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Domestic Violence Rights Movement in Tanzania: An Exploration

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Due in large part to efforts within broad based women’s movements, particularly the 1990s in Tanzania, domestic violence began to be more openly acknowledged for what it clearly is, a social problem. Since then many grassroots strategies emerged within this country to combat this culturally concealed issue. Some of these strategies focus on providing relief and protection for victims, others focus on confronting offenders, and still others focus on how to inform and engage the public in addressing this social problem. In particular, attention is given to processes that alleviate the stigma and shame experienced by victims of domestic violence. Moreover, both public and private organizations in this country, as in many other countries in the world, play significant roles in this struggle to create a more equal society based on gender (Maro, 2004; Miller & Barberet, 1994; Smith, 1985). Thus these multiple goals with a variety of players, according to Bush (1992), “highlight the paradox of achieving both reform and lasting structural change in gender relations” within and between nations (pp. 587-8). This dissertation research examines the domestic violence rights movement in Tanzania. At this point it is important that I get underway basic explanations, necessary for understanding how important it is to think about Tanzania and domestic violence in the appropriate context. The following section, therefore, provides a brief account of the country’s
economic, health care, education, life expectancy, and some comparisons based on
gender and between rural and urban areas.

Current Data and Facts about Tanzania

Tanzania is an economically poor country that is still in the process of
development, and is thus categorized as a "developing country" (as opposed to
economically developed countries such as the United States, Japan, and England).
The country’s economy remains heavily based in agriculture, which employs 80% of
the labor force whereby in rural areas 75% of the income is earned from agricultural
activities (Tanzania Human Rights Report, 2006). The poverty rate in Tanzania is
high, with over 36% of the country’s total population living below the poverty line
(poverty line is the minimum income level used as an official standard for
determining the proportion of a population living in poverty), with only 20 percent of
the country’s poor living in urban areas leaving the 80 percent in the rural (CIA
World Factbook, 2007). This rate remains high, especially in the rural areas, despite
efforts to increase and improve the macro-economy. The majority of such efforts
have involved loans, debts, and international aid. Tanzania has an estimated total of
$8,000 million in debts, which is almost ten times the value of the national exports
(Tanzania National Website, 2007). The United States Agency for International
Development (USAID), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB),
Danish Development Agency (DANIDA), Norwegian Agency for Development
Cooperation (NORAD), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
(SIDA), and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) are some of the
main donors to the country. Unfortunately, donors tend to retain control over
recipients based on rules, obligations, interests and other terms levied as part of their loans. Although the country is still committed to paying the debts, this is an extremely heavy burden for a poor country trying to develop and improve its economic sustainability. Tanzania does not have many options left other than subjecting itself to donor dependence. However, reliance on grants may further create a continuous cycle of poverty and establish an even more loan and debt-based economy (evidence of such already exists in Tanzania). These factors make it difficult for a country to economically liberate itself from cycle of poverty.

Compared to the industrially powerful and developed countries, which have advanced technology and telecommunications, and major producers of goods such as petroleum, steel, motor vehicles, aerospace, electronics, chemicals, and food processing, the industrial sector in Tanzania has traditionally featured the processing of agricultural products such as sisal, cotton, coffee and tea, as well as light consumer goods such as soap, matches, toothpaste, cooking and body oil, traditional clothes, and cement. Donors, particularly the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), have continuously assisted the country in the efforts to alleviate poverty and improve the economic infrastructure. According to the CIA World Factbook (2007), this kind of support has contributed to the country’s GDP growth of nearly 7% in 2007.

Tanzania, like many other developing countries, encounters problems because of its continued donor dependence. Donors have a tendency to spell out what must be done with donated funds based on their own organizational rules, obligations, interests and criteria. By depending on grants, the country subjects itself to instability,
uncertainty and even insecurity (Tanzania Legal and Human Rights, 2006). Tanzania, for instance, holds great economic potential in terms of its possession of minerals and natural resources, including diamonds, tanzanite, gold, and oil. It is somewhat surprising then that the country is still in extreme poverty. A variety of foreign companies and rich countries, such as United States, have invested and privatized most sectors of the country’s economy. Tanzania’s lack of industrial power, for example, gives a loophole for the investors to benefit through transporting the unfinished goods to be processed in their (industrial) countries, thus impacting Tanzania’s ability to benefit from and rely on its minerals. When there is too much reliance on the investors it becomes difficult to compete and negotiate the terms involved in the investment contracts.

Tanzania is composed of two parts; Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar (see the country’s history in Chapter II). The country has an estimated population of 40.2 million and spans an area of about 945,087 square kilometers – the mainland encompasses approximately 942,587 of these square kilometers, whereas Zanzibar encompasses just 2,500 (CIA World Factbook, 2007). According to Tanzania Population and Development website (2005), Tanzania is characterized by an uneven distribution of population. Based on the 2002 census, the country’s general population density (usually referring to as the number of people per land area (square kilometer) was 39 persons; Dar es Salaam having the highest density (1,793 persons) where as the lowest density region was 12 persons; all measured in square kilometers. Zanzibar ranked second highest, with 1,700 persons and Iringa Region, where Njombe is located had 25 persons per square kilometer. The source further identify
that Dar es Salaam, the capital city and largest urban area occupied about 10% of Tanzania mainland population; Iringa about 6% (Njombe, about 2% of Iringa) of mainland total population, and Zanzibar 45% of Tanzania Islands population. It is, however, worth pointing out that more than 40 percent of Zanzibar’s total Island population live in the urban (Urban/West Region—one of the five Administrative Regions of Zanzibar). The average age of Tanzanians is 17.7 years, and life expectancy for the total population is 50.71 years. This is quite low as compared to other countries like the United States, which has a life expectancy of 78 years (CIA World Factbook, 2007). The birth rate in Tanzania is 35.95 births per 1000 people, death rate is 13.36 deaths per 1000 people, and infant mortality rate is 71.36 deaths per 1000 live births (CIA World Factbook, 2007).

The country is generally warm; the coastal areas are hot and humid throughout the year, while the climate is drier inland. The average temperature for the country is 27 °C (81 °F). There are two rain seasons: November to December (drier months) and March through June (months of heavy rain). Swahili is the national language of Tanzania, though approximately 130 additional ethnic languages are also used (e.g., Bena, Chagga, Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Hehe, Haya, and so on). English is the nation’s second official language and is primarily used in commerce, administration and higher education. Although English is used in similar ways in mainland and Zanzibar, Arabic is the most common language spoken in Zanzibar and among the Muslim communities.

Mainland Tanzania differs from Zanzibar primarily due to religion. The mainland is quite diverse in terms of religion, with Christians making up 30% of
population, Muslims 35%, and an array of Indigenous beliefs comprising 35%. By comparison, more than 99% of Zanzibar is occupied by Muslims (the remaining 1% is comprised of Christians and Indigenous beliefs) (The CIA World Factbook, 2007). (While Tanzanian-based research and statistics are more sensible and reliable than foreign statistics, the Tanzanian Bureau of Statistics data were too outdated to use in this case. The latest census information, for instance, is available only until 2002). According to the census results of 2002, as presented by the Tanzania Bureau of Statistics (2007), out of the country’s population of 34.5 million, the mainland had a population of 33.5 million while Zanzibar only had about 984,625 people. In the same year, the Dar es Salaam region had 2.5 million people, while the Njombe district, a more rural area of the mainland which served as a major site for my research, had only 420,348. Although more current data for the regions could not be secured, this information provides a sense of the size of the three major research sites in relation to the data obtained from each of the three regions.

HIV/AIDS and infectious diseases such as malaria, bacterial diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever are common, and are the major cause of illness and death throughout the country. According to the Tanzanian National AIDS Control Programme website (2007), the adult prevalence of HIV/AIDS is estimated to range from 6.4 to 11.9%, (average 8.8%), which equates to 1.2 to 2.3 million persons living with HIV/AIDS in the country. Worldwide, Sub-Saharan Africa holds only about 10 percent of the world’s population, but hosts more than 60% of all people living with HIV/AIDS (about 25.8 million people) (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2007). Malaria is another single major disease that causes deaths for all
ages in Tanzania. According to the Tanzania National Malaria Control Program (2003), 75% of the population is subject to stable seasonal malaria transmission, and the disease is believed to be responsible for about 1 to 1.25 million annual deaths. The program further reports that with the assistance of WHO and UNICEF, there are programs for disease control, especially for the major diseases including HIV/AIDS, malaria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, sleeping sickness, schistosomiasis, poliomyelitis, and yaws. The immunization programs for children up to one year exist for such diseases as tuberculosis, diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus, polio, and measles.

Unfortunately, the health care system in Tanzania is generally poor. Health care for the most part is considered a luxury, available for those who can afford it. Health care in the rural areas is even worse than in urban areas. Data indicate that a single health center in Tanzania serves as many as 350,000 people and the ratio of doctors to inhabitants is 1:25,000 (Tanzania National Website, 2007). In rural areas, village medical dispensaries are the primary health care centers. Often only one exists per village or even one for a few villages, and most employ only one physician or medical doctor. These doctors serve 6,000 to 10,000 people each (Tanzania National Website, 2007). Health insurance is not common in Tanzania, as very few can afford it. Those who can afford it can also afford services at private hospitals or first class treatments in government hospitals. The majority of the population relies on governmental health centers/hospitals, which are less expensive. However, services at these more affordable hospitals and centers are very poor and corruption among doctors is common. Since women are limited in income and access to resources, they are at substantially greater risk in terms of accessing health care compared than men.
Education in Tanzania is grouped in three main levels. The basic level (up to 15 years of age) comprises nursery school (two years), primary education (seven years), and non-formal adult education. The secondary level includes ordinary (four years) and advanced (two years) level of education. The university level involves the attainment of degrees (three or more years). Though the seven years of primary education is mandatory by law (Tanzania National Website, 2007), it is not free. Families incur the cost of tuition, uniforms, and other fees involved, which in essence denies access to education for the children of very poor families. At all levels, students go through a screening process by taking national exams. Only the few who pass the exams obtain access to higher levels of education in government or public schools, which are reasonably priced. Parents, who can afford it, enroll their children who fail the national exams in private school, which are more expensive. In 1995 for example, only 15% of primary school graduates were enrolled in public or private secondary schools (TGNP, 1999). For the remainder of the students, the screening process automatically ends their education. Some stay in villages and work in agriculture, some become petty traders, and some, especially boys in villages, migrate to the cities with prospects of better lives. When their expectations fail, as many do, they often become loiterers and engage in deviance and criminal behaviors.

Moreover, fewer children in rural areas go to school as compared to the cities; therefore urban dwellers have greater chances and are more educated than rural dwellers. There is quite a bit of inequality of access to education between girls and boys throughout the country. According to a U.S. Department of State report (2000), even in more rural areas authorities largely ignore women’s efforts to acquire higher
education, and male colleagues may harass women who have obtained paid employment. The enrollment for girls in secondary schools, especially public schools, is lower than for boys; the imbalance is even more pronounced at the university level, especially in natural sciences (TGNP, 1999). The drop-out rate is higher for girls than for boys as well. In 1991/1994 for instance, the female drop-out rate in public secondary schools was 16%, whereas it was 9.8% for males. The enrollment level in the Bachelors of Arts General program at the country’s major university, University of Dar Es Salaam, was 24% female as compared to 76% male (TGNP, 1999). In 2000/2001 the higher level education enrollment rate in general was 1.2% for males and 0.2% females (Tanzania Bureau of Statistics, 2007). The problem of early pregnancies in secondary schools, the traditional-domestic roles assigned to girls during and especially after completing their education, the lesser value attached to girls as children within the society, and forced early marriages are among the factors for dropouts and limited access to school.

The education system is similar in the Tanzania Mainland as in Zanzibar. However, due to the Islamic laws and the fact that Zanzibar was initially a trade center, this part of the country has remained behind in matters of education. The focus until today has been on trade, with just basic and ordinary level education being regarded as sufficient. For example, the first institution of higher learning, Zanzibar University, was officially opened in 1998, whereas the oldest and largest university in the mainland, University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), was established in 1970.

The crime rate is high in Tanzania, but still lower compared to other countries around the world, and particularly industrialized countries. For instance, according to
the INTERPOL data obtained through the Tanzania Human Rights Report (2006), the overall rate for all index offenses (including murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft) per 100,000 people was 205.32 in Tanzania (compared to 1709.88 in Japan and 4132.97 in the United States). As will be discussed throughout this research, domestic violence is a crime within Tanzania, at least in theory.

Conceptual Definitions

The following section presents the conceptual definitions of domestic violence and the domestic violence rights movement (DVRM). The definitions intend to clarify and provide a basic understanding of concepts that were central to my research. It is also crucial to note that both terms have particular definitional issues specific to Tanzania; therefore, it is important that their usage is made clear from the beginning.

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence can generally be defined as a range of physical, mental, emotional and sexual abuse and suffering perpetrated by one intimate partner against another (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1990; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Doerner & Lab, 2002; Edwards, 1989; Smith, 2001). In most societies, including Tanzania, men are the perpetrators in the majority of domestic violence incidents. TAMWA (1993) argues to the fact that more than 95% of domestic violence cases in Tanzania are perpetrated by men, and that most of their counterparts’ perpetraions are geared towards responding to their own victimization, including factors of defense and revenge.
Therefore, my research concentrates on the various forms of intimate partner abuse perpetrated by men against women.

Since intimate partnership, according to the Collins Dictionary of Sociology (Jary & Jary, 1995), involves loving, sexual and personal relationships, and since domestic violence perpetration is between current or former married couples and dating lovers who may also be cohabiting (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1990; Dobash & Dobash, 1992), it is imperative for this study to include a variety of relationships within the definition of domestic violence. Thus intimate relationships may include marriage, impending marriage/engagement, dating/courtship, and ex-partners/spouses.

This definition, however, is not particularly based on Tanzania. Since Tanzania does not have a law of domestic violence, there is no legal definition specific to domestic violence; everything associated with violence against women such as rape, sexual assault, matrimonial distributions, etcetera, has been included in the definition depending on how the organization defines it (Bond, Brocato, Ludwin, Malik, Osafo, & WLAC, 2002; TAMWA, 2006; WLAC, 1999). Some organizations or women’s groups, for instance, as will be detailed in chapter IV, focus on economic violence as part of domestic violence. Such organizations do activities that boost women’s economy with the notion that most women get trapped in relationships and fail to escape due to economic dependence. This problem is common both in urban areas, the Muslim community, and in rural areas. The division of matrimonial assets is also a common issue among women in Tanzania (WLAC, 1999; Sahiba Sisters Foundation, 2006). Most organizations put much attention on the issues associated
with matrimonial distribution and provide women with assistance on writing living wills and education on the need for wills with the idea that women are to a large extent the victims in this category. Some organizations even involve to a great extent the issue of HIV, because women victims of domestic violence many times are HIV infected due to their husbands’ behaviors with mistresses and polygamy (as discussed in chapters II and VI worse in Muslim society) (Magigita & Salomo, 2005; TGNP, 1993; TAMWA, 2007).

In addition, Domestic violence against women in Tanzania goes beyond the death of husbands. When a husband is deceased, for instance, the woman and children (if girls) do not deserve the right to what the husband has left behind regardless of her contributions to the production and the earning of the property; the relatives of the husband take all the property. In some ethnic groups, a woman is obliged to marry one of the male relatives (particularly the brother) of the deceased husband. The woman does not have a choice in such circumstances. The perpetration of abuse by men’s relatives against wives, particularly after the death of their husbands/intimate partners, is therefore included in the conceptual definition of domestic violence in Tanzania where some DVRM organizations define domestic violence to include violence acts, harassment, humiliation, and the suffering of wives after the death of their husbands (Sahiba Sisters Foundation, 2006; WLAC, 2005). This is a major issue that originates from the inadequate customary laws of inheritance that deny women equal rights to inherit property detailed in chapter II as well. This problem is also caused by the patriarchal culture that places the woman in a disadvantaged and inferior position.
To be more specific to the Tanzanian context, Green (1999) defines domestic violence within African countries as “violent acts (real or threatened) perpetrated on females because they are females” (p. 1). She further argues that in whatever form it takes, this violence intends to perpetuate and promote the hierarchy of gender relations and male control over resources and power. Green further argues that domestic violence involves physical, sexual and emotional abuse and violence located and perpetrated within the family, the general community, and is also condoned by the state. In addition, Klein (1984) defines domestic violence as a behavior emerging out of social relations of domination, with roots deeply embedded in culture, law, economics, and everyday life experiences. Such conceptualizations are appropriately reflective of the problems battered women encounter with the law (discussed in the following chapters) as well as the significant familial influence on woman abuse in Tanzania.

**Magnitude (Estimates) / Prevalence.** Indeed, domestic violence remains a major problem in Tanzania and the lack of women’s legal rights originate from the traditional inequality associated with roles and responsibilities assigned to men and women. In Tanzania, according to the World Health Organization [WHO] (2006), 41% of ever-partnered women in Dar es Salaam experienced physical or sexual violence by a partner. The WHO study involved 1,820 women participants in Dar es Salaam. The number was even higher in other regions such as Mbeya (Southern region), which had a 56% rate (1,450 women involved in the study). Unfortunately current estimates for the entire country are not available, thus creating difficulty grounds for an attempt to compare the rate of the problem as it occurs within other
countries such as United States and United Kingdom. However, even these limited figures provide a clear sense of the magnitude of domestic violence in Tanzania, and suggest the relevance of this dissertation’s exploration of the country’s DVRM.

According to WHO (2006) many women in Tanzania and Africa in general report being punched, kicked, intentionally burned, dragged, slapped, pushed hard, battered, and sometimes threatened with or without a weapon. These violent acts have resulted in pain and severe health problems, and many times, the failure to carry out normal activities. All these acts are mostly committed by the victims’ intimate partners, sometimes while a victim is pregnant, and can take place anywhere in the home or out in public. Domestic violence has in some cases resulted into deaths of the victims. For example it was reported that a total of 528 women were killed due to attacks by their husbands in the period of 1996 - 2000 (Women’s International Network, 2000). Out of this number, 144 women were killed while husbands were severely drunk and 384 were killed by continuous husband beatings despite court orders (Women’s International Network, 2000). During the same period 187 women committed suicide in Kilimanjaro (Northern Region) because the women felt that the courts did not help or protect them (Women’s International Network (2000). In addition, when I was in the field local newspapers including “Alasiri” reported on Monday, October 1, 2007 a woman’s death due to a severe beating by her husband. This incident occurred in Kagera (Northern region), where the husband beat his wife to death because he suspected that she was having an affair with another man. The beating was inside the house so no one knew and no action was taken before the woman was found dead.
Domestic Violence Rights Movement (DVRM)

DVRM groups are organized; they operate and are embodied in formal structures, and they exist to elicit public attention and find solutions to the problem of domestic violence. I define a domestic violence rights movement (DVRM) as the range of activities and programs which some members of a society collectively engage in so as to draw public attention to and facilitate change regarding domestic violence. Such efforts may include public educational programs, lobbying for legal and policy reform, providing legal advice/assistance, and more generally empowering, advocating for, and thus positively impacting on the lives and rights of women. According to the Tanzania Human Rights Report (2006), women’s rights include the “right to bodily integrity and autonomy, right to own property, right to education, right to work, right to fair wages as well as marital rights” (p. 58). In addition, the current study will highlight the importance of additional rights related to health care and economic independence, as they relate to domestic violence. As will be discussed throughout this dissertation, all of these rights relate to domestic violence and the institutional responses to it.

Women in Tanzania, for instance, are denied of the right to own land, a problem most DVRM organizations are concerned about since it exacerbates domestic violence. Some men in the country restrict their women partners’ mobility, such that contact and/or visits with friends and family are minimal or nonexistent. This is a social abuse that emotionally hurts victims. Other women have been harassed and threatened by their husbands and/or in-laws – acts that show isolation and helplessness associated with widowhood. As discussed earlier, Tanzanian women
have traditionally been denied equal educational opportunities compared to men. As a result, men have always been in control and been the main decision makers on social and economic affairs within the family, while women have been regarded as incapable of handling such matters. Uneducated women have also faced employment and salary discrimination. Due to a lack or low level of education, women find themselves occupying the lowest status and paying positions within the labor force. With the patriarchal nature of the families, uneducated women, who for the most part depend on their male partners economically and socially, never gain emancipation from familial-based inferiority and abuse. All these issues are of great concern and focus by the DVRM.

Generally, there is lack of DVRM research in Tanzania, as is the case in many other developing countries (Bush, 1992; Hirschi, 2003; Michau, 2002; Ray & Korteweg, 1999). The pre-dissertation investigation I conducted during the summer of 2004 also provided evidence that there is limited research about the relatively young movement in Tanzania. Battered women in specific contexts have unique needs that can only be addressed through culturally, historically and politically informed ways. However, sociologists tend to over-assume that victimized women's needs and goals are the same regardless of locale and context (Ray & Korteweg, 1999). The neglect of studying women in developing countries is one important example of this. According to Johnson-Odim (1991) there is a great necessity to examine women’s circumstances in developing countries whenever we attempt to define their needs as part of a social change agenda. For Johnson-Odim, this often means more than what is often considered part of gender equality within more
developed countries (e.g., equal pay, access to education). Women’s lack of rights to legal protection, and the patriarchal system of society that enacts laws that exploit, undermine, discriminate, and exacerbate violence and oppression against women, along with cultural values and practices, are some of the key issues that deserve attention within developing countries. This is the basis and rationale for this dissertation’s examination of the DVRM in Tanzania.

The DVRM in Tanzania is based on feminist ideology, geared toward bringing about an array of gender equalities. At its core, the movement is committed to emancipating women victims of domestic violence from the patriarchal, traditional, and cultural systems ingrained in abusive relationships. Almost all of the activists, and the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) involved in this study, belong to the Feminist Coalition group, FemAct, an umbrella networking and coalition-building organization with more than 28 members in Tanzania. The group works to prevent unnecessary overlap of activities of feminist-based organizations that focus on gender, children, environment, health, and so forth.

Research Questions

In Tanzania, the involvement of women’s movements in addressing domestic violence is fairly recent (early 1990s) (Green, 1999; Hirsch, 2003; Michau, 2002; TAMWA, 1999). As has historically been the case in most African countries, and the majority of countries in the world, domestic violence has remained, for the most part, invisible; in fact, it has been considered quite a normal custom, practice and tradition (Entrenched epidemic, 2005; Green, 1999; TAMWA, 1999). Protest against it has been regarded shameful and pointless (TGNP, 1993). Cultural mores remain a very
contentious issue with regard to the efforts and activities of the domestic violence rights movement. It is this conflict between the movement's efforts to inform, educate, advocate, and reform laws based on women's rights, and the cultural values and beliefs that are deeply embedded in the majority of those women and most parts of this country that calls my attention to exploring the movement in Tanzania.

Hence, the main question guiding this research was: *What is the nature of the domestic violence rights movement in Tanzania?* My goal with this question was to broaden the understanding of the state of domestic violence as a social problem in Tanzania. A social problem can simply be defined as an aspect of social life that becomes a concern for a group of people or organizations, who then seek public recognition of the concern, as well as societal change through various means and processes (Tierney, 1982). Social problems may therefore be seen as long-standing injustices that become part of public consciousness through the efforts of interest groups (Tierney, 1982). I was interested in what this movement looks like, given that it is a relatively new movement and one which has remained unstudied sociologically. However, in order to raise this question, it was first necessary to examine the state of domestic violence as a social problem in Tanzania. Included here is a discussion of when domestic violence became identified as a social problem and by what means; how domestic violence has been defined in Tanzania, both socially and legally; and how wide-ranging the problem is, at least in terms of the best estimates.

Moreover, because of the broadness of the overarching research question (What is the nature of the domestic violence rights movement in Tanzania?), and the exploratory intention of my research, several sub-questions were relevant to the
project, particularly with regard to gauging the nature of the rights movement itself. First, what factors prompted the development of a DVRM in Tanzania in the mid-1990s? Second, what types of organizations have developed, or turned their attention toward domestic violence (in the case of pre-existing organizations) as a result? Third, what influences has the DVRM, by virtue of these organizational entities, had in facilitating social and legal reform with regard to domestic violence? Fourth, what types of constraints and challenges has the DVRM faced and what has been done to overcome them? This includes discussion of various cultural norms that impact the DVRM’s efforts, and how the movement has addressed them. Fifth, have these efforts differed between rural and urban areas of Tanzania? If yes, how so? Sixth, are there differences that can be based on religion?

These questions encompass an examination of the development, evolution and progress of the DVRM in Tanzania. Central to this analysis are the respective organizations in Tanzania that have addressed domestic violence from economic, legal, religious, and social perspectives. It is critical to understand the challenges and constraints posed on the movement so as to more adequately place it within the broader world literature on social, legal, and institutional responses to domestic violence, as well as pay appropriate homage to the role of less developed economic and political cultures.

The answers to these questions are not simple or one-sided. Given the wide range of issues involved with domestic violence and the numerous organizations responding to it in Tanzania, efforts, programming, areas of concentration, and the like are numerous and sometimes divergent. In fact, according to Smith (1985), in
many cases such organizations may even take opposite sides. Opinions and organizational responses differ in terms of policy and reform efforts, and thoughts about the success thereof in terms of the impact on the lives of victims. Such perspectives are contingent upon various factors such as the historical development of an organization, as well as its goals, foundational focus, cultural values, and available resources. In terms of resources, such organizations will differ in management priorities, the manner with which services and support are distributed, technology access and use, and decision making authority. Even the participants/members’ demographic characteristics may vary (Hirschi, 2003; Michau, 2002; Miller & Barberet, 1994; Smith, 1985). My research questions therefore were an attempt to address all of the variations and dimensions of the DVRM as a response to the problem of domestic violence.

Organizations as the Primary Unit of Analysis

As a point of clarification, the primary unit of analysis in this study is organizations. Although my various interviews and observations were focused on individuals (e.g., advocates, workers, justice personnel, victims), the intent of such interviews and observations was to obtain information about various organizations within the Tanzanian DVRM, as well as their efforts within Tanzanian society. The Tanzanian DVRM, like other social movements, works at various levels, including the individual level, to change more macro-based societal norms. This process often entails creating public concern about particular categories of individuals in an effort to define a large scale social problem (Nathanson, 1999). However, since I could not ask the organizations directly but rather the DVRM experts working in the
organizations, who provided mixed information including organizational and personal experiences, the individual level of analysis became relevant as well. This is also reflected from the nature of some of the questions I asked the participants as revealed in the interview guide (see Appendix A).

Chapter Summary

The aim of this dissertation is to identify and examine the domestic violence rights movement (DVRM) in Tanzania. My research was geared towards answering the principal research question: What is the nature of the domestic violence rights movement in Tanzania? The intent was to broaden the knowledge about the state of domestic violence as a social problem in Tanzania. This study is relevant to the literature on domestic violence and social movements, as well as to the development of the Tanzanian society, as there is limited research about both the nature of the domestic violence and the relatively young DVRM in Tanzania. Ray and Korteweg (1999) argue that sociologists are guilty of ignoring activism within domestic violence movements in the developing world. Indeed, even within studies on DVRMs in the western world, hardly any include developing countries in their samples, thus creating major divisions between the “first world” and the “third world” (Margolis, 1993). Because of this, there are too many assumptions that all women, and social movements related to women’s rights, are aimed at similar (or the same) goals. This study is among the efforts to enrich the literature with empirical evidence on the DVRM in Tanzania, as a nation in the developing world.

The rest of this document will be organized in the following manner. Chapter II summarizes the theoretical framework for the study, which includes a conceptual
description of Tanzania and a discussion of the complexity of studying the cultural and traditional customs surrounding a social problem like domestic violence. It will also include a more detailed explanation of social movements as well as a feminist explanation for domestic violence and the need for DVRMs. Chapter III describes the qualitative phenomenological approach to my research, which involved field data collection in Tanzania during the months of June through October, 2007. During this time, I conducted semi-structured interviews, participated in several observations, and gathered various forms of archival/material data. The findings are presented in three chapters. Chapter IV examines the factors that prompted the development of a DVRM in Tanzania. The chapter also presents the types of organizations that developed, or turned their attention toward domestic violence (in the case of pre-existing organizations), as a result of the DVRM. In addition, it identifies the governmental, religious and other entities included in the study as recommended by the movement organizations under scrutiny. Chapter V describes the social impact and the influence that domestic violence-centered organizations in Tanzania have achieved to date. Chapter VI addresses the constraints and challenges the DVRM has faced and what has been done to overcome them. This includes discussion of various cultural norms that impact the DVRM’s efforts, and how the movement has addressed them. Chapter VII will conclude this dissertation with a summary of the findings, weaknesses of the study, contributions, and recommendations for future research, activism, and policy.
CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter highlights the theoretical framework for the study, which
includes a conceptual description of Tanzania and the country’s law, legal system and
methods of dealing with domestic violence. The chapter further discusses the
complexity of studying the cultural and traditional customs surrounding a social
problem like domestic violence. It also includes a more detailed explanation of social
movements, as well as a feminist explanation for domestic violence and the need for
DVRMs.

Contextual Description of Tanzania

Pre-Colonial Tanzania and Gender Roles

Critically examining the contemporary problem of domestic violence in
Tanzania necessitates an understanding of pre-colonial Tanzanian society, culture,
politics and gender roles. Pre-colonial Tanzanian societies (those that existed prior to
the late 19th century) consisted of a number of varying cultural groups (about 130
ethnic groups) that lived in relative peace. With minimal occupational specialization,
they subsisted as hunters and gatherers. Slowly (around 1,000 BC), these societies
evolved low-levels of subsistence agriculture and pastoralism.

There existed a division of labor based on gender within these societies, in
which men and women both participated in subsistence and domestic activities,
though in distinct ways. For example, during the hunting and gathering era, men hunted and gathered, whereas women took care of the children and home (Brain, 1978; Emmons, 1996). In addition, while men were free and often participated in the public and political spheres, only rarely did women hold strategic political positions (Brain, 1978). Thus, traditional Tanzanian societies differentiated between the roles of men and women in both public and private spheres, and their history reflects the inequality and the discrimination against women we see today.

Colonial and Post-Colonial Tanzania

Colonialism consolidated the various Tanzanian societies throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries. Today Tanzania is composed of two parts: Tanzania mainland (formerly called Tanganyika) and the Islands of Zanzibar (a unification of Unguja and the Pemba Islands). Several countries played roles in this current arrangement. Tanganyika was originally colonized by Germany in the late 19th century, with German control continuing through the end of World War I. During this period, the Germans continually fought the British over control of Tanzania. This lasted until the end of 1918 Germany surrendered and handed Tanzania over to Britain, which formally assumed control of the region in 1919. In 1961, Tanganyika, diplomatically and without bloodshed, achieved independence through the struggle of the principal political party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), founded in 1954 by the man who would become known as the late Father of the Nation, Julius Kambarage Nyerere.

The story of colonization in Zanzibar differs. The colony began as a commercial center for Arabs around the 8th century. The Portuguese were the first
Europeans to reach the Islands of Zanzibar (Unguja) and Pemba (see Appendix H) in 1848. Initially they were peaceful, showing no interest in controlling the islands. However, they began invading the islands in 1503, slowly taking control of them through the 16th and 17th centuries before the Omani Arabs, led by Sultan Sayyid Said, regained control in 1698. The region was considered extremely precious during this time because of its centrality in the region’s slave and goods trade (Zanzibar served as the main slave trade center in the coastal region of Eastern Africa). This was so much the case that during the 18th and 19th centuries the Sultan moved his capital from Muscat, the largest city of the Sultanate of Oman, to Zanzibar in order to better oversee his slave and ivory trades (Fluent, Kalaguas, & Drost, 2006).

Zanzibar was an independent Arab state until the late 19th century when it became a British protectorate, with the British ruling through the Sultanate. Because the slave trade was being abolished during this time, the Arabs sold some of their land possessions to the British and Germans in Tanzania mainland in order to raise revenue. Gradually the Sultan lost all political and financial control over Zanzibar. The Zanzibaris, through various political parties including the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP), Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party (ZPPP) and Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), violently overthrew the Arab Sultan and British with much bloodshed at the end of 1963 (Robinson, 2000).

In 1964, Zanzibar and Tanganyika peacefully united, forming the United Republic of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam, in the former Tanganyika, was named the capital city. One major condition of this union required that the country maintains two distinct governments for the two regions. The union government handles issues of
relevance to the entire country, whereas the Zanzibar government deals with “nonunion” matters (those pertaining only to Zanzibar). Both the mainland and Zanzibar are further divided into 26 administration regions: 21 in the mainland and 5 in Zanzibar. Thus, Zanzibar has maintained significant autonomy over its own politics, economic policy, immigrations, and finances. Until 1992, the President of Zanzibar served as the Vice President of the Union Government. However, due to amendments in the Tanzanian Constitution, he no longer serves in this capacity. Today, if the President of Tanzania is from the mainland, the Vice-President comes from Zanzibar; however, this should not be the president of Zanzibar.

The main explanation for having two governments, according to the National Website of Tanzania (2007), is that Zanzibar and Tanganyika were sovereign states before the merging that formed the United Republic of Tanzania. Leaders saw it necessary to maintain the sovereignty of Zanzibar, due to its much smaller size. Maintaining one central government was seen as a move to reduce Zanzibar to an administrative region. Given similar concerns about the autonomy of the mainland, however, there has been great debate on whether or not the country actually needs three governments rather than two: one for the union, one for Zanzibar, and one for the mainland. The primary difference between the mainland and Zanzibar is religion, though there is no evidence to suggest that this accounts for the country maintaining two distinct governments. Indeed, it seems more of a concern for respecting historical autonomy. The nature and history of Tanzania’s politics have contributed to the development of the DVRM and are relevant to its understanding, as discussed in the findings.
Gender Roles During Colonial and Post-Colonial Tanzania

The introduction of trade and cash crops during the colonial and post-colonial periods significantly drew men away from the rural areas as waged labor became available in the cities. This increasingly left women to work the farms. At the same time, cash cropping increased demand for agricultural labor (Brain, 1978). Though their labor was in higher demand, women were still excluded from managerial and decision-making roles within the agricultural sector. Their wages did not increase with demand for their labor, as they were not allowed to own the land they worked or have any voice for equitable pay and treatment. Also, they could not retain control of the money they earned, as male heads of household controlled family finances. Not surprisingly, women became susceptible to exploitation and socio-economic alienation (Emmons, 1996).

The changes occurring in the labor market during the colonial era are still evident today in post-colonial Tanzania. More women than men engage in agricultural and low-income work. In urban areas, some do work outside their homes in fields such as nursing, education, and domestic care. However, women continue to engage more in small-scale subsistence activities, such as gardening, domestic animal keeping, and petty trading of their garden produce, dairy products, and hand-made clothing. More men than women work within the prestigious executive and business office jobs. According to the Tanzania Bureau of Statistics (2007), in 2005/2006 for example, the percentage of the male population employed in the government sector was 3.3%, compared to 1.6% of the female’s; in the private sector, 11.5% of males compared to 4.6% of the females; and in the agricultural sector 72.9% of males
compared to 79.9% of females. The same source reports the males’ unemployment rate of 23.1% of the total male population and 39.8% for females in Dar es Salaam, the capital city; and 13.3% for males, 19.0% for females in the other regions. These inequalities are seen as improvements over the decades immediately prior to and following colonialism.

Women have played active roles in the initiative and development of nationalistic ideas, especially within the nationalist movement spawned by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in the 1950s (Maddox & Giblin, 2005). During the struggle for independence, women sold party membership cards, stood on streets and informed people about nationalism, prepared foods for freedom fighters and the movement members in general, and provided for their households in the absence of their husbands fighting for the movement (Maddox & Giblin, 2005). The role of women in the history of the nationalism and independence of Tanzania is undeniable, making the continued injustice of economic and political inequality all the more unacceptable. As discussed later in this chapter and throughout the findings, these historical factors play substantial roles in the susceptibility of women to domestic violence.

Tanzanian Law, Legal System and Domestic Violence

Three major types of laws govern life in Tanzania: customary law, Islamic law, and statutory law. These laws take conflicting and discriminatory approaches to governing the legal rights of Tanzanian women. While patriarchal features that discriminate against women’s legal rights characterize customary law, Islamic law emphasizes the obedience and submissiveness of women. These two types of law are
more widely used and discriminatory than statutory law, which incorporates aspects of both customary and Islamic law. Islamic law conflicts with both customary and statutory, in many ways contributing to the subjugation of Tanzanian women's legal rights. These laws exist so as to preserve and accommodate the diversity of Tanzanian religious and ethnic groups. The dual or plural system of law originates from colonialists, who established one legal system for themselves and a separate one for the indigenous population. After independence, the country inherited the plural system of law in order to represent and preserve the culture of its people. The result is the reality we have today; that these laws are contradictory and cannot work simultaneously.

In general, the present legal system of Tanzania is based on English common law in criminal and civil cases. Significant modifications accommodate specific situations based on applicable customary, Islamic, and statutory law. The governments of the mainland and Zanzibar have separate judicial systems that unite at the highest level, the National Court of Appeals, which handles both criminal and civil cases (Tanzania Human Rights Report, 2006). A table further illustrating the organization of courts in Tanzania is provided in the findings chapter.

Since the legal handling of domestic violence relates to myriad issues (e.g., divorce, child custody, property, inheritance), I will first discuss forms of customary, as well as Islamic and statutory law, as related to cultural, political and institutional responses to domestic violence. However, since domestic violence is theoretically a crime in Tanzania, I will devote most attention to the criminal procedures in Tanzania, which are primarily statutory in nature.
Customary Law

Tanzania’s customary laws encompass a range of rules and sanctions “which [are] either written, declared or unwritten but [are] recognized by the community as having the force of law” (Benschop 2002, p. 128). Customary laws develop from the village or other grass-roots levels and spread in their acceptance and use to the national level, where they may become codified. Each ethnic group in the country, and the small communities within those groups, has its own customary laws (Benschop, 2002). Hence, customary laws may vary from region to region, such that intermediary court decisions are often reflective only of local interests. However, all Tanzanian customary laws are patriarchal-based, often subjecting women to a variety of subordinations. Such subordinations condone women’s rights and propagate violence against women, gender discrimination and gender inequality, such as the denial of land and inheritance rights to women.

It is argued (Hirsch, 2003) that such customary practices are the root of the problem of domestic violence, and the leading barrier to its remedies in Tanzania. Some ethnic groups in Tanzania, like the Kurya (situated in Mara Region- see Appendix H) for example, believe that beating one’s wife is not only acceptable, it is an expectation. The belief is that if the husband does not beat his wife he does not love her (Green, 1999; Women’s International Network, 2000). This gap between national and local, or in Green’s (1999) terms, the “macro and micro” (p. 217), understandings of and responses to women’s legal rights becomes critical to an understanding of the DVRM in Tanzania. The strong cultural practices and traditional norms based on customary law play a continuous role in dividing labor along gender
lines and placing women in subordinate positions (U.S. Department of State, 2000). This is more persistent in rural areas where women are accustomed to farm work, raising children and domestic work, with limited opportunities for waged employment.

**Islamic Law**

In a similar fashion, the Islamic Law Act of 1964 is retained in Zanzibar's court system and is only applicable in judging Islamic family cases such as divorce, child custody, and inheritance (U.S. Department of State, 2000). However, the Islamic impact on social life goes much beyond statutory law. By Islamic law, Islamic women have historically been denied and excluded in a variety of ways. While women throughout the country generally experience unfavorable conditions, the situation is worse in Zanzibar, where the strong Islamic influence, in addition to other traditions and cultural norms, guides most aspects of women's lives. As a result, women are regularly denied the right to education, employment outside their homes, inheritance, and involvement in public activities.

Islam facilitates inferiority, exploitation, control, and abuse by males. Islam-influenced laws affect gender relations in that they do not treat women as capable or rational beings. According to Paidar (1995), single women, widows, and divorcees are referred as “unprotected” or “deprived” (p. 297), thus a problematic and potential source of evil in society. They are representative of the potential breakdown of Islamic society because they lack male guardianship and are thus open to temptations. In the absence of male control in Islamic communities, such women are considered unprotected and in need of assistance for financial support. As a result, they are
strongly encouraged to get married (Paidar, 1995). Mojab (2001) therefore argues that the patriarchal oppression of gender created by Islam cannot simply be undone through legal reform; the issue goes beyond legalities. Nonetheless, an increasing number of intellectuals and Islamic feminists and activists struggle to resist this religious and patriarchal regime.

Under Islam, women have also been denied custody and guardianship rights over their children, as well as rights to judge matters pertaining to family or work places (Mojab, 2001). The law on custody, for instance, has historically distinguished between fostering and guardianship, dividing the roles in a way that discriminates against mothers. Based on Islamic law, fostering or caring for the children is an automatic right of the mother for up to two years for sons and seven years for daughters; the guardianship of children, on the other hand is a natural and automatic right of the father or paternal grandfather in cases where a father is absent (Mojab, 2001). Guardians exercise power and control over finances, marriage and other critical aspects of life in the family (Kar & Hoodfar, 1996). Thus, fathers or grandfathers can make important decisions about children without consulting them or their mothers. Guardians have almost exclusive power over male children until the age of maturity, and over and above that time for female children because of the tenet that (supposedly -- since the underlying rule is that a girl must maintain virginity until they get married) virgin women cannot marry without their guardians’ permission (Kar & Hoodfar, 1996). Even when both guardians die, guardianship is not automatically granted to the mother. And if she remarries, custody and guardianship both are automatically awarded to either the biological or step father. Women’s
restricted freedom and movement is important to note with respect to the DVRM, as women face limited opportunities to be informed of and join forces in the struggle to change their situations.

Critical to legal reform impacting Islamic women is the degree to which matters relating to women’s status have been interpreted by the Quran (believed by Muslims as the literal word of God). For example the Quran permits Islamic men to legitimately marry up to four wives whereas women are not allowed to take multiple spouses, restricts women’s inheritance to half the share of that available to men, dictates that women should be properly dressed (fully covered), names men as women’s guardians, directs that women’s testimony is only worth half that of men’s, views women as less reasonable than men, and permits men to divorce unilaterally while women can do so only for limited causes (Keddie & Beck, 1978, p.26). Based on the Islamic religion, for instance, if the bride does not produce sons, it is considered her fault, and the husband is more likely to divorce her or marry a second/third/fourth wife (Keddie & Beck, 1978). Based strongly on such interpretations of gender roles, Islam has been more conservative in its maintenance of old laws and traditions than other religions, as was seen throughout my study within the Muslim setting of Zanzibar compared to the Mainland settings of Dar es Salaam and Njombe.

Statutory Law

Under the Tanzanian constitution, statutory law governs both criminal and civil matters and enhances equality between men and women through, for example Article 9, which stresses “equal opportunities to all citizens, men and women alike,
without regard to their color, tribe, religion or station in life”. It is important that “all forms of injustice, intimidation, discrimination, corruption, oppression or favoritism are eradicated” (Benschop, 2002, p.102), such that, as Article 13 states, there is “equality before the law” (Tanzania Parliament website, 2007). However, statutory law does not resolve gender inequality and domestic violence in particular, and is contradictory in and of itself. This is evident in the preceding article, 7(2) of the Constitution, which states that “no court can enforce the equality of men and women nor defend him/her against discrimination” (Tanzania Parliament website, 2007). The Tanzanian government itself contributes to the continuation of domestic violence by, for instance, restricting some work positions only to men. According to a U.S. Department of State report (2000), certain statutory laws restrict women’s access to jobs and hours of employment, despite the government advocating for equal rights of women in the workplace. For example, women are not allowed to accept jobs that require working work night shifts. As I discuss in Chapter I, these women are also less likely than men to be offered higher status and paying jobs. Tanzanian society has effectively limited the most prestigious and lucrative employment possibilities to men. Thus, the same laws that promote equality on one hand, subject women to unnecessary inequalities on the other.

Overall, there is an absence of laws specific to domestic violence. The existing laws regard domestic violence as they would any other criminal act. The laws that do prohibit domestic violence are not strict enough to inhibit offenders. The most commonly used law for resolving domestic violence cases is the Law of Marriage Act (LMA) of 1971. While the written laws are designed to help women, in practice they
typically obstruct effective justice for domestic violence victims. In emphasizing equality to all human beings, for instance, the LMA condemns domestic violence. Article 66 states, “[f]or the avoidance of doubt, it is hereby declared that, notwithstanding any custom to the contrary, no person has any right to inflict corporal punishment on his or her spouse” (Tanzania Parliament Website, 2007). However, according to the Tanzania Human Rights Report (2006), this law does not make an offense of such behavior, does not clearly state any punishment for such offenders, nor does it provide for treatment or protection of domestic violence victims. In addition, the laws in Tanzania continue to expose women to abuse, inferiority, injustices, and discrimination. The LMA of 1971, for instance, allows girls to get married at the age of 15, or younger with parental permission. Article 13 states that, “No person shall marry who, being male, has not attained minimum age the apparent age of eighteen years or, being female, has not attained the apparent age of fifteen years”. Article 17 further states, “A female who has not attained the apparent age of eighteen years shall be required, before marrying, to obtain the consent (a) of her father; or (b) if her father is dead, of her mother; or (c) if both her father and mother are dead, of the person who is her guardian.”

Criminal Procedures

According to the national Criminal Procedure Act (CPA) of 1985, abuse is an arrestable offense under Article 14 (Tanzania Parliament Website, 2007). An assault may be categorized as causing minor bodily harm under Article 241 or grievous or dangerous harm under Article 225 (Tanzania Parliament Website, 2007). Narrow in scope, these laws address only physical abuse. There is no clear article specifically
addressing criminal domestic violence. The system of prosecution in domestic violence cases, as in any other criminal act, initiates with reports to the police who then open a case file and make referrals to the court system (the procedure for reported cases is detailed below in this section). However, few cases get to as far as the court system due to the lack of specific definition of domestic violence under the CPA and police misuse of power, as will be explained in the findings.

Victims often fail to report instances of domestic violence to authorities, opting instead to suffer in silence out of shame, fear of reprisal, or lack of perceived available assistance (TAMWA, 2002). Historically, domestic violence was considered a private matter and thus any effort toward resolving it was seen as intruding into a family’s privacy. This fact has negatively impacted, among other things, the reporting rate of the problem of domestic violence in Tanzania. Many women fear reporting their victimization because of the picture it will paint of their relationships to family members, neighbors, and the community in general. Additionally, Tanzanian women’s fear of the police and distrust of the criminal justice system discourages their use of the legal system in resolving domestic violence (Hirsch 2003). In particular, women are incapable of dealing with the unnecessary bureaucracy and corruption, officials’ lack of knowledge, training, and sympathy to victims, and justice officials’ (particularly police officers’) misuse of power. Moreover, women face the unwillingness of witnesses to testify in court, biased laws and cumbersome legal procedures, case delays and fear of wasting time and resources without success.
Social factors also inhibit reporting of domestic violence cases. The culture of Tanzania has traditionally encouraged problem resolution through informal means; through elders and local leaders. Similarly, when conflict arises between partners, resolution focuses on reconciliation and forgiveness. Very few cases, therefore, go straight to the justice system; most of them go through an informal system of resolving community issues, led by household leaders, neighbors, religious leaders, elders, and friends. These people have great influence on whether or not a victim reports her case.

Other situations complicate the process of convicting offenders. For example, most female victims of domestic violence are economically dependent on their abusers. This is one of the major factors that prevents women from leaving their abusive relationships. The Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) (1995) argues that economic dependence creates unequal power relations between intimate partners. The husband controls all financial and family matters. With their higher social status and economic control, men in Tanzania often bribe officials to escape legal penalty, leaving the victims in greater peril.

Moreover, the justice system often lacks adequate resources to apprehend abusers. As one Tanzanian woman testified to the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) News (2006), “After opening a case file, they would turn around and say that I had to give them money for transport to go and bring in the suspect.” She further added, "I had just been beaten and run away from home in my night clothes, where would I get even one cent to give it to the police?" Much time may pass between the
opening of the file and the case hearing, so much so that evidence (e.g., injuries) and witnesses are no longer visible or available. As the woman confirmed,

Tell me, the blow that I got in 2000, how can I describe it in 2006? In the same year I was maimed as a result of a severe beating, I was unable to move... Now, after treatment I manage to walk. What evidence can I show now? But if six years ago the court had listened to me, justice would have been done. But they kept on changing magistrates and moving the case from one court to another (BBC News, 2006).

Victims must make expensive and time consuming trips to and from the court over the course of years. Sometimes there is no fairness or hope of winning. Offenders occasionally bribe the victim to drop the case. Moreover, court dates are set but not times. Therefore, the victim must arrive when the court opens and wait until her case is called (WLAC, 2007). Because there is often no clear compensation law for the victims, the woman may believe she does not gain anything for convicting her husband. Conviction does not guarantee the end of the abuse; therefore, she opts to drop the case. It is important to note that the Criminal Procedure Act (CPA) 224 gives victims the right to stand in court and withdraw the case without consulting the public prosecutor, especially in simple assault cases. This CPA article and these system flaws contribute to the dropping of domestic violence charges.

According to the CPA of 1985, in cases that are reported the victim must open a file with the police. It is otherwise unlikely for the police to be aware of or pursue a domestic violence charge. Police must be convinced by the victim to open the file. Until the police officer believes the offense occurred (for instance, if there is obvious...
physical evidence), the file is not opened. If the woman has been abused but has not sought medical treatment, the police issue a Police Form number 3 (PF3). The PF3 names the victim and requires the victim be attended by a District or higher level medical officer, who then determines whether the harm is grievous or minor based on CPA categorization. The determination cannot be completed until the victim completely heals in order to be certain of the category of harm. If the victim is admitted to a hospital, there is no bail given to the abuser; otherwise, bail can be posted. At the same time, investigators go to the crime scene and interview eye witnesses to the offense (called corroborating evidence). The victim is allowed to identify witnesses. After the witnesses are interviewed and the PF3 is completed, the case hearings start. Grievous harm is punishable by three to seven years, while assault harm yields two to five years. Lesser punishments may be given depending on criminal history, the magistrate’s mercy, and the level of harm. Compensation may also be provided to the victim. If compensation is not satisfactory, the victim is advised to open a civil case. The court is careful not to subject an offender into double-punishment.

Domestic violence cases in Tanzania are rarely reported and pursued through the courts. Like the general reporting rates of domestic violence cases in many countries of the world, the reporting structure of this problem in Tanzania takes on a pyramid shape, in the sense that the number of occurrences of the problem is high but the pyramid narrows as the case is reported and carried up into the next level of criminal justice authority. The problem’s prevalence is therefore rarely addressed at the legal level in which it is most relevant. So while domestic violence is a major
problem in Tanzania, the inefficient criminal -- statutory law structure is not specific or strict enough in pursuing domestic violence cases. Therefore, although domestic violence offenses overall are punishable, the law exists more symbolically than practically (TAMWA, 1998).

Other Forms of Violence Against Women

While this dissertation focuses on domestic violence, such victimization is part of a larger misogynist culture which prevails throughout much of Tanzania. Indeed, women are targeted for gender-based violence in myriad ways. Other forms of violence against women include inheritance laws, bride price, and polygamy, forced and arranged marriages, pre-marriage education, witchcraft persecution and female genital mutilation. These I discuss next.

Inheritance Laws

The inheritance laws mainly based on customary law deny women the right to own property. Although the current constitution of Tanzania (Article 24) guarantees every person's right to lawfully own property, this right to ownership is inhibited by the presence of certain provisions in Tanzanian law. The Customary Laws Declaration Orders of 1963 Article 279, for instance, prohibits women from owning property (Tanzania Parliament Website, 2007). Under this provision, women are also not allowed to inherit property from their husbands, sons, and uncles; other male relatives instead are given preference. Not only that, women are restricted from disposing of clan land, which in turn restricts where they may live and how they choose to live their lives. This happens despite the fact that women are the primary
producers. Men are the owners of property, and the sellers and owners of products and finances as well.

Inheritance and matrimonial distribution upon a husband’s death has increasingly become a problem for women in Tanzania (NOLA, 2007; TAMWA, 2007; WLAC, 2007). This is due in large part to the extended family nature of Tanzanian societies, in which the relatives of the married couples are considered part of the immediate family. Upon a man’s death, much if not all of his assets and property will be taken by his family, perhaps even by force, coercion and abuse. In some instances, women can not even prove they were married, as their husbands (and by extension, his family) retain possession of the marriage certificate (WLAC, 2007). Thus, as will be discussed in the findings, domestic violence organizations in Tanzania have focused on the abuse perpetrated by extended families against women, particularly during inheritance and matrimonial distribution.

Bride Price

The bride price practice is also among the serious problems that lead to domestic violence. In this practice, a man pays dowry by giving the wife’s parents possessions of monetary value such as cash, cows, goats, clothing, furniture, and so forth in exchange for the wife. Men see this as transference of ownership or property; they buy possession of the rights of their wife. The result is inequality between husbands and wives. A woman’s power to resolve abuse is limited because the woman becomes submissive to the husband and, according to TAWLA (2006), she is prevented from escaping the abuse since the bride price implies a contract to tolerate marriage. There are women who have been abused by their partners, for example,
because they are unable to bear children, or because they bear girls rather than boys. Since they were “paid for” they are expected to tolerate silently.

TAMWA (2006) argues that bride price is a large factor contributing to domestic violence. This organization reports findings of a study of 725 people (439 women and 286 men) conducted in 2006. More than 68% (351 women, 149 men) contended that bride price contributed to women’s harassment in their marriages. According to Kabandera (2006), the higher the bride price paid, the higher the risk of a woman’s abuse by the man and his family. Kukekana (2006) further argues that Tanzanian law neither mentions nor forbids bride price, leaving uncontended women’s suffering from the resulting abuse.

The cultural beliefs mainly widespread in rural areas such as the well-known Kurya ethnic group example provided above in this chapter are contrary to statutory law, which regards wife-beating as a crime, particularly if evidenced harm is involved. Since this practice is culturally acceptable and legally unacceptable, TGNP & SARDC (1999) argues that many women are unsure if they can report the problem. On the other hand, the patriarchal nature of the police and justice system discourages women from reporting the problem. These officials often harass the victims and discourage them from continuing with the case for their own patriarchal and cultural reasons. This obstruction of justice will be further discussed in the findings.

Polygamy

Polygamy also facilitates domestic violence. In Muslim communities like Zanzibar, polygamy is a male religious right. Tanzanian law recognizes both monogamous and polygamous marriage types. Article 9 of LMA defines
monogamous marriage as “a union between one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others” and a polygamous marriage as “a union in which the husband may during the subsistence, of the marriage be married to or marry another woman or women”. Each wife may live separately from the other wives, or they may all live together. The first wife is usually treated and respected (at least theoretically) as the elder; and the last (youngest) is usually the most loved (Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF), 2006). According to data from the SSF reported in 2006, more than 35% of married women in Tanzania and more than 50% in Muslim marriages are polygamous.

Forced Marriage

Forced marriage occurs particularly in Zanzibar-Muslim settings. Girls are forced to marry for many reasons, including economic situations and lack of education, although more girls than ever are being educated at the secondary level. Typically, girls are married soon after finishing school. Mothers, as well as fathers, encourage this practice. According to the Tanzania Human Rights Report (2006), National Organization for Legal Assistance (NOLA) (2007), the SSF (2006), and Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP) (1993), one type of Islamic-based forced marriage is commonly known as “Ndoa ya mkeka”, literary meaning marriage at the sitting rug. Sitting rugs are traditional rugs made purposely for sitting while eating or resting in the living room or veranda. Because a girl is traditionally not supposed to meet her future husband before marriage, if two unmarried youths are found visiting or meeting on occasion, their respective elders often observe them. If such meetings occur on more than a few occasions, the elders may one day call a
sheik to marry them right where they are -- seated on the rug, regardless of the circumstances or relationship between the two individuals. This is still practiced today, although not so much as some years ago. Many men who are forced into such marriages do not stay in their relationships; they abandon their wives in search of women they love more. Thus, a rise in divorce and homeless children are two results of forced marriage. Most women, on the other hand, do not always seek divorce quickly. In addition, many are not aware of their rights, so they tend to remain in the relationship or if Muslims, wait until they are divorced by their husbands.

Arranged Marriage

Arranged marriages are also prominent in Tanzania. As in forced marriage, arranged marriages (in which the parents of a man find their son a woman to marry, or parents of both the woman and man arrange the marriage) often occur early in girls’ lives to benefit her parents. Although arranged marriage has become less common in recent years, especially in urban areas, it is still prevalent in rural areas. Girls are forced to marry men they do not love or perhaps even know, according entirely to their parents’ choice. This can eventually lead to conflicts and abuse, and the girl is again less likely than her husband to seek a divorce. Early marriage is problematic for girls. According to the Tanzania Human Rights Report (2006) and Mosha & Johnson (2004), the average age for a woman’s first marriage in Tanzania is 19. There are also many cases in which girls marry at the legal minimum age of 15 and below depending on the family’s religion and traditions. According to TGNP (1993), Muslim girls marry younger (as young as 13) than other religious groups, and Muslim men tend to marry younger girls than their non-Muslim counterparts. UMATI
(2005) has been concerned with early marriage and the impact on girls’ lack of adequate education and prospects for future careers, which would encourage economic independence and slim chances of exposure to domestic violence. UMATI believes that a marriage contributes to Tanzanian women’s low literacy rates. It also causes low enrollment for girls and a high (more than 40%) percentage of school drop outs. As a response to this problem, UMATI has developed a center for girls who do not finish school due to early marriages and pregnancies; this is discussed in Chapter IV.

Pre-Marriage Education

Girls’ pre-marriage education (commonly known as a kitchen party, given right before marriage, as well as “unyago”, given at puberty) is very much based on making a man happy. Elderly women are the primary educators, and they will be for instance, teaching the girls that if their husbands come home late at night, they should not ask them where they have been but rather be happy that they got home, and that the man decides what to do and tells a woman what to do (Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA), 2006). It is very clear that women are preparing younger women to endure whatever a marriage brings, including mistreatment and possible abuse.

Witchcraft Persecution

The killing of elderly women accused of witchcraft is a fairly common practice in some rural areas of Tanzania. While heinous in and of itself, the fact that women are “proven” to be witches based only on the appearance red eyes is even
more egregious. There are no scientific or other forms of proof known to be used to condemn alleged witches aside from the appearance of their eyes. This is particularly common in Mwanza, in the northern region, as well as Shinyanga, in west-central Tanzania (see Appendix H) (TAMWA, 2002). More alarming yet is the fact that there have been significant increases in reported killings of elderly individuals suspected of witchcraft in recent years (U.S. Department of State, 2006). While this problem is not a typical form of domestic violence (since it is mainly committed by people other than family members), it is an instance of the larger patriarchal condoning of violence against women. The critical question is why not men who show similar characteristics? Moreover, why are only older women targeted in this manner? From a feminist perspective, one could argue that older women are often considered experienced and wise among other women in their villages, and thus capable of instilling a change-based ideology targeted at instances of gendered oppression, such as domestic violence, economic exclusion/dependency, lack of education, and the like. In this way, these elder women may pose a threat to men who want to ensure the continual subjugation of women. Another explanation could be an attempt to get rid of older women who may be a burden to their families and society. Since women have historically been considered of less social value anyway, this could be conceptualized as a means of ridding a village or tribe of its least valuable members—older women who can no longer bear children, work the land, etc.

Similar acts occurred in Europe during the Middle Ages and colonial U.S. states such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New England (Demos, 1970; Monter, 1971). During the colonial period, targets were mostly wealthier and older women
(married or widowed) between the ages of forty-one and sixty. The witch accusation ran through such families, labeling family members as “children of the witch” or “husband of the witch” (Demos, 1970, p. 1315; Monter, 1971). The accusers were boys and girls about one full generation younger, neighbors and other members of the community. Witchcraft cases were tried in court, and death penalty was a common punishment for the crime. In Connecticut, for instance, the first witchcraft trial found in records occurred in 1647. Within that century, thirty-eight convicted witches out of about one hundred tried were executed, and a few more reported to have escaped the death penalty (Demos, 1970, p. 1314). Witch persecution, therefore, is not unique to Tanzania, although it may not remain a serious social problem in other countries, but a historical one.

Female Genital Mutilation

Another very common form of violence against women is female genital mutilation (FGM). Among the rationales for FGM provided by the ethnic groups practicing it include it as a rite of passage, cure for genital disease, means of cleansing women and raising their status to make them fit for marriage, way for reducing sexual desire to ensure chastity before and faithfulness during marriage, and a method of increasing sexual pleasure for men during intercourse (TAMWA, 2002). This is a violent, painful, and horrific act forced upon young women -- an act which is clearly in violation of universal human rights (Bond, Brocato, Ludwin, Malik, Osafo, & WLAC, 2002; The Legal and Human Rights Center (LHRC), 2005; WLAC, 1999; WiLDAF, 1995). Since families practicing FGM believe it is a most crucial rite of passage for females, any debate about the issue becomes difficult due to the existence
of the private/public dichotomy, and the protection of family as private and sacred (Green, 1999).

In Tanzania, it is reported that an estimated 18 percent of the country’s female population (about 4 million young women) have undergone FGM as of 2005, though its prevalence is thankfully declining (US Department of State, 2006). It should also be noted that FGM is not anywhere near universal in Africa, nor is it restricted only to Africa (Green 1999). The practice exists on virtually every continent, including North America. As the result of lobbying and advocacy by such DVRM organizations as TGNP, TAMWA, TAWLA, and WLAC in Tanzania, the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA) of 1998 addresses the problem of FGM making it illegal if practiced on girls under the age of 18 (TGNP, 1999). Be that as it may, the fact that FGM does still exist, remains prevalent, and is practiced for gendered and cultural reasons, makes it important to recognize here as a context for the study of intimate partner violence against women in Tanzania and the DVRM working to stop it.

In general, the cultural and traditional customs (facilitated by the existing customary and Islamic laws), which are widespread and overwhelmingly practiced in Tanzania, work to subordinate women and facilitate gender inequality. According to the U.S. Department of State (2000), these traditions are strong in both rural and urban areas, as they are maintained by the contemporary legal systems. In effect, these laws give men, especially husbands, the right to beat their wives, treat them as they wish, and punish them for various reasons (e.g., failing to bear children) (TAMWA, 1993). Consequently, domestic violence remains prevalent in Tanzania,
and women, due to cultural, family, social, economic and legal pressures, are reluctant to report and use the law to address abuse (Hirsch, 2003; TANGO, 1995).

Additionally, such practices, beliefs and laws counteract efforts by social and political activists to attain greater gender equality. As Margolis (1993) states, “when feminist values conflict with traditional customs, there is a legitimate question of which values should be privileged” (p. 383). This statement also implies the controversy over imposing Western cultural standards on other people, as discussed later in this chapter under the “Feminist Theory and DVRMs” section. Of primary concern is the recognition by domestic violence organizations that government policy on gender equality, vis-à-vis the law, supports women’s oppression, including their abuse, by supporting cultural and customary practices that influence women’s lives and beliefs (Hirsch, 2003). All in all, despite the normativity surrounding domestic violence in Tanzania, it is becoming more recognized as a social ill (TGNP, 1997), with relevance to various historical and cultural beliefs and traditional customs.

Feminist Theory and Domestic Violence

Given the historical, social, economic and legal positioning of women in Tanzania, approaching this research via a feminist theoretical framework was helpful. Feminist theory encapsulates perspectives concerning the oppression of women, as well as strategies for social change (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). While there are many distinct theories under the label “feminist”, one point of universal relevance is the recognition of societal-based gender inequality, and the changes needed to bring about greater equality (Belknap, 2006).
For feminists, gender differentiation is not a natural fact, but rather a complex social phenomenon; gender relations and constructs of masculinity and femininity are seen as based on male superiority and domination (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). Such conditions are easily understood within discourses that uncover and deconstruct gendered systems of knowledge (production, dissemination, and consumption) (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Smith, 1987). Thus, according to feminist theorists, there is a differentiation of power between women and men -- and feminine and masculine hegemonic traits, expressions, and behaviors -- which support social systems and institutions that privilege men and exclude or marginalize women. One step toward change, with regard to systems of knowledge, thus involves placing women at the center of intellectual inquiry, rather than at the periphery where they remain largely invisible (Smith, 1987).

Of particular salience for this dissertation is the work of bell hooks (1984), who has traced the connections and complimentary nature of gender and race discrimination via slave communities. Though primarily focused on the U.S., what is of particular relevance in hooks’ work is the importance of always analyzing patriarchy along with other forms of oppression, such as racism, religiosity and classism. Similarly, Tong (1989) argues the fact that gender intersects with other forms of oppression such as class, race/ethnicity, national identity, sexuality, and so forth. Such is the case in the majority of developing countries, where feminist-based social action may aid in the struggle against women’s oppression.

As an illustration, according to Green (1999) and Roberts (1984), gender conflicts and women’s oppression in Africa largely intensify with the worsening of
the economy. Domestic violence on this continent and in developing countries in general, is exacerbated by patriarchy and female economic dependence on males. Threats to patriarchy, in the forms of lessening women’s financial dependency and submission through greater educational and employment access, for instance, may go a long way toward liberating women from gender-based victimization (Green, 1999). Indeed, various forms of women’s oppression (e.g., discrimination at work, abuse by family members other than intimate partners, abuse by the state via the law and institutional processes), may be understood within larger social, economic and political contexts relating to African culture and affects therein by outside forces (Robers, 1984). All types of oppression go hand in hand, and thus all need to be resolved in order to achieve complete gender equality.

Such is the rationale for the depth and breadth of this chapter thus far – domestic violence is about much more than an individual man abusing his wife. Feminist theory highlights the connectivity of various factors, and provides the framework for discussing the multiple layers of women’s oppression throughout this dissertation. Hence, domestic violence is but one example of gendered power relations. Feminist scholarship on domestic violence is based on the assumption that many societies, because of patriarchy and the resulting power differentials, have disregarded or actually encouraged violence against women by their intimate male partners. In such societies, women are often treated as property, seen as unable to manage their own affairs without the strong leadership of an authoritarian family patriarch (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1990; Pagelow & Johnson, 1988). In such a context, the roles and contributions of women are considered to be inferior to that of men (Pressman, 1989). For example,
jobs traditionally performed by women, such as child-care and housework, are less respected and rewarded as compared to the paid work occurring outside of the home, a realm traditionally dominated by men. The result of this is economic dependency of women on men, which in turn perpetuates and reinforces patriarchal-based stratification. In this way, patriarchy influences various aspects of a society, including social institutions (Edwards, 1989). This is important when considering social and legal responses to domestic violence, as it makes the suffering of women less important to official/government entities, the instruments of social protection and control.

Feminist Theory and DVRM

While I recognize radical feminism, it is the liberal theoretical approach that makes the best sense for my study. A radical feminist orientation tends not to be very interested in working within the confines of the law because the law is viewed as terminally flawed by patriarchy. Although radical feminism did guide the early domestic violence movements in industrialized countries like the United States and England, as the movements progressed they became more liberal in tone, particularly in terms of working within the law for change and the like. Since the major goals of the Tanzanian DVRM center on equality, legal reform and education, this study seems to have a direct fit within liberal feminism.

Radical feminism focuses explicitly on gender-based oppression originating from various patriarchal structures. Liberal feminism, on the other hand, explains women’s position in society in terms of unequal rights with men and “artificial” barriers to women’s participation in the public sphere (Beasley, 1999, p. 51). This feminist orientation also focuses on legal, political and institutional struggles for the
rights of individuals, with the goal of accessing for women what men have in society. In this way, the emphasis is on reform of society (Beasley, 1999; Donovan, 2000). Radical feminists are more revolutionary in tone. They consider the societal factors that support domestic violence, as have been outlined throughout this chapter, to be of great relevance in understanding and responding to violence against women (Donovan, 1985; Tong, 1989). In other words, radical feminism views the conditions of women on a larger scale, as a product of macro-level social conditions. Since the belief is that patriarchy is central to women’s oppression, everyone in society may be impacted by the larger social structures that support patriarchy. Thus, for women to have true emancipation, large-scale social change aimed at eradicating patriarchy is necessary.

As noted, radical feminism has informed DVRMs around the world for the last several decades. Indeed, many activists involved in DVRMs label themselves radical feminists, and the earliest anti-violence movements related to sexual assault and intimate partner violence throughout the world were led by such activists (Belknap, 2006; Katzenstein, 1989; Margolis, 1993). Such DVRMs challenge the rights of men over women, with the goal of preventing and ending battering, as well as patriarchy, inequality, and injustice more broadly (Belknap, 2006; Bush, 1992). However, as I identify above, while I recognize the application of radical feminism in terms of understanding violence against women, this study identifies more with liberal feminism, which holds that legal reform is a success in and of itself. Such is the essence of the DVRM in Tanzania.
It is believed that the first DVRMs originated in England in the early 1970s, and that mobilization efforts arose soon thereafter in the U.S., the rest of Western Europe, and other countries throughout the world (Schechter, 1982; Belknap, 2006; Katzenstein & Mueller, 1987; Margolis, 1993; Tierney, 1982). The movements in England and the U.S. were initially aimed at the micro-level (e.g., providing local shelter and crisis support to individual women), but quickly expanded into the macro-level (e.g., state and legal reform aimed at women's rights against battering) (Schechter, 1982).

Although feminists have been central to the activities of DVRMs throughout the world, their influence and impact has differed. As Miller and Barberet (1994) attest "issues or concerns identified as salient in some countries may not have the same impact or acceptance in others; conversely, successful practices or policies attempted in one country could assist the development of similar programs in another country" (p. 926). In developing countries, the perspective on women's rights movements, including DVRMs, is quite a bit different than in more developed countries.

Of foremost importance is the fact that feminist-based women's movements in developing countries are perceived as foreign and imported in the first place from international organizations, such as the U.N., and from economically powerful countries and sponsors, such as the U.S. and England (Hirsch, 2003; Margolis, 1993; Ray & Korteweg, 1999). These foreign entities tend to influence the ideology, goals and direction of the movements in developing countries (Mbilinyi, Rusimbi, Chachage, & Kitunga, 2003; Mosha & Johnson, 2004; WiLDAF, 2006). Likewise,
the spread and influence of consciousness raising efforts with regard to domestic violence have been different in developing countries, including Tanzania.

Debate ensues within DVRMs, particularly within lesser developed countries, with regard to imposing foreign, often Western, feminism in the developing world. Some argue that such allegations are fruitless, in that much may be learned from countries, regardless of which they are, that have struggled with similar social issues, such as domestic violence. A logical reasoning here is while the term “feminism” may be foreign and imported; it still stands for similar concerns — in the case here, to organize a transformative anti-violence movement. Further allegations arise with regard to the suspicion that complaints about imported feminism are often made by powerful male-dominated constituencies with the goal of delegitimizing any local efforts to empower women (Margolis, 1993). On the other hand, there are allegations that westerners come in and assume their ways of social change and reform are the only ways (Michau, 2002; Hirshi, 2003), rather than listening to local feminists and activists about their needs, concerns, and thoughts regarding change. Respect and acknowledgement of both local and imported ideas is crucial.

Industrialization, urbanization, technology, the media, and economic independence are said to be among the factors that facilitate consciousness regarding gender equality, while economic hardship combined with cultural beliefs, including strong religious beliefs, particularly in rural and traditional settings in the developing countries, tend to hinder feminist activism (Margolis, 1993; TAMWA, 1998; Hirsch, 2003; Green, 1999). Consequently, the importance attached to social problems related to women, such as domestic violence, varies, such that DVRMs are popular in some
countries, particularly more developed ones, and highly unpopular in others, such as lesser developed countries (Klein, 1987; Margolis, 1993; Katzenstein & Mueller, 1987).

Feminist-based DVRMs in Africa and other developing countries, including Tanzania, use a holistic approach in the struggle for the rights for women victims of domestic violence. According to Hubbard and Solomon (1995), as well as Green (1999), feminist mobilization is geared toward bringing awareness to and lobbying the government for legal reform on not only the domestic violence issues, but also more broadly on issues believed to be interconnected with domestic violence. These include improved and equal access to education, improved and equal opportunities for employment, property, inheritances, divorce and child custody rights, representation in government, business and entrepreneurial opportunities, vocational training, health care, and so on. In Rwanda, for instance, a growing number of feminist DVRM organizations have emerged to deal with a broad spectrum of issues and provide services including trauma counseling, legal advice, and medical and health issues to women since the 1994 genocide (Human Rights Watch, 1996). Although domestic violence and DVRMs can be defined and conceptualized differently among DVRM Third World feminist groups, through the use of the holistic approach the many definitions fall under a common rubric that recognizes domestic violence as a development issue and a priority in rural, urban and religiously-defined areas like Zanzibar (Hubbard & Solomon, 1995), meriting immediate attention. As will be presented in the findings section, the DVRM movement in Tanzania is not an
exception. It conceptualizes and links issues, such as inequality in education, employment, and health care, to the problem of domestic violence.

The Need to Study the Tanzanian DVRM as a Social Movement

Social movements are based on social constructionist ideology in the sense that they construct social problems and strive to find solutions to such problems (Nathanson, 1991; Tierney, 1982). Social movements can be defined as the organized responses to specific or various social problems with the major aim of bringing change in a society. The movements respond to the flow of sentiment and needs in the larger society, and they work in relation with other movement organizations (Zald & Ash, 1966). Social solidarity is therefore an essential condition for the development of movements. Thus, the primary goal of a social movement is to call public attention to a problem that previously had received little attention (Moe, 1999; Nathanson, 1991). In addition, achieving desired goals is a critical element in social movements (Bush, 1992; Tierney, 1982). According to Zald and Ash (1966), when the goals are actually reached, the organizations tend to establish and maintain new goals, or go out of existence.

Social movements are organized, operate, and are embodied in formal organizations, and they often begin as grass-roots efforts, targeting specific issues. In time they become formally organized and work to elicit public attention toward their respective concerns. Indeed, organizational and resource mobilization are aimed at gaining access to institutionalized channels of politics and decision making, as well as influencing legislative, media, and criminal justice system activities. Social movement organizations and DVRM organizations in particular, develop workable
structures and ideological positions that help them in attaining their anticipated goals, as well as solving key internal problems. The attention that domestic violence has received in recent years, for instance, is largely due to social movement organizations’ resource mobilization to aid battered women. In order to facilitate long-term change, radical DVRMs have negotiated with other organizations and institutional entities, including the government. This has involved writing proposals and competing for funding and resources, striving for legal reform, lobbying, and networking (Martin, 1990; Staggenborg, 1989).

The mobilizing structure around the social problem of domestic violence in the United States, for instance, includes a variety of organizations that may differ in their goals, ideological orientations, priorities, resources, size, economy, politics, culture, and historical origins (Margolis, 1993; Katzenstein & Mueller, 1987). Some groups are primarily feminist while others are not; some may be religiously founded or based on other ideologies. Some receive domestic sources of support, while others receive support from international organizations and foreign donors (Hirsch, 2003; Tierney, 1982). Most groups found in the U.S. are based on and funded by federal and state agencies, while others are privately funded through fund-raising, volunteers and donations (Margolis, 1993; Tierney, 1982; Miller & Barberet, 1994; Hirsch, 2003; Katzenstein & Mueller, 1987).

Based on a social movement perspective, this dissertation explores the influence that the DVRM in Tanzania and its organizations have had on public awareness, legal reform, and social change (that is, transformation in the structure of the society -- politically, economically, and socially -- to create a more equitable and
just society for all members). Despite their relative youth and immaturity, Tanzanian DVRM organizations are making strides to address issues associated with women through a variety of programs. Through my pre-dissertation site visit in July and August 2004, I learned that rural education and social mobilization, village workshops, free legal aid, counseling centers, media awareness campaigns, and local government trainings in women’s legal rights and representation are some of the programs being implemented. However, lack of trained personnel, organizational capacity, resources for carrying out the programs and running the organizations, and clear and efficient goals and objectives seemed to be among the major barriers to the development and functioning of the organizations.

Chapter Summary

This chapter summarizes the theoretical framework for the study, delineating the conceptual description of Tanzania, highlighting the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial societies and the gender roles and aspects shaping the domestic violence problem in the country today. The chapter also grants a discussion of the complexity of studying the cultural and traditional customs surrounding a social problem like domestic violence. The chapter identifies the pluralistic legal system that complicates the handling of domestic violence cases and talk about the other forms of violence against women include including inheritance laws, bride price, polygamy, forced and arranged marriages, pre-marriage education, witchcraft persecution and female genital mutilation, that exacerbate domestic violence. It also includes a detailed explanation of social movements as well as a feminist explanation for domestic
violence and the need for DVRMs. Chapter III follows with the discussion of the methodology for the continuation of field work in this area.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

Field Research Methodology

This study employed multiple qualitative field methods of data collection, which I undertook in Tanzania between the months of June and October, 2007. Qualitative research methodology, on a whole, includes designs for collecting and analyzing data which rely heavily on the researcher’s skills to discover and gather information about social phenomena. This typically involves capturing people’s (frequently termed “respondents” or “participants”) experiences and the meanings or interpretations that they have for those experiences. In many cases involving field research, researchers rely upon relatively semi- or unstructured means of collecting data, so as to be as naturalistic as possible.

Rationale for Qualitative Field Research

One of the strengths of qualitative field research is that it uncovers more of the natural, lived, and situated meanings and shared emotions behind human behaviors within a specific cultural context (Babbie, 1998; Ferell & Hann, 1998). This in turn facilitates a richer and more in-depth understanding of social phenomena, such as DVRMs. Stated another way, qualitative field research is unique for its ability to acquire primary and first-hand information that contain meanings originating from the
viewpoints of the participants (Creswell, 2007; Ferell & Hann, 1998). Because of this, field research coincides well with standpoint epistemology.

Dorothy Smith (1987), a strong advocate of the standpoint perspective, argues that the differences between men and women do not naturally originate from culture, but rather from the ideas, perceptions, thoughts, and beliefs of people who create it (i.e., the ruling class based on gender). For her, society is predominantly created from the standpoint of men. As such, women live in an intellectual, cultural, and political world in which they are largely excluded, or at least marginalized. The qualitative research I conducted was meant in part to facilitate the representation and participation of women’s voices and experiences. As Ferrell and Hamm (1998) attest, techniques in qualitative research such as field research have the advantageous ability to represent and interpret symbolic articulations, practical activities and cultural norms of the group being studied.

Several distinct research methods may be used under the rubric of ‘field research.’ For instance, interviews facilitate deep understandings of the phenomenon being studied, based on what participants/interviewees say (Kvale, 1996). Observation, on the other hand, may reveal more contextual understandings and patterns of social phenomenon, based on what a researcher documents (Babbie, 1998; Creswell, 2003, 2007). Archival and content analysis provide additional information, which may be general or specific, often involving historical materials and records. In this way, qualitative field research may be a flexible design geared towards collecting, analyzing, and examining significant patterns for explaining social behavior through various means (Neuman, 2003). Unlike more rigid or structured
designs, field research allows the researcher the ability to modify her research questions during the research process if needs, interests, accessibility, or major themes change (Babbie, 1998). Through this methodology I was able to answer the research question: *What is the nature of the domestic violence rights movement in Tanzania?* The study also employs multiple units of analyses, however as stated earlier, the primary units of analysis are organizations. However, the individual level of analysis became secondarily relevant, since the information obtained included both organizational and personal experiences.

**Interviews**

As noted earlier, interviews – particularly in-depth, semi-structured interviews – are often used when a researcher’s goal is to understand the meaning of social phenomena from the perspective of research participants (Kvale, 1996). I conducted both informal and formal semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 36 women and men (my goal was to conduct 25-30 interviews) with particular knowledge and expertise on domestic violence and the DVRM in Tanzania. In addition, I conducted two group interviews with four and eight participants, respectively (see Appendix C). I counted each group as one interview among the total of 36. This was done because the members of each of these groups requested that I conduct a group interview, rather than individual interviews, since their activities were performed collectively by all members and they felt more comfortable within this interview context.

In Dar es Salaam I conducted 18 interviews; in Zanzibar I conducted 9, including the two group interviews, and in Njombe I conducted 9. I interviewed 22 DVRM leaders, activists, and staff within various organizations in Tanzania (see
Appendix F for a listing of organizations), as well as two representatives of social service programs, five personnel from policy-making agencies, 12 criminal justice officials, and five religious leaders (three Christians, two Muslims). These numbers do not reflect the total number of interviews (36) due to the interplay of roles among interviewees and the multiple roles some organizations play. For example, both Sheik Khalid Mohamed Mrisho and Sheik Omar Said are religious leaders who work as criminal justice officials dealing with inheritance and marriage issues (see Appendix C). As another example, TAMWA and the Gender Center both deal with advocacy and education, but also policy issues. Therefore, no clear-cut lines delineated the roles of the organizations and interviewees.

Purposeful and snowballing techniques of sampling were used to obtain the interviewees. Recruitment was facilitated by the contacts I made when I traveled to Tanzania in the summer of 2004 to conduct pre-dissertation research. During this time, I initiated relevant contacts with various DVRM activists and practitioners in four centers: The Tanzanian Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), the Women’s Legal Aid Center (WLAC), the Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP), and the Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA). The aim of my visit was to explore the various responses to domestic violence so as to garner ideas and initial informants for my dissertation. From the literature provided by these five agencies, I was able to recognize more organizations, and through purposeful and snowballing techniques, further respondents were identified and contacted.
Recruitment Process

When I arrived in the field for data collection, since I had already initiated contacts with a few DVRM organizations in 2004 (also see Appendix F), Annamarie Mavenjina, volunteer for WLAC, TAWLA and WiLDAF, provided me with the member list of FemAct, which is an umbrella networking and coalition-building organization with 28 members in Tanzania (see Appendix I). FemAct works to prevent unnecessary overlap of activities of feminist-based organizations focusing on gender, children, environment, health and so forth. I also obtained an additional list of 435 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and 230 civil society organizations (CSO) (see Appendix E) listed under Tanzania Association of NGOs (TANGO) from which I selected the organizations involved with domestic violence issues. This organization lists all registered NGOs in the country. Annamarie provided brief descriptions of most of the organizations she thought would serve the purpose of my study and left it to me to make my own choices on who to contact. Based on my conceptualization of the DVRM, I purposively selected and contacted 13 organizations that work to draw public attention to, and facilitate change regarding domestic violence including those that educate about and lobby for legal/policy reform in the area of domestic violence and related issues, as well as provide legal advice/assistance, empower, advocate for, and thus positively impact on the lives and rights of battered women. In addition, the study involved 10 institutions and agencies suggested by some organizations among the 13 because they are the entities about which much of the DVRM activities are connected. In short, the DVRM organizations and institutions were selected based on a published list and summary of
their activities, participation and recommendations from other organizations contacted as they relate to domestic violence. I set and conducted interviews with as many individuals working for these organizations as I could, given their availability (see recruitment script-Appendix A).

The interviewees were the primary sources of information about the upcoming and ongoing activities in their and other organizations, so I was able to arrange for observational opportunities based on these recommendations and suggestions. Very rarely did the availability of participants require time negotiations or postponement. In some cases, like in the rural village areas where offices were situated close together, I was able to do as many as four interviews in a day. Given that availability was not a challenge, I was able to interview more people than I had planned to. Snowball and purposeful sampling techniques best fit with the study because they enabled easy recruitment of participants who were appropriate and knowledgeable about domestic violence and the DVRM; such participants easily identified other potential participants. Of course one of the drawbacks of these techniques is the possibility of wasting time and resources in cases of misdirection. I had only two such cases, involving referral to inappropriate organizations. The other problem would be the exclusion of potential organizations not identified through the techniques. However, the FemAct and TANGO additional lists I used (as discussed below in this Chapter) to select organizations covered this risk. However, I was able to easily recover by immediately refocusing my energies on other organizations on my recruitment list.
Interview Process

The openness and briefness of the questions I asked allowed for a semi-structured flow to the interviews, such that the questions were more aptly termed "guides" per Lofland, Snow, Anderson, and Lofland (2006), as opposed to a schedule or questionnaire (see Appendix A). This allowed me to go in different directions within the interview, depending on the responses of the interviewees. The interviews, or what Lofland et al. (2006) would therefore call "guided conversations," were conducted in private rooms, such as the participants' offices, and took an average of 47 minutes each (see Appendix C).

Since the interviews involved open-ended questions with no strict order of questioning, and since probing - that is, asking further questions when a respondent mentions something of relevance to the interviewer (Lofland et al., 2006) - was a necessary part of the interviewing process, it was important to audio-record the interviews. Using a digital recording device allowed me to remain alert to what the informant was saying and give him/her adequate attention while ensuring all information was being recorded. Audio-recording also allowed me to think about probes and clarifying questions, as well as to think ahead about asking new questions, while still remaining engaged in the conversation (Lofland et al., 2006). Of course one problem with audio-recording is that an interviewer may become lax and less attentive to respondents, believing that everything being said is recorded and thus reviewable at a later time. To overcome this problem, as Lofland, et al. (2006) suggest, I continuously took notes of key sentences, words, names and so forth in order to stay on top of what was going on during the interview.
Transcription

The transcription process began after I completed all of the interviews. This was due to the inductive nature of the phenomenological approach I used during the analysis, which is premised on a researcher's ability to consciously and temporarily set her preconceived ideas so as to allow maximum space for participants' voices (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003), as well as the advice of the dissertation committee. I transcribed verbatim all the interviews myself to avoid any errors that could have occurred if the transcribing was done by another person who was not present during the interview. Doing this has also helped me to truly hear the voices of the respondents (i.e., re-living, so to speak, the interviews as I transcribed) and to facilitate analytic insights, and thus, hopefully more valid interpretations. Transcribing my own interviews was also a practical necessity because of my ability to speak multiple languages. Indeed, few professional transcribers are available for Swahili-to-English translations. Thus, it simply became of analytical value, convenience, and practicality to transcribe all interviews myself.

Observations

Observation is a systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors and artifacts/objects in the social setting chosen for study. Field notes (observation record), involving concrete and detailed descriptions of what is being observed, is central to all observations. With this method, the researcher is able to discover recurring patterns of behavior and relationships (Marshall & Rossmann, 1999). This method is useful in discovering complex interactions within natural social settings.
In order to provide a broader context for the data gleaned throughout the interviews, I engaged in an observational approach as well. These observations occurred within the existing DVRM organizations and governmental institutions, to the extent that I was able to volunteer and participate in their meetings, clinics and other activities. Despite being a fundamental and highly important method of data collection, observation can be discomforting to the researcher and those observed, as the presence of the researcher can also influence the actions of those being observed. To overcome this problem I tried to create a comfortable environment for myself and the participants, and behaved as informally (friendly, interactive, supportive, and so on) as possible so as to appear as if I was part of the activities. As Lofland et al. (2006) also suggest, I tried my best to behave like the participants did in an attempt to limit the extent to which I appeared as an outsider.

Accessibility was not a major problem in most cases. Given formal permission by an appropriate organizational official, I selected specific days and activities to observe, and did so while engaging with the organization’s members. I was careful to make my intentions clear and known to all participants while garnering their cooperation. I did this by trying to develop a very informal working relationship, while still maintaining my research focus. I managed to do 14 observations, which totaled 70 hours (my goal was to complete 10 observations of approximately 5 hours each, for a total of 50 hours). I observed activists and staff within various DVRM organizations for 38 hours, social service programs and staff for seven hours, governmental institutions and staff for nine hours and 30 minutes, as well as the legal system and associated staff for 15 hours and 30 minutes (see Appendix D for a
complete listing of observations). In terms of regional breakdown, I completed 11 observations and spent 53 hours and 30 minutes in Dar es Salaam, one observation of nine hours and 30 minutes in Zanzibar, and two observations of seven hours total in Njombe. Through these observations, I was able to gain valuable knowledge about the nature of the DVRM in Tanzania, often filling in contextually the types of information provided during the interviews.

In order to document the observations, as Lofland and Lofland (1995) suggest, I wrote jotted notes in the field prior to writing complete, elaborated field notes at the end of the day and/or end of the period of observation. This was a more useful and easier way to preserve mental notes and recall observations than tracing key events, talk, or impressions only after leaving the field. My fully elaborated field notes were type-written and included descriptions of the events, situations, interactions, and people I observed, as well as my involvement in the settings, in as much detail as possible.

Material and Content Analysis

Material and content analysis (a special analytic approach employable within material data analysis) involves reviewing records, materials and artifacts of a society, community, or organization. This method is important for what it can add to a research project in terms of portraying the values and beliefs of the respondents of a study. This method is also advantageous in that it can be conducted without disturbing the setting in any way. Minutes of meetings, logs, announcements, formal policy statements, letters, and so forth, are the type of documents reviewed for the
purpose of unobtrusively developing an understanding of a setting or organization (Marshall & Rossmann, 1999).

I gathered and analyzed, to the extent possible, the documents and historical records produced in the course of everyday events and activities associated with the DVRM in Tanzania, vis-à-vis the organizations with express purposes and actions toward addressing domestic violence. I also gathered and analyzed records related to legal reforms, flyers, annual reports, unpublished materials, and so forth that became accessible and seemed relevant to understanding the nature of domestic violence and the DVRM. I spent more than 85 hours on material and historical data collection (my goal was to spend at least 40 hours). I obtained data mostly from the agencies and organizations whose leaders, members, staff, and volunteers participated in the interviews and whose activities I was able to observe. I obtained as much material data as was available from each organization (see Appendix E). I collected almost all materials in Dar es Salaam, except for two documents that came from Zanzibar. Nothing was published in Njombe. The variation in the number of observation hours and archival resources was due to the higher concentration of organizations, activities, population, and centrality of the DVRM movement being in Dar es Salaam, the major city, rather than in Zanzibar and the rural district of Njombe.

Additionally, I located and collected (or otherwise documented) any materials that representatives from DVRM organizations recommended, which included books, flyers, magazines, posters, unpublished papers, pictures, posters, and newspapers that reflected their activities, agenda, and advocacy efforts. Since it was difficult to determine or identify these types of information sources through available literature
(since there is so little of it), I did need to rely heavily on the interviewees and source organizations for suggestions, and assistance with access, to these materials once I arrived and became immersed in the field. Through such efforts, I was able to obtain more material data than I probably needed (I did not turn down any offer or suggestion). Most of the data from this category was utilized to feed in the literature chapter (II) of this study given scarcity and unavailability of such information outside the study field.

I documented these sources through handwritten notes, photographs, and photocopies. Through them, I recorded the occurrence and existence of certain concepts and activities pertaining to the DVRM, many of which emerged from the interviews and observations. Thus, the information gathered and analyzed with this method, as with the other methods, was in a way cumulative and interdependent – that is, the data gathered through one means complimented and added depth as well as breadth to the data gathering through other means. Indeed this is a great value afforded to the triangulation of methods (Creswell, 2007).

Like any other secondary types of data collection, the materials gathered through this method were viewed with skepticism, per the practices and advice of historians as they rely on texts for analytical purposes (Marshall & Rossmann, 1999). Skepticism is always necessary with this method because, like any other secondary data, it is not always possible to gauge with certainty the original purposes and intentions of materials without being able to consult their creators. In the case here, I was fortunate enough to have access to the creators of many of the materials, though not all. Moreover, I was using the materials for a different purpose than that for which
they were produced; I was studying the nature of the DVRM, while the materials were often efforts to raise awareness about domestic violence, discuss the outcome of a particular meeting or court case, and so on. Thus, to some extent, this method relies on the inferential reasoning of the researcher, since materials do not speak for themselves. Because of this, interpretations were made with caution.

Researcher’s Position

Before continuing on with a discussion of the research process it is my obligation, per my vested interests in the topic of domestic violence in Tanzania and ethical practices related to reflexivity in qualitative field research, to disclose my research position (Creswell, 2007; Orbe & King, 2000). Since all research is biased and thus impacted by the researcher’s interests, unveiling my interests may be considered a way of enhancing validity to this research (Silverman, 2006). Moreover, as a qualitative researcher, being aware of my own assumptions, values, and biases is of central importance during data collection and analysis (Yeh & Inman, 2007). Stated slightly differently, an examination of my position and identity facilitate contextual understandings of the means through which I made important choices in creating and presenting data (Yeh & Inman, 2007). According to Hoshmand (2005), it is through the disclosure of one’s identity and intentions that the marginalized voices and identities of those working within organizations such as DVRMs are more clearly represented and addressed. In short, as a researcher I feel it is important for the reader to understand my desire and commitment to explore the DVRM in Tanzania.

It was during my undergraduate studies that my specific interest and focus on women’s issues developed. During this time I worked as a Research Assistant for the
Ministry of Education and Culture in Tanzania. As part of this work, I conducted a research project on the topic of “peace and culture,” which led me to recognize many of the traditional community-based practices used to maintain social order in Tanzania, particularly those that are oppressive to women. I became acutely aware of the deficiencies within both my own culture, and in the inherited post-colonial criminal justice system, that maintained this oppression. Thus I was not only prompted for academic reasons to pursue further studies in this area, but also, perhaps most importantly, my heart as a Tanzanian woman. I felt called to do whatever I could to contribute toward social change for women in my country.

Also during this time, I had an even more personal experience regarding the plight of Tanzanian women. I participated in a study on women’s empowerment and the use of contraceptives. This study exposed me to many women who were victimized by their husbands and by Tanzanian cultural mores. The research brought to light so clearly for me the issues Tanzanian women face, including the risk of severe abuse and/or impoverishment, dependency, lack of opportunities for personal advancement (as in education), and exclusion from decision making. After this experience, I realized that the plights of these women obligated people like me, who have had the opportunity to obtain an education, to become agents for social change on their behalf.

After these opportunities in my home country, I was very fortunate to come to the United States for my graduate studies, which gave me new opportunities to expand my appreciation for all of the elements involved in addressing deeply ingrained social problems, such as the issues we are dealing with in Tanzania. I have
been able to participate in research for a number of departments related to my fields of interest (e.g., criminal justice, sociology, African studies, and ethnic studies). I have also been able to participate in numerous professional associations relating to my areas of studies, involving meetings both in the United States and abroad. This has given me very valuable international exposure, which has only ingrained my personal and professional goals toward addressing violence against women.

Thus, my interest in conducting this study originates from my prior interaction with Tanzanian women who have suffered horrible abuses by their husbands or intimate partners. Such stories often included the difficulties faced in thinking and deciding about what to do to stop the abuse, as well as the ways justice for them had been obstructed. Such stories spurred my interest in gaining knowledge that could shed light on how to address the issue of domestic violence, as it related to women’s rights. My long-term goal is to be involved in the movement to curb domestic violence, particularly in developing countries like Tanzania. Since there is such great need for reform in social policy and cultural practices in these particular countries, I went into this research with the view that it would be a tremendous opportunity to apply the fruits of my efforts to that end.

Let me end by sharing another small item that reflects my heartfelt concern for the African women I hope to serve in some constructive way in the years to come. In 2006 I wrote a book review that was published in the Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice. The book, “Slave: The True Story of A Girl’s Lost Childhood and Her Fight for Survival” highlights a number of deeply ingrained issues that are still all too common on the African continent. A prime example dramatically illustrated in
this book is the ongoing horrible practice of female genital mutilation. The book also
movingly portrays the whole range of violence against women, including rape,
torture, neglect, humiliation, and virtually every form of physical, emotional and
sexual abuse. For me this account sets out so vividly my personal and professional
motivations for dedicating my future on the specific areas of women’s rights. I have
become personally committed to a lifetime of professional service to the concerns that
my studies have raised regarding women in Africa. I do so humbly, realizing that
social change is difficult and long-term. Yet I am confident that I will be able to
make some measurable contribution and difference.

Site Selection, Access and Validity

For the reasons described above, I chose Tanzania as the site of my research.
This is my country of origin and my firsthand experience of the problem of domestic
violence that exists in this country triggered my initial interest in DVRMs. Yeh &
Inman (2007) argues that the researcher’s cultural and professional (educational
background and experiences) are among the critical aspects for determining the
choice of study, research questions, participants selection, interpretation and theories
in qualitative research. My understanding and approach to the study that are deeply
connected to my knowledge of culture, past experiences, and my educational
background and interests lend me well to researching DVRM in Tanzania, thus
speaking to the study’s quality, validity, or what Yeh & Inman (2007) and Morrow
(2005) also refer to as trustworthiness. Being born and raised in Tanzania, I have had
a lot of exposure and experiences that facilitated understanding the culture based on
the facts and incidences given by the participants and the other sources of data. I also
have substantial knowledge of domestic violence and qualitative research methods, which enabled me to handle the interviews, observations and archival data collection appropriately. Indeed, it was easy for me to make sense out of the information I was given. In the feminist paradigm, the recognition and sensitivity to culture, language, meanings and perceptions and thus ability to examine participant’s experiences escapes the study from what Denzin & Lincoln (2000) and Morrow (2005) refer to as transgressive validity. This type of validity is also determined by the consideration of the context of study where by the nature of research allows openness and flexibility (such as through in-depth interviews) to fit the multidimensional situations and thus true representation of the voices of participants.

In addition, apart from the lack of this kind of research in Tanzania and other developing countries in the literature, my pre-dissertation investigation provided evidence that the DVRM is still in its infancy in this country and is ripe for examination. Three Tanzanian locations: Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and Njombe, were specifically involved (see Appendix II). I chose Dar es Salaam, the major commercial city of Tanzania and an urban setting, in which most activities including legal, political, and DVRM organizations are situated. Zanzibar was selected because it is a mainly (99%) Muslim community and is thus relevant to my study and for comparisons. Njombe was chosen to represent the rural areas primarily because it is the place I was born and raised and the language spoken here (Bena) is my mother tongue. This facilitated communication during research and thus avoided the use of a translator who would threaten validity of research based on misinterpretation and distorted meanings. The three areas also differ in terms of economic, cultural values
and practices, social development and governments. The theoretical literature
discussed earlier reveals that urban, rural, and Muslim differentiations may account
for such variation. I tried, to the extent possible and based on accessibility, to evenly
divide the interview, observation, and archival/content analysis processes across these
locations.

The fact that I am multi-lingual, with fluency in Bena (mother tongue and
ethnic language of Njombe), Swahili (Tanzanian national language) and English
(Tanzanian second official and international language), provided an additional
validity and rationale for conducting this study in Tanzania. In this case, I was at a
distinct advantage in conducting this research, as I could do so without a language
translator. As Yeh & Inman (2007) contend, “cultural context offer avenues for
understanding emotions when they are not spoken and provide clues to meanings
when answers are not pointed” (p. 380).

Language is an important component of culture, and according to Santiago-
Rivera & Altarriba (2002) and Russell (1991), without understanding it a researcher
cannot understand the subtle nuances and deep meanings of another culture. For the
authors, language plays a greater role than just that of communication. Language is
one of the sources of transmitting cultural beliefs, emotions, traditions and
perceptions, and therefore, an important component within interpretation and data
analysis. Inadequacy of data interpretation, according to Maxwell (1996) is one
among the threats to validity particularly if researchers impose their own framework
or meaning rather than understanding the participants’ perspectives. And this could
easily happen if I lacked the language command and cultural connection. Since I was
totally immersed in the research process; interviewing, transcription, listening to the
tapes, reading field notes and detailed memos from my observations, interpretation
became a critical tool for careful and rigorous analysis of data (Strauss & Corbin,
1990).

Being an insider Tanzanian in the data collection process also put me at an
advantage in terms of belongingness. I got the distinct impression that participants
considered me as one of them, and thus trusted me by being quite open and free in
expressing their experiences, thoughts, and feelings. During an observation, for
example, a DVRM advocate that I was working with missed a court hearing, but
asked me to observe the case and brief her about it later. To me this was a level of
trust that might not have been afforded to anyone thought to be an outsider. As an
aside, this act was also suggestive of the nature of the work and efficiency involved
with DVRM organizations, which will be discussed in the following chapters. Suzuki,
Ahluwalia, Mattis& Quizon, (2005) use the term collaboration to refer to the process
in which a researcher enters a community in a way that maintains integrity and
humanity; among the essential aspects for connecting the researcher and participants.
Moreover, according to Hoshmand (2005) such collaboration is important in the
validation of research interpretations given the cultural practices, language, beliefs
and norms of participants that may vary from that of the researcher. Collaboration
facilitates the incorporation of participants' perspectives throughout the research
process.

In addition, the research approval process I had to go through in Tanzania was
easier than I thought. Although this had been a source of much anxiety as I prepared
to enter the field, many government and research approval officials told me that since I was a Tanzanian citizen, I did not have to do as much as other researchers, particularly foreigners, would be required to do. Moreover, because I had started the research approval process before going to the field, there seemed to be even fewer initial barriers (See Appendix A). For instance, when I arrived in the field in June of 2007, my Tanzanian HSIRB application was already processed and I was ready to start data collection (see Appendix B). A few officials even volunteered information and hints about the organizations and institutions that I ended up using for the study, which helped me make expedient headway in obtaining access to several organizations within the first few weeks of entering the field.

Not only that, while conducting research I was told about and could sense the excitement and appreciation by DVRM activists for having someone like me (a native Tanzanian) around who was interested and had the ability to add to the movement’s efforts through empirical research. Many encouraged me to return after my studies to continue working with them. Others requested a copy of my dissertation so that they could better understand, from a research standpoint, what the nature of the DMRM is. In short, it was clear to me that they felt positively working with someone whom they believed would contribute to what they were doing. It was also because of these responses that I felt fairly confident that the information being shared with me was valuable and authentic (i.e., I did not have the sense that certain issues were being left out or misrepresented so as to protect the DVRM and its corresponding organizations).
In general, my insider status gives strengths to the validity of this study. Although this status may have impacted the research process negatively, I do not feel as if I encountered any negative situations that would impact the validity of this study, it is possible that I did not recognize such cues. For example, it is possible that the participants felt challenged by having someone study them, particularly since some of what I was interested in involved weaknesses and challenges within the movement. In addition, being an insider did not necessarily guarantee that I was receiving truthful information. However, because of the triangulation of methods employed, particularly that which occurred within single organizations (e.g., observing, interviewing, and collecting materials from a single organization), if I had been misled in some way it is likely I would have discovered it.

Additional types of threats to validity that this study eludes include subjectivity, credibility and adequacy of data. Subjectivity entails researcher’s subjective influence on data gathering and analysis (Maxwell, 1996; Morrow, 2005). To maintain validity through the study process, I explain and put aside any key biases I might have, for example, that may originate from my experience and knowledge of domestic violence in Tanzania. In the analysis section below, for example, I borrow Edmund Husserl’s (1964) concept of bracketing, as Creswell (2007) and Denzin & Lincoln (2003) suggest, explaining how I set aside my biases, perceptions and preconceived ideas during data processing. In addition, the triangulation method utilized in this study (I describe above in this section) plays a critical role in assessing the validity and integrity of the findings (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).
Credibility and adequacy of data is a threat to external validity generalizability in quantitative research or transferability) and it refers to accuracy and completeness of data particularly based on sample size (Morrow, 2005). Pollio, Henley, & Thompson (1997) suggest a sample size ranging from 3 to 100 transcripts for qualitative research (p. 51); and according to Morrow (2005), although 20 to 30 transcripts have always been standard (p. 255), numbers in an interview-based study mean little. The author further argues that validity in qualitative studies goes beyond sample size; like in the current study, it relies for the most part on the quality and depth of interviews as well as the incorporation of multiple sources of evidences. Even though, this study had 36 interviews in addition to the observations and materials information highlighted above in this chapter.

Moreover, in qualitative research, it is also common to collect data to the point of saturation or redundancy and new cases do not provide any new information to data (Lincoln, & Guba, 1985). As I discuss in the data collection section, I did not encounter problems with data accessibility, and I was able to obtain as much information as I needed. From lists of 28-Feminist Coalition (FemAct) organization-members in Tanzania, 435 NGOs, and 230 CSO listed under TANGO I selected the organizations involved with domestic violence issues. This ensured inclusion of all possible organizations that could be involved in the study.

Research Ethics

This research was approved by the Human Subjects Institutional Board Review (HSIRB) at Western Michigan University (see Appendix A) on October 31, 2006 and in Tanzania (see Appendix B) on June 20, 2007.
University, it involved minimal risk to participants because I was not collecting data from or about individual victims of domestic violence, but rather from personnel and volunteers involving with DVRM organizations, as well as various practitioners, policy-makers, and the criminal justice officials. Although most of the participants of this research were DVRM experts, as I identify above, some observations such as those at the courts involved observing the victims directly. This however was not an ethical problem because the observation was through the associated organizations (i.e., advocating organizations that gave me the permission to observe) and the focus of the observation was on the activities that were carried on at the organizational level, rather than individual victimization experiences. In such cases no real names were used. Real names were only used for the participants who were DVRM experts, per university HSIRB protocol (see Appendix A).

Data Analysis

I employed a phenomenological method of analysis in order to make sense of my data. Phenomenology is a method used to describe the meaning of the lived experiences of a concept or phenomenon as it applies to a group of individuals, and so is quite appropriate as a framework for analyzing qualitative data (Creswell, 2007). The approach is premised on a researcher’s ability and willingness to explore the experiences of peoples’ knowledge of the world in which they live (Husserl, 1964; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). The incorporation of phenomenology facilitated the consistent and systemic analysis of the sheer volume of data garnered through my field research efforts. The approach enabled me to gain an understanding of the nature and meanings attached to the everyday experiences of those involved in the DVRM. It
also helped me grasp the essence of a large set of data gathered through various means (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

Phenomenology commonly involves three main stages (in none fixed sequence): the description stage, the reduction stage; and the interpretation stage (Orbe & King, 2000). Description is the initial stage in the phenomenology process that involves assembling and organizing the information provided by participants. With this approach I put together the data from all three sources (interviews, observations, and archival sources) that the participants from the various DVRM organizations encountered during their activities. I first read each interview, observation notes, and document separately, open coding (highlight) for any possible points of relevance. The open coding process was done by highlighting significant statements coming together from all three sources of data as they relate to the research questions. At this stage each statement was given equal worth as the others identified to discover general themes. It is important that the discovery of themes and patterns in all stages be guided by the research questions of the study.

Drawing from Edmund Husserl’s bracketing process (Husserl, 1964), the phenomenology procedure involved the conscious, albeit temporary, setting aside of all of my preconceived ideas, personal biases, beliefs, and assumptions (to the extent possible), until all data were collected and organized (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). This was done so as to create as much space as possible for the meanings within my data to arise during analysis, apart from what I thought or hoped to find in them. For bracketing purposes, I waited until I came back to the United States from the field to start transcribing and analyzing data. Before preparing the data, as Husserl (1964)
suggests, I identified and acknowledged my own assumptions about the DVRM, stated my expectations of what I thought I would find through the data, and any other forms of subjectivity and biases I may have had. This facilitated, to my best ability, the suspension of my personal experiences so as to allow those of the participants to stand out (Creswell, 2007). At this point I prepared (including transcription of the interviews), organized, and read each piece of information obtained through data collection with the purpose of developing as complete a description of the DVRM as possible, as well as to begin identifying general analytical themes.

The main purpose of phenomenological reduction is to determine the parts of the descriptions of lived experiences that are central and of greatest importance to answering the research questions (Lanigan, 1988). Vital to phenomenology is the description of commonalities discovered in the experience among research participants (van Manen, 1990; Moustakas, 1994). In this process, the general themes garnered through the descriptive stage are reviewed for the purposes of developing a few main themes. The reduction process, therefore, takes a V-shape in the sense that it moves from the general to the specific. The goal is to arrive at a relatively small number of main themes that collectively represent the core of the phenomena under study (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), thus giving “shape to the shapeless” (Manen, 1990, p. 88).

The analysis process in phenomenology involves preparing, sorting, and organizing the data – in this case, transcripts, observation notes, and archival materials – in such a way that it is reducible into meaningful thematic patterns (Creswell, 2007; Leininger, 1985). At this stage I read each piece of data again, with
an eye toward themes that were salient across them. I did this by asking myself if I could imagine the DVRM existing without a certain theme; if yes then I decided to leave that theme out. As such themes were removed (through reduction); the central themes were more fully revealed. According to Brooks (1980) each theme revealed by the reduction process “successively yields experience, then reflection of experience, until the invariants of experience yield the essence of meaning, that which is constant (pp. 62-63). These statements were then grouped into larger units of information; themes Creswell (2007).

According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984), themes are units of related patterns of conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, experiences, attitudes, behaviors, perceptions, reflections, and the like. Said differently, themes are commonalities present within and between descriptions. The identification of main themes in this study were based primarily on the importance (centrality) accorded to participants through the data. Although the frequency with which a topic or issue was mentioned was not of much concern to me in identifying themes (Husserl, 1964), it did happen that most of the general themes ended up being among the most frequently named, observed and documented. For instance, the issue of inheritance and matrimonial distribution were major issues associated with other problems such as abuse by a woman’s deceased spouse’s relatives; therefore, most DVRM organizations identified it and were expanding their efforts and resources to address this issue. Centrality, then, was determined by the meaning and relevance attached to the activities and needs associated with the DVRM in making differences in lives of women victims of domestic violence. In doing so, I relied heavily on what
interviewees insisted were of greatest relevance to the DVRM, together with the other two sources of data. It did not matter so much how many times something was mentioned, if when it was mentioned, it was given particular import.

The final phenomenological stage, interpretation, is aimed at discovering how the main themes collectively reflect the essence of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). This involves a cyclical process of reflecting upon the main themes analytically, relating each of them to one another (Orbe & King, 2000). The main objective of the interpretation stage in this study was to reveal the complex nature of the domestic violence rights movement in Tanzania in such a way that was understandable and succinct. The reported accounts and gathered materials enabled me as the researcher to identify the core issues universally associated with being an activist and advocate for women victims of domestic violence as part of the DVRM. These are used as a framework for the research findings presented in the next two chapters. At this point I analyzed the meanings and relationships and made inferences about the larger picture of the DVRM under study. I relied upon literature on the DVRM, particularly within Tanzania as well as methods of triangulation between the respective sources of data, to construct what I see as a valid reporting of the DVRM.

Chapter Summary

This chapter describes the qualitative phenomenological approach to my research, which involved field data collection in Tanzania and analysis. Phenomenology is commonly used in social sciences with the primary goal of increasing awareness of the experiences of people (Morse, 1997). The chapter depicts the relevance of employing qualitative methodology in the study. It delineates the
multiple methods utilized beginning with the semi-structured interviews; discussing the recruitment process, interviewing, as well as transcription procedures. The section further highlights the observations part of the study; detailing the rationale for the use of the method and the procedures involved, and the various forms of material data gathered. The researcher’s position section gives the historical background of the researcher’s interest and decision to carry on the study. This part precedes the rationale for the study sites and validity, as well as the analysis sections. The following two chapters highlight and discuss the findings for this study. It is in this section where the findings are also interpreted and inferences made specifically to answer the major research question and sub-questions of the study.
CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF DVRM

Overview

This chapter, along with Chapters V and VI, discusses the findings of my study in relation to the research question, “What is the nature of the domestic violence rights movement [DVRM] in Tanzania?” As discussed in Chapter II, domestic violence is relatively widespread in Tanzania. Best estimates suggest that about 41% of women in Dar es Salaam (the largest city in the country) and 56% in Mbeya (another large city) experienced domestic violence in 2006 (WHO, 2006). Also examined in Chapter II is the way in which domestic violence in Tanzania connects to a host of other social, legal and cultural issues: inheritance laws, bride price, forced marriage, polygamy, arranged marriage, female genital mutilation (FGM), pre-marriage education and witchcraft persecution. A consideration of these related issues is important because, as I learned during my time in the field, Tanzania has not succeeded in developing a DVRM organizations responding specifically to domestic violence. The DVRM, consistent with its definition from Chapter I (the range of activities and programs which some members of a society collectively engage in so as to draw public attention to and facilitate change regarding domestic violence), and its respective organizations are broad and unspecific in focus, each addressing various associated issues (like the cultural issues above) that exacerbate
the problem of domestic violence. They function differently than do United States
domestic violence organizations, for example, that focus mainly on one specific issue.

Consequently, Tanzanians variously define domestic violence according to
social and legal factors to include everything associated with violence against women,
such as rape, sexual assault, matrimonial distributions, economic violence and
disempowerment, and so forth depending on the particular organization’s priorities.
Thus, it has been difficult for domestic violence to arise in public awareness as a
significant social problem in Tanzania, however, awareness has indeed risen. This has
happened fairly recently (mid-1990s) and is largely a product of several
organizations. Severe instances of domestic violence, such as the famous and
notorious “Maumba rape case”, the “punch” incidences at the University of Dar es
Salaam during the 1980s, the role of political and educated female leaders in power
since the country’s independence in 1961, and the multiparty system that in 1992
replaced the socialist based single-party system (which made it illegal for civil society
organizations to exist), contribute to the labeling of domestic violence as a social
problem and the development of the DVRM in Tanzania.

Chapters IV, V and VI, then, focus explicitly on the domestic violence rights
movement [DVRM] in Tanzania since its inception. Based upon the observations,
interviews and material analysis derived from my fieldwork in the summer and fall of
2007, I begin this chapter by examining the factors that prompted the development of
a DVRM in Tanzania. I then present the types of organizations that developed, or
turned their attention toward domestic violence (in the case of pre-existing
organizations), as a result of the DVRM. In addition, I identify the governmental,
religious and other entities included in the study as recommended by the movement organizations under scrutiny. The rest of the study’s research sub-questions, including the influence and constraints in Chapters V and VI.

Throughout the findings chapters, I highlight differences that emerge between rural and urban areas, as well as those that emerge due to religion. As a part of my data collection efforts, the findings chapters include several pictures and images shared by the organizations I studied. Several of them are from the media and are illustrative of the state of gender stratification and domestic violence in Tanzania. In general, they represent the necessity of addressing domestic violence, as well as some of the efforts by various DVRM organizations. Please note that the date setting on the camera used for archiving these images was incorrect; please refer to the dates in the actual images (newspapers and pictures).

Factors in the Development of the Tanzanian DVRM

As I point out in Chapter II, domestic violence has historically been considered a private matter, thus any efforts towards resolution have been regarded as an invasion of family privacy. This stigma negatively impacts, among other things, the reporting rate of the problem of domestic violence, thus causing victims’ failure to report instances of domestic violence to authorities. Victims opt instead to suffer in silence out of shame, fear of reprisal, and the like. In addition, the culture of Tanzania traditionally encourages problem resolution through informal means. For victims of domestic violence, this often involves elders, local and religious leaders, neighbors, and friends, all of whom hold great influence over whether or not a victim reports her
victimization to the justice system. When conflict arises between partners, resolution focuses on reconciliation and forgiveness.

Economics also plays a role. More women than men have historically been engaged in agricultural and low-income work, and they have been excluded from managerial and decision-making roles within the agricultural sector. They have also been prohibited from owning the land they work. Women are not able to retain control of the money they earn, as the male heads of household control family finances, resulting in the economic dependence of most female victims of domestic violence on their abusers. In addition, while men experience greater freedom and often participate in the public and political spheres, women are expected to remain within the private, familial sphere, taking care of children and other domestic activities.

Consequently, the lack of activist response to domestic violence in Tanzania prior to the 1990s was rationalized with the argument that domestic violence is a private matter. Thus, laws, policies and practices did not, and seemingly had no reason to, sufficiently address domestic violence. Domestic violence was just one of many economic, social and political issues (e.g., poverty, unemployment, health, education, governance, and so forth) to which the government did not devote resources. Moreover, interest in domestic violence was seen as external, invasive and foreign, rather than domestic. As Salma Maoulidi, the Executive Director of the Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF) noted during my interview with her,

Concerns over what goes on between a person and his/her intimate partner was regarded to be an issue pushed by Western feminists. Domestic violence
was seen as an issue for the whites that never happened in our country or anywhere in Africa.

Moreover, the powerful socialist system and self-reliant attitude adopted in 1967 (six years after independence) under the rule of the late Father of the Nation, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, is believed to have largely contributed to the nonexistence of domestic violence as a recognized social problem or of the DVRM prior to the 1990s. Tanzania is just now transitioning away from this, with the increase of commodity production and moves towards capitalism and democracy.

According to an interview with Dr. Chris Maina Peter, a law professor at the University of Dar es Salaam, compared to the rest of the East African countries (Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi), the DVRM in Tanzania is still young and immature due in large part to socialism:

The socialist policies of the state in recent decades (since 1967) made it illegal for civil society organizations to exist, and therefore diminished the existence of activist groups such as those targeting domestic violence. However, in the early 1990s the country’s reliance on socialism was eroded with the advent of a multi-party system in 1992. This system replaced the socialist based single-party system, and it is after this point that the DVRM began to blossom.

I could not get additional information particular to the DVRM from other sources in the field to further support this statement.

The roots for the DVRM of the mid-1990s began in the 1980s when certain segments of the population began recognizing domestic violence as a serious problem. This occurred as a result of a series of severe instances of violence against
women. As an example, Ms. Raziah Mwawanga, a Project Officer of the Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA) in Dar es Salaam, mentioned during my interview with her that the famous and notorious “Maumba rape case” in late 1980s spurred much attention toward violence against women. The case involved a man who repeatedly raped more than 20 young girls from different schools in the city of Dar es Salaam. He targeted the victims by hiding along the paths they used walking to and from school. He was finally caught and brought before the justice system, however, as Ms. Mwawanga noted,

Although Maumba was sentenced to prison, he appealed and won the case due to lack of sufficient evidences, witnesses unwillingness to testify in court, and inadequate doctors’ expert witness. Imagine, it is believed that he raped more than 100 girls although only about 20 cases were reported due to the stigma attached to the girls’ families.

Around the same time, there was a practice that had existed for years at the University of Dar es Salaam, known as “punch.” A “punch” would occur when members of the university community were reprimanded for unacceptable behaviors through the posting of their identities and their wrong-doings at the top of the university’s main wall. The posting was done by a group of unidentified (but suspected) male students, who performed the activity late in the night when all students had left the campus. The idea was to publicly shame individuals for their indiscretions. With time, however, the practice was abused and many people, especially women, were wrongly accused and humiliated for various activities. Some women were “punched” simply because they did not want to be involved in romantic
relationships with certain men. Unfortunately, in late 1980s, one of the wrongly accused and humiliated university women committed suicide. This tragedy opened the eyes of many within the university and surrounding community in Dar es Salaam.

According to interviews with Ms. Mwawanga from TAMWA-Dar es Salaam and Ms. Ladyness at the Gender Center (GC), these events raised the level of social stigma against interpersonal victimization in general. Community members in cities such as Dar es Salaam, where the media had facilitated the spread of the news, started to intervene in order to protect women from abuse. Groups of women began gathering to discuss multi-dimensional strategies and plans for action against domestic violence. Out of such informal meetings, it was decided that some sort of collective action was needed in order to bring awareness and education to more Tanzanians about the abuse of women. Such efforts were more prominent in the urban areas (as compared to rural areas), because of accessibility of the media which helped spread information and awareness.

While the “Maumba rape case” and “punch” were not directly domestic violence, according to Officer Mwawanga, they greatly influenced the development of the DVRM and the associated organizations that exist today. As she asserts,

This is when such DVRM organizations as TAMWA, (Women’s Legal Aid Center) WLAC, (Tanzanian Women Lawyers’ Association) TAWLA, and (Tanzania Gender Networking Program) TGNP for instance, started to mobilize around the cases and fight for the domestic violence and generally women victim’s rights.
According to my interviews with Ms. Mwawanga and Ms. Shifaa Said Hassan, an officer of TAMWA, Zanzibar branch, and documentation by TAMWA, the organization (among the earliest DVRM organizations in Tanzania) was established in the 1990s as a result of the women’s group meetings, focusing its work on domestic violence. I will return to this discussion on the establishment and development of DVRM organizations in the next section.

Also at this time (late 1980s), according to my interview with Ms. Deddah Khadija Hijja, a leader of Sahiba Sisters Foundation, more women were starting to come forward with their victimization. They sought advice and legal help from educated women in their communities, as well as female leaders in the government. It appeared to the women who responded to the requests for help that these victims had reached their tolerance level. Progress was made as women with the means and power to influence local and regional politics worked hard to push the government to act against domestic violence and women’s rights in general. Magdalena Aqculin, from the Women’s Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), identified Dr. Asha Rose Migiro, a lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam until 1997, who currently serves as Deputy Secretary General to the United Nations. Migiro was quite influential in the development and early work of (WLAC) in the late 1980s. Officer Aqculin also mentioned the Late Mrs. Sophia Kawawa, once Chairperson of UWT and wife of the second Vice President of Tanzania, Rashid Kawawa. Mrs. Kawawa also promoted the idea of establishing the DVRM, particularly WLAC. Several other DVRM organizations were formed during the late 1980s and early 1990s in response to the
problem of domestic violence and laws that oppressed women. The foundation for such efforts had been laid earlier, in the 1960s.

Ms. Hija named as an example of a founder of women’s social movements in Tanzania, the late Bibi Titi Mohamed. Mohamed was a Muslim nationalist leader who, like many Islamic women, did not attain formal education but rather gained notoriety through her involvement in community groups. In 1962, all women’s community groups were merged into the Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT), a Tanzanian women’s union (the name does not have a direct translation), which worked to promote women’s issues at the national level of politics. Bibi Titi served as president of UWT until 1967.

Another prominent woman with regard to early community organizing was identified by Ms. Halima Hassan, a Gender Specialist from the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children, Zanzibar. In my interview with Hassan, she discussed the work of Getrude Mongela, a Tanzanian politician and governmental leader committed to women’s issues. Mongela was quite active beginning in the late 1960s in international meetings on women’s rights, peace and development. The following section provides the historical account and description of each of these organizations. It also identifies other entities, including governmental and religious institutions that have responded to or have roles to play in the current DVRM, particularly with regard to the three sites included in this study: Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and Njombe.
Types of Organizations and Entities Involved with the Tanzanian DVRM

Following is a brief history and description of the structure of the 13 DVRM organizations, most of which are registered as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and 10 governmental and religious institutions in the three sites selected for this study (Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, and Njombe). As I describe in Chapter III under the recruitment process section, based on the definition of DVRMs I selected only organizations that work to draw public attention to and facilitate change regarding domestic violence. This includes organizations that educate the public and lobby for legal/policy reform pertaining to domestic violence, provide legal advice/assistance to, empower, advocate for, and otherwise positively impact the lives and rights of battered women. The 10 governmental and religious institutions included here encompass those suggested by DVRM organizations because of their connection to and involvement with DVRM activities. As I mention in the first section of this chapter, unlike in the United States, for example, where domestic violence organizations typically focus on one primary issue, the DVRM and its respective organizations in Tanzania are broad in focus, addressing diverse but linked issues that facilitate domestic violence. I remind the reader of this caveat, as this broader view to domestic violence is reflected in the classification and descriptions of the DVRM organizations and institutions discussed in the following section. As a final caveat, Zanzibar is an (inland) city as well although the pivotal role played in the study is that of religion.
DVRM Centered Organizations

As discussed earlier, the DVRM in Tanzania has made tremendous efforts to address domestic violence since the late 1980s. The movement involves a variety of activities, such as raising women’s legal consciousness, promoting legal literacy and facilitating accessibility of the legal system; lobbying the government for reform; advocating justice for women; research; and promotion of environmental issues, economic development, and empowerment of women. According to an interview with Ms. Mwanahamis Alii, Chairperson of Zanzibar Women Development Organization (ZAWDO), such factors as women’s economic dependence are identified as connected to the increased risk of domestic violence victimization. Thus, these organizations also coordinate and work with other NGOs and governmental institutions with interests in concerns related to domestic violence. Table 1 summarizes the development of the organizations (arranged by site—Njombe, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar) included in this research.
Table 1  A Summary Table of the Evolution of the DVRM Organizations

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The examined organizations' budgets and financial reports are not generally provided in these descriptions because such information did not typically reflect their activities and programs specific to domestic violence (since the organizations are involved in several issues and often rely heavily on volunteers). In addition, most organizations did not have their financial reports and donor information available for my use and those who did were hesitant to share them. As one of the participants
reported during an interview, "Organizations don’t make donor and financial assistance information available to the public because of fear of competition in acquiring funds."

Njombe District Non-Governmental Organizations (NJODINGO)

NJODINGO is a rural based umbrella organization for over 14 NGOs with an approximate 200 individual members. The different NGOs focus on a variety of issues not necessarily exclusive to women. However, as the group’s director, Mr. Lutondwe Alatanga Nyagawa, reported to me, the main focus of the organizations under NJODINGO is to assist the most vulnerable and oppressed groups of people in society, including women, children and the poor, on matters pertaining to justice, rights, marriage, abuse, inheritance, and the like. According to Mr. Nyagawa, “NJODINGO conducts trainings, sponsors workshops, and provides free marriage counseling and legal advice to the vulnerable and oppressed women victims of domestic violence, among other issues and groups, particularly in villages.” The Director further argued,

Women are the most vulnerable group in the villages, and domestic violence is the main problem they face. Some women are married and some are widows; both do not know the laws or any rights associated with their problems. They come here but we also go to their villages for education, counseling and legal advice. We do conferences in the villages as well.

He further explained that argued that NJODINGO is an umbrella organization, so they coordinate activities and work with other NGOs with more than 90% reliance
on external funding. Mr. Nyagawa was the only person I was able to interview from this organization, though as director, his input was quite comprehensive.

**Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA)**

TAWLA began in 1989 as a group of female lawyers and attorneys to provide legal aid and literacy to women. The organization was registered as a non-profit organization in 1990. Ms. Genoveva Kato, Director of TAWLA, Dar es Salaam main branch reported,

> At TAWLA we deal mainly with low income women; we don’t do anything in courts for the women. We teach some women about their legal rights, and help others to get advocates, for instance we refer them to WLAC that does much of the actual advocating. We also provide counseling on victimization in their homes.

TAWLA works to ensure human rights, specifically those of women and children. TAWLA conducts educational workshops, seminars and paralegal training. The organization also trains retired judges, magistrates, and court clerks to facilitate cooperation in resolving issues pertaining to women’s rights. Like TGNP, TAWLA works mainly to change policy through national level lobbying; however, it also works closely with other NGOs and, like WLAC, to provide legal aid for women. TAWLA has over 180 members, most of whom are lawyers in Dar es Salaam. TAWLA also has branches and paralegal units in other administrative regions, and rural areas including Njombe, where it works with the Lutheran church, creating centers to assist women with marriage and domestic violence issues. I had the chance to observe some of these branch clinics and interview consultations in Njombe.
According to my interview with Anna Nyagawa, Njombe Lutheran Church Pastor and TAWLA Paralegal Officer, more than 10 clients, mostly women, visit the TAWLA clinic in Njombe or the Lutheran church on a weekly basis, and the number of such clients is increasing. She added, “From May 2007 when we started, to October 2007, we have attended to more than 1000 clients. This does not include the number of people the pastors and other paralegals attend to in the villages.” Pastor Nyagawa reported that they follow up on reported cases and have sometimes successfully advised both the women and men involved in a case. I was able to carry out four interviews within this organization and one clinic observation. Financial information of the organization was not available.

Gender Center of the University of Dar es Salaam (GC-UD)

The UDGC was initiated in 1997 in reaction to the shortage in policy and gender equality at the university for students and workers. According to the center’s publications and based on my interview with Ms. Ladyness, a Gender Center officer, the center was officially launched in 2005 as an arm of the university. It evolved in large part because of the longtime efforts by UD students to take active roles in the implementation of gender issue policies at the university. The officer further reported that among the factors greatly influencing the development of this UDGC were the suicide cases involved with the “punch” incidents described earlier, along with sexual harassment and exploitation of female students by male staff. Specifically, professors were known to ask for sexual relationships with female students in exchange for grades, campus leaders and wardens sought sexual relations with female students in need of campus accommodations and employment. The campus was, and is still is to
a certain extent, fraught with severe acts of abuse, violence against women, and violations of women’s rights.

The Gender Center is the primary resource on gender equity at the university, and many of its efforts are aimed at combating domestic violence. The center organizes gender awareness campaigns, conducts discussions and debates on key issues of abuse and violence encountered by female students on campus, and advocates for gender equality policy reforms. According to Ms. Ladyness,

Domestic violence is what we regard as violence against women on campus, and it does not have to be between agreed and committed intimate partners. Most of the abuse here involves manipulation of the female students because they are female, and because they submit to most males who manipulate their situations.

The center has more than 100 members. Membership is open to all enrolled students of the university and its constituent colleges. The top management team is composed of the chairperson and director of the center. The student leadership is comprised of a chairperson, vice chairperson, general secretary, deputy general secretary, treasurer, and two standing committees (Logistics Committee, and Publicity and Advocacy Committee). SIDA, the Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD), the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), the Carnegie Foundation of New York, and the Association of African Universities (AAU) were identified as major sources of funding for the center, though specific budget information was not available. I was able to interview one officer and attain a few publications and flyers from the center.
Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC)

According to the publications by the LHRC (Annual Reports, 2005; 2006), the center was formed in 1994 and registered in 1995 as an NGO under the Companies Ordinance Law. The LHRC’s main goal is to protect and promote human rights and create legal and human rights awareness. The organization also provides legal civic education, research, and human rights monitoring on issues such as female genital mutilation (FGM). It also produces research, documentation, publications, means of capacity building, and outreach and advocacy efforts in regard to changing laws and policies that violate human and women’s rights. The center also provides legal and rights assistance to the public in general on issues of land, matrimony, inheritance, child support, and employment. More relevant to this study, the LHRC conducts clinics once a week to assist underprivileged female victims of domestic violence, among other disadvantaged groups. At these clinics, LHRC representatives provide counseling, legal aid, reconciliation services, and education on people’s rights, the law, and various legal procedures. In 2007, more than 4,500 women visited the center for various reasons including domestic violence, matrimony, legal assistance, and inheritance issues. LHRC believes in, among other things, enhancing and promoting equality and promoting women’s rights that have historically been violated and diminished.

Reports (LHRC, 2005; 2006) further indicate that the LHRC has 120 members, which form its Annual General Assembly (AGA). Nine of these members comprise its board of directors. The organization also consists of 48 staff members, including 15 volunteers. The LHRC pursues human rights violations all over
Tanzania, with one program coordinator and 15 representatives in over eight different zones. The center did not have any available information on its sources or amount of funding. Using the center's Documentation Center, I was granted access to the organization's publications and annual reports for the purposes of this study.

National Organization for Legal Assistance (NOLA)

NOLA is an autonomous and voluntary NGO that works to promote human rights and access to justice for all people, particularly those living in rural areas. The organization's published material (Annual Report, 2005) asserts that NOLA was initially formed in 2002 by practicing lawyers, who were dedicated to using the law to further legal justice and the rights of Tanzanians. It was registered in 2003 as an NGO under the Companies Ordinance Law. NOLA works mainly to enhance access to justice by empowering vulnerable members of society, including female victims of abuse and violence; sponsoring research, documentation and publications; lobbying and advocacy for reform of poor policies and laws; and fostering a preventive culture against all kinds of crimes, abuses of women, and human rights violations. The research aspect of NOLA focuses on education, employment, health, knowledge of and access to the legal and justice system for women as vulnerable members of society. These issues, according to Mr. Kaleb Gamaya, the Director of Programs at NOLA, contribute to disempowerment and continued violence against women in homes and other places in society. Mr. Gamaya further asserted,

We teach women in rural areas that some of the traditions and culture they embrace are not necessary. They need to override and move beyond that. They need to know FGM and battery are forms of violence -- mental violence. We
try to teach these women what is and what is not violence because in rural areas there is less knowledge and thus increased rates of the problem of domestic violence. The problem is not known. The definition and what qualifies is not known yet. No laws yet.

NOLA has a main office in Dar es Salaam and nine more offices in other administrative regions. According to NOLA’s Annual Report (2006), the center consists of eight board members, six members of the management team, six editorial board members, eight staff members at the headquarters and 18 staff members in regional offices, five of which are volunteers and interns. The organization focuses its services on both men and women, and their membership is gender mixed. According to the interview with Mr. Clement Mashamba, the Executive Director of NOLA, more than 95% of their income comes from grants. The rest is generated from other organizational activities such as fundraising. I had access to several of the organization’s materials and was able to conduct four interviews with NOLA officers.

Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP)

TGNP began in 1992 as a civil society organization. It was registered as an NGO in 1993. According to the organization’s publications (Mosha & Johnson, 2003; TGNP, 2003), the TGNP is comprised of the executive director, board members and the Annual General Assembly (AGA), in addition to program officers and program committees. It has an estimated 100 members. The organization receives 90 percent of its funding from donors and the rest from fundraising activities. The main focus of TGNP is to influence local and national policies and to lobby for gender
equality. TGNP mainly focuses on training, capacity building, outreach, information
generation and dissemination, activism, lobbying and policy advocacy.

In particular, domestic violence and gender-sensitive budgeting are the major
issues of focus and action by the organization. In 1997, for example, TGNP initiated
the Gender Budgeting Initiative Program as a means of influencing governmental
budgeting in regards to the most marginalized citizens (defined by TGNP as women,
children, and the poor). TGNP also reported to have played a great role in lobbying
for the 1999 Land Law reform and the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act
(SOSPA) in 1998, which provided for the punishment of rape perpetrators with life
sentence for rape victims below ten years and 30 years imprisonment for other
victims. The act also addresses FGM, making it illegal if practiced on girls under the
age of 18. In addition, in 2002 the organization formed the Policy Forum Group,
which lobbied for an amended NGO bill. Given the broad and socially based
definition of domestic violence in Tanzania, these are important issues with regard to
domestic violence in Tanzania.

Since 1996, TGNP has been hosting the Annual Gender Studies Conference,
designed to bring together gender activists from around the world to discuss a variety
of issues including domestic violence, gender and political representation, female
leadership, human rights activism, FGM, lobbying efforts, policy advocacy,
government budgeting, education, and general awareness of women’s need for
freedom and equality. I was able to attend the 2007 conference for three days
(September 11-13) as part of my field research. As a testament of TGNP’s efforts, the
following three posters hung on their walls during the conference:
“FREEDOM is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be DEMANDED by the oppressed

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Figure 1  Freedom (Source: TGNP)

There Will Never be a Generation of Great Men before there has been a Generation of Free Women!

Figure 2  Women’s Generation (Source: TGNP)
If You Can Trust Me with a Child, Why Can’t You Trust Me with a Choice!

Figure 3 Trust of Choice (Source: TGNP)

The conference brought more than 3,000 women and men from all over Tanzania, Africa, and beyond together. I also consulted the literature and publications of TGNP for the purposes of this study.

Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA)

TAMWA began as an activist and advocacy group of women with the aim of using the media to promote positive images of women. According to my interview with Ms. Raziah Mwawanga, Project Officer of TAMWA, the University of Dar es Salaam “punch” case and the well known “Mr. Maumba rape case” in the late 1980s and early 1990s “facilitated the birth of TAMWA”. According to the TAMWA Annual Report, (2006), the organization has eight board members, eight secretariats and more than 100 members, about 98 percent of whom are women. The minimum qualifications of membership are a diploma in journalism and at least three years of
work experience. Based in Dar es Salaam, TAMWA was registered in 1987 as an
NGO and has one major branch in Zanzibar with smaller branches in other
administrative regions. During the interview, Officer Mwawanga reported that in
2001 TAMWA started the only crisis center for abused women in the country.
However, the center no longer exists (closed in 2003) due to inadequate funding. This
organization was also one of the first female domestic violence organizations not
affiliated with the ruling party, an important step for the DVRM at large, given the
political difficulty of developing such organizations, as previously discussed.

TAMWA focuses on research and advocacy for women’s issues, currently
focusing its efforts on early marriage. Particularly, TAMWA has been the forefront of
the efforts to address the issue of reform on the Law of Marriage Act (LMA) of 1971.
This provision is believed to facilitate the problem of domestic violence, for example,
by allowing for the marriage of girls at the age of 15, or younger with parental
permission. The organization also provides legal assistance to women for child
custody, inheritance rights, rape and assault; sponsors paralegal training and
workshops; organizes legal education for women; publishes a magazine in Swahili,
*Saunti Ya Siti (Voice of the City)*, to educate rural women on their rights; and produces
booklets focusing on the working conditions of women, violence against women, rape
therapy, teenage pregnancy, and drug abuse. TAMWA refers most abused women
who need immediate assistance to WLAC and other aid providers. TAMWA made
available to me some publications, including newspapers and magazines, which I
photographed, and allowed me to interview two officers – one from the Dar es
Salaam branch and the other from the Zanzibar branch. The organization’s financial information was not disclosed.

Uzazi na Malezi Bora Tanzania (UMATI) (reproductive health movement in Tanzania, not directly translatable)

UMATI was established in 1959. It was registered in 1960 as a Family Planning Association (FPA) of Dar es Salaam. The organization changed its name from the Family Planning Association to UMATI in 1972. I learned this through publications (UMATI, 2005; 2006) and an interview with Dr. Walter Mbunda, Executive Director. UMATI is an autonomous NGO that focuses on the rights and sexual reproductive health of marginalized groups, particularly girls, in rural and urban Tanzania, especially between 10 and 24 years of age. According to Dr. Mbunda, the organization’s main purpose is to prevent domestic violence in the lives of girls. As he asserted,

Most girls who drop school due to pregnancies are abandoned by the fathers of their babies as well as by their own parents, who largely refused to help or lack the ability to support the mother and baby. While these girls could have been eligible to attend an expensive private school, neither they nor their parents often have the resources to allow them to do so. The government of Tanzania also refuses to help the girls continue with their studies after having a baby; they were thus denied the right to an education. The fathers of the babies are not subjected to any such repercussion. Without education and thus income in this culture, they will be subjected to abuse by their husbands, and they will be victims of domestic violence in the future.
According to an interview with Mr. Golden Masika, the Coordinator of UMATI, Temeke Center, in the early 1980s for instance, the government of Tanzania passed a law to expel all pregnant girls from public school. The majority of girls coerced into dropping out of school had very little to fall back on socially or economically. Due to the insensitivity of this law, UMATI opened a youth center in Temeke District, Dar es Salaam, in 1986 specifically for teenage girls. As Mr. Masika further reported,

The center also advocates for the victims of the law, the girls. We help them continue with studies after delivery, and we fight for the amendment of the law. As UMATI, we also teach young men how to deal with and take care of women with whom they are intimately related to prevent domestic violence in the future.

The organization’s efforts continue to be necessary, as the newspaper clipping below illustrates:
Dr. Mbunda further reported that UMATI has a total of 120 members, 12 of whom are members of the organization’s governing board. UMATI has 12 sites situated all over the country, each having 22 peer educators who work in training and counseling capacities within both urban and rural communities. The organization relies on community contributors and external funding for 90 percent of its financial sustainability. External donors include United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Rockefeller Foundation, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD),
United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), American Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF), and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA).

Women in Law and Development Africa (WiLDAF)

WiLDAF is a Pan-African non-governmental networking organization that promotes women’s rights in Africa. WiLDAF was established as a result of the 1990 regional conference on Women, Law and Development in Harare, Zimbabwe, during which countries throughout Africa were called upon to promote and strengthen the role of women in their cultures. As Ms. Anna Mela, a Legal Officer of WiLDAF, reported, in 1997 a WiLDAF branch in Tanzania was registered as an NGO and became a coordinating office. The Tanzanian chapter of WiLDAF has 10 organizational members and over 100 individual members, most of whom are women. Similar to the Pan-African network’s goals, WiLDAF in Tanzania works to promote African women’s effective use of a variety of tools to achieve self, community, national, sub-regional and regional development. However, the organization in Tanzania also has more specific goals. For instance, it made tremendous contributions in lobbying for the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA) of 1998, discussed in Chapter II and above, and continues to support customary, inheritance, and marital laws that provide women with greater legal protection. It also sponsors workshops on gender based violence and provides legal education and training to people working to assist victims of domestic violence. Sources of funding were not identified. I was able to review published materials and interview two legal officers at WiLDAF.
According to its publications (Annual Reports, 2004, 2005, and 2006) and my interview with Magdalena Aqcuilin, Legal Officer, WLAC began in 1989 as an arm of UWT by virtue of party supremacy, providing legal aid to women. When Tanzania adopted a multiparty system in 1992, the organization changed to WLAC and became an independent body. WLAC was registered in 1994 as an NGO. Its primary goals are to provide legal aid to female victims of domestic violence and to generate a more equitable society, respectful of human rights and free of discrimination against women. WLAC is composed of an eight board of directors' members, 17 staff members, six volunteers, and three volunteer media officers (WLAC Annual Report, 2006). The Tanzania Paralegal Profile report by WLAC, edited by Magigita and Solomo (2005), and an interview with Officer Aqcuilin, indicated that WLAC has 18 paralegal units in the mainland, organized within 17 administrative regions, with more than 6,350 members.

The organization is also involved in research, publications, advocacy, lobbying, and networking. For example, WLAC hosted a coalition/committee called TADOVI (Taskforce Against Domestic Violence) in July 2004 and played a strong role in lobbying for the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA) in 1998, as well as the Land Law Amendment in 1999, which addressed inheritance rights. As I discussed in Chapter II, existing land laws oppress and discriminate against women. Officer Aqcuilin further argued, “Land laws, including women’s rights to land inheritance, contribute to the increased rate of domestic violence, marriage breakage, and the economic disempowerment of most women in this country.”
WLAC conducts legal aid clinics for domestic violence victims once a week and follows up on critical cases on a different day every week. In addition, during observation of WLAC, Ms. Mary Njau, a Legal Officer, reported that the organization works with more than 80 people each week, over 30 of whom are typically new clients. Through the clinics, the organization attended to a total of 2686 cases, more than half being domestic violence (419), matrimonial (989), inheritance (372), and land dispute (151) cases in 2006 (WLAC Annual Report, 2006). Following the clinics, the organization provides advocates for the female victims involved in court cases. However, according to Athanasia Soka, an advocate for WLAC, the advocates are only present in the court as observers. Their hope is to influence court handling of domestic violence victims by their presence. However, they can not represent victims.

DANIDA, NORAD, SIDA, USAID and some foreign (not named) embassies in the country were mentioned to be among the organization’s donors.

WLAC also networks with other NGOs and the government. For instance, Dr. Asha Rose Migiro, the current Deputy Secretary General to the United Nations, was a volunteer at WLAC from the mid 1990s to about 2005, before becoming the first woman in Tanzania since its independence in 1961 to hold the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (2006-2007). Most lawyers and advocates serve as volunteers at this organization, and only a few members are men. I had the opportunity to observe one of their clinics and to follow up on one clinic case, as well as attend several court proceedings. The observation involved one legal officer (advisor/counselor) and two unnamed legal officers on duty for the clinic’s
registration and the day’s lesson. I also accessed published materials, and held interviews with two advocates and legal officers at this organization.

Like TAWLA, WLAC has paralegal units in other administrative regions including Arusha, Lindi, Tanga, Iringa, Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, Shinyanga, Morogoro, Mwanza, Ruvuma, Kigoma, Mara, Mbeya, Kagera, Coastal Region (Pwani), Shinyanga, and Mtwara. The paralegals mainly use plays, drama and songs in educating communities about domestic violence and other related social problems.

Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF)

The SSF was founded in 1997 as an NGO with the aim of liberating Islamic women regarding their rights, development, and victimization. However, today SSF works to educate, promote, and protect all women regardless of religious ties. According to my interview with Ms. Deddah Khadija Hija, a leader of SSF, some educated and professional Muslim women, including Dr. Asha Rose Migiro, whom I named above, and Zakia Megdi, one of the current members of the parliament in Tanzania, facilitated the development of the organization. SSF is based in Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam, but has branches in thirteen administrative regions. Its main areas of activity include human rights, HIV/AIDS education, and general research and awareness campaigns on domestic violence and gender issues. Ms. Hija further reported,

We have been focusing our efforts on condemning forced marriage, arranged marriage, inheritance laws, bride price, polygamy, pre-marriage education that tend to facilitate women’s oppression, underage marriage, and unequal provision of education and employment opportunities that subject women to
abuse and violence by their husbands. We teach women their rights; they need to be loved and respected. We have even proposed several times of their parents.

Members of SSF are mixed in gender and work mainly on a volunteer basis, without even office space. As Ms. Hija reports, “We don’t have offices in Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam and the regional areas. We only communicate by phone and text messages. Our offices are where we are employed in our first jobs, like here.” I conducted the interview with Ms. Hija in the office where she works (first job). Beyond my interview with Ms. Hija, I was able to interview another member of SSF. As further testament to the sparse resources, I interviewed Ms. Salma Maoulidi, an Executive Director of SSF, outside a building where she had participated in a workshop in Zanzibar. There was no place else to go in order to conduct this interview, as Ms. Maoulidi did not have an office in Zanzibar and really had no place to conduct her work. Ms. Maoulidi, elaborated further on the dire resources of SSF:

We don’t get paid. I do my work out of passion. I don’t work because of being paid per-diem. Our income mainly originates from fundraising and contributions by members, together with some small-scale grants. We can’t wait to get paid to work.

Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA)

ZAFELA began in 2003 and was registered as an NGO in 2005. ZAFELA is a group of female lawyers employed in governmental offices who work as volunteers in the evenings and on weekends to assist female victims of domestic violence with legal matters. Based in Zanzibar, the organization strives to advance the status of
women and children through welfare, legal reform advocacy, and legal services. They use radio and television programs to bring awareness and education to women. The organization is quite new but is gaining acceptance and becoming well known to the public. During a group interview with eight of the organization’s members, Ms. Safia Hija, the Secretary of ZAFELA, reported that the organization has only about 10 members who all serve as volunteers. Ms. Hija added that ZAFELA rents its office space (where the interview was held) and that “the monthly dues and member registration fees are the sole source of our income.” Furthermore, Mwanamkaa A’Rahma, one of the members I interviewed, reported that the organization assists an average of five women per weekend day and as many as three on some evenings.

Zanzibar Women Development Organization (ZAWDO)

The Zanzibar Women Development Organization (ZAWDO) is an unregistered group of about 16 women in the Mbweni and Kiembe Samaki areas in the city of Zanzibar, which focuses on empowerment and sustainable resource management. According to the interview with Ms. Mwanahamis Alli, the chairperson of ZAWDO, the organization launched its activities in 2006, and aims to benefit ZAWDO group members and the women of the community through income generating activities, such as small-scale farming, petty trading, horticulture, knitting, and other informal enterprises. Alli further argued,

We believe that women are subjected to violence and abuse because of too much economic dependence on their husbands and intimate partners, the abusers. The economic empowerment by ZAWDO is designed to prevent to
some extent the problem of domestic violence as well as the oppressions and abuse in which most women are vulnerable.

Ms. Mwanahamisi further reported that their organization could use an estimate of $25,000 annually as capital for initiating their activities. They do not currently have a permanent office space,

We don’t have an office so far, we can’t afford it. We have been meeting at one of the school buildings at Kiembe Samaki or at one of the member’s house. We are still struggling to get on our feet. I hope you will help us find donors.

As I will discuss in the challenges section of Chapter V, lack of funding and economic sustainability is one of the major problems almost all DVRM organizations in the study identified. As in the quote above, many of the organizations actually asked me to help them find donors, and some even asked for my personal contribution to their fundraising efforts.

Entities Involved with DVRM (Governmental Ministries and Other Institutions)

Following is a discussion of institutions and agencies (organized by site) involved in the study in addition to the DVRM organizations detailed above. These institutions were included in the study based on recommendations by the study DVRM organizations because they are the entities with which many DVRM activities connect during their efforts to address domestic violence.
Community Based Organization (CBO) of Njombe Municipal

CBO of Njombe Municipal (also referenced as Njombe Municipal CBO or just CBO) is the District of Njombe's primary social organization. It serves as the lowest-formal level where people from both villages and towns report their issues, victimization in particular, before they decide to go through the justice system. CBO officials sometimes travel to villages to serve people who cannot afford to travel to the small town where the organization is located. Domestic violence victims make use of CBO services, often by obtaining legal advice. The officer at the National Institute for Medical Research, who provided me research clearance in Tanzania, suggested that these regional CBOs are the best place to start my research in rural areas and small towns like Njombe. In addition, TAWLA in Dar es Salaam and Njombe both identified the district’s CBO as a place where domestic violence victims, among others, go for assistance. Being government institutions, CBOs are publicly funded. I conducted two separate interviews with two officials and did four hours of observation of the handling of domestic violence cases at Njombe CBO.

Lutheran Church of Njombe

The Njombe Lutheran Church is a religious institution with about 3,980 congregation members in a diocese of 214,260 (district) members. This church aids the community by providing advice on domestic violence advice and assisting in case resolution. It also plays the role of paralegal to the TAWLA DVRM organization by providing a representative who holds clinics (days and hours reserved for counseling and assisting victims of domestic violence) to assist victims of domestic violence. The church and TAWLA fund the paralegal program jointly. Through the literature of
and information from DVRM organizations, such as TAWLA in Dar es Salaam, I identified the church as an important entity to include in my study as it plays a key role in the DVRM, particularly in rural areas. I was able to interview one female pastor at the church who also serves as a TAWLA paralegal officer, the wife of a pastor, and two other TAWLA paralegal officers. In addition, I observed the TAWLA clinic for domestic violence victims for three hours.

Roman Catholic Church of Njombe

The Njombe Roman Catholic Church, established in 1968, serves about 5,800 congregation members in a diocese of 560,000. This church has a special entity for marriage and counseling, and provides training and workshops for couples every year. The church also plays a role in counseling, advising and conflict resolution for family and marriage disputes, including domestic violence. Similar to the Lutheran Church, the study literature and recommendations from DVRM organizations led to the inclusion of this church in my study. The church self-funds its activities. I interviewed one priest there.

A Note on Rural Responses to Domestic Violence

Through observation it became evident that unlike in urban areas, such as Dar es Salaam which served as headquarters for almost all DVRM organizations I interviewed, rural communities only had paralegals, if anything at all. Moreover, rural areas relied much more heavily upon governmental based organizations, such as social services, as well as religious-based services, as compared to urban areas. Christian churches (regardless of denomination) seemed to be more influential in
rural than in the urban areas. I also noticed that the cases in rural areas more likely involved married couples rather than other intimate relationships. When I asked Ms. Anna Nyagawa, a Lutheran Church Pastor / TAWLA Paralegal Officer in Njombe, she explained:

In rural Tanzania one does not hear the “vocabulary” of girlfriend and boyfriend. Particularly, people understand that the church does not encourage or allow love relationships before marriage so very rarely does one dare to come forward with a case involving that category of intimate relationship.

Thus, within the rural site included in this study (Njombe) the CBO and Lutheran Church were the most relevant entities involved in the DVRM.

The University of Dar es Salaam

The University of Dar es Salaam is the largest (occupying 1,625 acres) and oldest higher learning institution in Tanzania. It was established in 1970 and is located about 13 kilometers from the center of Dar es Salaam. From 1961 to 1966, the institution was an affiliate of the University of London, but now operates as an autonomous institution. It currently has over 16,000 students. As explained earlier in this chapter, the Gender Center is the primary resource on gender equity and domestic violence battler at the university. The center also organizes awareness campaigns, conducts discussions and debates on key issues of abuse and violence encountered by female students on campus, and advocates for gender equality policy reforms on gender and domestic violence. Moreover, Professor Chris Maina Peter, a faculty member in law and Advocate, Notary Public and Commissioner for Oaths, at the University of Dar es Salaam, was included specifically in my study because of his
involvement in legal and policy reform related to gender equality and domestic violence, among other issues. His name appeared in several materials that I reviewed, and several DVRM organizations and institutions, such as TAMWA, the Gender Center, Wakf and Trust Commission and WLAC, recommended this faculty as a resource.

Ilala District Court of Dar es Salaam

The two separate government systems of the Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar described in Chapter I reflect distinct and separate legal systems. Below (Table 2) is a simple diagram highlighting the organization of Tanzanian courts, to illustrate the different levels of courts that were involved in my study.

Table 2

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<td>Kadhi Courts</td>
<td>Magistrates Courts</td>
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(Source: Legal and Human Rights Center booklet, 2005)

The Dar es Salaam region has three districts: Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke. The Ilala District Court of Dar es Salaam receives cases from its respective primary
courts. This court, like any district court, reviews domestic violence cases, among others, in their initial stages before they proceed to magistrate courts. WLAC and TAMWA officials recommended I include this court in my study because some of their domestic violence cases hearings take place there. With WLAC, I observed a four hour domestic violence hearing in this court.

WLAC also recommended Temeke District Court where two of their cases were handled; unfortunately the cases at this court were postponed three times and the rescheduled dates fell beyond my field research period. I did not get any other organization to enable my access to this court. Although I did not have recommendation and access to Kinondoni District Court, strong proposals by the organizations were on Kisutu Magistrate Court (located in Kinondoni District) that I discuss below. In Njombe, one the other hand, courts generally were not recommended by any of the DVRM organizations due to the fact that domestic violence are largely handled outside of the justice system. As I discussed in Chapter II and above, rural domestic violence cases are largely mediated by friends, and local and church leaders. For similar reasons primary courts were not recommended and included in the study.

Kisutu Magistrate Court of Dar es Salaam

The magistrate courts in Tanzania operate at the regional level and have original jurisdiction where district courts do not. These courts are located in major towns, municipalities and cities and serve as the court system’s regional (provincial) headquarters. Magistrate courts receive cases from district courts and have appellate, supervisory, and revisional powers over the decisions and proceedings of district
courts (Legal and Human Rights, 2006). The Kisutu Magistrate Court (located within Kinondoni District) receives all its cases from the three districts. Several officials of WLAC and TAMWA in Dar es Salaam informed me that most of their domestic violence cases (from all three districts) are reported and heard at the Kisutu court and thus recommended that I consider including it in my study. Through WLAC, I was able to carry out four observations that totaled 21 hours of domestic violence case hearings in this court. I was also able to interview three public prosecutors; two of whom argued that they don’t deal with domestic violence cases separately from other cases so they don’t have specific knowledge of domestic violence; suggesting that I modify the study topic so that it does not bind them to domestic violence cases.

Oysterbay Police Station of Dar es Salaam

The Oysterbay Police Station is one of the five central police stations in the city of Dar es Salaam (together with Airport, Sarender Bridge, Buguruni and Chang’ombe Police Stations). Oysterbay serves a population of about one million, and like any other governmental entity, it is government funded. The role played by the police in the handling of domestic violence cases is central to understanding the state of domestic violence and the DVRM in Tanzania, as discussed in Chapter II. However, all other police stations that I approached in Dar es Salaam, other than Oysterbay, gave me a negative response. They claimed to not have a domestic violence specialist who would have information for my study because they handle all cases similarly. In other words, they do not differentiate domestic violence proceedings. Although this adds to the limitations of the study, as will be discussed in Chapter VI, this fact also is also suggestive of the poor handling of domestic violence
cases by the police. Fortunately the Osterbay Police Station was cooperative and provided the name of an officer with whom I could schedule an interview.

A Note on Other Police Organizations

In terms of the role of police in the other two research sites, in Njombe the police are also less involved in domestic violence cases because such cases are largely handled outside of the justice system. As I discussed under courts above, rural domestic violence cases are largely mediated by friends, and local and church leaders. CBOs are more involved at higher levels. Likewise, in Zanzibar the DVRM institutions I contacted asserted that the police do not have an important role in domestic violence resolution due to the religious nature of the area. In place of police, domestic violence is handled by religious leaders. Cases are directed by religious leaders to the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children and the Kadhi Court. One of the police stations I contacted in Zanzibar confirmed this.

Kadhi Court of Zanzibar

The Kadhi court of Zanzibar is an Islamic Shariah (law) court reserved for Islamic marriage issues. It receives cases from the magistrate courts of Zanzibar. The Kadhi courts were first established in the 1830s in Tanzania and are presided over by the Kathis (magistrates) under Shariah. In Zanzibar there is only one such court and most domestic violence cases in Zanzibar are handled here. ZAFELA and the TAMWA of Zanzibar informed me of the necessity to include this court in my study. I successfully interviewed one of the only two Kadhis (magistrates), who is also a sheik, at this court.
Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children of Zanzibar

The Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children of Zanzibar is a governmental institution that works to create community sensitivity to issues pertaining to gender, children, and youth development, though it's overarching goal is to identify problems, seek solutions and improve the quality of social and economic life for all. The ministry further facilitates the formulation, monitoring and implementation of policies that focus on gender, in addition to other issues. The ministry has a special unit for gender and legal matters which includes one gender specialist and four gender and legal officers. The unit works in cooperation with the Kadhi Court and WTC in handling domestic violence cases. The ministry is government funded. I interviewed the gender and legal officers and the gender specialist individually. The gender specialist also invited me to observe a ministry workshop (for nine and a half hours), which presented domestic violence research findings.

Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC) of Zanzibar

The Zanzibar Wakf and Trust Commission is a special entity legally established in 2005 under the Government of Zanzibar, which handles all matters pertaining to matrimonial distribution and inheritance for Islamic marriages in Zanzibar. This commission is mainly concerned with the rights and advising of widows and has legal authority to deal with such issues accordingly. The commission sometimes works with the police and courts. Based on the broad social definition of domestic violence in Tanzania, the WTC of Zanzibar was identified by the Kadhi Court of Zanzibar, Gender and Legal Officers at the Ministry of Labor, Youth
Development, Women and Children, Zanzibar, as well as ZAFELA to be among the entities with whom they work. It was at this commission, for example, where through interviewing Sheik Khalid Mohamed Mrisho, Officer of the Commission, I learned that domestic violence continues beyond the death of women’s intimate partners or husbands because it can then turn into abuse by the husband’s relatives. WTC receives government funding. I was able to carry out two separate interviews with Sheik Mrisho.

Generally, although the DVRM in Tanzania is considered to have begun in earnest in the early 1990s, the movement has earlier roots. It is worth pointing out, however, that such earlier developments occurred in the major city of Dar es Salaam, as opposed to the Muslim setting of Zanzibar, where we see, for instance, the development of Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF) in the late 1990s, Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA) and Zanzibar Women Development Organization (ZAWDO) in 2003-2004, as well as in the more rural area of Njombe where Njombe District Non-Governmental Organizations (NJODINGO) began in the late 1990s. The exception to this trend is the inception of paralegal branches of urban based organizations, such as TAWLA and WLAC, within rural areas working to empower and educate women about their rights and means to negotiate through the oppressive customary and Islamic laws, together with the cultural norms. Moreover, although most of the DVRM expressed satisfaction with what they have achieved in the last decade and a half, as highlighted in Chapter V, the movement organizations seemed to face a variety of challenges economically, politically, socially and legally as will be discussed in Chapter VI.
Trends

Generally, although the DVRM in Tanzania is considered to have begun in earnest in the early 1990s, the movement has earlier roots. It is worth pointing out, however, that such earlier developments occurred in the major city of Dar es Salaam, with organizations such as TAMWA being founded in 1987 and TAWLA in 1989. The movement began a bit later in other settings, such as Islamic-based Zanzibar, where we see, for instance, the development of Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF) in the late 1990s, Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA) and Zanzibar Women Development Organization (ZAWDO) in 2003-2004, as well as in the more rural area of Njombe where Njombe District Non-Governmental Organizations (NJODINGO) began in the late 1990s. A combination of various preceding incidences in Tanzania facilitated the development of the DVRM and the associated organizations during the 1990s. Such factors included severe instances of domestic violence, such as the notorious “Maumba rape case” and “punch” incidences at the University of Dar es Salaam during the 1980s, the development of a multiparty system that replaced the socialist based single-party system (which made it illegal for civil society organizations to exist) in 1992, and the success of educated women reaching positions of political power since the country’s independence in 1961. It was these leaders, in particular, who responded with practical means to the requests for help from victims of domestic violence. Their efforts resulted in the mobilization of women’s groups, which subsequently brought the problem of domestic violence to public light, thus the origin of the movement.
While membership in DVRM organizations seems to be open to all regardless of one’s gender and other social status, more women than men have been involved in the movement as organization leaders, staff, volunteers, members, and so forth. Most organizations have been comprised of a board of directors, a director/chairperson, and a management team including a general secretary and treasurer. Annual meetings and reports are a common practice. Although not all of the organizations made the information on its sources of funding or annual budgets available, more than 95% of their overall income came from grants. The rest was generated from other organizational activities such as fundraising. In addition, while many organizations were based in urban settings, with clinics, conferences and workshops being common activities, the inception of rural paralegal branches of urban based organizations, such as within TAWLA and WLAC, has also become popular.

Overall, the goals of all the DVRM organizations involve working to empower and educate women about their rights and means to negotiate oppressive customary and Islamic laws, together with the cultural norms. The organizations also work to educate the public and lobby for legal/policy reform pertaining to domestic violence and correlated social problems. Many are involved in conducting research, economic development, and providing legal advice and assistance to victims as well. Nevertheless, although most of the DVRM expressed satisfaction with what they have achieved in the last decade and a half, as highlighted in Chapter V, the movement organizations seemed to face a variety of challenges economically, politically, socially and legally as will be discussed in Chapter VI.
Chapter Summary

This chapter highlights the factors that prompted the development of a DVRM in Tanzania. In addition, the chapter presents the types of organizations that developed in response to or turned their attention toward domestic violence as a result of the DVRM. I describe the historical evolution of the organizations, factors influencing their development, the various activities or goals of the organizations, their membership, funding, and so forth. The chapter also identifies the other entities, including government and religious institutions, which were included in the study because of their connection to domestic violence-based activities and cooperation with the named DVRM organizations. Following is Chapter V, which deals with the remaining research questions of the study namely what influences has the DVRM, by virtue of these organizational entities, had in facilitating social and legal reform with regard to domestic violence? Like in Chapter IV, throughout Chapter V the efforts to differentiate between rural and urban areas of Tanzania, as well as the differences accounted for by religion are addressed.
CHAPTER V

INFLUENCE OF DVRM

Overview

This chapter describes the social impact and the influence that domestic violence-centered organizations in Tanzania have achieved to date. The primary avenues through which the DVRM has been successful are: 1) advocacy and legal clinics, 2) education and awareness (through the use of paralegals, conferences, workshops, and the media), and 3) legal reform (instituted primarily through lobbying efforts, collaboration, and the media). As I discuss each of these, I will note differences between rural and urban settings, as well as distinctions based on religion, which are primarily Islamic-based in Zanzibar. Although they face a variety of challenges, which will be discussed chapter VI, many of the domestic violence-centered organizations expressed satisfaction with what they have achieved in the last decade and a half.

Legal Clinics and Advocacy

The organizations that offer free legal aid did so primarily through clinics, where people could come for advice on such matters of marriage and intimate relationships. All reported that their clinics are attracting significant numbers of women. The popularity of such services was evident during my interviews and observations in the mainland of Tanzania, in both rural and urban settings. In
particular, the Women’s Legal Aid Center (WLAC) in Dar es Salaam, the Legal and Human Rights Center (LHRC) in Dar es Salaam, and the Tanzanian Women Lawyers’ Association (TAWLA) in Njombe all housed extremely active legal clinics. None of the other DVRM organizations reported offering such services, though they did report referring their clients to WLAC, LHRC and TAWLA as necessary.

During my observation at WLAC on August 9, 2007, for instance, Ms. Mary Njau, Legal Officer of WLAC in Dar es Salaam, informed me that the organization had estimated that it would serve at least 2,100 women in 2006 but that they ended up serving close to 3,000 women. About half this number were new clients. LHRC, in Dar es Salaam, also provides legal clinics and has experienced high and increasing demand for such services. According to the fliers provided by the center for 2007, more than 4,500 women visited the center for assistance with domestic violence, matrimonial problems, inheritance issues, or other legal problems. This number was higher compared to the total of about 3046 women who visited the center in 2006.

In addition to providing legal clinics, advocates at WLAC provide legal advocacy to its clientele when cases go through the court system. Given the unexpected demand for its legal service, WLAC was satisfied with the number of cases it had been able to follow through the court system. In 2006, advocates had worked on about 85 cases within the court system. As Ms. Njau explained, “The cases take a lot of time to be fully resolved but we are happy to be able win some cases. Last year we had around 30 cases that were successful.” Ms. Njau further explained that cases were considered successful if resolved in any way, including an abuser being jailed or some sort of court supported mediation to address specific
issues between a victim and offender. As a reminder, with the difficulties of dealing with the legal system discussed in Chapter II, it seemed reasonable for the DVRM organizations to declare a level of success with as few as 30 cases being resolved. Moreover, WLAC remains committed to helping victims for as long as possible, seeing their efforts as helpful to the DVRM even if cases do not always reach desired outcomes: “We help victims to the end, unless the victim turns hostile or loses interest on the case for whatever reason” (Interview with Athanasia Soka, Advocate of WLAC).

Clinics offered by the rural DVRM organization, TAWLA, have also been deemed successful by the organization’s staff. TAWLA paralegal officer and Lutheran pastor in Njombe, Ms. Anna Nyagawa, reported that more than 10 clients visit each weekly clinic and this number had been increasing ever since they started the service. The pastor stated, “From May 2007, when we started, to October 2007, we have attended to more than 1,000 clients. This does not include the number of people the pastors and other paralegals attend to in the outlying villages.” Pastor Nyagawa reported that they also do follow ups on cases, and at times correspond to both the women and men involved, so in actuality they are working with over 1,000 people each year and are spending substantial time on each case after the formal clinics. The organization was pleased with the difference they believe they make in the lives of rural women. For an organization like TAWLA, the fact that women in rural settings are being educated about where they can get help and know that they can confidently report their problems signifies success, as it allows advocates to not only assist in the resolution of cases, it also provides an important avenue of
education on a variety of issues. I was allowed to observe a legal clinic at both TAWLA and WLAC. Following is a description of a clinic session I observed at TAWLA on October 24, 2007.

I arrived at one at 9:00 am, as instructed by Pastor Anna Nyagawa through whom I gained access to this organization. At the time I arrived there was only one woman victim of domestic violence sitting outside on the grass waiting. A few minutes later (about 9:20 am) Pastor Nyagawa arrived. She opened the door of the building where the clinic was to take place. The clinic space was part of a small, 3-room building located within the Lutheran Church compound. There was only one main entrance to the building. The clinic operated out of a small space of about 80 square feet (approximately 8 x 10 feet). The organization’s single office room contained one small desk, which appeared to be a converted bench, and three chairs – one for the pastor/paralegal and two for visitors/clients. There was no computer, books or filing cabinet in the office. There were only a few papers and folders on the desk. There also was no telephone; the advocates used their personal cellular phones for correspondence. The ventilation and lighting was poor as well; a small wooden window (about 2.5 x 1.5 feet) and the door (about 2.5 x 7 feet) were the only sources of fresh air and light in the room. There were outlets with electric bulbs but there was no electricity.

At about 9:35 am the clinic started with only two clients present. Each client was attended to separately and privately. Five more people arrived for the clinic that day, after the start time, and each waited outside until the advocate was available. The matters in their cases involved domestic violence, abandonment, and matrimonial
distribution. All of the legal services were given free of charge. Pastor Nyagawa explained that TAWLA and the Lutheran Church share the costs for this service since most clients are poor and can not afford to pay. The pastor further asserted, “We want to make it easy for the women to come and use our service free of charge. The majority are poor and this may not be a priority for them with the scarce resources. We want to help them.”

The condition of facilities and number of clients served at each clinic were distinguishing features within the rural setting. As a comparison, the urban clinic I observed at WLAC on August 9, 2007 started with a group of about 50 people. Whereas the clinic in the rural area seemed fairly informal, the WLAC clinic in Dar es Salaam seemed fairly bureaucratic. At the one I observed, a formal registration process began at 1:30 p.m. Registration involved new clients filling out an intake form and returning clients informing a WLAC legal officer of the name of the person they had seen before. Moreover, a one-time fee of 500 shillings (less than 50 cents) was collected from all of the new clients; however the legal officer who was working at the registration desk explained to me that if a woman cannot pay the fee, it is waived.

After registration, the legal officer explained the educational session that would follow. At about 2:30, an advocate began a 30-minute presentation describing services available from WLAC and step-by-step procedures for obtaining assistance. While the educational session was going on, the registering legal officer sorted clients based on their needs and allocated them to the various advocates, some of whom were lawyers, on duty. From what I gathered, the cases that day involved a range of issues,
including domestic violence, matrimonial distribution, and land ownership conflicts. After the presentation, women then met privately with the advocates to whom they had been assigned. These meetings occurred in various rooms within the WLAC office space. The WLAC office space comprised a large rental building with about 15 rooms, about five miles from the city center of Dar es Salaam. I too was assigned to an advocate so as to continue the observation.

Unfortunately, I could not take pictures during my observations because of ethical issues regarding the privacy of clients (See Appendix A for HSIRB approval protocol). However, Figure 5 is a photo of a page from the WLAC 2006 Annual Report. The picture was taken during an actual meeting between a client and WLAC advocate-lawyer during one of the legal clinics. This photo shows one of the rooms that WLAC advocates use during clinics. It is representative of other rooms within the WLAC office space. It is also the same room in which I sat (to the right side of the client in the picture) when conducting my observation. In contrast to the rooms used by TAWLA advocates, it is furnished with an actual desk, shelves full of books and a computer. Although some offices in the urban areas were in similar condition to that described within the rural setting (TAWLA), many were much larger, nicer and technologically capable, as depicted in the photo.
The picture in figure 6 (also taken from the *WLAC 2006 Annual Report*) shows women visiting the center on a clinic day. This photo shows where the women sat before and during the educational session. It is quite similar to what I observed. The space includes a thin narrow outdoor veranda, with benches on only one side. The other side has a wall with no chairs, so clients were sitting on the dusty floor.
While I was not able to observe a LHRC legal clinic, based on the written materials collected from the organization, LHRC and WLAC run similarly structured and timed clinics. Each offers one clinic a week, provides an orientation, and assigns clients to respective legal officers, lawyers or advocates. As with TAWLA in Njombe, each follows up on cases that need advocacy during court proceedings.

While legal clinics were evident in the mainland, Zanzibar seemed to lack such a service. The only comparable program involved individual legal advocacy through the Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA). As I describe in Chapter IV, ZAFELA volunteers provide advocacy and legal assistance to the victims of domestic violence during certain weekday evenings and on weekends. New and
returning clients may visit the ZAFELA offices during such hours for consultation. As is the case for many clients of legal clinics, there is no charge for such services. According to Ms. Safia Hija, Secretary of ZAFELA,

Although we run our activities under limited resources, we try not to impose any charges for the service we provide our clients. In the future when we are well recognized and have more clients we may begin to charge some minimal fees. For now we will let them know us and build trust in our work first.

In lieu of charging clients for services, ZAFELA relies on the monthly dues and entrance fees from its members for its operations. The organization rents a small office space, similar in size to that used by TAWLA in Njombe, albeit with better furniture (a medium sized office table surrounded by eight nicer conference chairs). The office, which is located about 4.5 miles from the city center, had electricity but no computer or any other technological equipment. Client files were kept in a stack on the table. According to Fatma Saleih, Chairperson of ZAFELA, the organization serves up to three clients during weekdays and up to 10 during the weekends.

More generally, and beyond the distinct efforts of DVRM organizations, other entities have become involved in providing legal advocacy to women. Because of the impact of such efforts on the DVRM at large, these bear mentioning. For example, some religious leaders have reported involvement with advocacy and counseling for women, particularly with regard to marriage. Father Ben Mlowe, a Roman Catholic priest, noted that ignorance on marriage matters has always been an issue and that this has been a problem for a long time due to traditional beliefs and customs in Tanzania. He was relieved by the feeling that people were changing and working some issues
through their marriages. He asserted, “We have been getting positive feedback from women. Our service to help women is now being used by all denominations except Muslims.” The church which is located in rural Njombe provides marriage counseling, in addition to training and workshops for couples every year. The church also plays a role in counseling, advising and conflict resolution for family and marriage disputes, including domestic violence. The priest reported being satisfied with the difference the church is making on the women and the community at large.

Another non-DVRM organization, the Njombe Municipal Civil Based Organization (CBO), was also heavily involved in providing individual advocacy within a rural setting. The CBO serves as the lowest-formal level where people from both villages and towns report their issues, victimization in particular, for counseling and advice before they decide to go through the justice system. Mr. Kasian Mapunda, Director of Njombe Municipal CBO, argued that as time went on more women from different villages were beginning to use their service.

We do sensitization and have been successful. Now than ever before women have been coming to seek for advice. We get at least 3 cases a week involving spousal battery and women expelled out of the house by their husbands’ relatives. People have come to appreciate it at the end. For us if someone comes and we help and she comes again we help again, when she stops coming, we assume the problem has ended.

In Tanzania a primary goal of the DVRM is to help women who have been victimized by domestic violence and its correlated social problems. That people are learning
about and making use of the legal advice and advocacy available through DVRM organizations and associated entities means the movement is making a difference.

Education and Awareness

This section describes the DVRM’s accomplishments in providing education to Tanzanian residents and increasing awareness about domestic violence and women’s rights more generally. The organizations reported that they were using such means as paralegals, conferences, workshops, and the media to educate people about the cultural values and practices that work against women and contribute to domestic violence. The organizations expressed satisfaction with being able to provide education and spread social awareness in this regard, despite the fact that they felt they have a long way to go, particularly with reaching women in the rural areas.

Paralegals

In rural areas (as compared to urban areas and Zanzibar), the use of paralegals is widespread. As a note of clarification, while paralegals in the United States and the Western world work more as legal advocates, helping with paperwork, court appearances, and serving as quasi-lawyers, in Tanzania they seem to take on more of the role of outreach educators. Their goal within the DVRM is to raise awareness about women’s rights. They have been particularly focused on educating women victims about their rights and supporting them in acting in their own self-interest as they negotiate the customary law that is most prevalent in rural regions. The use of paralegals in this regard seems to be quite prevalent throughout the rural areas of Tanzania, such as Iringa (within which Njombe is situated), Morogoro, Dodoma,
Pwani, Mwanza, and Kagera. Within such settings, various organizations included in this study sponsor trained village-based paralegals.

WLAC and TAWLA, in particular, are on the forefront of such efforts. As Magdalena Aqcuilin, a legal officer at WLAC reported,

We provide training to our paralegal members according to their needs. We do needs assessment first and then train them to help other women. We provide capacity building and do follow up meetings. We meet at annual general meetings. The paralegals teach other women and other community members through seminars, drama, dances, songs, plays, and stories. There has been a heightened sense of awareness. This shows success.

TAWLA trains paralegals to work with local government bodies and religious institutions as well. I was able to interview paralegal staff and observe TAWLA paralegal services offered through the Lutheran Church in Njombe. The organization seems pleased with the influence it has had on public attitudes, particularly toward marriage, in rural areas. As Ms. Anna Nyagawa, Njombe Lutheran Church pastor and TAWLA paralegal officer, stated,

We feel that there has been success about marriage. Some women have told us that their husbands have learned how to treat them fairly on the sex matters. They prepare their wives by telling them in advance not to work hard in the farm because they will have sexual intercourse that night. Sounds strange, but believe me, this is a big improvement...women don’t say they need sex; there is no romance at all.
In contrast to rural Tanzania, educational efforts through the use of paralegals was not prevalent in Zanzibar. Instead, workshops were used to educate the public, as discussed in the next section. However, it did appear that the Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF) in Zanzibar was moving increasingly in the direction of using a paralegal type format. Moreover, the organization, which was expanding its activities at the time of this study, was focusing beyond Zanzibar and into the rural regions of the mainland. This was allowing the organization to serve women beyond religious boundaries. Although they did not use the term “paralegal”, what this expansion involved resembled paralegal activities. Ms. Deeda Khadija Hija, a leader of SSF, reported,

Three years ago SSF started a women’s group called “Rights at Home” in the mainland with a focus in rural areas because many NGOs are centered in the cities. We show society that we are an outreach organization. They should know women can get out there in the community and educate. The group primarily educates about women’s rights and domestic violence. We say such things as “If God can open your eyes, why don’t you go out there and educate others that violence in their homes is not the way? Why do women have to economically depend on their husbands?” … We have gained exposure.

According to Ms. Hija, the “Rights at Home” effort is growing, with additional chapters performing the same type of activities within different villages. As she added, “They are our branches. We work together as one large group in our activities.” Ms. Hija further reported that “Rights at Home” is a concept they borrowed from the Netherlands. She asserted that SSF plans to launch an
international website for “Rights at Home” so as to allow information sharing with other nations on the issue of domestic violence. She reported that they already have networks with some Eastern countries, including Malaysia and the Philippines.

Conferences and Workshops

Conferences and workshops are another means through which DVRM organizations are raising awareness about domestic violence. The Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP) in Dar es Salaam, for instance, has been hosting annual gender studies conferences since 1996, bringing together gender activists in Africa and from around the world. A poster for such a conference is shown below (figure 7), depicting 2007's theme of “Gender, Democracy and Development: African Feminist Struggles in the Context of Globalization”.

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I attended this conference and was amazed by the large crowd of women and (a few) men who attended. TGNP could not provide a specific number of people who attended because only a few formally registered (mainly professionals and presenters), but their best estimate was more than 3000. It was also difficult to count participants since some came only for specific sessions, while others remained throughout the day. However, I estimated that not less than 2000 people participated.
every day. TGNP also reported an increase in the number of attendees every year since the conference’s inception in 1996.

As a sample of how busy the conference was, figure 8 depicts a photo of the cover page of the 2003 TGNP Gender Festival Report. On the left is the conference venue during prime (day) time. A larger group of people can be seen in the distance. The picture on the right shows a group of women performing. The picture represents the conference environment I observed.

Figure 8  
TGNP Gender Festival Report-2003 (Cover) (Source: TGNP)

In addition to the presentation sessions, there was a variety of educational entertainment (e.g., dance groups, singers, actors doing dramatic sketches,
comedians), all of which were focused on gender equality and violence against women. Taken from the same cover of the 2003 TGNP Gender Festival Report, figures 9 and 10 provide a sample of such activities, which were similar to those I observed in 2007. The left side picture in figure 11 shows a group of Tanzanian Albinos singing and playing drums. The picture on the right side depicts a sample of small group sessions which were occurring while entertainment was underway. The pictures in figure 12 portray groups of people performing before a large group of conference attendees.

Figure 9  TGNP Gender Festival Report-2003 (Cover) (Source: TGNP)
Due to ethical issues associated with my study, I could not take pictures at the event. However, as is clear from the images provided by TGNP, most activities at the conference took place outside. The outside locale was next to the TGNP building, located within the city of Dar es Salaam, about 15 miles from the city center. The area was fenced off, but people could see through and hear almost everything that was occurring, except for when the participants broke into small discussion sessions. Loudspeakers broadcast music, singing, and cheering, which could be heard far from the conference. This seemed to draw people to the venue, as I observed many excitedly approaching the area without any obvious signs that they knew what it was
about. Boys, girls, men, and women gathered along the wire fences to watch and listen. Some even listened to the presentations, which was considered a very good outcome by TGNP, given how much was happening in terms of education and bringing awareness to participants and the community.

Similar to conferences, workshops are another means through which education and awareness is provided by the DVRM organizations, and oftentimes these workshops were products of collaborations between DVRM organizations and government entities. TAMWA, Women in Law and Development Africa (WiLDAF), WLAC, SSF, and to a limited extent, Kisutu Magistrate Court and Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children in Zanzibar, indicated that they use workshops in their programs.

I was especially privy to the collaborative efforts of SSF and the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children in Zanzibar, in that I was able to observe a day-long workshop hosted by the two entities on July 25, 2007. Access was gained through Ms. Halima Hassan, Gender Specialist for the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children, Zanzibar. The workshop took place at the Zanzibar City Hall, away from where the ministry buildings are located. The venue seemed to have been rented for the day. There were about 50 participants at the workshop, including sheiks, domestic violence activists, researchers, and governmental officials. Ms. Salma Maoulidi, Executive Director of SSF, was the principle trainer at the workshop.

The minister of the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children opened the workshop through a short speech, and then left the venue. The
workshop was primarily focused on the presentation of the research findings of a domestic violence study that was conducted in Zanzibar. In addition to the presentation, there were educational and training sessions, along with group discussions concerning the problem of domestic violence. I actively participated in the group work, which involved being directed to respond to a series of questions in the form of table with three columns. The first column asked “What are the main issues pertaining to domestic violence?” The second column asked “What are the underlying causes of the problem?” The third asked “What are your suggestions?” After the discussion, which lasted for about two hours, each group presented their results, which were collectively listed with a marker pen on a paper board.

The first column of the answers included acknowledgement of “individual and society knowledge on domestic violence”, “customary laws”, “culture”, “corruption within the legal and government system”, “lack of openness”, “unaccountability”, “case delays”, “forced marriages”, “breaking of the rules”, “no definition of the problem”, and “gender inequality”. The second set of answers included “lack of education provision and attainment”, “lust and selfishness among leaders”, “conservativeness towards change”, “seeing the problem as normal behavior”, “embracing the old and insensible culture”, “lack of motivation”, “legal officers’ lack of skills and training”, and “women’s economic dependence”. The suggestions in column three comprised “women’s involvement in solving their own problems”, “education provision for change”, “put domestic violence in schools’ syllabus”, “more awareness needed”, “amend the laws and make them open and understandable to the community as well as administration of the implementation of religious
(Islamic) laws”, “inflict strict punishments to violators”, “use public rallies to inform”, “accountability and commitment on each individual”, and “good governance”. A discussion of the answers took place as they were reported by each group. The participants were encouraged to find ways to recognize and implement what they learned at the workshop within their respective families, organizations, and the communities. This represented a typical workshop within the efforts of the DVRM. As was clear from my observations, discussions and review of materials from other DVRMs, workshops are most often geared toward educating various groups of people on the matters pertaining to domestic violence in community settings.

Additionally, the National Organization for Legal Assistance (NOLA) reported their use and practice of educational workshops particularly in rural communities. As Mr. Kaleb Gamaya, Director of Programs, NOLA further asserted,

We teach women in rural areas that some of the traditions and culture they embrace are not necessary. They need to override and move beyond that. They need to know FGM and battery are forms of violence -- mental violence. We try to teach these women what is and what is not violence because in rural areas there is less knowledge and thus increased rates of the problem of domestic violence. The problem is not known. The definition and what qualifies is not known yet. No laws yet.

The Media

Use of the media seems to be the most common activity by the DVRM for bringing education and awareness to Tanzanian residents. Some organizations, such
as LHRC, NOLA, SSF, and TAWLA, produce annual reports for their activities and make them available to the community(ies) they serve. In addition, organizations such as TAMWA, WLAC, Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA) in Zanzibar, and Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP), reported the use of the media in their education and awareness efforts. TAMWA, in particular, works primarily through the media. According to interviews with TAMWA Officers Razia Mwawanga and Shifaa Said Hassan, the organization uses what they call a “bang style” approach. As Officer Hassan explained,

The “bang style” method aims at disseminating information through all sources of the media, including radio, television, magazines, newspapers, flyers, etcetera, simultaneously. With such efforts, we focus on public education and awareness regarding domestic violence, as well as women’s rights more generally. We also target on legal reform. By using all media outlets simultaneously, we hope that even if a person misses one media form, the chances of receiving the information through another source are high.

Along with using existing sources of media, TAMWA publishes its own, semi-annual magazine, called Sauti ya Siti (“Voice of the City”), as well as a regular newsletter. They also maintain a publicly accessible resource centre/office in Dar es Salaam, with many posters, such as the one pictured below (figure 11).
Figure 11  TAMWA Publicity (Source: TAMWA)
Taken from the TAMWA office’s bulletin board, figure 12 shows a newspaper article published in *The African* newspaper on April 16, 2007, which reported TAMWA activities in the community. As Ms. Mwawanga asserted, “We want the community to not only know what we are doing, but also for people to understand the message we are trying to get across.”

![Figure 12](image-url) TAMWA Activities on Newspaper (Source: TAMWA)

Similarly, an article in *The Guardian* newspaper on May 24, 2007 describes TAMWA’s efforts to curb the problem of female genital mutilation (FGM).
Representatives from WLAC also reported that they rely to a large extent on the use of the media to educate the Tanzanian community about women’s issues. In particular, the organization’s members believe that they are able to reach across regional boundaries and into rural areas through their media efforts. As Ms. Magdalena Acquillin reported,

Awareness raising is one of the major aspects of this organization. We use radio, television, posters, fliers, brochures, and so forth. We do a lot of...
research, training and workshops on various issues including domestic violence, but it is only through the media that we expect to get the results and knowledge reported back to the community.

The Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA) also expressed their effective use of the media. The organization, which strives to advance the status of women and children through welfare, legal reform advocacy, and legal services, seems to be becoming well known to the public because of its media efforts. The organization’s members were especially pleased with this, given the fact that ZAFELA is quite new (being founded in 2003). Ms. Jamila Mahmoud, a member of ZAFELA, asserted,

We use radio and television programs for knowledge dissemination and awareness. For instance, we have been providing civic education for women during the recent election through these media. We tell people about our work towards amending the laws that oppress and discriminate against women.

Another member of ZAFELA, Ms. Khadija Makame, added,

We are still new but have been encouraging more lawyers from everywhere to join the organization and for women to make use of our efforts. We see them coming. We are receiving high responses from the women who use our services and even more members are joining us.

TGNP also used the media to spread awareness on a variety of issues. The organization has a variety of publications on issues including the influence of culture on domestic violence, feminism, women and politics, and women and the economy. All published and unpublished materials are in the organization’s library, which is
open to the public. Some of their materials are for sale as well. For instance, during the conference I described earlier, TGNP produced books, pamphlets, and other materials were being sold at several booths. In addition to these materials, a variety of fliers, posters, and unpublished papers were given out for free. Several of the TGNP’s posters were mounted on the walls of the organization’s offices. As examples, I found and photographed the following four posters (date and original source not given) when I visited the organization.

“CULTURE IS LIKE AN UMBRELLA, under which some people like to hide from rain, and also to shade themselves from sun, but sometimes YOU NEED TO FOLD IT!”

Figure 14 Culture (Source: TGNP)
Figure 15  Women Oppression and Enslavement (Source: TGNP)
Figure 16  Culture and Human Well Being (Source: TGNP)

Figure 17  Rejection (Source: TGNP)
Moreover, to illustrate and combat the problem of “sugar daddies” (a nick name for adult men who commit adultery with girls), the following poster (figure 18) was hanging on an office wall. The title reads, “Children learn to say no to temptations.” After the man’s greeting, inside the heart-shaped bubble, the text reads, “The way I am neat, rich, she will fall in line.” The girl says, “No, I don’t want! It is wrong for me to accept gifts that tempt me to have sex! Go home and give your children the gift.”
Hello SWEETIE!

HNAPAKA sitaki!
Ni mwiko kwangu kupokea
zawadi za kuniahawishi
kufanya mapenzi!

Zawadi kawape wanao
nyumbani.
Legal Reform

Finally, a primary effort of the DVRM at large has involved legal reform. Although it has been hard and slow-progressing work, there are some aspects of the laws and policies that affect women in domestic violence situations that have been changed. DVRM organizations have claimed credit for contributing to such changes. As was discussed in Chapter IV, the DVRM is concerned with a broad array of activities, beyond direct and obvious domestic battery, which it sees as facilitative of women’s victimization in intimate relationships (e.g., inheritance laws, bride price, forced marriage, polygamy, arranged marriage, female genital mutilation, lack of pre-marriage education, witchcraft persecution). Thus, the legal reform efforts of the movement have also been somewhat broad.

Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA)

One of the primary legal reform efforts of the Tanzanian DVRM involved a major collaboration between several organizations. In the late 1990s, TAWLA, WLAC, TAMWA, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) in Dar es Salaam, TGNP, and a few other NGOs came together to form the Taskforce Against Domestic Violence (TADOVI). TADOVI was a temporary entity formed specifically to examine and contribute to the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA) of 1998. This law was enacted as a response to such matters as female genital mutilation (FGM), rape, and sexual harassment. Officer Acquilin, from WLAC, explained, “WLAC hosted TADOVI, which played a tremendous role in July 2004 in lobbying
the government for the Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act (SOSPA), which was enacted in 1998.” Ms. Anna Mela, from WiLDAF, further explained,

The act has amended some written laws and makes special provisions with regard to sexual and other offenses to protect women, among other vulnerable categories of society, like children. FGM, for instance, has been criminalized when performed on children under the age of 18. There is also a provision that makes sex trafficking a crime. Rape has been defined to cover children below 18, and compensation for sexual offenses has become available under the law.

TADOVI accomplished what it was formed to do, however, as of 2007 the collaboration was not formally disbanded (no one knew why). However, such cross-organizational relationships signify the mobilization capacity of the DVRM. As discussed below, coordination has become a primary strategy of the DVRM’s lobbying efforts.

The Land Law

Another legal reform effort in the late 1990s, which involved collaboration amongst DVRM organizations, involved the Land Law. As discussed in Chapter II, the Customary Laws Declaration Orders of 1963 restricted women from ownership and disposition of clan land, thus restricting and negatively impacting their inheritance rights. In fact, the law outright forbade women from inheriting property from their husbands, sons, and uncles, giving such rights to other male relatives.

While The Land Law was amended in 1999 to allow equal rights to land inheritance and ownership among both men and women, DVRM representatives do not believe reform of the law has gone far enough. Ms. Genoveva Kato, Director of TAWLA,
reported, that her organization has been committed to working on land rights for
women for several years and has teamed up with other organizations in order to
advance their efforts: “The customary laws that deny rights of women to inherit and
own land need to be changed, and TAWLA has been working with other
organizations, including WLAC, in the effort to lobby the government for this law to
change.” Speaking from WLAC’s involvement in the effort, Ms. Magdalene Acquilin
commented,

We fought for customary law reform because the law segregates against
women and subjects them to violence and abuse by their spouses. We are still
working. There is hope because some amendments happened in 1999, but the
government hasn’t responded fully yet.

The Law of Marriage Act (LMA)

DVRM representatives believe that there are a number of laws that facilitate
domestic violence, particularly those that relate to marriage. No other law has
received as much attention from the DVRM as the Law of Marriage Act of 1971,
which is considered a customary law. While several aspects of this law are
considered problematic, the DVRM has focused substantial effort on the provision
that allows for the marriage of girls at the age of 15, or younger with parental
permission. TAMWA has spearheaded efforts to address this provision of the LMA,
again by working with other organizations, like TAWLA. As Ms. Hassan, from the
Zanzibar Branch of TAMWA, explained, “The 15 years or below for a girls’ marriage
age is just ridiculous. We have a promise from the government for change. It hasn’t
happened yet and we are still fighting.”
Just as several DVRM organizations relied on the media to facilitate awareness about domestic violence, so have they relied on the media for legal reform. Following are pictures of newspaper articles demanding changes in the LMA. Taken from the poster-board in the TAMWA office, the photo in figure 19 shows several articles in the May 28, 2007 issue of The Daily News.

![Figure 19: Law of Marriage Act (LMA) (Source: TAMWA)](image)

Figure 19 shows articles published in several Tanzanian newspapers on March 5, 2007, including The Guardian, Daily News, and The Citizen (an example of...
TAMWA's "bang" approach. All report TAMWA's call for the government to move quickly to amend the LMA.

Figure 20  Law of Marriage Act (LMA) (Source: TAMWA)

Figure 21, originating from The African on March 5, 2007, draws attention to the problems of the LMA and calls for immediate reform.
The law ironically legalises marriages of the girl at the age of 14 and 15 with court's and parents/guardians consent.

Figure 21 Law of Marriage Act (LMA) (Source: TAMWA)

Other DVRM organizations have worked to amend the LMA as well. Figure 22 shows a newspaper cartoon (date and source not given) that was posted on an office wall at WLAC. The picture portrays the LMA as a dangerous animal, attacking a girl child who has no defense against it.
Figure 22  Law of Marriage Act (LMA) (Source: WLAC)

Figure 23 is another newspaper cartoon, also hanging on a WLAC office wall (date and source not given), condemning the LMA. The text within the tree branch reads: “The Law of Marriage Act 1971”; on the girl hanging from the branch: “A girl child”; in the larger circle: “Without cutting this big tree branch!!!... Efforts to save the girl will remain a story”; on the back of the big man “media editors”; and in the small circle at bottom: words implying “yes tell me boss...”
While changes to the law have yet to occur, representatives from TAMWA believe their efforts are changing public opinion on the matter of girl marriage, and as such, may indicate progress toward reform. The picture below (Figure 24) was taken of a newspaper clipping which was posted at the TAMWA offices in Dar es Salaam. It shows an article published on June 11, 2007 in the Times newspaper that reports that some men in Lindi, a southern administrative region in Tanzania which is influenced greatly by Islam, have concluded that girls under the age of 18 are incapable of managing marriage and family responsibilities.
This article is particularly significant because the marrying of young girls to older men in Islamic regions of Tanzania has been prevalent. Another article (figure 25) about this same matter was photographed from *The African* newspaper of June 11, 2007. This article reveals that men are finding young girls unsuitable for marriage and are therefore divorcing them at rates higher than for older women. The picture was also taken of a newspaper clipping posted on the wall at the TAMWA offices in Dar es Salaam.
As discussed in Chapter II, divorce is one of the worst experiences a Tanzanian woman can encounter, socially and economically. The divorce process is extremely difficult in terms of procedures, religious barriers, and social stigma. Moreover, great economic hardship often ensues for women and their children after divorce, since most depend financially on their spouses. However, increased divorce rate for girls under 18 in Lindi was marked as good news by some movement organizations, in the sense that the girls are no longer suffering in undesirable intimate relationships. For example, Mr. Lutondwe Nyagawa, Director of Njombe District Non-Governmental Organization (NJODINGO), stated,

To have the men in Lindi agreeing to end the forced and underage marriages of girls is a great step towards change with regard to ending domestic violence. Forced and early marriages are facilitative of domestic violence and in most cases such marriages do not last because there is no love in the first place.
Similarly, Officer Razia Mwawanga, from TAMWA in Dar es Salaam, asserted,

We have been working so hard to lobby the government to change the marriage law together with educating men about all the negative impacts of marrying those little girls, especially the Muslim men who like little girls. This just contributes toward domestic violence and deaths of the girls, and many times the babies as well at delivery, since the girls are not physically ready for the babies, etcetera. We are so pleased that men are starting to get it... it just doesn’t work. A few months ago Lindi men agreed with us to end underage marriages. I don’t know how long it will take Zanzibar to agree...

In addition, posters have also been used to communicate the DVRM’s call for reform of the LMA. The poster in figure 26 expresses the negative impact of the “bride price” practice, as well as concerns associated with early marriages, both of which are facilitated by the law. The “bride price” practice occurs when a man pays a dowry, in the form of cash or property, to his wife-to-be’s parents. Culturally, this has the effect of preventing her from escaping the relationship should abuse occur, as the bride price implies a contract to tolerate whatever transpires during a marriage. The DVRM has called attention to the fact that the LMA is silent on the matter, leaving women who have been in effect “purchased” from their families of origin to suffer from domestic violence, when it occurs, without recourse. This poster was displayed on a wall in the TAMWA office in Dar es Salaam. While the date and original source was not given, it also appeared in the organization’s magazine, *Sauti Ya Siti* (“Voice of the City”) on June, 2007, page 14. The large words at the top translate: “BRIDE PRICE within marriage.” The bulleted list on the right hand side highlights issues
associated with early marriage: "parents marry off young daughters to get wealthy," "young girls are lured to marry old men," "girls are forced out of school to get married," "increases wife battery," "contributes to HIV infection," "it is modern slave trade," and "...FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?"

Figure 26  Bride Price (Source: TAMWA)

**Law of Protection of Unmarried Girls and Widows**

In addition to their efforts to change the LMA, TAMWA staff and members also worked to repeal the 1985 Islamic-based Law of Protection of Unmarried Girls.
and Widows in Zanzibar. The law required that any widow and/or unmarried woman below the age of 25 who became pregnant would be jailed for two years. It did not involve men at all, not even a minimal punishment for those responsible for impregnating the women. Because DNA technology did not exist (and still does not) in Tanzania, most men responsible for the pregnancies easily denied taking responsibility anyway. The assumption was that the law would protect and discourage young women from involvement in sexual relationships outside of marriage, but it had the effect of punishing them instead. Ms. Shifaa Hassan, of TAMWA Zanzibar, explained the impact of the law on women and their children,

As the result, most of the babies ended up being born in jail, and then mother and baby started to struggle in jail. It was also unfair for the baby to be jailed. They could be labeled as jail-babies when they grew up. Such labels impacted them their whole life. The label and stigma was also attached to the mother for being jailed. These women and children were rejected by society and it was difficult for the mother to remarry. This law was a severe human and women’s rights violation. In 2000 through 2003, 47 cases were reported. In Zanzibar the Islamic religion and culture made early pregnancy a big issue.

Ms. Hassan argued that the law was also unjust because it focused on pregnancy rather than on the issue of having sex outside of marriage, and as is obvious from her quote, it neglected the way in which the women and their children were negatively stigmatized for being incarcerated.

Ms. Hassan explained that TAMWA’s efforts had had a significant influence on the law’s eventual repeal in February 2005. TAMWA worked in collaboration
with the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children of Zanzibar and eventually earned government support for the law’s elimination. In its place, The Law to Protect Unmarried Girls and Children Born Outside Marriage was enacted. In the new law, widows and unmarried women under 25 who get pregnant need to wait until after delivery before they must go to court. It is no longer permissible to jail a woman or girl while she is pregnant. Unfortunately, implementation and awareness of the new law has remained difficult and slow. At the time of my field research the new law had not yet been published (two years after its passage). Many people do not know the original law was even eliminated. Even those who do know do not always understand the provisions in the new version and thus some courts still apply the old law.

Despite the incomplete resolution of the problem of the original law, as it still subjects women to jail while the men who impregnated them face no repercussions, Ms. Hassan seemed pleased with the level of achievement TAMWA reached thus far and expressed hope for future progress. She also acknowledged the complicated nature of legal reform when the issue at hand is fraught with cultural and religious values. As she stated, “Things are not easy but slowly we will get there. This law has a lot to do with the Islamic religion and that is where complications come in. A lot still needs to be done in this society.”

Education Act of 1969

In a similar manner, UMATI worked very hard to lobby for the amendment of the Education Act of 1969, which originally removed girls from school if they became pregnant. The law was reformed in 1996, permitting girls to continue their
education following a maternity absence. Explaining their concern, Dr. Walter Mbunda, from UMATI, insisted,

Before this law, pregnant girls were expelled from public schools. The amendment to the law was passed in 1996, but ever since the law is only in writing. The practice of forcing pregnant girls out of school remains in effect and this is our major concern.

Among their efforts, the organization performed plays and dramas in the Parliament buildings and petitioned legislators. This law is further discussed in Chapter VI under “governmental barriers.”

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the influence of the DVRM in Tanzania. The primary means through which the movement has been active in addressing domestic violence and women’s rights in general lie in three arenas: advocacy and legal clinics; education provision and awareness by the way of paralegals, conferences, workshops and the media; and legal reform via lobbying, collaboration and the media.

Throughout these discussions, I drew attention to aspects of the DVRM that are distinct due to urban, rural, and Muslim settings. For example, while many organizations were based in urban settings, with clinics, conferences and workshops being common activities, paralegals seemed to be more widely used and influential in rural settings. Moreover, while customary laws such as the LMA impacted all women in the nation, DVRM organizations in Islamic regions, such as Zanzibar and Lindi, faced additional cultural challenges. The next chapter addresses such challenges, as
well as a myriad others, in greater detail. This includes discussion of various cultural norms that impact the DVRM's efforts, and how the movement has addressed them.
CHAPTER VI

CONSTRAINTS AND CHALLENGES OF DVRM

Overview

In this chapter I describe the constraints and challenges the Tanzanian DVRM has faced and what various DVRM organizations have done, or tried to do, to overcome them. I will begin by discussing the effect of economic constraints on the DVRM in terms of lack of funds and donor dependence. This will lead me to a discussion, related to economic constraints, on the lack of organizational capacity within the movement. I will then move onto discussing the various social and cultural constraints that continue to plague efforts to address violence against women. These include patriarchy, women’s abandonment, the social stigma attached to reporting victimization, social norms related to women being merciful and inferior to men, polygamy, the continued lack of education and awareness of domestic violence, and the impact of the lack of resources in rural communities.

From here, I will examine the political barriers of the DVRM, in terms of the ways in which the Tanzanian government has been slow to recognize women’s victimization, as well as the underrepresentation of women in government. This will lead to a discussion of legal barriers, which include the misuse of power and discretion by justice officials, as well as their lack of knowledge about domestic violence, bureaucracy and corruption, witnesses’ unwillingness to testify, case delays, and divorce laws. Throughout the chapter, as in Chapter V, I highlight differences
between rural and urban settings, as well as differences based on religion, which occur primarily in Islamic-based Zanzibar.

Economic Constraints

As an economically disadvantaged country, Tanzania suffers financial hardships that impact almost all sectors of its society. Given the country’s history of neglecting women’s interests, including those related to combating domestic violence, several DVRM organizations reported difficulty with expecting or depending upon the government for financial support. The result has been a constant struggle for resources within the organizations to facilitate and support their activities and programs. A lack of resources has been a major and ongoing challenge for the movement.

Lack of Funds

Lack of funding is a major problem almost all DVRM organizations and related entities included in this study expressed having. Central to this problem is the lack of predictable revenue and resources with which to sustain an employed staff. Most of the activists work on a volunteer basis, relying heavily on membership registration fees and dues to cover operational costs. As Ms. Fatma Saleih, Chairperson of Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA), explained,

We don’t have enough resources and money to pay all of our salaries. We run our organization using members’ registration fees and monthly dues. As a result, all of us work as volunteers. We have primary jobs as lawyers in the government, and this is secondary. We cannot afford to pay full or even part-
time employees, however such employees would help keep the organization moving fast.

Similarly, Maryam Mwalim, of the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women, and Children of Zanzibar, asserted, “We work in very difficult conditions. Sometimes we have to take buses to other offices, like the Kadhi court, at our own expense. We just work in faith; we know God will pay us.”

As Ms. Saleih notes, volunteering one’s time on the side of full-time employment also poses difficulties. Many other DVRM organizations recognized the challenges of relying on activists who have to balance their primary jobs and their volunteerism. As an example, the Dar es Salaam Women’s Legal Aid Center (WLAC) advocate, Ms. Athanasia Soka, explained,

In that case my first job becomes primary because I make my living out of it. In volunteering you have to volunteer your resources as well for activities and follow-ups. Sometimes it becomes too busy for us advocates in the court to get back to the center where clients are waiting. You do not get to breathe at all and you just have to start helping them.

Indeed, from my observation of WLAC, it was evident that sometimes volunteer advocates were not reliable or available at the times they were needed by victims. At one court hearing I observed, for instance, an advocate failed to appear. The victim and I were there, but neither of us had any information concerning the advocate’s absence. After calling the advocate, I learned that she had had to travel for her other job and was not going to make it to the hearing. The advocate asked me to stay and observe the hearing and report back to her. When I asked her about her
absence, she explained that she did not even know about the hearing. She had asked another advocate to cover court for her earlier in the day and had not yet heard from him, so she did not know that the present hearing had been rescheduled. She explained that she had simply not had time to contact the other advocate herself. She then went on to share how frustrating it is to volunteer when one has another job, “You have to put your job first because that is where I will even get resources to help me volunteer”. Although advocates do not actually represent the victims of domestic violence in court, they do hope to influence the outcome just by their presence. Failing to appear, then, may be interpreted negatively by the court, facilitating an atmosphere in which judges are freer to rule in ways that are hostile to victims’ interests. Such failures to appear also contribute to victims’ stress and likely diminish their faith in the organization’s interest and ability to help them.

Volunteering one’s time and relying on membership fees/dues was not sufficient to sustain most of the DVRM organizations and entities in this study, however. Most admitted to using much of their time fundraising, which minimizing the time spent on other organizational activities and the support of domestic violence victims. As Ms. Raziah Mwawanga, a project officer for Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA) in Dar es Salaam, reported,

Our organization is under-staffed; however most of us here spend much time on fundraising activities just to keep our organization alive. Although we have time for our clients and other activities, more time is spent on the fundraising business. Otherwise we wouldn’t be able to sustain the organization. We need
to work hard to ensure the return of any money spent in preparation for fundraising, in addition to reaching our fundraising target.

Indeed, TAMWA even asked me for money, as they can not afford (literally) to not fundraise with anyone who comes into contact with the organization. (I was able to contribute $20.) Like TAMWA, Uzazi na Malezi Bora Tanzania (reproductive health movement) (UMATI) in Dar es Salaam also asked me to join their organization as a dues paying member; I agreed and paid the $12 registration fee. Both organizations provided receipts for my contribution and UMATI provided a membership card as well. As I noted in Chapter IV, UMATI relies heavily on external funding and community contributions to support projects and other organizational activities.

Similarly, Ms. Safia Hija, a secretary of ZAFELA, referred to the need for fundraising,

We rent this office and the monthly dues and member registration fees are utilized in covering organizational expenses. We are working very hard to get people who will be willing to donate and fund our activities, even if it means coordinating our activities with the other existing NGOs or the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children, provided we get funding.

As with TAMWA and UMATI, I was asked to donate to ZAFELA; I contributed $20 to support their fundraising efforts. As reported in Chapter IV, ZAFELA relies primarily on volunteers and fees and so I was not surprised to be asked for a donation. Indeed, the organization is in terrible need of financial resources. It does not even have its own offices; the interviews I conducted with the organization, for instance, took place outside other buildings or at the participants’ primary work place.
As compared to DVRM organizations, government affiliated organizations have the possible advantage of securing more stable funding from the state. However, as mentioned at the start of this section, this is not always the case given the economic state of Tanzania overall, as well as the relative dearth of attention given to women's issues. Regardless, DVRM organizations in Zanzibar were more likely than those on the mainland to depend at least partially on government support. This seemed to be somewhat a product of the stage of development of DVRM activism in Zanzibar. While organizations in the mainland started in the late 1980s and early 1990s (e.g., TGNP, 1993; TAMWA, 1987; and WLAC, 1989), most organizations in Zanzibar started in the late 1990s and early 2000s (e.g., SSF, 1997; ZAFELA, 2003; and ZAWDO, 2004). Thus, comparatively, the mainland has a more mature movement, and seemed less reliant on government support as a result. Consequently, however, the government in Zanzibar dictates to some extent what ought to be done about domestic violence, based on its budgeting priorities. The ways in which this occurs appears quite specific to the Islamic-influenced culture of Zanzibar and so the effects government dependence in this locale will be more fully addressed later in this chapter, under social and cultural constraints.

This is not to suggest that organizations on the mainland did not also rely on the government. Indeed, some did, particularly in the rural areas. Again, this may be seen as a product of DVRM activists within such areas not being as practiced with fund-raising, capacity building, and the like. It may also indicate the relative scarcity of DVRM activism outside of urban settings, as will be discussed later in this chapter under "lack of education and awareness". Mr. Kasian Mapunda, Director of the
Njombe Municipal Community Based Organization (CBO), complained that being part of the government was a problem, even though it was supposed to assure a more consistent source of funding. As he reported,

We depend on the government budget and funding. Nothing gets to the lower levels in the hierarchy of the governmental, where we are. We are not a priority. And this is a problem. Sometimes we can’t do home visits in villages because of lack of funds. We can only go up to 10 kilometers, using only bicycles.

Overall, the lack of funds is worse in rural areas. Ms. Jane Ndakonda, Paralegal Officer for Tanzania Women Lawyers’ Association (TAWLA) in Njombe, indicated, “Here (in this rural area), we do not have individuals with the skills necessary for fundraising, and that is why we are far behind compared to our fellow activists in the urban areas.” As in urban areas and Zanzibar, most of the activists in rural areas work on a volunteer basis. However, because the number of people willing and able to help in the DVRM is not as high in rural areas (due mainly to the sparse population), DVRM organizations and entities are often dependent upon volunteers who were not selected based on their skills, but rather on their availability. Such volunteers may be well intentioned, but not fully cognizant of what it takes to sustain an organization. As a result, rural DVRM organizations subsist on even more limited resources than those in urban areas. Ms. Monica Mbetwa Kyando, Paralegal Officer for TAWLA, Njombe, explained, “We are not capable of being independent. No one can write grants and no one can conduct a fundraising program. We exist with very limited resources.”
The lack of resources in rural Njombe was evident from my observations as well. Rural organizations often did not have offices and those who did were typically alike -- very small and in poor condition. They often lacked any technological equipment, such as computers, and sometimes did not even have basic utilities, such as electricity. Clients who needed help often had to wait outside an office, sometimes just sitting on the ground, in order to speak with an advocate. To be more specific, in addition to the condition of the TAWLA office in Njombe, as detailed in Chapter V under “legal clinics and advocacy”, I observed the Njombe Municipal CBO office to be in similar condition. The only structural difference with the CBO office was that it utilized three rooms in a small office building and was located about 2 miles away from Njombe town, the small town center of Njombe. In comparison, TAWLA had access to only one room out of three in a similarly sized building located within the Lutheran Church compound in Njombe town. Additional examples associated with the general lack of resources within such settings are described later in this chapter under “lack of resources in rural areas”. Although some offices in the urban areas were in similar condition, many were much larger, nicer and technologically capable.

Moreover, the struggle for resources affected other entities involved with the DVRM as well, such as religious groups that primarily existed in rural areas. For example, Father Benward Mlowe, of the Roman Catholic Church of Njombe, shared his concerns with the struggle of funding programs for counseling, advising and conflict resolution for couples. He commented,

We are a church community and funding has always been a problem. We depend on the church for most of our programs, and the marriage counseling
we do is part of our responsibility so it is hard to ask additional money from the church budget. It is also hard to conduct fundraising activities as a church just for domestic violence programs.

Indeed, the struggle for funds seemed to be a widely shared concern amongst the organizations and entities involved in this study. For the DVRM organizations, specifically, this often meant a continual reliance on funding donors.

**Donor Dependence**

Donor dependence was identified as a primary problem by several DVRM organizations, as it creates insecurity, instability and uncertainty. Continual dependence on charitable donors requires constant efforts at seeking funds. Because of the constant need to raise money, fundraising activities have surpassed organizational and other client-focused activities. Thus, much time is spent writing funding proposals and impressing potential donors. Finally, such donors often have rules that guide the dissemination of their funds, which make proposal writing and networking all the more important. As mentioned in Chapter I, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Danish Development Agency (DANIDA), United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and World Bank (WB) are among the major international donors for Tanzanian DVRM organizations. The organizations expressed several concerns about working with these funding sources, including the pressure of accommodating donor standards;
short funding cycles requiring constant (re)application, which force them to continuously focus on writing grants rather than implementing projects; and insufficient funding allotments.

With regard to accommodating donor standards, Ms. Anna Mela, Legal Officer of Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) in Dar es Salaam, asserted,

The funding is good but donors are always a problem. They will have their own agendas set and most of the time are very focused on what they think are priority activities and goals to be accomplished. Sometimes we feel like we have to be driven by what they want us to do in order to get what we need - the money. It feels like they trick us and we end up falling into their agendas.

TAMWA also admitted to this, arguing that the problem of donors is shared among DVRM organizations. Ms. Razia Mwawanga, from TAMWA, attested,

Too much energy and time is spent by organizations living up to the standards and dictates of donors. There is always a conflict of interest and we who need money are at the losing end. The competition for funds is so high and we have to compete anyway.

The fact that much funding is short-term complicates the issue. Most of the DVRM organizations said that the majority of their donors require measurable results that can not be aptly obtained in a short period of time. Most of the recipient organizations would prefer long-term projects, and would like to focus toward long-term results. This creates conflicting interests. As Mr. Kaleb L. Gamaya, Director of
Programs for the National Organization for Legal Assistance (NOLA) in Dar es Salaam, commented,

Donors tend to focus on small and short term projects, always challenging organizations for being too broad and scattered in our projects. But for us it is more important to see various interconnected aspects of the problem addressed well, as an effort toward a long-term solution. It is hard to convince donors that we are really achieving something if our project does not result in measurable and immediate results. We really have to work hard.

A short period of funding also does not allow organizations to establish and sustain their projects throughout both urban and rural areas, since doing so takes time and complicates efforts to show measurable results by the end of a funding cycle. Ms. Magdalena Aquilin, Legal Officer for WLAC, explained,

We have paralegals in rural areas but very rarely do we get sufficient and long-term funding for projects that would cover rural areas. Donors should understand this. Sometimes we bargain for extensions. Otherwise the project ends there and almost becomes meaningless.

Moreover, the tendency to fund particular projects or programs, for specific periods of time, means that only aspects of organizations are supported. The organizations, as a whole, continue to struggle. It is difficult for them to secure funding for general operations, and thus they are rarely able to grow and become more autonomous. Several organizations indicated the need for donors to fund their projects, but more importantly, to support them in such a way so as to allow them to become self-sustainable.
Lack of Organizational Capacity

Linked to funding issues, several of the organizations expressed problems with their capacity to run and administer their projects. This problem is partly caused by the relative immaturity of most of the organizations, having been developed only in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s. Another source of the problem, as discussed above, is that the donors show less interest in funding training, workshops, and capacity building projects that would facilitate organizational growth and maturity, and instead focus on short-term programs and projects that fit their own agendas. Unfortunately, it is the very lack of organizational capacity that diminishes organizational strategies and capabilities to obtain funding, subjecting organizations to continuous need of resources.

The constant search for funds adds to the chaotic nature with which many of the DVRM organizations in this study operated. Chaos is created in part when a lack of organizational focus transpires from the constant pressure to create manageable projects. The pressure may come directly from donors or as a result of the organizations' efforts to secure funding. As Mr. Clement Mashamba, Executive Director of NOLA, argued,

Organizations find themselves at the point where resources including money, time, skills, personnel, and the like are hardly available to adequately fulfill their needs. Thus, the staff/volunteers in many of the organizations find themselves overworked within myriad dead-end and largely unsuccessful projects. These are some of the problems that need to be fixed as part of the movement.
Ms. Genoveva Kato, Director of TAWLA in Dar es Salaam, further explained the problem, arguing that applying for funds and projects requires skills and capacities at the organizational level, “Many donors, particularly international ones, demand continuous assessment, feedback, accounting, monitoring and reporting. Most of us do not possess such skills.” Many of these organizations lack even the confidence to fluently and continuously converse with donors; usually only a few members of an organization feel competent to do that. This creates major inconveniences for organizations, as well as donors. Mr. Aliko Sengo, Legal Officer of WiLDAF, asserted,

The very few experts we have in proposal writing and donor interaction can hardly be involved with other organizational activities. Sometimes they have to terminate the work at hand and travel distances to meet and negotiate with donors. No one else is capable of doing it. Even the English language is a problem for many of us, let alone the skills. But we are the active people who are committed to making difference in the lives of the victims we work for.

The volunteer-based nature of most of the organizations’ staff contributes to this problem. Several of the organizations expressed frustration with the challenges they face with recruitment and retention of staff. Most are full-time employees elsewhere, so only their passion for volunteer work drives them. Unfortunately, as noted earlier, such passion does not always translate to skills and capabilities within the organizations. As Professor Chris Maina Peter, from the University of Dar es Salaam, explained, “The educational system in Tanzania does not provide basic knowledge and preparation for people in non-profit sectors.” Moreover, as many
respondents confirmed, their passion to work within DVRM organizations did not emerge until they were older and already out of school. Ms. Jane Ndakonda, a paralegal for TAWLA and Lutheran Church marriage advisor in Njombe, reported, “I didn’t even attend secondary school, but here I am doing the job and I like it.” In addition, Mrs. Faraja Chengula, a pastor’s wife at Njombe Lutheran Church, who often counsels women about their problems, reported, “I don’t have any background in domestic violence at all. They respect me as a leader and advisor because I am the pastor’s wife. My degree is in international business.” Such volunteers did not acquire the necessary skills, such as leadership, management, grant proposal writing, and fundraising.

Negative perceptions of organizational leaders also contribute to the lack of organizational capacity. Of note in terms of resources is that members of the organizations and entities in this study expressed concern about their directors and founders, who they believe take advantage of their leadership positions. As an example, Mr. Kassian Mapunda, of Njombe CBO, argued,

The leaders will be the ones attending workshops and trainings, regardless of their responsibilities in providing community service. The directors and founders often hold the power to decide who attends such events, and since in most cases the number of attendees is limited, they will always take the opportunity of trainings and workshops in place of the front-line staff that would be more appropriate for the positions.

When educational workshops and trainings are inappropriately used by those who do not work directly with victims, opportunities at skill-building and enhancing client
services are diminished. In terms of capacity building, organizational leaders would be better served by attending trainings that help them to secure funding, improve their management skills, and the like, whereas front-line staff would be better served by being allowed to attend trainings that would enhance the ways they work with clientele.

A final concern with regard to organization capacity involves mobilization efforts in rural areas, which are less successful due not only to the scarceness of domestic violence organizations in such areas, but also to the lack of coordination between those that do exist. While in the field I learned that while urban DVRM organizations reported working in collaboration with each other, this was not the case in rural areas. In urban regions, the movement organizations had a history of holding workshops and trainings together, and collaborating for policy and legal reform. An example of this was described in Chapter V with regard to the creation of the TADOVI (Taskforce Against Domestic Violence). Nothing like this exists in the rural areas, where organizations seemed to be working in relative isolation from one another.

To be more specific, while in Njombe I learned that each of the organizations involved in this study works independently from one another. From interviewing members of the respective rural DVRM organizations, it became clear that they did not know much of what others were doing. This finding was also verified through materials obtained from a rural umbrella organization, Njombe District Non-Governmental Organizations (NJODINGO). NJODINGO had a list of all (about 200) rural NGOs, including DVRM organizations, but did not indicate any efforts of
coordination or collaboration between them (coordination and collaboration between other types of NGOs was noted). This list was very informal, in that it was hand-written (not computerized) and was not easily copied. In addition, Ms. Monica Mbetwa Kyando, Paralegal Officer of TAWLA Njombe, explained the lack of awareness and coordination within Njombe,

We get training from TAWLA in Dar es Salaam and here (in Njombe) is rather more of the implementation. I don’t know what other efforts for domestic violence are in our area. We have never done any conferences or things together. I know we are under NJODINGO, but I don’t know who else is in.

Lack of collaboration or awareness of others limits the capacity and ability of organizations to adopt and learn from each other’s skills and work experience. It may also prevent organizations from working together in order to preserve precious financial resources. Finally, it may contribute to unnecessary replication or redundancy of work in the region. All of these consequences contribute to a weak organizational capacity within the DVRM.

Social and Cultural Constraints

Tanzania’s social and cultural practices and beliefs, as detailed in Chapter II, were identified by the DVRM organizations as major obstacles because many of these values directly contradict the efforts of the movement. Such contradictions create a gap between the nation and its laws and policies about domestic violence on one hand, and the movement and its efforts to create an equal and fair society for women on the other. Central to the social and cultural values regarding women, and
specifically the problem of domestic violence, in Tanzania is patriarchy. Patriarchy is so well entrenched within Tanzania that one may observe the privileging of men’s interests over women’s interests in various systems, institutions, and structures. As Ms. Halima Hassan, a Gender Specialist with the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children in Zanzibar, explained,

Patriarchy is the bottom line and major problem. Even some educated men still abuse their wives. Some men will not include their daughters in their will, only their sons. Life is changing but some people do not change. People need to be liberal and accept changes even if the law is still unchanged.

The connection between patriarchy and domestic violence was noted in other interviews as well, and not just by DVRM activists. For example, Police Officer Fabian Matumia, of Oysterbay Police Station in Dar es Salaam, attested,

When a woman’s husband comes home and sees his wife as nothing, as having no part of his social or economic life, he uses his power to limit the woman from questioning or challenging his authority (budget, expenditures, etcetera), because the result will be battery....

Moreover, patriarchy is conducive of scenarios that seem to damn women regardless of what they do. Officer Matumia, in recognizing that women are vulnerable to battering when they are dependent upon their male partners, has also found that women are vulnerable to mistreatment when they try to become more independent from their partners. As he argued,

Some women engage in small businesses to raise family income. When the business starts to take shape, husbands often stop being responsible for the
family because the wife makes money. Some men tell their wives to stop working and stay home. Some are afraid of competition with their women. Arguably, then, patriarchy plays a role in the subordination and abuse of women. As such, it is a reoccurring theme throughout several of the following sections.

**Women’s Abandonment**

In the previous quote, Officer Matumia alludes to the possibility of abandonment of women by men (“...husbands often stop being responsible for the family...”). While this may occur when women start earning their own income, abandonment occurs in many other contexts in Tanzania as well, and is a major cultural issue related to domestic violence. As an additional product of patriarchy, Tanzanian culture places women in low social positions, which makes them vulnerable to abandonment by their male partners.

One cause of female abandonment is migration, a byproduct of colonialism, from rural areas to major cities. Men typically migrate for formal employment, business opportunities, and generally for what they assume will be a better life. Meanwhile, their female partners and children remain back in the rural areas. After living away from their partners for a long time, these men tend to settle and establish new intimate partnerships, which result in new wives and mistresses, known as “nyumba ndogo” (literally meaning “small house”). Upon securing new wives or mistresses, these men may also begin refusing to support their original wives and families. Ms. Anna Nyagawa, a TAWLA paralegal officer and Lutheran pastor in Njombe, explained the situation,
Tanzanian culture does not recognize the vocabulary of abandonment. With our extended family culture, these abandoned women are left to live with their parents-in-law or themselves with their children, without their husbands. The extended family accommodates them, together with their children and other relatives. This culture of migration has had a tremendous impact on the breakdown of marriages and families, resulting in a good number of women suffering abandonment. They are just like widows, suffering economic hardship and emotional stress.

According to the pastor, more than one-third of the domestic violence cases the church receives involves women who have been abandoned by their husbands. Be reminded that domestic violence, as defined in Tanzania, goes beyond the abuse by intimate partners to include the male partner’s relatives within the extended family structure. Thus, the abandoned women Pastor Nyagawa mentions are largely victims of abuse by their husband’s families.

According to the publications and literature I reviewed, along with my interviews with representatives from TAWLA and NOLA in Dar es Salaam, woman abandonment exists in urban areas as well. However, unlike in the rural areas where extended family culture is still widespread and extends to support (and continue abuse of) abandoned women, urban families experience less extended family culture. Men in urban settings are more likely to simply leave their wives and partners for other women. The result is that the abandoned women are exposed to dreadful insecurities regarding income and general household finances. Unlike the agricultural employment opportunities for women in rural areas, which allow women to earn at
least a meager income, employment opportunities for urban women may be slim.

Many women in urban settings are self-employed in low-capital petty businesses, and such jobs are normally highly competitive. Mr. Kaleb Gamaya, from NOLA, reported,

Many women are economically powerless. The culture has placed them at a lower status and has created a system in which most men provide for the families. The great need for well-being and survival, including resources for food, medication, housing and the like, in urban areas make these women likely to suffer even more. Men in urban areas abandon their women largely for mistresses (nyumba ndogo).

Social Stigma

The social stigma associated with domestic violence, which is magnified by the privacy of family matters and women's fear of retaliation, is also associated with the Tanzanian culture's support of violence against women. Ms. Halima Hassan, Gender Specialist of the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children in Zanzibar, explained,

There is a major problem with stigma in our society. For a woman to even mention she is abused means that she has reached the highest level of tolerance or maybe that she is just ready to leave the situation or maybe that she has been divorced already. And some people don't even say they are already divorced, they just don't know how to start letting it out.

According to WLAC, some women will not even go to the hospital to seek treatment because of their fear of explaining their relationship issues to doctors, who (as I
discuss in Chapter II) may decide to take action in the case of grievous harm. Ms. Magdalena Aequulin, from WLAC, reported, “Some women are even ashamed of repeatedly seeking treatment, since they are abused over and over again, and so they decide to suffer silently without disclosing the abuse to anybody.” Ms. Razia Mwawanga, from TAMWA, added, “Some women fear that if authorities find out, their husbands will be sent to jail and they and their children will be even worse off. More fear is about what will happen to her when he finds out.” Explaining the of fear of retaliation, Ms. Jane Ndakonda, from TAWLA in Njombe, reported,

Some men who were sent to jail or prison due to domestic offenses will threaten their partners by sending messages through people who visit them – “Tell her, I am about to be released so she should be prepared...tell her to leave right away before I come. I am on my way.”

Such threats are effective at reducing the likelihood that women will continue to report their abuse. Moreover, when other women hear about such threats, they become less likely to ever expose their abuse.

Given the low probability of the justice-legal system to take action against domestic violence offenders however, it seems that the fear over retaliation instilled in women is more about the probability of double victimization by the offender and society than on what the government may end up doing to punish the offender. Regardless, any efforts to silence battered women out of fear of retaliation, and/or what their future might hold should their offenders being held legally accountable, are testaments to the social stigma attached to reporting victimization.
Women Considered as Merciful and Inferior

Related to social stigma, yet another frustrating cultural barrier reported by activists in the DVRM is the belief that women are merciful and considerate, and so expected to forgive their abusers. Mr. Max Biligi, a prosecutor of Kisutu Court in Dar es Salaam, explained,

Women are considered to be merciful. If the case goes to court, while the case is in process, and if the abuser is bailed out during the investigation, the two are together at home. The man may try to convince the woman to drop the case. Elders sometimes are involved here and the woman drops the case. And at this point the “merciful” woman is expected to accept an apology and forgive the husband. Women’s minds are easy to change and they often drop their cases. The woman is considered the “marriage keeper”. The police may have prepared the charge and when it is time for court, the woman drops the case.

In addition, although the social bond between a husband and wife may be strong, women always remain inferior to men. Such a hierarchy is so ingrained within Tanzanian society that when women report victimization, they often lack confidence, fear the police, and anticipate negative responses by the community. As Prosecutor Biligi asserted,

Remember, there is already an unequal relationship between “superior” men and “inferior” women. So when a woman reports her husband to police, she has the notion that she is reporting someone superior to her. Sometimes when the time comes to go and catch the husband-offender, the woman hesitates or
refuses. She is not ready to openly expose her husband to police in the
presence of the children and community. Arrests in Tanzania are very harsh,
and the community starts looking at the woman negatively. She is seen as not
wise. The police are therefore discouraged. They see no cooperation from
victims. Sometimes police ignore the case because of that. Some women are
just not ready to witness the police handcuffing and arresting their husbands.

Cultural values that facilitate women being seen as merciful and inferior are
more salient in rural than in urban areas. People in rural areas are not as
knowledgeable of progressive ideas regarding gender roles as compared to urban
dwellers which, according to DVRM agencies working in rural areas, is largely due to
their limited access to the media. According to Ms. Deddah Khadija Hija, of the SSF,
“it takes an extra mile to first educate the woman about her rights before you do
anything.” There is still much to be done for the rural population with regards to
domestic violence and victims’ services.

While cultural practices such as women’s abandonment, the social stigma
attached to reporting victimization, and the view that women are merciful and inferior
are major obstacles to the development and growth of the DVRM in Tanzania, the
movement’s organizations are making attempts to address such issues through a
variety of programs. Their efforts in rural areas focus on education and social
mobilization, media campaigns, village workshops, and local government trainings in
women’s legal rights and representation. As mentioned in Chapter IV, for instance,
WLAC has developed paralegal centers in 17 out of the 26 administrative regions in
mainland Tanzania, including Arusha, Lindi, Tanga, Iringa, Dodoma, Moshi, Shinyanga, Morogoro, Mwanza, and Ruvuma.

Polygamy

Also seen as normal and acceptable within Tanzanian culture is polygamy. Polygamy manifests unequal power relations between a man and woman, as it is a privilege granted to men only, allowing them to have control over multiple wives. It reinforces a man’s domination and superiority within the domestic sphere, and as such, is seen as a legal, religious and cultural contributor to domestic violence, and an obvious barrier to the DVRM’s efforts.

During my observation of a domestic violence research workshop held by the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children in Zanzibar (described in Chapter V under “conferences and workshops”), it was discussed that in 1998 the government in Tanzania and neighboring countries proposed that polygamous marriage be limited to two wives in response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. According to the research presented and the participants involved in the workshop (sheiks, domestic violence activists, researchers, and governmental officials), the Islamic community opposed the proposal. The argument was that polygamy (whether or not practiced) is a part of Islam and therefore should be left to Muslims’ discretion, and not legally regulated. The opposition seems to have been successful, as to my knowledge no law has been passed limiting polygamy.

The practice of polygamy thus remains problematic. In interviewing Sheik Omar Said of the Kadhi Court in Zanzibar, I was informed that most men do not
follow correct procedures for marrying the second and additional wives, in accordance with Islamic law. As he stated,

Islamic Law requires that a husband prepares his first wife before he marries the second. He needs to have permission from his first wife to do that, and he needs to prepare the first wife with all the needs and necessities before he moves on to the second, but people neglect that nowadays... Islamic men today do not do or provide at all before remarrying, as required by the Koran. As a result, conflicts arise within marriage relationships. In most cases the husband shifts all the love and services to the second and following wives, leaving the previous wife (or wives) in trouble.

Sheik Said further argued that even if men follow rules and procedures for marrying multiple women, the primary issue is polygamy itself. The Sheik stated that an Islamic woman is not typically happy about being one of several spouses, a sentiment he feels is quite natural: “No human being can be happy with allowing her or his lover to divide their love with another person. For these women, polygamy is not okay, however their obedience to the Islamic Law help them to tolerate it.”

Ms. Khadija Makame, a member of ZAFELA, added that in such situations, it is always the mother and children who suffer. As she stated, “Children are more attached to their mothers. When something happens, they suffer with her. If the father shifts the love to another place, happiness in the family goes away too. Some women come with their children here...” Ms. Ashura Suleiman, of the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women, and Children of Zanzibar, agreed, stating, “In Zanzibar, this is a major issue, but it is not sufficiently discussed and resolved.
Religious beliefs silence these women.” Sheik Omar Said added, “These women will remain silent until they feel they have no other options than to report their victimization to authorities.” The Sheik believes domestic violence is rising in the Islamic community, in large part due to the inappropriate use of polygamy. He cites a rise in cases at the Kadhi Court as evidence, “We used to have one to three cases a day, but now we get more than nine cases a day.”

**Lack of Education and Awareness**

A primary means through which the DVRM has tried to combat the social and cultural barriers described thus far is through educational and awareness projects. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter V, education is considered central to the DVRM. As Officer Fabian Matumia from Oysterbay Police Station summarized, “Education is the primary cause of the problem of domestic violence, the primary cause for DVRM organizations’ failures to tackle the problem, and the primary solution to the problem.” Throughout his interview, the officer was emphatic on this point,

Domestic violence could be addressed best through education and awareness… little progress will be made without a new and heightened understanding of domestic violence…. Based on my experience, lots of women are battered mainly because they are uneducated housewives. Despite the movement’s efforts, many women remain unaware of their rights, and incapable of participating in their own emancipation from victimization.

Additional concerns were noted regarding the lack of awareness surrounding the DVRM’s efforts to help battered women. Representatives of WLAC, for instance, expressed frustration over clients they believed were disrespectful and unappreciative
of their work. WLAC advocates believed this lack of understanding is connected to the dearth of education most victims have about domestic violence in general. What they have observed is that when women are ready to obtain help, they want and expect it immediately. They are not always aware of the scarcity of resources within the DVRM and the complicated nature of utilizing the justice system. Ms. Athanasia Soka, an advocate for WLAC, commented,

 Legal clients are sometimes disrespectful. We give most of our services for free, and sometimes there are just minimal fees. In my experience, I get more respect by clients at my other paid work than here. Sometimes they give us too much pressure. They cannot wait if we tell them to. We know they are in pain and need immediate assistance, but they should understand that we have to follow procedures and respect rules as we work with other NGOs and legal institutions and players.

Lack of education and awareness among parents was also identified as a concern. Many of the DVRMs specifically recognized the ways in which parents of girls and young women facilitate domestic violence against their own daughters by denying them opportunities for adequate education and prospects for future careers. As argued in Chapter II, education that would lead to greater economic independence girls is seen as an important aspect to limiting their risk of domestic violence. Dr. Walter Mbunda, Executive Director of UMATI, asserted,

 One of the major challenges we face is lack of parents’ knowledge and awareness about the need to give their drop-out girls (due to early pregnancies) a second chance at education. Their thinking capacity is very
low. We work extra hard to convince them to allow their daughters to join our program. Education and childcare conflict; we need parents’ support. We need them to take care of the babies while the girls attend the program.

Education and awareness is most drastically lacking in rural communities. From my observations, this is largely due to the relative absence of the movement in such locales. Having experienced the work and availability of the DVRM in Dar es Salaam, it felt to me that the movement was primarily designed to serve metropolitan areas. Indeed, in a published review of Tanzanian NGOs, Shivji (2004) draws attention to the urban nature of such organizations and the effects this has on the nature and distribution of services,

Most of NGOs are urban based. It is true that many of us within the NGO community are well-intentioned and would want to contribute to some cause, however we may define it. It is also true that many NGOs do address some of the real concerns of the working people. Yet we must recognize that we did not develop as, nor have we as yet managed to become, organic to the mass of the people. The relationship between NGOs and the masses therefore remains, at best, that of benefactors and beneficiaries. This is not the best of relationships when it comes to genuine activism with, rather than for, the people (p. 689).

Without as strong of a presence within rural areas, it is quite difficult for the DVRM to be as successful with its educational and awareness efforts. This is especially problematic given that the majority of the population resides in rural areas (more than
80 percent of the country’s population, about 40.2 million) (Tanzanian Bureau of Statistics, 2003).

**Lack of Resources in Rural Areas**

For the domestic violence services that do exist in rural areas, access is hindered because of the distance required to reach them and the lack of transportation available in the countryside. As discussed in Chapter V, compared to the WLAC clinic in Dar es Salaam, which received an average of 70 clients a week, for instance, the TAWLA/Lutheran Church clinic in rural Njombe received only 10 or so clients per week. This difference makes sense given population density (1,793 persons per square kilometer in Dar es Salaam versus 25 persons per square kilometer in Njombe). It is difficult for victims to travel long distances to the centralized service centers and similarly difficult for service providers to visit the victims in their widely dispersed villages. Pastor Anna Nyagawa, of Njombe Lutheran Church and TAWLA, for example, lives about one hour and 30 minutes walking distance from the small village in which she works, called Ramadhani. Public transportation in and around Ramadhani is hardly available and so she usually walks or uses a bicycle to come to town. To set an interview with her, I had to arrange that we meet on the days that she had already planned on coming to the town. On both the day that I interviewed her, as well as the one day I set aside to observe the legal clinic in Njombe, she had walked both to and from the town (a total of 3 hours commute). I experienced long walking commutes as well, averaging 1 hour and 30 minutes roundtrip for the various interviews I conducted in Njombe.
As noted earlier, people who live in rural areas are also limited in exposure to events outside their homesteads or villages, and so it is difficult for them to know what else happens in the rest of the world and how things could possibly be done differently. This is especially salient when it comes to handling intimate relationships. Media coverage is very limited in rural areas of Tanzania, as compared to urban areas, which is problematic for the DVRM since it relies heavily on the media for education and awareness. As described in Chapter V, TAMWA’s use of the “bang style” dissemination of information (meant to make several means of communication available to people simultaneously) is obviously most advantageous in urban areas that have myriad media outlets. Although there are radio stations and daily newspapers in Njombe, as there are in other rural areas of Tanzania, usually only a fraction of the population has access to them. As I explained in Chapter I, the highest level of poverty in Tanzania exists in the rural areas, with more than 36 percent of Tanzanians living below the poverty line (Tanzanian Bureau of Statistics, 2003). Thus, sources of media are generally seen as a luxury. In an area in which people do not even have enough money for food every day, they are not likely to purchase a newspaper regularly.

Moreover, in families that can afford a newspaper, radio or television, women may still not have access to the media. As Mr. Joseph Mhavile, a social worker from Njombe CBO, pointed out, in most rural families, if a radio exists the father will be the main controller of it. As he explained, “The father owns the radio. It stays in his room and no one can make use of it, even the mother. He decides when to turn it on and what station to listen to.” Even when men are not at home, women do not usually
have the time to listen to the radio, watch a television, or read a newspaper. Because women are the main agricultural producers in most areas of rural Tanzania, they are often not in the home long enough to have time for any such activities. When they are at home, they are often exhausted from a long day on the farm and their concern is what to prepare for dinner and how to plan for the following day.

Political Constraints

The political and government system of Tanzania has failed to appreciate and recognize the ways in which women are harmed through domestic violence. While the DVRM has worked hard to change a number of laws, their efforts have not yielded success comparable to their efforts.

Governmental Barriers

A lack of financial support by the government was consistently expressed as a major problem by DVRM organizations and entities in this study. Particularly, as I detail earlier in this chapter under “economic constraints”, entities affiliated with the government, which included Njombe CBO, the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women, and Children of Zanzibar, Kadhi Court of Zanzibar, and Zanzibar Wakf and Trust Commission in Zanzibar, reported that the government does not give them priority when allocating resources. More generally, it does not apportion special funds for NGOs, which includes many DVRM organizations. For this reason, most organizations have turned to international donors for support, a decision that holds its own host of problems, as discussed earlier in this chapter.
However, money is not the only thing organizations need from the government. Many believe that governmental entities do not fully understand or appreciate the work of the DVRM. Several movement entities would simply like the government to recognize them. As an example, Mr. Kasian Mapunda, from Njombe CBO, argued,

Sometimes we need just to be recognized and supported by the government beyond what money can do. We need to participate in trainings provided by our government, but we lack those opportunities. We need to show the community we are doing the right thing, and the government should know and see that. We need to be recognized so we can further support those in need.

Similarly, Maryam Mwalim, of the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women, and Children of Zanzibar, asserted,

We think the whole system is the problem because we implementers work hard and we think the high ranked leaders would recognize and appreciate us, and also push our work even further, but it ends right here. They see the cases we deal with and know where we are with them, but they just move on with other business. It all remains on us.

Several DVRM organizations contended that when the government does recognize them, it is often with promises to make reforms and change. However, these promises are often never fulfilled or are subject to long delays. As Ms. Athanasia Soka, an advocate from WLAC, expressed,

The government has sometimes responded that discriminatory laws are laws that touch the entire society, and so the government needs to act slowly. They
believe that this is not something that can be changed rapidly. You would think the opposite, the urgency of changing it, but for government it is not. As an example, representatives from UMATI expressed frustration because of the lack of government response to implementing a 1996 amendment to the Education Act of 1969. As described in Chapter V under “legal reform”, the original law required the removal of pregnant girls from school. The 1996 amendment permitted girls to continue their education following a maternity leave. At the time of the amendment, UMATI believed that there was sincere interest by Parliament to quickly implement the amendment. However, this has not been the case. As of 2005 UNMATI was still lobbying Parliament to implement the amendment. Dr. Mbunda, Executive Director of UNMATI, explained,

In 2005 some members of Parliament came here, and we performed drama and plays to advocate and educate on behalf of the needs of the girls we serve. We were then invited to the Parliament where we performed again in collaboration with other NGOs. Some members of the audience were in tears. The government had promised to implement the changes of the 1996 amendment, but to date they have not yet responded to our suggestions and requests. You would think they would respond immediately...

Similar frustration was expressed by TAMWA. According to my interview with Ms. Razia Mwawanga, Project Officer, the government had promised several times to amend the Law of Marriage Act (LMA) of 1971 (also referenced as the “Marriage Law”) which, as described in Chapters II and V, exposes women to various forms of abuse and discrimination. She stated, “The government is long overdue on amending
the LMA of 1971. And we now hear it will be amended next year. The law needs to be very specific with every detail spelled out -- abuse, divorce, care, matrimonial issues, etcetera.” TAMWA archived newspaper clippings documenting the government’s inactivity with regard to changing the LMA. The first clip (figure 27) is dated June 16, 2007 and the second (figure 28) is dated September 26, 2007. Both address the overdue promise to amend the Marriage Law.

Figure 27  LMA Amendment Overdue (Source: TAMWA)
Unequal Gender Representation in Government

According to data from the TGNP, under representation of women in the law development and reform sectors is central to understanding the government’s lack of acknowledgement of and responsiveness to domestic violence. The belief is that because gender representation in parliament is unequal, male parliament members are less cognizant of and feel less pressure to consider women’s rights issues. The picture (figure 29) below was taken in the hallway of the TGNP office in Dar es Salaam. It expresses the demand for an equal number of seats by gender in the parliament. The title reads, “Ten years after Beijing and 45 years after independence…”; the sub-title reads, “The number of Ministers and Representatives women and men;” and the lower part reads, “Now we need 50/50 in all levels!” The TGNP poster asserts that equal representation is necessary to facilitate expeditious law and policy reform for women’s rights. However, women are nowhere close to being equally represented in political roles. Only 30 percent of government offices are occupied by women (Tanzania Parliament, 2007). This underrepresentation of women is certainly not
unique to Tanzania. Many countries, including the United States, have not yet achieved equal gender representation in political offices. Regardless, in a culture that is so openly supportive of women's oppression, not having decent political representation is seen as a tremendous barrier to addressing domestic violence.

Figure 29 Demand for Equal Gender Representation (Source: TGNP)
The lack of women’s representation in public offices is seen as especially problematic in lobbying efforts. Advocate Soka, of WLAC, reported her disappointment in the response to meeting with government officials to lobby for legal reform on domestic violence, arguing that,

The leadership and those who developed laws are all men and they do not accept change… These men at the meeting argued that you can’t change some of these laws today, as it will be like opening Pandora’s Box. They supposedly argue that society and laws regarding women are good as they are. We shouldn’t be digging into or striving to change them or we will cause more trouble. Government didn’t even have a defense on the arguments that the NGOs made for change. They said that if one is not satisfied with the laws and traditions that disturb or are problematic to this society, they should formally go through the ward leaders and follow this path to higher levels, like the Minister of Culture, who at his/her discretion will accept or decline the change. Nothing has been done to date because lawmakers are mostly men and are not ready to change the laws that will go against them. They feel that a woman belongs where she is now.

According to the interview with Ms. Genoviva Kato from TAWLA, when laws that discriminate against women continue to be embraced, it becomes difficult for the DVRM to move forward with its efforts. Ms. Kato provided an example,

In 2006 two widows from Shinyanga Region (in west-central Tanzania) challenged customary law in court, alleging that it discriminates against
women and violates the Tanzanian Constitution. TAWLA worked hard to support these women, however their case was unsuccessful.

Legal Constraints

Despite the challenges involved with legal reform efforts, abused women may still rely on the justice system for addressing some of their concerns. However, these processes are seen as flawed by the DVRM as well. The failings of the legal system in Tanzania were associated with a multitude of issues, including misuse of power and discretion by justice officials, a lack of knowledge about domestic violence by justice officials, bureaucracy and corruption within the justice system, witnesses’ unwillingness to testify and case delays, as well as divorce laws. Such issues create a major impediment in the efforts of the DVRM. As with other aspects of society discussed in this chapter, the legal system and legal authorities did not seem to see domestic violence as an important issue to address.

Misuse of Power, Discretion, and Lack of Knowledge within the Legal System

Several concerns were noted by the DVRM organizations and other participating entities about the justice system’s response to domestic violence. On most accounts, police were seen as misusing their power and lacking knowledge and training when dealing with domestic violence victims. As discussed in Chapter II, the police are often harsh to victims, exhibiting little compassion or empathy toward them. In most cases, the police attempt to facilitate reconciliations or otherwise try to convince the victims to drop their cases. As Officer Fabian Matumia, from Oysterbay Station, reported,
If she cooperates and gets to the police, and both the victim and offender are there, in many cases the police will start mediating, asking the husband, "Why did you do this to your woman?" A man may start apologizing and giving excuses like "I was drunk" or "It is just a devil," etcetera, and the case starts to fall apart and ends there.

It is important to point out that resolving cases in this manner is not really the role of police. Representatives from several DVRMs expressed frustration with police in their jurisdictions who, through their responses to battered women, seemed to be attempting to do other people’s or entities’ work. Additionally, since police are not seen as possessing adequate knowledge and training for handling domestic violence cases, having them attempt to mediate between couples could be harmful to victims.

Regarding the lack of special and specific training to handle domestic violence issues, Officer Matumia argued that, "Some women come to the police for informal advice before they decide to do anything with the justice system. When they get here they meet very unqualified, untrained, and uneducated police officers who will try, unskillfully, to resolve the cases." In addition, the officer asserted, "Lack of education and training is a major problem for the officials and the victims themselves, who primarily need education about their rights, what they deserve and the fair ways in which they need to be treated."

Explaining the problem further, the officer added that while domestic violence training is sometimes provided to police officers, the highest ranking officials (who actually do not work with the victims) often make use of the training before rank and file officers. (Interestingly, the same concern was raised earlier with regard to the
training available for DVRM staff and volunteers.) This is especially true if they are paid for attending such seminars. Mr. Max Biligi, a public prosecutor from Kisutu Court, described this problem with regard to a domestic violence training he happened to attend on investigating child and woman abuse cases. He reported,

The major problem of this training was misuse of resources by justice officials. Very wrong people come to the training largely because of financial gain. Officials working on different sections came to the seminar. This was just a waste of time. Their ranks also are top. They do not really deal with the domestic violence cases. Regional police officers brought people who are very wrong for domestic violence case investigation. Therefore, the training was important but who attended was the problem.

Mr. Biligi was quite vocal about the deficiency in knowledge, experience, and training exhibited by justice officials. Along with police, he critiqued investigators and prosecutors. As he explained,

Investigators especially lack education, a background in law, as well as investigative skills. It is very difficult to deal with them. They do not know even the ingredients of investigation. There is a big disconnection between their field and desk work. They collect data and when they come here they cannot even fit it in the preparation of a case. Can you rely on this person? They need some academic standards and training as pre-requisites for these positions. We need multiple tasked personnel for good connectivity of facts and easier work for judges.
Lack of knowledge and skills was brought up in several other interviews as well. Two public prosecutors (introduced to me only as Mr. Kombe and Mr. Ndusyepo – no first names) of Kisutu Court who, like other public prosecutors at this court, have backgrounds as police officers, agreed to be interviewed but reported little to no knowledge about domestic violence. Mr. Kombe’s response reinforced the fact that few domestic violence cases reach the courts, as was discussed in Chapter II and IV. As he commented,

People take domestic violence as less serious and private so they don’t report to us. Very few domestic violence cases come to the court and no offenders ever go to prison. I have never handled a domestic violence case before, but I remember a rape case.

On the other hand, Mr. Ndusyepo was in almost total denial of the existence of domestic violence. As he reported,

Most cases here are of women against other women fighting for something, including for men. Most men are brought here for other cases, like theft, robbery, etcetera. Cases regarding men and violence are mostly for rape, abduction, molestation, etcetera. Domestic violence is not a problem nowadays. Not only that, but people don’t report this as a problem. I don’t think I can even adequately answer your questions on domestic violence. Maybe you can reframe your research so that it doesn’t bind me to domestic violence.

Although some of the information the prosecutors provided was truthful (few domestic violence cases do reach the courts), their overall lack of knowledge about
the problem was concerning. The necessary training had obviously not been provided to these prosecutors, or they had not made use of it. Thankfully, such was not the case with all of the prosecutors I interviewed. In a third prosecutorial interview with Mr. Max Biligi, I obtained significant information about the legal procedures related to domestic violence.

The lack of clear laws pertaining to domestic violence and the discretion extended to judges continue to plague cases that do make it through the court system. In the infrequent scenario that a case reaches the point of sentencing, punishment and compensation are determined based on the degree of harm associated with the case, offense history, and the judge or magistrate's mercy. If "grievous harm" is determined, an offender may face up to seven years imprisonment. If "assault harm" is determined, an offender may face up to three years imprisonment. The exact duration of imprisonment may then be set depending on an offender's criminal history and the magistrate's mercy. Given the low rates with which domestic violence cases are processed through the justice system, it is unlikely that any particular offender will have a criminal history, at least one connected to intimate partner assault. Furthermore, given the gendered expectations placed on Tanzanian wives within marriage, the view the domestic violence is not a serious problem, and the general lack of concern for women's issues within government sectors, mercy may be easily appropriated to offenders.

Moreover, it is difficult to determine the degree of harm incurred due to domestic violence, in accordance to the law, because this type of victimization often involves not only physical but also emotional, psychological and financial harm.
Emotional and psychological harm, in particular, are difficult to tangibly illustrate and calculate. Thus, the punishment and compensation allocated in domestic violence cases does not often equal the harm and expenses victims incur. Even when the cost of the harm is determined, magistrates and judges can modify and downplay the charges against abusers. This discretionary adjustment is allowed even in cases involving a victim’s death. According to my interview with Prosecutor Biligi,

Even if the husband murders his wife, the court, under the judge’s discretion, may reduce the charge to manslaughter if the accused provides evidence that he was provoked by the victim. Because there are no clear criteria or standards for determining provocation, judges are able to utilize much discretion.

Bureaucracy and Corruption within the Justice System

Investigating domestic violence cases is also a problem in itself, as it is a heavily bureaucratic process necessitating significant time. As an example, several DVRM representatives complained that the Police Form Number 3 (PF3) (discussed in Chapter II) procedure is very bureaucratic, from the time the victim is admitted to the hospital to the time the form is completed. The form requires the victim be attended by a district or higher level medical officer, who then determines the degree of harm. Until the victim completely heals, the determination cannot be completed so as to accurately ascertain the type of harm. This means that there should be no bail given to the abuser if the victim is admitted to a hospital. While the victim is at the hospital, police officers must hold the investigation, but sometimes they never move forward. As WLAC advocate, Athanasia Soka, noted, “Domestic violence cases are very bureaucratic in the justice system.” More often than not, the investigation results
in little or no information or feedback being given to victims. This may be partly contributed to investigators’ lack of knowledge and skill, and serves to further condemn the justice system’s handling of domestic violence.

Moreover, according to Advocate Soka from WLAC, the offender in some cases bribes doctors, who then provide untruthful information on the PF3 or deliberately delay the form process. The problem of corruption was not unique to doctors; other legal justice officials seemed to be involved as well. As she states,

In one instance, the mother of the victim girl stood firm and faced the court official she suspected was bribed by the offender, as he was insensitive and impolite in many ways to the victim. She told him “I will not give up on my child. I will fight to death. I won’t bribe anyone—after all I don’t have the money for that—but this case will get to the end.”

Such corruption discourages victims and impedes the DVRM activists’ efforts in aiding them.

During my observations, I witnessed further unresponsiveness by the court system. For example, in cases where offenders could speak English but their victims could not, they often did so in order to confuse and disadvantage the victims. There was little attempt by the court to find a translator or for judges or prosecutors to offer to translate (even briefly) for victims. When I asked a prosecutor on duty why offenders were allowed to speak in a language the victims did not understand, he stated that the court gives the offender the right to express himself in whatever language he wants. He explained that while the prosecutor on duty is supposed to translate, this does not occur for many reasons. Sometimes prosecutors do not know
how to translate fluently, and more often than not, they are being forced to do more than their regular work loads as it is. To expect them to translate is seen as an undue burden.

I was able to help translate for victims on days that I observed court, but even so, the victims often expressed frustration with their cases, feeling as though the court was supporting their abusers' efforts in using the legal system to continue victimization. When victims tell other women of their experience with the court system, those who might have considered going through legal channels may be dissuaded from doing so. When victims are fearful of or avoid the system that is supposed to help them, this becomes an impediment to the efforts of the DVRM movement at large. Indeed, much of this fear is a product of the justice system's failings described throughout the last several sections of this chapter. As Prosecutor Biligi argued,

"Customer care" in general in the court is zero -- very poor. The language of the court is commanding. There is really no special treatment afforded to victims. Instead, victims feel more humiliated and doubly victimized - first by their abusers and second by the justice system. Even when a case is postponed, the victim is not informed. Very rarely does the judge apologize to the victim for such matters.

Witnesses' Unwillingness to Testify and Case Delays

Obtaining witnesses is another major obstacle that impedes justice for victims of domestic violence. The unwillingness of witnesses to help women victims often
causes many delays in the processing of cases that do reach the courts. This in turn complicates the efforts of the DVRM.

Since domestic violence often happens inside a home (in private), it is difficult to find and secure witnesses. However, in cases where there are witnesses, they are most likely kids or relatives (perhaps of the husband). The conflict of interests between the children and loyalty to their respective parents makes it difficult to gain their cooperation and to convince them to testify in court. Relatives may also feel divided in their loyalty and, given the social expectations of Tanzanian women to endure and forgive the actions of their spouses, may refuse to assist female victims.

As Ms. Athanasia Soka from WLAC attested,

Sometimes the children and relative witnesses may agree to testify, but when the time comes they turn hostile and may say they didn’t see it. They try to balance loyalty between the man and woman, which may influence the case decision and the belief of what happened. Sometimes it may be viewed as exaggeration, and the court may acquit the offender.

I learned the difficulties of obtaining witness cooperation first hand throughout four hearing observations on a case in Kisutu Magistrate Court. My observations occurred between September 4 and October 30, 2007 and totaled 21 hours. The victim in this case had been severely burned all over her body by an electric iron her boyfriend had used in an assault. At the time that I met her, she suffered from huge and painful scarring. She had worked very hard to convince her witnesses (neighbors and relatives) of their safety in hopes that they would just admit what they saw to officials. The victim had to make several trips to the witnesses’
homes and even tried to cover their expenses, such as bus fares to and from the court, but the witnesses still failed to appear at every hearing. Before one of the scheduled hearings, a witness asked the victim to wait for her at the victim's home the day of the hearing so that they could go together to the court. The victim waited, but the witness never came. The victim ended up arriving to her hearing late, without the witness. These types of scenarios caused the case to be repeatedly postponed. I spoke to the victim before and after several of these postponements and learned that the case began in 2005. I have continued to follow the case and as of October 2008, it had still not been resolved. While other factors also contributed to the case being prolonged, the unwillingness of witnesses to cooperate has been central to its continuous delay.

Conversely, prolonged cases also lead to witnesses’ increasing unwillingness to testify. During my observation of the same case described above, the victim told me that one witness who had previously promised to testify in court was no longer willing to do so because she did not remember well enough what she had witnessed. Even the victim's brother, who was working hard to support his sister in her case, was uncertain of details during his testimony. Asserting to this fact, Advocate Soka, who was assisting in this case, admitted,

This case is not unique. When this case started we had six witnesses, including neighbors and the boy's ex-girlfriend, who were willing to testify in court. Now we only have her brother and two more witnesses. The others keep changing phone numbers and residences, making it difficult to reach them. One said she is pregnant so she can't do this... I tell you, a woman who carries the case to the end is considered “very brave”. It is very rare.

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Another downside to the continuous delay of cases is increased court costs, which must be absorbed by the victims. Given the relative poverty of many women in Tanzania, affording the costs associated with continuing their cases is an enormous impediment to their ability to achieve some semblance of justice. During my observation at WLAC, one young woman (about 19 years old), whose case was being followed by WLAC advocates in the legal system, expressed the impacts she faced due to the prolonging of her case. The victim had not been able to complete her schooling (she ended in standard seven) and had subsequently had a difficult time obtaining secure employment. Because of the ongoing involvement in court, at the time she was at WLAC she did not have any income and was economically dependent upon her mother. Her mother was quite burdened by this, as much as she wanted to help her daughter, as she also did not have a professional job, but rather worked in the informal sector (small business). The mother did manage to provide most of her daughter's bus fares to the court as well as the bus fares for the witnesses, and covered all other case-related costs. The victim explained that she has worked very hard to maintain contact with her witnesses who have moved to various parts of the city, often traveling to meet with them even though she continues to suffer from her wounds, particularly during weather changes. She admitted that she has sometimes missed court hearings because her mother did not have money for transportation.

The scarcity and discretion of judges also contribute to cases delays. Because the court system is overburdened with cases, judges are allowed to select which matters they will hear on any given day, based on how they interpret their seriousness and meaningfulness. Explaining the problem, Prosecutor Biligi stated that typically
very few judges on duty for hearing cases on any particular day will choose to handle
domestic violence,

One judge hears 30-40 cases in one day. So judges select public interest cases,
which they subjectively define. Some domestic violence cases may therefore
fall far away from public interest cases as opposed to cases such as fraud,
murder, etcetera. In this case, the victim may be sent home several times, and
may end up dropping the case.

It is certainly difficult for DVRM organizations to assist domestic violence victims
when such cases are not seen as important enough to hear.

I experienced this firsthand upon one of my court observations. I arrived at
Kisutu Court on September 10, 2007 at 9:00 a.m., as instructed by Advocate Soka
from WLAC, through whom I gained access for several court observations. In
preparing me for the observations, she informed me that while court hearings begin at
9:00 a.m., there is no specific time assigned to each particular case. Having learned of
the delays encountered by many victims, it was no surprise that I ended up waiting for
several hours, only for the case to be postponed at the end of the day. This was a
typical occurrence according to WLAC, and indeed it happened to me more than
once. On another occasion (October 30, 2007), I arrived to court at the requisite 9:00
a.m. start time and met the victim of the case. The victim’s brother was scheduled to
testify that day, his testimony having been postponed three times already. Eight cases
were called and postponed before the case I was there to observe was called at 1:12
p.m., along with several others. The order in which cases are called is based on the
judge people were scheduled to see, and his discretionary assessments about which
cases to prioritize, rather than case name or pre-established priority. So even after the case was called, I still waited over two hours before the judge was ready to hear it at 3:20 p.m. It was then postponed without a clear explanation to the victim.

Upon speaking to the victim and some of the advocates who regularly attended this court, I learned that unless the public prosecutor offers the victim an explanation, she has no way of understanding what is happening. Prosecutors handle many cases in one day and do not always have time to talk to each individual victim. They also deal with all types of cases; no single prosecutor specializes in domestic violence. Thus is it is sometimes difficult and intimidating for victims to wait around in hopes of obtaining an explanation from the prosecutors of their cases. They are often left with no other conclusion than that their cases are not important to the court system.

**Divorce Laws**

Finally, several organizations and entities involved in this study, including Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA), SSF, WLAC, Zanzibar Wakfu Commission (ZWC), Kadhi Court and TAWLA, named divorce laws and procedures, in particular, as barriers to the DVRM’s efforts. Even though the Marriage Law Act of 1971 theoretically allows for divorce, it makes it difficult to obtain one. The primary court (the initial, lower level of court structure) has jurisdiction over divorce matters. Prior to a divorce being granted, this law requires formal reconciliation efforts through a religious or government reconciliation board. Article 294 of the MLA states, “No person shall petition for divorce unless he or she has first referred the matrimonial difficulty to a Board and the Board has certified that it has failed to
reconcile the parties…” (Tanzania Parliament, 2007). According to my interview with Ms. Kato, of TAWLA, “The reconciliation requirement is an institutional roadblock that limits domestic violence women victims’ ability to dissolve and get out of their abusive marriages.”

In addition, the woman must encounter her husband in court in order to obtain a divorce, and must prove beyond a reasonable doubt that there is an “irreparable breakdown” of the marriage, according to Article 99 of the MLA (Tanzania Parliament, 2007). As Prosecutor Biligi emphasized,

Remember the wife seeking divorce is the same wife who has already developed a great marriage bond with her husband, is the same wife who economically depends on the husband for the well being of herself and family, and the one who is believed and or regarded by the husband and community to be “merciful” enough to forgive. This is the wife who has already been advised by family and friends, together with law enforcement officials processing the case, to be tolerant with her husband and drop the case. She is also the one who is threatened by her husband and fears retaliation by her husband after the divorce. All these obstacles are just enough for her to give up.

According to an interview with Sheik Said, of Kadhi Court in Zanzibar, the Islamic law governing divorce is even more complicated. The sheik reports,

Sometimes a Muslim woman can be evicted from the house by her husband, but if the husband does not initiate a divorce, no process can be started for the divorce. This is a typical divorce procedure at the Kadhi Court in Zanzibar.
This procedure would be different for a Christian or non-Muslim woman or if the woman was a resident of the Tanzania mainland.

Although the courts recognize domestic violence as grounds for divorce (Tanzania Human Rights Report, 2006), women often tolerate the abuse for a very long time before they seek this option. As Sheik Said further argued, “It is important to point out that women do not always want a divorce in the first place. Their desire is to end the violence and their victimization. Thus, divorce is often used as a last resort to stop their husbands from abusing them.” Moreover, as representatives from WLAC, ZWC, Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children in Zanzibar in Zanzibar, and the Kadhi Court attested, divorce does not guarantee the end of domestic violence. Abuse may continue in a variety of ways, such as a man failing to support his children, leaving the responsibility to his often financially destitute ex-wife. Ms. Maryam Mwalim, Gender and Legal Officer for the Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children, explained,

After divorce children always go with their mother. The father doesn’t even suggest he can take them, and even if he did, the children would not dare to go with him due to fear of more abuse, neglect, and losing their mother. Such women come here and need help from us but we can’t help them. Sometimes we help them with a bus fair and refer them to the Kadhi Court that deals with marriage matters.

On this matter Sheik Said affirmed,

We are trying to develop a plan for the fathers to support their children after divorce. It is very difficult to get in touch with them. We send letters
sometimes twice, three times and we call them, but they never show up. If they come, some agree to the support plan and actually do it but others agree but never do it. And we don’t have a systematic way to follow up until the woman comes to report again.

Sheik Said further explained that the difficulty of getting in touch with the fathers primarily results from various factors related to resources and the country’s organizational structure. He stated, “In most cases, the court relies on the (ex)wives to send the letters, which are largely ignored by the men. The court does not have enough staff to do anything more, such as physically locating the fathers and serving court orders.” In Tanzania, for instance, there are no residential addresses; post boxes are used instead. There are also no national identifications, such as social security numbers, to be used in controlling and tracking the payments.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the many constraints and challenges faced by the DVRM in Tanzania. As reported by movement organizations and other entities included in this study, a combination of economic, social, cultural, political, and legal constraints work together to hinder the development process of the DVRM and its efforts to assist domestic violence victims. Throughout these discussions, I drew attention to aspects of the DVRM that are distinct due to urban, rural, and religious (which according to research participants, were particularly specific to Muslim) settings. For example, most DVRM organizations seem to be based in urban areas and are thus not easily accessible in rural locales. Moreover, while customary laws and cultural values, such as patriarchy, affect all women, Muslim women face
additional issues associated with and facilitated by Islamic laws and culture, including polygamy. In the next and final chapter of this dissertation, I will summarize the main findings of this study, acknowledge the weaknesses encountered throughout the research process (and how I dealt with them), discuss policy implications of my findings, and suggest areas for future research.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Summary of the Research

Domestic violence, economic violence and disempowerment, and other forms of mistreatment within marital and intimate relationships, is a major social problem in Tanzania. Moreover, domestic abuse is a gendered phenomenon, with most of occurrences being perpetrated by men. Addressing this social problem is complicated by the fact that within the Tanzanian context, due to the political, economic and historical context of gender relations, domestic violence merits a broad social definition. Beyond the traditional, more Western, definition involving physical, sexual and emotional abuse within intimate relationships, it must also acknowledge the role of social abuses including forced, arranged and underage marriages; polygamy; bride prices; inappropriate pre-marriage education; exclusion of women from receiving inheritance or land rights, equal employment and access to education; as well as other forms of gendered violence such as witchcraft persecution and female genital mutilation (FGM) all of which are believed to exacerbate the problem of domestic violence. The DVRM’s predominant view is that such issues are a substantial hurdle in the freedom and autonomy of Tanzanian women. The definition must also recognize the victimization of women by agents of their male partners, particularly the man’s family members upon his death.
Domestic violence in Tanzania is relatively widespread, with the best estimates suggesting that more than 56% of women in large cities, such as Dar es Salaam, are victimized (WHO, 2006). The problem has historically been considered a private matter, thus any efforts towards addressing it have been regarded as an invasion of family privacy. This has consequently rationalized the lack of activist response to domestic violence in the country prior to recent years. Most domestic violence cases are handled informally; victims commonly fail to report their victimization to justice authorities, opting instead to suffer in silence due to shame, fear of reprisal, or lack of information on where to seek assistance (TAMWA, 2002). Tanzanian women’s fear of the police and distrust of the criminal justice system, the courts in particular, is also a barrier to their use of the legal system in resolving instances of domestic violence (Hirsch, 2003). In addition, the culture of Tanzania traditionally encourages forgiveness, reconciliation, and problem resolution through informal community means -- through elders, local and religious leaders, neighbors, and friends. These figures hold great influence over whether or not a victim reports the crime to the justice system.

In recent years, since the early 1990s, a domestic violence rights movement DVRM has emerged to address the plight of women who are abused within their intimate relationships. During the same decade, similar developments started in many other African countries, such as Ghana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Mali (Green, 1999). This development of these movements is relatively late as compared to the most developed countries, such the United States, England, and Italy, in which domestic violence movements began throughout 1960s and 1970s (Bush, 1992; Katzenstein &
Moreover, given the broader conceptualization of domestic violence within Tanzania, DVRM organizations have developed in a unique and more expansive ways, with attention to addressing a myriad of interconnected problems related to women's victimization and human rights. Such as been the case in other African countries as well, but is also distinct from the domestic violence movements established in more industrialized countries, which have focused explicitly on physical, sexual and emotional victimization between intimate partners.

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding and broaden the knowledge of the state of the DVRM in Tanzania. The study was aimed at answering the overarching question: What is the nature of the domestic violence rights movement in Tanzania? The sub-questions relevant to and addressed by this research included: What factors prompted the development of a DVRM in Tanzania in the mid-1990s? What types of organizations have developed, or turned their attention toward domestic violence (in the case of pre-existing organizations) as a result? What influence has the DVRM, by virtue of these organizational entities, had in facilitating social and legal reform with regard to domestic violence? What types of constraints and challenges has the DVRM faced and what has been done to overcome them (including discussion of various cultural norms that impact the DVRM's efforts and how the movement has addressed them)? Did these efforts differ between rural and urban areas of Tanzania, and if yes, how so? Are there any differences that can be accounted for by religion?
A conceptual description of Tanzania and a discussion of the complexity of studying the cultural and traditional customs surrounding a social problem like domestic violence provided relevant literature for this study. In addition, the theoretical explanation of feminist and social movements provided a framework for the study of domestic violence and the need for the DVRM and its respective organizations. A qualitative phenomenological approach was used to gather various forms of data in Tanzania between June and October, 2007. Data included 36 semi-structured in-depth interviews, 70 hours of observation, and 85 hours of material collection. The participants’ words, observations, and materials comprised the data, and the analysis thereof focused on the experiences and meanings participants attached to the phenomenon of the DVRM and its impact on the lives of battered women. This analysis highlighted the problem of domestic violence in Tanzania, delineating its prevalence and the cultural norms associated with it, as well as the definition and magnitude of the problem. The analysis also examined the legal and cultural definitions of domestic violence, as reflected by the Tanzanian context. In addition, the “findings” chapters discussed the various societal responses to domestic violence, featuring the work of DVRM organizations throughout.

The Tanzanian DVRM has included the activities of several organizations. Included in this study were the Gender Center of the University of Dar es Salaam (GC-UD), Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), Njombe District Non-Governmental Organizations (NJODINGO), National Organization for Legal Assistance (NOLA), Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF), Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP), Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA), Tanzania
Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), Uzazi na Malezi Bora Tanzania (UMATI), Women in Law and Development Africa (WiLDAF), Women’s Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA), and Zanzibar Women Development Organization (ZAWDO). Based on the Feminist Coalition (FemAct), an umbrella networking and coalition-building organization with more than 28 member organizations specializing in gender, children, environment, health, and so forth in Tanzania (see Appendix I), this is a complete list of DVRM organizations based in my three study sites of Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, and Njombe. I studied the activities of these organizations within three sites of Tanzania. The activities of these organizations have ranged from raising women’s legal consciousness, promoting legal literacy and facilitating accessibility of legal systems for women, to lobbying for legal and policy reform and more generally advocating for the rights of women (Hirsch, 2003; TAMWA, 1998; & TGNP, 1993).

The DVRM organizations, as they identify themselves with FemAct, are feminist based. As such, they are characterized by qualities and activities that other feminist movement organizations have. For instance, they tend to officially endorse feminist ideology and beliefs associated with the larger (global) women’s movement. Moreover, although some non-DVRM governmental entities, such as the Njombe CBO and Kisutu Court, expressed the problem with high ranked leaders inappropriately taking training opportunities, as discussed in Chapter VI, most of the DVRM organizations seemed to adhere to values that emphasize the importance of mutual caring, support, cooperation, interpersonal relationships, personal growth, development and empowerment (Martin, 1990). In addition, feminist organizations’
goals are often aimed at helping the broader community, seeing women as an oppressed group in general, and working toward emancipatory change for women as a class (e.g., legal reform, as highlighted throughout this study) (Dever, 2004; Donovan, 2000; Martin, 1990).

Moreover, such organizations, like those found within other social movements, often network and collaborate with other entities, including the government, and are quick to form coalitions in order to further their agendas. They are also primarily non-profit-based and so must constantly compete for funding and resources. This category of organizations, like other social movement organizations, is often guided by rules and regulations that direct membership, recruitment and termination (Martin, 1990). In addition, feminist organizations tend to be local in scope and small in scale (Beasley, 1999; Donovan, 2000; Martin, 1990). The DVRM in Tanzania is not unique in this manner. As Belknap (2006), Katzenstein (1989), and Margolis (1993) contend, most feminist-based women’s rights movements tend to favor groups that are autonomous, organizing around certain specific issues in a decentralized fashion. The Tanzanian DVRM, as many other social movements, began as a grass-roots effort aimed at addressing issues associated with women.

The DVRM in Tanzania aligns with both liberal and radical feminism; however liberal feminism seems to best explain the findings of the study in terms of the efforts of the DVRM organizations. A liberal feminist approach explains women’s position in society in terms of unequal rights with men, or “artificial” barriers to women’s participation in the public sphere (Beasley, 1999, p. 51). Liberal feminism focuses on legal, political and institutional struggles for the rights of individuals,
striving for access to what men have in society and emphasizing reform of society. This is the essence of the DVRM in Tanzania, in that its concerted focus is on legal reform and equal opportunity. As discussed in Chapter VI, for instance, the DVRM representatives indicated the problem with unequal gender representation in the parliament, which is the key source of law making, legal reform and other policies that discriminate against women in Tanzania. The DVRM's effort to address legal reform through greater gender equality within Parliament is exactly the type of activities liberal feminist social movements would be expected to undertake. For liberal feminists, legal reform is a success in and of itself. The DVRM representatives in Tanzania made it very clear that legal reform and women's access to the law in general, were central issues of the movement. This type of movement orientation challenges the rights of the advantaged men, as compared to disadvantaged women, and seeks redress and remedy for such differences.

Alternatively, a radical feminist approach challenges and attempts to resolve the issue of women's oppression as women in a society and culture dominated by men. Radical feminism focuses on domination and oppression of women in societies characterized by patriarchy, recognizing that sexual oppression is crucial within such schemes (Beasley, 1999; Jaggar, 1983). Referencing Africa more generally, Green (1999) argues that the intention of domestic violence is to perpetuate and promote the hierarchy of gender relations, with men controlling resources and exhibiting great power over females only because they are females. In addition, women under radical feminism are considered to have more in common with other women regardless of other social characteristics (e.g., economic class, ethnicity, and religious
identification), than they have with any man (Klein, 1984). In accordance to my findings in this study, the social and political system of Tanzania therefore is perceived to allow, as Beasley (1999) argues with regard to patriarchal societies, “all men without exception to share the benefits of social system of male supremacy” (p. 56), of course with an exception of a few men who may at least struggle against the domination and even join the DVRM, as identified in Chapter IV. Thus, radical feminism informs the overall conceptualization of women’s status within Tanzania.

Although I acknowledge that radical feminism it is not the best theoretical approach for making sense of my findings, as this orientation tends not to be very interested in working within the confines of the law (since the law is seen as terminally flawed by patriarchy), it is important to acknowledge that radical feminism did guide the early domestic violence movements in industrialized countries, like the United States and England (Katzenstein & Mueller, 1987; Moe, 1999). However, it is also important to note that as such movements progressed they became more liberal in tone, particularly working within the law for change and the like (Moe, 1999). Thus, that the major goals of the Tanzanian DVRM focus on equality, legal reform and education, fitting well within the tenets of liberal feminism, this should not be too surprising given the evolution of feminism within other domestic violence movements.

Within Dar es Salaam, Njombe and Zanzibar, the DVRM has worked in close proximity to a number of governmental and religious entities, which were also included in this study. These included the Community Based Organization (CBO) of Njombe Municipal, Ilala District Court, Kadhi Court of Zanzibar, Kisutu Magistrate
Court of Dar es Salaam, Lutheran Church of Njombe, Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children of Zanzibar, Oysterbay Police Station of Dar es Salaam, Roman Catholic Church of Njombe, the University of Dar es Salaam, and Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC) of Zanzibar. These entities have been involved with either providing government based services (e.g., handling cases within the court system) or offering counseling and advocacy based services (e.g., providing religious based social support) to domestic violence victims. Though they are not DVRM organizations per se, they have been heavily involved in addressing domestic abuse as a social problem in Tanzania.

In terms of influence and impact on addressing domestic violence, the Tanzanian DVRM has made significant inroads by providing advocacy and legal assistance through clinics; increasing education and awareness through the use of paralegals, conferences, workshops, and the media; and pushing for legal reform, which is instituted primarily through lobbying efforts, collaboration, and use of the media. Such success is seen by DVRMs in Tanzania, and more generally in Africa (Green, 1999), as quite positive given the patriarchal nature of families, the extent to which women remain uneducated, and the prevailing economic and social dependence of women on their male partners (Green, 1999; Mosha & Johnson, 2004; Mbilinyi, Rusimbi, Chachage, & Kitunga, 2003). Differences prevailed between rural and urban settings, as well as those based on religion. For example, while many organizations were based in urban settings, with clinics, conferences and workshops being common activities, paralegals seemed to be more widely used and influential in rural settings. As described in Chapter V, the rural paralegals strive to bring
awareness of women’s issues to community members through various efforts, including public seminars and performances (e.g., dances, songs, plays and drama and story-telling). Such activities support Ovuwele’s (1998) argument that despite the lack of sizeable written documentation about African experiences and knowledge about women, some African feminists are able to spread educational awareness about women, men and their human relationships through “verbal arts and great collections of songs, liturgies, proverbs, stories, and aphorisms which express specific beliefs” (p. 105).

Moreover, while customary laws such as the Law of Marriage Act (LMA) impacted all women in the nation, DVRM organizations in Islamic regions, such as Zanzibar and Lindi, faced additional cultural challenges because of such laws. Based on the Islamic religion, for instance, if the bride does not produce sons, it is considered her fault, and the husband is more likely to divorce her or marry a second/third/fourth wife (Keddie & Beck, 1978). Overall, many of the movement organizations expressed satisfaction with their work and the difference they were making in the lives of the women victims of domestic violence. Indeed, as Schechter (1982) argues, domestic violence movement organizations may drastically change the lives of thousands of women as a result of their services and support. In addition, domestic violence movements bring together diverse individuals struggling with similar issues and striving for common goals. Schechter posits that women’s movements in general have been highly successful not only because of their well defined goals but also due to the incorporation of lessons from similar movements.
Learning thus becomes a crucial aspect for the success of the DVRM in Tanzania, particularly while it continues to deal with various barriers.

To be sure, despite some success, the DVRM has faced many challenges. A primary barrier to its success involves culture. The traditional customs, cultural practices, patriarchy, and religious beliefs embraced by the majority in Tanzania, especially in rural areas and under Islam, complicate appropriate responses to domestic violence. Indeed, cultural beliefs and practices tend to shape women’s needs and struggles for change in developing countries such as Tanzania (Katzenstein, 1989; Katzenstein & Mueller, 1987; Margolis, 1993; Hirsch, 2003; TAMWA, 1998, 1999). The social and cultural constraints that continue to plague efforts to address violence against women include women’s abandonment, the social stigma attached to reporting victimization, social norms related to women being merciful and inferior to men, polygamy, the continued lack of education and awareness of domestic violence, and the impact of the lack of resources in rural communities.

In addition, economic constraints have impacted the DVRM in terms of lack of funds, and donor dependence, which have contributed to a relatively weak organizational capacity within the movement. Political constraints have also posed challenges to the success of the movement. These have included various governmental barriers related to scarce funding, lack of recognition, and underrepresentation of women in government positions. Legal barriers have complicated the matter further, with the misuse of power and discretion by justice officials, the general lack of knowledge about domestic violence by such officials, bureaucracy and corruption within the system, witnesses’ unwillingness to testify,
case delays, and divorce laws. Moreover, because most DVRM organizations were
based in urban areas, their services were not easily accessible to rural populations.
Finally, Muslim women faced additional issues associated with and facilitated by
Islamic laws, in addition to customary laws. All in all, although the DVRM exists and
is active in Tanzania (which is a great thing), the movement faces challenges that
seem to be quite difficult to overcome. Thus more time, hard work, commitment,
together with consistence in the efforts are necessary for the growth of the movement.

Limitations of the Research

As with any research project, this study did suffer from some limitations
which bear mentioning. One of the limitations of my study is the lack of firsthand
information from the victims of domestic violence on whom the movement is
centered. This study involved organizations as the unit of analysis, with individuals
working in the organizations being respondents/representatives of organizations
involved with the DVRM. Thus, I have neglected the voices of those most directly
impacted by the movement. These voices may have been important in, for example,
obtaining information about any shortcomings of DVRM services and service
providers. This dissertation, however, is only a first step toward a larger research
agenda focused more holistically on domestic violence within less developed nations.
My intention is to examine the movement from the perspectives of victims in the near
future. Moreover, given that my research question concerned the state of the DVRM
in Tanzania, those working in organizations responding to domestic violence, as well
as representatives of policy-making bodies, justice systems and other related entities,
were the most appropriate informants for this particular inquiry.
Another potential limitation to this study concerns the possibility that the organizational informants provided me with misinformation or were otherwise deceptive in their responses and contributions. Certainly some DVRM activists and experts interviewed and observed during this study may have been biased, deliberately untruthful, or negligent in disclosure of information about their activities and functions. This may be due to fear of accountability for their words or actions in response to this research. Likewise, others may have felt compelled to hide information related to existing problems within their organizations so as to portray a more positive impression. To overcome these problems, as I noted in Chapter III, I tried my best to probe the respondents and cross-check the information provided through observations and material collection, so as to garner as complete and valid a picture as possible. In addition, some cross-checking between interviews was possible, as I was often able to interview more than one person within each organization and institution.

Moreover, conducting exclusively qualitative research holds some limitations worth noting. Validity is one of the issues on which qualitative designs are often criticized. Discussions of my strategies for handling allegations of researcher bias, subjectivity, over-involvement, and over-rapport were discussed in detail in Chapter III. In short, I entered the field very aware and fully disclosing of my personal and professional bias regarding the subject matter. I worked hard throughout the data collection and analysis process to account for and bracket my own involvement (including my insider status), thoughts, feelings, and emotions.
Additionally, I realize that my interview approach in particular may be criticized for lacking consistency. Such is the case with less structured interviews, where probing based on an interviewee's responses is common (a byproduct of its flexibility). Babbie (1998), however, argues that the comprehensiveness and depth of qualitative data garnered through semi-structured interviews may offer greater validity to the end results, as participants are allowed to shape interviews according to their own standpoints and perspectives. This is of even greater value in an exploratory study like mine, where little prior research is available on Tanzanian responses to domestic violence. In addition, as I discuss in Chapter III, flexibility in qualitative research helps to diminish the threat to transgressive validity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Morrow, 2005). Bickman and Rog (1998) also suggest a resolution of this limitation by arguing that the theoretical developments emanating from qualitative research may allow for findings to be extended and applied to other cases, thus producing a type of transferability, which may be seen as a particular form of generalizability.

Moreover, in this study, as is common in qualitative research, I collected data to the point of saturation or redundancy in that I remained in the field until I could not obtain any more new data (Lincoln, & Guba, 1985). Furthermore, I feel confident that I exhausted all possible sources of data. I did not encounter problems with data access and used lists produced by the Tanzanian Feminist Coalition (FemAct), which included 28 organization-members, and TANGO, which included 435 NGOs and 230 Civil Society Organizations (CSO), to select the involved DVRM organizations and other entities for my sample (see appendices). With my reliance on these lists and my
pre-field work in 2004, during which I established working relationships with some of the key DVRM organizations (e.g., TAMWA, WLAC and TAWLA), I was able to capture every potential DVRM organization within the three study sites. As discussed in Chapter III, since more than 80 percent of the DVRM organizations in Tanzania are located in Dar es Salaam (the largest city in Tanzania), and several of the rest are located in other urban areas of the country, including Zanzibar, I believe the organizations and entities I included in my sample provided a gauge on the general state of the DVRM in Tanzania.

As an additional reliability check on the appropriateness of my sample, as I explain in Chapter IV, representatives from the various organizations occasionally recommended other groups and entities, which they believed would be helpful for my research. I followed up on any such suggestions, collecting materials, making observations and conducting interviews, as available. At times, they also identified and described the activities performed by other organizations, particularly those offering paralegal centers in rural areas, outside of my three study sites. I therefore feel confident that I am able to make at least some claims about the Tanzanian DVRM at large.

Although relying on phenomenology to analyze my various sources of data was helpful, there was also a weakness in analytically merging data. Because I utilized mixed methods, data gathered through one means was not necessarily comparable to data gathered through another means. It is important to remember that these data represented different facets of a social phenomenon. For instance, data gathered from an interview is dependent upon an individual’s perceptions and lived
experiences of events. Alternatively, observations involving interviewees represent interpersonal reactions related to the activities of an organization or agency. However, phenomenologically, all of these data are valuable in their own right and add to a holistic accounting (Brooks, 1980) of the Tanzanian DVRM. Thus, I considered all data gathered for this study to be relevant in their own right, and when presenting evidence to substantiate my points, I tried to be very clear with regard to its type (whether it came from materials gathered from an organization, observation, or interviews).

Policy Implications

Several policy implications arise from this study. They involve legal reform, educational reform, and DVRM capacity and coordination.

Legal Reform

Based on my findings, Tanzania must enact comprehensive legislation with regard to domestic violence so as to combat the problem and to comply with international standards of human rights. The customary and Islamic laws discussed throughout this study, for example, continue to discriminate against women in Tanzania and need to be repealed or adequately reformed. Such laws largely determine women’s social, economic and political opportunities and responsibilities and are responsible for their continuous suffering with regard to domestic violence and other forms of oppression. In short, Tanzanian women remain disempowered by a legal system that does not value their lives in equal measure as men’s.
A specific law that has been particularly targeted by DVRM is the Law of Marriage Act (LMA) of 1971. As discussed in Chapter II, this law is most commonly used for resolving domestic violence cases, however it does not clearly define the offense, specify any punishment for offenders, or provide for treatment or protection of domestic violence victims. The LMA, along with other inadequate laws mentioned during this study (e.g., The Land Law, Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act, Law of Protection of Unmarried Girls and Widows, Education Act of 1969) continue to expose women to abuse, inferiority, injustices, and discrimination in Tanzania. In addition, critical to legal reform impacting Islamic women is the degree to which matters relating to women's status have been interpreted by the Quran (believed by Muslims as the literal word of God). For example the Quran permits Islamic men to legitimately marry up to four wives whereas women are not allowed to take multiple spouses, restricts women's inheritance to half the share of that available to men, dictates that women should be properly dressed (fully covered), names men as women's guardians, directs that women's testimony is only worth half that of men's, views women as less reasonable than men, and permits men to divorce unilaterally while women can do so only for limited causes (Keddie & Beck, 1978, p.26). Based strongly on such interpretations of gender roles, Islam has been more conservative in its maintenance of old laws and traditions than other religions, as was seen throughout my study within the Muslim setting of Zanzibar compared to the Mainland settings of Dar es Salaam and Njombe. While Youssef (1978) argued that Islamic law has always granted married women independent legal and property rights, such privileges are often never implemented in Tanzania. Muslim women lack social and economic
options outside marriage; most often they lack the freedom to marry the man of their choice, and they face discrimination by their families and laws that place them in subordinate and oppressive positions.

New and reformed laws will need to be implemented in their entirety within reasonable amounts of time. This will require continual involvement of government and political leaders, who need to be committed to combating domestic violence as a social problem. Such reform efforts will be aided through greater gender representation in political offices. Equal gender representation would not only send an important message about the value of women in Tanzanian society, it would also, hopefully, push legislative and other government entities into greater recognition of and responsiveness toward the plight of abused women.

Educational Reform

Similarly, all people in Tanzania would benefit from greater education and awareness about domestic violence and its associated problems. As Dever (2004) argues, awareness building within any women’s movement is a crucial process that must precede political action. The goal of such efforts is to yield consensus among movement participants in terms of long-range outcomes and strategies, as well as to plant a seed within the surrounding community for social, economic and legal change (Katzenstein & Mueller, 1987).

Thus, it only makes sense to continue and expand educational efforts within the Tanzanian DVRM. Ideally, large-scale community efforts would address violence against women in intimate (and other) settings, with guidance and leadership from DVRM activists. Women, in particular, should be engaged in their own emancipative
efforts. Thus, women need to be educated about domestic violence and the impact of traditional cultural practices and values, which contribute to their victimization. As the TGNP (1993) argues, the emancipation of women from domestic violence is still problematic due to the fact that women are culturally regarded as weak and submissive to men. The cycle of violence will not end unless awareness and education is provided to women. Indeed, as Ovuwele (1998) argues, many writings characterize African women as timid, passive, and family-oriented, and thus vulnerable to the worst type of male chauvinism.

Such gendered portrayals of women seemed most prevalent within Muslim settings of Tanzania. In such settings, tradition dictates that women wear a veil as a sign that they do not have to work or otherwise expose themselves to circumstances that would threaten their honor (Keddie & Beck, 1978). The veiling practice has in turn, as is the case of Zanzibar and Lindi, contributed to an educational backwardness, in that Muslim women are often excluded from the public sphere, and by extension, education. In many ways this is tied to efforts to protect the sexual purity of women, in that cultural pressures within Muslim society tend to discourage and disvalue formal education for women and when possible withdraw women from the educational process by puberty and force them to marry instead (Youssef, 1978). Not having access to education only limits one's competence and access to employment (Youssef, 1978). This lack of education has furthered the economic independence of Muslim women on their partners, thus facilitating domestic abuse.

However, women are not the only demographic in dire need of greater education. Large scale social change will not occur without the coordinated effort of
the government (including the legal system), DVRM donors, DVRM organizations, and religious organizations. This endeavor would be particularly aimed at all domestic violence service providers. The police, specifically, would need to be a focus of legal domestic violence education, given the central role they play in guiding domestic violence victims. It should also be noted that the nature of court procedures for domestic violence cases hinders women from exercising their rights. Therefore, the educational reform process would need to involve various judicial officers, including judges, magistrates, prosecutors, and case investigators as well.

It is critical that all educational and awareness campaigns focus not only in urban areas, but also and intensively in rural areas, where cultural practices, patriarchy, and religious beliefs are solidly engrained. Even more efforts should target the Muslim communities, given the impact of Islamic laws, in addition to customary laws, on women victims in such settings. Education and awareness campaigns within the Muslim communities are also vital because, as noted in Chapter IV, the development of the DVRM of Zanzibar is younger compared to that of the mainland and is thus in greater need of education reform. Greater activism and education in rural areas as well as within Muslim communities may go a long way toward curbing and preventing domestic violence.

In terms of what this educational effort may look like, my vision is to target efforts at Tanzanian youth, with the hope of long-term cultural and social change within future generations. Most of the Tanzanian DVRM organizations in this study had no plans or strategies for long-term preventive measures. Rather, the organizations work with women victims on a day to day basis, trying to eliminate
current impediments to justice and equality. I suggest that domestic violence activists and researchers make efforts in exploring preventive measures. Ideally this would involve recruiting and training young women and men to go out into their communities and educate their peers, as well as adults, on preventative practices. Per Schechter’s (1982) suggestion, “a feminist movement must work with men, albeit carefully, even as it preserves its autonomous base from which to challenge sexism and build a women’s movement” (p. 267). The idea would be to transform communities in ways that free women of violence and respect their social, economic and political value. The goal of such an educational program would be to counter cultural values that currently support men abusing their female partners.

My hope would be that through such efforts, women would eventually obtain the resources, means, knowledge, and the capacity to be more fully empowered. Certainly involving young women as community educators would be an important step toward empowerment in and of itself. Based on my findings, discrimination and inequality based on gender must be addressed in Tanzania before the country may advance developmentally. As suggested by the success of educational efforts spearheaded by the DVRM thus far, continued educational reform holds great promise in improving women’s equality, promoting women’s rights, and facilitating overall change in the country.

**DVRM Capacity and Coordination**

For DVRM organizations to be most successful, they need effective organizational structures premised on openness, honesty, and trust amongst all members, regardless of their leadership positions. DVRM organizations could benefit
if they instituted decision making processes in which all members participated. They also need greater vision and clarity regarding organizational goals and strategies, and ensure these goals and strategies fit well with the needs of their beneficiaries (female victims of domestic violence). Given the lack of coordination of activities among the movement organizations, particularly in rural areas, the DVRM could also benefit from coordinating efforts to avoid program duplication; sharing resources to make best use of time, space and money; and collaborating to develop and recognize best practices. This could be done, for example, through workshops that involve all DVRM organizations in a particular area. Such workshops could provide training on a variety of issues pertaining to handling domestic violence, as well as capacity building. As DVRM organizations become more stable and well structured, they will be more productive, efficient and successful.

All such suggestions fit well with social movement and organizational theories that address the facilitation of growth. As Zald and Ash (1966) argued decades ago, social movement organizations generally should respond to the flow of sentiment and needs of the larger society in which they operate, and they should work in coordination with other similarly goaled organizations. It is the external relations and networks, together with the internal pressures, that influence an organization’s goals, structures and processes, as well as its ultimate success (Zald & Ash, 1966). This meshes well with institutional and environmental theories of organizations, which emphasize the importance of initiating internal and external networks in order to keep pace with technological advances, communication maintenance, and information circulation within and across organizations (and nations) (Handel, 2003;
Perrow, 1986). Moreover, such theories highlight the importance of interdependence within and amongst organizations. Each part of an organizational network must have a role to play apart from and in deference to the others. They must also engage in the process of isomorphism, or learning and copying what other organizations do in order to progress and secure scarce resources (Handel, 2003; Perrow, 1986).

Furthermore, for environmental theories, population density and legitimization are said to influence the nature and structure of organizations (Perrow, 1986; Carroll, 1984; Hannan, 1987; Handel, 2003). Rapid growth of population may alter the growth of an organization (number of people and functions) as well as the nature of service delivery and utilization of resources (Carroll, 1984; Hannan, 1987). This process heightens competition for scarce resources and facilitates change among organizations. Legitimation simply means looking natural to the extent that the organization’s structure and routines conform to the prevailing rules for guiding organizations (Perrow, 1986; Handel, 2003). This makes an organization look better (in terms of fit with the environment) than others in competition, and thus increases its chances for survival. This is particularly relevant for the DVRM organizations in Tanzania, which can easily shift attention toward struggling for resources and neglect organizational goals.

Moreover, based on environmental theories, when possible several small organizations can merge into one major organization to reduce replication of activities and create effective use of resources. FemAct (the feminist umbrella organization in Tanzania) is one such step. Although each of the various organizations under FemAct operate on their own, the chances of overlapping
activities are lessened due to the awareness brought forth by the umbrella organization about other organizations.

An additional organization theory that has relevance to my research is the human relations model, which is based on the insistence that organizations are to ensure good leadership and management based on democracy rather than authoritarianism, employee-centered rather than production-centered, and should be concerned with human relations and happiness of employees rather than bureaucratic rules. As Perrow (1986) argued, “It is hypothesized that good leadership leads will lead to high morale, and high morale will lead to increased effort, resulting in higher production” (p. 85). According to this model, leaders exist not to lead employees per se, but rather to make informed decisions regarding organizational structure, types of products or services, quality control, new technology, and other non-personnel matters (Perrow, p. 88). In terms of working with employees, such leaders ought to encourage workers’ participation in decision making (Handel, 2003) and foster an open-door policy so as to learn about employee concerns (Walton). Moreover, leaders in this model should acquire training that fosters their ability to solve conflicts without power manipulation or coercion. They should encourage the creation and allocation of employee teams, increase the influence of all groups within an organization, and facilitate lateral coordination in the hope of developing flat hierarchies (Graham, 1968; Perrow, 1986; Walton, 1967). Furthermore, they should make arrangements for workers to achieve their own goals in ways that also, simultaneously, accomplish organizational goals (Likert, 1967; McGregor, 1960).
In addition, Zald and Ash (1966) advocate for a Weber-Michels model, which explains the transformation of social movement organizations through replacing original leaders who tend to operate by their charisma rather than expertise. The authors argue that as such organizations attain an "economic and social base in the society, as the original charismatic leader is replaced, a bureaucratic structure emerges and a general accommodation to the society occurs" (p. 327). Goals become institutionalized and displaced, and the participants in the organizational structure possess a stake in preserving the organization, whether or not the goals are attained. In this model, leadership plays a great role in shaping the nature and implementation of organization goals, recruitment and commitment of members. This will be particularly important within the transformation of DVRM organizations in Tanzania that, for example, mentioned having "experts" without expertise and credentials working with the victims simply because they have passion for the work, together with the scarcity of experts as identified in Chapter VI. I believe, however, encompassing both charismatic and passionate leaders together with expertise should make the best leadership quality, thus success of the DVRM.

As my findings suggest, long term permanent funding would strengthen the DVRM organizations' capacities and capabilities to conduct their activities without undue influence from outside interests. Given the struggle to obtain such funding, the organizations may need to consider diversifying their activities through the development of for-profit services. A possible revenue-generating effort could involve, for instance, the rental of office space during non-business hours for those organizations who have and own/control such space. Opening a computer lab with
internet services that the general public could pay to use might be an option for those with sufficient start-up resources. (Internet surfing has become quite popular in Tanzania, particularly for youth). Another idea is that organizations offering legal services might make them available to paying clientele for a wider variety of legal matters. The profit obtained through such efforts could then be used to support the organizations in ways that grants and government funding do not (e.g., general operating costs, rural programming, and staff training). Of course this would require appropriate organizational leadership and an eye toward balancing profit-making activities with services for domestic violence victims. As noted at the start of this section, good DVRM leaders ought to involve their staff and membership in discussions regarding an organization’s goals and strategies, as well as decision making based on the needs of the victims they serve.

Despite any diversification and profit-generating efforts, it will be important for the Tanzanian DVRM to remain focused and committed to the activities in which it is already engaged. Equal education provisions, anti-discriminatory laws and policies based on gender, and direct services for women remain the best practices for implementing and improving gender imbalances in politics, the economy and society at large (Mbilinyi, Rusimbi, Chachage, & Kitunga, 2003). The DVRM’s efforts with regard to education, legal reform and direct service seem to have made a difference in the general state of women’s rights in Tanzania. More than anything else, these organizations need to be allowed to continue and enhance their work. Indeed, their efforts fit well with larger, multinational platforms regarding the need to address violence against women. As Mr. Ban Ki-moon, Secretary General for the United
Nations (UN) (2008), proclaimed during the launch of a UNite to End Violence Against Women Campaign,

We need to do more to enforce laws and counter impunity. We need to combat attitudes and behavior that condone, tolerate, excuse or ignore violence committed against women. And we need to increase funding for services for victims and survivors. I am determined to strengthen these efforts, including through my global campaign "Unite to end violence against women", which aims to raise public awareness, increase political will and resources and create a supportive environment to make good on existing policy commitments (p.1).

Future Research

The need for further DVRM research in Tanzania, as in many other developing countries (Bush, 1992; Hirschi, 2003; Michau, 2002; Ray & Korteweg, 1999), is illustrated by this study. Domestic violence victims have unique needs that can only be addressed through culturally, historically, and politically informed research. This dissertation was an effort toward that end, being geared specifically to address domestic violence from a holistic framework that is not always present in social science research (Ray & Korteweg, 1999). This study was also aimed at addressing the neglect of studying women in developing countries. As Johnson-Odim (1991) argues, there is a great necessity to examine women’s circumstances in developing countries whenever we attempt to define their needs as part of a social change agenda. In general, the current study’s exploration of the DVRM in Tanzania was rationalized by the women’s lack of rights to legal protection, cultural values and
practices, and the patriarchal society that enacts laws that exploit, undermine,
discriminate, and exacerbate violence and oppression against women. Indeed, the lack
of actual texts and documentation regarding African views on women is one of the
major problems of the development of African feminism. It is this lack of information
that results in the drawing of inferences from anthropological studies of women in
different societies (Ovuwele, 1998).

My post-doctoral expectation is a career focusing on female victims and their
rights. My specific goal is to be involved in the movement to prevent and curb
domestic violence. In future research I hope to focus more on the DVRM’s efforts
within areas outside Dar es Salaam, Njombe and Zanzibar. As I detail in Chapter III, I
chose Dar es Salaam since it is the major commercial city of Tanzania and is the
setting in which most activities related to the DVRM occur. I included Zanzibar
because it is a mainly (99%) Muslim community and it seemed important, following
my initial field visit in 2004, to address the distinctions of the DVRM within such a
context. I focused on Njombe as a representative of rural setting primarily because it
is the place I was born and raised, thus language and communication were not as
much of a problem there as they may have been in other rural areas of the country.
However, Tanzania is quite a large country and there are certainly several other
locales with a DVRM presence that would be helpful to include in future research.

Future studies should also consider collecting firsthand information from
victims of domestic violence, so as to provide a better understanding of the nature of
the problem and the DVRM’s efforts at addressing it. As I identify in the weaknesses
section of this chapter, by engaging organizations as the unit of analysis, I may have
neglected the critical voices of those being impacted by the movement. Certainly an additional and equally important vantage point on the success of the DVRM could be gleaned through the inclusion of domestic violence victims.

Future researcher should pay attention to, and consider moving in the direction of, comparative research. Given the wide variety of organizational responses to social problems, there is a need for research that comparatively examines the value of social movements across countries. To date there is a lack of comparative research, particularly with regard to DVRM organizations, that specifically examines the relative influence in achieving policy and legislative reform (Smith, 1985). Such comparative research is relevant cross-culturally because while DVRMs in different countries may share some of the same struggles and strategies and resemble one another in significant ways, they often have very distinct characteristics. As Dobash and Dobash (1992) argue,

Cross-cultural comparisons provide a framework for examining the negotiations of the movement with agencies of the state. Once again, the context in which activists must operate is affected by the remittance and resources of other organizations, by their ideologies and priorities, by their power, and by the willingness to enter into the process of negotiation and change associated with altering policies and practices (p. 298).

Ragin (1987) further insists that cross-national comparative studies illustrate the variation of social and political contexts and their contributions to the process of social change. The rationale for comparative studies in criminology and victimology in general is further argued by King (2004),
Here, in action, I had found a situation in which the power of comparative research had been harnessed to the possibility of making a difference...

Through systematic comparisons across societies, or across groups within societies, we may discover the factors, which, by their presence or absence, seem to underpin particular patterns of crime or punishment (p. 170).

Furthermore, Kohn (1987) and Neapolitan (1997) both contend that in order to explain the causes and solutions to crime and victimization, studies should not be constrained to one situation, but rather be done comparatively. Otherwise it would be like using one person to explain individual level crime and victimization. Without comparative work, Archer and Gartner (1984) argue, “[O]ur understanding will remain provincial at best, and at worst wrong” (p. 4), and without a comparative perspective with which to determine the causes of and policies to combat crime, we are often guided by intuition, political opportunism, and ethnocentrism (Neapolitan, 1997). In short, the widely recognized value of comparative studies, and the lack of this type of research on DVRMs, substantiate the need for further comparative research. The comparisons could be among communities within one country (like the current study), between countries belonging to the same region of the continent (such as East, West, North, and South African countries), among developing and developed countries, as well as between counties that differ based on religion, political orientation, etcetera.

Final Words

Domestic violence in Tanzania does not emanate from a vacuum; it arises out of the cultural values, norms, and practices within the society. The problem is
widespread, and remains largely unaddressed. Only by understanding and eradicating the roots of the problem can it be prevented and eventually curbed. Such an effort will involve many individuals, regardless of gender, locale, religion, and political orientation. Change will need to focus within Tanzanian homes, and extend through economic and social settings. Tanzanian’s need to stop ignoring the situation; we all need to take action against the problem of domestic violence. While this may be a long-term process, through a collective dedication and partnership of activists, government, and community members, an alternative, better state may eventually be created for Tanzanian women and girls, which will ultimately benefit all members of Tanzanian society. This dissertation is meant as an empirical step toward facilitating change via the DVRM in Tanzania.
Appendix A

HSIRB Approval and Protocol - Western Michigan University

Note: The HSIRB Office at Western Michigan University approved the change of the dissertation title from “Domestic Violence Rights Movement in Tanzania: Cross-Cultural Comparisons and Lessons from Around the World” to “Domestic Violence Rights Movement in Tanzania: An Exploration” without resubmission of the protocol due to the “exempt category” nature of the study. The new title eliminates the cross-national comparative aspects. The protocol provided here reflects the original title.
Date: October 31, 2006

To: Angela Moe, Principal Investigator
    Flora Myanba, Student Investigator for dissertation

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number: 06-10-27

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "Domestic Violence Rights Movements in Tanzania: Cross-cultural Comparisons and Lessons from Around the World" has been approved under the exempt category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may only conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: October 31, 2007
Recruitment Script

My name is Flora Myamba. I am a doctoral student at Western Michigan University in the United States. I am conducting a dissertation research, which examines domestic violence rights movements (DVRM) in Tanzania. I am inviting individuals of 18 years and above, regardless gender, and who are knowledgeable about DVRM in Tanzania to participate in the study. We can arrange to meet at the time convenient to the participant. The semi-structured, in-depth interviews are expected to last for about 1 hour. The interview requires your expertise and knowledge on DVRM and will be conducted at a location of the participant’s convenience.

I sincerely believe that the research I am about to undertake will make a significant contribution to people working in the area of women’s rights. And ultimately I believe these findings will have a direct impact on the welfare of women, particularly in developing countries such as Tanzania. And for me personally I see this research and writing as a crucial step in preparation for a lifetime career devoted to study, work and advocacy for the welfare of women in society.

If you are interested in participating please contact me through email: f3myamba@wmich.edu or call me at 269-344-1852 (number will change in Tanzania).

Subject Recruitment

I went to Tanzania in the summer of 2004 and initiated relevant contacts with some DVRM activists and practitioners in four centers: Tanzanian Women Lawyer Association (TAWLA), Kivulini Women’s Rights Organization (KWRO), Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP), and Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA). The aim was to explore the various responses to domestic violence so as to garner ideas for my dissertation. Having developed these few contacts with people involved with DVRM in Tanzania, the recruitment process will begin there. From the literature more organizations were identified and through a snowballing technique, more respondents will be identified and contacted. These are techniques fit for the study because they will enable easy recruitment of participants appropriate and knowledgeable for the purpose of the study, and will enable them to easily identify more participants (especially through snowballing). See subject recruitment script in appendix 1 and the regulations of research in Tanzania in appendix 4 for additional information.

Informed Consent-English Version

Western Michigan University, Department of Sociology
Principal Investigator: Dr. Angela More
Student Investigator: Flora Myamba
Title of the study: Domestic Violence Rights Movement in Tanzania: Cross-Cultural Comparisons and Lessons from Around the World
This research is part of a dissertation study being undertaken with an attempt to examine the domestic violence rights movement (DVRM) in Tanzania. The findings from this field data will be compared with the literature on similar movements in India, Italy, England and the U.S. Pursuing this dissertation study is important because in addition to the fulfillment of the doctoral degree requirement, it enables the researcher to address the issues of domestic violence, how and when the movement developed, and what its original goals were, what are the cultural and other forms of challenges and constraints to the implementation of the movement. The study employs interviews, observations, archival and historical data collection, the process which is anticipated to take seven months from May through October, 2007.

The study is expected to make a considerable contribution to experts and practitioners working on domestic violence and women’s rights. The findings will also have direct impact on the welfare of women in Tanzania as well as other developing countries and the world in general. The study also provides me with research and writing skills, thus contributing to my life career, particularly my devotion to work and advocate for the welfare or women in society.

You are asked to participate in a semi-structured in-depth interview. The interview will be approximately 1 hour and will take place in private like in participants’ offices depending on where you (participant) want to be for the interview. Only respondents who are 18 and above, and knowledgeable about DVRM are eligible for this study.

Your answers are strictly anonymous. By answering the research questions you are providing your permission to use the answers to understand DVRM in Tanzania and elsewhere in the world. You can participate in this study only if are willing to participate. You have the right to refuse and/or skip any question that you do not wish to answer without any penalty. You may also choose to discontinue with the research at any time.

For any questions please contact me through email: f3myamba@wmich.edu or tel. 269-344-1852 (will change in Tanzania) or Dr. Angela Moe at angie.moe@wmich.edu; tel. 269-387-5275. You may also contact the chair, Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (269-387-8293) or the Vice President for Research (269-387-8298) if questions or problems arise during the course of the study.

This consent document has been approved for use for one year by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) as indicated by the stamped date and signature of the board chair in the upper right corner. Do not participate in this study if the stamp date is older than one year.

Informed Consent-Swahili Version

Taarifa Juu ya Utafiti

Chuo Kikuu cha Western Michigan, Idara ya Elimu ya Jamii
Mtafiti Mkuu/Mshauri: Dr. Angela More
Mtafiti Mwanafunzi: Flora Myamba
Kichwa cha Habari: Harakati Dhidi ya Unyanyasaji Katika Familia au Nyumba
Tanzania:
Ulinganisho wa Desturi Mbalimbali na Mafunzo Kutoka Sehemu Mbalimbali za
Dunia

Utafiti huu una jitihada za kuwangalia kwa undani harakati za kutetea haki dhidi ya unyanyasaji katika nyumba au familia hapa Tanzania. Matokeo yatakatavyopatikana kutokana na utafiti huu yatalinganishwa na kutofautishwa na halu ya unyanyasaji wa namna hii ni zilizochaguliwa kwa harakati, ambazo ni Marekani, Italia, India, na Uingereza. Kukamilisha utafiti huu unafanya mmoja kwa sababu pamoja na kutumiza hitaji la kumaliza shahada ya udaktari, inanisaidia mimi kutazama kwa halu kwa undani katika unyanyasaji na nyumba au familia hapa. Matokeo yathatayopatikana kutokana na utafiti huu yatalinganishwa na kutofautishwa na hali ya unyanyasaji wa namna hii inayotokea katika nchi zilizochaguliwa zinazoendelea na ulimwengu mzima. Utafiti huu unatumia mahojiano na utafiti huu una ni kutoa mchango mkubwa kwa wataalamu na wanaharakati wa haki za wanaawake na unyanyasaji katika familia au nyumba kwa ujumla. Matokeo ya utafiti huu pia yanafanya kuelewaa hali wanyakabilishwa wanaawake wa Tanzania, nchini, kuingia zinazopendekeza na ulimwengu zima kwa ujumla. Utafiti pia yanafanya kutemeshwa na utafiti kwa kuwepo kuchukua muda wa miuza saba, katika utafiti, 270 kupata tarehe tayari, kama iliyotangazwa katika utafiti.
I am requesting for a waiver (through 45 CFR 46.117(c) Documentation of informed consent) to obtain a signed consent form for all subjects because:

1. The research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects (who are DVRM experts not primarily victims), and involves no procedures, for which written consent is normally required outside of the research context.

2. The only record linking the subject and the research would be the consent document, and the principal risk would be potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality. Each subject will be asked whether the subject wants documentation linking the subject with the research, and the subject’s wishes will govern.

Also see the two versions (English and Swahili) of consent document included in appendices F and G.

Regulations of Research Approval in Tanzania (Only step 1 and 2 were involved in this research due to the waiver status of the WMU approval (Appendix A)

1. Provide HSIRB approval letter from the university (WMU) the student is affiliated.

2. Obtain a research approval letter from the Ministry of Science and Technology (national level)

3. Obtain a research approval letter from the Regional Commissioner’s research office (regional level)

4. Obtain a research approval letter from at the District level

5. Obtain a research approval letter from the ward and village levels.

All steps require research documents (proposal) and approval letter(s) from the level above.

Interview Guide

1. How did the movement develop?

2. When did the movement develop?
3. Who are the sponsors for the movement?

4. What were the original goals? Are the goals still the same or changed?

5. How did you get involved in the movement?

6. Why did you join this particular movement/organization?

7. What are the criteria for joining the movement/organization?

8. How does the movement differ/compare in the urban versus rural areas? How about in the Muslim versus non-Muslim areas?

9. What is the contribution or influence of the movement in legal and public policy reform?

10. What problems does the movement encounter?

b) Economically
c) Politically
d) Religiously
e) Socially

11. Are there any cultural beliefs and practices that complicate the efforts and activities carried out by the movement?

Risks and Costs to and Protections for Subjects

This research involves no or minimal risks to participants because they are not primary victims but rather experts of DVRM, practitioners and the criminal justice system/officials. However, to observe research ethics, the interviews will be conducted in private rooms and anonymity will be assured as well (refer confidentiality section).

One possible risk would be if a respondent happened to be a victim as well, (who is now an expert of DVRM) of which I will put more consideration on her/his expertise than her/his victimization experience. I will also inform the respondent that
they do not need to share their experiences if not necessary. The other risk would be if confidentiality was breached, of which (as also explained in confidentiality section of this application) I will make sure that all the information is kept private and destroyed after the information given is synthesized. The last possible risk is based on the time cost and inconvenience that the participants may incur. This may be so in case there is contradiction on meeting schedules. If this happens I will still stick to the time that works better for the participant and give them first priority.

Confidentiality of Data

To ensure confidentiality, the field notes, interview transcripts and any other records pertaining to the research will not display directly the identification of the participants interviewed or observed except for their demographic variables such as age and sex. Identifications will be coded and the researcher will secure the notes. More importantly, the tapes used during interviews will be secured in a private place and after transcription process the tapes will be destroyed.
Appendix B

HSIRB Approval Letter-Tanzania
CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE FOR CONDUCTING MEDICAL RESEARCH IN TANZANIA

This is to certify that the research entitled: Domestic violence rights movements in Tanzania: Cross cultural comparisons and lessons from around the world, (Myamba F et al), whose Principal investigator is Flora Myamha, has been granted ethics clearance to be conducted in Tanzania.

The Principal Investigator of the study must ensure that the following conditions are fulfilled:

1. Progress report is made available to the Ministry of Health and the National Institute for Medical Research, Regional and District Medical Officers after every six months.
2. Permission to publish the results is obtained from National Institute for Medical Research.
3. Copies of final publications are made available to the Ministry of Health and the National Institute for Medical Research.
4. Any researcher, who contravenes or fails to comply with these conditions, shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine.

Name: Dr Andrew Y Kitua
Name: Dr Deo M Mtasiwa

Signature

CHAIRMAN
MEDICAL RESEARCH
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CC: RMO
DMO

CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER
MINISTRY OF HEALTH, SOCIAL WELFARE
Appendix C

Interviewees
Aliko Sengo - Legal Officer, WiLDAF
August 28, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 21 minutes

Annamarie Mavenjina - Volunteer WLAC, TAWLA, & WiLDAF.
July, 8th 2007; Dar es Salaam; 1 hour 16 minutes

Anna Mela - Legal Officer, WiLDAF
August 28, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 32 minutes

Anna Nyagawa- Njombe Lutheran Church Pastor / TAWLA Paralegal Officer
October 10, 2007; Njombe; 1 hour 4 minutes

Athanasia Soka - Advocate, WLAC
August 7, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 32 minutes

Benward Mlowe - Priest, Njombe Roman Catholic Church
October 17, 2007; Njombe; 40 minutes

Charles Nkonya - Director of Human Resources Development, NOLA
September 21, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 12 minutes

Chris Maina Peter - Professor of Law and Advocate, Notary Public and
Commissioner for Oaths, University of Dar es Salaam
August 10, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 30 minutes

Clement Mashamba - Executive Director, NOLA
September 21, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 17 minutes

Deddah Khadija Hija - Leader, Sahiba Sisters Foundation, Zanzibar
July 16, 2007; Zanzibar; 1 hour 36 minutes

Dotto J. Ng’hwelo - Program Manager (Access to Justice), NOLA
September 26, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 23 minutes

Fabian Matumia - Police Officer, Oysterbay Police Station
September 19, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 1 hour 9 minutes

Faraja Chengula - Pastor’s wife, who hears and resolves women’s issues, Njombe
Lutheran Church
October 10, 2007; Njombe; 34 minutes

Genoveva Kato – Director of TAWLA, Dar es Salaam Main Branch,
August 15, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 45 minutes

Gender and Legal Officers, Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and
Children, Zanzibar (Group interview)
Ashura Suleiman
Saida A. Mohamed
Maryam Mwalim, and
Halima Masheko Ali
July 21, 2007; Zanzibar; 1 hour 27 minutes

Golden Masika - Temeke Center Coordinator, UMATI, Dar es Salaam
August 21, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 58 minutes

Halima Hassan - Gender Specialist, Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women
and Children, Zanzibar
July 17, 2007; Zanzibar; 40 minutes

Jane Ndakonda - Paralegal Officer, TAWLA/Lutheran Church Marriage Advisor,
Njombe
October 15, 2007; Njombe; 53 minutes

Joseph Mhavile - Social Worker, Njombe Municipal Civil Based Organization (CBO)
October 1, 2007; Njombe; 25 minutes

Kaleb L. Gamaya - Director of Programs, NOLA
October 29, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 27 minutes

Kasian Mapunda - Director, Njombe Municipal Civil Based Organization (CBO)
October 1, 2007; Njombe; 55 minutes

Khalid Mohamed Mrisho - Sheik/ Officer, Zanzibar Wakf and Trust Commission (did
not have sufficient time for interview on first day so continued on a second day)
July 12, 2007; Zanzibar; 57 minutes
July 16, 2007; Zanzibar; 22 minutes

Lawyers, Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA) (Group interview)
Fatma Saleih-Chairperson
Safia Hijia-Secretary
Hamisa Mmanga-member
Mwanamkaa A’Rahma-member
Jamila Mahmoud-member
Fatma Iddi-member
Zainab Kibwana-member, and
Khadija Makame-member
July 13, 2007; Zanzibar; 52 minutes

Lutondwe Alatanga Nyagawa - Director, Njombe District Non-Governmental
Organizations (NJODINGO)
October 22, 2007; Njombe; 17 minutes
Magdalena Aqcuilin - Legal Officer, WLAC
August 2, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 47 minutes

Max Biligi - Public Prosecutor, Kisutu Magistrate Court
September 14, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 1 hour 42 minutes

Ms. Ladyness (last name not revealed) - Gender Center Officer, University of Dar es Salaam
September 26, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 41 minutes

Mr. Kombe (first name not revealed) - Public Prosecutor, Kisutu Magistrate Court
September 17, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 10 minutes

Mr. Ndusyepo (first name not revealed) - Public Prosecutor, Kisutu Magistrate Court
September 17, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 7 minutes

Monica Mbetwa Kyando - Paralegal Officer, TAWLA, Njombe
October 10, 2007; Njombe; 43 minutes

Mwanahamis Alli - Chairperson, Zanzibar Women Development Organization (ZAWDO), Kiembe Samaki area
July 22, 2007; Zanzibar; 1 hour 2 minutes

Omar Said - Sheikh, Kadhi Court (Marriage Court) of Zanzibar
July 27, 2007; Zanzibar; 1 hour 14 minutes

Raziah Mwawanga - Project Officer, TAMWA
October 30, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 1 hour 15 minutes

Salma Maoulidi - Executive Director, Sahiba Sisters Foundation
July 18, 2007; Zanzibar; 47 minutes

Shifaa Said Hassan - Officer, TAMWA, Zanzibar Branch
July 24, 2007; Zanzibar; 58 minutes

Walter Mbunda, Ph.D - Executive Director, UMATI Dar es Salaam
August 20, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 45 minutes
Appendix D

Observations
Daily domestic violence - based activities observation at Njombe Municipal Social Service Organization (SSO); Access gained through Mr. Kasian Mapunda, Director, Njombe Municipal SSO. 
October 4, 2007; Njombe; 4 hours

Domestic violence clinic observation at TAWLA/Lutheran, Njombe: Access gained through Pastor Anna Nyagawa, TAWLA/Lutheran. 
October 24, 2007; Njombe; 3 hours

Ilala District Court proceedings for domestic violence cases observation: Access gained through Ms. Athanasia Soka, Advocate, WLAC. 
August 7, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 4 hours

Kisutu Magistrate Court proceeding for domestic violence case observation: Access gained through Mr. Alphonce Katemi, Advocate, WLAC. 
September 4, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 5 hours

Kisutu Magistrate Court proceeding for domestic violence case observation: Access gained through Ms. Athanasia Soka, Advocate, WLAC (advocate did not show up). 
September 10, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 7 hours

Kisutu Magistrate Court proceeding for domestic violence case observation: Access gained through Ms. Athanasia Soka, Advocate, WLAC. 
September 25, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 5 hours 30 minutes

Kisutu Magistrate Court proceeding for domestic violence case observation: Access gained through Ms. Athanasia Soka, Advocate, WLAC. 
October 30, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 3 hours 30 minutes

Presentation of summary and feedback of court proceedings observation to Ms. Athanasia Soka, Advocate, WLAC, when she missed court hearing for a domestic violence case. 
September 16, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 1 hour 30 minutes

TGNP Gender Festival, 2007- 3 days conference participation and observation; Access gained through TGNP, Dar es Salaam. 
September 11, 12 & 13, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 18 hours total

WLAC domestic violence clinic observation: Access gained through Ms. Mary Njau, WLAC Legal Officer. 
August 9, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 4 hours

WLAC domestic violence clinic follow up (observed two cases from the August 9, 2007 observation that needed further assistance on going through the legal system): Access gained through Ms. Mary Njau, WLAC Legal Officer. 
August 13, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 3 hours 30 minutes
WLAC Pre-Clinic Training: Access gained through Ms. Jane Solomo, WLAC Legal Officer. August 9, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 1 hours

WLAC Pre-Clinic clients’ (domestic violence victims) registration administered by Mr. Cheddy Mgaya, Finance & Administration Officer, WLAC August 9, 2007; Dar es Salaam; 30 minutes

Workshop presenting research findings for a domestic violence study observation/participation: Access gained through Ms. Halima Hassan - Gender Specialist, Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children, Zanzibar. (Participants involved sheiks, domestic violence activists, researchers, and governmental officials) July 25, 2007; Zanzibar; 9 hours 30 minutes
Appendix E

Material Sources
Reports and Published Materials


Unpublished Materials and Flyers


WLAC. (No date) Family violence (ukatili nyumbani), Dar es Salaam.

WLAC. (No date). Rape in the marriage (Ubakaji ndani ya ndoa), Dar es Salaam.

WLAC. (No date). Sexual assault: Guidelines to victims of sexual assault (Shambulio la ngono: Mwongozo kwa waliasambuliwa kingono), Dar es Salaam.

WLAC. (No date). Underage marriage and security: Need for change in Tanzania (ndoa katika umri mdogo na ulinzi: Umuhimu wa marekebisho Tanzania), Dar es Salaam.
Pictures (Figure 1-29)

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) by Martin Luther King, Jr. (Picture source). (2007). Figure 1-Freedom. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 2- Women's generation. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 3- Trust of choice. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.


Women’s Legal Aid Center (WLAC). (Picture source). (2006). Figure 5-WLAC legal clinic. Dar es Salaam: WLAC.

Women’s Legal Aid Center (WLAC). (Picture source). (2006). Figure 6-Clients waiting for services during legal aid clinic. Dar es Salaam: WLAC.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 7 TGNP Gender Festival- 2007. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2003). Figure 8 TGNP Gender Festival Report. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2003). Figure 9 TGNP Gender Festival Report. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2003). Figure 10 TGNP Gender Festival Report. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 11- TAMWA publicity. Dar es Salaam: TAMWA.


Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) by Dr. Mamphela Ramphele. (Picture source). (2007). Figure 14-Culture. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2007). Figure
15-Women oppression and enslavement. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 16-Culture and human well being. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) by Dr. Nafis Sadik. (Picture source). (2007). Figure 17- Rejection. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 18 Temptations. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.


Women’s Legal Aid Center (WLAC). (Picture source). (date and source not given). Figure 22-Law of Marriage Act (LMA). Dar es Salaam: WLAC.

Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA). (Picture source). (date and source not given). Figure 23-Law of Marriage Act (LMA). Dar es Salaam: TAMWA.


Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 26-Bride price. Dar es Salaam: Sauti Ya Siti (“Voice of the City”),


Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). (Picture source). (2007). Figure 29 Demand for equal gender representation. Dar es Salaam: TGNP.
Appendix F

DVRM Organizations and Entities Involved in the Study
DVRM Organizations

**Gender Center of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDGC)**
University Main Library
Tel. 22 2410229
gdpc@uccmail.co.tz
www.gdpc.udsm.ac.tz

**Legal Human Rights Centre (LHRC)**
PO Box 75254
Dar es Salaam
Tel: 22 211317
lhrc@raha.com

**National Organization for Legal Assistance (NOLA)**
PO Box 10096
Dar es Salaam
Tel. 22 2772547
msaadawasheria@gmail.com
www.msaadawasheria.or.tz

**Njombe District Non-Governmental Organizations (NJODINGO)**
P. O. Box 202,
Njombe
Tel. 0262782069

**Sahiba Sisters Foundation (SSF)**
PO Box 13827,
Dar es Salaam
Tel. 0784 647086

**Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP)**
PO Box 9281
Dar es Salaam
Tel. 22 2443205
info@tgnp.co.tz

**Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA)**
PO Box 8981
Dar es Salaam
Tel: 22 2115278
tamwa@raha.com
www.tamwa.org

**Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA)**
PO Box 9460
UMATI (Uzazi na Malezi Bora Tanzania) (reproductive health movement in Tanzania) — (Not directly translatable)
PO Box 1372
Dar es Salaam
Tel. 22 2117774
Umati-reo@africaonline.co.tz

Women’s Legal Aid Centre (WLAC)
PO Box 79212
Dar es Salaam
Tel: 22 2183769
wlac@raha.com; www.wlac.or.tz

Women in Law and Development Africa (WILDAF)
PO Box 76215
Dar es Salaam
Tel: 22 2152189
wildaf_tanzania@yahoo.com

Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA)
PO Box 2754
Zanzibar
Tel. 0777 471685
zafelamembers@yahoo.com

Women Development Organization (ZAWDO)
Kiembe Samaki Area,
P.O.Box,
Zanzibar
Tel. 0777-465199

Non-DVRM Entities (Ministries/Governmental, Religious and other Institutions)

Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children, Zanzibar
P. O. Box 884
Zanzibar
Tel. 0777-466712

University of Dar es Salaam
P. O. Box 35091
Tel. 022-2410500/9
Dar es Salaam (Kisutu) Magistrate Court
P. O. Box,
Dar es Salaam
Tel. 0754-378389

Dar es Salaam (Ilala) District Court
P. O. Box 20950
Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2128805

Dar es Salaam Oysterbay Police Station
P. O. Box, 9093
Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2667332

Kadhi Court (Marriage Court) of Zanzibar
P. O. Box,
Zanzibar
Tel. 0777-490075

Zanzibar Wakf and Trust Commission
P. O. Box 4092
Zanzibar
Tel. 024-2238186

Njombe Municipal Community Based Organization (CBO)
P. O. Box
Njombe
Tel. 0784-882282

Njombe Lutheran Church
P. O. Box 97
Njombe
Tel. 026-2782032
0755-193510

Njombe Roman Catholic Church
P. O. Box 54
Njombe
Tel. 026 632 2033
Appendix G

List of Acronyms
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMREF</th>
<th>American Medical and Research Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Civil Based Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DANIDA</td>
<td>Danish Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department For International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DVRM</td>
<td>Domestic Violence Rights Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENVIROCARE</td>
<td>Environmental and Human Rights Care and Gender Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGM</td>
<td>Female Genital Mutilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FemAct</td>
<td>Feminist Coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRRRI</td>
<td>Land Rights Research and Resources Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHRC</td>
<td>Legal Human Rights Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOLA</td>
<td>National Organization for Legal Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJODINGO</td>
<td>Njombe District Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-government Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARDC</td>
<td>Southern African Research and Documentation Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSF</td>
<td>Sahiba Sisters Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOSPA</td>
<td>Sexual Offenses Special Provisions Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSO</td>
<td>Social Service Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TADOVI</td>
<td>Task Force Against D.V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAMWA</td>
<td>Tanzania Media Women’s Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAWLA</td>
<td>Tanzanian Women Lawyers’ Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TGNP</td>
<td>Tanzania Gender Networking Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMATI</td>
<td>Uzazi na Malezi Bora Tanzania (reproductive health movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDGC</td>
<td>University of Dar es Salaam Gender Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiLDAF</td>
<td>Women in Law and Development in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLAC</td>
<td>Women’s Legal Aid Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAFELA</td>
<td>Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZWTC</td>
<td>Zanzibar Wakf and Trust Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAWDO</td>
<td>Zanzibar Women Development Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZMLYDWC</td>
<td>Zanzibar Ministry of Labor, Youth Development, Women and Children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H

Map of Tanzania Showing Research Sites (Labeled by the Red Star Signs)
Appendix I

List of Feminist Coalition (FemAct) Organization Members
(Source: Tanzania Gender Networking Program, 2007)
Advocacy for Women in Africa (AWA)
P.O. Box 31293, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2451308

African International Group of Political Risk Analysis (PORIS)
P.O. Box 1884, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2184517

Concern for Development Initiatives in Africa (ForDIA)
P.O. Box 32505, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2420381, 0811 603381

Debt Cancellation Coalition c/o Tanzania Social and Economic Trust (TASOET)
(No contact information provided)

Environmental, Human Rights, Care and Gender Organization
(ENVIROCARE)
P.O. Box 9824, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2775592

Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE-Tanzania)
P.O. Box 63319, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2182161

Gender Network of Dodoma Region (GENDOR)
c/o Cooperative College – DFE Wing
P.O. Box 1167, Dodoma
Tel. 026-2322002

Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (Hakiardhi)
P.O. Box 9824
Tel. 022-2152448

IDM Women Research, Consultancy and Training Group (IDM-WORECOT)
P.O. Box 2209, Morogoro
Tel. 023-2303549/ 2604381-4/ 0811-624994

Institute of Development Studies Women’s Studies Group (IDS – WSG)
P.O. Box 35169, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2410075

Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET)
P.O. Box 15674, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2180005/ 2182240
Kuleana Center for Children’s Rights
P.O. Box 27, Mwanza; P.O. Box 14335, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 028 2500911/2 or 022 2138248/ 0811-786511
022 2138248/ 0811-786511

Legal and Human Rights Center (LHRC)
P.O. Box 75254, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2113177, 2117767, 2118353

Medical Women Association of Tanzania (MEWATA)
(No contact information provided)

Society for Women and AIDS in Tanzania (SWAA-T)
P.O. Box 65081, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2153391

Taaluma Women Group (TWG)
P.O. Box 75720, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2668321

Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP)
P.O. Box 9281, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2443205, 2443450, 2443286

Tanzania Home Economics Association (TAHEA)
P.O. Box 1125, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2115602

Tanzania Association of NGOs (TANGO)
P.O. Box 31147, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2762208

Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA)
P.O. Box 8981, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2115278 / 0811 328614

Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA)
P.O. Box 9460, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2110758

Tanzania Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment (TAWLAE)
P.O. Box 76498, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2700085

Tanzania Ecumenical Dialogue Group (TEDG)
C/o CSSC, Box 9433, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-410207/2410500

Walio Katika Mapambano Na AIDS (WAMATA)
(No contact information provided)

Women Advancement Trust (WAT)
P.O. Box 5914, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2667091

Women Legal Aid Center (WLAC)
P.O. Box 868, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2183769

Women Research and Documentation Project (WRDP)
P.O. Box 35108, Dar es Salaam
Tel. 022-2443500-8, ext. 2460, 0811 334640

Women Science and Technology Association (WODSTA)
P.O. Box 3182, Arusha
Tel. 027 2507069
REFERENCES


Shivji, I. G. (2004). Reflections on NGOs in Tanzania: What we are, what we are not, and what we ought to be. Development in Practice, 14, 689-695.


future research. *Victimology, 10*, 34-43.


Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA). (2002). *War against FGM needs multi-sectoral response.* Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Sauti Ya Siti - TAMWA.


