by cars (though many people walk and there are many bikes, motorcycles, etc. on this road). The road is sandy and can be very dusty when cars drive by. As we were running, I noticed a woman sitting on the side of the road. But as we got closer to her, I realized she was in pain. Then I realized she was in pain because – she was in labor!! I stopped immediately and told Polisi we needed to help her. There was a rather irritated woman with her, and he started talking with her while I stood by and tried to comfort the woman, who, judging by her soft features and a little patch of acne on her cheeks, was really probably not older than 16. Finally two motorcycles came by, which Polisi immediately flagged down. Polisi convinced one of them to take her to the hospital, and the other motorcycle driver and I helped the girl-and-belly awkwardly climb on the motorcycle in-between contractions. Her aunt (or whoever) climbed on behind her, and all three, including the basket ball-sized belly were soon on their way. This was probably NOT the best way to get a pregnant woman in labor to the hospital, but in the moment it was the best option. The hospital was at least 6 miles away from where we were, so hopefully they made it safely there before the baby came. What an eventful morning though!

There is only one hospital on the island, and to my knowledge it's actually the only real hospital in the entire district (which contains several other islands surrounding the main island of Ukerewe). There is an issue of women going into labor and not making it to the hospital on time, in fact for those women who don't live on the main island, sometimes they actually end up giving birth in a canoe on the way. It makes me thankful for modern amenities in the U.S., but also makes my heart hurt for these women as they face so many challenges in their lives!

Love and miss you, mom! Your favorite daughter,
Rachel

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To: "Rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu April 1, 2012, 5:46am

From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Just a typical Tanzanian day!

Dear Rachel,

That poor girl! I hope she made it to the hospital OK! Did you get to see her later? Did you get to meet the baby? I can't believe you are still running there! But I'm relieved that you have a running partner!

Tell Greg I said happy birthday! I hope you found a way to celebrate!

Love,
Mom

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Schools

There are two types of government schools on the island: primary schools, which go through standard 7 (like going through middle school), and secondary schools, which are like high school. Primary school is compulsory in Tanzania, while secondary school is not. As a student, after primary school, you have to pass a test to enter into secondary school, and then your parent (or you, the student) has to be able to pay the school fees.

There are several things worth noting about secondary schooling on the island. First, most of the schools seem over crowded. I have no idea what the student/teacher ratio is, but my estimation is 100:1. At each school, the lack of teachers seemed to be a major issue. Additionally, from my regularly conducted observations, it seemed like being in class was less important than having clean school grounds. I noted in my journal on May 23,

> …I'm watching the students clean the grounds. At every school I've visited, nearly every time I'm there, there are a host of students doing groundwork –

> hoeing, cutting the grass, trimming bushes and trees, whatever. Since I visit schools around 1pm and students leave after that, I have to wonder how much time they actually spend learning. Granted, it could be that this is considered P.E.? Beats me. But it sure seems weird. Not to mention the teachers walk around carrying these threatening looking sticks. It seems more like prison than school.

It also seems like teacher and administrator attendance at school is of low priority. (Granted, some of them work only half-days because of the subjects they teach.) Take Adilah, my interpreter who is also a teacher. She can easily leave early from her class or arrive late so that she can work with me at another school, and it doesn't seem to be an issue with her administrators. She also volunteers with other local organizations, and sometimes misses several days at a time to go to workshops, facilitate meetings, etc. And she is not the only teacher with such a "relaxed" schedule. At most of the schools I visited, the headmaster was only there a minimal amount of time. As I noted in my field notes on June 20, 2012 after leaving one school:

> …I didn't see the headmaster again today –I've only seen him twice since I've been going there. This seems to be the case with most headmasters – they seem to be "on safari" more often than they are at school.

Finally, teacher/student relationships do not seem to have boundaries. This is an issue I will discuss in greater detail in my analysis and findings chapter, but I will provide a brief example here. As I noted in my participant observation field notes on June 6, 2012,

> …I noticed a few girls sitting outside under a tree a few buildings away. The debate [where the other students were] was happening on the far side of the school, outside. A building or two was obstructing the view of these students from the debate. But there were 2 or 3 male (young looking) teachers there [under the tree with the girls], too. One […] stopped by the group and was touching one of the girls on his way back [to join the debate]. He held her hand – she was sitting, he was standing, and he proceeded to flirt with her – she rolled on the ground a little – maybe he was tickling her?

I could not help but think about how abhorrent it was that there was this atmosphere at this school where teachers think it is acceptable to flirt with – and to have these very close relationships – with their female students. Though hand-holding out of affection is a common sight in Tanzania, except for these occasions, I am not sure I ever observed hand-holding between a male and a female, as usually this occurs girl-girl, boy-boy. But I observed again on June 20, 2012, at the same school,

> …just saw one of the young male teachers under a tree holding hands with a schoolgirl. A couple of other students were there. The teacher/student were swinging their held-hands back and forth, very happy-go-lucky.

While it was troubling that from my impression, teachers did not seem to hold their jobs as a very high priority, it was more troubling to see the way many of the male teachers behaved with their female students. I am not sure if the men teachers or their female students initiate the flirting, but either way, the girls are under-age and the teachers should be respecting their students, their own

reputation, and their profession. I will discuss this phenomenon in greater detail in the next chapter.

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Real Initiation – Malaria

Contracting malaria was one of the most difficult, yet eye-opening experiences for me on a personal level. Beyond the fact that I was so sick I was ready to die, it taught me so much about how challenging it is simply just to live in this part of the world. I was privileged to be one that could afford treatment right away, but that is not the case for so many people that live in sub-Saharan Africa. Malaria, a treatable disease, is the second leading cause of death in Africa, following HIV/AIDS (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010). It is absolutely a tragedy that so many still suffer and die from it.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com May 7, 2012, 6:03am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: Don't worry, it's only malaria…

Dear Mom,

Don't worry now, but last weekend and the beginning of the week I was suffering from malaria! As you know, I have never had malaria before, and honestly can say that I never want to experience it again. It is absolutely miserable! I was ready (and wanted) to die. I had "strand 2", and all my African friends seemed to think it was one of the worst forms. Anyways, it came with back-and-forth hot-to-cold, high fever, stomach issues, headache, muscle spasms, shaking, and extreme fatigue. I'm very thankful I have my very devoted nurse (Greg) here with me. He was so helpful, and I may not have even realized I was suffering from malaria until much later, except that Greg suggested I get tested since I was feeling so bad. All that to say, Greg and I concluded that we are very grateful Bill Gates is pouring so much money into the eradication of

such a terrible virus! African residents contract malaria several times in their lives – and sometimes several times a year. I can't even imagine having it more than once! Greg and I also laughed at how many visitors I received when I felt like I was on the brink of death. The culture here is that if someone is sick, his or her friends come and visit them – maybe multiple times a day, sometimes bearing gifts. Anyways, with all the visitors, I really didn't have time to stay sick! I have to be honest, though, I really missed my own bed, my own food, my own shower, my own toilet, my own language, etc., during this time of being sick. I have two more months…

Love, your daughter. Don't worry, malaria didn't kill me!
Rachel

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To: "Rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu May 7, 2012, 6:05am
From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Don't worry, it's only malaria…HOW COULD I NOT BE WORRIED!!!

Dear Rachel,

I think getting malaria is a little above and beyond the call of duty. I think your committee should pass you as soon as you get back. Who needs a dissertation! They should be glad you're alive!! But I am sure relieved that you waited to get malaria until Greg got there! So glad he's been there to take care of you.

Love and miss you and don't push yourself too much! You don't want a relapse!

Mom

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Getting around Ukerewe

Unless you walk, the cheapest way to get around Ukerewe is by bike. If you don't own a bike, you can rent one from one of the many bike stands in town for TSH 300 per hour – about 20 cents – you really can't beat the price! There are only about 4 miles of paved road in Ukerewe, so before long you will be on a rocky, sandy road trying to avoid everything from cows, pikipiki (motorcycles), women carrying

buckets on their head, babies on their backs, and sometimes other things strapped on as well (these women are remarkably strong). Some of the roads are amazingly bad – more like riding on the beach, but the sand is softer so it is really difficult to get any traction at all.

Pikipiki is one of the most common forms of transportation for many, but is significantly more expensive than going by bike. My interpreter took a pikipiki to get to most of the schools where we held the clubs for girls. It would easily cost 5,000 TSH one-way for her to get from her house or job to one of the schools. So one trip for her, round-trip, was about $7.00 USD, where I was paying less than $1.00 to go by bike. This is a significant expense to a Tanzanian, where many of the population live on less than $2.00 a day, and in rural areas like Ukerewe, many live on less than $1.00 a day (Tanzania Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

Comparable in price to the pikipiki is the daladala. But for traveling long distances, the daladala is usually more economical. Basically a mini-bus without seatbelts, you honestly don't really need a seatbelt because the vehicle is packed so full of people and things that you really can't move the entire time you're on it. Think of a Volkswagen van from the 70s carrying 17 adults, a child or two, baskets, bags of oranges, raw fish, fabric, water jugs, and a mattress-or-two folded in half and tied to the roof. And while the driver does have a license to operate a moving vehicle, there really is no speed limit and the unwritten job-description of the daladala driver is that he drive as fast and crazy as he can with as little regard for pedestrians, bikers, and cows as possible.

Finally, you have taxi drivers. They are fairly reliable, but more expensive than the other forms of transportation on the island. Especially if you are mzungu. So if you are mzungu and need to take a taxi anywhere, you get your African friend to flag down the taxi driver and negotiate a price while you hide behind a bush or pretend you aren't together. If you are lucky, they will stick to the negotiated price, and if you are luckier, you'll have a seat-belt.

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Domestic Violence

The situation described below was one of the most disturbing incidents Greg and I witnessed. It was painful to hear the woman's screams and to have no power to intervene. While domestic violence is a problem everywhere in the world, I could not help but think that it was more of a problem here because women are still seen by many as property.

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com June 8, 2012 4:33am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: On UK life

Dear Mom,

One thing that has been on our minds a lot lately is domestic violence. We witnessed an incident last Friday night across the street from us. Greg tried to help the woman who was being beaten, but the man dragged her inside and slammed the door. (Don't worry, Greg's smart enough that he didn't get too close…) Afterwards we were standing outside with several of our neighbors and they were talking about how common domestic violence is, and that the law enforcement does not intervene because they consider it a "family problem." We even encouraged one of our neighbors to call one of the police officers she knew, which she did seemingly only to satisfy us, and they said they would not come. So that was difficult for us to witness…though we know it happens in the U.S., too, and really, everywhere, we still felt very sorrowful for the situation.

> And maybe it feels more prevalent here because the houses are so close together and nothing really is soundproof.
>
> BUT, on a more uplifting note, we went to church on Sunday to the African Inland Church. This is the second largest church on the island. The speaker that day used the Bible to talk about the importance of husbands and wives loving each other and husbands NOT beating their wives, but valuing them and treating them as equals. So, after moping around all weekend depressed about our neighbor's situation, we were VERY encouraged to know that churches – which are fairly influential – are preaching against domestic violence.
>
> I've finished my interviews and most of my focus now has been on visiting schools to meet with girls and trying to come up with practical strategies/recommendations that will bring more equality to girls in the school environment. I'm so thankful for the wise women who are working with me on this.
>
> Love,
> Rachel

****

Women's Work

Women are the backbone of families in the Ukerewe community. They are the first up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night. They do all the domestic work while caring for their children, and most of them also do some sort of income generating activity, too. Whether it is farming, sewing, cleaning offices, or selling fruits and vegetables from the top of their heads or a small fruit stand, I have yet to meet a lazy Ukerewe woman.

There are also particular jobs that only women are traditionally permitted to do, such as fetching and carrying water. It is appropriate for men to fetch water only if they are selling it and only if they have a cart on which they can push several buckets of it at a time. But when the family needs it, then it is a woman or girl's job.

Greg and I learned this all too well when we ran out of water one day and Greg had to carry the water bucket back from town. Here is an excerpt from my journal:

> …we haven't seen as many people selling drinking water lately, so yesterday we told *Dodo* we had run out. She usually knows people who can bring it by. But this time she just took one of our buckets with her to the market and said she would get someone to fill it. By lunch time the bucket was full and waiting for us in the *hotelini* (restaurant), where we usually eat lunch. As we sat down, I told Greg to begin thinking of what he was going to say to defend me, knowing that we would get yelled at when he carried the bucket of water and not me.
>
> Sure enough, before we even left the *hotelini*, a man yelled at Greg, who was beginning to pick up the bucket, something to the effect of "Katika Ukerewe, wanawake wanabeba maji!" (Meaning, "In Ukerewe, women carry water!") Then he proceeded to tell (or rather yell at) Greg he needed to make me carry it.
>
> There is no possible way I could have carried that bucket. For one, women (and very small girls) carry full buckets of water *on their heads!* I don't have the right "training" to know how or be capable of doing that. And these buckets are so heavy when full, there is no way I could have just carried it by hand that far – a little over half a mile….So, pretty much the entire way home people either stared at us oddly – as Greg carried the water and I walked beside (not behind) him – and those who know my name yelled,

"Lacho, bebe maji!" ("Rachel, carry the water!" – they can't say "R" and instead use "L"). I just answered "hapana" (no) with a smile.

I just don't understand at all how men can sit by and make women do such difficult manual labor – even as small children! And it does bother me that little girls, whose bodies are still developing, are carrying these buckets of water on their heads – sometimes for long distances. It could really cause serious issues as they are growing.

In some families, this notion of "women's work" does seem to be changing. For example, when I recounted this experience to my colleague and interpreter, *Adilah,* who grew up in Ukerewe, laughed and confirmed it is true – men here do refuse to carry water. But she also said that in her family, she sends all her children (she has both daughters and sons) to fetch the water – it was something that needs to be done, and everyone needs to help. I agreed.

****

Wrapping Things Up!

While I was very ready to get back home in so many ways, at the same time, in a way I felt that I was just getting settled. My time in Ukerewe was life changing. And in many ways, I believe I am only getting started there. I am fairly confident I will be back.

To: "Rachel" rachjoy@uga.edu June 24, 2012, 5:05am
From: "mom" mom@gmail.com
Subject: Re: UK life…

Dear Rachel,

I am so looking forward to seeing you! We are playing "the count-down until Rachel comes home." I know this experience has been life changing for you and I can't wait to hear all about it. Dad and I are going to drive up the day after you get back. I wanted to meet you at the airport, but Dad reminded me that you are going to be exhausted and probably the first thing you'll want to do is sleep. Are you craving anything from home? Let me know and I'll have it ready! I'm going to make you blueberry jam.

Love,
Mom

****

To: "mom" mom@gmail.com June 25, 2012 5:33am
From: "me" rachjoy@uga.edu
Subject: See you soon!

Dear Mom,

Well, Greg left today and I'll be following shortly. It has finally "cooled" off here such that the weather is rather enjoyable. Too bad I'll miss the "cold" part of the year. It's really not that cold at all, though to Tanzanians it is. It does get chilly enough that I need to wear a long-sleeved shirt outside in the evenings, but Tanzanians are wearing sweaters, jackets, and some even toboggans. In some ways it makes me laugh. I guess it's all about what you're used to! In many ways I'm dreading returning to the Georgia heat in the middle of the summer – but nothing can be as bad as Dar in January, that's for sure!

I am so grateful for the experience I have had here in Tanzania. Wow! It has been life changing.

Love you and can't wait to see you!
Rachel

****

In this section, I have tried to give a taste of what life in Ukerewe was like. Obviously, this is from the perspective of a white-woman from the West. However, that is who I am and my experiences and interpretations of the community were negotiated by my perceptions and the perceptions of me held by community members. Sometimes I think that because I am a white and empowered woman,

these women confided in me more than they would have to another Tanzanian woman, perhaps holding out hope that I might be able to bring change to their situation. Other times, though more rare, a woman distrusted me. I characterize this as distrust since occasionally the women said very little and acted suspicious of me.

In the next chapter, I present my findings from this research. The women and girls entrusted me with their stories, so I have done my best to represent them as accurately as possible. However, I realize their incompleteness as I interpret the themes that I have located in my analysis. In the following chapter, I will detail five themes that emerged from my interview and observational data. I follow with a concluding chapter where I discuss implications and make recommendations, while acknowledging both the limitations and strengths.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Findings and How they are Represented

In this chapter I present five themes that emerged from the analysis of my interview and observational data. Through the lens of the ecological-transactional theory (Cicchetti & Toth, 2000), I provide an explanation of how each theme is manifested at the various levels of an Ukerewe girl's life. Each theme is first presented to the reader with a story I have crafted that is grounded in the data. My goal in doing this is to represent my research participants and their world, in Ukerewe, "for just purposes," keeping in mind the advice of Madison (2005, p. 14). Below is a chart of the five hopeful names of each girl or woman displayed in the stories I crafted to represent each theme (See Table 1). I have included the meaning of the names.

Table 1: Names of the crafted girls that represent each theme.

Name	Meaning	Story to represent
Nadia, age 16	Hope	Theme 1: Women and girls have historically not been valued
Idili, age 13	Well-behaved	Theme 2: Transactional sex due to poverty
Nabila, age 14	Noble or Honorable	Theme 3: Some teachers in Ukerewe manipulate their

		girl students into sex
Intisar, age 15	Triumph	Theme 4: No justice
Imara, age 42	Strong or resolute	Theme 5: Deterioration of culture

Following the story, I discuss the theme by pulling in data I collected from the 30 interviews with women and participant observation with girls. Before explaining the themes and how the women were represented throughout, I provide demographic data.

Demographic data. The goal was to recruit women from diverse backgrounds; women who varied by area in which they lived, education level, religion, age, and her profession. Within women participants, fourteen villages and the main town were represented. Of religion, participants included: 15 Catholics, 5 Seventh-day Adventists, 5 Pentecostal, 3 Islamic, and 2 from the African Inland Church.

In terms of area of profession, most of the participants were farmers (16 women), seven were current or retired teachers, two were nurses, three were members of the local government (one of these was also a farmer), two had just finished school (one Form 4 and the other From 6), and one was a seamstress.

In terms of education level, one interviewee had a B.A. in Education and another interviewee was in the process of obtaining her B.A. One had a diploma in Adult Education, one finished Form 1 (equivalent to freshman year of high school), one Form 3, three Form 4, two others finished Form 4 and went on to nursing training, three others received teaching diplomas (two of these finished Form 4, the other standard 8, she completed

school before independence when school was structured differently). Fourteen participants finished through standard 7, and one stopped school after completing standard 4.

The mean age of participants was 43 with the range beginning with as young as 20 years old to as old as 69. Interviews ranged from taking as little as 36 minutes for the shortest interview to as long as 1 hour and 11 minutes for the longest.

Composite figures. To represent the interviewees, I have created composite figures and selected nine Kiswahili women's names to represent the thirty women I interviewed. My reasoning behind using only nine names is as follows:

1) to simplify data representation. Using 30 pseudonym names gets confusing for both the reader and me. Therefore, I created composite figures and combined the 30 women into nine for the purpose of data representation.
2) to again protect confidentiality of my interviewees. I used a pseudonym in all of the transcripts and in creating the nine women to represent the interviews, I again replaced the first pseudonym with a new one.
3) to display the hope I saw in each of the women I interviewed and all of the girls I observed. Each of the names I selected for use in the below section has a meaning that represents the purposeful future I saw in the lives of these women and girls and for Ukerewe.

Where there was a counter-opinion – one that contradicted most of the women I interviewed, I used the name *Mwamini* to represent the varied or opposite expressed opinion. Below is a chart with the women's names and their meanings (See Table 2). These names are used throughout this chapter. Names are displayed in the order in which they appear in the below text.

Table 2: Kiswahili girl's names, meanings, and usage in the below section.

Name	Meaning	How used in the below section
Hakima, age 68	Wise or insightful	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees
Sadiki, age 23	Honest or Sincere	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees
Rahma, age 42	Compassion	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees
Imani, age 55	Faith	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees
Muna, age 43	Hope	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees
Shahida, age 35	Witness	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees
Sala, age 47	Peace	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees

Name	Meaning	How used in the below section
Mwamini, age 52	Truthful	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees
Karama, age 39	Honor	Crafted figure used to represent women interviewees

It is important to note that I have chosen to edit the quotes I display below for sake of readability. However, I have not changed the meaning of any of the quotes. As well, in some of the excerpts I have edited out redundant parts, including the Kiswahili and the in-between comments or translations of my interpreter (twenty-eight of the interviews were conducted in Kiswahili with the assistance of an interpreter).

Women and Girls have Historically not been Valued

> *My name is* Nadia. *I am 16 and the oldest child with two younger brothers. Though I used to be a good student, I had to quit school when the brother behind me started secondary school. I miss wearing my sharp white school blouse and grey pleated skirt. I think my uniform made me look smart! My dad said that it was useless to educate girls. He said he would receive no benefit from my education because I would take that benefit to my in-laws when I get married. My mom says I was lucky to have even finished primary school. When my mom was a girl, her parents refused to send her to school at all because they wanted her to stay at home and take care of the goats. So now I stay at home to*

help my mom on the farm. We are the first to wake up and the last to go to bed. There is a lot to do on a farm. We grow cassava, mangos, and bananas. And we have chickens, which means sometimes we – or at least my brothers – get to eat eggs. Sometimes I am jealous of my brothers. They are getting an education, but also do very little work around the house and my father makes sure they have time to study and to rest. They also always get to eat first, even though I do all the cooking. It sure would be nice to be a boy.

As this representative story reveals, women and girls in Ukerewe have historically not been considered equal to men and boys. Wight et al. (2006) reported that women are considered to be of lower status than men in much of sub-Saharan Africa, and that in the rural part of northern Tanzania where they were conducting their research, men had greater power due to economic factors and understood gender roles. Njoh and Rigos (2003) provided a historical overview of women's participation in socio-economics of sub-Saharan Africa, claiming a "triple heritage" (p. 94) has continued to reinforce the "preferential treatment of men" over women. They claim this is because of first, the inequalities already practiced in cultural and traditional aspects of Africa, next, Islam, and third, Western/Christian beliefs and ideologies enforced during colonialism. Leach (2006) also discusses the imbalance of power between males and females "built on socially sanctioned inequalities" (p. 27). She talks about it again with Humphreys (2007), claiming that structural inequalities between males and females exist in multiple arenas of society, saying that such inequality between the genders is later used to justify violence against women and girls. Others said similar things, claiming that an unequal balance of

power between males and females is maintained by continued violence against women and girls (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002; United Nations (UN), 2006). All that to say, this inequality between women and men and boys and girls seems to be embedded within the structures of society and often perpetuated in the form of violence, lack of access to things like education, a de-valuing of women and girls in the family, and a justification of keeping girls disempowered. Finally, Jewkes et al. (2005), in discussing child rape, discussed the role of social structures in contributing to the vulnerability of children. Though the researchers were specifically focused on South Africa, much of their claims can apply. They noted that "patriarchal ideas" leave girls more vulnerable to rape and abuse "through legitimizing on some level displays of male power" in multiple spheres of society, creating and maintaining a gender hierarchy and an unequal distribution of power (p. 1819).

As noted in my literature review, in the education sector, specifically, historically in Tanzania girls have had less opportunity to be educated, particularly past primary school (Vavrus, 2002; Nickols et al., 2009). Evans (2002, 2005) also discussed how girls are usually the first to be withdrawn from schools when the family suffers from economic pressure or poverty. She also discussed the learning environment for girls in school, which is often highly discriminatory and abusive. Omatseye and Omatseye, in their book, *Going to School in sub-Saharan Africa* (2008), provided a historical review of education in Tanzania, claiming that traditionally children were to help their parents and that girls in particular were to help their mothers with household chores. As they grew older, their value came in their being

able to be married off and the bride price their family was able to obtain for their exchange.

According to my interviewees, women and girls have historically been treated as inferior and have been discriminated against on multiple levels. While this seems to be changing on some levels in Ukerewe, it seems that in other areas, such as ensuring a girl's body is cared for and is protected or assigning girls and boys an equitable distribution of domestic work within the home, the majority of the women I interviewed and girls I met with agreed that improvements are still needed.

Inequality in the Family. For example, in discussing equal access to an education, *Hakima*, a 68-year-old grandmother raising several of her grandchildren, explained that in the past,

> Some of the parents, when they were forced to register to admit their children to school they were hiding their, their girl children in their homes so they could not be sent to school. Because they said that 'when you educate a girl they are just useless.'

Sadiki, a 23-year-old single woman who recently finished secondary school, agreed. She said that,

> They did not want to educate girls in the previous days. They said the reason was, 'to educate girls it is like watering the neighbor's garden, you will not benefit from it.' Also they said, if you continue to educate girls, she will grow older and can get pregnant before marriage.

Girls at the schools I visited said that still today girls are not given an equal opportunity to succeed in school. In fact, girls not only said this, but they demonstrated this in skits they developed. The below skit represents an amalgamation of similar skits developed by girls at various schools. Skits with such a message were developed by the girls without my prompting them to do so.

> It was that time again…time to pay school fees. *Jalilah*[7], a fifteen-year-old Form 1[8] girl at *Mbali*[9] Secondary School knew her single mother would not be excited about paying these fees again, especially since Jalilah also had an older brother in secondary school. So after doing all her morning chores meticulously, she went to her mom and gently broke the news that she needed school fees again…but this time Jalilah's mother surprised her. She said no. SHE SAID NO! Her mother said she had recently thought more thoroughly about the schooling of her daughter and decided that there was too great of a risk that Jalilah would end up pregnant. She gave school fees to Jalilah's brother, but refused Jalilah's request. Crying, Jalilah ran out the door…sometime later, while wandering down a secluded dirt road, a fisherman, about 10 years Jalilah's elder, passed by Jalilah, noticing her tear-stained face. With a slight smirk, he asked her what was wrong. Feeling vulnerable, but like he was the first person to care, Jalilah related the story to this "compassionate" stranger. And compassionate he was. He reached into his back pocket and pulled out enough money to pay Jalilah's needed school fees…two months later, though, she was pregnant. Jalilah knew her mother

[7] Jalilah is a girls name that means "grand" or "noble" in Kiswahili.
[8] Form 1 is the first year of secondary school.
[9] Mbali means "far." Here I am using it to replace the name of a specific village that is far away from the island's main city.

would not allow her to return home. So instead of seeking help from her mother, Jalilah sought help from the local government official, the Village Executive Officer (VEO), who happened to be a woman. She told her the whole story. From there, the VEO went to talk to Jalilah's mom about the situation – from start to finish – scolding her mother for refusing to pay for Jalilah's school fees and telling her it was her fault Jalilah got pregnant. But Jalilah's mother refused to allow her to return home. Distraught, and feeling like it was her only option, Jalilah went to a local medicine man and bought traditional herbs to induce an abortion.[10] A few days later, accompanied by the VEO, Jalilah went home and lied to her mother that she was mistaken – she was never pregnant in the first place. Her mother welcomed her back home. Through much persuasion from both the VEO and Jalilah, her mother finally agreed that girls should attend school.

Over and over again, girls talked about parents favoring the boys, giving the boys school fees before the girls, sometimes sending girls to find their school fees on their own, and giving girls so many domestic chores that they do not have time to do their homework or study, while boys have time to study and time to rest. Though tragic that the above skit about Jalilah ends in her seeking an unsafe abortion, the last portion of the skit represents the hope that so many of the girls seemed to hold out – that one day, their parents would see them as equal to their brothers and that they, too, would have equal opportunity in pursuing an education. The girls' willingness to develop these

[10] Abortions are illegal in Tanzania, though they are not uncommon procedures. But because they are illegal, they are usually done with local medicines or done without regulations, many girls have lasting physical consequences, and sometimes die as a result.

skits and share them to others also represents a resiliency that so many of them hold that have allowed them to keep going despite the many challenges they face.

Girls also blamed their heavy load of domestic chores for keeping them from doing well in school and claimed that the boy child/children was their parent's first priority. Only in one school and on one day did girls say their parents "loved them more," and they said that this was because girls did more housework and that boys just "roamed around." So according to them, they were loved more because they did more work.

Girls also claimed that they are not allowed to participate in decision making in their families and that within their families, they have no voice. Some girls said that many parents in the community do not want to send their daughters to secondary school because they think they will end up pregnant. They would prefer to keep them home to do the household chores or for them to get married after primary school.

Rahma discussed this issue on multiple levels: girls' rights in terms of access to education (or lack thereof), position in the family, and right over her body. Below is an excerpt from my interview with Rahma, a 42-year-old mother of five who teaches kindergarten and nursery school.

> During my time, we were not given the chance to go to school to pursue further studies. When we completed primary education, our parents thought that was enough for girls. Our parents thought that a girl had no kind of benefit to the community. So they thought that their daughters would be getting married. And when a girl got married she would benefit her new family, rather than her own family….so there were some who passed well [to go to secondary school] but

> were not given a chance to continue with their studies. Also our parents considered that if a girl completed Standard 7 [the last grade in primary school] and got a fiancé and got married, that was enough. We attended primary school but when a parent wanted his daughter to get married he pulled his daughter from school and she would get married. This started as early as 13 or 14 years old. According to that time, [teachers], they did not care for girls, because the girls were not favored, were not given priority, they were not given, were not respected. So a boy could do anything to a girl, even rape her. Because they saw that girls and women had no voice. There was no law to protect girls during that time. Even teachers were engaged in this issue and caused some of the girls to get pregnant, because there was no law to protect girls.

The literature also reflects this. Leach and Humphreys (2007) reported that in sub-Saharan Africa, men and boys will perpetuate their power and dominance over women and girls by being violent towards them – sometimes in the form of rape – and that often boys will get away with it because it is justified as normal "boys-will-be-boys" behavior (p. 61). Jewkes et al. (2005) found similar things, and McCloskey (1997) claimed that men rape and are sexually abusive because they believe they have the right to do so.

Imani, a beautiful, 55-year-old woman with thick lips and a wide smile, discussed a girls' current position in the community and in the family. She said,

> In the, in the community, they [girls] are not of any value. In Ukerewe, [if you have] a boy and a girl in the family, even if the boy is two years old, and the girl is, even twenty years old, she has to respect this boy and bow before

> him…Even if there, there is one chair, and the girl was sitting on that chair, if her young brother comes, she has to give him the chair…And she will sit down. [Motions to the ground.]…This is our culture in Ukerewe…Therefore you find that, due to that, the child is brought up knowing that she's nothing…And it goes on even if she's grown up, she thinks that she's inferior to men.

Muna, a 43-year-old secondary school teacher, talked about traditions that limited a girls' access to particular foods that were reserved for boys and men and also the inequity in division of labor. She recounted,

> There were some traditions which lead to the discrimination of women or girls. For example in discrimination we can talk about food. For example, women were not allowed to eat chicken, ahh, what, goat, eggs…But also, under the division of labor, you can find women were given heavy duties to perform at home.

While traditions such as deeming certain food as "men's food" seems to be much less common today, as already mentioned, division of labor is still an issue. Such division teaches girls that they are less valued in the family and in society when their education is not made a priority, but instead they are given heavy chores in the home and not given time to study or do their schoolwork. Such inequalities in the family can set girls up for not succeeding in school, and can even teach them that they are not as important as their male counterparts. This can put them at risk for not valuing themselves and potentially not fighting back when someone attempts to abuse them or when a parent decides to keep them out of school. Girls expressed a desire to see awareness-raising

education conducted in Ukerewe on the importance of girls to society in hopes of removing the inequality they regularly face in both their family and community. This desire shows strength among the girls, and such education would increase the protective factors at multiple levels of the girls lives.

Inequality in School. Just as women and girls discussed an inequality between the division of labor and in how girls are treated in the home, girls also talked about unequal and discriminatory treatment they receive at school. I will address the theme of *sex with teachers* later, but I think it is appropriate to bring up inequality in the school system in this section.

One specific issue girls brought up was that of pregnancy. Reportedly, if a girl gets pregnant while a student, she is expelled from school. However, if a schoolboy is the one who impregnates her, he is not expelled, but can continue his education. Girls were upset by this issue, saying that if a schoolboy gets a schoolgirl pregnant, he should be expelled, too, not simply the girl. Some wanted stricter punishment, saying that if a boy or man got a schoolgirl pregnant, he should be sent to jail for 30 years – which is what the law requires (Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act, 1998), but based on my time in the field, I would say it is not often that it is enforced in Ukerewe. Not enforcing this law sets up a structural inequity that can continually perpetuate the idea that a boy's education is more important than a girl's and that boys are of greater value to society than that of girls.

Girls were also very concerned about the sorts of punishment they receive at school. This was something they brought up quite often and at several schools. One day I asked the girls to tell me how the government and community could better

support them as girls. One group of girls specifically said they would like the government to stop some of the kinds of punishment they are receiving at school. Two examples they mentioned specifically were that sometimes teachers make them jump like a frog for a long distance or dig big stones out of the ground. They also said they wanted their parents to talk about such punishments they are receiving. Jumping like a frog for a long distance must be very degrading for girls, particularly since they wear skirts to school. I am sure they feel very exposed.

Though the women I interviewed addressed specific punishments less, many of them alluded to the teachers' ability or power to punish their students, sometimes seemingly with no basis. Girls in one school also mentioned teachers beating them or "giving strokes" when they refuse to have sex. At another school they used a skit to demonstrate a similar concept, except in this case the teacher promised the girl he would not give her strokes at school if she agreed to have sex. (I will discuss this later in greater detail when I talk about the theme *sex with teachers.*)

I also observed my own share of corporal punishment being given. For example, I pulled up on my bike one day to meet with girls and there were probably 50 students (boys and girls) on their knees in the school's yard, right outside of the school's administrative building. A teacher was walking from student to student, hitting each of them twice with a stick on the hand or the arm. It was up to the student as to whether they received both blows on the same hand/arm or one on each side. In this case, all of these students were being hit on the hand or arm, but on a different day, girls from another school were concerned that so many of them had

received corporal punishment from their teacher on the rear, rather than the hand. I did not ask the girls if this punishment was from a male or female teacher, but assume since at most schools there are nearly only male teachers, and since the girls were so concerned about it, it was likely a male. Either way, it was obviously humiliating enough to the girls that it was mentioned several times.

Additionally, there is still physical abuse permitted in the schools which is labeled "punishment." Thirty-five-year-old *Shahida* in particular gave a strong example of how a girl resisted a boy's sexual advances and was in turn beaten by him while still on the school grounds. Below I provide an excerpt from my interview:

> Shahida: …in our community it happened last month, that a boy, a certain boy student loved a girl student and wanted to engage her sexually. Mmhmm. He loved her since when they were in Form 3 (the third year of secondary school). So they are now in Form 4, and he was still approaching the girl. So, he took the girl's jacket. And he told her to go and take her jacket from his room. So from there where they were still discussing, they were in a quarrel, the, that girl, she told that boy bad language. And from there the boy started beating the girl. After that she fell down and he started kicking her around her waist and her back. At that time there were two girls one of them trying to find teachers but they were not around, and the second one trying to help the girl but she was also beaten by that boy, so she decided to leave him. Thereafter, the girl who was beaten failed to walk alone to her home so those two girls helped her walk slowly until they reached her home. And from there they sent her to the hospital where she was admitted…She stayed at

hospital for a while. At school they announced that they don't want see that boy at school. And he was caught and they sent him to the police. Then his father came and he paid money for bail so the boy was allowed to get out of police station…Thereafter, the boy continued with his studies while the girl was still at hospital.

Rachel: Uh!

Shahida: So he was allowed to go to school, and he even did the mid-term exams while that girl was at home.

Rachel: OH!

Shahida: Thereafter, they sent that case to the court.

Rachel: OK

Shahida: From there, the boys' family wanted to discuss with the girl's family so that they could make some compensation for the girl.

Rachel: In the court, or no?

Shahida: No. Yeah, he was sent to, the case was in the court but these two families came together to discuss this matter so that they could make some compensation for the girl, for her injury. So from there they said "no, we need the case to see if she was much injured from that beating." And they went to a different district to a certain hospital for treatment. When they sent her to that hospital she got more treatment because she was so injured around her waist. So the ones who were concerned with paying for the treatment for that girl was the one who was beating her. Yeah, the boy's family. The one who had beaten her.

Rachel: So they, were they paying the fees?

Shahida: Yes, they paid the fees for treatment. And they were compensating, they gave also the compensation for the girl for, for beating her. And during the case, when they went for the case day, she didn't turn up in the court.

Rachel: The girl?

Shahida: Yeah. Because they already compensated her, so what's she going to do?

Here we see an example of where the boy, who was angry at the girl who refused to have sex with him, ended up beating one of his classmates on the school campus. And after she was beaten so much that she ended up in the hospital, he was still permitted to return to school and even completed his national exams. If the girl had agreed to have sex with him and had gotten pregnant, she would have been expelled from school while he would have been permitted to continue his studies. So either way, the girl would have been punished, and the boy, despite the abuse, was shown favoritism.

At the macro level, there are laws in place in Tanzania and Conventions to which Tanzania is a party, that recognize girls as equal to boys, acknowledge the historical discrimination of girls over boys, and call for girls to be treated as equals (e.g., Tanzania's Child Development Policy, 1996; The African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, ratified 1984; The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, ratified 1985). However, these laws need to be implemented and upheld in order to effect change. As well, the Ukerewe community at the macro level is going to have to change some cultural traditions that make girls feel

like they are less valuable when compared to boys. I will discuss some of these things in more detail in the next chapter.

It is important to emphasize that despite the discrimination that still persists, much positive change has already taken place over the last several years. As *Muna* mentioned, it used to be that girls and women were not allowed to eat certain foods because those foods were reserved for boys and men. Based on my observations and interactions in the community, that has been improving. This is a chrono-level issue – something that is changing and improving overtime, but in other areas besides food, will still take time and the development of specific initiatives to breed progress.

I did interact with several girls who knew and were able to articulate their value and worth. Likely this is because these girls were indeed valued at the micro level in their families – though maybe not to the extent as their brothers. But, they were at least allowed to go to secondary school, while many girls in the community are kept out of secondary school for reasons noted earlier (i.e., because their parents cannot afford it, their parents fear their daughters will get pregnant at school or on the way to school, their parents prefer to keep them home either to do chores or to find them a husband, or they simply do not see the value in sending their girls to get more than a primary education). While the girls who are happy for the opportunity to be seeking an education articulated such, they also communicated that despite their educational opportunities, they were still responsible for many more chores than their brothers, and said that they often do not do well in school because their brothers are still prioritized and favored over them in their homes. As mentioned, the amount of

housework they are required to do leaves them little time to study. So even at the micro level, while improvement has happened, more change is still needed.

Transactional Sex due to Poverty

> Idili *was a barely-thirteen-year-old girl just entering puberty. Like most girls her age, she kept her head shaved, both to fit-in with the other girls and for the sake of convenience. Tall and slim, Idili was one of six children from a remote village in Ukerewe. Her mother farmed and sold vegetables and her father was a fisherman. They made very little money. Sometimes they made just enough to put food on the table to feed six hungry, growing kids. Idili helped her mom as much as possible, but she hated asking for any material needs because she knew how much her parents struggled. But Idili needed soap. Unsure of how she was going to come up with the money, while cooking together one day, she asked her mother for advice. "You are old enough to provide for yourself now," her mother said. "Your father and I have given you all you have needed since birth. Now, you need to find a man who can support you." Not wanting to resort to sex, but feeling like it was the only option, Idili began to look for a man who would support her.*

This crafted tale represents a blending of many stories I heard from women and girls alike. In each interview, I asked the women to describe what growing up was like for them in the Ukerewe district. Most of my interviewees compared their upbringing with the lives of girls today. At some point in each interview, we discussed the issue of sex, and whether girls receive any benefits from engaging in sex at an early age. I learned that at a young age, Ukerewe girls are engaging in

transactional sex, or sex in exchange for goods or money. Often this happens because of poverty: a girl's family cannot afford to provide her with essential needs. Mwanga et al. (2011) had also found that transactional sex was common due to poverty, but did not talk much about the involvement of youth as their participants included sexually active adults aged 18-60. However, I frequently heard stories of a girl's family actually encouraging her to find a "boyfriend" or "man" who could support her so that they would no longer have to purchase her needed supplies (soap, school needs and fees, etc.). Though I was not surprised to learn that girls were participating in transactional sex as I had read about it in the research literature (Lalor, 2008; Leshabari, Kaaya, & Tengia-Kessy, 2008; Mgalla et al., 1998; Van den Bergh, 2008; USAID, 2008, Wight et al., 2006) perhaps because of my naivety, I had not expected to learn that girls were being *encouraged* to participate in transactional sex by family members – particularly parents. Though I supposed I should not have been surprised. These older benefactors are referred to as "sugar daddies" by other researchers (Lalor, 2008; Lalor, 2005; Van den Bergh, 2008; Jewkes et al., 2005; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Leach et al., 2003). Leach (2006) reported that in sub-Saharan Africa sometimes parents are not opposed to girls having sex with their teachers or older men for economic reasons. Other researchers found that in poor families in other parts of Africa, sometimes girls were encouraged in their relationships with older men if there was a monetary benefit for the girl and her family (Jewkes, 2005; Wight et al., 2006). As well, Mildred and Plummer (2009) wrote that in Kenya, children feel pressure from parents or guardians to contribute to the household income and that oftentimes this

will result in them engaging in commercial sex. Chatterji et al. (2005), in one quantitative study conducted in 12 sub-Saharan African countries (Tanzania was not one of them) used Demographic and Health Surveys. The researchers learned that in seven of the twelve countries, "young women whose household head was a parent or grandparent were more likely to engage in transactional sex" (p. 66), though this finding was only statistically significant in five of these countries.

As I interviewed women from across the island, they voluntarily discussed the connection between poverty and transactional sex. Although I constructed the above story to illustrate this theme, my data from interviews and participant observations strongly support it. For example, *Muna*, age 43, explained that sometimes a family's poverty is so dire they cannot afford to purchase essential needs for their children. She told me, "…You can find a family is poor and parents can't afford her cost…Therefore a girl may be need money to buy her needs, that is [where] she can find herself engaged in sexual matters." *Sadiki*, 23 years, expounded further, saying,

> …And that's why I am thinking that poverty is one of the most causative issues that causes those girls running from here to here just looking for something for their own survival….Yeah. So you can find a family they, they don't have food, they don't have soap, they don't have any essential requirements. So, what happens, the mother doesn't, she isn't able to provide support to her family. So what she does as a daughter, as a girl, she runs away from her family to look for somebody to support her for the requirements so that also she can be like other girls...So poverty is one of the main causes for

> them to run to engage in sex matters so that they can get supported by the men.

Additionally, *Sala*, aged 47, emphasized the young age at which this phenomenon is happening. She said,

> Yeah for some of the families, they were, when the girl reached Standard 5 and 6, they told her that, you are using our property such as Vaseline, or soaps, you have to look for your, your own...So where do you expect she is going to get those requirements?

Standard 5 and 6 are the last two grades of primary school. Unless they have repeated several grades multiple times, most girls in those grades are around thirteen. Some women explained that this pushing a young girl to engage in transactional sex for her own survival stems from a lack of value of the girl child in the Ukerewe community. For example, *Sadiki* explained,

> Ah, the girls ah, girl children are not valued as other children in the community. Ah, the parents will ask the girl to look for her own essential needs. So, in that case, when they are still young they are told to find their own essential needs, and as a result as they, when they engage in sexual matters they can get pregnant.

This issue of young girls being told to go find their own material needs was pervasive. The girls also discussed this issue time and again when my interpreter and I met them at the schools. They talked about how their lives were so complicated because of poverty, and admitted that some girls exchange sex for their material needs. Some also explained that sometimes fishermen have more money

than other people on the island and that girls are tempted because of their poverty and agree to go with men when offered money. Additionally, they discussed the pressure they receive from their own families to earn the money needed for their school fees or material goods. I captured the following in my field notes on March 29, 2012,

> *Adilah*[11] [my interpreter] told the girls about how she recently heard that a 12-year-old girl – still in primary school – was pregnant. The girls said that this kind of news makes them sad. They also, however, said that sometimes some of the parents are the problem – they tell girls to engage in sex so that the men they have sex with can give them their needed supplies (soap, etc.), rather than the parents!

It was not uncommon for girls in Ukerewe to tell me that their grandmother or a parent would encourage them to fend for themselves or, as reflected in Idili's story at the beginning of this section, even be explicit in telling them to find a man to support them. As said, this finding was not different from previous findings from other sub-Saharan African countries (Chatterji et al., 2005).

I heard from both interviews with women and the school visits with the girls, that often the types of gifts that persuade girls to engage in sex were things like: soap, lotion, rides to school, cell phones, payment for school fees, and sometimes even food. I heard "soap" more than anything else as something a girl would receive in exchange for sex. It seems that the culture has changed from one that used to place a high emphasis on preserving female virginity until marriage, to seeing sex as

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[11] Adilah means "justice" in Kiswahili

a commodity or purchasable good that women and girls must use to their advantage when money is not an option. I discuss this in greater detail when I talk about the last theme, *deterioration of culture,* but this is not a new idea in recent research. Wamoyi et al. (2011) found similar things when conducting related research in another part of Tanzania. The researchers concluded that "women perceived their bodies as commodities" and that parents, too, saw sex as a "commodity to be purchased" (p. 8). Van den Bergh (2008), too, reported that in many African countries sex has become a "consumer item" and that girls living in poverty are especially vulnerable (p. 106).

It is indeed problematic that girls would be encouraged and even manipulated to use sex to support themselves in a climate with such a high rate of HIV/AIDS and other STIs and a very low rate of condom usage (CIA, 2012). The latest HIV/AIDS rate is 5.6% and the country is the twelfth highest in the world, according to the CIA world factbook on Tanzania. Researches who conducted the government sponsored Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS) in 2010 (published in 2011) reported that 65.6% of women ages 15-49 were currently not using any method of contraception. That number went up significantly when the data was focused solely on the Mwanza region, of which Ukerewe is a part. In the Mwanza region, 84.8% of women were not using contraception. The report also noted that the less educated women and those that lived in the more rural areas were less likely to use contraceptives than those that were more educated or lived in urban areas (TDHS, 2011).

Although most interviewees that talked about the issue of transactional sex placed emphasis and blame on rampant poverty, one interviewee in particular seemed to think that sex to meet one's physical needs was just an excuse to have sex. I asked *Mwamini*, age 52, to describe some of the benefits girls received from having sex with teachers or male students. She answered, "They don't get any kind of benefits. It's all about misbehaving. So for example when you say about soap. How does the soap of 200 shillings make someone engage in the sexual act?" Two-hundred Tanzanian shillings is less than twenty cents in United States Dollars (USD). Though it sounds like a meager amount of money, in rural areas of Tanzania there are many families that make less than $2.00 USD a day, and some even less than that. In those cases, twenty cents is rather significant.

In regards to the ecological-transactional developmental model (Cicchetti & Toth, 2000; Cicchetti & Valentino, 2006), there are several things at play here at multiple levels. First, at the macro level, there is rampant poverty impacting the entire Ukerewe community. Because of this, the entire community has begun to accept sex as an appropriate commodity to be used by girls to acquire their essential needs (breakfast, school fees, soap and lotion, etc.). This poverty has, as well, penetrated the micro-level family unit. If a girl's family also accepts sex for money or goods as an appropriate method of acquiring one's needs, then likely, a girl will be more apt to think so, too. As well, if her friends are engaging in transactional sex and are able to do so without getting pregnant (at least at first) and are finding sex to be a tool that they can use to obtain money or items they need and want, then again, a girl will likely feel the need to join. Girls acknowledged that they face regular

"temptations" from men and boys as they offer girls gifts or money in exchange for sex, and also acknowledged that it is difficult to resist such offers if they are in need of something, particularly if their parents cannot afford or refuse to supply them with some of their needs. But, showing a resilient side to these girls, there were several days when many of the girls voluntarily encouraged each other not to accept the gifts or rides they are offered but instead, to study hard and do well in school. If girls are able to continue to support each other and hold each other accountable, it will be easier for them to resist such pressure. Despite the many trials and difficulties that seem to ecologically be against them, it seems that the way many of these girls choose to interact in this environment – such as by focusing on their studies, telling trusted adults when they are harassed, or outright refusing to take the gifts they are offered in exchange for sex – will be how many of these girls will be able to succeed, excel, and be resilient in their community.

In sum, a girl's family's economic status can be either a risk or protective factor in her life in terms of predicting whether or not she will choose to participate in transactional sex. Along with that, what her parents think and what they communicate with her about whether or not transactional sex is appropriate or acceptable to them, or whether they discourage her from such behavior can raise or lower a girl's level of risk. A girl's peer group, and what she thinks about them and their opinion of transactional sex can also influence whether or not she participates. But, as noted in my literature review, girls that take such risks are more likely to contract HIV/AIDS or other STIs, are more likely to end up dropping out of school

early due to pregnancy, and if either of these happen, are also at a greater risk for continuing in the cycle of poverty.

Some Teachers in Ukerewe Manipulate their Girl Students into Sex

> Mwalimu[12] *asked* Nabila, *a shy quiet 14-year-old student who usually sat in the front row, to bring her exercise book to his house. His house, like most teachers' houses, was located right next to the school. Mwalimu said he wanted to offer her additional help on her math homework. Thinking it was a little odd Mwalimu would ask her to come to his house, Nabila went anyways. She really wanted to do well in math, and she was struggling after today's lecture on equations. But as she entered Mwalimu's house and he closed the door behind him, Nabila realized this offer to help her really had nothing to do with math at all. Offering to give her good marks whether she performed well or not if she just did this one little thing for him, Mwalimu unzipped his pants…*

This finding, though tragic, is not new to the research literature. Leach (2006) reported that in some communities, one case of a teacher approaching one of his schoolgirls for sex may discourage parents from allowing their daughters to attend school. Leach and Humphreys (2007) also reported that there is not often much done when a teacher does abuse a girl, and that at most the teacher may be transferred to a different school. A lack of action on the part of the school leadership or law enforcement discourages girls or their parents from even reporting the cases (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Other researchers have also found "sex with teachers" to be an issue not in Tanzania (e.g., Mgalla et al, 1998; McCrann et al., 2006; Evans,

[12] Mwalimu means "teacher" in Kiswahili

2002; Plummer, 2007), while others have found it to be a problem in other African countries (Leach et al., 2003; Jewkes, 2002; Lalor, 2004).[13]

In some schools in Ukerewe, girls are being coerced into sex with their teachers. Interviewees said that quite often this is a young, new-appointee teacher manipulating the girls into sex, but not always. Sometimes the teacher promises he will give her good marks if she will agree, and other times he threatens her with harsh punishment or tells her she cannot return to his class if she refuses. *Shahida*, age 35, provided a description of the situation. She said,

> For example the first appointment teachers, you can find most of them they are not married. So when they reach there [the school where they are placed] they can approach some of girls and also he can fall in love with a girl and a girl can agree with him. He's trying to convince that girl by telling her that, "you know I love you, and I'll help you in your studies, you just agree." A girl can agree with him and at the end, she will loose her performance in her studies.

Karama, a tall and gentle 39-year old woman gave even more detail. Here is a portion of the transcripts from my interview with Karama as she discussed one teacher, who was not new, and apparently has worked at the mentioned school for several years:

> Karama: Yeah…why I'm saying this is happening, because there is one teacher, who is, when these Form 1 [students] start their schooling, which is

[13] This is actually a problem all over the world, but in some places it is more prevalent. This dissertation is only focused on Tanzania, however, I also compared my own work to other sub-Saharan African countries.

> in January, is the time when this teacher starts exercise for sports and games. So when they are in school, he tells them to see him in his office. Yeah, so in this month of April, one girl, she was found to be pregnant.
>
> Rachel: Did this happen with only one girl or with more?
>
> Karama: Yeah, so this is happening in phases. When the Form 1 students get in school, he engages with this new Form 1, new comers, new Form 1s. And when these new Form 1s go in the Form 2, he leaves them behind and gets these new Form 1s. So this is happening for most of the girls. The new ones.
>
> Rachel: So, it's happening every year?
>
> Karama: Yes. It's happening every year. He has made them as their, as his customers.

In this particular situation, the teacher had additional access to the female students because he was the director of sports and games. He was able to not only see the girls during out-of-school hours, but he had an extra-special relationship with them since he regularly saw them in more of a relaxed environment that he could call them to his office for no reason apparent to them, and then use his office for sex with these students.

Other interviewees brought up that teachers used coercion with threats that promised negative consequences. According to the girls, some teachers threatened students with punishment unless they engaged in sex with them. *Rahma*, age 42 explained, "for example a teacher can give a girl punishment from nowhere. When he asks a girl to share love and that girl rejects he will punish her even by using sticks…" Girls, too, brought this topic up during the clubs at the schools. As I

captured in my field notes, one group of girls said that male teachers sometimes would strike or beat the girls if they refused to have sex with them. Sometimes girls were pressured into sex for fear of the beatings they would have to endure if they said no. They said that sometimes if a girl refuses, she could receive up to 20 or 30 strokes! They also said that many times, at least at one particular school, the teachers that were threatening them were student teachers who would be present at the school for their practicum, then would return to the teacher's college, leaving the girls behind.

After hearing such stories, I wanted the girls to realize they had the option of saying no, and to think through whom they would tell if they needed help. So at each school I visited, during club time, I asked the girls to consider the question, "If a man or boy approaches you for sex and offers to give you something in return, what are you going to do? Who are you going to tell (if anyone)?" Using tenets of *Theatre of the Oppressed* (Boal, 1992), the girls were asked to develop short skits to demonstrate such a situation and what they would do. They came up with the situation and the solution on their own – without my or Adilah's input. The following description from my field notes is of a skit performed for *Adilah,* myself*,* and the girls' peers at a school I visited on April 23, 2012:

> *Mwalimu Mwongo*[14], "in love" with his student, cautiously said, "Josephina, bring me your exercise book for correction." As she stood in front of his desk, Mwalimu Mwongo quietly and discreetly began to shower Josephina with compliments on her work, and then, with a gaze that forced Josephina to lock

[14] Mwongo means "liar"

eyes with him, proceeded to say, “I love you…please agree to love me in return…I will make you first on all the exams…but you cannot tell your friends.” Josephina, an intelligent girl with aspirations to finish secondary school and continue into Form 5, responded with, “I don’t like this! I don’t like this! I am your student!” Mwalimu Mwongo muttered to himself, “Why won’t this student love me!? I will keep flattering her until she falls for me! Later, Mwalimu Mwongo held Josephina back in class as the other students were dismissed. Rather than flattering, he tried a different tactic, declaring, “if you reject me, I will punish you with strokes.” Josephina responded with a firm voice, “then better I get punished.” After this, Mwalimu Mwongo began to continually call on Josephina in class and punish her severely if she answered his questions wrong. But really it was because she refused sex. He gave her extra marks so that her grades begin to decline.

Frustrated and discouraged, Josephina finally went to report Mwalimu Mwongo to the madam of the school. This time Mwalimu Mwongo had left a letter for Josephina inside her exercise book that expressed his “love” for her and made promises of good grades in class. Embarrassed and ashamed, Josephina explained the humiliating situation to the madam. From there, the madam proceeded to take the letter to the headmaster. The headmaster immediately called Mwalimu Mwongo to his office. The headmaster showed Mwalimu Mwongo the letter and asked if Mwalimu had written it to Josephina. Mwalimu Mwongo said he had written it, but he was only joking. Then the headmaster asked Josephina what she thought about the letter, and

> she said it was not a joke. The headmaster told Mwalimu Mwongo he could not continue teaching at the school. Mwalimu Mwongo stormed back to class and began to pack his bags. He told the other girl students to warn Josephina that if he ever sees her anywhere out of school, she will not be able to escape the harm that he will inflict on her...

I thought about this particular skit after leaving the school, and wrote some additional reflections in my field notes. Below, I paraphrase those reflections and continue those thoughts,

> it was difficult for me to fathom that the skit ended with the teacher loosing his job and leaving a physical threat for Josephina's life. I could not help but wonder if this threat was actually the girls' reality. Are girls in Ukerewe literally being threatened their life if they tell authorities when a teacher abuses them? If so, of course girls end up agreeing to the sex. Even if they get pregnant, that is better than being murdered. Additionally, I cannot help but wonder what hinders the teacher from being brought to justice so that he will no longer harm the girl? Perhaps the community sees teachers as those with a higher status or as having more power than other lay community members.

Researchers from other parts of Tanzania have reported similar things – that holding a high regard for teachers and seeing them as more powerful sometimes kept villagers from reporting the teachers who commit abuse (Plummer et al., 2007). Other researchers have reported that girls sometimes choose not to report when their teachers takes advantage of her because of previous victimization or

because they know teachers have not been punished in the past (Abrams et al., 2006; Leach & Humphreys, 2007). In fact, sometimes it seems like the girl is the one punished if she reports an incident and there are no repercussions for the teacher (see Abrahams et al., 2006).

One interviewee, *Sadiki*, age 23, said that she remembered that when she was in school (not very long ago) several girls actually considered quitting school because some teachers gave them so many problems. She said,

> Yeah, so there were some of the teachers that were pressuring the girl students to engage in sex matters. But for those [students] who were refusing to do so, actually, they were being disturbed by the teacher very much. And it reached a time where some of the students suggested to leave, to stop from schooling, so that they could avoid the disturbance from the teacher!

Some women and girls suggested that at certain schools the problem of male teachers taking advantage of their female students was worse because of a lack of female teachers. For example, *Shahida* (35 years old) described the following about the secondary school near her house, "…the big problem at their school [is that] they don't have female teachers. Because when they go to tell the male teacher, they just say if he loves you give him what he wants." Girls and several of the women suggested solutions to this issue. They reported that having at least one female teacher present at each school would provide a safe authority to which girls could report should a male teacher approach them. Additionally, girls suggested that having female teachers present in the school would lower the instances of male teachers approaching the girls in the first place because of an increase in ethical

accountability from their female colleagues. I will talk about this more when I discuss implications, but do want to provide an example here. I asked *Imani*, who was 55 years old, to tell me whom a girl would tell if she experienced some kind of sexual abuse, in, around, or on the way to school. Her response and some of my interjections were as follows:

> Imani: They don't tell anybody. It's their secret. Because even, if you remember, the day before yesterday, I asked these girls, they don't even tell their mothers. And at school, very unfortunately, they don't have matrons.
>
> Rachel: Right. Yeah that is a problem.
>
> Imani: And today I talked to their D.O. [district education officer] today, very early in the morning. Yeah, I went and told him.
>
> Rachel: Oh, I'm glad to hear that. Yeah.
>
> Imani: He promised that he was going to deal with that, and he promised that we are going to do the same activity we are doing here with Nana[15], in other schools,
>
> Rachel: Oh, excellent.
>
> Imani: Immediately.
>
> Rachel: That's excellent.
>
> Imani: I told him, we had a meeting today. Yeah I went in his office, and then I gave him all the feedback, what we got there from Mbali[16], to Karibu[17].

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[15] Nana is a Kiswahili girl's name that means "grace" or "favor"
[16] Mbali means "far." Here I am using it to replace the name of a specific village that is far away from the island's main city.
[17] Karibu means "near." Here I am using it to replace the name of a village that is closer to the island's main city.

> Rachel: Great. Ok. That's one of my goals, too, is that ahm, that women will be more active with the girls, so they can have mentors. And older women that they respect, you know, that they'll know that they can go to and ask for help if they need help. I think it's so important.
>
> Imani: So you find that, girls don't have anywhere to, to express their feelings. They don't have. They can't talk [about] their feelings to their parents, especially their, their fath-, their mothers. At school they don't have women teacher to, to, where they can express their feelings…

Girls said similar things. At one school where no female teacher was present, girls said that they had to either report such abuse situations to a male teacher, which was often embarrassing, or not report at all. These girls also said they had experiences where they tried to report one male teacher to another male teacher, and the teacher to whom they were reporting told them to give the other teacher "what he wanted." Researchers in South Africa had similar findings – that teachers conspire together to support each other in their attempts to have sex with their students (Abrahams et al., 2006). Based on my time in the field, the interviews, and my observations, I conclude that it is likely that girls usually are not reporting these incidents.

At the macro level, the issue of teachers having sex with their students, whether the students go willingly or not, is a clear violation of the law (both the Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act, 1998, and the Law of the Child, 2009). Additionally, as spelled out in the law, a teacher's refusal to report such violations or a headmaster's unwillingness to handle the abuse is an issue that the school needs

to deal with both on the school level (micro), and at the legal level (macro). But according to my interview data, this is a systemic issue that has been going on for years (chrono). Many of the women talked about how it took place when they were in school as well. Because it has been going on for so long, it is likely that it will also take several dedicated years to bring change. But allowing this to continue with no repercussions for the teachers – only for the girls – perpetuates inequality and ultimately fails the girls. It sets them up at greater risk for dropping out of school early due to fear of their teachers, their teachers' abuse, or because of early pregnancy given to them by a teacher or boy who was not punished. Other researchers agree that sexual harassment, discriminative practices towards girls in school, and lack of female teachers who can serve as role models are significant barriers to education for girls in Tanzania (Okkolin, Lehtomäki, & Bhalalusesa, 2008; Evans, 2002). As I already mentioned, I will talk about implications for this theme in the next chapter.

No Justice

> Intisar, *a Form 2 student in secondary school, was pregnant. At only 15, this meant she would not be allowed to continue school. But Intisar did not think this was fair. She got pregnant after having sex with a man who had been giving her presents, like money for breakfast, soap, and lotion. Initially, Intisar had been delighted that someone thought she was pretty and wanted to give her these things. But one day not so very long ago, her world was shattered when he picked her up after school on his pikipiki[18], took her to a field and*

[18] Pikipiki = motorcycle

demanded "payment" for what she thought had been gifts. Intisar felt trapped. She had no money, but either way the man made it clear he wouldn't take anything but sex. Intisar was horrified. Tears streamed down her face as she lifted up her navy colored pleated school skirt and gave him what he wanted. Ashamed and humiliated, she told no one of the incident. But a few months later, she was forced to relay the whole episode to her mother after realizing she was pregnant. Although Intisar's mother reported the issue to the police, who were not in the least bit phased, the police said they needed "transport money" to go and look for the man. But Intisar's father was dead and her mother was a farmer. How would they come up with transport money? Plus, the man would probably pay the police off anyways. Discouraged, Intisar's mother gave up.

The purpose of this story is to give the reader a small taste of what life is like to live in a culture where justice is not commonly on the side of women, girls, or the poor. Punishment for rape/sexual abuse is uncommon due to: not understanding the law, corruption in the law enforcement bodies, and an attitude in the community that transactional sex or men taking advantage of adolescent girls is "normal." The World Health Organization (2005) also found that women who experienced physical or sexual violence commonly did not report it because they saw it as "normal" or not serious enough to report.

Though strong laws do exist to protect women and girls from rape and sexual abuse, many people, especially at the village level, do not know or understand the laws. When the laws are violated, often people do not understand the process of

reporting such violations. Others have also reported that a lack of understanding of how to make reports of sexual abuse hinders parents and girls from doing so (Leach, 2006). Additionally, people do not realize that rape is not only forced sex, but includes sex with minors who have not yet reached the age of consent. In some instances, families fear to report that their daughter is pregnant because they think that if the man or boy goes to jail, he will no longer be able to help care for or support the coming child. An additional reason why families do not take such cases to law enforcement is because in Ukerewe, many people are related, and it would be seen as shameful to take a cousin to court for impregnating his relative.

Lack of knowledge of or understanding of the law. Over and over again as I interviewed women and observed and interacted with girls, I realized that so many of the women and girls I met with knew so little about the law, and often times they actively admitted this. For example, during the interviews, I asked the women to talk about some of the laws they knew which protected girls from rape and sexual abuse. Most did seem to know that raping a girl was supposed to put a perpetrator in jail for 30 years. However, most seemed surprised when I told them that having sex with a girl under the age of consent (age 18 in Tanzania) is considered rape by Tanzania's statutes and that rape is more than forced or violent sex (Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act, 1998). Interviewees also admitted that neither they nor the girls knew their rights, or at least not many of those rights, or that they did not know how to ensure those rights are enforced. *Sadiki* (age 23), in discussing why girls engage in sexual relationships with their teacher, claimed specifically that, "The problem is that they don't know their rights." Some said that even local leaders do

not know the law. For example, forty-seven-year-old *Sala* said, "…it is possible to find that the village executive officer or the ward executive officer [local government officials], he or she doesn't know the education law." Some also claimed that their understanding of the laws is contradictory. *Karama*, age 39, said,

> But now days it is confusing you can find that the government provides laws that protect children, but also the children do not listen to their parents as they know there is a law to protect them. During our time parents punished us. Now days when you punish a child, when she or he goes to report the parent, and you are the one at fault.

Here *Karama* was explaining that parents and children know that there are laws that exist to protect children from things, such as violence and abuse. Because of that, parents are scared to discipline their children because traditional means of discipline involved beating them. So although the goal of these laws is to protect them, the result is often a lack of protection because parents are afraid to discipline their children when they do something wrong, therefore children have more freedom than they should because parents allow them to do anything they want.

Girls expressed a lack of knowledge about their rights, which sets them up at greater risk for having those rights violated and not knowing what to do to access justice. But girls also articulated a desire for the government and community to teach them their rights. There was a sense of urgency and a longing among the girls for more support from their parents, from the community, and from the government.

As I will address in the implication section, this is a major macro-level issue clearly in need of specific interventions to help raise awareness of the existing laws and educate people on what to do if those laws are violated. The below sub-theme, *corruption in the law enforcement bodies*, is also a macro-level issue that needs to be addressed.

Corruption in the law enforcement bodies. Women also attributed the lack of justice towards rape and sexual abuse to corruption in the law enforcement bodies. For example, in my second interview, *Hakima* (68 years) said

> For sure now days there is no trust [of law enforcement] due to the case of corruption. Sometimes parents report these claims, but at the same time the one who does the mistake [gets a minor pregnant] goes and gives the police or the judge a bribe so that he or she [the police officer or judge] can end up the case.

Bribing of law enforcement bodies was a regularly discussed issue. *Karama* explained this when she talked about what the community does about rape,

> So, actually the community will be fighting to find the one who is responsible for raping that girl. But that is, as I say, they can send him to the court, but then, [the court will] set him free because he has some bribes.

I asked *Sala* (age 47) to explain to me her perception of the way each segment of law enforcement (i.e., police, judges/courts, etc.) handles reports of sexual abuse. Focusing on the police, she said,

> …there are some parents that report this case to the police but there is the problem of corruption, when the accused bribes them that case will end up

without any solution, so sometimes they provide right to the people and sometimes they don't.

It was interesting to see the varying perceptions among interviewees concerning the courts, judges, and police. Some claimed all members of the justice system were corrupt and prone to receiving bribes, others claimed corruption only happened in the police force, while still others (though few) claimed that the police and courts both try to provide people with their rights. *Sadiki*, too, discussed the problem of bribes corrupting the police force. Below is an excerpt from my interview with her,

Sadiki: Sometimes authorities help, but most of them are so corrupt. For example, a girl can get pregnant and her parents can follow-up and go to the court, but if the accused has money he will use his money to bribe the authorities and the case will end up with nothing. This discourages some parents who have reported their case to the police, and that is because you can find they don't have money to bribe the judge so they see it is better for them to remain home.

Rachel: Yeah. They don't think it's even worth it to go. Wow. OK. Alright. What about if a girl was raped and it was reported to the justice system. Ahm, it could be police, law enforcement, judges, would it be the same?

Sadiki: As I have said it depends on whether the person who did the raping has money or not. But if he has money, the case will end [close] soon.

Imani implied that some law enforcement officers simply just refuse to do their job. She said,

> Mostly when some cases reported to the authorities, they do not solve them accordingly. Most of them, they end up on the way. They can just tell them come tomorrow, come tomorrow and also go and make negotiations between you parents.

There were, however, a few interviewees that said that the authorities do try to do their job and that when reported, they handle cases of rape and abuse well. Forty-three-year-old *Muna* was one that thought that authorities did handle sexual abuse claims well. Muna had reason to think the law enforcement did their job. She explained a particular situation that took place within her own family. At 14 years old, her cousin was raped by her father (Muna's uncle). Her family took the man to court and he was jailed 30 years.

Mwamini (age 52) also explained that there were times when the law enforcement officers and authorities do enforce the law. She said,

> If it were to happen that the accused has really done the mistake and there are some witnesses, they are going to judge him. If he's to be jailed, they do so. If the girl's parents also are very strict, the police…they will provide the right for the girl's family. But now some parents are saying, "we have to sit together and negotiate this issue so that we can solve it ourselves." I think maybe this is because of ignorance. Maybe you can say, poor understanding of the sad impact of this issue. Also some of them they think that to be raped it will be shameful to the society. They think that [to report] they are going to make their daughter to feel shameful.

So although Mwamini claimed that the law is usually upheld in the case of sex with minors, provided that there is a witness, she also verified that often that depends on the parents. If parents do not understand the law or the long term impacts early pregnancy will have on their daughter or their family, or if they are more worried about their daughter gaining a reputation of one who had been raped and the shame that would bring, sometimes they will choose not to go through the legal system to bring justice to this situation. (Similar findings were made by Jewkes et. al, 2005 and Muganyizi et al, 2004.) Instead, they will settle with the other family by negotiating costs.

The most recent report on Tanzania for the United States Congress noted the lack of funding in the police force and claimed the force is "plagued by corruption and excessive use of force" (Dagne, 2011, p. 4). In the case of officers being bribed or simply not doing their job, work needs to be done at the macro-level in order to bring positive change. I will discuss this in the implications and conclusions chapter. In the case of parents simply not reporting, this would be a situation that spans all levels of the theory (micro, meso, macro, and chrono). I will discuss this more in the next chapter. But this does lead to the next sub-theme: *sex with minors has become normal*.

Normalization of Sexual Abuse within the Community. *Sala*, age 47, said that quite often rather than taking a case to court or reporting it to the police, the parents will choose to make negotiations directly with the man or the boy's family and leave the law out of it. She said,

> …from my experience, when I started working at *Karibu*[19] *Primary School*, the parents came to report [to the school] that their daughter was pregnant. We helped them to ask the girl who was responsible with that pregnancy and she mentioned a man. Then after that, the one who was responsible for that pregnancy went to the girl's house and paid money as a fine and they resolved the matter like that.

She explained that in Ukerewe, it is up to the parents or guardians to "make a follow-up" about this issue, and if they refuse to do anything, no one else will. She also explained that sometimes rather than serving time in jail (or even going to court), the man or boy simply pays a fine that usually goes towards helping the girl's family. This could range from paying the school fees the family had already paid, to paying for upcoming costs that will be associated with the birth and care of the baby. Wight et al. (2006) found similar things, that if a schoolgirls gets pregnant she is typically expelled and the boy or man "informally fined" (p. 990). *Karama* discussed this as well. She recalled one case in which the perpetrator was a teacher and the community simply fined him. She said,

> I remember one case where a certain girl got pregnant and the one who was responsible was a teacher. Then the community called him, and when he agreed that he was the one who was responsible, then what they did, they fined him to pay all the school fees they had been paying from starting Form 1 to Form 3 while the girl ended [her schooling].

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[19] Pseudonym.

So while three years of the girl's schooling were reimbursed to her parents, tragically, the girl was unable to complete her schooling. Currently in Tanzania there is a push to create a law that would allow girls to continue their schooling after they give birth. But culturally in the past, terminating a girl's schooling has been something that people have believed would tempt other girls to get pregnant, too. Many even believe that there is a government law that requires the expulsion of girls from school once pregnant, but I was unable to find such a law. *Imani*, 55 years, went on to explain the common decision of many parents to solve this issue of teenage pregnancy between themselves. As already explained, this usually entails a family meeting and a decision to "cost-share" and avoid the legal system. She said,

> …you find the parents of both sides, they come together, and they reach a consensus…they remove the case from the court. And tell their child that, 'you'll stay here at home. He will take care of you,' or, 'he will marry you,' or, 'he will bring some money to care for your child.' That is the problem with our, how to, how to handle the case. We fail. Actually, we do fail.

Sixty-eight-year old *Hakima* also explained this. She said that sometimes even when the girl is younger than 18 (the age of consent), the community will not do anything because they think that the girl is trading sex for her material needs (as discussed in the section on transactional sex). Specifically, Hakima said, "sometimes the community will not react because they think that she is finding her needs." Both the micro-system of the neighborhood, and the exo-system of the community and neighborhood influence the type of response the parents' and girls' have to rape or sexual abuse in this sort of climate. If the community has become immune to or have

normalized girls being abused or getting pregnant at a young age, it seems that many times it is left up to the parents for them to react and to decide to pursue justice.

Sometimes the Perpetrators are Relatives. As in the case of Muna's cousin, sometimes the perpetrators are relatives. When that is the case, often families are too embarrassed to bring the case to court. *Rahma* (42 years old) explained,

> They don't send them to the court because most of them, they are relatives. You can find they do not know each other, but when their parents meet to negotiate they know that they have relations so they solve the matter themselves.

Imani, age 55, expounded on this dilemma. Below is an excerpt of my interview with her,

> Imani: If authorities are given the reports, they take the, they take the case to the police, even to the court. But the problem is, who will come to confess that? People are not willing to confess that. And the problem with Ukerewe, most of the people in Ukerewe are related. So when one person, ahm, messes up, maybe he's found guilty with a certain girl, but you find…they are from one clan, from one family. So you can't put in jail your cousin!
>
> Rachel: Yeah. Oh, yeah I can see how that would be a big problem. Wow. Ok. Ok.
>
> Imani: We, we send a lot of cases there in the police and the court but they fail. Because, you fail to get the witnesses…And, and you find the parents of

> both sides, they come together, and they reach to consensus, they go and remove the case from the court.

This, again, is an issue at the exo-system level as the neighborhood and community impact the family and how the family views this issue, and at the micro level, how the family internalizes and responds to this issue. The family's willingness to confront the issue with a desire to protect the girl, despite what their neighbors think, will influence whether or not the girl feels valued in her family and ultimately could impact her future success and failure.

So, whether it was because the perpetrator is a relative, the normalization of sex with minors, corruption and bribes in the law enforcement, or lack of knowledge of the laws, it was clear to me that the lack of justice is a key problem in the Ukerewe community when it comes to sexual abuse and rape. Similar research investigating the issue of teachers pressuring their students into sex has been conducted across countries and is reflected in my literature review (chapter 2). In a landmark study conducted in Zimbabwe, Ghana, and Malawi, the researchers concluded that there are several things that prevent a teacher from being reported or prosecuted.

> Lack of information, fear of recrimination and the indifference and/or obfuscation of officials are all deterrents. In other instances it is the apparent collusion of the parents in the affair…usually in the hope that the teacher will marry the girl, which prevents the authorities from taking action. In general, however, high levels of apathy combined with lack of information on procedures and a reluctance to take girls who make allegations seriously,

> mean that little is done unless the case is a high profile item in the national media. (Leach et al., 2003, p. ix)

Be it because families are choosing not to report the crime or authorities are not enforcing the law, injustice clearly is happening regularly in the Ukerewe community, and each of my interviews with women confirmed this in one way or another. I will discuss potential solutions and interventions in the next chapter.

Deterioration of Culture

> *My name is* Imara.[20] *I'm the mother of three girls and two boys and live just outside the main city of Ukerewe. I am 42 years old. My mom lives with me and my five children and my husband died of malaria. Life in Ukerewe is very different now than when compared to the life my mom and bibi*[21] *faced. During Mama and Bibi's time, there were traditions and customs that everyone took very seriously. Among other things, Mama and Bibi were told by their elders that they were not allowed to engage in sexual activity until they were married. In fact, as teenagers they were scared to talk to boys, and even more afraid of men, because they did not want to end up pregnant. Their parents told them if they got pregnant before they were married they would die with their pregnancy. So they were scared. They were scared to get pregnant so they were scared of boys. They did not want to die! But now, due to presence of globalization, people are doing anything because they learn a lot of things through movies and music videos. I tried to tell my daughters that if they got pregnant before marriage they would die, but they know that is not true. And*

[20] Imara is a Kiswahili girl's name for strong or resolute.
[21] Bibi means "grandma" in Kiswahili.

some of their friends have already gotten pregnant and have been forced out of school…

Many women attributed several of today's problems of early pregnancy, girls having sex at an early age, etc. to a deterioration of culture. Interestingly, some women specifically attributed this deterioration of culture to the presence of globalization, which in turn they say has caused parents to be less concerned with raising their children in the traditional ways, and has caused children to know about and practice sex at earlier ages. One example of this is something Mwanga et al. (2011) also found. They reported that many youth in the Lake Districts of Tanzania are known to attend discos or nightclubs overnight where they often end up drinking an excessive amount of alcohol, sometimes leading to unplanned and unprotected sex and sometimes even rape. Remes et al. (2010) found similarly, that parents contributed to their children's sexual and reproductive health vulnerability because of a lack of monitoring, and allowing them to attend night videos or even go to the bars at night to sell food. They also reported that parents no longer feel at liberty to admonish other people's children if they saw them doing something wrong.

Van den Bergh (2008) reported that in historical days, parents and elders were responsible for passing on sexual knowledge. In more recent days, not only have they neglected their responsibilities in doing this as well as teaching methods of disease prevention, but the youth have learned about sex on their own due to the increasingly global world. Wight et al. (2006) studied a different tribe in Tanzania, and found that it was taboo for parents to talk about sex with their children. They

also found that most adults thought that young people should not be having sex until after they had left or finished school and that their school status was more important than their actual age. Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001) claimed that the early sexual activity of youth in sub-Saharan Africa is usually recognized as being due to "fundamental socio-economic change, the erosion of moral codes, familial control and abandoned rituals such as initiation ceremonies which served to prepare adolescents for their roles and responsibilities as adults" (p. 1816), leaving adolescent sexual activity to be seen as a "moral problem." Still, Wight et al. (2006) found that in the Sukuma tribe, parents still expect children to "respect and obey them, and to delay sex until they leave school: it is shameful to have children who flout these norms," (p. 995). Most of the women I interviewed in Ukerewe said that although it would be ideal for children to wait until after they have finished school to be sexually active, most children start having sex at a very young age.

Globalization and a Shift Away from Traditional Parenting and Cultural Values. According to many women and girls, globalization is one of the main causes of this deterioration of culture, and one result of that deterioration has been early pregnancy of young girls. For example, *Shahida*, age 35, expressly stated:

> During our time when we were growing up girls [did not] have close relationship with boys out of school, we were associated with boys only when we were at school during group discussions, but now days because of globalization girls associate with boys…now days you can find a girl has cell phone but her mother didn't know she got cell phone. And currently there are so many nightclubs, and also the video shows. Not only that, but also a

> girl can go to work in a bar while she is still a student. And also even the means of wearing [clothing] is also different. People now, they are moving half-naked. So, they are not protecting themselves.

In another interview, *Sadiki*, age 23, explained that it is globalization through the means of technology that has increased children's knowledge about sexual matters. She said,

> …today, there is this, ahhhh, globalization issue. You see, they use the internet services, they use CDs, there are CDs which show sexual matters, sexual movies, yeah from there they, they use cell phones like this one, to text each other, they send messages to each other.

So not only do contemporary Tanzanian adolescents know more than the traditional upbringing of Ukerewe children allowed for, they are also involved in spreading the knowledge of sexual activity – and perhaps also participation in sexual activity – at an early age because of technology. Women and girls also mentioned that the cell phone was one such gift that older men would sometimes buy and give to girls in exchange for sex. However, it sounded like these gifts would be associated with more long-term committed sexual relationships, rather than the sexual relationships that result in a girl getting soap or food, which seem to involve less commitment and may result in girls having more sexual partners in a shorter amount of time.

Additionally, some women blamed parents for the increasingly common less-than-moral behavior of this generation of children. They have stopped disciplining their children or teaching them how to behave. For example, *Karama*, age 39, told me,

> Yeah, the community should take care of, parents should take care of their children. Because nowadays, people they are less concerned with their children. They are not teaching their children good behaviors, so this is a problem. They use their daughters to go there to look for money for their survival, to engage in sexual matters to get their survival.

Sala, age 47, explained that the combination of globalization, lack of parental discipline, and loss of Tanzanian traditions has caused such a shift. She told me,

> Although with girls of today there is globalization, but [concern for] moral issues have absolutely disappeared. They start to imitate other traditions which are not our traditions. They have more freedom. Because of that freedom now they do what they want to do. This is because at school and home they used to say, 'beat the drum, don't beat a child.' But in upbringing, even at school, to beat is a method of keeping children in morality. Therefore because of globalization they do what they want. So it is a challenge of loosing the ethics and upbringing of Tanzanian people.

Remes et al. (2010) found similar things when studying the Sukuma tribe, a tribe that also lives in the Mwanza region (as the Ukerewe tribe does), but on the other side of Lake Victoria. Remes et al. reported that some blamed child rights' campaigns for "parents' weakened position," while others blamed parents, sometimes themselves acknowledging their own lack in fulfilling their parental duties (p. 285). Although Wight et al. (2006) reported that parents expect their children to respect and obey them, in my study, many of the women implied a lack of respect of children (particularly girls) towards parents and even of girls towards

themselves. They blamed much of this on both globalization and the children's rights campaigns.

Sala also talked about the lax parenting style of some parents who allow their children to attend the "night disco" or go watch videos in the night, and that the community, also, condones this behavior. *Sadiki,* too brought up the disco, where girls as young as form 1 attend wearing clothes that are not culturally appropriate that, according to Sadiki, make adult men assume they are physically developed enough to participate in sex. Girls also talked about the discos as being places where girls can get into trouble; some said that they needed to avoid places like the disco and night dances if they want to avoid early pregnancy and HIV. Wight et al. (2006) confirmed that discos are known to be highly sexualized places.

When comparing the lifestyle of today to the lifestyle of their ancestors, every single interviewee either blatantly stated or firmly implied that there has been an extreme shift away from the cultural values and traditions the Ukerewe people once held. Other research conducted in another region of Tanzania made similar conclusions more focused on the loss of traditional parental guidance. One researcher found that "the adult generation fell short in guiding young people about sexual matters, and it was repeatedly confirmed that parents, teachers and health-workers were not conveying useful preventative skills" (Van den Bergh, 2008, p. 109). Others agree that the community's perception is that there has been a decrease in "traditional parental roles and authority over youth" in Tanzania (Leshabari et al., 2008, p. 152).

Loss of Values within the Community. Other women blamed the community, implying that previously, "communal parenting" was normal, but that these days, neighbors mind their own business. Below is a portion of the interview I had with Sala.

> Sala: It is different from now. Now days a girl can have a man who is much older than her, but we were scared to do so during our time.
>
> Rachel: Ok. Ahm, so if a girl now, were to experience sexual abuse or ah, something like that in or around the school settings, or on the way to school, who, who would she tell, or would she tell anyone?
>
> Sala: Now days they don't say anything. But in previous days we used to say.
>
> Rachel: Ok. Who would you say to in your days?
>
> Sala: We used to tell our parents.
>
> Rachel: Ok. What do you think that the people in Ukerewe would do, the community, if they found out that a girl had been taken advantage of?
>
> Sala: Currently?
>
> Rachel: Mmhmm, today.
>
> Sala: Now days nothing is going be done. Sometimes a parent can make a follow-up but it is not like in previous…And if she is a neighbor's daughter when you say something about her, her parents are going to react on you…They will say that, 'why are you are now starting to announce my children, that she is doing this and this?' So they will react on you. So now that people are keeping quiet. Even though they saw something, they keep quiet.

> Rachel: Even if she was attacked? Like, like ahm, like somebody forced her? Even if somebody forced her?
>
> Sala: If she keeps quiet you do not say anything either. Because if she did not say anything and you [do] say it will bring conflict between two families…but when a girl explains to her parents and she can say somebody also was there, if they ask now you can say anything you have seen. But if she will not say, even yourself, even though you saw the issue, you keep also quiet.

Although it seems like if a girl were sexually abused or raped and a neighbor witnessed it, she would want them to speak up. Nevertheless, from my understanding, unless she suffers from consequences that she cannot hide (pregnancy or HIV/AIDS), her honor is more important. Apparently it is more honorable to prevent people from knowing she was raped or abused than it is to seek justice on her behalf. But, as Sala stated, in previous days girls would tell their parents when this happened. And as she implied, previously neighbors used to look after everyone's children, whereas today, people seem to have gotten much more private and perhaps more concerned that their daughter's reputation stays clean, not that their daughter's perpetrator is brought to justice. This again is an issue of what the family thinks at the micro-level within their own family, but also the sort of environment that the neighborhood/community creates at the exo-level, and what they find to be more acceptable (e.g., reporting cases or abuse or hiding the abuse to protect a girl's reputation). Sala was not the only interviewee that talked about the current lack of willingness of the community to parent and look after their

neighbor's children. Hakima, 68 years, agreed. Below is an excerpt from my interview with her.

> Rachel: What do you think the Ukerewe community's reaction would be if they found out a girl had been taken advantage of?
>
> Hakima: Yeah, when I was growing up people were actually not happy. They can say about this that, "No! You have to stop such behavior." Or sometimes when they see you running with someone they can take this stroke and punish you. But for today, people they are not concerned. They show that it is not their duty. When they see, they say, "Ah! It is the duty of their parents. She is not my, my daughter, why, why, why don't I make a follow-up on her." So, for today, people they are not concerned at all, with this, with these things. They see as normal thing and they are not making any follow-up.
>
> Rachel: Why do you think?
>
> Hakima: Ah, because this globalization. Suppose when you talk to someone's daughter, she can go and explain to her parents that someone is making, is following me. So their parents they can come and ask you, "why are you following my, our daughter? Is she your daughter?" Then people, they get in misunderstanding with each other. So they say that it is better that we are not involved in this matter. Yeah, it is a problem…So people now they don't, they don't take care of any, any children of another family.

Girls, too, talked about the need for community support; sometimes this was voluntarily, other times it was in response to a question I asked about how the community could more effectively support them. Several examples from across

schools included: girls called for community meetings to discuss the problems facing girls today, girls called for the community to be their advisors and to offer guidance, girls wanted the community to ensure they (girls) receive their rights and fight against rape. Additionally, 55-year-old *Imani* claimed that when she was a girl, the primary school's curriculum included a special subject for girls that taught them "how to live as grownups" (e.g., their sexuality) during Standard 7. She said,

> Imani:…when I was in standard 7, we had a period, we had a subject when we were told, and it was special for girls. Yeah. We were taught, when we reach that stage…we had a subject and special teachers to teach us how to, how to live now as grown up girls…That thing nowadays is missing in our schools. It is not there.
>
> Rachel: What kind of things did they discuss?
>
> Imani: Everything about, sexual behavior in girls. They don't have that thing nowadays. They don't have [it].
>
> Rachel: Would you recommend they bring that back?
>
> Imani: Mm! [signals yes] I would recommend that.

Other researchers have reported that such teaching, often deemed "life skills", has actually been made part of primary school curriculum, but that in practice it is not implemented (Van den Bergh, 2008). Still others have reported that traditionally, structures were in place where the extended family and elders passed on information about sexual health, "which emphasized and gave meaning to existing patterns of sexuality and sexual lives" (Leshabari et al., 2008, p. 143). Leshabari et al. claimed that, before HIV/AIDS became an epidemic, "rapid socio-cultural changes

had challenged many traditional deployments of alliance," leading to "a rupture of the ordered sequence of maturational events." This proceeded what Leshabari et al. termed, "successful reproduction" and led to a loss of the power of elders over youth and their sexual practices.

> Traditional rites of passage that were the forum for communication on sexuality related issues and community living skills between selected adults and younger generations, are currently reported to lack relevance where they continue to be practiced or are on the decline. (p. 143)

Again, much of this is at the community (both exo and micro) level, but is also at the macro level, as outside sources are influencing the shift in cultural and traditional values. Perhaps if the community were to push to bring this back at the community level, children would be more cautious about experimenting with early sex, and older people would be more fearful about taking advantage of children because it would be looked down upon by the community. This would increase protective factors at multiple levels of the girls' lives. Additionally, at the macro level, change in the national curriculum could bring back sexual education in the schools which could teach girls how to care for themselves, how to resist early sex when pressured by adult men, and what to do if they are raped. Currently, efforts are underway among the Tanzanian Women Lawyers Association and some civil society organizations to pass a "Safe Motherhood Law" that would, among other things, bring reproductive health education into the schools.

Some women suggested that much of the change is due to a societal shift where certain manifestations of violence are becoming *less* acceptable. *Imani* also

shared some of the comments regularly made to her by her mother, who lives with her. Below is an excerpt from my interview with her.

> Imani: You know I have my mom, and I'm, I'm staying with her there. She's telling us a lot of things. To them, violence was nothing. She, they think that that was the type of life women would have. I'm with her there at my, at my home there, but the way I treat my children, she think that, I what, "nawadekeza." You know wadekeza? [nawadekeza = I am spoiling/pampering them]
>
> Rachel: MmMm. [Motioning no.]
>
> Imani: You take a, a baby like an egg. Eh! They were used to harsh lives. What is, kudekeza in English?
>
> Rachel: Maybe ahm, maybe, we might say "spoil." Which would mean, ahm, what, favor, or, treat them REALLY well,
>
> Imani: Mmhmm. And she's blaming us, she's blaming us that, we get these type of children now days, who, you know, the discipline wise, nowadays our children are not…Because of we are, tunawadekeza [we are spoiling them]. Because of that type of life we have now, compared to theirs. They were used to life, harsh life, Beaten. To beat a child was just, normal thing. And when it takes a week there, they haven't punished a child, she's getting worried. "What are you doing?"
>
> Rachel: Mm! Even if the child hasn't done anything wrong?
>
> Imani: Sometimes we tell, ok, you have done this, now, sit there and tell us why did you do this? Why did you do this? And she says, "Why don't you just

take a stick and beat her! Explaining won't do her any good!" Yeah. Their life was very, very different from ours.

Girls had less to say about the deterioration of culture in comparison to the lives of their mothers and grandmothers, and I did not ask them specifically about cultural changes. However, a few times the idea of "moral erosion" was mentioned and girls advised each other to study hard, seek a moral education, and "avoid moral erosion". This avoidance of such "moral erosion", as the girls put it, depends much on the girls' micro-level environment – including her family, her school, and the peers she regularly chooses to interact with – but also depends on how the girl interacts in these environments.

It is very interesting to consider that the girls brought up this issue of "moral erosion" and some encouraged others to avoid it, yet the women often implied that this deterioration in culture is largely due to the current environment in which the girls are being raised – one in which they know much more about sex than their parents ever did and where sex is more obviously portrayed before them in glamorous ways in today's movies, music videos, and other forms of media. At times it felt like the women were blaming the girls for the cultural decline in morals. At the same time, as I mentioned earlier, much of what the girls said and other researchers have also found is that the girls' parents and relatives *encourage* them to participate in early sex to gain their needed supplies (e.g., school fees, soap, etc.). So while both of these findings were things I commonly heard, they seem almost contradictory.

The Fault of Today's Children…Or is it? Though some interviewees blamed globalization for this shift, some blamed today's parents, and some blamed the

community, others blamed today's children (sometimes specifically the girls). Below is an excerpt from my interview with *Shahida*, who placed much of the blame on today's children.

> Rachel: How is growing up when your mom or grandma was a girl different from now?
>
> Shahida: There is a difference. The difference is now days our children they do not respect adults as they did previously. They are not behaving well when you compare with the old days.
>
> Rachel: Can you say more about that?
>
> Shahida: The difference between now days girls and our grandmas and mothers, there is a difference. Because, our parents told us that in previous days there was no raping. Nowadays these things happen. Also dresses, previous dresses were quite different with nowadays dresses. Nowadays girls can wear clothes, which leaves parts of their body naked…yeah it also upsets the problem. So sometimes it motivates the men to attack, to attack them.

I asked girls what they would do and who they would tell if they were approached by men or boys in their community offering to give them gifts or money in exchange for sex. Girls admitted that if they liked the gift and were willing to receive it in exchange for sex, they would either tell their friends or not tell anyone at all. But if they did not like the gift or did not want to be sexually involved, they would usually either tell their mothers or another adult they thought they could trust, or they would choose not to tell anyone because of shame. If girls are being

encouraged by their parents to find their own food, supplies, etc. (as discussed earlier) or their parents see this as acceptable behavior, then girls likely would be more likely to engage in early sex.

Sometimes girls also blamed their female colleagues for not respecting themselves and getting involved sexually at too young of an age. Some discussed the need for more education from the community with workshops or dialogues to teach girls about the negative impacts of early sexual activity and some of the consequences of such. Some claimed that sometimes girls lack confidence, that boys and men were too tempting, resulting in girls getting pregnant and having to quit school or failing out because they were too distracted. Wight et al. (2006) found similar things, that young people often participated in early sex because among their peers it raised their self-esteem if girls were receiving gifts or money through transactional sex.

Sometimes, when talking about what they would do when they were approached by boys or men for sex, girls would encourage each other to refuse. They would tell each other to run away, to say "no" because if he really loved you he could wait for you to finish school, they would encourage each other not to accept the gifts he offered, no matter how tempting those gifts seemed. Although I would like to think that girls actually are strong enough to say "no" when the situation arises, I know that is not the case because of the many girls that drop out of school each year because of pregnancy, and because of the rising HIV rate that is taking place among school girls. Though I only heard it a few times, some girls said that they avoid pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) because they use

condoms. I also realized that sometimes girls likely told me what they thought their teacher or I would want to hear, and not what they actually do in their daily decisions. I know as well, that a study by Njau et al. (2009) found that of their 522 female respondents from a northern part of Tanzania, 71.5% had no intention of remaining a virgin until marriage, suggesting a cultural shift from that of some of their mothers, and most defiantly their grandmothers.

There are Still Aspects of Culture and Tradition that Perpetuate Discrimination of Girls. At other times, girls expressed a need for families and communities to get rid of cultural traditions that perpetuate the discrimination of girls, such as marrying girls off before they are able to finish school. This shows the strength of the girls at the individual level – that they would want such traditions to be done away with and are able to speak about it. This also shows the change that still needs to happen at the more macro and exo- levels – where these traditions are perpetuated and carried out, and at the micro-level, where the family chooses to honor their traditions or do away with them. Some traditions seem to preserve a girl's purity, while others seem to perpetuate discrimination, such as refusal to allow a girl to attend secondary school because her parents would rather she get married.

My conversations with the girls have led me to agree that there are aspects of tradition and culture that still need to change to ensure girls receive equal opportunities. These changes, related to things such as obtaining an education and participating in society, are in most cases already granted to girls in the law, though the law does not always match society's practices and beliefs. At the same time, it

seems there are other facets of culture that have been lost over the last several years that used to protect girls and keep them more physically safe, despite the lack of educational opportunities, etc. that were then sanctioned by the culture and that the law did not challenge at that time. For example, women implied that rape used to be less common when they were girls. Girls seemed to think that rape has become a more frequent issue and expressed a longing for the community to protect them from having to endure such an experience. In order to effect societal change, interventions need to take place at the macro-, exo-, micro-, and chrono-system levels.

In Sum

The combination of a deterioration of culture, lack of justice, and historical discrimination of women and girls perpetuate a climate that allows for abuse of girls by their teachers and older men. Add to that dire poverty and corruption in law enforcement and you have laws that are not being enforced or even known about and a true discouragement among individuals, families, and community members to bring justice to an abusive situation. Sometimes you even have parents encouraging their daughters to participate in transactional sex because they cannot afford their girls' costs. Yet through all this, I observed determined spirits among many of the girls to stay in school and succeed in life, with goals of becoming doctors, nurses, and teachers.

All of these challenges speak to the need for interventions to be developed and implemented at the various levels of a girls' life, so that change actually can take place. In the next chapter, I make suggestions of possible interventions and

recommendations for change that could take place at the various levels of a girl's life.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I use the ecological-transactional developmental theory as a guide for recommending interventions and creation of policies and policy changes that could bring positive transformation to the lives of Ukerewe girls and potentially, to the entire Ukerewe community. As a review, the ecological-transactional development theory sees the life of an individual interacting and being impacted by various levels: the *micro* level, immediate surroundings and environments such as her family or classroom (school can also fit into both this level and the meso level); and, the *meso* level, which includes the interactions between the different micro-systems to which a child is a party (such as her classroom and the peers she may walk with to school or intermingle with in the school yard). The *exo* level less directly impacts the child and will be less often discussed here, but it does play a role. For instance, the exo-level includes how something outside of the child's environment impacts part of the child's environment, which in turn, impacts the child. An example could be the parent's job impacting the mood of the parent which goes back to impact the child. The *macro* level includes more structural things such as policies or cultural norms, which I will heavily discuss in this chapter.

Micro and Meso – Women and Girls at the Community/Village Level

One feasible solution to combating such abuse and discrimination of adolescent girls is by both providing them, as well as women mentors in each ward, with an increased awareness of the law, how it protects them, what to do if someone

violates them, and training them in the life-skills they need to be able to resist such abuse. This empowers both women and girls with the knowledge that they need to say "no" in advance, protecting them from HIV/AIDS and early pregnancy, and also helps them know what to do if they are forced into sex through violence or the abuse of power. Girls need to be taught the laws so they know they not only have the option, but that saying "no" is in fact their legal right. They also need to be taught that if they are raped, or even do agree to sex as a minor (whether manipulated or not), that under the law this is still considered raping a minor and they have the right to report it whether or not the community stigmatizes it or blames them.

Parents, too, need to be trained on the law. Many women reported confusion concerning the laws, believing some of them contradict each other. Sometimes this confusion was something they held themselves, while at other times these women said that the villagers as a whole were confused about some of the laws made at the national level – they included local officials as those who were confused. As noted by Van den Bergh (2008), and as my data also reflects, "…there seems to be a tremendous need to work with the adult generation – both women and men – as transmitters of knowledge, with the aim of coping with declining parental authority and unequal gender relations. Some elements from the past might be adapted, as in the case of rituals celebrating and reinforcing shared female identity and the collective strength of women" (p. 115). Teaching parents the laws that impact their children is the first step to bringing micro-level change within the family and individual level empowerment of both parents and girls. As well, the data indicates that girls are ashamed if they have been abused or raped, and sometimes fear

seeking help or even telling their parents. If parents felt capable of talking to their children about sex and warning them about the risks their children face in the community, perhaps they would be willing to do this before their children reach puberty and are at greater risk. Perhaps this would break down some of the fear girls have in bringing up the subject and would enable them to come to their parents for help when they need it.

In some secondary schools, clubs for girls have been a mechanism for teaching girls their rights at an early age. Through involving female teachers or a local woman leader from the community, girls can also learn to whom they can go to for help if they have been approached for sex or violated. Additionally, girls learn to tell their younger sisters, cousins, and neighbors that they have the right to say "no" – ensuring the next generation is fully educated and equipped to protect themselves. *Gumzo la Wasichana* (Girl's Talk), the local organization of which I partnered in Ukerewe, is attempting to spread this model to other schools, but support from the local community, as well as from local government leaders would make certain such programs are sustainable.

Much of this prevention of discrimination and abuse, as well as bringing justice when abuse happens, involves the village and neighborhood. If a community member/neighbor suspects his or her neighbor's daughter is being taken advantage of by a fellow student or man in the community, rather than keeping quiet, he/she needs to be empowered to tell the girl's parents. As I mentioned in the findings chapter, in the past, neighbors used to look out for one another. But now there seems to be a stigma behind "knowing too much of other people's business." If a

neighbor witnesses an underage girl having sex, under the law it is the neighbor's duty to report this to the girl's parent, and he or she is required to report this to the social welfare officer (Law of the Child (LoC), 2009). The LoC states explicitly that, "It shall be the *duty* of any member of the community who has evidence or information that a child's rights are being infringed…to report the matter to the local government authority of the area" (LoC, 2009, p. 48, section 95-1, italics mine). To address these issues, I offer the following recommendations.

Awareness campaigns. An awareness campaign needs to be launched to include community meetings, radio announcements, or even the posting or painting of signs or murals that would raise awareness of this issue and the community's responsibility for addressing it.

Community partnerships. Additionally, at the community level, much of this raising awareness of what the law says and empowering people to know and enforce the law will come from partnering with local civil society organizations. In Ukerewe, this could include organizations such as Gumzo la Wasichana, Forum Syd, and others that provide awareness-raising workshops to community members and teach community members the importance of social accountability.

Education of boys and men. Boys and men, too, need to be taught the laws. They need to know that legally, they can be sent to jail for 30 years if they have sex with a minor under the Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act (SOSPA, 1998). If the laws are ever enforced (which in Ukerewe, it sounded like enforcement of laws was rare), men and boys need to know what the punishment is for breaking such laws so that they will protect, instead of persecute, women and girls. Additionally, one effective means of

prevention may be through encouraging boys to protect their future wives and future mothers of their children.

Boarding schools. Many of the women and girls I interviewed and observed recommended boarding schools be built for the girls. This would help in multiple ways. First it would raise their chances of equal access to education. Boarding schools would also help in the following ways:

- In many families, the girl is responsible for most of the domestic work in her home, leaving her little time to study and keeping her from excelling in school. If she were to live in a dorm, more of her time could be devoted to her studies. School could be a priority.
- Living on campus would protect girls from the risks they face when walking long distances to school – being raped or coerced into sex after begin given gifts or rides to/from school. In some of the more rural areas, girls walk several kilometers each day.
- The time girls spend commuting to and from school could be spent studying or doing homework, rather than walking.

Building boarding schools would require either extra government funding, or the government or local Ukerewe leaders could solicit donations from NGOs or donors concerned with education and human rights issues.

Meso - At the District Level – Local Government and Schools

Accountability. First and foremost at the meso level is the issue of holding teachers accountable. Under the Sexual Offenses Special Provision Act (SOSPA), sex with a girl under the age of 18 is a crime, punishable with prison for 30 years. The

SOSPA also explicitly discusses the abuse of power, condemning it, and a teacher that threatens his student with punishment or bribes her with grades is without question abusing his power. If he is caught, simply giving a warning is not enough. The law needs to be upheld.

Second, headmasters need to be held accountable for the actions of their teachers. If a girl reports to the headmaster that she is being abused by a teacher, action needs to be taken to protect the girl. This requires more than a reprimand or transfer of the teacher. A reprimand or transfer is not punishment – the SOSPA is clear about that. The law needs to be acted upon when girls' rights are being violated in a place like school, where she should feel safe. Headmasters that knowingly allow abuse to continue in their schools or perpetuate abuse should be held accountable by the law.

Training for teachers and headmasters. Training also needs to be provided for teachers on understanding Tanzanian laws regarding sexual abuse, including the penalties for when laws are violated. While in Ukerewe, I, along with *Gumzo la Wasichana*, sponsored a training where we invited a female teacher from each government-run secondary school, and members of *Gumzo* to attend. We asked a lawyer from the local council, a police officer from the gender desk, and a social welfare officer (who did not show up) to be the designated trainers and teach the laws and the process of reporting when laws are violated. The women who attended took notes, asked questions, and were very engaged. Providing more of these types of trainings – particularly for women teachers from secondary schools and as well, teachers from primary schools – will increase the knowledge-base women have of

the laws and will equip them to support girls when they are violated. As I have discussed and my data reflects, such violence often takes place in the school setting, so teachers need to know how to advocate on behalf of their students.

Though both female and male teachers need to be trained, I would recommend this start with female teachers. The girls I worked with expressed a distrust of many male teachers. At schools where there were female teachers employed (some of them had none), girls said that the "madam" (or female teacher) was someone they felt they could go to for help.

Additionally, teachers and headmasters should be made aware that under the Law of the Child (2009), Sub Part II.169.56A., they are mandated reporters, and that if they hear of their colleague taking advantage of a student, it is their job to report the issue to the authorities. This additional education of teachers and headmasters could be offered as continuing education courses or workshops (as we provided in Ukerewe), but should also be part of the ethical training teachers receive in their teachers training colleges (I mention this last piece again later).

Reminders. Another feasible and inexpensive method of reminding teachers, headmasters, etc. of the laws and their ethical duties could take place if the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer were to write a letter that could be handed out to all teachers and headmasters in the district, spelling out both the laws and their duties as teachers/headmasters. Even a reminder of what the laws entail and their connected duties may be enough to curb cases of abuse.

One female teacher per school. An additional practical solution that would protect and empower secondary school aged-girls would be for the District

Education Officer to ensure there is *at least one* female teacher in every school. As noted in an earlier chapter, this was suggested by women and girls alike. If a female teacher cannot be hired for every school, perhaps a social worker could be hired by the government to rotate between schools, regularly meeting with girls at the schools that lack a female teacher. Currently in Ukerewe there are several secondary schools that do not have even one female employee.

Partnering with religious institutions. Finally, although my research did not take place specifically in religious institutions, such establishments are a powerful force in the Ukerewe community, and could be leveraged to bring about change. Meetings with priests, pastors, and imams that inform them of the situation of Ukerewe girls could be a productive and beneficial way to combat gender discrimination in the Ukerewe community, as these organizations could use their influence to speak against it. If potential perpetrators see such actions as being against the will of God and actions that could incite his judgment, they may be more hesitant to commit these crimes.

Meso – In the Community

Blaming the girl needs to stop. One thing I heard as an undertone in my own research as well as in the research literature is the blaming of the girl when she gets pregnant – whether it is due to rape or not. The community climate around this has got to change if girls are ever going to be truly empowered to seek justice on their own behalf. This is something that will take much effort by community members because it involves a change in perception of girls and a redirecting of blame. This shift is only going to take place when parents value their daughters

enough to fight for their justice and are willing take their perpetrators to court after a girl is threatened or violated.

Additionally, as the girls suggested, holding community forums to discuss the issues girls face where the girls were invited to speak could serve to validate them as important members of society. As well, perhaps listening to the girls' concerns would help community members to recognize that the girls are not to blame.

Parents must talk with their children about sex. Additionally, there seems to be a hesitancy among adults to discuss issues of sex. Other researchers have found similar things, but have found that in previous generations parents were more willing to discuss such issues with their children, at least around the time of puberty (Wight et al., 2006). A revived willingness on the part of adults to discuss this issue, and other issues of sexuality, will help alleviate the stigma that discussing sex/sexuality currently holds in the Ukerewe culture and could make it easier for girls to seek help from parents and other trusted adults when they are being solicited for sex at an early age. Small community meetings addressing these issues and urging parents to talk with their children at a young age would be a viable solution to this issue.

Macro - National Policies and Campaigns

Training for law enforcement. At the macro level, training for law enforcement on preventing corruption needs to be a priority at both the district, regional, and national level. Too many interviewees reported that they did not trust the police, and sometimes even the court, because of the bribes and corruption that took place within, keeping victims from receiving the justice they deserve. Some told

personal stories about how a perpetrator who had money or power was able to abuse or commit a crime towards them or a less-powerful relative and then used their power or influence to keep the police from acting. At the national level in the police force, officers need to be held accountable to do their job and to refuse bribes. Additionally, those who offer bribes to law enforcement need to receive some form of punishment (fine, prison, etc.) for the bribe, as well as for the crime they committed.

Laws must be known in the village: Use various forms of media. As reviewed earlier, Tanzania's laws are thorough, but the laws are not known in the village. According to Crotty (2009),

> no matter what type of law is involved or how closely it reflects a nation's culture, law can serve as a first step in transforming social realities and fostering equal rights for women. It can validate injuries and, in some cases, deter or redress them. It can help redistribute power and increase the number of voices that are heard. Legal rights can be a means for women to achieve equality. (p. 342)

Like teachers at the meso level of analysis, communities have to actually know and understand the laws for laws to be effective. There needs to be a movement to raise awareness about the rights of each citizen under the law and the penalties that go with infringing on another's rights. This movement could take place with reminders over radio, in the news, and other forms of media. Posters and murals painted on buildings could also be effective ways to raise awareness of this issue.

Community Seminars. As mentioned, the Law of the Child (2009) mandates that *any community member* who knows or suspects abuse is taking place should report it to the social welfare office. An investigation should follow these reports. Community seminars could be sponsored by the government to ensure citizens are aware of their duties and are equipped to follow the law. As suggested earlier, social media such as radio and news could be used to inform communities – particularly in more rural areas – that such laws exist.

Economic development opportunities. As was evident from the data, many girls are participating in transactional sex because of poverty. A focus on economic development – throughout Ukerewe and the entire country – needs to take place at the local and national levels of government. NGOs can also play their part in this area, teaching both women and men a new trade or helping them learn to set up a business and manage their money. If people have other options for economic stability - besides sex – they will not only be capable of combating poverty, but in the long-run, will be combating HIV/AIDS and other STIs. Ultimately, this will also increase the educated population, as fewer schoolgirls will be forced to drop out of school because of early pregnancy.

Teacher ethics training. Teacher ethics training at teacher's colleges is another macro-level solution. So much of the sexual abuse seems to be coming from teachers or taking place on school grounds. Training teachers on how they are ethically supposed to treat their students – with respect and dignity – and what they are supposed to do if they know about a case of abuse, it would help to decrease the

chances that these teachers risk abusing their students or risk turning a blind eye to their colleagues or other students who may be the perpetrators.

Transactional

Whether any of these recommendations work or not also depends much on how the girls interact at each of these levels. For example, if they are given education and understand how to report a perpetrator, will they have the motivation or the agency to do so? If clubs are established at their schools, will they attend and will they apply the knowledge that they gain? Will girls hold each other accountable and choose to be the influencer and not the influenced? Or if they choose to be the influenced, will they choose to be influenced by girls who are serious about school and are not willing to participate in transactional sex?

We will not know the answers to these questions until at least some of these strategies are tried. It is my hope that this research has shed greater light on this issue and that parents, community leaders, and the government will see recognize gender discrimination and sexual abuse of schoolgirls as an important local and national issue that can change provided they are serious about investing in bringing that change. While some girls may choose to continue participating in transactional sex, based on my time with them, I believe the majority of them feel trapped and manipulated and are longing for a change.

Strengths and Limitations to this Study

Methodological

As far as methodological limitations go, first, like most qualitative studies, it is difficult to generalize these findings beyond Ukerewe. However, the reader should

keep in mind that similar findings have been found in other parts of Tanzania, as well as in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Yet, findings do not generalize to the experience of every Tanzanian schoolgirl or women, but only represent the observations and experiences of participants. For example, the experiences of girls in Dar es Salaam, a very large city, may be different than the experience of girls and women growing up and living in the Ukerewe district. As well, because Ukerewe is fairly isolated in the middle of Lake Victoria, Ukerewe girls' experience might be different from that of girls from other rural areas of Tanzania. Despite this fact, I believe that the findings are still informative for other researchers studying similar occurrences.

Another major limitation was that although I have been studying Kiswahili for a few years, I am by no means fluent. Though my interpreter was excellent, I am sure there are things that I missed due to my not being completely fluent. Additionally, in Ukerewe, the local dialect is Kikerewe, of which I only knew greetings. At school, students are required to use Kiswahili or English, at least with their teachers, but they do not always do so. This placed an additional limitations on my observations.

While individual interviews with girls could have been a risk, they would have helped me to more accurately identify protective and/or risk factors, and aspects of resilience within the girls that were harder to detect through observations of girls and interviews with women. For example, if a girl had been approached by her teacher and had turned him down, had she told anyone? What gave her the strength to say no? There are many other things I may have been able

to learn that girls may have been more willing to discuss in individual interviews. In contrast, they may not have been so eager to bring up or discuss sexual issues in front of all their peers.

Some factors may have been left out of the conversation because I was not asking interviewees about their personal experiences, but was asking about what they knew of the experiences of others (though some did volunteer their own experiences). In particular, the protective and risk factors potentially left out could include the more micro-level factors having to do with individual decision-making and personality. In addition, when collecting demographic data, I did not ask women interviewees if they had children or not. This would have perhaps given insight into how personal the information they provided me with was, though they often volunteered this information.

My whiteness could also be considered a limitation, (e.g., the fact that I am white and stuck out like a sore thumb wherever I went). It is likely that because of my skin tone, particularly in schools, headmasters and teachers may have been on their "best behavior" when I was there (there was no "blending in" or hiding my presence), as long as they knew and remembered I was researching the situation of girls in their schools. However, if the fact that I am a woman was more pronounced to some than the color of my skin, my whiteness could have been less of an issue.

Because women in Ukerewe are not highly regarded by many of the men, I experienced directly, on multiple occasions, some of the gender discrimination that takes place on this island. This can be demonstrated by a specific example that played out in one of the schools at my last day with the girls there, two days before I

left the island. I had been visiting this particular school for several months, but the second master had not been there any previous times that I had been there. On this particular visit, my husband accompanied me to the school (not to interact with the girls, just for the bike ride there and back). Upon arrival to the school, the second master came out and welcomed and greeted my husband, Greg, and turned his back toward me. Greg explained over and over again, that we came for me to meet with the girls. Greg kept looking at me, acknowledging my presence and explaining that I was conducting research with the girls, and that he was just accompanying me for the bike ride. But the second master, who insisted on speaking in broken English, was not understanding Greg and continued to shun me. Finally, after much effort, the second master understood, but the courtesy he showed towards me did not exactly improve. This type of behavior towards women is not uncommon, and in my case this could be considered a limitation, as perhaps at times people were less likely to work with me. But at the same time, in a research project focusing on gender discrimination, perhaps it can be considered a strength as I can write from an informed point of view as someone who experienced it directly.

The fact that I am white and a woman may also be seen as strengths in terms of the access I was able to achieve with the girls and women who participated in my study. Because I am a woman, they were willing to talk to me about things that would have been taboo to discuss with a man. Because I am white and an outsider, it is possible they were willing to discuss more with me than they would have done with someone they identified with or saw as sharing their culture. Almost every single woman I interviewed seemed more than happy to discuss their lives, the

situation of today's girls, and the lives of their ancestors. They seemingly held a true desire to share with me, the interested outsider. In some instances, it seemed they were willing to share so much with me because they hoped I would be able to help. In the long run, that too, is my hope. As Madison (2005) discusses, I hope because of the research I was able to uncover due to my privilege, these findings can be used to benefit the lives of the Ukerewe women and girls – contributing to the "emancipatory knowledge and discourses of social justice" in their lives that ultimately will bring the justice they deserve (p. 5).

Finally, at the methodological level, one of my methods of data collection was to be a written response to the question, "Is there anything else you would like for me to know?" This question was given to women on a sheet of paper after they were interviewed. If they thought of something to tell me later, they could write it out in Kiswahili and return it to me or my assistant at their convenience. However, I only had one interviewee return the paper. This could be because of several possible things:

- Perhaps women thought they told me everything I needed or they wanted me to know;
- Perhaps they could not write;
- Perhaps it was too difficult to write once they returned to the daily tasks of their lives;
- Perhaps they did not want anyone else (such as their husbands) to see the kinds of things we discussed in the interviews.

Because I only received one paper back, I was unable to use the information in this dissertation.

Theoretical

The ecological-transactional theory, though most of the time is extremely useful, particularly when formulating recommendations and interventions, can at times be difficult to use in analysis. For the purpose of my study, I initially wanted to examine what factors at the various levels of a child's environment and within the child interact to influence a child's ability to be resilient in the face of abuse or potential abuse. Examining each level of a child's environment, as well as the child's personal characteristics, can help uncover potential factors in producing more resilient outcomes, but can also uncover what other areas (besides abuse) are risk factors for negative outcomes, thus giving us an idea of what sort of interventions need to be developed in order to mitigate the risk factors and build on the resilient. Though I did do some of that, some of these factors were difficult to uncover having not interviewed girls directly. The theory proved most helpful in developing interventions and recommendations for change that can help promote childhood resilience among populations at risk for abuse.

When it came to the more micro and individual level aspects of resilience I was trying to observe, I believe there was much more in the lives of the girls than I was able to distinguish at those levels. Additionally, there were times when I felt I was struggling more over how to classify a certain observation (such as micro verses meso, like observations I made in schools), and use of the theory almost felt

distracting and less important than actually capturing the observation and discovering aspects that could be built on to bring positive change.

Conclusions

Future research

Despite the nearly six months of time I spent in the field with the Ukerewe people, and the three visits before that, there is still so much I do not know. For example, as I mentioned, next time I want to hold one-on-one interviews with girls (with the help of an interpreter). I want to know from individuals what they have done if a teacher has attempted to solicit them for sex. Are girls lives in Ukerewe literally being threatened if they tell authorities when a teacher abuses them, as implied in one of the skits girls created?

As claimed by Wight et al. (2007), behavioral change interventions are not likely to succeed if the culture around sex is not understood. For example, Wight et al. (2007) found that in the Sukuma tribe, a tribe not too far from Ukerewe, and also in the Mwanza region, the popular village entertainment for adult men and youth is highly sexualized, including visits to video viewings, "ngoma" dances and attending the discos. All of these places are known for the sexual activity that takes place there. Are there certain places or certain celebrations within the Ukerewe culture that have traditionally allowed for greater freedom in sexuality?

Greater understanding of the influence of peers on individual girl's sexuality and their sexual debut is also needed. As well, there is a need for greater knowledge on how adults influence both girls and boys in their sexual debut.

Future research also needs to examine how abortions play out in Ukerewe. Although abortions are not something I asked about, they were voluntarily brought up by women and girls alike. I want to know how common those are among girls, particularly since they are illegal in Tanzania, and if girls consider abortion a viable method of birth control. Some said that girls feel like they must abort in order to stay in school or if they know their family will disown them if they have a baby at a young age. Plummer et al. (2008) conducted an ethnography in another part of Northern Tanzania, finding that women sometimes took dangerous levels of medicines or products to induce abortion, that some allowed people with very little or no training to carry out the abortion, and some ended up with lasting health complications afterwards. This is something I heard about in Ukerewe, but more information is needed on this subject in order to develop interventions. Research needs to examine the various abortion methods used, and the repercussions – or lack thereof – if someone finds out a girl has aborted, or has assisted or even forced a girl to abort.

Another area of future research is in the Ukerewe fishing villages. Girls and women alike often talked about the influence the fishing industry has on transactional sex, and that often women and girls end up going to the fishing villages because fishermen sometimes have more money than many of the villagers, in particular, farmers. Sometimes desperate schoolgirls are said to go to these villages to make quick cash or exchange sex for food. I am curious about life in the fishing villages. Women and girls implied that the women who live in the fishing villages are known for being promiscuous. What is life like for the women who end up living

there? Do they choose this lifestyle or do they get trapped there? More research is needed to learn about how and why women end up living in the fishing villages, and the power they have over their bodies (i.e., once they live in the fishing villages, do they feel like they can tell men/their benefactors "no"?). Are they able to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS? Other researchers that have reported on this issue include Béné and Merten (2008), who found that the sub-Saharan African inland fisheries had the largest number of cases of "fish-for-sex" lifestyles and noted the direct link such practice had with HIV/AIDS.

Future research could also focus on boys' experiences. Do they approve of their teachers' actions when their teachers are trying to solicit their female schoolmates? What is their own response if they end up impregnating their female classmates while both are still in school? I have so many questions that only more research will answer.

Contributions of this Research to the Field

Though for the most part, this research may not be generalizeable to other areas, much can still be gleaned and found useful for other researchers. It adds to the literature about transactional sex, and brings to light a stinging, staggering problem of abuse in schools.

Moreover, African leaders can add this to the repertoire of other works that shed light on the subject of gender discrimination and abuse, and call for increased education and awareness raising on the rights of girls, the need for strengthening the justice system and rooting-out corruption. Both local Ukerewe and national policy makers can use this research as it provides them with a greater

understanding of holes in the laws and how these laws are (or not) being implemented. Findings have implications for child protection policies, development of programs and interventions, and the creation of new school policies locally and nationally.

Finally, I am hopeful that this research served to empower and further the resiliency of the women and girls who chose to participate. Many of the girls now better understand the laws that protect them, they were able to think through situations of abuse they one day might face and come up with action plans, and they formed closer relationships with fellow students and a female teacher or neighborhood woman who volunteered to assist. Women and girls alike had the opportunity to speak and be heard about aspects of their lives that many have been unable to share. If nothing else, hopefully their participation in this study has given them more voice and built their confidence in their own ability to speak on their behalf.

Dissemination of Findings

This study operated from the critical ethnographic assumption that "this knowledge was used in processes of social change by people to whom understanding their situation is crucial in changing it," (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 146). Findings were disseminated to Ambassador Mongella, previous Ukerewe representative to Tanzania's Parliament and past President of the Pan-African Parliament, as well as to the Ukerewe local government (including the chair of the Ukerewe District Council, the District Director of Secondary Education, and the local District Commissioner). Findings were disseminated through in-person meetings or if the official was not in the office, by leaving a preliminary report. Later, a final written report was emailed to my

assistant/interpreter, who agreed to print and distribute the report. In the report I included policy recommendations specific to the Ukerewe community, as included in the previous chapter of this dissertation.

Finally

I want to close this dissertation with a message of gratitude to the women and girls who shared their lives with me. In the long run, I hope this research and my work in the community really does make a difference in their lives, even if it simply serves to raise awareness about the many challenges women and girls in Ukerewe face. Additionally, I believe the hope I saw every day in your lives will one day be fulfilled, and is actually closer than you may think. ***Ngoja, kuche si mbali…Wait, dawn is not far.***

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APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT for INTERVIEWS (verbal, in person)

My name is Rachel Hagues and I am a graduate student from the University of Georgia in the United States. I am doing a research project and would like to invite you to participate. My study is on what life is like for girls in Ukerewe. You may participate if you are 18 or older. This study is only being conducted with women. Please do not participate if you are younger than 18.

As a participant, I will ask you to sit and talk with me and my assistant for about an hour. I will ask you questions about your life when you were a girl and about how you see life for girls now. I am especially interested in learning about gender discrimination girls might experience in and around school. You do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. I will also give you a small gift (a book) to thank you for participating.

If you would like to participate in this research study, we can set up a meeting at a place that is convenient for you.

Do you have any questions now? If you have questions later, please contact me at ____(TANZANIAN CELL PHONE)_____, or you can find me at the guest house _____(INSERT LOCATION HERE)___.

APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR WOMEN

Thank you so much for taking time to talk to me about what life was like for you growing up in Tanzania, particularly as a female, and how you perceive the state of girls in Tanzania currently. I anticipate this interview will take between 45 minutes and an hour. I also have _____, the interpreter, here with me so that we do not misunderstand each other.

Today our talk will focus more on your childhood memories. In particular, I am interested in hearing from you about how girls were treated. We will also talk about government laws that protect girls, what they are doing well in terms of policy implementation and enforcement, and suggestions you might have for changes.

The information you share with me in this interview was kept confidential and I will not use your name or any other identifying information that would allow anyone to figure out who you are. _____ (interpreter) has also agreed to keep everything you say to me confidential. If you are uncomfortable at any point in the interview we can skip a question or stop altogether. Also, as noted in the informed consent, I am going to be digitally recording the interview to ensure I accurately capture everything you say. Are you still comfortable with that? Do you have any questions before we begin?

Because of my previous experiences in working with the girls in Ukerewe, I am very curious to hear what life is like for girls in Tanzania, particularly in terms of how they are viewed by men and boys in the community. So I am curious in hearing about your memories from primary and secondary school.

Interview Questions:

1) Please describe what it was like as a girl in Tanzania.
-in Ukerewe?

2) Please describe what it was like to go to school in Ukerewe.

3) Tell me about how teachers treated students in Ukerewe.

4) Do teachers treat girls differently now?

5) Do you think that girls ever feel pressured or manipulated to conduct sex acts with any of their teachers or any male students? Please explain.
-How would girls resist being pressured into sexual activity?
(Probe: If a girl really did not want to be sexually active, what did she do to say "no"?)
-How did girls learn about sex in the first place?
-Was this different when you were a child?

5) When you were a girl, if girls ever had sexual relations willingly with teachers or male students, what were some of the reasons?
-Describe the types of benefits the girls received in exchange for sexual activity.
(Probe: Are girls ever offered any kind of bribes or rewards for engaging in sexual activity. If so, what kinds of things are offered?)

6) If a girl were to experience sexual abuse in/around school settings, whom would they tell (if anyone)?
-What do you think the Ukerewe community's reaction be if they found out a girl had been taken advantage of?
-What would a girl's parents do if she ended up pregnant?
-If a girl was being taken advantage of by a teacher, or someone with a similar status, who would she tell (if anyone)?

7) In thinking about minors potentially being taken advantage of, I am curious to know how authorities handle reports of abuse. From your experience, what do authorities do if given a report of abuse by a girl?
-If you remember anyone from your community reporting such crimes, can you explain the community's reaction?
-Please describe what the punishment for such a crime was like.

8) How do you perceive the justice system's (police, law enforcement, judges, etc.) handling of sexual abuse claims?
-If a girl was raped, what did other people do?
-What about if she knowingly consented to the sexual act, but was a younger than 18?

9) Can you describe how Tanzania's government handles sexual abuse, rape, etc. claims of girls? (1st on the community level, then on the national level)
-If you remember anyone from your community reporting such crimes, can you tell me about the community's reaction?
-Please describe what the punishment for such a crime is like.

10) Do you know about any laws that protect girls from this type of discrimination?
-Please describe any social movements that took place around this issue when you were growing up.

-Please describe any laws that were enacted around this issue when you were growing up.
-Please describe how these laws were carried out.

11) What is the government currently doing around this issue?
(Probe: Passing laws? Media campaign? Awareness? Social Movements?)
-How is growing up when your mom or grandma was a girl different than it is for girls now?

12) What do you recommend the government do around this issue?
(Probe: Any laws need to be created? Community Awareness?...)

13) What do you recommend communities do around this issue?
(Probe: Awareness campaigns? Education within the schools? Other social movements?)
(Probe: When was it appropriate to be sexually active? Was it seen as appropriate to have sex with much older men? What was the normal age difference between a girl and her first partner in sexual encounter?)

I don't have any more questions for you at this time, but **do you have anything else you would like for me to know?**

Demographic Data

Age:

Religion:

Education level:

Area in which the woman lives:

Employment status (if so, doing what):

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORMS FOR WOMEN

HATI RIDHAA

Mimi, _____, ninakubali kushiriki katika uchunguzi wa "Utatuzi wa Jamii na Ubaguzi wa Jinsia kwa Wanafunzi Wasichana wa Ukerewe." Utafiti huu unaendeshwa na Rachel Hagues kutoka Idara ya Maendeleo ya Watoto na Familia katika Chuo Kikuu cha Georgia, Marekani (+1-706-248-5996). Utafiti huu unaongozwa na Dr. Mick Coleman, kutoka Idara ya Maendeleo ya Watoto na Familia, katika Chuo Kikuu cha Georgia, Marekani (+1-706-542-4899). Ninaelewa kwamba kushiriki ni hiari yangu. Ninaweza kukataa kushiriki au kuacha kushiriki wakati wowote bila kutoa sababu zozote. Nitaweza kuomba taarifa zilizorekodiwa kuhusu mimi ziondolewe katika rekodi za utafiti, au rekodi za utafiti zifutwe kutoka habari zangu zote.

Sababu za utafiti huu ni kujifunza: 1) kama wanafunzi wasichana wanahisi ubaguzi wa jinsia au matukano shuleni; 2) kama wanafunzi wasichana wanafanyiwa ubaguzi na kama wanamwambia mtu yeyote na wanaambia nani; 3) kama nitafikiri wanafunzi wasichana wanahisi mikazo au kushinikizwa wa kuweka tayari kufanya tendo la ngono na walimu wao au wanafunzi wavulana; 4) Kuelewa kwangu wanafunzi wasichana wanafikiri nini kuhusu mfumo wa haki wa Tanzania; 5) kulinganisha utoto wangu na utoto wa wanafunzi wasichana wa sasa; 6) nitaambia mtafiti uzoefu wangu na sheria za Tanzania ambazo zinasaidia kulinda wasichana na wanawake dhidi ya ubaguzi wa jinsia na matukano.

Hakuna hatari zitakazotokea kutokana na kushiriki kwangu katika utafiti huu. Lakini, pengine maswali nitakayoulizwa yanaweza kunikumbusha kumbukumbu au matokeo mabaya ambayo yangeweza kusababisha nihisi aibu. Kama wakati wowote nitataka kutojibu swali ambalo linanisababisha kuhisi vibaya nitaweza kufanya hivyo.

Manufaa ya kushiriki kwangu ni kwamba mahojiano yatanisaidia kusambaza ujuzi wangu. Ujuzi wangu wa kitalaamu utasababisha (natumaini) sera mageuzi ambazo zitaleta maendeleo ya maingilio kwa wasichana nchini kwangu (Tanzania). Kushiriki kwangu pia kutakuwa sehemu ya utafiti wa mwanafunzi wa shahada ya juu au uzamili.

Pia, nitapewa zawadi ndogo ya kitabu kwa kushiriki katika mahojiano hayo. Pia, nikitaka, nitapewa kopi ya maandiko ya mahojiano niliyoshiriki.

Habari binafisi kuhusu mimi, au taarifa nilizosema wakati wa uchunguzi hazitapatikana kwa wengine isipokuwa nikiandika idhini, isipokuwa ikihitajika kuhifadhi masilahi yangu au ikihitajika na sheria. Rekodi za mahojiano zitakuwa zimehifadhiwa kwenye kompyuta ya mtafiti na hazitapatikana kwa mtu yeyote isipokuwa mtafiti peke yake. Hazitaenezwa

hadharani. Katika maandiko, jina bandia litatumika badala ya jina langu halisi. Mtafiti atakapohitimu masomo yake, rekodi zote na maandiko ya mahojiano yatafutwa.

Mtafiti, Rachel Hagues, atajibu swali lolote kuhusu utafiti wake, sasa au wakati wa utafiti ukifanyika. Tafadhali jisikie huru kuwasiliana naye kwa namba ya simu hii: _____.

Muhimu: Kama wakati wowote nikimwambia mtafiti kwamba nimefanyiwa uhalifu (kwa mfano ubakaji au matukano ya kingono/kijinsia) yasiyoripotiwa kwa ofisi husika, naelewa kwamba mtafiti anaweza kulazimika kuripoti matokeo kama haya kufuatana na sheria. Mtafiti atafanya kila juhudi kuhakikisha kwamba ripoti haitasomwa na watu wasiohusika na mtafiti ataniambia (mshiriki), msaidizi wake (ambaye atakuwepo wakati wa mahojiano), na viongozi serikalini. Mtafiti atanijulisha kabla ripoti haijatolewa, kama ripoti kama hiyo itahitajika kufuatana na sheria.

Ninaelewa kwamba kwa kusaini fomu hii nakubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu. Ninaelewa kwamba nitapewa kopi ya nakala hii iliyosainiwa kwa rekodi zangu.

_____ _____ _____

Jina la Mtafiti Saini Tarehe

Simu: _____

Barua pepe: _____

_____ _____ _____

Jina la Mshiriki Saini Tarehe

Tafadhali saini nakala hizi mbili, bakia na moja na mrudishie mtafiti nakala moja.

Maswali zaidi au mashaka kuhusu haki zako kama mshiriki katika utafiti huu unaweza kuwasiliana na: The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Simu 011-706 -542-3199; Baura pepe IRB@uga.edu

CONSENT FORM
ENGLISH VERSION

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled "Community Solutions to Gender Discrimination of Ukerewe Schoolgirls." This study is being conducted by Rachel Hagues from the Department of Child and Family Development at the University of Georgia in the United States (706-248-5996). The study is being directed by Dr. Mick Coleman, Department of Child and Family Development, University of Georgia (706-542-4899). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without giving any reason. I can ask for all of the information about me removed from the research records or deleted.

The reason for this study is to learn: 1) if schoolgirls experience gender discrimination or abuse in/around school settings; 2) if schoolgirls experience discrimination, who do they tell (if anyone); 3) if I think schoolgirls feel pressured or manipulated into sex acts with their teachers or fellow male students; 4) my understanding of what the girls think about the Tanzania justice system; 5) compare my childhood experiences to the experiences of current schoolgirls; 6) explain to the researcher my understanding of Tanzanian laws that protect girls and women from gender discrimination and abuse.

There are no significant risks for my participation in this research. However, sometimes the questions could remind me of bad memories and I may feel uncomfortable. If at any time I would like to skip a question that I feel uncomfortable answering, I may.

The benefits for my participation are that the interview will provide an opportunity for me to share my experiences. My experiences and expertise will (hopefully) cause policy change and lead to the development of interventions for young girls in my country (Tanzania). My participation will also be part of a graduate student's research.

I will also receive a small gift of a book for participating.

If I choose to, I was provided with a copy of the interview notes.

No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research was shared with others without my written permission, except if it is necessary to protect my welfare or required by law. The interview recordings was kept on the researcher's computer and will not be accessed by anyone but the researcher. They will not be publicly disseminated. In transcription, a pseudonym (fake name) was used to replace my name. Upon the researcher's graduation, the interview recordings was erased.

The investigator, Rachel Hagues, will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project. Please feel free to call her cell phone at: -
_____.

Important: If at any point I report to the researcher that a crime has been committed against me (such as rape or sexual abuse) that has not yet been reported to the local

authorities, I recognize that the researcher may be legally required to report such an incident. The researcher will make every effort to keep the report confidential and will only tell me (participant), her assistant (who was present for the interview), and the local authorities. The researcher will inform me before the report is made, if such a report is determined to be necessary under federal law.

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project. I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

_____ _____ _____

Name of Researcher Signature Date

Telephone: _____
Email: _____

_____ _____ _____

Name of Participant Signature Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone 011-706 -542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION GUIDE

(i.e., these are guiding questions – not all was answered in each observation)

Adapted from: Spradley, J. (1980). *Participant Observation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

ACTORS (i.e., girl participants)

- Describe in detail the typical girl participant (i.e., composite figure; leaving out identifying information that would be traceable).
    - What does the typical look like, age range, what seems to be the economic status?
    - How do they hold themselves (shy vs. friendly, outgoing, etc.)
- What are the activities in which the girls are involved in the group setting?

ACTS & ACTIVITIES

- Describe in detail the acts/activities.
- How do the actors involve themselves in the group activities?
- What are the themes of the topics the girls seem to be concerned about?

EVENT

- What are the events taking place?
- Describe the events in detail.

GOAL

- What seems to be the group's goals?
- Do participants seem to have similar goals or are there a variety of goals present? Describe them.
- How are events related to the goals?

OBJECT

- What sorts of objects do the girls bring with them to the groups?
- How are the objects used within the groups?

SPACE

- Describe in detail the space being used.
- How do the girls talk about their space?
- How do the girls talk about their community? Their school?

TIME

- Describe in detail how time is used in the group.

- What seems to be the focus of the time period?
- How do girls seem to talk about time (or do they)?
- How is time and timing significant to them?

FEELINGS, REACTIONS, ETC.

- Describe in detail the feelings that seem to be communicated by the girls.
- What are their reactions to the group activities?
- When are feelings evoked?
- What are ways the feelings are expressed by the girls?
- What are your (the researcher's) reactions to being with the girls? *Separate your reactions into your own personal reflections.*