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Exploring Gender Equity through Occupation: A Critical Decolonizing Ethnography in Tanzania

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree
in Health and Rehabilitation Sciences

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Abstract

Within the discipline of occupational science, scholars of increasingly diverse geographical spaces have highlighted the necessity of diversity and epistemological expansion to enact transformative scholarship. In response, this dissertation enacted a critical decolonizing ethnographic project with 5 women from Tanzania to explore their experiences of gender inequities.

This thesis is composed of six integrated manuscripts, with the first serving as an introduction to the research questions, researcher positionality and essential terminology. Manuscript two examines past perspectives and approaches to research which examined gender equity or inequity in Tanzania, illuminating gaps and recommendations for future gendered research in Tanzania. Manuscript three presents an argument for the uptake of Africana Womanism as a theoretical underpinning for transformative occupation-based research to challenge dominant perspectives within the discipline. Manuscript four introduces decoloniality as a theoretical space and social movement to enact transformation, highlighting tensions experienced while conducting this decolonial research and how they were navigated. Manuscript five unpacks the findings of the study, which include four primary themes: 1) Uelewa wa Jinsia / Situated Understandings of Gender, 2) Dhana ya Uwanamk / Holistic Conceptualizations of Womanhood, 3) Juzunguka ya usawa wa kijinsia kwa kudai haki / Navigating Gender Inequities through Resistance, and 4) Maono ya Usawa wa Kinjinsia / Envisioning Gender Equity. The concluding chapter links the results of this dissertation to broader implications for future Occupational Science and interdisciplinary research within gender equity spaces.

Overall, this thesis makes important contributions to the conceptualizations of gender equity and gendered occupation in Occupational Science, challenging dominant understandings and creating space for diverse knowledge and perspectives from Tanzania. Additionally, it illuminates the colonial power structures within women's historical, sociocultural and political contexts and highlights the potential for transformation through healing and reclamation.

Keywords: Gender, gender equity, gendered occupation, decoloniality

Summary for Lay Audience

Within the field of studies called occupational science, many authors have argued there is a need for more diversity in research in order to generate knowledge that can inform action. This dissertation responded to this need through an innovative research methodology called a critical decolonizing ethnography, with women from Tanzania to explore their experiences of gender inequities. This approach also embraced the local language and culture to better understand how coloniality persists and what factors perpetuate it. The broader intent of this project was to collaboratively generate new knowledge which challenges universal ways of understanding womanhood, gender equity and occupation.

This thesis is composed of six integrated manuscripts, with the first as an introduction to the research questions, researcher positionality and essential terminology. Manuscript two examines previous research addressing gender equity and inequity in Tanzania, suggesting recommendations for future research. Manuscript three explores Africana Womanism, as a way of understanding gender that challenges dominant perspectives typically used by occupational scientists. Manuscript four introduces decoloniality as a theoretical space and social movement to enact transformation, highlighting tensions experienced while conducting this decolonial research and how they were navigated. Manuscript five presents the experiences and understandings of 5 Tanzanian women, as positioned within historical, social, cultural and political systems in Tanzania, as four primary findings: 1) Uelewa wa Jinsia / Situated Understandings of Gender, 2) Dhana ya Uwanamk / Holistic Conceptualizations of Womanhood, 3) Juzunguka ya usawa wa kijinsia kwa kudai haki / Navigating Gender Inequities through Resistance, and 4) Maono ya Usawa wa Kinjinsia / Envisioning Gender Equity. The final manuscript links the results of this dissertation to broader implications of this work for future Occupational Science and interdisciplinary research addressing gender equity.

Overall, this thesis makes important contributions to understandings of gender and gender inequities in Occupational Science. Future research should consider how this research approach can be used with communities to facilitate equality and healing.

Co-Authorship Statement

I, Stephanie Huff, acknowledge that this dissertation includes four integrated manuscripts that evolved as a result of collaborative endeavors. Within these manuscripts, primary intellectual contributions were made by the first author who: conducted the scoping review, researched the theoretical underpinnings and methodology, established partnerships with participants and the community in Tanzania, collected and coded data, and led the data analysis and writing of manuscripts. The second author, Prof. Debbie Laliberte Rudman made intellectual and editorial contributions to all 6 of the manuscripts, while also providing paradigmatic, theoretical and methodological guidance throughout the design and execution of the research study.

The contributions of co-authors, Prof. Lilian Magalhães and Dr. Erica Lawson contributed primarily through reflexive dialogue, theoretical and methodological guidance and editorial support for each of the six manuscripts.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my research participants and partners in Tanzania with gratitude and love. Wadada yangu, warafiki yangu. Asante. Asante sana.

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First, I would like to begin by acknowledging my supervisor and mentor Prof. Debbie Laliberte Rudman. Thank you for consistently pushing me to expand my mind, for challenging me and encouraging me to find my critical voice. This work would not be possible without your guidance, so thank you for sharing your wealth of knowledge and never discouraging my vision for this project.

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To my family, thank you for your unconditional love and support throughout the years. To my Mom and biggest cheerleader, Janis Boyle: thank you for giving me strength and constantly motivating me to ‘keep my eye on the prize’. To Pat Boyle; thank you for your unwavering generosity and for welcoming me home, each and every time. To my Dad, Tim Huff and to Sue Huff: through the many times I’ve come and gone, thank you for never doubting me or my unconventional path. To my dearest friends Jessica, Lesleigh, and Kristine, and to dada yangu Helen, your support was felt across continents.

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

This doctoral work is situated within the growing global attention towards the marginalization and inequities experienced by women and girls globally (UN Women, 2019). Since the launch of the United Nation's (UN) 2000 Millennium Development Goals, women's health and empowerment initiatives have substantially increased worldwide (UNDP, 2000). The 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) introduced a single-standing gender equality goal, redirecting international attention towards the structural forces of power influencing and perpetuating the gendered issues women and girls experience (United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015). However, critics of the SDGs suggest gender equality is framed as a universal construct which may not be relevant to all women, and argue the gender equality goal lacks practical guidance on how to actually transform gendered issues (Razavi, 2016).

In Tanzania, little is known about how women themselves understand and negotiate the gender inequities they experience (please refer to the literature review manuscript in chapter 2). Instead, the existing literature pertaining to gender inequities in Tanzania has emphasized women's reproductive health and the ways in which women experience inequities (Agnarosn et al., 2015; Cooper et al., 2017; Deane & Wamoyi, 2015; Wamoyi et al., 2011). Gaps therefore remain within this body of literature, resulting in a need for research approaches which actually create space for women's voices through culturally and epistemologically appropriate methodologies and methods.

In response to these gaps and with a commitment to enacting research that created space for women's voices, this dissertation work enacted a critical decolonizing ethnographic methodology to explore and critically situate 5 Tanzanian women's experiences of gender inequities within their daily lives and occupations in context. This research approach was developed and employed in partnership with a Tanzanian women's rights group and conducted within the local language, Swahili. It sought to generate new

decolonized knowledge through collaborative methods with the women, while also respecting and centering local epistemology and language.

The study was carried out in Mwanza, a lakeside town in the North West of Tanzania, over the course of one year. This locale was decided upon due to my prior experience living in the community while interning for the partner organization, MikonoYetu, in 2016.

Within this chapter, I introduce my rationale as to why this dissertation research was relevant, the objectives I aimed to achieve and how my positionality as a researcher influenced the overall dissertation. I will explicate how the remaining integrated thesis document will be presented and continue on to define key terminology and conceptual underpinnings used throughout this work, including occupation, occupational science, gender equity and gender equality, gendered occupation, coloniality, decoloniality, Africana womanism and an African feminist communicative lens. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a brief summary and outline of how this introduction leads into the second chapter.

1.1 Plan of Presentation

This doctoral thesis consists of 6 chapters which include this introductory chapter, a critical scoping review, a theoretical paper addressing guiding theoretical frameworks, a methodological paper addressing the decolonizing methodological approach used, a results chapter and a discussion chapter situating the research implications. While each chapter was written as an independent paper for publication in an academic journal, they cohesively build upon one another as they emerged through the process of this work. One of the manuscripts (chapter 3) is already published within a peer-reviewed journal (please see the appendix for the permission statement) while the rest of the scholarship will be submitted for publication following the completion of my doctoral degree.

Within this introductory chapter, I position this critical scholarship within international calls for research targeting gender equity and align my research aims with the United Nation's SDGs and interdisciplinary knowledge gaps within existing approaches to

gendered research in Tanzania (United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015).

Moreover, I also introduce the thesis as a whole, outlining the purpose of this critical decolonial scholarship, explicating my positionality as both a researcher and within the discipline of occupational science, and define several core terminologies drawn upon within the body of the thesis. I conclude with an explanation of how each manuscript builds upon the next, contributing to the broader implications of the dissertation work.

Chapter two introduces the first of four integrated manuscripts (*Chapter two: Critically Mapping Research Addressing Gender Equity in Tanzania: Approaches, Gaps and Future Directions*). This manuscript presents a critical scoping review of 67 interdisciplinary research articles approaching gender equity or inequity in Tanzania. Guided by a decolonial lens, this review sought to explore how issues relating to gender inequities in Tanzania have been approached to date within peer-reviewed literature and uncover what is known about how gender inequities are experienced, negotiated and understood by Tanzanian women. This manuscript was also guided by a critical occupational lens to frame women's experiences of inequities within occupation, as well as to consider how navigating inequities may intersect with occupational enactment and resistance.

The second manuscript (*Chapter three: 'Africana Womanism': Implications for transformative scholarship in occupational science*) emerged from my candidacy examination, in which I explored Africana womanist theory as a conceptual underpinning for the enactment of this thesis work. This chapter introduces Africana womanism as a theoretical tool to challenge the imperialistic and universal assumptions within dominant conceptualizations of occupation, specifically within the ways women's occupations have previously been explored. More specifically, this chapter argues for diverse epistemological understandings within occupation-based work and recommends Africana womanism for future explorations of gendered occupation and gender equity in occupational science. This chapter and the theoretical framework within it informed this thesis work by acting as a guiding lens, both within the analytical framework and the iterative enactment of the analysis and interpretation. This chapter therefore interlinks with the following chapters (chapter four, five and six) as Africana womanist theory and

its guiding philosophies were taken up in application of the decolonial approach within an African context, as well as when analyzing and interpreting the findings of the study in context and situating them within broader implications for transformative disciplinary and interdisciplinary contexts.

The third manuscript (*Chapter four: Decolonizing research for transformation: A critical decolonizing ethnographic approach*) calls for the uptake of decolonial approaches to research in occupational science. To build a foundation for this argument, the manuscript unpacks the central tenets of decolonial thought, including Indigenous knowledge, power, reclamation and allyship. Through referring to critical decolonizing ethnographic methodology as an example, the chapter shares how I worked to uptake this methodological approach within this thesis research. I explicate how methods enacted within my thesis work strived to be aligned with decolonial thought and methodologies. In addition, given the centrality of critical reflexivity within decolonial work, I provide examples of tensions I experienced in the field as a settler researcher and how I navigated these challenges.

The fourth manuscript (*Chapter five: Exploring Women's Experiences and Understandings of Gender Inequities: A Critical Decolonizing Ethnography in Tanzania*) presents the critical decolonizing ethnographic study, examining Tanzanian women's experiences of gender inequities within daily life and occupational enactment. This chapter presents the primary findings of this project, as situated within the broader contexts of Tanzanian historical, sociocultural and political factors, including coloniality, patriarchy and racism, including: 1) Uelewa wa Jinsia / Situated Understandings of Gender, 2) Dhana ya Uwanamk / Holistic Conceptualizations of Womanhood, 3) Juzunguka ya usawa wa kijinsia kwa kudai haki / Navigating Gender Inequities through Resistance, and 4) Maono ya Usawa wa Kinjinsia / Envisioning Gender Equity. The presentation and interpretation of these findings seeks to deconstruct universal conceptualizations of gender, womanhood and gender equity and create space for women's voices to shape the generation of new knowledge from within their own epistemological lenses.

The final section (*Chapter six: Discussions and Implications for transformative occupation-based scholarship*) discusses the broader implications of the findings, for both occupational science and interdisciplinary research spaces, including recommendations for future directions. It also shares my personal development and reflexive insights gained throughout this research journey.

1.2 Rationale

Since the United Nation's 2000 Millennium Declaration, there has been an increasingly widespread focus on women's health and empowerment in both research and practice initiatives. The subsequent Millennium Development Agenda was distilled into 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), three of which focused on women, including aims to enhance maternal health, decrease under 5 child mortality and achieve gender equality (United Nations Development Programme, 2000). The 2015 Sustainable Development Agenda resulted in 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which included a more comprehensive single-standing goal on gender equality, which recognizes it is not only a basic human right but integral to economic growth and development (United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015; UNDP, 2018). According to its targets, the goal aims to achieve gender equality and empower women and girls through ending discrimination, violence and harmful practices and enhancing equitable policy, opportunities and access to health, economic and technological resources by 2030 (UNDP, 2018).

More specific to Tanzania, the country was ranked by the UN's Gender Inequality Index in 2017 as being at 130th of 160 countries measured (United Nations Development Program, 2018). From a sociopolitical perspective, since the 2015 election of the current president John Joseph Magafuli, several new policies implemented are current political driving forces further shaping and deepening the gender inequities women and girls face. These include the abolishment of social services which once distributed free contraceptives, mandatory expulsion of pregnant girls from school and the persecution of the LGBTQ+ community (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Abortion remains illegal and with recent policies infringing the right to freedom of speech, human rights and political activists have been jailed, assaulted and murdered, further deteriorating any

advancements in gender equity in Tanzania (Human Rights Watch, 2019). These examples serve to highlight the social relevance of critical research which further explores the gender inequities women experience within Tanzania as situated within the sociopolitical systems and institutions perpetuating them.

Moreover, this research aimed to particularly interrogate how gender inequities intersect with Tanzania's history of colonization and its pervasive impacts today. In precolonial Tanzanian society, the economy was agricultural-based, where women functioned alongside men as equals, to curate sustainable land and harvest crops for sustenance and profit (Berger, 2016). It was not until colonization influenced racism and patriarchal gender norms, that women's occupational roles began to change (Cloutier, 2006). For example, European settlers recruited men as laborers for infrastructure projects, forcing women to care for the land, the home and the children all on their own; this intensified the sexual division of labor and gender subjugation, while also increasing women's workload burden and reducing their potential for economic opportunities (Berger, 2016; Hudson-Weems, 2004). This was further impacted by outbreaks of rinderpest and smallpox introduced by colonizers; these epidemics resulted in a devastating loss of life, leading to the increased value of larger family units as a safeguard for agricultural labor forces and the sexualization of adolescent girls to bear children earlier (Cloutier, 2006). All of these influences remain strongly fixed within contemporary Tanzanian society as patriarchal and racist social and ideological agendas (Berger, 2016) and therefore should be considered as historical and sociopolitical contexts which shape women's experiences of gender inequities today.

From an occupational science perspective, there are several rationales which illuminate the relevance of this dissertation work. First, research which critically explores gendered occupation and gender equity in context is lacking (Huff et al., 2018). Gendered occupation extends beyond the study of women's occupation, noting the political nature of gender, as well as the power dynamics and contextual factors which shape gender and its intersections with occupation (Huff et al., 2018). From this perspective, gendered occupation encapsulates gender equity, noting the ways occupations may perpetuate gender inequities or offer ways in which women might circumvent or resist them.

Occupation has been linked to human rights within disciplinary literature and guiding regulatory bodies, aligning human rights with the right to occupational enactment such that “abuses of occupational rights are abuses of human rights” (WFOT, 2019, p. 2). However, gender equity as a fundamental human right and the ways in which occupation can be a vehicle for the perpetuation of gender inequities, or the restoration from them, has only begun to emerge in occupational science. For example, an instrumental case study addressing the occupational engagement of alcohol consumption among three pregnant rural women in South Africa (Cloete & Ramugondo, 2015), and a phenomenological exploration of live-in female domestic workers and their female employers in South Africa illuminated the intersections of women’s occupation and the historical and sociopolitical contexts relating to Apartheid (Galvaan et al., 2015). While this emerging critical work has begun to reshape understandings of gendered occupation and further illuminate how it is situated within broader historical, cultural and sociopolitical forces, such as coloniality (Magalhães et al., 2019; Ramugondo, 2018), it appears that no published occupation-based research focused on gendered occupation in Tanzania exists to date.

With growing attention to the imperialist and colonial assumptions and agendas within occupational science (Whalley Hammell, 2018; Ramugondo, 2015), this work aimed to contribute decolonial understandings of gender equity, womanhood and gendered occupation in Tanzania. Stimulated by increased attention to coloniality within occupation-based work (Ramugondo, 2018) and in response to the calls for diverse perspectives beyond those dominant in the West (Magalhães et al., 2019), I also aimed to advance diverse conceptualizations of gendered occupation and gender equity within occupational science.

The study ultimately aims to collaborate with 5 Tanzanian women in partnership with Mikono Yetu, to advance understandings of women’s experiences of gender inequities and distill this knowledge back into the community through the organization. Moreover, through the process of enacting this work alongside the 5 women, the implications extended beyond research to demonstrate the potential for healing through a collective

change-oriented dialogue on envisioning gender equity. For more detailed rationales of the work, please refer to the body of the dissertation work.

1.3 Guiding Research Questions

The specific objectives of this dissertation project were to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Tanzanian women experience, perceive and navigate their womanhood and gender inequities?
2. How do women's occupations intersect with gender inequities? How might women's occupations be used as modes of negotiating or resisting gender inequities?

1.4 Positionality

Explicating one's positionality is crucial in conducting critically informed decolonial work, given that one's social position and taken-for-granted assumptions inevitably affect one's worldview and therefore influences one's scholarship (Hammell, 2009). In relation to decoloniality, I therefore unpack my positionality below, both pertaining to my status as a researcher and my location within the discipline of occupational science.

1.4.1 Researcher Positionality

In order to appropriately and ethically enact this critical decolonizing methodological approach, the acknowledgement of my positionality and status along the continuum of power and privilege required "critical reflexive self-location" (Kovach, 2009, p. 112). I write from a specific place as a white, educated, able-bodied, North American woman (she/her) of European descent. Within the context of conducting research in Tanzania, it was exceptionally important to critically unpack this positionality as it relates to the decolonial lens I am using because I have never been colonized. In fact, the opposite is true that my ancestors were settler peoples and I therefore refer to myself throughout this dissertation as a settler researcher. With European lineage spanning back to Britain and Germany (countries which both colonized Tanzania), my very presence on Tanzanian land was complicated. Being a white foreigner within a neocolonial setting produced

daily tensions relating to power and privilege; it quite obviously fixed my position as an outsider within society, while also inherently encompassing the potential to perpetuate coloniality through my daily interactions.

It is due to my positionality, that I intentionally took up decolonial theory and critical feminist scholarship to enact this study, not as corrective lenses akin to a conceptual bandaid solution for coloniality, but as theoretical groundings and guidance to navigate the non-linear complexities of enacting community-based decolonial research in my second language, quite a lofty goal for a PhD student. These theories were of the utmost importance to frame my work because frankly as a white woman, my conceptualizations of womanhood and what it means to experience inequities rooted in gender are shaped by white privilege, producing the equivalent to blind-spots along the continuum of gender inequities. My awareness of the diverse ways women of the majority world and women of color experience gender inequities, often intersectionally shaped by racial inequities within a colonial context, is limited because I do not experience them. This is, of course, problematic when attempting to engage in research focusing on this very topic.

Disclosing my self-location is therefore not merely an obligation within this scholarship, but enables me to examine my motivations for doing this work and take ownership for my status, including the potential for it to cause negative ripples and exist as a limitation in and of itself. While I could draw a definition of allyship from the very prolific body of knowledge on this very topic, I feel it more meaningful to say from my own perspective and with my own words what this process of ownership means to me and therefore how I chose to engage within it. It involved the acknowledgement of past and present colonial transgressions and the humility to admit my own wrongdoings, making a commitment to show up and do better, learning without an expectation to be taught, and most of all, living with compassion. This required daily reflexive journaling, grounding within decolonial and African feminist bodies of knowledge and collective discussions with the director of my partner organization.

1.4.2 Researcher Motivations

Kovach (2009) describes the process of critical reflective self-location as an “opportunity to examine our research purpose and motive” (p. 112). My personal motives for enacting this research stem from meaning I ascribe to my personal relationships with my partner organization ‘Mikono Yetu’, a Tanzanian women’s rights organization, and the broader community in Mwanza, Tanzania. I came to know the Tanzanian director and team of Mikono Yetu in 2016, during my 3-month internship with them through the ‘Western Heads East’ program, a collaboration between Wetsern University and partner organizations across East Africa. At the time, I had research interests in the intersection of culture and occupation which led me to seek international experiences to immerse myself in cultures beyond my own; I would never have imagined how impactful the experience would be, catalyzing my passion for gender rights and my subsequent thesis work on women’s experiences of gender inequities.

During the 2016 internship, I assisted with the program evaluation of MikonoYetu’s existing grassroots initiatives, which provided local women access to skills training, knowledge of women’s rights and assistance navigating gender inequities, such as intimate partner violence. The aim was to gather feedback from women who had received services from the organization, inviting them to share their story and perceptions of whether their lives have changed since engaging with MikonoYetu. I recall feeling shock after hearing their deeply gendered experiences of violence and trauma and feeling ashamed that my privileged existence had essentially blinded me. I had only conceptualized gender inequities from the ways in which they directly impacted me as a middle-class North American white woman. It was the first time I truly confronted my own power and privilege and I grappled with the spectrum of emotions that coincide that: guilt and shame.

Reorienting my view of how gender inequities manifested in rural Tanzania, from the lenses of the women sharing their life stories, demonstrated the importance of understanding gendered issues in context as situated within local epistemology. These learnings directly influenced my candidacy examination paper on Africana womanist

theory as a conceptual underpinning for gendered work in Tanzania (which later informed chapter 3 of this thesis work) and my dissertation proposal to enact this project.

1.4.3 Disciplinary Positionality

In addition to my positionality as a researcher, this section explicates where myself and this thesis are situated within the discipline of occupational science. In enacting occupation-based work, my research is situated within the critical theory paradigm, which tasks scientists to consider power relations in order to destabilize and challenge status quo traditions, ideologies and assumptions (Callaghan, 2016; Ponterotto, 2005). A critical occupational lens (further explicated below in the terminology section) was therefore taken up within this work to examine power structures influencing gender inequities in Tanzania, and how these inequities were both experienced through women's occupational enactment or perpetuated by the doing of a particular occupation itself.

In alignment with this critical occupational perspective, I was drawn to recent emerging calls within occupational science for decolonial approaches to research (Ramugondo, 2018), which can both diversify disciplinary epistemology and catalyze healing and transformation (Tobias et al., 2013). In this dissertation I therefore draw upon decolonial theory, as well as existing work within occupational science which has begun to enact such goals through resistance of colonial ideology and agendas. As one example, Frank and Muriithi's (2015) conceptualization of occupational reconstructions introduced an innovative theoretical frame to unpack social transformation in occupation. An occupational reconstruction, or "what people do to remake or ameliorate ordinary life in response to a problematic situation", was used by the authors to consider the civil rights movement and South African apartheid (Frank & Muriithi, 2015, p. 11). While the authors do not explicate their work as being rooted within decoloniality, this thesis draws from their foundational work to explore occupational reconstructions from a gendered and decolonial lens, examining the ways Tanzanian women navigated, resisted or transcribed gender inequities through their everyday lives and occupations.

1.5 Defining Key Terms and Theories

This section explicates the key terminology and theoretical concepts employed throughout this doctoral thesis. In line with the decolonizing lens which guided this work, knowledge and language stemming from dominant epistemologies innately encompasses power to perpetuate oppression. It is therefore important to unpack the core terms and theories embedded throughout this dissertation. These include: occupation; occupational science; critical occupational perspective; gender, gender equity and gender equality; gendered occupation; decoloniality; Africana womanism and an African feminist communicative lens.

1.5.1 Occupation

The term occupation is often equated to the things people need, want or are expected to do (WFOT, 2010). Derived from the latin root “occupatio”, meaning to “seize or take possession”, the word is linguistically diverse, carrying many meanings across different cultures and societies, such as to occupy or take possession or to pursue income-producing employment (Yerxa et al., 1989, p.5). Within this thesis work, occupation is defined as the range of daily activities individuals and groups both need and want to engage in (Zemke, 2016) and are inherently understood as both goal-directed or purposeful, as well as intrinsically linked to meaning and well-being (Yerxa, 1989). Within more critical spaces of occupation-based work, occupation is also conceptualized as inclusive of ‘dark’ activities that may not be socially-acceptable, such as those which are forced, cause harm to oneself or others, and which inherently perpetuate oppression (Twinley, 2013). As well, in critical occupational science, occupation is defined as actions that change the self and the world, highlighting its resistive and transformative potential (Frank & Muriithi, 2015). Within the context of this work, occupation is explored as inherently engendered, and therefore the ways in which occupations are enacted may intersect with women’s experiences of gender inequities and how they circumscribe or resist these inequities.

1.5.2 Occupational Science

Occupational science is the study of human occupation, focusing on the form, function and inherent meaning of occupation within individuals and groups' daily lives. This includes "the need and capacity to engage in and orchestrate daily occupations in the environment over the lifespan" (Yerxa et al., 1990, p.6; Zemke, 2016). The discipline emerged in the late 1980s, partly with intent to provide foundational knowledge to support occupational therapy practice (Yerxa et al., 1989; Yerxa, 1993). As such, occupational science has been predominately rooted within the field of health sciences, enacting research which explored the intersections of occupation and health and well-being, through self-care, productivity and leisure activities (Zemke, 2016). More recently, occupational science has carved out a critical space for research, employing a critical occupational perspective to transformative scholarship (Farias et al., 2016; Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2014).

1.5.3 Critical Occupational Perspective

A critical occupational perspective views human occupation and the contexts in which they exist as 'situated', examining and challenging dominant ways of knowing and doing, critically interrogating power relations and social institutions, and aiming to address oppression and marginalization (Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2016; Hocking, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2013; Molineaux & Whiteford, 2011). More recently, the critical occupational perspective has guided arguments for the interrogation of imperialism and colonialism within existing disciplinary literature, and within societal systems and structures (Ramugondo, 2018; Whalley Hammell, 2018).

The critical occupational perspective was therefore used as a guiding framework to support the exploration of the intersections of gendered occupation and gender inequities in Tanzania, as broadly situated within the historical, sociocultural and political contexts. This includes unpacking how certain occupations inherently perpetuate gender inequities, while others have the resistive potential to challenge oppression and catalyze social-transformation (Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Hocking & Whiteford, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2015; Townsend & Wilcock, 2004).

1.5.4 Gender, Gender Inequity and Gender Inequality

Gender is often used as an adjective and a binary category to differentiate men versus women, or male versus female. When an issue is ‘gendered’, it asserts that “gender is both relational and political, with existing power relations between the gendered construct and what it is situated in” (Huff et al., 2018, p. 555; Scott, 1986; Sharp et al., 2012). To further hone in on the importance of language and the inherent power exerted through linguistics, it is important to note that gender inequity and gender inequality are very different, based on the ways in which power relations and sources of oppression are identified and challenged. However, they are often used within organizations and institutions, such as within the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Agenda, in synonymous ways. To better distinguish these two different concepts, I argue that ‘gender inequity’ stems from politically-charged roots, acknowledging the factors which influence and perpetuate inequities, such as historical, sociocultural and political systems and institutions, ideologies and agendas. The conceptualization of ‘gender inequality’ inherently delineates a comparative duality between males and females, which not only contributes to gender binary discourse, but does not enable gendered work to move beyond the confines of comparative analyses (Scott, 1986; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Within the context of this thesis work, a gender equity/inequity framework and language are drawn upon.

1.5.5 Gendered Occupation

In line with the above explication of the term ‘gendered’, the gendered occupation construct also exemplifies a political stance, identifying power structures and oppression within occupational enactment (Huff et al., 2018). It therefore unpacks women’s enactment to consider how sociocultural and political forces influence and shape occupation, both through how women experience inequities through their daily activities or how they can be restorative in the face of oppression. Gendered occupation also demonstrates potential to destabilize dominant conceptualizations of gender and womanhood, critically unpacking the ways Western knowledge systems and dominant

perspectives have influenced how occupational science previously approached gendered research (Huff et al., 2018).

1.5.6 Coloniality

In order to define coloniality, it must first be distinguished as separate from colonialism. Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation “in which the sovereignty of a nation or peoples rests on the power of another nation” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243), whereby the nation with power oppresses, exploits and controls indigenous peoples and their land, often through violence and genocide (Quijano, 2007). Starting from the middle age crusades and into the 15th century slave trade from West Africa and 16th century conquest of the Americas, there is a long history of European colonialism throughout most of the world (Quijano, 2007).

According to Maldonado-Torres (2007), coloniality refers to “long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations” (p. 243). Quijano (2000) referred to coloniality as having “two axes of power”, summarized as racial inequities and social inequities relating to the control of labor and resources (p. 533). However, coloniality is not simply a byproduct of colonialism; it is also shaped by particular socio-historical and political contexts, such as widespread capitalism and the concentration of the world’s resources under the control of a small European minority (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Moreover, coloniality is also imposed in both the body and mind (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, 1986) or rather, through oppressive ideology influencing what is constituted as knowledge and who benefits from that knowledge (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). In this sense, coloniality exists beyond colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), supporting the rationale for using decolonial theory within this dissertation rather than post-colonial theory.

1.5.7 Decoloniality

Decoloniality is both a theoretical space and political movement which seeks to “interrogate and interrupt longstanding colonial agendas within knowledge generation”, and push-back against the replication of colonial agendas in attempts to reclaim and

rebuild (Mutua and Swadener, 2004; Ndimande, 2012, p. 220). More specifically, the process of decolonizing knowledge engages with multiple layers of colonization within academia, through challenging notions of what counts as knowledge, who benefits from that knowledge and who is excluded or pushed to the margins (Ndimande, 2012; Smith, 1999). Within research, decoloniality therefore requires scholars to challenge and destabilize the imperial origins of research, including the power systems which perpetuate the privilege of the English language, the global North and objective forms of science (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Decolonizing theory also emphasizes the centering and respect for indigenous knowledge and can catalyze transformation through the reclamation and healing of indigenous peoples and communities. For non-indigenous settler researchers, this process involves the commitment to allyship, which is described as “cultivating, building and strengthening relationships between two differing individuals, groups or communities based on respectful, meaningful and beneficial interactions” (Jaworsky, 2019, p.3). When enacted in ways that address issues of power and privilege, decolonial approaches can create space for indigenous peoples and communities to reclaim what was taken, inferiorised and suppressed through engaging in the co-production of decolonized knowledge and the collective resistance and challenging of colonial agendas (Kovach, 2009; Morton Ninomiya & Pollock, 2017).

1.5.8 Neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism consists of three components, including neo-colonialism as a consequence of a low-development status within the world trade system, as a military force and as a form of bribery (Nimako, 2010). Drawing from the seminal writings of Nkrumah (1965), “the essence of neo-colonialism is the state of subject is in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty; in reality its economic system and political policy is directed from outside” (p. 90). Neo-colonialism thus exposes the continuation of colonialism despite outward appearances of sovereignty.

1.5.9 Racism

According to Grosfoguel (2011), racism is “a global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority along the line of the human that have been politically, culturally and economically produced and reproduced for centuries by the institutions of the capitalist, patriarchal western-centric, Christian-centric, modern colonial world system” (p. 10). Through this definition, different forms of racism can be conceived by unpacking colonial histories, geographical regions and hierarchies of of superiority and inferiority marked by color, ethnicity, language, culture and/or religion (Grosfoguel, 2016). Grosfoguel (2016) notes, while color racism has been the dominant marker of racism since colonial times, it is important that it is not taken up as “the exclusive form or universal definition or racism”, subverting diverse racist markers in other regions of the world, including intersectional and entangled oppressions (p. 10).

1.5.10 Africana Womanism

Africana Womanism was delineated from Feminist thought to both address monolithic tensions within feminism as a whole and to create space for the perspectives and views of women of African descent (Hudson-Weems, 2001; Hudson-Weems, 2004). Womansim embodies a unique and separate agenda from feminism, highlighting and expressing the unique beliefs, specific values and experienced oppressions of Africana women (Hudson-Weems, 2004). It claims the solutions to gender inequity should be found within African ontology, where “a world free of oppression already exists within traditional African philosophy” (Yaa Asatewaa Reed, 2001, p. 175).

African philosophical underpinnings (including holism, collectivity and situationality) were taken up in this dissertation as a means to cohesively enact Africana womanist theory and situate gender and occupation within context. These philosophies are further unpacked in the theoretical chapter (chapter 3) of this dissertation. These underpinnings were intentionally drawn upon to foster my ability to push beyond the limits of Western dualistic thinking and attend to the diverse, situated and political nature of gender inequities and gendered occupation (Cruz, 2015; Laliberte Rudman, 2014).

1.5.11 African Feminist Communicative Lens

An 'African feminist communicative lens' was proposed by Joelle Cruz (2015) to cultivate a re-imagining of feminist organizations. More specifically, this lens suggests a re-evaluation of dominant approaches and assumptions in the West, and an invitation to uptake a more critical perspective of taken-for-granted systems (Cruz, 2015).

In moving towards this viewpoint, Cruz (2015) highlights the centrality of praxis, or a rooting "in concerns of the everyday" (p. 24). Within this context, praxis evokes both the challenges women experience in contemporary Africa and their agency, demonstrated through how they overcome these issues through action (Cruz, 2015; Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994). Praxis questions how human rights and basic needs for survival (including issues of poverty, water access, political corruption) are influenced by power relations within a global arena (Cruz, 2015). This can advance understandings of "how marginalized groups challenge exploitative systems", or more specific to gender inequities within this dissertation, how women enact daily occupation as resistance to oppression (Cruz, 2015, p. 24).

1.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, drawing from decolonial and African womanist theoretical underpinnings, this thesis aimed to explore 5 Tanzanian women's experiences of gender inequities through a critical decolonizing ethnographic methodological approach, to answer the questions of: 1. How do Tanzanian women experience, perceive and navigate their womanhood and gender inequities, and 2. How do women's occupations intersect with gender inequities? In order to better situate these questions within the broader interdisciplinary literature pertaining to gender inequities in Tanzania, the next chapter presents a critical scoping review of 67 peer-reviewed articles from the last two decades on this topic. Through a critical thematic analysis using both critical occupational and decolonial lenses, this review critically maps past, and present knowledge approaching gender inequities in Tanzania, discussing existing gaps and proposing future implications.

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Chapter 2

2 Critically Mapping Research Addressing Gender Equity in Tanzania: Approaches, Gaps and Future Directions

This scoping review synthesized interdisciplinary literature which approached gender equity in Tanzania across two decades. Acknowledging the contested terminology of gender equity and equality over time, this study was framed around two research questions: 1) how have issues relating to gender equity and equality in Tanzania been approached in peer-reviewed literature to date, and 2) what is known about how gender inequities are experienced, negotiated and understood by Tanzanian women? Guided by a critical paradigmatic perspective and decolonial theory, a six-stage methodological approach was followed to search and synthesize relevant literature from 1998 to 2018. After a two-stage review, sixty-seven peer-reviewed articles published in English with a primary focus on gender equity or equality in Tanzania were included and critically analyzed. The results highlight the diverse and dynamic ways women experience and navigate gender inequities in Tanzania. However, limitations in the literature remain in how women actually understand these inequities, both conceptually and in the context of their daily lives. Gaps include space for Tanzanian women's voices, limited use of a critical perspective, and an occupational lens. Advancements towards gender equity in Tanzania first require critical and contextual understandings from multiple perspectives and understandings, most importantly from Tanzanian women.

2.1 Introduction

This scoping review aimed to synthesize the existing body of interdisciplinary research pertaining to gender equity and equality within Tanzania, while also identifying themes in understandings of how Tanzanian women experience, navigate and perceive gendered issues. Through adding critical and decolonial perspectives within this review, we also aimed to illuminate the structures of power which influence and perpetuate gendered oppression in Tanzania, as well as which approaches and viewpoints were dominant and not dominant in the existing literature.

Through adopting the critical perspective explicated above, conceptualizations of ‘gender equity’ and ‘gender equality’ can be distinguished and further advanced. Although language rooted in gender is commonly used interchangeably, it is important to discern the subtle differences in linguistics, as language can encapsulate power and perpetuate oppression (Huff et al., 2018).

Gender is often used as an adjective, serving as a descriptor to equity and equality. Conversely, when an issue is ‘gendered’, it asserts that ‘gender is both relational and political with existing power relations between the gendered construct and what it is situated in’ (Huff et al., 2018, p. 555; Scott, 1986; Sharp et al., 2012). Gendered issues are therefore embedded within inequities influenced and perpetuated by dominant and oppressive structures, institutions and ideologies, highlighting the conceptualization of ‘gender inequity’ stems from politically-charged roots. ‘Gender inequality’ inherently delineates a duality between males and females, which not only contributes to gender binary discourse, but does not enable gendered work to move beyond the confines of comparative analyses (Scott, 1986; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

This scoping review uses equity language to acknowledge the contextual factors and power systems which underpin gendered issues. However, gender equality language continues to be taken up by other authors, as well as within key policy frameworks of the United Nations, therefore it is important within this review to be inclusive of both terms. In light of this, we examined literature underpinned by both equity and equality frameworks to not only summarize the breadth of perspectives and approaches used in this body of knowledge, but to capture changes across time.

Along these lines, gender equality was included as a goal within the United Nation’s 2000 Millennium Development Declaration and the United Nation’s 2015 Sustainable Development Agenda, catalyzing increased global attention towards the intersections of gender and human rights (United Nations Development Programme, 2000; United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) notably emphasized reducing child mortality, improving maternal health and promoting gender equality; their launch in 2000 resulted in a cascade of world-wide initiatives

targeting women's empowerment and reproductive health (United Nations Development Programme, 2000). However, the scope of these goals and their targets were criticized for being narrow, and 'too fragmented to provide a comprehensive vision of development', or a roadmap for reaching objectives (Razavi, 2016, p. 26; United Nations Department of Public Information, 2015).

Conversely, the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) included a more comprehensive approach to women's rights through a stand-alone goal to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls by 2030 (UN Sustainable Development, 2015). Where the Millennium Declaration superficially defined gender equality as 'the equal rights and opportunities of women and men', the SDGs acknowledged 'discrimination and violence against women and harmful traditional practices; unequal access to economic resources and low value assigned to women's unpaid work, and unequal access to decision-making and sexual and reproductive rights' (United Nations Development Group, 2017, p. 11). In comparison to the MDGs which only focused on gender disparities, these targets acknowledge the structural forces and institutions interconnected to power inequities and discriminatory social norms, aligning more closely with a gender equity framework despite continually using equality language (Razavi, 2016).

In Tanzania, a nation ranked by the 2017 Gender Inequality Index at 130th of 160 countries measured (in reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity), there was also an increased research focus on women's health and empowerment following these global initiatives (United Nations Development Program, 2018). The purpose of this scoping review is to therefore highlight the breadth of ways in which gender inequities have been previously examined in Tanzania over the last two decades in order to summarize what is known, as well as to identify any gaps in approaches and perspectives. The overall aim is to critically synthesize and analyze this body of knowledge to illuminate how Tanzanian women experience, navigate and understand gendered issues.

This study emerged in parallel with the first author's doctoral research on gender equity and gendered occupation in Mwanza, Tanzania, therefore we further unpack the study of human occupation in the section below. Given the first author's location within the discipline of occupational science, we specifically explored if and how occupation, that is, the range of daily activities humans engage in, were addressed in this literature as an element of how Tanzanian women experience and negotiate gender inequities.

2.2 Paradigmatic Perspective

2.2.1 Critical Theory

The critical theory paradigm tasks researchers to consider power relations in order to destabilize and challenge status quo discourses, ideologies and assumptions (Callaghan, 2016; Ponterotto, 2005). Critical theorists acknowledge a reality comprised of 'constructed lived experiences that are mediated by power relations within social and historical contexts', such as colonization or globalization (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 130). This critical perspective, paired with decolonial theory, guided the synthesis and analysis of included literature in this scoping review. Specifically, this involved determining how overarching power structures and dominant ideologies were considered or challenged within the research, and also noting what was not acknowledged or explored, or rather who's perspectives or voices were absent.

The critical paradigm also emphasizes the importance of collaborative relationships and interconnectivity among researchers, participants and communities in order to challenge imperialism and hegemony within knowledge generation (Callaghan, 2016; Madill & Gough, 2008; Stanfield, 1994). This is cohesive with the use of decolonial theory, which seeks to deconstruct imperial ideologies and colonial agendas by challenging what constitutes as knowledge, and who is creating and benefiting from that knowledge (Ndimande, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Decolonial approaches are inherently socioculturally relevant and appropriate as they respect and incorporate local ways of knowing and being, such as integrating indigenous languages, epistemologies and traditions into the research design (Kovach, 2009). As such, this scoping review sought to analyze whether past and current approaches to gender equity in Tanzania acknowledged

the ways in which women were and are presently impacted by colonization, whether research encompassed local ways of knowing, and if and how researchers engaged women in ways that created space for their knowledge and experiences.

2.2.2 Critical Occupational Lens

The term occupation addresses the range of daily activities individuals and groups both need and want to engage in (Zemke, 2016). Occupational science is ‘the study of the human as an occupational being, including the need and capacity to engage in and orchestrate daily occupations in the environment over the lifespan’ (Yerxa et al., 1990, p.6; Zemke, 2016). The study of occupation in the context of gendered issues is vital to understanding how daily activities intersect with women’s experiences of gender inequities, noting that occupation can be both a vehicle of oppression and a means to navigate it (Frank & Muriithi, 2015).

A critical occupational perspective views human occupation and the contexts in which they exist as ‘situated’, examining and challenging dominant ways of knowing, interrogating power relations and aiming to address oppression and marginalization within societies and occupations themselves (Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2016; Hocking, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2013; Molineaux & Whiteford, 2011). This critical occupational perspective was also used as a guiding framework in the thematic analysis of literature in this review because it acknowledges women may experience inequities through certain occupations, while other occupations have the potential to challenge oppression and facilitate transformation (Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Hocking & Whiteford, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2015; Townsend & Wilcock, 2004). Therefore, we use this analytical lens to explore and better understand how Tanzanian women’s occupations intersect with their experiences of gender inequities.

2.3 Methodology and Methods

The scoping review methodology is ‘a form of knowledge synthesis that addresses an exploratory research question aimed at mapping key concepts, types of evidence and gaps in research related to a defined area by systematically searching, selecting and synthesizing existing knowledge’ (Colquhoun et al., 2014, p. 1294). Colquhoun and

colleagues (2014) note the methodology's relevance to identify key concepts or gaps within broader topics with relevance to time and location, while also disseminating research findings and informing future research or practice (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Daudt, 2013; Peters et al., 2015).

In line with Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) scoping review framework and Levac and colleague's (2010) methodological additions, we followed a six-stage approach consisting of: 1) identifying the research question(s), 2) identifying relevant studies, 3) selecting studies, 4) charting the data, and 5) collating, summarizing and reporting the results and 6) consultation.

2.3.1 Identifying the research question

The following research questions were developed to broadly frame the scope of inquiry: 1) How have issues relating to gender equity and equality in Tanzania been approached in peer-reviewed literature to date? 2) What is known about how gender inequities are experienced, negotiated and understood by Tanzanian women? These questions were used to guide data extraction and analysis, as well as to situate a critical dialogue within the discussion section (Levac et al., 2010).

2.3.2 Identifying relevant studies

As recommended by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), relevant studies were identified through searching electronic databases and hand-searching through key journals. The search was carried out through the Proquest and Ebsco interfaces, and the Scopus database with the following key terms: "Tanzania*" AND (Gender* OR women OR woman OR female) AND (equalit* OR equit* OR empower* OR inequalit* OR inequit* OR feminis*). The date range of 1998-2018 was selected to encompass a wider scope of existing perspectives, while also capturing any significant changes in development initiatives and approaches over time.

2.3.3 Selecting studies

The studies included in this review were selected in two phases: 1) The first phase involved an initial screening of the titles, keywords and abstracts of articles within the

search results; irrelevant articles, such as those not focused on Tanzanian women were eliminated. 2) The second phase included a full text review of the articles which passed the first phase, facilitated by the inclusion and exclusion criteria (Tricco et al., 2011).

Studies included were peer-reviewed research articles (including literature reviews and case-studies) published in English from 1998 to 2018, available online through Western University's online academic library and interlibrary loan system. Included articles were explicitly focused on issues relating to gender equity or equality in Tanzania. Search results excluded from the study were books and book chapters, dissertations, grey literature and any articles examining gendered issues outside of Tanzania. In addition, only English articles were selected due to the time and cost involved in translating; however, it is acknowledged that relevant literature in Swahili (Tanzania's official language) may have been missed and is therefore a limitation of this scoping review.

2.3.4 Charting the data

As recommended by Tricco and colleagues (2011), the search and selection process was recorded. Articles which passed the first phase of screening were organized within the Mendeley desktop application by database and imported to Rayyan, a collaborative web application used by the authors for the inclusion or exclusion of articles during the second screening phase.

2.3.5 Collating, summarizing and reporting the results

Articles included in the scoping review underwent data extraction and collation into an Excel spreadsheet (Peters et al., 2015). This involved the logging of information pertaining to methodology, methods and empirical findings, as well as contextual or conceptual ideas (Levac et al., 2010; Peters et al., 2015). Data extraction fields included: the article citation, first author background, country of origin, study design, research purpose and guiding research questions, context of study, theoretical framework(s), study population, methods, findings and implications.

A critical analytic framework collaboratively developed by the authors was used to guide data extraction and analysis (Levac et al, 2010). This framework was underpinned by the

critical decolonial lens and occupational perspective previously discussed, to support analysis of approaches, frameworks, and perspectives, as well as the intersection of women's occupations and the structural forces which influence and perpetuate gender inequities. This process of data extraction and analysis was collectively pilot tested on 10 articles in a preliminary search (Levac et al., 2010; Tricco et al., 2011).

2.3.6 Consultation

Following the collating, summarizing and reporting of data, it is recommended to seek out stakeholder consultation to add methodological rigor (Colquhoun et al., 2014; Levac et al., 2010). The first author consulted with the female director of a Tanzanian non-governmental organization for women's rights in Mwanza, Tanzania to present both the themes and gaps which resulted from the critical thematic analysis. This informal interview aimed to garner insights and viewpoints from a Tanzanian woman with decades of professional expertise in the gender field to gauge the relevance and appropriateness of interpretations resulting from analysis. This step was also imperative to remain coherent with the decolonial analytical approach, as none of the authors of this paper are Tanzanian women.

2.4 Results

The initial search yielded 285 related articles (211 from Scopus, 68 from Proquest and 6 from EBSCOhost). After the first phase of screening, 86 articles were found to be relevant (58 from Scopus, 22 from Proquest, and 6 from EBSCOhost) and were imported to Mendeley and Rayyan. Following the second phase of selection involving a full text review, 67 of the articles were included, while 19 were excluded for reasons including: the primary focus was not on gender equity or equality, Tanzanian data was mixed with another country, or the article examined gendered issues through a target male population. We will continue this section by revisiting our research questions to guide the reporting of results.

1) How have issues relating to gender equity and equality in Tanzania been approached in peer-reviewed literature to date?

Eleven articles were authored by Tanzanian researchers, thirty-seven were collaborations by Tanzanian and foreign authors, and the remaining nineteen were completed by authors outside of Tanzania. Methodologies ranged from survey-design (21), mixed methods (13), case study (10), ethnography (9), narrative (7), empirical analysis (3), participatory action (3) and communicative feminist (1). These were paradigmatically guided predominantly by positivist (40), critical theory (17), and constructivist/interpretivist (10) lenses. It was most common for articles to use an equality framework (32) in comparison to an equity framework (14); the remaining literature (21) was situated somewhere in between, such as a comparative analysis which explored a gendered issue in context or a study which acknowledged power imbalances without unpacking them.

Issues relating to gender equity and equality in Tanzania were addressed through the following topical categories: reproductive health (20), physical or sexual violence (13), labour or entrepreneurship (12), agriculture (11), empowerment (7), social or political inequities (3), and climate change (1). Across the topic areas, several studies examined the occupations of women, both as a terrain to explore how inequity was experienced, and also as a means of negotiating it. For example, studies examined women's engagement in agriculture (Bullock et al., 2017; Sikira et al., 2018) or seascape occupations (De la Torre-Castro et al, 2017), women engaged in male dominated occupational areas such as mining, construction, politics and business ventures (Bjarnegard & Zetterberg, 2016; Kapinga et al., 2017; Lauwo, 2018; Pessa, 2018; Richey, 2004; Tillmar, 2016) and girls' access to education (Mwita & Murphy, 2017).

Trends across the inclusion timeframe of 1988-2018 were linked with socially relevant global development goals established during that period. For example, all of the 20 studies examining women's reproductive health were conducted during the 15-year period of the MGDs, suggesting their alignment with the UN's goals to improve maternal health and reduce under-five child mortality (UNDP, 2000) (*Refer to Table 1 in the appendices*). Conversely, nearly half of the articles (18 of 42) published following the SDGs which came into effect in 2016, shifted towards an equity framework, suggesting alignment to the more critical stance of the SDG's gender equality goal targets (Razavi, 2016).

2) What is known about how gender inequities are experienced, negotiated and understood by Tanzanian women?

What is known about how gender inequities are experienced?

As noted earlier, this scoping review found a dominant application of gender equality frameworks, evident by a majority of included studies comparatively examining women and men within the context of a gendered issue. For example, Bullock and colleagues (2017) sought to understand the role of gender in organic spice cultivation and trade by comparing men and women's roles and income, while Masamha and others (2017) interviewed male and female cassava farmers to explore women's empowerment in traditional food value chains. Kimaro and colleagues (2013) explored gender roles in small holder dairy farming, Frocklin and others (2013) analyzed gender within the fish trade, while Lamdin and researchers (2013) examined the inequitable service access of female drug users as compared to their male counterparts. Among these comparative studies, women were found to have smaller roles and subsequent wages based on sociocultural gender norms and limited opportunities. For example, female fish traders did not navigate the deep sea due to both lack of skills to operate a boat and capital to obtain a boat; they also perceived this to be a man's place in the water, while women kept to shallow areas prominent with smaller and less lucrative fish and seaweed (Frocklin et al., 2013). While these studies highlighted inequities between Tanzanian men and women within occupational roles, they did not unpack or challenge underlying power structures, such as whether dominant ideologies perpetuate gendered perceptions of the deep sea as a male space.

Included studies also highlighted that women and girls experienced harassment, sexual exploitation and violence in the workplace (Cooper et al., 2017; Lauwo, 2018), in schools and their community (McCleary-Sills et al., 2010), and within intimate relationships (Hagues, 2017; Katiti et al., 2016; McCloskey et al., 2005; Vyas et al., 2015).

Researchers noted women experienced limited decision-making power within their intimate relationships, such as negotiating safe sex (Corbin et al., 2016; Nanda et al., 2013), selecting where to give birth (Pembe et al., 2008), whether to adhere to maternal

health recommendations (Pembe et al., 2008; Pembe et al., 2017) and electing to work outside the household (Vyas et al., 2015). In linking back to the dominant equality framework used, authors commonly failed to unpack the overarching power systems influencing and perpetuating women's experiences of gender inequities. Conversely, power was often addressed at the individual level, relating a particular gendered issue to women's empowerment or disempowerment, rather than analyzing systemic or institutional influences.

What is known about how gender inequities are navigated?

The ways in which women navigated their experiences of inequities were qualitatively described through ethnographic (Hagues, 2017), narrative (Haws et al., 2010) and participatory studies (Price et al., 2018; Dutt & Grabe, 2017) by highlighting women's individual and collective resistance to gendered oppression. For example, women's microfinance savings groups or collective agricultural initiatives offered ways for women to overcome sociocultural barriers together through occupation. Mantsios and colleagues (2018) found female sex workers in microcredit groups felt empowered to negotiate condom use or refuse abusive customers because the savings group offered them an additional layer of economic support. Sigalla and Carney (2012) noted women's access to microcredit groups and the establishment of their own businesses enabled them to challenge gender norms by acquiring qualities traditionally ascribed to men. Collective agricultural initiatives, such as in Manzanera-Ruiz and Lizarraga's (2016) study on women in tomato farming groups offered opportunities for collective resistance in challenging perceptions of women's roles, while also expanding their economic opportunities. In Dutt and Grabe's (2017) exploration of leadership within a group of Maasai women, they noted an education group served as an opportunity for 'an iterative process of critical reflection and action in which women reconstructed their world views toward the rejection of ideology that justified their oppression and in favor of beliefs and attitudes that affirmed women's rights and capabilities' (p. 320).

In addition to collective strategies to transcend gender inequities, women also displayed individual strategies rooted in structural arrangements and personal negotiations in order

to surpass gendered barriers within their daily lives. Women engaged in transactional sex as a means to resist poverty (Deane & Wamoyi, 2015; Hagues, 2017) or gain ‘bargaining power’ (Cooper et al., 2017). Likewise, married women used extramarital affairs as a way to advance economic power (Agnarosn et al., 2015; Wamoyi et al., 2011), while young women used transactional sex as a way to strategically gain material goods for themselves or their families (McCleary-Sills et al., 2010). Similarly, in Haws and colleague’s (2010) work on cultural stigma relating to pregnancy loss, women resisted community perceptions of witchcraft and gossip, as well as the risk of husband abandonment by concealing their experiences of miscarriage and/or stillborn birth. These examples illuminate the dynamic ways Tanzanian women negotiated or resisted the gender inequities experienced in their daily lives, both individually and collectively.

What is known about how gender inequities are understood by Tanzanian women?

The results illuminated how Tanzanian women perceived the particular gendered issues they experienced but gaps remain in how they actually understand and conceptualize gender inequities. For example, a critical case study by Tillmar and colleagues (2016) concluded Maasai women perceived limitations to their decision making within their marriages and desired change within the social structures influencing gender norms (Dutt et al., 2017). Critical ethnographic work by Dancer (2018) and critical narrative work by Miltenburg and colleagues (2016) uncovered that women perceived particular issues, such as barriers to land acquisition or physical abuse during childbirth (respectively) as violations of their rights.

However, limitations remain relating to whether women understood these perceived issues as being gendered, and further how the construct of gender equity as a whole is conceptualized within their daily lives. This is evident as none of the included studies encouraged women to explicate their understandings of gender equity, or rather how they make meaning of inequities in context, highlighting an inherent assumption within this body of research which positions gender equity as a universal construct. This not only implies that women are familiar with the concept, but that they would interpret its

meaning in the same way as the researchers, and therefore equally perceive particular experiences to be equitable or inequitable.

For example, Mnimbo and colleagues (2016) quantitatively explored the gendered experiences of climate change, demonstrating that women perceived themselves to be more vulnerable than men. However, the authors failed to further unpack factors which perpetuated this vulnerability and women's understandings of it; therefore, it is unclear whether their perceived vulnerability was understood as a gender inequity and subsequently a violation of their human rights, or rather a verisimilitude of their daily lives. Furthermore, Nanda and colleagues' (2013) quantitative work on gendered attitudes demonstrated that women held patriarchal beliefs relating to their own roles as women within Tanzanian society. These survey results (Nanda et al., 2013) suggest that those embedded within a particular ideological framework may not perceive the circumstances generated within that context to be inequitable, illuminating perceptions of what constitutes as gendered oppression by researchers may not be shared by participants.

To further highlight this point, multiple studies shared women's understandings of transactional sex within female-driven, concurrent sexual partners, illuminating that women do not perceive transactional sex negatively (Agnarosn et al., 2015; Cooper et al., 2017; Deane & Wamoyi, 2015; Wamoyi et al., 2011). In fact, Dean and Wamoyi (2015) noted the sociocultural parameters surrounding transactional sex within Tanzania are established as an 'accepted social norm involving an expectation of some form of exchange when non-marital sex takes place' (p. 443). Agnarosn and colleagues (2015) noted that women who had concurrent relationships viewed this practice as a means to execute autonomy, acting as an agent of their own sexuality and economic advancement. These studies challenge the perspective that transactional sex intrinsically equates to sex work or vulnerability, but rather is understood by women as an opportunity to gain power (Agnarosn et al., 2015; Wamoyi et al., 2011).

However, when transactional sex was the primary method of income generation (in the case of female sex workers), or when a husband was engaged in extramarital affairs, women perceived themselves to have less decision-making power and to be at an

increased risk for violence and HIV (Mantsios et al., 2018; Mtenga et al., 2018). Once again, it is unclear whether women actually understood this as an inequitable experience based on their gender or more simply a reality of their life circumstances.

These results highlight the contextual and dynamic nature of women's meaning-making, guided by underpinning cultural, social and political influences; the ways in which they resist and conform to these discourses challenge a universal conceptualization of gender equity and points towards the need for research approaches to be collaboratively designed in cohesion with local epistemology and ways of knowing (Kovach, 2009).

2.5 Discussion

Levac and colleagues (2010) recommend those conducting scoping reviews consider the meaning of results in the context of 'broader implications for research, policy and practice' (p. 7). The above examples of literature highlight how gendered issues in Tanzania have been addressed, as well as how women themselves experience, navigate and understand gender inequities, however significant gaps in this body of literature emerged in the following themes: 1) Tanzanian women's voices and culturally appropriate approaches to research, 2) the use of a critical perspective, and 3) the uptake of an occupational lens.

2.5.1 Tanzanian women's voices

Despite the extensive literature examined in this scoping review, none of the articles asked women what gender inequity means to them, or further what equity should be. Though the literature is diverse in highlighting the breadth of women's experiences, a significant gap exists in how Tanzanian women actually understand gender inequities, both in a conceptual sense of what it means and also how they perceive it to fit within context. For example, in order to advance understandings of how women conceptualize issues rooted in gender, researchers must first consider whether the concept of gender equity is understood among Tanzanian women, as well as how gendered issues are perceived to fit within the continuum of women's fundamental human rights versus the situational reality of their lives.

Furthermore, this review highlighted a dominance of survey-design studies, which can inherently limit researchers' abilities to capture women's experiences and understandings holistically. For example, Haws and colleagues' (2010) explored Tanzanian women's experiences of pregnancy loss and stillbirth, illuminating that women commonly concealed their experiences due to stigmatizing cultural beliefs of what can cause spontaneous miscarriage, such as sorcery or traditional medicine provided by a witch doctor. This highlights the tension with utilizing 'Westernized survey methods': they often encompass biomedical terms and categories that may not be understood or cohesive with local epistemology, therefore not effectively measuring the intended outcome (Haws et al., 2010).

A further example exists in Galie and others' (2018) research on women's empowerment in livestock and nutrition, which utilized a Swahili version of the Women's Empowerment in Livestock Index (WELI), a standardized measure 'to capture the empowerment of Maasai women involved in the livestock sector in Tanzania' (p. 2). The researchers noted inherent linguistic limitations of the tool as some participants preferred to speak in their tribal language, while others were unfamiliar with the concept of empowerment, highlighting the tensions with translating a survey tool designed outside of the research setting (Galie et al., 2018). This 'transplantation' within data collection is problematic when research methodologies are not collaborative enough to explore local knowledge forms and when research methods are not flexible enough to uptake diverse understandings and conceptualizations. Resultantly, researchers often make recommendations or implications based on their own interpretations of data, inherently guided by a dominant ontology of what constitutes as knowledge, rather than engaging with the indigenous epistemologies of their participants, such as tribal knowledge (Kovach, 2009).

These examples suggest that research approaches relying primarily on translated survey methods cannot meaningfully engage with participants, but instead have the potential to reproduce inequitable role relationships and marginalize local ways of knowing, further exacerbating oppression (Dutt et al., 2015). This underlines the importance of contextually relevant research design, which not only considers sociocultural and

political situationality, but which also centrally positions individuals and communities as experts or co-contributors (Dutt et al., 2015). As one example, a decolonial approach to research in Tanzania inherently acknowledges the diversity of knowledge, challenging universal perspectives by integrating indigenous language, philosophies and traditions within research methods and new knowledge generation (Kovach, 2009).

Studies which enacted these collaborative approaches include Price and colleagues (2018) qualitative study where women collectively shared ideas relating to change-based solution through drawing examples of the inequities they had experienced in their lives. McCleary-Sills' team (2010) used concept mapping and skits to facilitate groups of adolescent girls to discuss gendered violence and act out 'safe and unsafe spaces' in their communities.

Conversely, none of the 67 articles included in this scoping review mentioned the country's history of colonization or the modern-day influences of coloniality, linking back to the need for researchers (both foreign and domestic) to uptake decolonial approaches to their research on gender in Tanzania. The uptake of decolonial theories and methodologies can not only challenge coloniality through generating new knowledge which encompasses local epistemologies and language, but the execution of decolonizing research approaches embody respect for women's knowledge and experiences through reciprocity, trust and partnership, creating space for their unique voices within the research process and results.

2.5.2 Critical perspective

As discussed in the paradigm section, a critical perspective can enable authors to examine and question the contextual underpinnings which influence and perpetuate gendered issues. Some of the articles did consider the context gender inequities were situated within, such as Mwita and Murphy's (2017) exploration of hidden hegemonies in Tanzanian society, Dancer's (2018) considerations of political dimensions influencing women's lives, and Dutt and Grabe's (2017) examination of gender ideology in Tanzania.

However, more commonly the literature examined within this scoping review explored gendered issues through a positivist paradigmatic lens, failing to question the power systems in which women's oppression are embedded. Due to this, many of the studies did not examine gender through an equity perspective, which would evoke a more political, power-based stance, but rather with equality frameworks (Huff et al., 2018; Scott, 1986; Sharp et al., 2012). For example, Lamdin and colleagues (2013) researched the experiences of male and female drug users in Dar es Salaam, noting inequitable gaps in women's access to publicly available harm reduction services. However, the authors failed to unpack the power structures and contextual barriers underlying women's limited access to resources or the factors underlying their drug use in the first place, thereby limiting their ability to contribute change-based implications meaningful to Tanzanian women with addiction (Lamdin et al., 2013). A critical perspective can therefore help authors explore the oppressive factors which influence and perpetuate the gendered issues women experience, better positioning them to engage in action-oriented knowledge generation which is relevant to both women's needs and the context gender inequities are situated within.

2.5.3 Occupational perspective

While none of the articles included in this scoping review originated from the discipline of occupational science or directly used an occupational lens, many of them did focus on women's occupation indirectly. Such studies explored women's individual or collective engagement in occupations, such as agricultural initiatives, educational groups and health-related activities. In addition, some studies highlighted how Tanzanian women were able to circumvent gender inequities through occupation, illuminating individual and collective acts of resistance or dynamic negotiation with daily activity.

The adoption of an occupational lens can further advance these understandings by unpacking how occupations themselves can both perpetuate gender inequities and provide a means of resistance or transcendence. A critical focus on women's daily occupation for transformative social change can therefore enable embodied and experiential knowledge generation, as well as the translation of this knowledge into relevant and meaningful implications to address national injustices, including those

rooted in gender. (Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Hocking & Whiteford, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2015).

2.6 Conclusion

This scoping review aimed to synthesize existing interdisciplinary literature pertaining to gender equity in Tanzania by examining how issues relating to gender equity and gender equality have been addressed through research. It further aimed to highlight how gender inequities are understood, experienced and negotiated by Tanzanian women. The results illuminated a body of knowledge which highlights various ways women experience gender inequities and how they navigate them. However, limitations exist in the use of equity-based frameworks within research, as well as work which enables Tanzanian women to explicate how they understand gendered issues, both conceptually and in the context of their daily lives.

The results highlighted three significant gaps in the existing body of knowledge on gender equity in Tanzania. These themes included the absence of Tanzanian women's voices and contextually appropriate approaches to research, the use of a critical perspective, and the uptake of an occupational lens. These gaps ultimately call for research which creates space for the expertise of the target population: Tanzanian women who have experienced gender inequities. It is therefore essential that future approaches to exploring gendered issues in Tanzania include the perspectives of Tanzanian women in the research process and results. Adopting participatory and community-driven approaches which share power, embody reciprocity and highlight contextual power structures, such as critical decolonial methodologies, can ensure research approaches are underpinned by socioculturally relevant frameworks and acknowledge female research participants as experts. This shift to research rooted in respect for diversity of knowledge is vital to better understand how Tanzanian women actually perceive gender inequities, and subsequently to illuminate ways equity might be reached in their communities (Kovach, 2009; McGregor & Marker, 2018). A critical paradigmatic perspective can facilitate the shift from gender equality to gender equity frameworks. Moving beyond a gender equality lens can take work inherently rooted in gender binaries from comparative explorations of gender, to those which seek to understand, challenge and destabilize

oppressive power forces influencing and perpetuating inequities. It can also evoke political explorations of gender and illuminate the systems and institutions underpinning the inequities women experience in Tanzania. The use of decolonizing theories or methodologies are inherently critically oriented and are recommended for future research approaches in Tanzania to equip authors to both acknowledge and understand the history of colonization, while also challenging modern-day ideological manifestations.

Finally, while none of the included articles originated from the occupational science discipline, many of them indirectly highlighted some aspect of women's occupational experiences as terrain for negotiating or resisting gendered issues in Tanzania. Given that women's occupation was a focus of how gender inequities were approached in Tanzania, a critical occupational perspective is recommended to deepen understandings of how women's daily activities are implicated in the perpetuation or transformation of gender inequities (Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Hocking & Whiteford, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2015; Townsend & Wilcock, 2004).

In line with these recommended shifts, it is worth noting the inclusion of boys and men in future research approaches to gender equity inherently acknowledges that solutions to gendered issues involves the engagement of both genders, and therefore social change will require gendered solutions, not women-focused solutions. While this review did not include selection criteria which would effectively capture existing literature that might already explore and report male perspectives in Tanzania, the stakeholder consultation illuminated particular resonance with this point. Advancements towards gender equity in Tanzania will require critical and contextual understandings of gendered issues from all perspectives, but particularly from the women who actually experience it.

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Chapter 3

3 ‘Africana Womanism’: Implications for transformative scholarship in occupational science¹

This paper responds to the call for occupational scientists to advance understandings of occupation beyond a Western paradigm by considering the implications of drawing upon Africana womanism as a theoretical underpinning to explore gendered occupation. The uptake of Africana Womanist theory can challenge taken-for-granted assumptions tacitly embedded within occupational science surrounding gender and womanhood, while creating space for alternative ways of being, knowing, and doing in the conceptualization and study of occupation. The dual aims of this theoretical discussion paper are: to outline how Africana womanism both challenges implicit assumptions regarding gender and occupation (specifically gendered occupations) embedded in occupational science, and to critically consider how Africana womanism can advance understandings of occupation beyond a Western paradigm.

Key words: Africana Womanism, Gendered Occupation, Womanhood, Dualisms, Gender Equity

This discussion paper is situated within the growing body of critical occupational science literature calling for approaches to conceptualizing and studying occupation beyond a Western paradigm (Guajardo et al., 2015; Hammell, 2009; Laliberte Rudman et al., 2008). Consistent with the conceptual work the first author has undertaken in her doctoral research, this paper is also situated within a critical paradigm. Explicating one’s positionality is crucial in conducting critically informed, cross-cultural work given that one’s social position and taken-for-granted assumptions inevitably affect one’s worldview and therefore influences one’s scholarship (Hammell, 2009). The first author

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is positioned as a white female occupational scientist of European descent, requiring continuous critical reflexivity surrounding the ways in which her own cultural background conditioned implicit beliefs of what it means to be a woman within a North American context, and how gender and occupation are inter-connected. The intent of her doctoral work is to advance conceptualizations of gender within occupational science through a critical decolonizing ethnographic approach to explore women's occupation as resistance to gender inequities in Tanzania; this requires a transcendence of Western perspectives and an uptake of diverse epistemologies. It was through the first author's engagement with Africana womanism for her doctoral candidacy exam that this paper came to fruition. The remaining authors were members of the candidacy exam committee who supported this critical reflexivity.

Within this discussion paper, Africana womanism is presented as a theoretical lens that challenges implicit imperialistic assumptions embedded within Western thought which can guide scholars in conceptualizing diverse perspectives of gendered occupation from the context of Africana womanhood. The aim is to initiate a dialogue with occupational scientists, challenging researchers to uptake a critical and conscious perspective when addressing gendered occupation and enacting transformative approaches to research (Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Ramugondo, 2015).

In moving towards this transformative paradigmatic shift, this paper argues that Africana womanism is one conceptual lens which can: 1. Aid occupational scientists to re-evaluate ontological and epistemological foundations, and challenge embedded assumptions surrounding gender, womanhood, individualism, and gender equity; 2. Enable the production of diverse, interdisciplinary knowledge beyond a Western paradigm to advance understandings of gendered occupation; and 3. Facilitate the development of strategies to shift disciplinary intention to action, enabling scientists to respond to social injustices and catalyze transformative social change.

To achieve these aims, gendered occupation will first be unpacked in parallel to dialogue illuminating why an alternative theoretical lens is required to expand existing occupational scholarship on gender. Africana womanism and its guiding philosophical

principles will then be introduced as a theoretical space which can support knowledge generation beyond a Western paradigm (Cruz, 2015; Hudson-Weems, 2004). Discussions surrounding how each principle can challenge taken-for-granted assumptions and advance conceptualizations of gendered occupation will follow. This paper will conclude with discussions of future application of Africana womanism to catalyze transformative research to address occupation and gender inequities.

3.1 Attending to gender and occupation in occupational science: Emerging critical lens

In critically unpacking gendered occupation, the distinction between gender and gendered must first be deconstructed. Critical feminist and sociological scholarship spanning back to the 1980s emphasized the distinctive use of gender as a descriptive adjective and causal concept, noting the latter endorses a political agenda (Scott, 1986; West & Zimmerman, 1987). The notion of ‘gendered’ transcends the categorical dichotomy of description, asserting that gender is both relational and political with existing power relations between the gendered construct and what it is situated in (Scott, 1986; Sharp et al., 2012).

As such, gendered occupation would therefore exemplify a political stance, explicating both subtle and overt illustrations of power and oppression that non-critically oriented explorations of gender and occupation fail to capture. Research examining gendered occupation should destabilize dominant conceptualizations of gender, while also challenging preconceived notions produced and perpetuated by sociocultural and political discourse, particularly when these shape gender inequities. In critically attending to the underlying assumptions embedded within ‘gender’ as a construct, and the power structures which reinforce gender ideology, scholars can begin to unpack ways Western knowledge systems and discourse have influenced how occupational science approaches gendered research.

Disciplinary literature has widely examined women’s occupation, admittedly focusing more attention to the ways women experience and engage in occupation than men (Hocking, 2012). More critical intersections of gender and occupation have also surfaced,

including explorations of gender identity, power, and justice. For example, Townsend (1997) highlighted the overarching power structures and organizations impacting women's occupation, while Smith (2003) attended to the bifurcation of women's paid and unpaid occupations. Jackson (1998) built on DeVault's (1991) foundational scholarship to challenge underlying assumptions embedded within occupation and illuminate how social discourse influences women's occupational roles. Goodman and colleagues (2007) examined the interlinks of social discourse and gender norms as they relate to gender identity and gendered expression, while Mckinley (2002) critically explored Maori scientists' gender identities. Bailey and Jackson (2005) examined the occupation of household finances among lesbian couples, calling for the "redefining of the division of labor approach to household tasks" (p. 65). Jakobsen (2004) and Smith and Hilton (2008) examined occupational justice issues amongst women with disabilities, illuminating barriers to equitable occupational engagement and experiences of domestic violence respectively. Finally, the intersectional nature of gender, race, and class within occupation was also raised within Angell's (2012) analysis of social difference.

Though this existing body of critical literature on gender and occupation has introduced a feminized lens to occupational science scholarship, it still remains primarily situated within a particular class structure and worldview. Despite calls for diverse perspectives spanning beyond the discipline's dominant ontology and epistemologies, occupational science literature remains predominantly positioned within Western thought (Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Guajardo et al., 2015). Some critical scholars, such as Ramugondo (2015) and Hammell (2011), have noted the implicit hegemonic assumptions embedded within Western knowledge forms, challenging scientists to consciously and critically rethink the foundations that underpin "identities, knowledge and practices of occupational science and their effects on society" (Guajardo et al., 2015, p. 3).

Research from South Africa is challenging some of these underlying disciplinary assumptions, recognizing the implications of perpetuating dominant practices and concepts (Galvaan, 2012; Ramugondo, 2015). For example, recent critical research by Cloete and Ramugondo (2015), explored the occupational engagement of alcohol consumption among pregnant rural women in South Africa. The study focuses on the

occupational inequities perpetuated by historical, cultural, economic, and socio-political factors which influence women's daily occupations (Cloete & Ramugondo, 2015). The authors intertwine South Africa's history of Apartheid in their critical analysis, acknowledging the significance of socio-economic and political factors which continue to marginalize women today.

Extending out such work within other African nations can expand the capacity to understand diverse perspectives and contexts influencing women's occupational engagement, such as colonization and globalization. Without these alternative perspectives to attend to critical issues of power and equity, occupational scientists cannot capture the complexities of all women's experiences or produce knowledge that appropriately and relevantly represents the realities of all women, including the diverse ways in which women experience oppression.

Critical decolonized knowledge generated from these contexts should also be supported with relevant African philosophies and perspectives of womanhood which enact engagement and action (Mama, 2007). It becomes problematic when the discipline attempts to apply 'Western' research approaches and conceptualizations of gender universally, when these perspectives are in fact "minority viewpoints" (Hammell, 2009, p. 8). Hammell (2009) argued that the promulgation of Western assumptions as universal constitutes both ethnocentrism and theoretical imperialism (Hammell, 2006; Iwama, 2003). Amina Mama (1997) reiterated the importance of relevance in her writings, suggesting the literature on Africana women put forward by Western academics is "predominantly irrelevant to the women experiencing localized oppression on the ground" (Mama, 2009, p. 63). Mama (2004) further emphasized that "unequal power and authority has ensured a dynamic of appropriation and incorporation that constantly subverts and depletes transformative agendas" (p. 121). This further solidifies why conceptual underpinnings specific to Africana women's unique experiences of oppression is vital. As such, occupational science would benefit by drawing knowledge from an alternative theoretical space: Africana womanism.

3.2 Africana Womanism within occupational science

Laliberte Rudman and colleagues (2008) pointed out the necessity of multiple and divergent perspectives for scholarship to thrive, particularly within scholarship aiming to attend to the diverse, situated nature of occupation. Interdisciplinary collaborations with the feminist school of thought, specifically with the uptake of Africana womanism, is necessary to diversify conceptualizations of gender. In particular, Africana womanism offers new perspectives when situating ‘gendered occupation’ in research, enabling scientists to push beyond the limits of Western dualisms.

Africana Womanism is a theoretical space delineated from feminist thought to both address monolithic tensions within feminism as a whole, and to create space for the perspectives, viewpoints, and dialogues of women of African descent (including African-America, African-Caribbean, and continental African) (Hudson-Weems, 2001, 2004). It encompasses diverse theoretical perspectives while embodying common epistemological assumptions among Africana women. Not only does this parallel the call for diverse perspectives in occupational science, but it lends well to the exploration of novel conceptualizations of gendered occupation from the context of Africana womanhood.

Hudson-Weems (2001) discussed the importance of linguistically establishing divisions among the feminist continuum, arguing for the importance of avoiding the term feminism when situating work within an Africana womanist lens (Hudson-Weems, 2004). She argued that feminism historically focused monolithically on patriarchal oppression, failing to acknowledge the intersectional nature of both womanhood and gender-based oppression (Hudson-Weems, 2004). Conversely, Africana womanism embodies a separate agenda, highlighting and expressing “the unique beliefs, values and oppressions of Africana women” (Hudson-Weems, 2004, p. 28).

According to Yaa Asatewaa Reed (2001), the solutions to oppression already exist within African philosophy, which was embedded in pre-colonial African societies. Therefore, to effectively highlight how the uptake of Africana womanism can advance conceptualizations of gendered occupation and enact transformative research, we explicate these foundational principles in parallel to occupation (Cruz, 2015).

3.3 Foundational principles of Africana Womanism: Reflections on implications for addressing gendered occupations in occupational science

In this section, the ways in which Africana womanism can challenge implicit assumptions embedded within dominant epistemologies of occupational science, while also advancing understandings of gendered occupation beyond a Western paradigm will be discussed. The philosophies underpinning Africana womanism, including situationality, holism, and collectivism, are presented as possibilities for advancing and diversifying disciplinary conceptualizations beyond Western paradigmatic viewpoints.

3.3.1 Gender as Situational

The African philosophy of situationality offers unique perspectives on gender, which challenge assumptions of gender as a dualistic concept, as well as ‘gender normative’ occupations and occupational roles (Cruz, 2015). Pedwell (2010) noted essentialist binaries such as gender “often position a bounded, ahistorical notion of cultural difference as the fundamental axis of differentiation between groups; they ignore the fluidity, contradiction and change” (p. 15). This is particularly pertinent with situationality, as it rejects the “unequivocal framings” of gender often depicted within Western sociocultural discourse (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127). Instead of a static, dichotomized categorization based on one’s biological sex, situationality highlights gender as a fluid construct dependent on context, where men and women are not positioned at opposite ends of a gender binary (Cruz, 2015; Hudson-Weems, 2014; Norwood, 2013).

The philosophical principle of situationality opposes gender as a dualism, highlighting how women can shift in and out of gender depending on context (Cruz, 2015). Cruz (2015) noted that situationality is grounded in a concern for connectivity; it focuses on how groups interact with and intuit their social links to others (Mikell, 1997). For example, in some East-African tribes, daughters can become an ‘honorary son’ if the family has no other male-born children, illustrating how females can shift to a traditional male role if needed (Amadiume, 1987; Norwood, 2013). In rural Tanzania, economically

powerful older women without children become a ‘husband’ by marrying a younger woman of child-bearing age to cohabit and collectively mother the off-spring (Berger, 2016; Cruz, 2015). This shift is often in response to patriarchal expectations and gender norms relating to women’s roles and reproduction versus sexual orientation. These examples illustrate that gender can be malleable and dynamic according to coexisting sociocultural, political, and economic contexts.

A situational perspective of gender does not appear to have been taken up in occupational science. Instead, the existing literature pertaining to gender and occupation stems largely from perspectives situated in Western gender ideology. For example, Goodman and colleagues (2007) explored the link between women’s gender identity and the occupation of ‘doing dress’, noting the significance of the clothes women choose to wear as a marker of gender identity. The authors acknowledged that dichotomous conceptualizations of gender are problematic; however, for practical purposes, use gender as a static category to highlight gender differentials in dress (Goodman et al., 2007). The philosophy of situationality could be applied to build upon Goodman and colleagues’ research when further exploring the malleable nature of gender and gender expression within occupation, as well as how occupation can be a means to situate gender and enact it dynamically.

In moving towards advancing the conceptualization of gender in occupational science, gender fluidity situated in culture, occupations, and social customs could be further explored to increase understandings of women’s occupational possibilities and enactment, as well as occupational identity beyond a Western paradigm. In addition to advancing the discipline’s cultural diversity, the deconstruction of non-binary perspectives of gender, gender identity, and gender expression, can create space for and support diverse voices, such as amongst persons who identify as gender neutral, bi-gender, and/or transgender. Overall, an understanding of Africana womanism can enable occupational scientists to more critically unpack assumptions surrounding gender, and to consider how situational factors shape possibilities and boundaries of gendered occupation.

3.3.2 Womanhood as Holistic

Africana womanism and the philosophy of holism can offer unique underpinnings to delve into the complexities of womanhood and women's occupation, including diverse ways of being, becoming, doing, and belonging. Perceptions of womanhood, or what it means to be a woman, are shaped by epistemic values individuals and societies hold with respect to what counts as knowledge (Kinsella, 2012). Within occupational science, dominant values have shaped binary perspectives of occupation as either 'masculine' or 'feminine', influencing and perpetuating the ideology of what it means to be a woman (Alda-Vidal et al., 2017). Such categorization is rooted in a universal perspective of womanhood, which implicitly assumes all women identify with dualistic ways of being and doing. This is problematic because it creates opportunity for oppression when certain 'categories' of being and doing are valued above others.

Along these lines, Crenshaw (1991) argued a singular view does not encompass the complexities of the intersecting factors which shape the multiple dimensions of women's experiences (Davis, 2008). According to Cruz (2015), "the philosophy of holism makes sense of societal domains in relation to the whole" (p. 26), considering the dimensions of gender, age, race, class, and ethnicity from a holistic viewpoint. The uptake of a holistic perspective could therefore shift occupational science scholarship to a more intersectional understanding of womanhood and its encompassing ways of being and doing (Crenshaw, 1991).

As one illustration, the bifurcation of paid versus unpaid occupations within occupational science contains underlying assumptions reinforced by sociocultural values of productivity (Smith, 2003). Embedded within these assumptions is the implicit undervaluing of unpaid occupations, such as mothering (Smith, 2003). Mothering from a Western lens is often viewed as a role or one singular dimension of womanhood, instead of as holistic and relational to being a woman (Achebe, 2002). The principle of holism can advance our understandings of mothering as an occupation, as it embodies the values placed on motherhood within Africana women's lives (Cruz, 2015; Emecheta, 1979). According to Cruz (2015), Africana philosophy suggests that paid productive occupations

are not the only means for women's empowerment. In traditional African societies, motherhood was a way to gain status and respect among the community (Cruz, 2015; Emecheta, 1979; Hudson-Weems, 2001). Cultural traditions and customs within African womanhood highlight mothering as an integral part of women's lives, and also of the community (Amadiume, 1987; Cruz, 2015; Emecheta, 1979). Holism can, therefore, challenge the discipline's dichotomous assumptions of which occupational roles are considered both productive and empowering for women.

An holistic perspective could also widen and diversify conceptualizations of motherhood, distinguishing it from mothering as an occupation. For example, occupational scientists could consider collective or social mothering as an occupation, expanding on conceptualizations of motherhood beyond a Western paradigm. Galvaan and colleagues (2015) touched on this in their phenomenological exploration of the complex interrelations of live-in domestic workers and their employers in South Africa. The perspectives of women employing domestic workers broached the topic of mothering, where employers shared mothering occupations with their employees and their employees resultantly delegated the mothering of their own children to maintain their employment (Galvaan et al., 2005). This scholarship could be built upon to further examine collective mothering from multiple perspectives and contexts, including how it is used as a strategy of resistance to inequities. In summary, the uptake of Africana womanism can facilitate a more holistic and relational understanding of womanhood as well as its interlink to motherhood. The philosophy of holism can facilitate scholars to challenge assumptions relating to which occupations are deemed productive, as well as critically consider the complexities of unpaid occupations, such as mothering, and the ways in which diverse occupations intersect in women's lives.

3.3.3 Collectivity to Transcend Individualism

The African philosophy of collectivity has been previously introduced in the occupational science literature in efforts to transcend individualism (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015). For the purposes of this paper, collectivity highlights how Africana womanism can

build on the existing literature which has begun to challenge the individualistic assumptions embedded within the discipline.

Collectivity is underpinned by the African value of community, “in which who and how we can be as human beings are shaped through interactions with one another” (Cornell & Van Marle, 2005, p. 206). Ubuntu (I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am) acts as an ontological orientation for which the foundational philosophies of Africana womanism are based on (Cornell & Van Marle, 2005). Ubuntu challenges the Western dichotomous perspective of the individual and the community through highlighting their interconnectivity; it also evokes the spiritual dimension of humanity and human consciousness within a collective (Cornell & Van Marle, 2005). The philosophy of collectivity views the community and individual as having a dynamic relationship where both interact to continuously and ethically create space for one another to become and exist (Cornell & Van Marle, 2005; Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015). Therefore, collectivity in an Africana context is grounded in the values of a community-oriented society, where individuals prioritize the needs of others over their own personal values to sustain balanced and harmonious relationships among all members of the group, regardless of gender (Cruz, 2015).

The philosophy of collectivity notably connects to the idea of collective occupations, defined by Ramugondo and Kronenberg (2015) as “occupations that are engaged in by individuals, groups, communities and/or societies in everyday contexts” (p. 10). They argued occupational scientists need to understand how individuals are interconnected through their daily occupations, both in society and culture to address the “persistent dichotomous view of the individual versus the collective” (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, p. 3). Through the introduction of ‘ubuntu’ as a philosophical underpinning, collective occupations resist the dualistic focus on individualism in Western ideology, serving as an example of what Guajardo and colleagues (2015) referred to as “paradigmatic bias” (p. 5). Hocking (2012) weighed in on this bias when discussing dominant values of self-interest and achievements, rather than shared goals, arguing: “occupational scientists need to move beyond romanticized accounts of individualized experiences if the discipline is to make any contribution to understanding and responding to the

occupational issues of people who experience systematic disadvantage or marginalization” (p. 58).

Africana womanism may serve as a useful theoretical tool to advance this existing knowledge surrounding the interplay of occupation and the community (Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015). Cruz (2015) wrote, “other empowerment possibilities exist in the form of women’s collective organizations, which make up the tapestry of everyday communal life” (p. 27). For example, ‘susu groups’, or rotating credit associations, enable women engaged in market activities to take turns investing in their own small business (Cruz, 2014). These groups highlight a collective strategy of resistance to the politicization of everyday life, demonstrating how women negotiate and maintain social, political, and economic relations (Enloe et al., 2016). Along these lines, susu groups highlight how women react to the local and global systems which perpetuate poverty, economic dependence, and gender inequities, while also serving as opportunities for transformation (Cloutier, 2006; Cruz, 2014, 2015; Enloe et al., 2016; Grantham, 2016).

Another example within the Africana womanist literature that highlights women’s occupation as collective resistance includes song-singing (Cruz, 2015). Songs are a means for women to engage with their culture, while revealing their resistance to ideologies which oppress them, such as colonization (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010). Chilisa and Ntseane (2010) spoke to this in their scholarship: “singing together allows women to share the pain of oppression and to heal through the knowledge that they can collectively resist the dominance” (p. 628; Elabor-Idemudia, 2002). Singing could therefore be explored as both a collective occupation and collective act of resistance to challenge and reshape dominant culture (Pyatak & Muccietelli, 2011).

A collective viewpoint can address repressive social orders, highlighting how the positioning of marginalized groups within society differentially shapes inclusion and oppression (Angell, 2012; Ramugondo & Kronenberg, 2015). It can also illuminate the “collective nature of healing” through occupation to foster social transformation (Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014, p. 399). The principle of collectivity can, therefore, build on existing work to challenge individualistic assumptions within the discipline, and

advance understandings of collective resistance and social transformation through occupation.

3.3.4 Gender Equity as Holistic

Hammell (2008) discussed human rights within her work on ‘occupational rights’, noting its causal link to meaningful occupational engagement and well-being (Hammell, 2015; WFOT, 2006). Frank (2012) noted that the concept of occupation as a human right had surfaced within occupational science, yet she pointed out “the need for critical analysis of such claims with respect to human rights and global transformations” (p. 30). However, scholarship which specifically addresses gender inequities experienced by women of the majority world is lacking. While Hocking’s (2012) critique of gender inequity in occupational science research considers female scientists’ implicit bias towards researching participants similar to themselves, it does not consider how their privilege and status in society influences a discursive understanding of gender inequity.

For example, the gender divide in pay scales or the underrepresentation of women in particular fields are recognized issues of gender inequity in the West, pointedly cited in feminist literature as sexual politics (Sharp et al., 2012). Unpacking how this relates to gender, reveals the embedded issues of patriarchy and female subjugation are rooted in a particular class and worldview. In this sense, gender inequity is a taken-for-granted concept when scholars with the power to create new knowledge only view inequities from a privileged lens. In considering the implications of a monolithic disciplinary perspective of gender inequity, researchers should critically reflect on the implicit privilege underpinning this lack of depth and representation. Alda-Vidal and colleagues (2017) spoke to this, noting “the appearance of neutral scholarship often works to hide gender hierarchies and inequities” (p. 978). Before the discipline can claim its understanding of the complexities of gender and women’s occupational rights, gender inequity should be critically examined from multiple sociocultural and political contexts, to avoid perpetuating an inadequate representation of women’s experiences, including those which are oppressive.

Africana womanism and its underlying philosophies can help scientists unpack assumptions embedded within the concept of gender equity, in order to advance its conceptualization as a human right within occupational science. The intersectional nature of Africana womanism can illustrate an additional alternative perspective to gender inequities. Although the womanist agenda highlights gender as a contributing factor to women's oppression, it clearly distinguishes that gender is not the only factor, as often portrayed in feminism (Hudson-Weems, 20014). For example, race is intersectional to womanhood; therefore racial discrimination should also be viewed as an integral contributor to gender inequity. According to Hudson-Weems (2014), "the Africana womanist perceives herself as working toward participation in Africana liberation; therefore, in order to address gender, she must also address colour" (p. 30).

Africana womanism can challenge how occupational scientists conceptualize gender inequity, as well as create space for more diverse perspectives of gender-based oppression beyond a Western paradigm. In traditional African philosophy, equality was valued by both men and women with harmonious and respectful relationships (Cruz, 2015). Therefore, these philosophies can enable occupational scientists to shift understandings of gender inequity from a fight for power against patriarchy, to a more holistic and balanced goal of equity. It can enhance awareness of the broad range of inequities experienced by women in the majority world and widen understandings of how women's diverse experiences of gender and oppression intersect with and through occupational engagement. It can also link to critical conceptualizations of occupational justice, addressing the "sociopolitical roots" of injustices and illuminating directions for social transformation (Farias et al., 2016, p. 234).

3.4 Future directions: Transformations within occupational science

In echoing the call for critical and socially responsive occupational science research, scholars have a moral responsibility to attend to issues of social justice (Frank, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2014). Scholars have spoken to this transformative potential, noting the capacity of occupation to be both restorative and resistive by nature (Frank &

Muriithi, 2015; Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014; Townsend, 1997). Transformation through occupation refers to “the opportunities for humans to choose and engage in occupations for the purposes of directing and changing either personal or social aspects of life” (Townsend, 1997, p. 20). The literature has since built on this concept, highlighting human occupation as “a site of resistance to and reproduction of the social order” (Angell, 2012, p. 1), and a catalyst for social change through occupational reconstructions (Black, 2011; Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014). Occupational consciousness underpins this resistance, suggesting an awareness of the intersection of oppression and occupation can highlight “how occupation perpetuates discourses that produce and sustain truths in relation to the self and the oppressed” (Ramugondo, 2015, p. 495).

However, the literature has not widely explored how exactly scientists can challenge dominant power structures to resist human rights issues, such as gender inequities. The literature also lacks direction on how to spark large scale social transformations, such as social change to address the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (2015) which emphasize gender equality (UN Women 2013, 2015). This is consistent with several critical scholars, such as Laliberte Rudman (2014), who voiced concern with “a lag between stated intent and action” (p. 377; Frank, 2012; Hocking & Whiteford, 2012).

Africana womanism could be used to build upon existing theories and concepts, such as occupational reconstructions and occupational consciousness, to advance the notion of occupation as a mode of resistance to oppression and a restorative strategy to transcend oppression (Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Motimele & Ramugondo, 2014; Ramugondo, 2015). As one illustration, occupational reconstruction theory paired with Africana womanist conceptual underpinnings can provide a lens to explore the ways in which Africana women navigate gender inequities situated in contexts of colonization and globalization (Frank & Muriithi, 2015). For example, a focus on women who engage in ‘masculine’ occupations, such taxi driving in urban spaces, water service provision, renting land, and the wholesale of livestock and crops to local businesses, has the capacity to unveil new understandings surrounding the ways women resist and transform oppressive gender ideology and discourse (Alda-Vidal et al., 2017; Cloutier, 2006). Exploring how women

negotiate barriers of patriarchal gender norms and infiltrate these traditionally male occupational roles may advance knowledge surrounding the ways in which women disrupt the cycle of oppression through occupation, both individually and collectively (Cloutier, 2006; Ramugondo, 2015). Women's credit groups and social enterprises can be explored through a decolonizing lens to highlight how women use occupation to navigate oppressive local and international systems and both resist and transform experiences of gender inequity (Enloe et al., 2016; Frank & Muriithi, 2015). Understandings of how women transcend gender inequities through occupation (both individually and collectively) has the potential to translate knowledge into action by informing and influencing the development of ethical initiatives targeting women; this could include international organizations, such as the UN and their sustainable development goals, or governmental or non-profit initiatives aimed at achieving gender equity.

3.5 Conclusion

Chilisa and Ntseane (2010) argued that research on gender must be “viewed as a revolution” (p. 620). Methodologies enacted should therefore involve reconceptualising issues, shifting questions and attending sharply to the power of dominant values (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010). Occupational science must radically reconceptualize gendered occupation to situate the discipline towards more critical, diverse, and socially responsive research spaces.

In adopting alternative approaches to research, the coherence of the research context and approach must align to ensure ethical and representative work that does not cause unintentional oppression (Bailliard, 2016). It is therefore important to explicitly state that African womanism should not be universally applied and the recommendations in this paper are tailored for research involving African women. Potential limitations in the utility of African womanism relate back to the transparency and reflexivity of one's positionality, and the coherence of one's paradigmatic location and methodological approach. In the absence of critical reflexivity, through individual and collective means, African womanism can be taken up in ways that unintentionally re-inscribe Western paradigmatic assumptions.

In conclusion, this paper is a response to the call for occupational scientists to diversify disciplinary perspectives beyond a Western paradigm. This introduction of Africana womanism as a theoretical space aimed to initiate a critical dialogue and epistemic reflexivity to advance pluralistic philosophical positions, inform transformative research and propose a direction in which to turn when considering gendered occupation (Kinsella, 2012; Laliberte Rudman et al., 2008; Laliberte Rudman, 2014). Consideration of existing literature examining gender and occupation highlighted the need for work which deconstructs the power and politics within Westernized epistemologies and ideologies surrounding gender. The uptake of Africana womanism can challenge imperialistic assumptions stemming from monolithic perspectives, including dominant dichotomous understandings of gender, womanhood, individualism and gender equity.

The philosophy of holism can advance understandings of womanhood through more intersectional explorations of gendered occupation, such as considering motherhood as relational to womanhood (Achebe, 2002). The values of holism can also facilitate the discipline to re-evaluate and challenge dominant assumptions pertaining to mothering as an unpaid and therefore non-productive occupation, as well as an individual versus collective occupation (Cruz, 2015). The philosophy of situationality can challenge static and binary assumptions of gender and advance conceptualizations of gendered occupation, including gender identity and gender expression. Gender fluidity can illuminate the contextual and situated nature of gender and ways of being. Finally, the philosophy of collectivity, underpinned by notions of 'ubuntu', can be used to mobilize transformative occupational science research by challenging 'status quo' perspectives of women's individualistic occupational engagement and advance understandings of spirituality. As conceptualizations of womanhood from multiple contexts evolve, the link to the diversity of gender inequities women experience globally and the ways in which they resist these inequities can also be explored. Particularly, the ways in which occupation can be used as both resistance to and restoration from gender inequity can inform relevant and collaborative approaches for catalyzing meaningful change for women and their communities. Africana womanism can therefore serve as a theoretical space to build upon existing occupational literature, to both transcend a Western paradigm and catalyze socially responsive, transformative scholarship and social impact.

3.6 References

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Chapter 4

4 Decolonizing research for transformation: A critical decolonizing ethnographic approach

4.1 Introduction

As the discipline of occupational science continues to expand into more critical spaces, many authors have argued for the necessity of diversification beyond dominant ‘Western’ epistemologies, to enact scholarship that is both socially responsive and transformative (Huff et al., 2018; Farias, 2017; Laliberte Rudman, 2018; Magalhães et al., 2019). That is to say, there appears to be a collective recognition that Anglo-Eurocentric perspectives and the inherent hegemonic and colonial ideologies and agendas embedded within them must be examined (Adams, 2018; Kantartzis & Monlineux, 2011; Whalley Hammell, 2018). Occupational science must therefore consider how the imperial and hegemonic assumptions underpinning occupation-based perspectives influence and shape coloniality within knowledge production, as well as how knowledge generation can continue to perpetuate coloniality through the transfer of its ideological discourse to students, scholars and the wider community (Whalley Hammell, 2018). How we proceed with this expansion must not only hold space for diversity, but also reconciliation; we must do more than acknowledge coloniality within existing knowledge forms and social structures, but actually engage in work which dismantles it. Decolonial approaches to research can challenge this perpetuation, facilitating epistemic inclusivity within new knowledge and repositioning indigenous epistemologies and traditional ways of being and doing from the margins (Thuiwai Smith, 1999).

Dr. Elelwani Ramugondo (2018) stated in her keynote speech at the 2018 World Federation of Occupational Therapists Congress, “if you accept that occupational therapy, in its founding principles, concerns itself with the full humanness of persons, then you also have to admit that the coloniality of being must be a problem”. Presently, particular scholars, especially those located in South Africa (Galvaan, 2015; Kronenberg et al., 2015; Ramugondo, 2015) and South America (Guajardo et al., 2015; Magalhães et al., 2019), have initiated this shift towards decoloniality in occupation-focused work,

undertaking research which examines and resists the historical and sociopolitical forces perpetuating the oppression of marginalized groups and epistemologies (Magalhães et al., 2019; Ramugondo, 2018; Whalley Hammell, 2018).

For example, Magalhães and colleagues (2019) advocated for diversity in language within occupational science scholarship beyond the Anglophonic sphere, Juman (2017) critically illustrated the occupational impacts of land colonization in a study of olive growing as collective resistance in Palestine, Wrisdale and colleagues (2017) considered historical and sociopolitical factors underpinning access to water in South Africa, and Nicholls and Elliot's (2018) writings on 'the shadow side', illuminated how shame and grief interplay within a decolonial research setting (p. 2). Moreover, Galvaan's (2015) conceptualization of occupational choice, Ramugondo's (2015) writings on occupational consciousness and Frank and Muriithi's (2015) work on occupational reconstructions, all push the discipline to examine and resist coloniality within both sociopolitical structures and knowledge systems. I argue such work illustrates the transformative potential of decolonial approaches to research within occupational science to: 1) generate knowledge that collectively challenges coloniality, embraces diverse epistemologies and advances conceptualizations of occupation, and 2) enables allyship, reclamation and healing (Kronenberg et al., 2015; Ramugondo, 2018).

This manuscript aims to build upon this work, drawing upon the experience of enacting a critical decolonizing ethnographic methodology within my doctoral study in Tanzania. The study, further explicated below, was employed in partnership with a local non-governmental women's rights organization over the course of one year and aimed to advance understandings of gendered occupation and women's experiences of gender inequities. In this article, I discuss the key principles of decolonial thought and explicate how it unfolded in the design and enactment of this study, ultimately sharing how I worked to negotiate tensions of power and privilege, time constraints and the challenges of bilingual work, as experienced in the field as a non-indigenous researcher. Through transparently sharing these experiences, and how they were critically and reflexively navigated, I aim to enhance awareness and generate dialogue on the challenges and

necessities of enacting decolonizing approaches within occupational science, as well as cautions of use for settler researchers engaging in decolonial work.

4.2 Decolonial thought and decolonizing knowledge

Decolonial thought is both a theoretical space and research movement which recognizes and resists colonial ideology, while striving to decolonize and reclaim knowledge. In comparison to post-colonial perspectives, which are critiqued for inherently suggesting colonialism is in the past, decolonial scholars argue it persists both in contemporary society and within knowledge paradigms (Kovach, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Decolonizing approaches to research identify and challenge colonial ideologies within dominant knowledge structures and academic institutions, aiming to prevent the perpetuation of imperialist agendas within knowledge construction (Mutua and Swadener, 2004; Ndimande, 2012). Moreover, they acknowledge the ways in which indigenous ontologies and knowledge forms have been colonized through these agendas, illuminating both their exclusion from or inferiority within existing paradigms and within the generation of new knowledge (Kovach, 2009; Matsinhe, 2007; Ramugondo, 2018). A decolonizing methodology therefore pushes back against the marginalization of indigenous knowledge, fighting to create space to reposition and centre that which has been previously excluded (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

4.2.1 Indigenous knowledge

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) notes the use of decolonizing methodologies do not involve the complete rejection of all Western knowledge or methods, but rather the “centering of indigenous worldviews and concerns, and then coming to know and understand theory and research from indigenous perspectives” (p.39). Indigenous knowledge is demonstrative of a relational ontology where knowledge is epistemologically juxtaposed to universal and binary ways of being (Chambers et al., 2018). In other words, “traditional knowledge is living knowledge” (Haig-Brown, 2008, p. 13). It is embedded in existence rather than a tangible possession to acquire; a way of intuitively relating to the world around us through experience and narratives, versus data or facts (Bartlett et al., 2007; Pentecost et al., 2018).

As one example, decolonial scholars point to the importance of language within indigenous knowledge structures, as language inevitably shapes the construction of knowledge and the ways in which it is shared (Kovach, 2009). Thus, when Indigenous language is emphasized within research it can support the reclaiming of ancestral knowing, via storytelling, philosophy and culture, while de-emphasizing the colonial language and thus interrupting hegemonic research practices (Kovach, 2009; Ndimande, 2018). Language, according to Kovach (2009), has the capacity to “bridge gaps by acting as a mechanism to express divergent worldviews”, while also preserving Indigenous ways of knowing (p. 59). Engagement within indigenous language is therefore an important factor to consider when conducting decolonial research (Ndimande, 2018).

Along with language, the traditions, customs and sacred practices within indigenous or tribal groups², such as stories, dance, song, coming-of-age rituals, hunting and food preparation are epistemic forms of knowledge passed down from one generation to the next. Decolonial approaches to research with indigenous peoples not only view this traditional epistemology as legitimate, but repositions it from a location of inferiority in the hierarchy of knowledge, to being centred and valued as a respected research contribution (Kovach, 2009). For example, Ndimande (2018) argues it was a colonialist assumption that individuals who cannot read or write were uneducated, suggesting “communities who are not educated through Western notions of knowing are labeled ‘illiterate’, even though they may be knowledgeable of their sociopolitical and cultural epistemologies (p. 385). It is therefore important for decolonial researchers to enact methods which create space for traditional knowledge sharing, such as through oral or tactile methods, rather than rigid forms of knowledge extraction, such as Westernized survey tools which are historically rooted within European imperialism and cannot capture kinesthetic or sensory data (Ndimande, 2018). While culturally appropriate methods are important to create space for participants’ voices, it is also cautioned that settler researchers do not appropriate indigenous traditions and customs; we therefore

² As contextually understood within Tanzania, a tribe refers to a distinct ethnic group within a particular region of Tanzania with customary traditions, customs and gendered practices.

recommend working with the community to design appropriate research methods and enact them respectfully.

4.2.2 Power, reclamation and allyship

The process of decolonizing knowledge engages with multiple layers of colonization and imperialism within scholarship, understanding the complex ways in which “the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 2). Further, it enacts vigilance regarding ways knowledge generation can reinforce coloniality. This involves not only challenging universal notions of what constitutes as knowledge, but also examining who benefits from that knowledge and who suffers from the institutions which perpetuate its use (Atkinson & Ryen, 2016; Ndimande, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Not only can decolonizing approaches challenge colonial and imperial ideology and dismantle hegemony within knowledge construction, but they can also catalyze transformation through reclamation and healing. Akin to removing poison from blood, Ramugondo (2018, May, keynote speech) notes that decolonial work entails, “reclaiming a sense of full humanness by the ex-colonized peoples in ways that recognize endogenous, indigenous or traditional knowledges as worthy contributions to our global intellectual heritage”. It also therefore entails acknowledgement of past transgressions by the settlers, as well as active steps to shift into a space of allyship. While the concept of allyship is prolific and somewhat contentious, with many definitions in the literature, it has been broadly described in the context of health research as “cultivating, building and strengthening relationships between two differing individuals, groups or communities based on respectful, meaningful and beneficial interactions” (Jaworsky, 2019, p.3; Heaslip, 2014). Allyship is context-specific, responsive and requires the continuous commitment by non-indigenous people to resist imperialism and colonialism, committing to decolonial shifts of their own power and to dismantling systematic colonial forces which continue to oppress indigenous peoples, knowledge and language (Jaworsky, 2019).

Along these lines, decolonial approaches enacted by settler researchers can unintentionally perpetuate colonial ideology rooted within their positionality, illuminating the importance of navigating the complexities of power and privilege. It is therefore vital for researchers engaged in decolonial work, particularly non-indigenous scholars inherently situated outside of indigenous paradigms, to critically and reflexively examine their own location as an ongoing process. This encompasses where a researcher is situated in relation to indigenous peoples, their status along continuums of privilege, and also their paradigmatic stance, as one's ontology fundamentally influences how they understand the world around them and which knowledge systems they engage with (Jaworsky, 2019). Furthermore, this process involves examining how decolonial research will benefit the community and individual participants in ways which are actually relevant and meaningful, creating space for the sharing of power in the enactment of decolonial approaches to knowledge generation. Research objectives should therefore be rooted in community needs, epistemic values and beliefs to enact reciprocity within outcomes, rather than exploiting knowledge for the researcher's gain (Kovach, 2009).

Overall, when done in ways that address issues of power and privilege, decolonial approaches encompass the potential to create space for indigenous peoples and communities to reclaim what was taken, inferiorised and suppressed. Indigenous ways of knowing and being can be reclaimed through the enactment of decolonial research and participating in the collective resistance and challenging of colonial agendas (Kovach, 2009; Morton Ninomiya & Pollock, 2017; Morton Ninomiya & Pollock, 2018). The process of interpreting and disseminating indigenous knowledge must therefore be collaborative, particularly if the researchers are non-indigenous, otherwise there is an innate potential to perpetuate colonial oppression through the misinterpretation and misrepresentation of epistemology (Brunger & Walls, 2016).

4.3 Study example: Enacting a critical decolonizing ethnographic methodology

The doctoral study on which this manuscript is based employed a critical decolonizing ethnographic methodology. Its key aims, generated in collaboration with the MikonoYetu organization, were to understand how Tanzanian women experience, perceive and

navigate gender inequities, while also examining whether occupation itself was a mode of negotiating or resisting gender inequities.

Ethnography is a research methodology initially developed in the late 19th century to assist social scientists, predominantly anthropologists, to “study social and cultural phenomena in action” (Murchison, 2010, p. 4). Historically, traditional ethnographic approaches have been critiqued for exploiting and othering socially marginalized groups, and subsequently producing knowledge which was unrepresentative of local ways of knowing and being, and unreflective of community needs (Murchison, 2010). While some ethnographers have responded by adopting a critical stance, decoloniality requires understanding and respecting indigenous epistemologies and ways of knowing, which involves the development of entirely new methodologies and research models which include the subjugated voices “of those outside the sociocultural and political hegemony of the colonial empires” (Ndimande, 2018, p. 384; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

While some elements of a traditional ethnography remained, such as extended time spent in the field and observation methods, the critical decolonizing ethnographic methodology can be distinguished by its primary goals of centering indigenous knowledge, building relationships with indigenous peoples and communities, and resisting and dismantling coloniality and the power systems which perpetuate it (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Within the sections below, the ways in which this study was designed to enact a decolonial approach are outlined as a means to illustrate ways forward in integrating decolonial approaches in the study of occupation. Moreover, in line with the aim of the paper, the ways in which critical reflexivity, both individually and in partnership with the community partner and participants, was drawn upon to negotiate tensions surrounding the enactment of decolonial approaches to research, as experienced through the lens of a non-indigenous scholar, is addressed.

4.3.1 Study context and partnership approach

Decolonial research involves recognizing and valuing the community as a partner and committing to a collaborative approach which creates space for indigenous peoples to share the process of generating new knowledge which benefits all partners (Jaworsky,

2019; Rogers Stanton, 2014). As such, Haig-Brown (2008) notes the importance of including community members, local leaders and knowledge keepers within the study design, from start to finish (Haig-Brown, 2008).

This ethnographic study was therefore centred around a community partnership with MikonoYetu, a grassroots women's rights organization in Mwanza, Tanzania and five female participants from various regions of the town. This partnership was established through an existing relationship between the organization's director Maimuna Kanyamala and the first author, who had previously interned with the organization. As such, the first author already had an initial understanding of the organization's mission, to collaboratively challenge gender inequities through advancing women's economic opportunities and reducing gender-based violence. Research objectives were discussed with the director during initial dialogues about the project to identify areas of interest, informed by reciprocal and community-driven values, to attempt to avoid perpetuation of the exploitative practices for which ethnography is historically criticized (Kovach, 2009).

In addition, the community partner identified research participants, dialogued on methods to ensure they aligned with local ways of knowing, collaborated with the analysis and interpretation of data, mentored the first author in cultural nuances and collectively reflected on tensions experienced during the process. Through drawing upon this partnership, local epistemologies were therefore embraced and represented within the study design through enacting methods which created space for dynamic sharing and representation of local knowledge. For example, following a reflexive conversation with the first author and the director of MikonoYetu on gender norms within tribal customs in Tanzania, the importance of tribal belonging to the ways in which women navigated their womanhood was clear. Tribal belonging was therefore encompassed within the final data collection method.

4.3.2 Theoretical underpinnings

As explicated above, decolonial scholarship centres indigenous knowledge in its attempts to challenge colonialism and reclaim marginalized ways of knowing and being (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Decolonizing methodologies are therefore aligned with indigenous theory

and epistemic frameworks illuminating and resisting oppressive power. This could include diverse forms of feminism, which critiques monolithic perspectives of womanhood and patriarchy within critical theory itself, both of which “continue to marginalize and silence women of colour” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p.166).

Since perceptions of womanhood or what it means to be a woman, are shaped by epistemic values, it stands to reason that “the complexities of womanhood and women’s occupation, including the diverse ways of being, becoming, doing and belonging” vary according to epistemological orientation (Huff et al., 2018, p. 558). We therefore selected diverse delineations from feminist thought, which would create space for the perspectives and experiences of women indigenous to Tanzania. Africana womanist theory (Hudson-weems, 2001) and an African Feminist Communicative Lens (Cruz, 2015) were taken up as guiding frameworks to support the decolonial enactment of this approach and are further explicated below.

4.3.2.1 Africana womanism

From an occupational perspective, Huff and colleagues (2018) discussed how Africana womanism can advance conceptualizations of gendered occupation, as well as catalyze transformation surrounding the ways in which women’s occupations can evoke both resistance to and restoration from gendered oppression. Drawing from Africana womanist theory (Hudson-Weems, 2001), several African philosophies, including holism, collectivism and situationality, were used to guide this decolonial research in Tanzania (Cruz, 2015).

Holism encompasses a relational and intersectional perspective of womanhood, offering opportunities to challenge universal orientations within decolonial research (Cruz, 2015). This perspective can advance epistemic understandings of the intersections of gender and women’s occupational engagement, thus creating space for the diversity of womanhood (Crenshaw, 1991). Juxtaposed from Western culture, collectivism highlights the centrality of communal values to indigenous African communities and is cohesive with the Bantu philosophy of Ubuntu, which conveys that one’s very being is bound by others (Cornell & Van Marle, 2005). The importance of underpinning this work with

collectivism attempted to limit colonial values from interjecting, enabling the project to remain coherent with the decolonial methodology. Finally, situationally highlights the dynamic and fluid nature of womanhood and the ways in which women engage with their environment as they navigate particular sociopolitical contexts (Hudson-Weems, 2001; Yaa Asatewaa Reed, 2001). Within the context of experiencing gender inequities, situationality can challenge static and binary conceptualizations of gender, while also enabling examinations of the ways in which women circumvent or resist gendered issues according to the context and space they are shaped by and exist in.

4.3.2.2 African feminist communicative lens

An ‘African feminist communicative lens’ cultivates a reimagining of dominant conceptualizations and understandings of womanhood (Cruz, 2015). Aligned with decolonial values, this lens seeks to move away from dualisms, instead adopting a holistic approach to “understand the political, socio-economic, cultural, spiritual and religious realms of interconnection” (Cruz, 2015, p. 29). Through this viewpoint, an African feminist communicative lens can therefore encourage knowledge recovery and relational ways of knowing, such as intuitive or sensory information received through interacting the world around us, linking to the overarching aims of reclamation and healing within decolonial approaches to research (Cruz, 2015).

4.3.3 Enacting decolonial data generation

McGregor and colleagues (2018) metaphorically compare decolonial research design to braiding, or rather “weaving the intersections and relationships amongst theory, ethics and research” (p. 3). Ensuring data generation is decolonial therefore requires guidance from the study’s theoretical foundations and an ongoing dialogue with community partners to cultivate collaborative participation and ensure methods are relevant and cohesive with both decoloniality and indigenous knowledge (Haig Brown, 2008; Rogers Stanton, 2014).

As explicated earlier, one central element of decolonial methodologies is the centering of indigenous peoples and knowledge (Kovach, 2009). With this in mind, the critical decolonizing ethnography attempted to enact methods to create space for the participants

to exert power over the knowledge production process, to share sensory and oral ways of knowing, and to capture linguistic nuances through their own language (Ndimande, 2018). This section continues on to further describe how methods were enacted within the example study in ways that sought to enact a decolonial approach, as well as key considerations when applying them within indigenous communities.

4.3.3.1 Participant recruitment

In the dissertation study, the participants were recruited via telephone with the assistance of the director of MikonoYetu, Maimuna Kanyamala. Collaborative participant recruitment, or participant selection exclusively by a partner organization, is an illustration of a decolonial approach to participant recruitment. This attempts to shift power to the community and illuminates the importance of local partnerships within decolonial approaches to research (Kovach, 2009).

4.3.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

The first session with participants involved one semi-structured interview in their home or in the community partner's office, enabling participants to share knowledge through a conversational format. A semi-structured interview within a decolonized approach is distinguished from interviews in other methodologies by the positionality of the researcher. Through valuing community epistemic values and beliefs, and viewing participants as 'the experts', the researcher attempts to equalize the power dynamic between the interviewer and interviewee, shifting into the stance of a humble learner (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

With the theoretical underpinnings explicated previously in mind, introductory questions were asked to enable holistic, collective and situational explorations of womanhood and gendered occupation within Tanzania. Questions relating to womanhood, community and gendered issues were asked to enable dialogue relating to epistemic conceptualizations of what it means to be a woman in Tanzania, experiences perceived as equitable or inequitable, and ways in which womanhood intersected with oppression. These included: *“What does it mean to be a woman in your community? Are there any challenges you*

face due to being a woman? How would you like your fellow females to be treated in your community?''.

As opposed to conducting the research within “the language of the colonizer” (Chambers et al., 2018, p. 182), one decolonial strategy was to enact the study in Tanzania’s national language, Swahili, with the support of a local female translator and transcriber in parallel to the first author gaining fluency. Although gaining equivalence of meaning across languages has been identified as a challenge by many interdisciplinary scholars (Lee et al., 2014; Temple, 2002), such as instances when concepts or words may not exist in a particular language making the translation of meaning difficult, we argue it is necessary to adhere to a decolonizing methodology. Collecting data in Swahili was therefore an intentional part of the decolonizing study design and an example of how we attempted to diminish the power dynamic between the researcher and participants, while also enhancing the applicability of findings within local understandings to shape new knowledge.

4.3.3.3 Participatory occupation

According to Suzuki and colleagues (2007) observing naturalistic settings can provide insight into kinesthetic or sensory knowledge that an interview may not illuminate. From an occupational perspective, observations through a more dialogical or experiential way, such as engaging in collective occupations, can illuminate tacit forms of knowledge embedded within particular activities in context (Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2015). Referred by Huot and Laliberte Rudman (2015) as “participatory occupation”, this method created space for epistemic understandings and diverse knowledge forms through the collective act of being and doing together in context (p. 145). As opposed to observation in a traditional ethnography, this decolonial method is participatory and respects the diversity of doing and being. Moreover, the collective engagement in occupation enabled participants to share traditional knowledge kinesthetically, such as shopping in the local market, cooking a Swahili meal, cultivating yogurt, sewing traditional fabrics and curating dried fish to sell. This method also enabled the researcher to examine occupation in context, both noting oppressive systematic and environmental

factors intersecting with them and the ways in which the women navigated or resisted them (Mayring, 2000; Altheide, 1996).

4.3.3.4 Storytelling

Storytelling is a culturally nuanced way of knowing, which is particularly important to decolonizing approaches to research as stories embody relational and holistic knowledge: “in listening to the stories of others, it is evident that they reveal the deep purpose of our inquiries” (Kovach, 2009, p. 108). Storytelling involves participants sharing a story or initiating free-flowing conversation with no desired outcome, inherently attempting to shift power from the researcher as they surrender control and expectations of the session to the participants as they lead the session (Kovach, 2009). While the storytelling method attempts to enact reciprocity, it can remain a challenge to implement within the confines of research institutions and procedures guided by ‘Western’ knowledge paradigms, such as ethical review boards requiring researchers to provide data collection materials.

In the critical decolonizing ethnography, the women were asked to engage in tribal storytelling, a decolonial method distinct from narrative storytelling due to its aim to provide space for participants to share tribal knowledge and epistemic understandings rooted from their ancestral heritage and tribal customs. Aligned with the iterative nature of decolonial methodologies, this method evolved through the process of enacting the decolonial approach. For example, as reflexive and collaborative dialogues relating to tribal belonging unfolded, the first author came to more fully understand the importance of one’s tribe within the wider context of womanhood and gender in Tanzania, shaping women’s identities, roles and gender norms (Kanyamala, 2019, personal communication). With this in mind, the final data collection session was shifted into a tribal storytelling method to create space for participants to share knowledge relating to tribal belonging. Since the researchers are not Tanzanian, the significance of tribal belonging and its intersections with gender and occupation were discussed with the partner organization before employing this method. The first author prepared and translated a brief explanation of the purpose of the tribal storytelling session, as well as some cues in the case that a participant felt unsure of what to talk about; the cues

included “*tell me about your tribe*” or “*would you like to share any of your tribe’s traditions or beliefs?*”).

4.3.4 Garnering insights from the data

The importance of a collaborative approach to the analysis and interpretation of data in decolonial research is vital to ensure findings are in alignment with indigenous ways of knowing. Since what constitutes as ‘understandings’ are undoubtedly influenced by the researcher’s worldview, or rather, how they ascribe meaning to particular constructs and how they relate to one another, an ongoing dialogue with partners and participants in the analysis phase is necessary (Rogers Stanton, 2014). In coherence with this, the first author engaged in critical dialogue with the director of the partner organization during this process as she completed theoretical coding of the various data, which offered further insights particularly relating to tribal knowledge. As one example, the holistic nature of Tanzanian womanhood and its intersectionality with tribal belonging (explicated by the participants as the tribal group one is born into, passed down the paternal familial line) was collectively discussed, as particular gender norms and attitudes vary among tribal groups in Tanzania and therefore shape a woman’s experiences. As such, through this collaborative approach, the first author was able to better integrate tribal knowledge throughout the study, shaping the analysis process and further aligning it with local epistemology.

4.3.4.1 Theoretical coding

The analysis phase was thus informed by the theoretical frameworks previously explicated and designed to create space for ongoing collaboration with the community partner and collective reflection with the participants. The analysis was iterative, beginning after the participatory occupation method was completed with all participants. All data collected through participant sessions, community observation, field notes and the first author’s reflexivity diary were coded by hand and subsequently inputted into the Quirkos qualitative analysis software. Themes, as well as gaps or contradictions, were coded according to the Africana womanist theory and the African feminist communicative lens, which were used to guide the decolonial analysis. This therefore

included four '*theoretical codes*' for the African philosophies of holism, collectivism and situationality, and the feminist communicative lens. '*Conceptual codes*' related to relevant conceptualizations, such as womanhood, tribal belonging, gendered occupation, and gender inequity, were added to tease out epistemic understandings from the knowledge and experiences shared as they relate to the research questions. Finally, '*thematic codes*', such as corruption and resistance were used to note interconnections or absences among the data.

4.3.4.2 Member reflections

Member reflections within decolonial research are proposed to enable collaborative analysis of data with participants, demonstrating respect and appreciation of indigenous knowledge by attempting to ensure it is interpreted and represented appropriately (Rogers Stanton, 2014). A collaborative analysis strategy also avoids what Tobias and colleagues (2013) referred to as "parachute research", where researchers immediately exit the field following data collection (p. 131). Moreover, member reflections enhance research coherency and trustworthiness through collaborating with participants on the interpretation of findings, ensuring the researcher's interpretations are in alignment with local epistemologies (Tracy, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Within the critical decolonizing ethnographic study, member reflections occurred with the women in a group format to embody the collective nature of Tanzanian culture, however for pragmatic reasons it was held in two sessions to accommodate all participants' schedules (Ibrahima & Mattaini, 2017). Based on the sociocultural significance ascribed from receiving an invitation into someone's home and sharing a meal together, the session was structured around lunch in the first author's home. Emerging themes were first shared with the partner organization prior to the group meeting for critical and reflexive feedback and then presented to the participants during the session. The women were encouraged to engage in an open conversation about each theme to add additional insights, or to make a correction to how the researcher interpreted or portrayed a particular theme or element within a theme. This deepened and further contextualized the interpretation of the data, as the women built upon or challenged themes discussed. For example, when discussing the challenges of being a

widow in Tanzania, all members of the group were able to contribute understandings of a widow's experience despite only one participant actually being a widow. Through sharing how they have observed widows being treated in their community or based on their perceptions of the sociocultural norms and expectations of a widow, the first author garnered a deeper understanding of the factors which influence and shape a widow's life in Tanzania, such as traditions around asset inheritance or sociocultural expectations of widows to remarry, thus deepening the interpretation of the data.

4.3.4.3 Reflexivity

Pillow (2003) frames reflexivity as “posited and accepted as a method to legitimize, validate and question research practices and representations” (p. 175). From a decolonial perspective, a reflexivity diary enables researchers to remain conscious of their own power and privilege, enabling continual introspection and self-evaluation of one's role as researcher and learner throughout the entire process. Kovach (2009) describes the process of critically reflective self-location as an “opportunity to examine our research purpose and motive”, as well as a strategy to maintain awareness of the power dynamic between researcher and participant (p. 112). A reflexivity diary was therefore kept in the months leading up to arriving in Tanzania and maintained throughout the entire study, as a means to facilitate honest and raw contemplation of tensions experienced and to log the researcher's own epistemic journey.

4.4 Navigating tensions in the field

Morton Ninomiya & Pollock (2017) note: “it cannot be taken for granted that researchers or research institutions know how to be relational or support indigenous approaches” (p.35) and urge researchers to discuss the ways in which they experienced tensions or unforeseen challenges. However, researchers embedded with ‘Western’ knowledge systems infrequently write about experiencing tensions while engaged in decolonial work or collaborating with indigenous peoples or relational knowledge, as these challenges may inherently be viewed as limitations by the broader academic community and Western epistemological frameworks (Morton Ninomiya & Pollock, 2017). We content, in line with Morton and Ninomiya and Pollock (2017), that such sharing by researchers

of their experienced tensions or unforeseen challenges during research can foster a productive dialogue on how to best work with indigenous colleagues to decolonize knowledge, while also uprooting the notion that challenges equate to limitations.

Moreover, Morton Ninomiya and Pollock (2017) argue “it is actually how these uncomfortable moments are addressed that matters” (p.35), and thus not acknowledging tensions cannot create space for collective action to work through them, both limiting knowledge translation and perpetuating ‘othering’ power differentials. On the contrary, transparent and reflexive research approaches can ensure coherence among decolonial research methods and researcher conduct. The purpose of this section is to therefore transparently share the tensions which arose within the critical decolonizing ethnographic fieldwork in Tanzania, as experienced by a non-indigenous researcher engaging in decolonial work, and subsequently how they were navigated. The tensions of power and privilege, the temporal demands of building partnerships and the challenges of bilingual work were critically explored through the first author’s reflexivity diary and are expanded upon below.

4.4.1 Tensions of power and privilege

Explicating one’s positionality is crucial in conducting critically informed, decolonial work given that one’s social position and taken-for-granted assumptions inevitably affect one’s worldview and therefore influences one’s scholarship (Hammell, 2011; Jaworsky, 2019). In the context of employing the critical decolonizing ethnographic research in Tanzania as a non-indigenous researcher, it was important to critically unpack researcher positionality. The first author transparently notes her that my ancestors colonized Tanzania and she herself, directly benefits from the inequitable systemic structures perpetuating coloniality today. Unpacking the inherent complexity of merely being on Tanzanian land, required continuous critical reflexivity surrounding the ways in which her ancestry, as well as her power and privilege as a white, North American researcher and

obvious positionality as a ‘mzungu’³ encompassed the potential to perpetuate coloniality. These tensions were navigated through collective discussions amongst the first author, her advisory committee and the community partner organization, continual reflexivity and grounding within decolonial bodies of knowledge

As one example, particular attention was given to the first author’s perceptions of gender inequity and therefore her underlying beliefs of what experiences or situations she considered to be equitable or inequitable. In attempts to create space for the women’s perspectives, the first author asked in the semi-structured interview how they understood gender equity. However, this question inherently assumes that women are familiar with and understand gender equity as a construct, and further that they would perceive particular gendered experiences as inequitable. It became evident when several participants voiced uncertainty with how to answer the question, that the first author had adhered to a Western knowledge paradigm when asking it. Acknowledging this inherent assumption was necessary in order to avoid further approaching gender as a universal construct, therefore enabling indigenous understandings of gender to unveil organically, as participants shared understandings of their womanhood and how it was navigated within their relationships, families and communities.

4.4.2 Temporal demands of decolonial research

Finding and maintaining a balance between garnering trust with research participants and negotiating the temporal demands of academic research is a challenge within most projects (Ermine et al., 2004; Wilson, 2008). However, for decolonial research the necessity of establishing relationships and partnerships is crucial, particularly if the researcher is not indigenous (Kovach, 2009). Along these lines, researchers must be mindful of the generational suffering directly resulting from colonialization, as well as unethical conduct of previous researchers before them (Kovach, 2009). The development of partnerships aims to ensure research is reciprocal and relational, with participants and

³ Swahili slang translated into English to mean white person. It is used as both as a descriptive adjective or a derogatory name for a foreigner.

the community perceiving the work to be meaningful, relevant and beneficial (Kovach, 2009).

As mentioned above, within the example study the first author had already begun to cultivate a trusting relationship with the partner organization and discussed the doctoral project with the director before her return to Tanzania, ensuring the research aims aligned with organizational and community goals.

However, the process of cultivating a partnership with the local research institution in Tanzania proved more challenging, highlighting the tensions of balancing time constraints of enacting research with the temporal demands of building trusting relationships. Navigating the local ethical review board took four months from start to finish, significantly pushing back the start date of the study. This unanticipated delay was transformed into an opportunity to foster a relationship with the research institution and broader community, while also providing time for the first author to fully immerse herself in the culture and language of Tanzania. Once ethical clearance was granted, the relationships cultivated during this period were invaluable in establishing trust and rapport with participants.

4.4.3 Challenges of bilingual work

While most researchers engaged in bilingual work will agree to the challenge of working within two languages, there are additional pragmatics to consider when collaborating with a translator to facilitate bilingual work. Despite the first author's best efforts to gain fluency in Swahili, a local female translator was used to enhance data collection sessions and preserve the depth and authenticity of information shared by participants. In attempts to provide the researcher contextual information or explain cultural nuances, the translator often shared her opinions, blending her perspectives with paraphrases of the participants' accounts. Occasionally she interrupted participants to share her insights instead of serving to act as a communicative medium between the researcher and participant, unintentionally limiting the space for participants' voices.

However, the translator was extremely helpful in establishing trust and rapport with participants, as she was a Tanzanian woman herself. It would have been more damaging to the study to hire a different translator mid-way through the project so instead, the first author re-evaluated how she had approached orienting the translator to the study.

Through acknowledging her inherent power as the translator's employer, the first author realized the translator may not have felt comfortable asking questions or expressing if she didn't understand her role. The first author therefore made significant efforts to equalize the power imbalance by re-approaching the translation needs for the study through an open, conversational format (rather than a structured training model), while also encouraging the translator to voice her own insights and understandings outside of data collection sessions, creating space for her valuable knowledge to be shared.

4.5 Implications for occupational science: Bridging the gap from intent to action

Recently, occupational scientists have not only argued for the necessity of diversity within epistemic perspectives, but also for diversity of language, theoretical frames and approaches that knowledge is generated and disseminated through (Huff et al., 2018; Magalhães et al., 2019). Through delineating key guiding principles and aims of decolonizing research methodologies, and transparently sharing an attempt to enact such a methodology, we aimed to share the ways in which we attempted to enact decolonial approaches to research, including how tensions experienced in the field were navigated. This final section discusses the wider implications of the use of decolonial methodological approaches to research within occupational science. It is also worth mentioning that the potential for transformation is situated alongside the potential to perpetuate oppression, therefore we also illuminate particular cautions for non-indigenous researchers engaging in decolonial research with indigenous individuals, groups and communities.

4.5.1 Decolonizing knowledge within occupational science

Given the centrality of relationship building within decolonial approaches to research, their enactment takes "extensive time for scholars to establish the prerequisite level of

trust with communities and participants, particularly in cross-cultural spaces” (Rogers Stanton, 2014, p. 573). McGregor and colleagues (2018) note “even the most taken-for-granted aspects of research methodology warrant rereading, reframing, deconstruction and reconstruction”, including temporal boundaries guided by academic institutions (p. 3). We therefore argue decolonial approaches to occupation-based research necessitate ongoing questioning of methodological and disciplinary conventions, as the process of decolonizing knowledge must also challenge colonial agendas within knowledge generation and academic spaces, such as institutional policies and processes which limit space for decolonial knowledge generation.

In occupational science, decolonizing knowledge can advance conceptualizations of occupation, expanding and diversifying ways of knowing, being and doing, while enabling the deepening of occupation-based work to examine the historical, cultural and sociopolitical situatedness of occupation. This expansion can create space for intersectional understandings, such as how gender, and the contextual factors underpinning gender, link to occupation. However, without the alignment of local partnerships and epistemology, relevant community aims cannot be explicated by those at the centre of research and therefore results are not likely to create impact. Decolonial approaches are better positioned to illuminate the situatedness of occupation within the historical and present-day influences of colonialism, and the sociopolitical agendas embedded within coloniality, including racism and patriarchy.

Decolonial methodological approaches to research are therefore suggested to generate decolonial understandings of occupation, however, cautions in application are suggested, particularly if the researchers are non-indigenous. Considerations of whether data collection methods enable traditional knowledge sharing, whether analysis and interpretation strategies are collaborative, and how findings will be beneficial to the community, are essential in efforts to ensure indigenous knowledge is not appropriated and colonial agendas are not perpetuated (Kovach, 2009). Socially transformative occupation-based work must therefore centre indigenous epistemology and relationships with indigenous peoples, while enacting a collective approach to ensure community goals and aims align with research objectives.

4.5.2 Healing within occupational science

Many interdisciplinary authors have cited the potential of decolonizing approaches to enable transformative healing and have humanising impacts (Chilisia, 2017; Pentecost et al., 2018; Ramugondo, 2018). In occupational science, critical scholars have noted the potential of occupation for rehumanisation (Kronenberg et al., 2015) and restoration (Frank & Muriithi, 2015), proposing “occupational science can become a catalyst for creating a society with a more human face” (Kronenberg et al., 2015, p.26). However, the way forward within the literature predominantly situates occupation itself as a vehicle for transformation, or a tool to rehumanise, rather than emphasizing transformation through the actual doing of research and knowledge itself. Decolonial research methodologies, or rather, the process of decolonizing knowledge with and by indigenous peoples, exemplifies the potential for healing through the reclamation of indigenous knowledge and language by indigenous peoples and communities, and through the acknowledgement of past and present transgressions and commitment to allyship by settler researchers (Ndimande, 2018).

Settler researchers must therefore reposition themselves as allies to indigenous colleagues and indigenous peoples, committing to support and value diverse knowledge, cultures, languages and ways of doing and being, while also examining positionality and motives to avoid a saviour complex (Kovach, 2009). Allies engaged in decolonial work must recognize and resist imperialist agendas and white privilege within academia to cultivate a supportive space for indigenous colleagues to reclaim and reposition indigenous knowledge.

One way to create space for reclamation is through language, with the “recognition, preservation and promotion in all social and educational institutions”, including research spaces (Ndimande, 2018, p. 384). Adams (2018) referred to this as “a rediscovery and reconstruction of epistemology” (p. 10). Along these lines, Magalhães and colleagues (2019) advocated for diversifying language within occupational science scholarship, but they note the potential for discomfort and subsequent resistance by pointing out hegemony within the Anglophone sphere, akin to “turbulence rising not only in the global arena, but also within local research venues” (p. 191). However, we argue this discomfort

or shame felt by non-indigenous settler groups is the catalyst required for reconciliation, therefore settlers must hold space for the collective trauma and pain entrenched within past and present colonial transgressions, regardless of the shame or discomfort felt in acknowledging them (Nicholls & Elliot, 2018). In line with Ramugondo's (2018) comparison of decoloniality to removing poison from blood, the poison cannot be removed without first identifying its source; healing cannot occur without a collective recognition of and resistance to hegemony, imperialism and coloniality.

Allyship not only requires commitment to challenging coloniality within knowledge production but also within society. According to Ramugondo (2018, May, keynote speech), "our impact must be felt through healing, attested to by real communities; those who are marginalized will never feel our impact unless we find partners to work with in decolonial ways". This reiterates the importance of collectivity within research, despite institutional procedures such as confidentiality protocols and ethical board restrictions on data 'ownership', often suggesting and guiding otherwise. Conversely, collaborative, community-based approaches which reflect community-based epistemic values and relevant needs can enable healing and social impact. Occupational scientists continue to write about the need for intent to translate into action, as well as call for a disciplinary shift to globally responsive and socially impactful scholarship (Frank, 2012; Laliberte Rudman, 2014; Hocking & Whiteford, 2012). We therefore suggest decolonizing methodological approaches to research are an important way forward in catalyzing this shift and informing transformative occupation-based work, both ideologically and socially.

4.6 Conclusion

The overall aim of this paper was to illuminate the potential of decolonial approaches to guide transformative occupation-based work, both generating knowledge which challenges coloniality and supports the healing of indigenous peoples through reclamation and allyship. We explicated through the description of the example study, how one decolonizing methodology was employed in Tanzania, as well as how particular tensions in the field were navigated through the lens of a non-indigenous researcher.

Decolonizing approaches ultimately require a collective commitment to acknowledge and resist coloniality, to challenge dominant epistemologies and create space for marginalized knowledge forms, and to hold space for the collective trauma of indigenous peoples. Through this commitment, healing is possible. As Kronenberg and colleagues (2015) poignantly stated, “if humans have the capacity to de-humanise one another, they can also commit to do the opposite, that is, to re-humanise” (p.26). It is worth noting that while we discuss our experiences with enacting a decolonizing approach to research with women indigenous to Tanzania, this does not imply decolonial work is only applicable in the context of research with indigenous communities (Ndimande, 2018). These same approaches can be employed to challenge coloniality broadly within occupational science, academic institutions and across our societies.

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Chapter 5

5 Situating Women's Experiences and Understandings of Gender Inequities: A Critical Decolonizing Ethnography in Tanzania⁴

5.1 Introduction

In 2017, Tanzania was ranked at 130 of 160 countries measured on the Gender Inequality Index by the United Nations Development Programme, indicating the need for a continued focus on the marginalization of Tanzanian women (UNDP, 2018). This focus on gender is supported by United Nations' 2015 Sustainable Development Agenda, which placed gender equality as one of 17 international goals to be achieved by 2030 (United Nations Development Group, 2017).

However, when examining past interdisciplinary research approaches to gender equity in Tanzania, as presented within the critical scoping review in chapter 2, several concerning gaps emerged. Within the 67 articles synthesized in the review, many did not employ culturally relevant data collection methods or collaborative data interpretation strategies, both of which can ultimately result in poor resonance with participants, inappropriate representation of local knowledge and a perpetuation of the researcher's power over participants and their communities (Haws et al., 2010). Additionally, none of the studies acknowledged the history of colonialization in Tanzania or enacted a decolonial approach to their research; this is problematic when considering the pervasive influence of coloniality and its intersectionalities with gender in Tanzania (Berger, 2016).

In Tanzania, colonialism influenced sociopolitical and cultural discourses in Tanzania significantly, reshaping customary traditions, religious beliefs, local language, valued knowledge forms and notions of gender, all which underpin the gender attitudes and norms perpetuating many gender inequities today (Berger, 2016). For example, Moyofade

⁴ This manuscript was not yet submitted for publication at the time of thesis submission, therefore I elected to write in the first-person rather than refer to myself as the first-author or primary researcher.

(2011) argues that colonialism⁵ introduced racial inferiority and gender subordination in East Africa, while also introducing the ideology of women's domestication (p. 9). It is therefore important that gender inequities are examined through approaches which situate them within the broader forces shaping them, including colonialism and neocolonialism⁶, in order to inform contextually appropriate and relevant ways to address them.

Within this dissertation work, I employed a critical decolonizing methodological approach to explore 5 Tanzanian women's experiences of gender inequities through occupation, the range of daily activities they both needed and wanted to engage in (Zemke, 2016). A critical occupational perspective therefore underpinned this work to provide insights into how gender inequities are shaped and negotiated within everyday occupation, including those which can be oppressive (Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2016; Farias, 2017). Through this perspective, I also attempted to understand how women themselves perceived, navigated and resisted gender inequities through occupation, both individually and collectively. These insights were generated in collaboration with the participants and a local partner organization, through creating space for women to share their knowledge and epistemological understandings of gender, womanhood and gender inequities. The overarching research questions within this study included: 1) How do Tanzanian women experience, perceive and navigate womanhood and gender inequities? 2) How do women's occupations intersect with gender inequities within this context?

5.2 Methodology and analytical framework

This dissertation drew from the seminal writings of scholars on decoloniality and the anticolonial movement, such as Fanon (1952), Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986) and Tuhiwai Smith (1999). Coloniality refers to "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a

⁵ Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation "in which the sovereignty of a nation or peoples rests on the power of another nation" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243), whereby the nation with power oppresses, exploits and controls indigenous peoples and their land, often through violence and genocide (Quijano, 2007).

⁶ Neocolonialism is a system which uses economic, political, cultural drivers to control low-income nations, "keeping standards depressed in the interest of developed countries" (Fraser, 2017, p. 67; Nkrumah, 1974)

result of colonialism, but that also define culture, labor, intersubjective relations and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). Decoloniality was therefore conceptualized in response to coloniality, as a critical space for resistance of colonial ideology and social agendas, striving to both decolonize and reclaim societies and knowledge systems (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Integrating decoloniality through research necessitates the development and enactment of new methodological approaches to challenge and dismantle coloniality, thus creating space for indigenous knowledge and healing within indigenous communities (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Decolonizing approaches to research acknowledge the ways in which indigenous ontologies and epistemologies have been colonized within existing knowledge paradigms and frameworks. They aim to challenge and dismantle the colonial ideologies and agendas embedded within dominant epistemologies, while also generating new knowledge (Kovach, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). This dissertation research was guided by the call for innovative approaches to decolonial work (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), pairing a critical ethnographic methodology with a decolonial theoretical lens to enact the central values, beliefs and agendas of decoloniality. Each component of the critical decolonizing methodology, including a brief description of its approach, theoretical underpinnings, data collection methods and analytical framework are further explicated below.

5.2.1 Methodology

As elaborated upon in chapter 4, the critical decolonizing ethnographic methodology notably differs from more traditional forms of ethnography through the centering of indigenous knowledge and relationship building with local peoples and communities, while also committing to the resistance and dismantling of colonialism within both scholarship and society (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Conversely, some elements of a traditional ethnography remain, such as extended time spent in the field and the use of observation as a data collection method (Murchison, 2000). While traditional forms of ethnography have been criticized for exoticizing, othering and exploiting indigenous peoples, the critical decolonizing ethnography aligns with values of community partners through developing trust, respecting indigenous knowledge, engaging within local

language and collaboratively enacting research that is reflective of the aims and objectives of the community (Murchison, 2010; Tobias et al., 2013).

Through a pre-existing relationship with the director of MikonoYetu, a non-governmental organization in Tanzania who I had previously interned for in 2016, the partnership for this study was formed. The study was therefore enacted collaboratively in the North West town of Mwanza over the course of one year, with MikonoYetu and 5 local women. In order to center reciprocity and local epistemologies within the study, this partnership was drawn upon throughout the entire research process to collaboratively approach the research objectives, design and execution.

5.2.2 Theoretical framework

This critical decolonizing ethnography was guided by diverse feminist theories, employing Hudson-Weems' *Africana Womanism* (2001) and Cruz's (2015) African feminist work. Both are innately critical, examining taken-for-granted assumptions and monolithic agendas embedded within North American feminisms, arguing these perspectives narrowly frame gender inequities while neglecting the ways in which many women actually experience oppression rooted in gender. Through illuminating the perspectives of women indigenous to Africa (and within the African diaspora), the work of Hudson-Weems (2001) and Cruz (2015) also highlight the unjust silencing and subjugation of African women by not just men through patriarchal systems of thought and structures, but also by privileged white women. It is through the deconstruction of taken-for-granted intersectionalities beyond gender, including race, socioeconomic status, education and language, that these frameworks offer more contextual understandings of womanhood and gender inequities.

Moreover, a feminist-informed intersectional perspective further necessitates a decolonial approach to research in Tanzania, particularly when non-indigenous researchers engage with communities in neo-colonial contexts (Jaworsky, 2019; Rogers Stanton, 2014). For example, acknowledging race as both intersectional and entangled within coloniality is crucial for settler researchers when considering power and the distribution of resources within a neo-colonial society (Nkrumah, 1965), and further how these structures shape

gendered issues (Crenshaw, 1991). I myself am a North American white woman with settler ancestry and recognizing this positionality required continuous consciousness reflexivity to engage in decolonial in Tanzania and to attempt to avoid perpetuating colonial agendas. The theoretical frameworks explicated above provided additional support in navigating these tensions, ensuring my examination of womanhood and gendered occupation were enacted beyond a Westernized paradigm, extending explorations of gender inequities from a more holistic, collective and situated space (Hudson-weems, 2001).

From a decolonial perspective, this also includes how inequities are shaped by the historical, political and sociocultural dynamics continuing to influence and perpetuate women's oppression, while also considering local epistemology, such as traditional knowledge or philosophy. As such, Africana womanism (Hudson-weems, 2001) and the underlying African philosophies of holism, collectivism and situationality (Cruz, 2015) were used as guiding frameworks to support the decolonial enactment of this work and are further explicated below. Additionally, I drew upon a critical occupational science perspective within the application of this framework, attending to women's occupations and the ways in which they could be both equitable and inequitable. As such, the African philosophies enabled me to explore how the women's occupations were influenced, shaped and perpetuated, as well as how they were intersectional and entangled within the historical, sociocultural and political contexts within their lives.

As more comprehensively unpacked in chapter 3 (Huff et al., 2018), holism provides a relational perspective of womanhood, offering intersectional viewpoints which challenge universal orientations of what it means to be a woman (Crenshaw, 1991; Cruz, 2015). Within this dissertation study, holism was drawn upon to advance epistemic understandings of the intersections of gender and occupation, thus creating space for the diversity of women's occupational experiences and the conceptualization of gendered occupation. Collectivism highlights the centrality of communal values to indigenous African communities, juxtaposed with the individual values embedded within 'Westernized' culture. Collectivism was taken up in efforts to explore women's collective occupation, particularly the ways in which women navigate gender inequities

collaboratively, such as through examining the resistive nature of women's groups and their collective occupations. Finally, the African philosophy of situationality highlights the dynamic enactment of womanhood, or rather the ways in which women navigate their gender within particular social, cultural and political contexts (Hudson-Weems, 2001; Yaa Asantewaa Reed, 2001). This philosophy was taken up to advance understandings of how women navigate, circumvent or resist gendered issues within the historical, sociocultural and political contexts their lives are situated within, with particular attention to their everyday occupation.

5.3 Methods

In accordance with the central focus on relationship building within a decolonial approach to research, the objectives and design of this doctoral study were dialogued with the director of the MikonoYetu organization to ensure research and organizational aims aligned before employing the methods explicated below. Moreover, since I am not Tanzanian, cultural nuances, such as the significance of tribes⁷ within Tanzania and their intersections with gender, were also discussed with the partner organization. To reiterate the collaborative nature of decolonial research, each method below describes how the research partnership was drawn upon and enacted in the field.

5.3.1 Participants

The participants were identified by the partner organization, the director of a sister organization which provides education to women in the community, and the field translator. This recruitment style aligns with a decolonial approach through engaging the community within the research process and attempts to diminish the researcher's power. The prospective participants were invited to participate in the study over the telephone by the community member who identified them. To ensure coercion did not occur, it was made explicit that the study was in no way linked to supports and services offered by the

⁷ As contextually understood within Tanzania and explicated by the community partner, a tribe refers to an ethnic group with their own distinct region, customary traditions and gendered practices.

organizations and therefore engagement in the study would not impact women's receipt of service. The purpose and objectives of the study were explicated during the initial telephone call and again by myself during the first research session, where the consent procedure was employed. The inclusion criteria were collaboratively defined with the partner organization to include: 1) identifies as having experienced gender inequities within daily life, 2) interest in sharing knowledge and lived experiences with the researcher, 3) able to verbally communicate in Swahili, 4) resides within Mwanza or its surrounding districts, 5) aged 19-65. The vast age range was selected to encompass the breadth of women's experiences across the lifespan.

The five participants comprised a diverse group of Tanzanian women who resided within different urban districts of Mwanza. The women ranged from 21 to 45 years old and identified as belonging to the Sukuma (2), Mhangaza (2) and Mpogoro (1) tribal groups. Their education backgrounds ranged from never attending formal school (1) to graduating primary school (3) and secondary school (1). The youngest woman was single with no children, while the older women were married with no children, divorced with two children, separated with three children and six grandchildren, and widowed with six 6 children (Figure 1). While the sample size of five participants is small, it enabled me to remain coherent with decolonial values of establishing trusting relationships, as a smaller number of participants not only enabled a deeper focus on each woman's life story, but also created the potential for meaningful relationship to form and grow across the year the study was enacted (Murchison, 2010).

Participants	Tribe	Age	Education	Children	Marital status	Employment
P1	Sukuma	21	High school	0	Single	Secretary
P2	Mhangaza	39	Grade 7	0	Married	Housewife
P3	Mhangaza	35	Grade 7	6	Widowed	Buys/sells fish

P4	Mpogoro	30	High school	2	Divorced	Café Owner
P5	Sukuma	45	None	3	Separated	Yogurt Mama

Figure 1. Demographic information⁸

To preface the quotes shared by the participants in the findings section, it is also important to include contextual information, such as their access to natural, technological and information-based resources. At the time of the study, all women had access to telecommunications through a mobile telephone. None of the five women had access to electricity and running water in their homes. All of the five women identified as having prior knowledge of their gender rights to varying degrees. Three had more extensive knowledge of women's rights due to previous involvement with the partner organization (2) and through access to the internet and higher education (1), while the remaining two women had obtained basic knowledge of their rights through informal conversations with other women.

5.3.2 Data collection

Data was collected in collaboration with each participant through three sessions in the following order: one semi-structured interview, one participatory occupation session and one tribal storytelling session (each method is explicitly discussed in the sections that follow). The selection of these methods was guided by the theoretical framework explicated above, in attempts to support and encourage participants to enact power over the research process and share traditional forms of knowledge in oral and kinesthetic ways. Data was collected from all of the participants in parallel, therefore once the first two sessions were completed with all 5 participants, the analysis process began in tandem with the completion of the tribal storytelling sessions.

⁸ Only myself, the director of the partner organization and the field translator knew the identity of the five women and of their participation in the study, therefore their anonymity is preserved.

In line with the decolonial approach, data was collected in Tanzania's national language Swahili, as opposed to conducting the research within "the language of the colonizer" (Chambers et al., 2018, p. 182). I consulted the partner organization regarding my translation needs, however their primary translator was male; given the sensitive topics I anticipated may arise in data collection, I discussed the appropriateness of finding a female translator outside the organization. I therefore hired a local female field translator to support me in conducting all three data collection sessions with each participant. The field translator lived in one of the villages surrounding Mwanza town. Having previously worked as a nanny for expatriate families, the field translator had saved money to return to school to train as a school teacher. I initially met her through hiring her for conversational Swahili lessons, and eventually hired her as the field translator when she noted she was looking for extra work. The research aims and objectives, as well as the translation process, were verbally introduced to the field translator during a meeting prior to the commencement of data collection. Having connections in both the urban and rural Swahili communities, as well as within the expatriate population, she also acted as a community gatekeeper. She recruited 2 of the 5 participants through word-of-mouth, whom she knew as acquaintances through her network and whom she shared tribal ancestry with.

Although the field translator was fluent in both English and Swahili, her English language skills were less academic and more conversational; she was able to easily break down and explain concepts to participants and relay slang terminologies. Moreover, she also spoke several tribal dialects which was immensely important when building rapport with the participants.

In addition to the field translator, I hired a second local female to support me in the process of translating and transcribing the audio-recordings of all interviews and storytelling sessions. This individual was a Masters-level educated Tanzanian woman living in Mwanza who operated a Swahili tutoring business for expatriates. I met her at the beginning of my year in Mwanza and initially hired her as an intensive language tutor. Through daily language lessons over the course of three months, while I awaited local ethics approval, we became friends and we eventually switched the tutor sessions

for translation and transcription sessions. After each data collection session with the field translator, I met the transcriber at my home; we sat side-by-side to listen to the Swahili audio files and she translated the audio into English verbally, while I transcribed her English verbalization into a text document on my laptop.

Her fluency in both English and Swahili were at the academic level, thus she was not only able to ensure the accuracy and appropriateness of translation, but often stopped to explain the rationale behind her translations. For example, at the time of transcription, I had an intermediate-level understanding and fluency of the Swahili language, however became lost if someone spoke too quickly or complexly. She was able to further articulate the translations, such as unpacking Swahili metaphors or tropes, which exponentially accelerated my fluency in the language. Moreover, she often stopped to explain the contextual background of a particular story a participant may have shared, which expanded my understandings of gender dynamics and womanhood in Tanzania. Reflexive notes were taken either during these conversations or following the transcription sessions. While she remained ‘behind-the-scenes’ of the study in working closely with me in transcription phase, she attended the collective member reflection sessions with the participants’ consent.

However, the process of translation did not come without challenges and tensions, as with any bilingual project. In attempts to explain cultural nuances or provide context, the field translator often shared her opinions, blending her perspectives with paraphrases of the participants’ accounts. Occasionally she interrupted participants to share her insights instead of serving to act as a communicative medium. While the raw data from each session was always later retrieved through the audio-recordings, it still unintentionally limited the space for participants’ voices when her opinions periodically overshadowed their responses. When listening to the audio files from the data collection sessions in the field, occasionally noises from birds, children or traffic would muffle participants’ speech, causing snippets of data to be lost. These tensions illuminate the complexities of translation and the non-linear path of enacting decolonial research, where my best intentions to conduct the study in the participants own language (despite it being my second language), inherently created its own challenges in navigating translation.

5.3.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The first session with participants involved a semi-structured interview (ranging from 30 minutes to 120 minutes) at the partner organization's office or the participant's home, according to their preference. From a decolonial context, I attempted to diminish the power dynamic between myself and participants by shifting into the stance of a humble learner (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Introductory questions were asked to enable holistic, collective and situational explorations of womanhood and gendered occupation within Tanzania, aiming to garner insights on women's daily occupational roles and enactments, as well as epistemic conceptualizations of gender and gender inequities in context. Prior to conducting the interviews, I collaboratively dialogued with the partner organization regarding the appropriateness and impact of the initial questions, which resultantly included: *“What does it mean to be a woman in your community? What are the challenges you face due to being a woman? How would you like your fellow females to be treated in your community?”*. Following these initial questions, I probed further to facilitate open discussion with each participant relating to each topic as it emerged.

5.3.2.2 Participatory occupation

Participatory occupation is a kinesthetic method which offers opportunities for participants to share diverse epistemic understandings, such as traditional knowledge conveyed via tactile or oral forms, through the collective act of being and doing occupation together in context (Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2015). The participants were asked to select an occupation they wished to collectively engage in with me; initially participants requested further explanation of this, so I asked them to think of an activity which was meaningful or important in their daily life or within their culture; four of the women selected the occupations which they enacted to earn income. The five activities for this session included shopping in the local market for ingredients and cooking a Swahili meal, cultivating yogurt from milk, rolling and baking local bread, sewing traditional fabrics and curating dried fish to sell. The field translator attended these sessions with me to translate if necessary, but audio recordings were not taken due to the active nature of the sessions, however field notes were always taken immediately after

the sessions and occasionally during the session, such as writing down a recipe during the cooking session.

Engaging in the above occupations along with participants garnered contextual information through active observation, illuminating how systematic and environmental factors intersected with occupational enactment, as well as how women navigated them. For example, participant 3 taught me how to dry small fish on rocks in the sun in preparation to sell them in her village. While we were tending to the fish, one of her children picked up a small basket of fish to deliver to his school teacher as an alternative payment for the daily 200tsh tuition fee, as they could not afford to pay the money. I later learned that it is illegal for teachers to charge a daily school fee, but teachers do not earn much despite having large classrooms, so they do not abide by these laws and they are often not enforced.

5.3.2.3 Tribal storytelling

Stories embody relational knowledge and a holistic epistemology; as a decolonial research method, storytelling involves participants initiating free-flowing conversation, recalling a lived experience or sharing about one's ancestry (Kovach, 2009). Tribal storytelling is differentiated from traditional storytelling as it centres tribal knowledge, providing space for participants to share epistemic understandings rooted in ancestry, traditions and customs. Tribal storytelling also illuminated the gendered nature of tribal customs and practices, creating space for women to explicate the ways in which their or their husband's tribal group also influenced their experiences of inequities; in this sense, tribal storytelling in its own right, offered a mechanism to disrupt the silencing of women. That is not to say the method was devoid of power relations, however the dynamic nature of storytelling attempts to shift power from the researcher to the participants, as they control the direction and outcome of the session (Kovach, 2009).

After I learned the importance of one's tribal background and ancestry in Tanzania and how it shapes women's identities, roles and gender norms, I engaged within a reflexive discussion with my partner organization. Since I am not Tanzanian, it was important to collaboratively discuss the significance of tribes in Tanzania and their intersections with

gender before employing this method to ensure its appropriateness and relevance to Tanzanian women. In enacting the method, I prepared and translated a brief explanation of the purpose of the tribal storytelling session, as well as some cues in the case that a participant felt unsure of what to talk about, which included “*tell me about your tribe*” or “*would you like to share some of your tribe’s traditions or beliefs?*”).

5.3.3 Data analysis and interpretation

The critical decolonial perspective of the methodology was an overarching frame to situate the analyzed data beyond ‘Western’ perspectives of gendered occupation, in order to challenge dominant understandings of gender equity and inequity and thus better understand how women in Tanzania perceive and experience them. Moreover, this frame enabled the tensions relating to colonial ideology, power and privilege and other inequitable constructions to be identified and challenged, such as racism and patriarchy as products of coloniality.

A collaborative approach to the analysis and interpretation of data was therefore important for the researcher to remain coherent with the decolonizing methodology and avoid misrepresentation and appropriation of Tanzanian perspectives. I therefore engaged in critical dialogue with the director of the partner organization during the analysis process, as well as employed a collective reflexive method with participants in the form of member reflections, as explicated below.

5.3.3.1 Theoretical coding

The analysis process began iteratively, following the completion and translation of all five semi-structured interviews and all five participatory occupation sessions, continuing in tandem through the completion and translation of all tribal storytelling sessions. Once all of the data collected was translated and transcribed, the English text transcripts were uploaded to the Quirkos qualitative analysis software, along with all of my field notes. Quirkos was then used as the primary analysis tool, enabling the ability to compare across all of the participant’s data for themes or gaps, line-by-line coding of each individual transcript, and visual tools to organize codes.

Coding on the software was carried out according to the theoretical and conceptual foundations of the study, which included ‘*theoretical codes*’ relating to the African feminist theories and critical occupational lens underpinning the study, and ‘*conceptual codes*’ relating to relevant conceptualizations, such as womanhood, gendered occupation and gender inequity (Murchison, 2010). Codes were iteratively added as a way to further organize the data into emerging interconnections or absences (Murchison, 2010). Themes emerged through various strategies to convey key insights, such as concept mapping and memo taking to visually map my thoughts on paper and bring codes across transcripts together. As a result, five preliminary themes emerged: *Womanhood/Uwanamke, Tribe/Kabila, Work/Kazi, Gender Inequities/Usawa wa kijinsia and Fighting Back/Kudai haki.*

5.3.3.2 Member reflections

A collaborative analysis strategy demonstrates respect and appreciation of indigenous knowledge and enacts partnership, ensuring interpretations are in alignment with local epistemologies (Tobias et al., 2015). The above initial themes were therefore shared with the partner organization for critical and reflexive feedback, and then presented to the participants during the member reflection sessions. Member reflections were held in two sessions to accommodate all participants’ schedules. The women were encouraged to shape the interpretation of findings through engaging in an open, conversational format about each theme, to either add additional insights or layers or to make an amendment. Through collective discussion, the first author garnered a wider breadth of understandings of the contextual factors which influence and shape women’s experiences, thus deepening the interpretation of the data (Tracy, 2010). The initial themes were thus modified to incorporate the women’s insights from the member reflection sessions and to further attempt to ensure my interpretations were representative of participants’ knowledge.

5.4 Findings

Four primary findings are discussed below, situated within a broader exploration of Tanzanian historical, sociocultural and political contexts. These include: 1) Uelewa wa Jinsia / Situated Understandings of Gender, 2) Dhana ya Uwanamk / Holistic

Conceptualizations of Womanhood, 3) Juzunguka ya usawa wa kijinsia kwa kudai haki / Navigating Gender Inequities through Resistance, and 4) Maono ya Usawa wa Kinjinsia / Envisioning Gender Equity.

5.4.1 Uelewa wa Jinsia / Situated Understandings of Gender Inequity

This section is presented first to help the reader understand how gender attitudes and normative behaviors were perceived by the women and how these factors play a role in shaping the gender inequities they experienced.

“In general, women are down. Men seem to be the head of the family and everything, so women are supposed to stay at home with the children.”
(Participant 2).

“I see that 90% of our tribes have a system that men use to put women down, so all of them bring down the woman and they feel like a woman has no value. As I always say, the woman has the 3rd position in the family because the husband and children come first. So she is the last person, her value is very small.”
(Participant 4).

“Yes it [gender inequities] does exist, but those challenges exist because of that system of manhood.” (Participant 5).

“Once you become his wife, he sees you like nothing. The Swahili people have a saying that says ‘toka toka tunaonana. usiponiona utamwambia toka nani’ [you know the value of someone once they are gone]. Because today I am your wife, you take me for granted and you feel like my value is very low, because I am already yours and I am at your place. But tomorrow, if I realize and move on, you will realize my value.” (Participant 4).

These quotes convey the ways in which patriarchy appears to be a factor which shapes the gendered dynamic between men and women, influencing the inequitable yet normalized subjugation of women within marital, familial and community structures. Within our discussions, participants’ comments positioned patriarchy, or the ‘system of

manhood' as a social status quo, where 'women are down' and not valued simply because they are women.

"Women are being ignored. Just because I'm a woman, someone can mistreat me or say, 'oh she is just a woman, she can't do anything'. Sometimes you want to do something, but someone might discourage you just because you are a woman." (Participant 1).

"He [husband] doesn't involve me, he does what he wants. If I share that we should do this or that, he ignores me. He doesn't respect what I have to say [...] it really hurts." (Participant 2).

"I was just a person doing nothing; just sitting. I was not participating in any business, I had no activity." (Participant 3).

"The woman is a worker, a maid. So the woman has got nothing to share, nothing to speak, she has nothing. So she is the person who should follow instructions and say yes, yes, yes. If you say no, the marriage is gone." (Participant 4).

As highlighted by the quotes above, the identification of patriarchy also extends to the general perception that women are not respected or viewed to be capable, beyond particular household occupations, based on their gender. The participants perceived men to be discouraging when they attempted to execute their autonomy within family decisions or to enact roles which diverged from the 'norm'⁹. This ultimately links back to the inherent power imbalance between men and women within patriarchal agendas, where women felt less respected than men in their families and communities, and as participant four noted, if the woman says no she risks her husband leaving. Furthermore, as displayed in the following quotes, women offer a layered understanding to the

⁹ Participant one contextualized this in a conversation with me, sharing as an example, if she were to tell her father that she wanted to study to become a doctor, he would discourage her. She felt he perceived her to be incompetent to do this due to her gender, yet he was pleased with her current job as a secretary.

subjugation of women, where the participants perceived that women in their communities were being mistreated and seen like objects to be played with or discarded by men.

“Some men say that a woman is like ‘kifungashio’, a package. Once you open that package and take out its contents, it is nothing; it is of no use, you must throw it away. That is how the women are being treated.” (Participant 4).

“Sometimes you feel like the men just see us like ‘chombo cha starehe’, a toy to be used for fun. In relationships for example, I have a man and he might just use me, just comes to me and uses me and then he goes. Promise, but not fulfilled.” (Participant 1).

This contributes additional insights into how patriarchy constructs gender inequities within women’s intimate relationships with men, such as feeling used and objectified. Moreover, the women explicated how a man’s status above a woman can contribute to intimate partner violence, or as the participants referred to it, women’s abuse; this demonstrates how patriarchal agendas have shaped the normalization of physical and sexual assault within intimate relationships.

“For example, in the family, a man needs you, so if he wants you, you have to give him sex. He can do what he wants, you have no right to agree or disagree. If you don’t want it, it may come to the point of breaking up. Sometimes you cry, but if he wants it, you have to give it. It’s unfair, but there is nothing you can do. Maybe you can go and ask for your rights but even then, they will tell you that this is marriage, and he is your husband.” (Participant 1).

“A woman can work, come home and a man can beat you. Maybe you have done something wrong, but he can beat you even if you have done work [...] It’s a shame to be beaten. It is a shame. For some tribes, they say that you don’t have to tell people about your problems at home if it’s concerning your relationships, so some women think that I must keep this secret on my heart.” (Participant 1).

“I remember I was slapped once and until today I keep thinking of that slap. My ex-husband was the kind of man who would not help me with anything, no

fetching water, no cleaning, not even comforting the children. I remember I was breastfeeding my late daughter when he was getting ready for work. I went out quickly just to finish washing and I heard him calling me 'Mama come', and I replied and said, 'I'm coming, let me finish this'. Then I heard him from behind me, calling me again. When I was getting up, a big slap came to me. I was slapped until I saw stars. Until today, I still think of that slap. Truly, if that slap goes to another woman, it is felt on me. I will feel it like I was the one who was slapped.'" (Participant 4).

These quotes highlight the women's perspectives of intimate partner violence, suggesting it is both a common reality for many women and stigmatizing for them to disclose in order to access help or support. Moreover, when examining the sociopolitical dynamics of women's experiences of gender inequities within their communities, corruption and discrimination in the workplace, community leadership and legal systems were noted as contributing factors. It appears even institutions, such as the community chairperson [community leader] or police perpetuate intimate partner violence, as participant 1 noted that even if you go to leadership to ask for your rights, they are usually men and thus will side with the man. The following quotes highlight the participants' personal encounters with multi-level corruption while searching for a job and while enacting the right to obtain a divorce and fair custody proceedings.

"For example, I am going to ask for work in a certain office and a man there asks me about corruption. Not money, he just needs my body as a bribe. That is a bad thing, I hated that, but it happens sometimes. I don't like other women thinking I can't get work without this." (Participant 1).

"For example, I received a call from my local chairperson [community leader] at 1:00AM in the night asking me to meet him. I asked him, 'where should we meet and what should we discuss at this hour of the night?!'. Another person [from the court] called me asking me to give him a 100,000 tsh bribe so he can give me the right of staying with my kids. For him [ex-husband], he gave them that 100,000 tsh bribe and the judgement came out that I should either grant him custody or go

back to him. If I don't go back to him, I must give him the kids. I said I will go forward and appeal this judgement, but they told me that I needed to pay 15,000 tsh. I was shocked because I knew it is free to appeal.” (Participant 4).

Additionally, the women expressed that even if they were aware of their rights, this knowledge did not always translate to actualizing them due to particular sociopolitical barriers, such as husbands, male community members or men in leadership having limited awareness or respect for women's rights, reflecting the embeddedness of patriarchy broadly throughout society.

“Sometimes men come to the business place, and they will start insulting me just because I am a woman. Sometimes they are drunk. They will be like ‘hey you, you woman! You woman! Bring me milk!’, and I will ask ‘why are you shouting?’ They will say ‘oh you are just a woman. How would you like me to call you?’. So I think they just speak to us like that just because of our gender. To me that looks like stigma¹⁰.” (Participant 4).

“Women know their rights, but some men still don't know women's rights. Women have woken up and changed, but getting those rights is very difficult because when you go to the district government you will find out all government leaders are men. Starting from the chairperson [neighborhood leader] to the local ward.” (Participant 4).

Through explicating their perceptions of how women are treated within families and communities and sharing some of their first-hand experiences, the women illuminated various ways patriarchy has influenced and continues to shape inequitable gender-normative behaviors and attitudes in Tanzanian society.

¹⁰ During my participatory occupation session with P5 at her yoghurt kitchen, male patrons of her business were greeting me in a respectful and polite manner. The chairperson [male community leader] came into the center just to shake my hand. P5 later told me, this chairperson had ignored her pleas for help when her ex-partner was abusing her. My power as a *supposedly* wealthy white woman in a neocolonial setting garnered respectful behavior from the same men who disrespect P5 due to her position as a poor black woman (*note*: P5 referred to herself as poor). This example serves to highlight racism and poverty as intersectional entanglements with women's experiences of gender inequities in Tanzania.

5.4.2 Dhana ya Uwanamk / Holistic Conceptualizations of Womanhood

This finding builds upon women's perceptions of gender to explore understandings of womanhood in Tanzania, as shaped and influenced by historical, cultural and sociopolitical factors. More specifically, motherhood, tribal belonging and gendered occupation were explicated by the participants as not only being intersectional to womanhood, but also positioned situationally as catalysts to either acquire power and respect, or to shape and perpetuate gender inequities.

5.4.2.1 Akina Mama / Motherhood

“Me as a woman, I am a Mama. I will introduce myself to anyone as Mabel¹¹, as Mama Marium [her daughter's name], as Mama Michael [her son's name].”
(Participant 4).

This quote demonstrates how once a woman becomes a mother, she takes on her first-born's name, illuminating the intersectional nature of motherhood and womanhood, where a woman's sense of self is intertwined with her child's through her status as a 'Mama'. Motherhood is therefore a relational way of being a woman, shaping how a woman interacts in her environment with those around her. From this perspective, African feminism and the African philosophy of holism positions womanhood more holistically, where motherhood is not just one role a woman takes on, but rather it is intersectional to womanhood (Cruz, 2015). This aligns with the findings of this study, which situates motherhood as more than an occupational role or identity, but rather as centred within womanhood. In Tanzania, to be a woman¹² is to be a mother.

¹¹ All names in this paper have been replaced with pseudonyms.

¹² To be a woman in Tanzania is to be a mother. This is further contextualized by my own experiences as a woman living in Tanzania, where I was asked almost daily by strangers I'd met while walking or on the bus if I was married and if I had children. Eventually I began to understand these questions were rooted in the social value of a woman's status as a married Mama. I was always met with shock when I said no, and later realized to be a woman of child-bearing age without children is abnormal and even detrimental to a woman's position in the family and community.

“I can say to be a woman, it feels good. In nature a woman is everything. I feel proud to be a woman, because a woman is a mother.” (Participant 1).

“I believe the mother is everything. The mother is the family keeper [...], when you are a mother, everyone depends on you, even that husband will be supported by you. The child depends on the mother, so I am happy to be a woman.” (Participant 4).

“I don’t want to be just a mother, I want to be the best mother.” (Participant 4).

Motherhood therefore instills a sense of pride and self-worth in Tanzania. The women explicated that motherhood, if enacted in ways which align with the broader sociocultural values and expectations, can actually enhance a woman’s worth, both to her husband, extended family and community. Many women therefore perceived child-bearing as an expectation of their womanhood and marriage, earning respect from her community once that expectation has been fulfilled and the status of ‘Mama’ has been reached:

“When she has babies, yes, it’s true, it brings respect that now she’s a Mama. We always say, ‘ndoa ina jibu’. It means when you get married and get pregnant and you have a baby, the marriage has answered.” (Participant 1).

Participant five imparted the notion of being a ‘real woman’ once the motherhood milestone has been reached:

“God created me as a woman, and as you can see I am a real woman because I gave birth to my kids.” (Participant 5).

This intersectionality of motherhood with a woman’s self-worth and perceived value can however, be source of pain and social isolation for women unable to conceive children.

“As a wife who has no kids, you are being ignored. If you have no children as a woman in Tanzania, you have no value from your husband, up to your husband’s family and to the surrounding community, so if you want to be respected and your womanhood to be valued, you must have kids. If you are married, you have a

husband and you have kids, that means your womanhood has completed.”
(Participant 2).

“For example, if you are married and you don’t have any kids, you have no value. It depends on the family, but most of them just see you as if you are good for nothing. They value that you got married to bring children.” (Participant 1).

“We women have different classes. When you become a wife you have no value, but when you we reach to the motherhood side, the woman is the best.”
(Participant 4).

These quotes highlight inherent tensions embedded within motherhood in Tanzanian society, suggesting an unspoken, taken-for-granted class system, where those who are married and have reached motherhood are the most respected and valued in the community, subjugating women without children. Along these lines, motherhood can impart disrespect from community members under particular circumstances, illuminating its complex and context-dependent fluidity. For example, single mothers are often marginalized in their community due to the negative connotations associated with divorce, where women are often blamed for the marital breakdown.

“As you know, in our African culture, once a girl is married and then comes back home [to her family’s house], her respect becomes very low and everyone in the society will look at her as if she has been naughty and the marriage has not worked well with her, or she has lost direction. So, when you are divorced to your husband and you go back home to your family, they will have lots of questions to judge you.” (Participant 4).

“According to our customs, when you are a woman and you are a single mother, you will be called lots of bad names, like Malaya [prostitute]. You will be called those names just because you are a woman with no husband.” (Participant 5).

This negative collective attitude surrounding divorced women was connected to harassment and social isolation, as explained by the participants above. Moreover, in addition to divorced single mothers, widows incur additional challenges. The participants

explained the complexities of navigating the sociocultural expectations placed upon a widow to re-marry, underpinned by tribal customs:

“Soon after you become a widow, the clan might ask you, would you like to be married to your brother-in-law, and that depends if you have many kids like this [six kids]. You won’t be married to another man outside the clan because you don’t want to leave your kids behind to marry him. They [other men] tried to come, but if you agree that means you need to leave your family behind and go, it’s only you he takes. You may feel like you want to stay within the clan, otherwise if you decide to be married to another man and you decide to leave, you must leave those kids, so you will leave that house as you came and be married to another place. For me, I said no [to all marriage proposals], I will stay here alone with my kids because this house I bought together with my late husband, so I am not under the clan”. (Participant 3).

“In some tribes when your husband dies, you are supposed to be inherited by another man in the family. There was a time when your husband’s brother would take you as a wife, but when the HIV/AIDS got so high, the young girls and women started to refuse to do such a thing.” (Participant 5).

Widows must also navigate the expectations of having additional children with the new husband, regardless of their desire for more children. Participant three highlights the tensions between her sexuality¹³, single motherhood and her desire to avoid another pregnancy within the scope of sociocultural and tribal expectations of her.

“For example, you find a man coming to approach you, but if you look behind you, you have a big family looking for you. If you go with that man, you will also

¹³ Due to political barriers in Tanzania, women’s access to contraception is limited. Public health clinics and non-profit organizations which previously distributed free IUDs and birth control pills to women have been ordered to shut down these services by the government. It is extremely expensive to purchase condoms, and women are often not able to successfully negotiate condom use within an intimate relationship as condoms are associated with sexually transmitted diseases and therefore a woman asking to use a condom can suggest she has HIV/AIDS.

have to have more kids. So, you will find yourself asking God to protect you from that, but still your body will have needs, so you'll find that is the challenge when you are alone". (Participant 3).

In the circumstances of being and remaining a single mother, by either divorce or widowhood, women's experiences actually challenge the African philosophy of collectivity as participants described social isolation and hardship resulting from their marginalized social status. It is the social connectedness and values of community "in which who and how we can be as human beings are shaped through interactions with one another" which reflect the philosophy of collectivity (Cornell & Van Marle, 2005, p. 206). However, the women in this study demonstrate that collectivity as an African philosophy is also shaped by the broad and overarching sociocultural gender normative attitudes and behaviors perpetuated by racism and patriarchy. In this sense, resistance or challenging social norms can actually lead to individualization. This is illustrated in the case of participant 3, who turned down a proposal to marry her brother-in-law following the death of her husband, but in doing so went against the wishes of her clan; subsequently, she was cut off from them and does not receive any support in raising her 6 children. Speaking to the challenges of navigating single motherhood without social, emotional or financial support, she shared:

"There are lots of challenges, I have no back up. There are no relatives or community that is surrounding me, it is only me." (Participant 3).

Similarly, participant 5 is a single mother and grandmother who never remarried. As an orphan, she was forced to marry at 16 but was subsequently abandoned by her husband, resulting in immense hardship as she navigated poverty as a young, single mother without family support:

"I was going around with that baby, and I didn't have any work and I was supposed to feed the child, so I looked for a job and I found a bar maid job. So when I was going there, because it was evening work, I was asking someone [a neighbor] to lock my kids inside the house. So that person will lock the door for them, put the padlock on the door and then when I came back I would just get

inside and sleep. So that was a very difficult life. That life of locking the kids inside, then you go to work and sometimes you meet those bully men that will ask you for sex for the whole night and because you don't have money, you agree, and you go with them and you let the kids sleep alone the whole night. So until morning when it's sunrise, that is when you come running and you open the door for them. You come back with fear, you don't know if they are safe, if they are still alive. My life was so difficult. Truly, I lived a very poor life, a very difficult life with my kids." (Participant 5).

These excerpts illuminate the contextual factors, such as poverty or tribal customs, which underpin the gender inequities experienced by women as they navigate motherhood. It appears that under particular circumstances, the philosophy of collectivity is both gendered and contextually situated, suggesting the collective nature of Tanzanian society is bound by gendered norms which both perpetuate the marginalization of specific groups of women, such as divorced single mothers, widows, and married women without children, and reinforce the respected status of married Mamas. This connects to the African philosophy of situationality, which notes the fluid and dynamic nature of gender. Moreover, it links how a woman may negotiate her womanhood in order to navigate inequities, such as engaging in transactional sex¹⁴ (Agnarosn et al., 2015; Wamoyi et al., 2011). The findings therefore suggest womanhood in Tanzania is highly situational, where a woman's power and status in society are context-dependent, such as her marital status or ability to conceive. Her status in society therefore influences the scope of gendered issues she may experience and how she subsequently navigates them.

For example, during the member reflections session, the women collectively agreed that *"when you are a woman and you are poor, you have no power."* Poverty is therefore a determining factor to the degree of power and status a woman has in her society, and

¹⁴ Transactional sex is an extremely common way for women and adolescent girls to gain access to their 'basic needs', through either the male giving them money or small gifts in exchange for sex. Basic needs was explicated by the participants as food, clothes, shoes, soap, matches and money for school tuition/books/uniform. Transactional sex differentiates from sex-work as it is not a woman or girl's primary source of income and can be a result of coercion or corruption.

resultantly the less power a woman has, the more she is subjected to oppressive forces within the sociocultural and political contexts of her environment. Conversely, a woman from a marginalized group who is not impacted by poverty, such as a single mother who is economically powerful, is often better able to advocate for her rights and enact them, such as divorcing an abusive intimate partner and navigating the process of dividing assets and custody, as in the case of participant four. The ways in which intersections of motherhood and womanhood are entangled and navigated differ according to a woman's positionality, as well as the particular sociocultural and political circumstances her life is situated within.

5.4.2.2 Ukabila / Tribal Belonging

Similar to the ways motherhood is intersectional to womanhood, ancestry and tribal belonging are also holistically encompassed within the experience of doing and being a woman in Tanzania. The participants came from varying tribes across the North West of Tanzania and shared that a woman's tribal ancestry is passed down the paternal line, meaning a girl is born into her father's tribe and maintains her tribal belonging into marriage. In addition to sharing tribal knowledge, such as gendered occupations within tribal groups and traditional ceremonies surrounding a girl's coming-of-age, marriage and death, the women also imparted their perceptions of tribalism¹⁵ within the community and marriage.

While the women were proud of their tribal backgrounds, they also shared examples of the ways certain tribal practices and beliefs can perpetuate gender inequities. For example, as explicated previously, the women shared that widows incur particular challenges relating to sociocultural expectations of remarriage, such as tribal customs which encourage a woman to marry an extended family member in order to remain on the

¹⁵ The term tribalism was explicated by participants as a way to describe discrimination and 'othering' based on one's tribal belonging within intertribal marriages and urban communities containing multiple tribal groups. In this context, it does not depict violence, genocide or war among opposing tribal groups.

clan's land. The participants also described additional challenges that widows must navigate, such as 'land-grabbing'¹⁶.

“If your husband passes away you, must leave and leave everything, and they will find someone to inherit those things. You are deprived of the right of inheritance since you're a woman; you're unable to claim anything as yours.” (Participant 2).

“If a woman doesn't know her rights, she will end up with zero.” (Participant 1).

Additionally, while acknowledging beliefs in witchcraft vary from tribe to tribe, such beliefs can result in community members perceiving that a widow is responsible for her husband's death by visiting a witchdoctor to cast a curse on him. In relation to witchcraft beliefs and widowhood, participant three shared that her family and community did not accuse her of witchcraft following her husband's death because they were familiar with the disease he had died of, however the participants collectively shared:

“For widows, this group has lots of challenges and lots of responsibilities, especially according to our customs, so most women who have lost their husband are being accused negatively, like that woman is a witch, she killed her husband. In the community she looks as a criminal.” (Member reflections).

“For some women who lost their husband, the husband's family will chase her away because they said she is the one who killed him.” (Participant 5).

The findings also suggest tensions in navigating the gendered attitudes and expectations of a different tribe. For example, marrying outside of one's tribe often involved negotiating the beliefs and customary practices of the husband's tribal group, since as explicated earlier, a woman maintains her tribal belonging after marriage.

¹⁶ Land-grabbing is a slang term for the inheritance process of assets following the passing of a woman's husband, where depending on the tribal group, the husband's family may try to claim possession of the property and belongings due to a general perception that women have no ownership rights to assets. By law, women have rights to own land and many women are aware of these rights, but accessing them is a challenge.

“I am married to a man who is from a different tribe, he is Maasai. So, there is that attitude of ignoring each other. A man can do something without telling you, yet he will tell his parents. You can share your idea, but a Maasai will refuse it. He thinks that all my ideas that I am contributing, are not right. So as I am from another tribe, when I went to visit my husband’s family, it was a big problem. So, the problem started like this: I would be set up beside the women and they would also be sitting aside, but they will only be talking [amongst themselves]. So, for me it was like, I was cast aside, so you cannot talk to them and they cannot speak to you. Most of the time Maasai women are also cast away by their husbands; their husbands don’t involve them in anything. So, everything that a man does, they agree because they have no voice. For example, when my husband is out for work, my husband’s brother can come and put the spear outside the house, and he can sleep with me. My husband can go to another house, maybe the house of his brother, so he can also sleep with the sister-in-law, so those are their customs. Sometimes they want that to happen [with me] but those things cannot happen because I am not from their tribe. I don’t want to involve myself in their customs, and that makes them so mad.” (Participant 2).

“Yes, he is Mchaga and I am Sukuma. I went there [to their village] and this is my experience. Mchaga people only think about themselves and they only take care of themselves and each other, so if you are not Mchaga, they will not care for you. For me, they were not happy, but my child, they are happy with him and comfortable with him. But me, they don’t value me.” (Participant 5).

Similar to the situatedness of motherhood, tribal belonging is also highly gendered and situational. For example, if a woman’s tribal background is different than her husband’s, she may experience social exclusion or challenges navigating the customs and beliefs of his clan. Broadly, the findings illuminate that tribal belonging is intersectional to womanhood, where a woman’s tribe ultimately shapes and situates the gender norms she must navigate within both her tribal group and her wider community, where she must also navigate structural inequalities relating to an unjust racist and patriarchal society. These excerpts illuminate deeply engendered stories of violence and abuse, reiterating the

tensions and inequities women must navigate within their communities, particularly including when engaged in an intimate relationship with a man belonging to a different tribe.

5.4.2.3 Kazi ya Jinsia / Gendered Occupation

This section builds upon chapter three to present gendered occupation. Gendered occupation is positioned at the intersection of gender and occupation, exemplifying both subtle and overt illustrations of power and oppression underpinning women's occupational enactment (Huff et al. 2018). It is situated within particular historical, sociocultural and political contexts which influence and shape gender norms, therefore engendering women's daily occupations (Huff et al. 2018). The findings revealed how occupation and gender intersected within women's lives, building upon this notion of gendered occupation. For example, the participants discussed how women were expected to adhere to particular occupations within a patriarchal family unit, such as housework.

“I wash the dishes, do laundry, cook and pick up the groceries. As a woman you must raise your family and you have responsibilities at home, like looking after your husband and children. That's what you must do to be a woman.”
(Participant 2).

“If she manages to give all basic needs to her family, like buying food and taking the kids to school, that will give her peace and she can stand and feel like she is a woman.” (Participant 4).

As participant two and four explained, to ‘feel like a woman’ or to ‘be a woman’ requires the enactment of specific gendered occupations, often relating to mothering and maintaining a household. Women's occupations are thus highly gendered, and for a man to engage in such occupations could raise suspicions from the surrounding community. For example, the participants collectively noted in the member reflections, if a husband were to contribute to the occupations traditionally ascribed to the wife, the community may perceive that the wife has cast a spell on him.

“So most of men from abroad, they will help their wives to do most of the household work, but here in Tanzania, if a man happens to do that people here will say ‘oh this woman has witchcrafted her husband’.” (Member reflections).

Additionally, the values which shape and influence gendered occupations are encompassed within some tribal coming-of-age rituals, where traditional knowledge is passed on to girls from their female elders. For example, a ‘*shangazi*’ or the father’s sister, has a very specific role prior to a young woman getting married, shaping her understandings of a woman’s occupational roles:

“Some tribes have the auntie sit with the bride and tell her ‘you have to be like this my child, you have to be patient, you have to be flexible, you have to work as a woman, you have to do chores, you must wake up early and be the last one to sleep’.” (Participant 1).

Moreover, the participants collectively discussed in the member reflections session how income producing occupations outside of the home linked back to their pride as women, enabling them to provide for their families and acquire respect and power from the broader community.

“For any woman who knows herself and who has the intention of moving forward and making changes, being tired from work is not one of the challenges for her but being tired from work is pride. We always sleep like dead people but when the time comes when you have to wake up, you get up automatically. It doesn’t matter if its 4am or if its 3am, our heads are automatically alarmed so when it reaches that time you just wake up. If you think about people outside of you who depend on you, you never sleep again because you feel like no one will be able to get what they need from you and you will not have peace for that. So being tired is not a challenge, a woman will not give up and will stand up and keep moving and keep working hard.” (Participant 4).

“For myself, I can say that work is respect, because you work and you earn your own money. When you are working, you are powerful, you are taken more seriously.” (Participant 1).

Within particular sociopolitical contexts in Tanzania, women may be unable to engage in income-producing occupations due to an abusive partner not allowing them to work, creating risk or danger should she work in secret. This links to the history of colonization and colonial agendas today which continue to instill patriarchal values of women remaining within the house.

“In my current situation, I don’t like doing these things [household chores]. I’d prefer to have my own work and office to go to, where I could make my own income without having to rely on a man.” (Participant 2).

“If she is working, she has her own money and her own income, she can leave that husband and find a place to live by herself, those things [gender inequities] will not exist.” (Participant 4).

Through these quotes, the participants illuminated that the ability of women to engage in income-producing occupations is not a taken-for-granted. Conversely, women spoke to an acute awareness of the power, respect and mobility such occupations can yield, such as providing financial means to leave an abusive partner, as well as risks that might be faced through such engagement. The findings highlight that women’s occupations are highly gendered and intersectional to womanhood. In the following section, each participant shared a personal experience they perceived to be inequitable, as well as how they navigated that situation through occupation.

5.4.3 Juzunguka ya usawa wa kijinsia kwa Kudai haki / Navigating Gender Inequities through Resistance

In this section, I continue on to discuss an example of how each participant navigated and resisted a situation they perceived as inequitable based on their gender, either as an individual or as a part of a collective.

Participant 1 is a 21-year old, single working woman who shared the difficulties navigating the gendered discourse of dating in Tanzanian society, including her experience of an attempted assault and how she has since transformed this negative experience into one of perceived decision-making power:

“I went to a man’s house and we just talked, but after that he started to force me into sex. I fought with him. I fought, and I fought, and I fought, until he let me go, so that is a time and a moment I cannot forget, but now I know I can agree or disagree. I can choose what I want by myself and not to be forced by someone else.” (Participant 1).

Participant 1 was aware of her right to execute autonomy over her body, but more than her awareness, this example illustrates her active resistance against her perpetrator’s attempts to force her into a non-consensual sexual interaction. Since this incident, she shared with me how she continues to passively circumscribe this gendered issue of sexual assault, by selectively concealing personal information such as where she lives, so as to avoid unwanted male visitors. Moreover, she also employs occupational choice according to the gendered occupations she perceives will curate the image of a ‘good woman’, such as abstaining from drinking alcohol and enacting faith-based occupations in her church. The decision to share or conceal information, and selectively engaging in ‘good’ occupations are a form of occupational resistance participant one has enacted to exert her autonomy in ways she perceives are protective.

Participant 2 is a wife without any children who does textile work called ‘*kudalizi vitambaa*’ from her home. As mentioned in the previous section, her husband does not allow her to work outside the home, and therefore she does not contribute to the household income, which she felt so strongly about that she expressed it as a loss of her personal freedom. When sharing about her husband restricting her engagement in paid employment, participant two stated:

“I guess what I can say is the thing which angered me, hurt me and took away my freedom was no longer being able to support myself financially. I had been able

to support my relatives and friends at least somewhat before [marriage].”
(Participant 2).

Participant 2 navigates this by designing and selling her textile work for friends and acquaintances from her living room while her husband is at work. While this could actually endanger her if her husband found out, this enables her to earn a small profit and provides her with a sense of fulfillment beyond her household occupations. Since participating in the study, she joined together with two of the other participants to create an informal savings group, where she receives a lump sum of money on a rotating basis to purchase her textile materials. Participant 2 therefore engages in both individual and collective occupational resistance in response to the inequities experienced within her marriage by engaging in her textile work while her husband is out of the house, and through creating a savings group with two of the other women.

Participant 3 is a widow and mother of six children, aged 5 to 14 years old. As explicated earlier in this chapter, widows experience particular challenges in Tanzanian society, including stigma and blame over their husbands' deaths, difficulties inheriting family assets and sociocultural expectations of remarriage. Participant 3 noted that she avoided many of these difficulties due to having knowledge of her rights, which influenced her to advocate for her name to be printed on the deeds to her and her late husband's land at the time they purchased it. When asked about land grabbing, participant 3 stated:

“I would stand up for myself because that plot of land we [her husband and her] bought together. It's not belonging to the clan. If the plot would belong to that clan, I would leave, but because this plot we bought together, I would stand up for myself.” (Participant 3).

Having knowledge of her rights therefore protected her from land grabbing after her husband passed away and thus enabled her to stay in her home and turn down unwanted marriage proposals. However, the transition to financially and emotionally supporting six children on her own remains a challenge:

“You have no help, nothing. That is the main challenge. You find yourself as a father and a mother. You have to know how to handle this child, and how to educate that child. How will I take care of the kids? How will I take care of myself? Because you are alone, you have to go for business every day; you are acting as a man, to find the basic needs for the children. It won’t be enough if you work less.” (Participant 3).

Prior to her husband’s death, participant 3 was not engaging in occupations which contributed to the household income. As she explains, participant 3 feels she must now act as ‘both a man and a woman’, engaging in gendered occupational roles traditionally ascribed to men as the head of the household and bread winner to financially support her children. She observed that other women were resisting challenges through engaging in entrepreneurial occupations to build up their homes and thus she felt that she too could ‘fight’ to raise her children and maintain her house despite being a widow and mother of six.

“Other women have been fighting by doing business, so you yourself are also are fighting to do business so you can build up a house. So, if you see others have started the foundation for a house, you will fight to do the same. So, others will put electricity and running water in their house and you will also fight to put the same in your house.” (Participant 3).

Through buying and selling small fish¹⁷, participant 3 is able to resist the inequities shaped by her widowhood to earn a daily income to support her family.

Participant 4 is a single mother of two small children, and an entrepreneur who independently runs a café and yoghurt kitchen. She described her relationship with God and prayer-based occupations as a means of resistance to the gender inequities within her

¹⁷ During the participatory occupation session with P3, I learned how to clean and dry small fish to prepare for them for daily sales. P3 shared that each morning she commutes to purchase the bucket of fish, which often leaks onto her (when she carries the bucket on her head), causing a strong fish odour. She shared that other people on the local bus, most commonly wealthy women, bully her due to the smell. This is an example where it is not just men who subjugate women, but wealthy women can subjugate poor women.

life. For example, when considering her options to leave her abusive marriage, participant four shared how God guided her:

“I fasted for 6 days so I could communicate with God. I asked ‘God, please give me a good decision that will never give me any pain and will not make me cry. I am in the war; we are fighting but I believe alone I won’t make it, and I am listening to you’. I didn’t want to share with my family, so I decided to share it with God. Thanks to him, he gave me the right answers and I said from now I will stand by myself. I got the decision to ‘let him go’ and I got the other decision to never go home to my parents. I will stand up with my kids because they are my family, they are my world. I am thankful I told him [husband] to leave me.”
(Participant 4).

Having later successfully navigated the legal system to win custody of her kids and receive an equal division of assets in her divorce, participant four is now an advocate for other women to raise awareness of women’s rights and intimate partner violence in Tanzania.

“Here at my business place, I don’t want to see any woman being abused in anyway, so I always shout and say, ‘you must know yourselves and you must know your rights!’. I always give techniques, even in front of the husbands. Women should like each other, help each other, and encourage each other. Women should raise our voices together. My war should be your war, and we should go to war together. Women can, women we can.” (Participant 4).

Participant 4 demonstrated ways she has both individually and collectively challenged gender inequities in her life through enacting faith-based occupations and leaving an abusive marriage, and in her community through advocacy and sharing her knowledge of women’s rights with other women.

Participant 5 is a single mother of three and grandmother of six. She works collectively within a small group of 5 ‘yogurt mamas’ where the women rotate days working in the kitchen space and share the monthly profits:

“I work in a group. At the end of the month, we pay each other from our group profits. Most of the time we earn an average of 40,000 tsh each, and also we get 2000 tsh if it’s your turn to be at the center”. When asked if the group is open for anyone to join, participant five replied: “This lady came from Shinyanga, she came with her own problems, so we trained her and gave her capital as a loan and she boils our milk in the center. She is slowly paying it back and now we are always her backup.” (Participant 5).

This highlights the collective nature of the women’s yogurt establishment and how together they support each other to navigate the contextual factors, such as poverty, which perpetuate gender inequities in their lives. Collective social enterprises, such as yogurt kitchens, provide a way for women to earn higher profits than they could on their own as an individual. As traditional banks will often not support female entrepreneurs through business loans, gaining capital to invest in a business venture such as a yogurt kitchen is nearly impossible for Tanzanian women. Participant 4, who also operates a yogurt kitchen further explained:

“Capital is a big problem! Most women will fail because of the capital. The yogurt capital is huge, and it is a challenge. When you have yoghurt production you must have a fridge, and a fridge is almost 400,000 tsh.” (Participant 4).

This collective form of resistance is also highlighted through women’s informal savings groups, which operate on a rotating basis where each month women pay an agreed upon amount into the group and the cumulative amount is delegated to one woman each month. For example, if 12 women each pay 10,000 tsh per month, then once a year each woman will receive a 120,000 tsh payout from the group in a lump sum to use as capital towards starting a business or building a home. These collective groups, formed through occupation, enable women to resist the gendered barriers they experience by collectively circumventing them.

“When I get a new woman who needs help from me, I always tell her ‘okay you are welcome, no problem’, but I always ask her, ‘can you work? Can you sell the yogurt?’. If she says yes, we come to an agreement that I will be giving her

yogurt, maybe 10 kg to sell, which can provide from 16,000-18,000 tsh but I tell her only bring 10,000 back. The rest of the money will be her income for that milk. After a while, she will gain the money, the capability, and the power.” (Participant 4).

Participant 4 illuminates an additional layer of collective resistance, where business women who are successful and financially powerful may mentor younger women, even assisting them financially. Through not ‘forgetting herself’ now that she is successful and acknowledging the older women who helped her years ago, participant 4 now takes in young, vulnerable women to live with her as apprentices in her yogurt business.

“They say, don’t reach somewhere and forget yourself. I thank God I was blessed, I know a lady Mama Joyce. She paid for almost everything [yogurt capital] for me, and another lady gave me the capital for the office, so I didn’t have any problems starting my business.” (Participant 4).

Through these examples of resistance, the women illuminated the ways they actively or passively resisted gender inequities as an individual or as part of a collective to reclaim their rights to own land, execute autonomy over their bodies and through personal decision making, leave an abusive relationship and gain financial security. This relates to the African philosophy of situationality, or rather how women’s interactions within their environment shift according to context, contingent on space, time or the particular people involved in a given interaction (Cruz, 2015; Nnaemeka, 2004). Situationality provides a philosophical framework to contextually explore how women individually and collectively navigate and resist particular sociopolitical barriers in context. It appears how women assessed and perceived a particular gendered issue subsequently determined how they navigated that issue. For example, whether a woman actively resisted an inequity or circumscribed it more passively in attempts to diffuse it, is determined based on the context the experience is situated in, as well as the intersectionalities and entanglements within her positionality, such as race, socioeconomic status, educational background, marital status and access to resources (Nnaemeka, 2004).

5.4.4 Maono ya Usawa wa Kinjinsia / Envisioning Gender Equity

The following section includes two themes which attempt to illustrate the participants' perspectives of transformation towards equity, both by explicating their vision of gender equity within their community and by collaboratively sharing ideas for what change is required to enable such visions. In the first theme, the participants discuss how contextual changes have gradually opened up new possibilities for women, such as access to education and occupation-based opportunities. The second theme illuminates the women's understandings and perceptions of what gender equity means to them and how it might be enacted within their relationships, families and communities.

5.4.4.1 Siku Hizi / Nowadays

The participants used the term “*nowadays*” to preface examples of how times have changed in a positive manner within present-day society, as compared to the oppression experienced by women within older generations. Through identifying the contextual changes which have gradually created new possibilities for women and girls within a vastly racist, patriarchal and neo-colonial society, the women are able to navigate persisting inequities by focusing on the positive change which has occurred. Participant five effectively captures this through sharing her experiences growing up as compared to her grandchildren's generation:

“For myself, I have my own family. I have both kids, female and male, and I also have female and male grandkids, but now they do work equally. Before the male kids would never be allowed to even wash the dishes, but that was long ago when I was growing up, nowadays things have changed and male and female kids can do the same things”. (Participant 5).

Furthermore, ‘*nowadays*’ also encompassed women's increased access to education, both formally, such as the opportunity to attend school and informally, such as sharing health or human rights information through conversation. While traditional forms of education were viewed as important by the women, as they often translate to more occupation-based opportunities to earn income, the women also identified that having knowledge of

human rights is also important, and that both formal and informal education are on the rise, in comparison to women from older days.

“Most women nowadays know themselves and they know what their rights are; once they know their rights they fight for them. For example, long ago a woman was not allowed to own land, but now women know that to own land is one of their rights.” (Participant 5).

“Now because of the education being provided, now we know what is abuse and what is not abuse. You cannot find a group of ten women without finding that maybe five or six of them have heard of women’s abuse, and in that group of ten women, there would be one woman that will know everything about abuse and that one woman will tell others and you find all of them now know the meaning of the abuse. Long ago, most women thought that was okay for them to be beaten by men, but nowadays being beaten by a man is one of the abuses.” (Participant 4).

Having an awareness of one’s rights did not necessarily translate to accessing them, but often shaped the ways in which the women navigated or negotiated their experiences of gender inequities. For example, the women collectively expressed that knowledge of the right to land ownership and the right to live free from violence was gradually increasing amongst women in Tanzania, often translating to their resistance to the structures existing as barriers to the enactment of these rights.

“Being in town has brought many changes among tribes, and those changes have brought positive opportunities to decrease the abuse of women. Before a Kurya woman would never be divorced from her husband. If you got married with 5 cows, you had a life marriage. You are not supposed to go back to your family home, so the government, your parents or any other person has no right to interfere with your marriage. Now because they have come to town and they have seen how [other] people live, nowadays those things have passed, and a Kurya woman can leave her husband and say no to the abuse. Before a Kurya woman would never say no. Even our Sukuma women were the same. A Sukuma woman

would never argue with a man, but nowadays things have changed.” (Participant 5).

“Nowadays we have this social media. I have a phone, I can read that I need to do this and this; things are open now, but in the village, women are mistreated for sure. They don’t have internet or any communications.” (Participant 1).

The women also collectively discussed amongst themselves how location, specifically being in an urban setting versus a rural area of Tanzania, has positively influenced gendered norms and increased women’s access to knowledge and possibilities. This includes a wider access to communications and technology, as identified by participant 1, with her mobile phone and social media platforms acting as means of informal education. In particular, she discussed how following a Tanzanian female activist on the Instagram platform who posts about women’s rights, has enabled her to learn more about the topic.

“It seems like nowadays we have chances. We have to work. Slowly, slowly we get opportunities. [...] Nowadays women are working, women are deciding, women are respected; not like before, back when she was not allowed to do anything” (Participant 1).

Additionally, the women noted in more recent times, contextual changes including increased access to informal and formal education have opened up occupation-based possibilities for women to earn income. Broadly, within this theme of ‘nowadays’, women situate their own experiences of gender inequities as ‘better than the olden days’ and more favourable than women in rural villages; through identifying and acknowledging contextual change that has occurred, they were able to identify factors which are or could contribute to gender equity, as continued upon below in the following section.

5.4.4.2 Usawa wa Kijinsia / Constructions of Equity

This theme of ‘constructions of equity’ explicates how the women described their understandings and perspectives of what gender equity means to them, as well as how

equity could be reached within their families and communities. For example, participant 1 shared her thoughts on gender equity:

“I would like women to be treated fairly. Women are supposed to be treated fairly, that they can decide what they want to do. [...] Maybe education is the thing that makes the change. Education is important. We have to educate women about their rights. That’s the big thing. We have to educate them, so they can be aware that this is my right as a woman. I think it must start with girls and then to women.”
(Participant 1).

Participant 2 shared:

“In my understanding, gender inequity can force someone to be under someone else and lack her rights because she is a woman. To remove this, we need education. Education will help us to understand that no work is special for anyone. In African society, we have work which deals with women only and the work and activities which deals with men only. If you are a man you can do this, if you are a wife you can do this. Especially to take care of children is for women only, so that Tanzanian or African men don’t even know how to care for children. So, if the people can get education they can identify there are no activities special for anyone, we can share, so as to reach gender equity.” (Participant 2).

Participant 3 felt that income-producing occupations are essential to enable a shift towards gender equity for girls and women:

“As you know, female teenagers if they don’t get their basic needs, you will find them in things that are not good, like prostitution. What is needed is more economic activity. If we get that balance and we also work and get equal money, then the gender inequity will not exist, especially for us who are not educated, we are always facing these gender inequities.” (Participant 3).

Participant 4 describes her beliefs that gender equity must start with women, recognizing their own inherent value and intrinsic self-worth first. She noted that sometimes when a woman experiences an inequity, she does not realize it is an infringement upon her rights:

“They don’t know. They are still living that life, even if they are being mistreated. They feel it’s okay, the man has a right to do so. If she is told not to go to work, she will say okay my husband said, so I’m not going. If she is told not to sell tomatoes, she will say no my husband doesn’t want me to sell tomatoes today. They don’t always realize the meaning of abuse”. (Participant 4).

Participant four continued on to share her beliefs of what equity is, including how she feels it should exist within a marriage.

“I believe all rights are equal and I would like all of us to live under our dreams and when we become a wife and husband, we should go for our dreams together. I think the value of a woman, is to escort the husband to reach his dreams and the value of a man is to escort the wife to reach her dreams. If we start to escort each other to reach our dreams, it’s easy even for our kids to be taught to reach and follow their dreams too.” (Participant 4).

Participant 5 shared her opinion on how equity must start within the community, noting for women to access their rights it will require a gendered solution which includes men, such as defined punishment for the perpetrators of abuse and community education for all.

“In my opinion, I think it’s good those non-government organizations should come and give us education according to women’s rights, or they could set up the rules and say if it happened that a woman comes here abused by a man, the man will be sued, so from there men will learn how to respect we women. If good education would be provided to men, for example these men from the church, even these pastors could gather them together and talk to them. Maybe they will change, and they will treat us nicely.” (Participant 5).

Participant 5 concluded by illuminating her own intrinsic strength and self-worth, suggesting that women may be aware of their value but equity cannot be reached until men respect their value too:

“We feel like we have no value in this world, but our value is very high, and these men have no idea that I have value, but myself, I know I have high value.”
(Participant 5).

5.5 Discussion

The four themes above illuminate the gendered nature of the violence, corruption and discrimination that the participants experience and navigate within a vastly racist, patriarchal and neo-colonial society. This section further unpacks the findings as they relate to the study’s primary research questions and gaps within the existing literature pertaining to gender inequities in Tanzania, concluding with implications for transformative decolonial work. In relating the findings to the study’s primary research questions, this research sought to answer the following questions: 1) How do Tanzanian women experience, perceive and navigate womanhood and gender inequities? 2) How do women’s occupations intersect with gender inequities?

5.5.1 How do Tanzanian women experience, perceive and navigate womanhood and gender inequities?

The quotes above illuminate the various ways women experienced gender inequities within their daily lives, both in their intimate relationships, families and the broader community. In order to better position how they understood these inequities, their perceptions of gender and womanhood within the dichotomous context of navigating traditional tribal customs and beliefs, and a neo-colonial contemporary society with racism and patriarchy required unpacking. Attending to the intersectionalities of gender inequities, such as socioeconomic status or race, deepened understandings of how these inequities are perceived, experienced and navigated by women in Tanzania.

For example, through observing the intersections of race and wealth in the field, I noted racism is perpetuated by pervasive coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2016). This colonial legacy

positions white foreigners as educated, wealthy and therefore powerful. Wealth¹⁸ itself is tied to coloniality and in Tanzania, a higher socioeconomic status correlates with access to ‘Westernized’ education (often outside of Africa), fluency in English and employment by internationally operated institutions. The distribution of resources in Tanzania, as a neo-colonial society, is shaped by pervasive colonial and imperial forces (Nkrumah, 1965). Poverty is therefore entangled with racism and patriarchy, shaping the experiences of Tanzanian women (Grosfoguel, 2016).

I personally noted racism and its entanglement with patriarchy and poverty when interacting with a male community leader who had previously ignored and cast away participant 5 when she approached him for help navigating abuse within her intimate relationship. During my field visit to her yogurt kitchen, this same male approached participant 5 and myself with formality and respect; she later explained to me that he only greeted her in such a way because I (a white woman) was her visitor. As the women noted in the member reflections session: when you are a woman and you are poor, you have no power. It is therefore evident that race and poverty are intersectional with patriarchy in a neo-colonial context.

The findings therefore suggest that patriarchy and racism in Tanzania are entangled with coloniality and illuminate how intersectionalities, ideologies and agendas remain strongly fixed within neo-colonial society, shaping factors underpinning gender inequities within Tanzanian women’s lives, such as racism (Berger, 2012; Grosfoguel, 2016; Nkrumah, 1965). These insights fill a significant gap within the existing literature on gender inequities in Tanzania (as presented within the scoping review in chapter two), as none of the 67 articles synthesized even mentioned coloniality. The historical and present-day impacts of colonialism, nor decolonial theory or decolonizing approaches to research in

¹⁸ I previously shared the slang Swahili word ‘mzungu’ translates to white person. While this is a descriptive word by nature, it can often be used in a derogatory way. When examining the wealth distribution as a colonial agenda that continues to favour Eurocentric whiteness, it is no wonder some Tanzanians view the mzungu with disdain. I observed the power dynamic within my interactions could be vast, as I was commonly approached by people off the street for money (and therefore I had the power to share my wealth or to turn someone away). The perception of white wealth and power was very real and in one extreme example I was asked to take a woman’s baby back to Canada.

Tanzania were included within the scholarship, indicating a need for the uptake of work which considers historical and sociopolitical context.

In addition to the above contributions, the participants shared knowledge which also advances understandings of how Tanzanian women themselves conceptualize gender inequities, challenging how it was previously framed as a universal concept within a Western knowledge paradigm. In order to unpack these understandings, intersectionalities were explored within the concepts of womanhood, including motherhood, tribal belonging and gendered occupation, illustrating the gendered nature of women's occupations and the potential for gender inequities to manifest through them, which is further discussed in the section below.

These complex intersectionalities of womanhood in Tanzania add to the existing literature by unpacking these concepts beyond a Western lens and situating them within the contextual factors which shape them. As presented in chapter two, the literature primarily focused on the ways women experienced and navigated gender inequities, but not how they actually understood them within the context of their own lives and knowledge systems. This dissertation ultimately demonstrated this gap and attempted to bridge it through a collaborative generation of new decolonized knowledge representative of local epistemology and language.

5.5.2 How do women's occupations intersect with gender inequities?

Women's occupations were both highly gendered and bound by sociocultural and political contexts, influencing which occupations are deemed appropriate or mandatory for women to engage in. While women explicated experiencing gender inequities through the engagement in certain occupations, they were also employed as methods of "negotiation and compromise between different constituencies" (Nnaemeka, 2004, p. 378). Occupations were therefore opportunities to navigate or resist gender inequities through acquiring power, respect or wealth. For example, mothering in Tanzania is uniquely situated to both reinforce gender inequities for single mothers or women without children, and to enable resistance of gender inequities for married mothers. Single

mothers who had never married or who had ended a marriage, widows and women who did not have children were marginalized within society, often discriminated or ‘cast away’, as explicated by the participants. However, married Mamas with children actually received more respect and value from their partners and community after transitioning to motherhood, enabling them to negotiate the patriarchy within their relationships, families and community in a different context by leveraging their higher position within society (Nnaemeka, 2004). For example, the women shared that a wife who had children was deemed more valuable by her husband and in-laws, and it was explained that the more ‘value’ a woman brought to her relationship, decreased her risk of husband abandonment and increased her ‘bargaining power’ to execute her autonomy within personal and family decision making. In this sense, motherhood and mothering occupations are both a means to resist gender inequities within relationships and society in Tanzania, yet also a means of experiencing gender inequities, depending on a woman’s positionality. This contributes to existing literature within the occupational science discipline on occupational resistance (Frank & Muriithi, 2015), illuminating the ways Tanzanian women navigate a deeply rooted social expectation to bear children.

Moreover, these insights also contribute to the existing occupational literature on mothering occupations, challenging inherent assumptions and universal understandings of the concept as it has been previously situated. For example, motherhood has often been positioned as an occupational role, as demonstrated by studies examining the occupational engagement of first time mothers (Horne et al., 2005) and of homeless adolescent mothers (Levin & Helfrich, 2016) and the co-occupational nature of mothering (Price & Miner Stephenson, 2009). However, inherent within these examinations is the assumption that motherhood is a distinct role versus a core aspect of being a woman. This is illuminated by Primeau’s (2000) work which positioned mothering as work alongside household chores, rather than as intersectional to womanhood. As explained by the women, motherhood is central to womanhood in Tanzania; to be a woman is to be a mother. This understanding challenges the static conceptualization of motherhood within occupational science, suggesting it is both intersectional and dynamic, while mothering occupations (or lack thereof) can be both a mode of resistance and oppression.

5.5.3 Transformative Implications through Decoloniality

Drawing on the decolonial analysis and interpretation of this study, coloniality continues to persist in Tanzanian society, perpetuating racism and patriarchy. These forces, among other cultural and sociopolitical factors, shape gender inequities women in Tanzania experience (Berger, 2016). This was evident through the participant's examples of racism and patriarchy, as well as the forms of racism and patriarchy I observed within the field, including through my own interactions. For example, participant 5 shared stories of assault from her ex-spouse, who continued to verbally abuse her following their separation through text messages. Participant 5 requested her male community leader to assist her in navigating these abusive messages, however he dismissed her several times. During my visit to her yogurt kitchen, this same community leader greeted her in formality, which she later expressed was only due to her having an 'important visitor' at her kitchen. This opened my eyes to the power this male community leader had in his community, enacting choice whether to help or dismiss community members, as well as my innate power as a white foreigner.

Broadly speaking, having discussions about the gender inequities women experienced also opened up space for them to talk about gender equity, both through envisioning an equitable future and explicating change-oriented ideas for how to actually enact equity within their relationships, families and community. They envisioned this shift would enable them (and all women) to access their rights to formal education and informal knowledge, to live free of violence and to engage in income-producing occupations, while still embracing their womanhood. For example, the idea of education as a means to address gender inequities arose within individual conversations and the collective member reflections, both through enhancing the possibilities for women and girls through their access to formal and informal education, but also for the education of men on women's rights. This emphasis on including males as part of the solution to gender inequities was also voiced by the director of MikonoYetu and arose through several informal conversations with other community members. Education is emphasized within many international development initiatives, framed by explicit goals by the United Nations' MDGs and SDGs (United Nations, 2015). However, previously these

educational approaches often only targeted females and were universalized, grounded within Western knowledge paradigms and the English languages. According to the women of this study, education holds the potential for change, however it begs the question of what would decolonial education look like, and how might it be enacted in ways that would not reinforce colonialism?

Al-Harden (2014) notes, “these questions should begin in dialogue with the participants of research, who ultimately have the final word, need to continue in the ‘after’ of the research” (p. 70). The above question therefore ties to the broader implications of this dissertation work, in both linking them to the “after” of research (Al-Harden, 2014), or rather how it impacts the study participants and the community. Beyond challenging Western knowledge paradigms and universal approaches to research, decolonial research must enact more than just knowledge diversification; it must encapsulate reconciliation, healing and the reclamation of women’s bodies, voices and power.

Healing cannot begin without identifying and targeting the sources of trauma and inequities (Ramugondo, 2018). Reconciliation and reclamation therefore requires settler peoples, including myself, to acknowledge past transgressions and undergo a series of ‘unlearnings and relearnings’; this process requires a commitment by settler peoples to allyship and the collaborative work of decolonizing societies and knowledge systems (Jaworsky, 2019; Lavallée, 2009). Allyship, in the context of health research it is described as “cultivating, building and strengthening relationships between two differing individuals, groups or communities based on respectful, meaningful and beneficial interactions” (Jaworsky, 2019, p.3; Heaslip, 2014). In order to support movement towards these visions, settler peoples must be invited to participate as allies; the work must therefore be context-specific, responsive and requires the continuous commitment by non-indigenous people to resist imperialism and colonialism, to respect indigenous values and beliefs, and to also consider the implications of their privilege (Jaworsky, 2019). This involves decolonial shifts to relinquish power and privilege; stepping back in recognition that transformation cannot be catalyzed by settlers. In this case, the women had already envisioned an equitable future and possibilities for transformation to enact gender equity within their lives and community. The decolonial approach merely created a space for

them to individually and collectively voice them, and a platform for their visions to be shared, as interpreted by them.

5.6 Limitations and future research

While decolonial approaches to research demonstrate potential for transformation, they must be carefully enacted, particularly so if the researcher is non-indigenous (Tobias et al., 2013). It is therefore worth transparently discussing the fact I am not a Tanzanian woman as an inherent limitation of the decolonial methodological approach explicated in this thesis work. While I have been transparent and explicit about my positionality as a white, educated, North American foreigner, the reality of this positionality within a neo-colonial context equated to inherent power imbalances between myself and the study participants, translators and community members. Moreover, juxtaposed to the values of reciprocity and respect centred within the decolonizing study design, my European ancestry also presented as problematic when considering the history of colonization in Tanzania, requiring me to continually reflect and work through the complexities of my very presence on Tanzanian land and my motives for doing this work. This was not a linear or simple process, but I attempted to navigate and diffuse these complex tensions through engaging in daily critical reflexive journaling, a daily mindfulness practice, drawing from the knowledge of the MikonoYetu organization and the participants of the study throughout the entire research process, and engaging in critical dialogues with the director of MikonoYetu. I also relied on decolonial theory and African philosophies to guide the emerging work and attempted to encourage a collaborative environment for my participants and translators to share and co-create new knowledge in alignment with their views and perspectives.

Additionally, this study was enacted in Swahili through the assistance of a local female field translator and a local female transcriptionist, while I learned the language in tandem. While the benefits of conducting the study in Swahili significantly outweighed the challenges and complexities of enacting research in my second language, it should be transparently noted that my limited proficiency in translation is also a limitation to this study.

Finally, it is worth reporting that while this study aimed to advance conceptualizations of gendered occupation through exploring diverse understandings of gender and gender inequities in Tanzania, this scholarship is only shaped by the perspectives of women. While emphasizing women's perspectives of gendered inequities in Tanzania was important to generate meaningful and contextually relevant data to fill the knowledge gaps explicated above, only focusing on women inherently implies that they are solely responsible to enact social change. Rather than positioning those subjugated in a stance where they must fight for equity, gender inequity is a gendered issue requiring not just women, but both men and women to engage in social transformation (Kanyamala, 2019, personal communication). Further research should therefore consider exploring the ways in which men's occupations shape and influence gender inequities. Incorporating the gendered occupational experiences of males and whether they perpetuate the gender inequities of women could additionally advance transformative occupation-based work through understanding perspectives from the lens of both genders as situated within the contextual factors shaping them, such as the enduring impacts of coloniality and how it continues to perpetuate racism and patriarchy.

5.7 Conclusion

This dissertation study aimed to advance and diversify conceptualizations of gendered occupation and gender equity within the discipline of occupational science and interdisciplinary spaces. More specifically, I sought to challenge universal assumptions within present explorations of gender and women's occupations through highlighting Tanzanian epistemological understandings of womanhood, constructions of gender inequities and conceptualizations of equity in context, as explicated by the women's own perceptions and conceptualizations. Guided by the seminal work of authors such as Tuhiwai Smith (1999), this study also aimed to challenge colonial and imperial understandings of occupation which have perpetuated othering distinctions for women of the majority world, whose lived experiences and knowledge systems are not currently well represented in occupation-based scholarship.

The main findings within this dissertation work were therefore situated within a neocolonial context, which broadly explored modern-day sociocultural and political

contexts in Tanzania, including patriarchy and racism. These findings included: 1) Uelewa wa Jinsia / Situated Understandings of Gender, 2) Dhana ya Uwanamk / Holistic Conceptualizations of Womanhood, 3) Juzunguka ya usawa wa kijinsia kwa kudai haki / Navigating Gender Inequities through Resistance, and 4) Maono ya Usawa wa Kinjinsia / Envisioning Gender Equity. In summary, these findings advance knowledge on gender inequities within the occupational science and international development sector, demonstrating the transformative potential of human occupation as conceptual terrain to explore the diverse ways women experience, resist and transform gender inequities. Future decolonizing scholarship is suggested to build upon this work to further explore how gender inequities are perpetuated through daily activity, such as research which examines the gendered occupation of males, as well as how occupation itself can be a vehicle for healing, reclamation, restoration and ultimately to catalyze gender equity.

5.8 References

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Chapter 6

6 Discussions and implications for gendered occupation-based scholarship

6.1 Introduction

Many scholars within the discipline of occupational science have acknowledged the importance of diversifying conceptualizations of occupation, as well as the epistemological understandings underpinning them (Farias, 2017; Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011). More recently, this call for diversification has led to scholarship which examines how socio-historical and political conditions, such as colonialism, shape occupation and further, how occupation itself can produce and perpetuate inequities (Angell, 2012; Farias, 2017; Ramugondo, 2018; Whalley Hammell, 2018). Along these lines, occupation-based scholarship with socially transformative objectives has taken up decolonial approaches to research, emerging through recent bilingual publications challenging Anglophonic dominance (Magalhães et al., 2019), and innovative work suggesting the healing potential of decoloniality, including the resistive, restorative and humanizing potential of occupation (Frank & Muriithi, 2015; Kronenberg et al., 2015; Ramugondo, 2015; Ramugondo, 2018). However, continuing to enact decoloniality within occupational science requires additional expansion to center the diverse knowledge and epistemic values which previously existed at the margins (Farias, 2017), as well as to create space for the sharing of power, healing and reclamation (Ramugondo, 2018).

Stimulated by increased attention to coloniality within occupation-based work (Ramugondo, 2018) and in response to the calls for diverse perspectives beyond those dominant in the West (Magalhães et al., 2019), this thesis work therefore aimed to advance diverse conceptualizations of gender, womanhood, gendered occupation and gender equity within occupational science, as explicated from the epistemic understandings of 5 Tanzanian women. The study ultimately attempted to generate decolonized knowledge in partnership with the MikonoYetu organization through the

uptake of a critical decolonizing ethnographic approach to exploring women's experiences of gender inequities through occupation in Tanzania.

This chapter concludes the dissertation with a summary of the integral findings and insights garnered from this critical decolonizing scholarship. In the sections which follow, I continue on to unpack the implications of this research for the discipline of occupational science, as well as the implications for interdisciplinary research spaces. Critical reflections are presented to highlight the research journey and project impact, followed by concluding remarks.

6.2 Key findings and insights

This thesis was written in an integrated manuscript format thus, each chapter builds upon the next to advance diverse epistemic understandings of gendered occupation and gender equity both within occupational science and other interdisciplinary work of relevance. More specifically, the objectives of this dissertation included:

- 1) To examine how gender equity has been approached through interdisciplinary research in Tanzania, in order to better frame how women experience, understand, and negotiate gender inequities.
- 2) To advance diverse understandings of gendered occupation, womanhood and gender inequities through exploring the occupational experiences of five women in Tanzania. Through this exploration, the aim was to work in partnership with a local organization to co-construct decolonial knowledge, illuminating the ways in which women perceive, navigate and resist gender inequities in Tanzania.
- 3) To argue for the necessity and transformative potential of decolonial approaches to research which identify and challenge colonial ideologies and agendas, as well as open up the potential for healing and reclamation.

The first manuscript (*Chapter two: Critically Mapping Research Addressing Gender Equity in Tanzania: Approaches, Gaps and Future Directions*) came to fruition through exploring two decades of interdisciplinary literature approaching gender equity and

inequity in Tanzania. Inspired by the critical push for expansive epistemological understandings of occupation in context, this critical scoping review was guided by decolonial theory and a critical occupational lens, to examine past research approaches which explored gendered issues in Tanzania to better understand how women perceived, understood and experienced them.

The central contribution of this first manuscript is its illumination of several problematic gaps within the literature synthesized, including limited approaches which integrated space for Tanzanian women's voices, culturally congruent methods and critical or occupational perspectives. Moreover, none of the 67 articles reviewed acknowledged colonialism or utilized a decolonial perspective to underpin their work in Tanzania. These gaps highlight the necessity of considering the historical, cultural and sociopolitical contexts of the research setting prior to engaging in research, and further justify the applicability of decolonial approaches to research in Tanzania.

In linking this final chapter to the findings from the above manuscript, the thesis work aimed to bridge the gaps illuminated by the critical scoping review and therefore advance diverse understandings of gender inequities and gendered occupation as situated in Tanzania. Through attempting to better understand how women perceived, experienced and navigated gender inequities via decolonial methods, this dissertation work created space for women to share their knowledge through oral and kinesthetic methods relevant to them within their own language. Moreover, including a focus on equity within the study also enabled the women to individually and collectively discuss their understandings of what equity means to them and share transformation-based ideas to enact meaningful and relevant change within their communities.

The second manuscript (*Chapter three: 'Africana Womanism': Implications for transformative scholarship in occupational science*) arose from the theoretical conceptualizations within my candidacy examination paper, which aimed to deconstruct the ways in which occupational science had previously conceptualized women's occupations. Pointing out the limited political positioning of gender and occupation, this manuscript introduced gendered occupation as conceptual terrain to situate women's

occupation within particular sociopolitical contexts. Moreover, it explicated the necessity of uptaking diverse epistemological understandings and theoretical frameworks which support the situatedness of gendered occupation beyond the West. The manuscript continues on to describe the transformative potential of Africana Womanism (Hudson-weems, 2001; Hudson-weems, 2004) as a conceptual framework to enact diverse understandings of women's occupations, both advancing conceptualizations of gendered occupation and the contextually situated factors which perpetuate gender inequities. Ultimately, this chapter suggests the African philosophies of holism, collectivity and situationality, as guides for the intersectional understandings of womanhood and women's occupational enactment, as well as advance explorations of the ways in which occupation is a means of restoration from and resistance to gender inequities.

The third manuscript (*Chapter four: Decolonizing research for transformation: A critical decolonizing ethnographic approach*) builds upon the work of southern occupational scientists, whom argue for the potential of decolonial approaches to diversify, heal and transform (Magalhães et al., 2019; Ramugondo, 2018). This chapter examines decolonial approaches to research as one way to enact transformative occupation-based scholarship through explicating the central tenets of decolonizing theory and highlighting examples from the enactment of this thesis work in Tanzania. The examples illuminate how decolonial methods were collaboratively employed in the field, while also sharing tensions that arose and how they were navigated. This chapter contributes important insights into how occupation-based work can enable healing and transformation through decolonial scholarship.

The fourth manuscript (*Chapter five: Exploring Women's Experiences and Understandings of Gender Inequities: A Critical Decolonizing Ethnography in Tanzania*) presents the findings of this thesis work as situated within the historical, sociocultural and political contexts of Tanzania. In line with the decolonizing methodology of this work, the findings are situated in relation to present-day manifestations of coloniality, including how patriarchy and racism shape gender inequities. Through exploring the gendered nature of occupation as conceptual terrain to explore women's experiences of gender inequities in Tanzania, this chapter contributes important understandings of how five

women perceived, experienced and navigated their womanhood and gender inequities within their relationships, families and communities.

This chapter, the fifth and final manuscript (*Chapter six: Discussions and Implications for transformative occupation-based scholarship*) discusses the broader implications of the dissertation as a whole for both occupational science and interdisciplinary research spaces, including recommendations for future directions. It also shares my personal development and reflexive insights gained throughout this research journey. In totality, this body of work contributes important understandings of the holistic, collective and situated nature of womanhood and gender inequities in Tanzania, illustrating occupation as a vehicle to explore the gendered nature of women's daily activities and experiences. Moreover, this dissertation work illuminates the ways Tanzanian women navigated gender inequities, advancing understandings of gendered occupation and gender equity within the discipline of occupational science. These findings directly implicate the global health and international development sectors, both of which have heavily targeted Tanzanian women within research and development initiatives since the 2000 United Nations' Millennium Development Agenda. These findings respond to United Nations' 2015 Sustainable Development Goals, specifically goal 5 pertaining to gender equality, and bridge several gaps within two decades of interdisciplinary research exploring gender equity in Tanzania (United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015). These implications are further unpacked below.

6.3 Implications of this dissertation scholarship

In linking this chapter to the rest of the dissertation, this section will discuss the broader implications of this critical decolonizing work within interdisciplinary professions and critical qualitative inquiry, as well as how occupational scientists can enact transformative occupation-based scholarship within gender equity research. The central mission of decolonial research is to identify and challenge colonial ideologies within dominant knowledge structures and academic institutions, to acknowledge the ways in which indigenous ontologies and knowledge forms have been colonized through these agendas and to prevent the perpetuation of imperialist agendas within knowledge

construction (Mutua and Swadener, 2004; Ndimande, 2012; Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1986; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

With this in mind, through this dissertation I aimed to challenge coloniality existing within 'Westernized' approaches to occupational science scholarship, building upon the critical work which has illuminated hegemonic and imperialistic epistemological assumptions within dominant disciplinary discourse (Whalley-Hammell, 2018). Aligning with calls for the necessity of diversity and epistemological expansion, my dissertation unpacked the gendered nature of occupation and how inequities are interlinked with gender and the broader historical, sociocultural and political contexts. Through taking up a more critical and decolonial approach to advancing understandings of women's occupations, this work aimed to conceptualize gendered occupation and gender inequities within occupation-based work, suggesting further transformative implications for occupational science work exploring gender. These implications are explicated below in relation to the themes which emerged in the critical decolonizing ethnographic project.

6.3.1 Implications for occupational science

Within occupation-based scholarship, this critical decolonial dissertation work challenges Western assumptions underpinning conceptualizations of gender, womanhood and gender equity, ultimately shaping understandings of occupation. An example exists in chapter 3, where I argued existing literature on gender within occupational science has been enacted from a Western worldview and privileged positionality, often failing to situate gender within the power constructs and sociopolitical contexts shaping and perpetuating gender inequities (Huff et al., 2018). Gendered occupation was therefore conceptualized as a terminology to encompass the politicized and power-rooted nature of occupation (Huff et al., 2018). This concept argues occupation is highly gendered, bound by sociocultural and political contexts which shape constructions of gender norms and attitudes, including those which perpetuate gender inequities (Huff et al., 2018). Gendered occupation therefore offers new conceptual terrain to explore the ways in which human occupation intersects with gender in context, as well as how occupation is situated within systems which enact oppression, such as coloniality, racism and patriarchy.

Although human rights perspectives have been previously explored in occupational science (Frank, 2012; Hammell, 2008) and occupation itself has been conceptualized as a right (WFOT, 2019), existing disciplinary literature which specifically addresses gender inequities through occupation is lacking. Without alternative perspectives which attend to critical issues of power and the historical and sociopolitical contexts shaping inequities, occupational scientists cannot capture the complexities of gendered occupation, or produce knowledge that appropriately represents the realities of all women, including the diverse ways in which women experience, negotiate and resist oppression (Huff et al., 2018). This thesis work therefore has important implications for the discipline's evolution into gender equity research globally, illuminating how a critical occupational perspective is uniquely positioned to examine the situated nature of gender inequities within women's everyday lives, or rather the ways in which occupation can be both a source of gendered oppression and a means to navigate such oppression.

Additionally, this dissertation relates to the work of Frank and Muriithi's (2015) occupational reconstructions theory as a framework to situate the concept of gendered occupation within the context of occupational resistance to gender inequities. An 'occupational reconstruction' is defined as "what people do to remake ordinary life in response to a problematic situation" (Frank & Muriithi, 2015, p. 11). The authors use examples of racial injustices throughout history, including the American civil rights movement and the South African apartheid to highlight how collective occupation enacted in response to an injustice can actually transform it (Frank & Muriithi, 2015).

Along these lines, this dissertation examined how Tanzanian women navigate gender inequities, rooted in wider colonial, patriarchal and racial oppression. From this perspective, occupational reconstructions can be utilized to advance understandings of how gender inequities are resisted, through passive or active means, to enact social transformation. Occupational reconstructions therefore open up space for individuals and groups to not only challenge their situation, but to envision and enact change, offering a way forward to examine the ways in which occupation can be healing (Frank & Muriithi, 2015). This scholarship therefore builds upon occupational reconstructions, by applying it to how the participants of this study, individually and collectively, resisted the gender

inequities they experienced and how they envisioned equity. The women within this study shared what gender equity meant to them and how it might be enacted within their relationships, families and communities, illuminating the healing potential of occupations and the utility of occupational reconstructions as a mode of transforming an inequitable experience into one of possibility.

However, prior to attempting to enact such transformation, occupational scientists must first acknowledge and interrogate the historical and present-day sociopolitical contexts of the environment in which occupations are situated in, including the pervasive coloniality embedded within many parts of the world. From a decolonial perspective, this research therefore sought to contribute to the emerging literature within occupational science which acknowledges and challenges coloniality. Through a partnership with Mikono Yetu, this work generated decolonized knowledge of the meaning and embodiment of being a woman in Tanzania, as well as what constitutes as an inequitable experience and the ways in which occupational enactment aligned with the resistance of such experiences. Moreover, engaging in individual and collective dialogue pertaining to gender inequities created space for women to share contextually relevant and meaningful visions of equity, such as equal economic opportunities and more equitable distribution of household tasks, as well as change-oriented ideas to enact such possibilities, such as community-wide education on the rights of women and girls.

This connects to the healing potential of decolonial occupation-based work, by which the participants demonstrated how the passive and active resistance to colonial forces, such as racism and patriarchy, translated to reclamation (including the reclamation of their rights, their language, their bodies and their voices). The healing potential of such resistance was evident through the repositioning of inequitable experiences into strategies to actualize change, such as resisting gender-based violence by leaving an abusive partner, or through engaging in healing occupations as a means of transformation, such as enacting faith-based occupation or joining a collective savings group to gain business capital. In this sense, occupations are not only a way to challenge gender inequities in Tanzania, but a way to heal from them too.

6.3.2 Implications for interdisciplinary professions

Through critically attending to the underlying assumptions embedded within existing gender frameworks, this work contributed to unpacking how Western knowledge systems have influenced the ways international development and global health sectors frame gendered issues and subsequent research approaches in Tanzania. For example, in chapter two I argued the United Nation's 2000 Millennium Declaration was rooted in an 'equality' framework which employed a gender comparative approach, while the 2015 Sustainable Development Agenda has shifted to more of an equity framework which recognized power constructs, while continuing to use equality language (United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015). Through implementing an equity approach within this decolonial dissertation work, it aimed to illumine the power structures within women's historical, sociocultural and political contexts, such as coloniality. This has important implications for international development and research institutions which continue to use equality language and frameworks, which I argue do not actually examine underpinning contextual factors gender inequities are rooted in. Conversely, this thesis demonstrates that when equity perspectives are enacted through a critical and decolonial approach, the potential for transformation exists through the generation of indigenous knowledge and creating space for healing and reclamation.

This links to the implications this thesis work has for the actual ways in which interdisciplinary gendered research is enacted in Tanzania. I argue for critical, decolonial and culturally relevant approaches which create space for Tanzanian women's voices. The central tenets of decolonial theory, as described in detail in chapter 4, can guide researchers to design studies in collaboration with local peoples and communities to ensure objectives and projected impact are relevant and meaningful. Moreover, the entire enactment of research should be collaborative, from participant recruitment to knowledge dissemination, attempting to create space for partners and participants to enact power over the knowledge production process within their own language and epistemology, through methods which are culturally appropriate (Tobias et al., 2013). Ultimately, this dissertation argues for the necessity of decolonizing approaches to interdisciplinary work within neocolonial settings to both interrogate and combat coloniality, including

pervasive patriarchy and racism in Tanzania today, and to create space for healing, reclamation and transformation.

6.4 Reflexive insights

It appears many people talk about a personal ‘transformation’ after a trip to the continent of Africa, however so often this is merely due to their awakening to their own power and privilege, or from more shallow observations of poverty and inequities that inherently position the visitor’s life circumstances as ‘better off’. Local people and communities are all too often used as props within photos to validate the white saviour, as I witnessed from foreign volunteers and students who came and left during my year in Tanzania.

In light of my own positionality as a white North-American woman, I aim to avoid perpetuating this by situating my reflection around my research journey and the process of actually engaging in this decolonial work. I do want to transparently note that all journeys start somewhere, and mine originated in the above category during my first visit to Tanzania in 2016, something I am ashamed and embarrassed of. However, it is through sitting with these uncomfortable feelings, not avoiding or defending them, that true growth begins. For me, the process of engaging in critical decolonial research involved a series of humble learnings (or rather of unlearnings and relearnings) and a commitment to the work day by day. This involved realizing that listening to and learning from BIPOC (black/indigenous/people of color) is of the utmost importance, but also recognizing that it is not their responsibility to teach. This is therefore a path that I continue to walk and am committed to remain on as an ally to BIPOC. I am committed to decolonial work regardless of the research setting and will continue to advocate for decoloniality within knowledge and society.

The research journey had its highs and lows. Within a neocolonial context, I often perceived my whiteness was met with a collective hatred. I commonly experienced bullying and harassment by local people in public spaces, and yet I still held an inherent power over the instigators. It was complicated and uncomfortable and disheartening; a massive serving of humble pie and an experiential learning I would otherwise never understand. Juxtaposed to these jarring situations, I also experienced sisterhood; a

solidarity among women that does not exist in the same capacity within my own culture. When speaking to another woman, the language itself displays this, as ‘dada’ or sister, is always used. More than this, it was the actual feeling of being family with my two local translators and research participants that moved me; I realized this is the difference from Westernized research, where participants are often situated as anonymous and researchers are taught to remain neutral (Datta, 2018). In my study, my participants genuinely became *dadas* and their compassion and care for me, regardless of my positionality, illuminated just how important relationship building was within the process of decolonial research. I believe my commitment to learning the Swahili language and culture was a strong foundation for trust and compassion within these relationships to grow.

So, did I achieve what I set out to? If you consider my initial altruistic motives three years ago when first piecing together this dissertation, then no, because I did not personally help or empower anyone (nor do I now believe power is a tangible entity any person can provide another). The women in my study were incredibly resourceful, strong, intelligent, considerate, generous and compassionate; they didn’t need my help. Did I achieve the collaborative research aims and objectives for the project? Yes, I believe I did. Through the established partnership with the MikonoYetu organization, I sought to understand how Tanzanian women perceived, experienced and navigated their womanhood and gender inequities in context. Through the relationships built and the approach enacted, the study created space for the participants to share these understandings through methods that were relevant to them in their own language.

When reflecting on the impact of this study, the women shared positive feedback at the individual level as a result of connecting with one another to collectively share their experiences and knowledge; the study created space for them to meet and talk, illuminating the power of the collaborative data interpretation method enacted. Two of the women had prior involvement with MikonoYetu and therefore already had strong knowledge of their rights; they were already engaged in leadership roles through advocating for other women in their community and their willingness to share their knowledge positively impacted the group. Following the completion of the study and my departure from Tanzania, I have since heard from the youngest woman that she ended an

abusive relationship, while two of the others have since linked up to create a collective savings group with the field translator. Tangible benefits for the partner organization remain to be seen as the dissemination phase of this work has only just begun. However, through sharing the project's results with MikonoYetu via an agreed upon report, we aim to advance their success with future grant applications to expand their work into more rural areas in Tanzania.

6.5 Methodological insights

6.5.1 Quality criteria

Part of decolonizing research is respecting and centring Indigenous knowledge and acknowledging its value within scientific and academic spaces (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). However, Indigenous scholars have pointed out that “the rules of the academy and of research do not always allow Indigenous research frameworks to flourish” (Lavallée, 2009, p. 16). Evaluating the quality of research is one such example, where critiquing scholarship which presents indigenous knowledge and perspectives with universal markers of quality can reproduce coloniality (Lavallée, 2009).

As I am not an Indigenous researcher and my worldview is encompassed within Western ontology and epistemology, this work did not implement an indigenous research framework. Rather, a critical occupational lens was used to guide the enactment of the decolonial ethnographic methodology. This approach did however, attempt to engage with Indigenous ways knowing in Tanzania, through decolonial methods that are inherently aligned with an indigenous framework. Assessing the quality of such work, therefore requires careful consideration to avoid neo-colonizing the indigenous perspectives presented. I therefore argue that quality criteria used to evaluate decolonial research must be also be decolonial, with particular caution if the evaluators are of settler descent.

Gordon and Patterson (2013) adapted Tracy's (2010) eight criteria (worthy topic, rich rigor, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethics, and meaningful coherence) for evaluating qualitative research to ameliorate the universality of such criterion through incorporating a 'caring womanist framework', foregrounding ethics as

an overarching guide rather than stand-alone quality criteria. I therefore propose a similar approach when assessing this work, instead using the Africana womanist framework (Hudson-weems, 2001) and the guiding African philosophies of holism, collectivity and situationality (Cruz, 2015) explicated in chapter 3, as foregrounding guides of quality for this dissertation work.

Holism would support readers to consider how womanhood and the gendered issues within this scholarship were explored, including whether they were positioned as intersectional and appropriately examined beyond a Western viewpoint. It also involves considering the degree I examined my own positionality and demonstrated transparency and reflexive strategies to navigate my own power and privilege. Collectivity would entail examining whether the study and findings were positioned from a relational perspective, and the degree the study created space for interdependence and collaboration with participants, partners and their community; ultimately this requires assessing if I enacted responsibility, respect and humility throughout the study (Gordon & Patterson, 2013). Finally, situationality offers examiners a tool to consider how the decolonial approach was executed within a colonial setting, including whether research methods were decolonial and therefore congruent with the methodology. It also considers how I situated findings within historical, sociocultural and political factors, and whether findings demonstrate the ways in which participants and partners themselves are situated within their environment and epistemology. Ultimately it is up to the reader to assess the quality of this work, however these criteria may be helpful to as a guide when evaluating indigenous knowledge within a Westernized academic setting.

6.6 Future directions

The manuscripts collectively forming this critical dissertation work suggest several future directions for transformative occupation-based work. The following directions are presented as a dialogue and are therefore a starting point to present how this work connects to the possibilities for future research, both in occupational science and interdisciplinary research.

6.6.1 Recommendations for further occupation-based research

Gendered occupation within occupational science is suggested as one strategy to further align the discipline with a human rights framework and within interdisciplinary research spaces engaged in gendered work. Since gender equality has been a focus of the United Nations since the 2000 Millennium Declaration and more recently the 2015 Sustainable Development Agenda, the unique occupational perspective can and should contribute to this global movement (United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015). Gendered occupation is suggested as conceptual terrain to examine the gendered nature of human occupation, including the ways occupation perpetuates gender inequities or enacts restoration from such inequities. This also extends to future occupation-based work surrounding the ways occupation can be both restorative and oppressive. Moreover, occupational reconstruction theory can be built upon to further explore the healing potential of occupation, or rather how gender inequities are ameliorated through transformation and how visions of equity can be actualized. Future research on the restorative nature of occupation, including its humanizing and healing potential, are therefore suggested.

Additionally, critical and decolonial research which creates space for participants' voices and employs culturally appropriate methods is paramount (as argued for in chapter 2). The participatory occupation data collection method (Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2015) enacted within this thesis work was one way this study created space for participants to share knowledge in ways that were relevant to them within the context of their everyday lives, such as drying fish to sell and sewing Swahili fabrics. Additionally, oral methods such as storytelling, offers power sharing between participants and researchers, where participants have space to share the lived experiences and stories that they feel are important (Kovach, 2009). Tribal storytelling was therefore enacted as a way to center tribal knowledge and provide space for participants to share epistemic understandings rooted in ancestry, traditions and customs (Kovach, 2009). It is recommended that culturally appropriate methods which create space for participants to share power and knowledge through multiple formats are considered when taking up decolonial approaches within future occupation-based work.

6.6.2 Recommendations for further interdisciplinary research

In addition to the perspectives above, which align more specifically to occupational science, I do recommend two directions for future interdisciplinary research which builds upon the contributions of this dissertation, as well as the UN SDGs (United Nations Sustainable Development, 2015). First, critical scholarship which continues to push decoloniality, challenging colonial ideology and agendas within knowledge and societies is recommended for future research in all disciplines, both in the West and globally. Future decolonial research should continue to engage with women's understandings of their rights and build upon their visions of gender equity, including women's ideas for equitable social change through collaborative, community-based initiatives. Such community-based work could build upon the knowledge generated in this study, as well as that of other decolonial scholars, translating research into action with the partners and participants situated as the primary agents of change. Moreover, such work could more deeply interrogate historical dynamics of coloniality and implications for the perpetuation of present day inequities, ensuring attention to the 'roots' of problematics when addressing social change.

Additionally, after collaborative conversations with both the participants and the partner organization of this study, I suggest further research which examines the perspectives of males. Future engagement with men was specifically noted by the MikonoYetu organization and the participants, who expressed that they themselves were aware of their rights but acquiring those rights is difficult if men are not aware of them. This suggests research examining gender inequities from the perspectives of males, as well as community-focused approaches which engage both genders, as well as those who exist outside the traditional gender binary, are required to encapsulate diverse understandings of the entire issue in order to better frame contextually relevant solutions.

6.7 Concluding remarks

This critical dissertation contributes to the emerging movement seeking to challenge coloniality in occupation-based work. It is therefore vital to continue this dialogue relating to the uptake of decolonizing theories and approaches to research, both in

occupational science and in interdisciplinary spaces, in order to elucidate transformative work and mobilize occupation in ways which align with socially just agendas, such as gender equity. This scholarship therefore argues key epistemological, theoretical, methodological and pragmatic issues and contributes new understandings to the epistemological expansion of occupation.

The overall intention of this critical decolonial scholarship was to advance epistemic understandings of gendered occupation and gender inequities, as perceived, experienced and navigated by women in Tanzania. I therefore believe this work generates a foundation for the further examination of gender equity within diverse contexts and epistemologies, such as the ways in which particular historical and sociopolitical factors influence women's occupational engagement and how occupation is a mode of both restoration from and resistance to gender inequities. This work therefore has the potential to direct further critical and decolonial work enacting transformative, action-oriented research aiming towards gender equity and the advancement of the United Nation's SDGs in Tanzania.

6.8 References

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Tables

Table 1

Table 1: Reproductive Health Articles Aligning with the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015)

* Indicates data collection occurred before 2015

AUTHOR(S)	YEAR	TITLE
RICHEY	2004	Construction, Control and Family Planning in Tanzania: Some Bodies the Same and Some Bodies Different.
RASCH AND LYARUU	2005	Unsafe Abortion in Tanzania and the Need for Involving Men in Post-Abortion Contraceptive Counseling.
PEMBE ET AL.	2008	Qualitative Study on Maternal Referrals in Rural Tanzania: Decision Making and Acceptance of Referral Advice.
HAWS ET AL.	2010	How Rural Tanzanian Women's Experiences of Pregnancy Loss and Early Neonatal Death May Impact Survey Data Quality.
MSELLE ET AL.	2011	'I am Nothing': Experiences of Loss Among Women Suffering from Severe Birth Injuries in Tanzania.
WAMOYI ET AL.	2011	'Women's Bodies are Shops': Beliefs about Transactional Sex and Implications for Understanding Gender Power and HIV Prevention in Tanzania.
NANDA ET AL.	2013	The Influence of Gender Attitudes on Contraceptive use in Tanzania.
KENNEDY ET AL.	2014	Exploring the Potential of a Conditional Cash Transfer Intervention to Reduce HIV Risk Among Young Women in Iringa, Tanzania.
AGNAROSN ET AL.	2015	Female-Driven Multiple Concurrent Sexual Partnership Systems in a Rural Part of Southern Tanzanian Province.
DEANE AND WAMOYI	2015	Revisiting the Economics of Transactional Sex: Evidence from Tanzania.
FELDHAUS ET AL.	2015	Equally Able, but Unequally Accepted: Gender Differentials and Experiences of Community Health Volunteers Promoting Maternal, Newborn, and Child Health in Morogoro Region, Tanzania.
WESTENENG AND D'EXELLE	2015	How Economic Empowerment Reduces Women's Reproductive Health Vulnerability in Tanzania.
MILTENBURG ET AL.	2016	* Maternity Care and Human Rights: What do Women think?
MSELLE AND KOHI	2016	* Healthcare Access and Quality of Birth Care: Narratives of Women Living with Obstetric Fistula in Rural Tanzania.
COOPER ET AL.	2017	* Female Sex Workers Use Power Over Their Day-to-Day Lives to Meet the Condition of a Conditional Cash Transfer Intervention to Incentivize Safe Sex.
FOGLIATI ET AL.	2017	* A New Use for an Old Tool: Maternity Waiting Homes to Improve Equity in Rural Childbirth Care.
HANSON ET AL.	2017	* Access to Maternal Health Services: Geographical Inequalities, United Republic of Tanzania.
PEMBE ET AL.	2017	* Why do Women Not Adhere to Advice on Maternal Referral in Rural Tanzania? Narratives of Women and Their Family Members.
WESTENENG AND D'EXELLE	2017	* Reproductive Health and Bodily Integrity in Tanzania.
MTENGA ET AL.	2018	* Linking Gender, Extramarital Affairs and HIV: A Mixed Methods Study on Contextual Determinants of Extramarital Affairs in Rural Tanzania.

Appendices

Appendix A

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board Approval



Date: 31 August 2018

To: Dr. Debbie Rudman

Project ID: 112151

Study Title: Understanding Gender Inequity through Occupation: A Critical Decolonizing Ethnographic Exploration of Gendered Occupation in Tanzania

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Full Board

Meeting Date: 06/Jul/2018 12:30

Date Approval Issued: 31/Aug/2018 11:08

REB Approval Expiry Date: 31/Aug/2019

Dear Dr. Debbie Rudman

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Confidentiality Agreement	Additional Consent Documents		
Mwanza Resources for Women	Additional REB Document	15/Aug/2018	1
Stephanie Huff's prospectus proposal- final copy	Protocol		
Western REB - LOI and Consent	Written Consent/Assent	24/Aug/2018	3
Western REB - Non-participant Observation Guide	Non-Participant Observation Guide		
Western REB - Participant Observation Guide	Participant Observation Guide		
Western REB - Recruitment poster	Recruitment Materials	12/Jul/2018	2
Western REB - Research Questions	Interview Guide		

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 0000094|.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Katelyn Harris, Research Ethics Officer on behalf of Dr. Randal Graham, NMREB Chair

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system that is compliant with all regulations).

Appendix C

Recruitment flyer

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR RESEARCH ON GENDER EQUITY

We are looking for female volunteers to take part in a study on of experiences of gender inequities who meet the following criteria:

- Woman aged 18-65
- Identifies as having experienced gender inequity
- Interested in sharing her story and in creating positive change

If you are interested and agree to participate you would be asked to participate in 2 interviews, 1 activity session and 1 group interview over the course of one year.

Each session will last approximately 60 minutes.

In appreciation for your time, you will receive
10,000 Tsh per session

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study,
please contact:

Stephanie Huff

Appendix D

Swahili version of recruitment flyer

TUNAHITAJI WASHIRIKI KWA UTAFITI KUHUSU USAWA WA KIJINSIA

Tunatafuta wanawake kujitolea kushiriki katika uchunguzi juu ya uzoefu wao wa kutokuwepo usawa wa kijinsia:

- Wanawake wenye miaka 18-65
- Wao wanaosema wamefanyiwa ubaguzi wa kijinsia/wametendewa vibaya kutokana na jinsia yao
- Wao wanaotamani kusimulia visa vyao ili kuendesha mabadiliko chanya katika jamii

Ukitaka na ukiamua kujiunga nasi ungetakiwa kushiriki katika mahojiano mawili, kipindi kimoja cha kitendo/shughuli, na mahojiano moja ya kundi katika mwaka moja.

Kila kipindi kitadumu takriban dakika 60.

Kuonyesha shukrani zetu utapewa 10,000 TSH baada ya kila kipindi.

Kwa taarifa zaidi kuhusu uchunguzi huu au kujitolea kwa huo umpigie simu:

Stephanie Huff

Appendix E

Letter of information and consent form

Letter of Information and Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Study Title:

Understanding Gender Inequity through Occupation: A Critical Decolonizing
Ethnographic Exploration of Gendered Occupation in Tanzania

Principal Investigators:

Stephanie Huff

PhD Candidate, Health and Rehabilitation Sciences, Occupational Science Field
University of Western Ontario

Dr. Debbie Laliberte Rudman

Professor, School of Occupational Therapy and Occupational Science Field
University of Western Ontario

Partner Organization:

Mikono Yetu Centre4Creativity and Innovation
Mwanza, Tanzania

You are invited to volunteer in research from August 2018 - May 2019 in partnership with Mikono Yetu, which focuses on understanding how women's daily activities in Tanzania are influenced by gender and gender inequities. The goal of this study is to understand how being a women influences daily activities, if women face barriers to doing what they want and need to do because of their gender, and how women respond when facing such barriers.

This study is based on the premise that gender equity is a fundamental human right. The United Nations' 2015 World's Women Report documented the many ways women face discrimination, harmful practices and restricted access to activities around the world, such as education or political participation. To address these issues, it is important to understand how they are experienced by women in particular contexts, such as in Tanzania, and how Tanzanian women deal with such inequities.

The purpose of this letter is to provide information that you need to make an informed decision about participating in this study.

What will I have to do if I choose to take part?

You will be asked to take part in three sessions to help us collect data, and a fourth session to help us interpret the data.

1. The first session will be a semi-structured interview, held at an agreed upon time and place in either English or Swahili, and audio-recorded with your permission. If you choose to participate in Swahili, a translator will be present. This session will last approximately 60 minutes and will involve asking you some general questions about your daily life and experiences as a woman. At the end you will be invited to schedule an activity session.
2. For the activity session, you will be asked to pick an activity that you are willing to have the researcher observe or do with you. This session will help the researcher understand how you do this activity in your environment. If you do not want to participate in an activity session with the researcher, an interview can be arranged instead.
3. The third session will be a final interview, with new questions that will be developed after the first two sessions. Again, this will be held at a time and place of your choosing in either English or Swahili, and audio-recorded with your permission. Again, a translator will be present if you choose Swahili as your preferred language.
4. Towards the end of the study, you will be asked to participate in a group meeting to review how the researchers are understanding and interpreting what women in

the study have shared. The purpose is to ensure we have understood all information in ways that make sense to the women who participated. This meeting would involve all participants, the researcher and members of the Mikono Yetu team. Please be advised that although the researchers will take every precaution to maintain confidentiality of the data, the nature of this session prevents researchers from guaranteeing confidentiality. The researchers will remind participants to respect the privacy of your fellow participants and not repeat what is said in the group session to others. If you do not wish to be involved in a collective meeting to preserve your confidentiality, an individual interview will be arranged.

When the study is complete, the results will be available to you. If you would like to be contacted in order to receive the study results or a copy of your interview audio-recordings (if you have consented to this), we ask that you indicate permission to maintain your contact information.

For your participation in this research study, you will receive 10,000 Tsh for each session you participate in. If you are able to participate in all 4 sessions, you will receive a total of 40,000 Tsh. Your transportation costs to and from each session will be reimbursed.

Are there any risks or discomforts?

There are no known risks associated with taking part in this research. You are free to choose what you discuss and what activity will be observed.

You may be concerned that the information you share about your experiences could get back to people in your community and harm your reputation, or that not participating in this study could prevent you from receiving services from Mikono Yetu. This study is not linked to the services offered at Mikono Yetu and your name and contact information will not be shared with Mikono Yetu. Your identity as a study participant will be kept confidential, and you will have control over when and where data collection occurs. The translator involved will sign a confidentiality agreement to protect your identity and the information you share. Within any publications and presentations that result from this study, your name will never be used; data included will only be connected to a pseudonym. While this study is not intended to cause you emotional distress, the topic of

the study might be sensitive or trigger a past traumatic event; if required, a list of community supports will be offered to you.

What are the benefits of taking part?

There are no predicted benefits to you, however your participation could increase your knowledge of your fundamental rights and may help us gain new information to support women. The ultimate aim of this project is to use the findings to improve the circumstances of women experiencing unfair or inequitable circumstances due to gender in Tanzania and beyond.

What happens to the information that I tell you?

Any information you provide will be stored on an encrypted and password protected laptop, and on a password protected external hard drive stored in a locked environment. With your consent, this data will only be shared with the director of Mikono Yetu to assist the researcher to understand the information, however your name will not be used to protect your identity. The final results of the study will be presented to the entire Mikono Yetu team (including staff and volunteers) through a final report which may include your quotations, with your permission, but again your name will not be used. Since this study is part of the researcher's PhD, there will be academic publications and presentations that result from this study, but these will not include your name.

A list linking your pseudonym with your first name and contact information will be kept by the researcher in a secure place, separate from your study file. Your information will be destroyed after 7 years.

To protect your identity, the translator will sign a confidentiality agreement requiring them to keep all information discussed in the interviews private. The transcriptions will be done by an external agency with no connection to Mwanza, Tanzania.

Audio Recording:

We would like to audio record your interviews with us. However, you can choose not to be audio-recorded. If you choose not to be audio-recorded, the interviews would involve the translator dictating your responses back to interviewer so she can take notes.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary so you may decide not to be in this study. Even if you consent to participate you have the right to not answer individual questions or to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose not to participate or to leave the study at any time, your involvement with Mikono Yetu, or services from any other organization, will not be jeopardized.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form following this letter of information. Consent is for the collection of data in the four sessions, for the audio-recording of interviews, for the use of a translator, for the use of a transcriber, and for your de-identified data to be shared with Mikono Yetu.

You can withdraw your consent to participate at any time. If you wish to discontinue your participation, your data can be deleted up until the point of data analysis. Once data analysis begins, it will not be possible to separate any one participant's data, as all data will be mixed together. However, if you direct the researcher to do so, no direct quotes from your data will be used in publications.

If you do not explicitly withdraw from the study, but we are not able to reach you by phone or email, we will wait 4 weeks and then assume you wish to discontinue participating in future sessions. In this scenario, we will continue to use the data that initial consent was obtained for unless verbally told otherwise.

Other Information about this Study:

If you have any questions or need additional information, you may contact: Stephanie Huff (University of Western Ontario) in Mwanza. Representatives of Western University's Non-Medical Research Ethics Board and the Mwanza Lake Region Ethics

Board may have access to all study-related information in order to check that the study is following the proper laws and regulations.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact: Office of Human Research Ethics at the University of Western Ontario, or the National Institute for Medical Research, Tanzania.

If you have any other questions about this study, contact Stephanie Huff.

This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

Consent Form

Study Title: Understanding Gender Inequity through Occupation: A Critical Decolonizing Ethnographic Exploration of Gendered Occupation in Tanzania

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I do not waive any legal right by signing this consent form.

[Yes] [No] I consent to the audio recording of my interviews

[Yes] [No] I consent for the use of a translator

[Yes] [No] I consent for the use of a transcriber

[Yes] [No] I consent for my de-identified data to be shared with Mikono Yetu

[Yes] [No] I consent for the use of my personal quotes to be used in the results

[Yes] [No] I would like to be contacted to receive the study results and/or my transcript

Signature of Research

Date

Participant

Printed Name

Person Obtaining Informed Consent (please print): _____

Appendix F

Swahili version of letter of information and consent form

Barua ya Taarifa na Ridhaa Ili Kushiriki Katika Utafiti

Jina la Somo/Utafiti:

Kuelewa kutokuwepo usawa wa kijinsia (gender inequality) katika shughuli: Uchunguzi kwa undani wa shughuli za kijinsia zilizoko Tanzania hasa baada ya enzi ya ukoloni

Unaalikwa kujitolea katika utafiti kuanzia mwezi wa nane mwaku huu mpaka mwezi wa tano mwako ujao na ubia na Mikono Yetu. Hilo ni shirika linalojitahidi kuelewa namna ambavyo shughuli za wanawake zinaathiriwa na kutokuwepo usawa wa kijinsia. Lengo la utafiti huo ni kuelewa kama kuwa mwanamke (jinsia) kunaathiri shughuli na majukumu ya kila siku, kama wanawake wanakutana na vizuizi wakijaribu kufanya wanchotaka kutokana na jinsia yao na namna wanavyojibu wakikabiliana na vizuizi hivyo.

Tunaamini na tunafahamu kuwa usawa wa kijinsia ni haki ya msingi ya binadamu. Katika mwaka 2015 Shirika la Umoja wa Mataifa lilitoa ripoti iliyoitwa “Ripoti ya Wanawake wa Dunia.” Hiyo ilionyesha namna ambavyo wanawake wanabaguliwa na wanatendewa vibaya. Vile vile ilionyesha kuwa kwenye sehemu nyingi duniani wanawake hawana uhuru wa kushiriki mambo mengi kama vile elimu na siasa. Ili kukabili masuala hayo ni lazimu tuelewe hali za wanawake kwenye mazingira tofautitofauti kama vile huku Tanzania. Tunapaswa kujua mnavyomudu changamoto hizi pia.

Nia ya barua hii ni kutoa taarifa ili uelewe vizuri tunachokifanya. Halafu utaweza kuamua ukitaka kushirikiana nasi.

Nitatakiwa kufanya nini nikishikiri?

Utatarajiwa kushiriki katika vipindi vitatu ili kutusaidia kukusanya taarifa. Kutakuwa na kipindi cha nne kitakachosaidia tuelewe na tufasiri taarifa hizo zote.

1. Katika mahojiano ya kwanza tutazoeana na tutafahamiana. Halafu mtafiti atakuuliza maswali mbalimbali. Tutakubaliana tukutane mahali na wakati fulani. Uchague ukitaka tuongee KiSwahili au Kiingereza. Ukipendelea kuongea KiSwahili utapewa mkalimani wa kutumia. Ukitoa ridhaa yako nitarekodi mahojiano yetu. Kipindi hicho kitachukua saa moja. Baadhi ya maswali utakayoulizwa yatahusu uzoefu wako kama mwanamke. Mwishowe utapanga muda ambao nitakutembelea kwako. Siku ile nitajiunga nawe unavyofanya shughuli na majukumu yako. Kipindi hicho kinaitwa “kipindi cha shughuli.”

2. Kwa kipindi cha shughuli utatakiwa kuchagua shughuli ambayo tutafanya pamoja (au mtafiti anaweza kukuangalia tu ukipendelea hivyo). Kipindi hicho kitasaidia mtafiti aelewe unavyofanya shughuli hiyo kwenye mazingira yako. Usipotaka kufanya kipindi cha shughuli hiyo, unaruhusiwa kufanya mahojiano badala ya shughuli hiyo.

3. Kipindi cha tatu kitakuwa mahojiano ya mwisho, yenye maswali mapya yatakayoibuka kutoka vipindi vilivyotangulia. Tena utachagua tunapokutana na lugha ya kuongea. Uko huru kutumia mkalimani ukitaka kuongea KiSwahili. Nitarekodi mahojiano ukikubali.

4. Tutakapokaribia mwisho wa utafiti, utalikwa kuhudhuria na kushiriki katika kikao ili kupitia jinsi ambavyo watafiti wanaelewa na wanafasiri walichokisikia katika mahojiano yote na katika utafiti kwa ujumla. Sisi kama watafiti tuna wajibu kuhakikisha tumewaelewa vizuri. Kwa hiyo washiriki wote wawepo, wakiwemo watafiti na wafanyakazi wa Mikono Yetu. Watafiti watajaribu kuhifadhi majibu na taarifa wanazozipata katika utafiti wao. Watafiti watawahamasisha washiriki wote kuheshimiana na kutotoa mambo mliyosikia katika kikao hicho. Usipotaka au ukishindwa kuhudhuria kikao hiki cha mwisho, tutapanga mahojiano nawe.

Utafiti utakapokamilika, matokeo yatapatikana kwako. Ungetaka kupigiwa simu ili kupewa matokeo au nakala ya mahojiano yako, unatakiwa kuturuhusu kubaki na taarifa yako ya mawasiliano.

Kwa ushirikiano wako katika utafiti wetu, utapewa 10,000 TSH kwa kila kipindi unachohudhuria. Kama ukiweza kuhudhuria vipindi vyote vinne, utapewa 40,000 TSH. Tatalipa gharama zote za usafiri ili uweze kufika kwenye kipindi na kurudi nyumbani.

Je, utafiti huo una madhara yoyote?

Hatutambui madhara yoyote kuhusiana na utafiti huo. Uko huru kuamua unachokifunua na unavyofunguka katika mahojiano yetu. Vile vile utachagua tunachokifanya pamoja katika “kipindi cha shughuli.”

Labda una wasiwasi kuwa taarifa unazozitoa kuhusu uzoefu wako zitasambaa kama uvumi katika jamii. Huenda unahofu usiposhiriki katika utafiti huo hutapokea huduma za Mikono Yetu. Usifikiri hivyo. Utafiti huo hauendani na huduma zinazotolewa na Mikono Yetu. Mikono Yetu haitapewa jina lako au taarifa yako ya mawasiliano. Tutahifadhi jina lako na mkalimani mhusika atatia sahihi yake kuhakikisha taarifa zote ziwe za siri. Tukichapisha utafiti wetu baadaye, hatutatumia jina lako. Bali tungetaka kuchapisha ulichokisema na tulichojifunza tungetumia jina bandia kwako. Ingawa hatutaki

kukutaabisha, inawezekana mada na maswali ambayo tunazungumzia yatakukumbusha wakati mgumu uliopita au kumbukumbu mbaya. Kama ukihitaji msaada wa ushauri nasaha tutakupatia.

Faida zipi zipo nikishiriki?

Hatuwezi kutabiri utakavyofaidi ila ushirikiano wako utaongeza elimu yako kuhusu haki zako za msingi (na za binadamu) na utusaidie kupigania wanawake wote kote duniani. Lengo kuu la mradi huu ni kuboresha hali ya wanawake wanaotendewa vibaya kutokana na ubaguzi wa kijinsia huku Tanzania na sehemu nyingine.

Kitafanyikaje na taarifa ninazokuambia?

Tutahifadhi taarifa zote kwenye komputa yenye password kali sana. Tutaificha kwenye sehemu ya siri isiojulikana kwa wengine. Ukitoa ridhaa yako, mtafiti ataongelea taarifa hizi na mkurugenzi wa Mikono Yetu tu ili aelewe alichokisikia. Lakini hatafunua jina lako wakati wa maongezi yao. Vile vile watafiti watatambulisha rasmi matokeo ya utafiti wao na wafanyakazi wa Mikono Yetu. Ukikubali watatambulisha rasmi nukuu zenu (lakini hawatatumia jina lako halisi). Utafiti huo ni sehemu ya shahada ya uzamivu (Ph.D.) ya mmoja wa watafiti hao kwa hiyo atachapisha matokeo hayo lakini hataandika jina lako.

Mtafiti atahifadhi orodha yenye jina lako halisi na jina lako bandia na taarifa yako ya mawasiliano kwenye sehemu salama. Baada ya miaka saba atafuta rekodi yako.

Ili kuhifadhi jina lako, mkalimani atasaini mkataba wa kutotoboa siri zozote wakati wowote. Kunakili zitafanywa na mtu asiye na uhusiano na Mwanza, Tanzania (mwandishi sio mTanzania na atanakili kila kitu kwenye sehemu nyingine).

Rekodi za Kusikia:

Tungetaka kurekodi mahojiano yako nasi. Lakini uko huru kukakata hivyo. Kama ukichagua kutorekodiwa mkalimani atamwambia mtafiti alichokiandika baadaye.

Ushirikiano wa Kujitolea

Ushirikiano wako katika uchunguzi huu ni wa kujitolea kabisa kwa hiyo ujiunge nasi kwa hiari yako tu. Hata kama ukijiunga nasi mwanzoni uko huru kutojibu maswali fulani au kujitoa kutoka uchunguzi huo wakati wowote. Usiposhikiri au ukijitoa kutoka utafiti huo, uhusiano wako na Mikono Yetu hautabadilika.

Kama ukiamua kushiriki katika utafiti huo utatakiwa kusaini fomu ya ridhaa hivi karibuni. Tunatafuta ridhaa zako ili tukusanye taarifa zote kutoka vipindi vyote vinne

kwa ajili ya kurekodi mahojiano na kwa ajili ya matumizi ya mkalimani na kwa ajili ya matumizi ya mtu wa kunakili na kwa nukuu zenu kuambiwa kwa Mikono Yetu.

Kama nilivyokwisha kuwaambia uko huru kujitoa wakati wowote. Ukitaka kutoendelea toa taarifa mapema katika mchakato huo tutafuta taarifa zako na nukuu zako mara moja. Lakini kama tumeshaanza kuchambua taarifa ambazo tumezikusanya hatutaweza kuzifuta. Mtafiti angeweza kutoa nukuu zako lakini asingeweza kufuta taarifa zingine.

Usipojitoa rasmi lakini hatuwezi kuwasiliana nawe tutakusubiria kwa wiki nne halafu tutafuta taarifa zako. Kama hiki kitatokea tutaendelea kutumia taarifa zako ulizotuambia baada ya kutoa ridhaa yako mwanzoni ila hatutazuiliwa kutumia taarifa zako.

Taarifa Zingine juu ya Uchunguzi Huu:

Ukiwa na maswali au ukitaka kupata taarifa zingine umpigie simu: Stephanie Huff (Chuo Kiku cha Western Ontario) aliko Mwanza (anwani ya barua pepe). Wawakilishi wa Bodi ya Maadili ya Utafiti wa Chuo Kiku cha Western na Bodi ya Maadili ya Kanda ya Ziwa wanaweza kufuatilia utafiti huo ili kuhakikisha mtafiti anazingatia vigezo na masharti na sheria zote.

Ukiwa na maswali yoyote kuhusu utaratibu wa uchunguzi huo au haki zako kama mshiriki, piga simu, Ofisi ya Maadili ya Utafiti wa Watu ilipo Chuo Kikuu cha Western Ontario, au Taasisi ya Taifa ya Utafiti wa Tiba, Tanzania.

Ukiwa na maswali mengine kuhusu uchunguzi huo, umpigie simu Stephanie.

Baki na barua hiyo kwa mustakabali.

Consent Form (Fomu ya Ridhaa)

Jina la uchunguzi: Kuelewa kutokuwepo usawa wa kijinsia (gender inequality) katika shughuli: Uchunguzi kwa undani wa shughuli za kijinsia zilizoko Tanzania hasa baada ya enzi ya ukoloni

Nimesoma barua ya taarifa na nilikuwa nimeelezwa sifa na nia za utafiti huo na nakubali kushiriki. Maswali yangu yote yamejibiwa. Sitoi haki yoyote ya kisheria kwa kusaini fomu hii ya ridhaa.

[Yes] [No] Ntoa ridhaa yangu kurekodiwa katika mahojiano yangu

[Yes] [No] Ntoa ridhaa yangu kwa matumizi ya mkalimani

[Yes] [No] Ntoa ridhaa yangu kwa matumizi ya mwandishi kunakili mahojiano yangu

[Yes] [No] Ntoa ridhaa yangu kwa Mikono Yetu kupewa taarifa zangu (zenye jina bandia)

[Yes] [No] Ntoa ridhaa yangu kwa nukuu zangu kutumiwa katika matokeo

[Yes] [No] Ningependa kupigiwa simu ili nipewe matokeo ya uchunguzi au nakala yake

Sahihi ya Mshiriki

Tarehe

Andika jina lako

Mtu anayepokea ridhaa ya mshiriki (andika tafadhali)

Appendix G

Non-disclosure agreement for translator and transcriber

Confidentiality Agreement

Project Title: Gendered Occupation in Tanzania

Principal Investigator: (name and contact information)

I understand confidential information will be made known to me as (please check all that apply):

an interpreter

a transcriber

other (please specify) _____

for a study being conducted by doctoral student Stephanie Huff, and Professor Debbie Laliberte Rudman of Western University. I agree to keep all information collected during this study confidential, and will not reveal by speaking, communicating or transmitting this information in written, electronic (disks, tapes, transcripts, email) or any other manner to anyone outside the research team.

Name of Assistant: _____ (please print)

Signature of Assistant: _____

Date: _____

Name of Principal Investigator: _____ (please print)

Signature of Principal Investigator: _____

Date: _____

Appendix H: Swahili version of non-disclosure agreement for translator and transcriber

Makubaliano ya Kuhifadhi Taarifa Nyeti

Jina la Mradi: Shughuli za kijinsia zilizoko Tanzania

Mchunguzi Mkuu: jina na taarifa za mawasiliano

Naelewa nitaambiwa taarifa nyeti (jaza alama kama kitu kikihusika):

mkalimani

mtu wa kunakili

nyingine (uitaje/uiainishe)_____

kwa ajili ya uchunguzi unaofanyiwa na mwanafunzi wa shahada ya uzamivu Steph Huff na Profesa Debbie Laliberte Rudman wa Chuo Kikuu cha Western. Nakubali kuhifadhi taarifa zote zinazokusanyika katika uchunguzi huu na sitafunua chochote kwa kuongea, kuwasiliana na wengine wala kusambaza taarifa kwa kuandika (barua, barua pepe, ujumbe, n.k.) na mwingine yeyote nje ya kikundi cha utafiti.

Jina la Msaidizi: _____(andika tafadhali)

Sahihi ya Msaidizi: _____

Tarehe: _____

Jina la Mchunguzi Mkuu: _____ (andika tafadhali)

Sahihi ya Mchunguzi Mkuu: _____

Tarehe: _____

Appendix H

Copyright Permission for Chapter 2

Hello Stephanie

I am pleased to provide permission for reproduction of your published JOS article in your thesis, subject to providing the full reference citation. I made some minor corrections to your reference below:

Huff, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Magalhães, L., & Lawson, E. (2018). 'Africana womanism': Implications for transformative scholarship in occupational science. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 25(4), 554-565. doi:10.1080/14427591.2018.1493614

Regards
Clare

-----Original Message-----

From: Journal of Occupational Science
Sent: Thursday, 5 September 2019 10:54 AM

Subject: seeking approval to reproduce an article as a thesis chapter

Hi Dr. Hocking,

Greetings from Canada. My name is Stephanie Huff and I am one of Debbie Rudman's PhD students from Western University. We met at the WFOT conference in Cape Town last year and since then I conducted my critical decolonizing ethnographic work on women's experiences of gender inequities in Tanzania. I am now making preparations for finalizing my thesis so I am writing to request approval to reproduce an article I co-authored for one of my thesis chapters. The article citation is below.

Huff, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Magalhaes, L., Lawson, E. (2018). 'Africana womanism': Implications for transformative scholarship in occupational science. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 25(4), 554-565. doi:14427591.2018.1493614

Many thanks,

Stephanie

Curriculum Vitae

Stephanie Huff

EDUCATION

- Doctor of Philosophy in Health and Rehabilitation Sciences** 2015 - present
 Occupational Science Field
 Faculty of Health Sciences, Western University, Canada
Thesis title: Exploring Gender Equity through Occupation: A Critical Decolonizing
 Ethnography in Tanzania
Supervisor: Prof. Debbie Laliberte Rudman
Advisors: Dr. Lilian Magalhães and Dr. Erica Lawson
- Collaborative Degree in African Health Systems** 2016 - present
 African Institute, Western University, Canada
- Graduate Student Innovation Scholars Program** Winter 2018
 Richard Ivey School of Business
 Western University, Canada
- Master of Science in Occupational Therapy** 2010 - 2012
 Faculty of Health Sciences, Western University, Canada
- Honors Bachelor of Arts in Kinesiology (with distinction)** 2006 - 2010
 Faculty of Health Sciences, Western University, Canada

AWARDS AND GRANTS

- LeaCross Women in Global Health Grant (**\$250**, October 2019)
- Canadian Society of Occupational Scientists Student Grant (**\$500**, July 2019)
- African Institute Graduate Scholarship, Western University (**\$1500**, Sept. 2018)
- Faculty of Health Sciences Travel Award, Western University (**\$1500**, Sept. 2018)
- Graduate Student Innovation Scholars, Western University (**\$1500**, Jan. 2018)
- Global MINDS fellowship program, Western University (**\$5000**, June 2017)
- Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee, Western University (**\$5000**, July 2016)
- International Opportunities Award, Western University (**\$2000**, July 2016)

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

SUMMARY

	Published	In press	Accepted	Submitted
Referred Papers	1			2
Media Publications	3			
Refereed Conference Presentations and Abstracts in Peer-Reviewed Conference Proceedings	1		1	

PUBLICATIONS

Referred Papers

In Review: Huff, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Magalhães, L., Lawson, E. (2019). Critically mapping research addressing gender equity in Tanzania: Approaches, gaps and future directions, *Journal of East African Studies*.

In Review: Huff, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Magalhães, L., Lawson, E. (2019). Decolonizing research for transformation: A critical decolonizing ethnographic approach, *Journal of Occupational Science*.

Huff, S., Laliberte Rudman, D., Magalhães, L., Lawson, E. (2018). ‘Africana womanism’: Implications for transformative scholarship in occupational science. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 25(4), 554-565. doi:14427591.2018.1493614

Media Publications

Huff, S. (2019). What I learned in Tanzania. *Personal Blog*.
<https://www.thepinkbackpack.com/lessons-learned-in-tanzania/>

Huff, S. (2018). CREATE-ing space to discuss mental health in Kenya. *Canadian Coalition for Global Health Research*. <https://www.ccghr.ca/create-ing-space-discuss-mental-health-kenya-ccghr-forum/>

Huff, S. (2018). Disruptive Innovation: Translating Knowledge into Action. *Schulich Medicine and Dentistry*.
https://www.schulich.uwo.ca/globalminds/news/2018/snapshot_blog_disruptive_innovation_translating_knowledge_into_action.html

PRESENTATIONS

Oral Presentations

- Canadian Conference on Global Health** - Ottawa, ON 2019
 Presentation: *Critically Mapping Interdisciplinary Approaches to Gender Equity in Tanzania*
- Canadian Coalition for Global Health Research** - Hamilton, ON 2018
 Presentation: *The advocacy incubator: A Proof-of concept model for global mental health awareness and stigma reduction*
- Canadian Conference on Global Health** - Ottawa, ON 2018
 Workshop: *The Global Minds Fellowship Program: A Model for Social Innovation*

Poster Presentations

- Global Health Students and Young Professionals** - Ottawa, ON 2019
 Poster: *The Western Heads East Program: My Experience as an intern and global health researcher*
- World Federation of Occupational Therapy** - Cape Town, South Africa 2018
 Poster: *Conceptualizing gender equity in occupational science and therapy: A critical dialogue*
- African Collaboration Day** - Western University 2018
 Poster: *The advocacy incubator: A Proof-of concept model for global mental health awareness and stigma reduction*

Academic Competitions

- Graduate Student Innovation Scholars**, Western University 2018
 Awarded first place: *Breast Imaging Solution for Low-income Settings*
- World Challenge Competition**, Western University 2016
 Awarded second place: *Sustainable Economic Empowerment of Tanzanian Women*

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant 2015 - 2018
Occupational Therapy Program
Western University, Canada

Student Mentor 2017 - 2018
Canadian Coalition for Global Health Research, student chapter
Western University, Canada

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant 2019
Principal investigator: Dr. Carri Hand, PhD
Department: School of Occupational Therapy, Western University

Research Assistant 2017
Principal investigator: Dr. Liliana Alvarez, PhD
Department: School of Occupational Therapy, Western University

Research Assistant 2015 - 2016
Department: Migration and Ethnic relations lab, Western University

Research Assistant 2011 - 2012
Principal investigator: Dr. Jeffrey Holmes, PhD
Department: School of Occupational Therapy, Western University

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Program Coordinator, Part-time 2019 - present
Western Heads East Program
Western International, Western University

Project Manager, Part-time 2017 - 2018
CREATE Kenya, Kenya
Global MINDS fellowship, Western University

Research Intern, Full-time Summer 2016
Mikono Yetu Centre for Creativity and Innovation
Mwanza, Tanzania

Occupational Therapist, Part-time 2014 - 2015
Alberta Health Services, Canada
Calgary Integrated Home Care, Seniors team
Clientele: Outpatient Seniors in community

Occupational Therapist, Part-time 2014 - 2015

Alberta Health Services, Canada
 Calgary Integrated Home Care, Wound care team
 Clientele: Adult and Seniors with pressure ulcers in community

Occupational Therapist, Full-time

2013 - 2014

Alberta Health Services, Canada
 Red Deer Regional Hospital
 Multiple Sclerosis and Stroke Prevention Clinics
 Clientele: Outpatient Adult and Senior

COMMUNITY AND ACADEMIC SERVICE

Global MINDS fundraising committee	2017 - 2018
Canadian Coalition for Global Health Research (CCGHR) club	2017 - 2018
Western Heads East fundraising committee	2016 - 2017
HRS Graduate Student's Research Conference committee	2015 - 2016
SOGS Equity committee	2015 - 2016
Western OT Grassroots committee	2010 - 2012

SKILLS

Language Skills

English – Native speaker
 Swahili – Conversational proficiency
 French – Conversational proficiency