THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN RESPONSE TO HIV/AIDS: THE CASE OF TANZANIAN PROFESSIONAL COUPLES

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my late and loving sister Rehema Nenkondo,
you were a solid pillar of support and an example for women to reach out
for that which they want.

Abstract

Many studies in Tanzania have examined the role of gender in the spread of HIV/AIDS. These studies have also examined the ways in which poverty increases vulnerability to the disease. Generally, normative gender relations and poverty are among the main factors precipitating the spread of HIV/AIDS. Scholars have also looked at the impact of HIV/AIDS on the economy and the livelihood of the Tanzanian people. My research project examines the impact of HIV/AIDS on gender relations and sexuality. Earlier studies looked at how gender affects the spread of AIDS and my project looks at the reverse—how the spread of AIDS affects gender relations. I examine the gender dynamics in interactions among young adults. In particular, I analyze the cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity in couple relationships and the subjective experiences among young Tanzanian professionals from two different generations, in the context of past and recent processes of socio-cultural change and the influence of HIV/AIDS. My research participants were currently living in Dar es Salaam. I selected young adult professionals because, as a group, they embody the processes of social transformation, as they are creations of postcolonial Tanzania. The main sociological question I address is: How has the HIV/AIDS pandemic changed gender relations and sexuality among young Tanzanian professional couples? In order to answer this question I used data from in-depth life history interviews to compare the two generations, triangulated by data gathered via semi-structured questionnaires, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and participant observation. My findings reveal that HIV/AIDS is occasioning changes in the cultural constructs of femininity and masculinity. These changes, however, do not encourage condom use in serious intimate relationships such as marriage. Rather, young professional couples are constructing safer sex through what I call "mindful marital lifestyles" that promote healthy gender relations, healthy sexual conduct, and fidelity. This state of affairs is in direct opposition to public health discourses concerning safe sex. This study describes processes of change in gender and sexuality in response to HIV/AIDS epidemic as part of individual initiatives to prevention, and hence contributes to HIV prevention research.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Theories on the infectious disease-related cultural transformations model previously explained human agency and disease prevention. The model stipulates that as societies have to respond to the social, economic, political and psychological disruption engendered by acute epidemics such as infectious disease, the result is a number of new cultural adaptations. These cultural adaptations may sometimes occur at the level of changing social norms. (Inhorn & Brown 1990).

"There are days I call my husband in advance while he is still at work and tell him to try and come back home early that day because I need and feel like having quality intimate time with him". This is a quote from Judith, a wife and member of the young professional generation living in Dar es Salaam in the era of HIV/AIDS.[1] In Judith's account of her life story she admits not only to initiating sex within her marriage but also to being creative and easily engaging in a dialogue with her husband about what she likes and does not like in their sexual relationship. Judith argues that in this time of AIDS couples need to find the best way to keep sexual relationships within the household. For her, this is only possible if there is greater transparency, trust, and creativity to maximize pleasure. Judith is a lecturer at a university in Dar es Salaam and her husband Eustis works in the medical field.

Eustis explained that he likes the way they manage their marital life as partners. He expressed that "nothing can stop me from helping my wife, even culture cannot." He discussed without hesitation how he sometimes helps with the cooking, baby care, and

[1] My use of the term HIV/AIDS here and elsewhere in the dissertation refers not simply to the disease, but also to the AIDS epidemic in all its sociological complexity. Dar es Salaam is one of the largest cities in the country of Tanzania on the East coast of Africa.

other household duties. He said that he is comfortable doing things for his wife and his marriage even though the society around them at times would ridicule his actions. When Eustis shared how he lives his life during this era of HIV/AIDS, he insisted that it is a time when one needs discipline in his or her sexual life. He grounded this reasoning in the fact that couples like him and his wife do not have any preventive measure other than being faithful to each other. As he explained, "They talk about abstinence, condoms, and faithfulness, for us married people we only use the last method. Using condoms may bring a further complication in the marital relations." When I talked to Judith about condom use, she, too, agreed that they do not use them. She elaborated that if she were to use condoms 100% of the time, it may help in preventing the virus but it would not help the marriage. Her reasoning was that "one does not fix an unfaithful marriage by condom use but by communicating and learning to be mindful in their relationships."

These narratives from this young professional couple represent some of the ways in which young Tanzanians have responded to the HIV/AIDS era with regard to their sexual and marital gender relations. But are there any significant differences between these young couples and professional couples in the older generation who experienced young adulthood before the advent of HIV/AIDS?

Listening to Douglas, a 70-year-old retired accountant, in his home office as he described how he relates to his wife, illustrates just how differently his generation thinks about gender and gender relations compared to contemporary young adults. In his life story, Douglas described the traditional choices he made as he looked for a wife and got married. To emphasize that he followed tradition in his choices, he explained:

> "My wife is not allowed to ask me where I am going….I cannot lie to you, I feel superior to her all the time. Like if she wants to go out to see one of her friends, and if I do not

> approve I do not grant her permission. I would say, "Not today," she will ask again and I would emphasize, "I said not today, another day." But she cannot talk to me like that. *Babu* [grandfather] told me she should never wear the pants. For instance, she can never send me to fetch something for her… maybe jokingly. But she is obliged to take orders from me, because she was created as a helper as the Bible says so".

The comments of Shila (Douglas's wife, a 72-year-old retired nurse), mirrored most of what her husband had described. In fact, she appeared to have responded complacently to the lifestyle her husband prescribed. For instance, she reiterated that because they wanted to rule and not be ruled, men of her generation did not want to marry women who earned more than them and had more education. From her Biblical point of view she did not have problem with this. She confessed, "I am an obedient women and I was ready to be led by my husband."

For the young professional couple, a shared ideal of a marital life characterized by emotional intimacy, sexual pleasure, trust, and warmth is evident. However, the older couple focuses on respect and fulfillment of gendered obligations. These two sets of comments indicate a generational shift of a marital ideal. Investigating whether or not HIV/AIDS is a cause of this shift is a major goal of this dissertation. The central objective of this dissertation is to understand the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on gender relations and sexuality among young professional couples in urban Tanzania. I pay particular attention to changes in the concepts of masculinity and femininity. In addition I investigate reasons behind the continuing reluctance to use condoms within the marriage relationship.

1.1. Background Literature and Theory

Biologized and Medicalized Sexuality

One of the most important aspects of this investigation is the concept of sexuality as it relates to HIV/AIDS. Intervention programs for HIV/AIDS have focused almost exclusively on a medicalized concept of sexuality that is based on judgments about what kinds of sex are understood as prudent and "safe" framed in a medical idiom. I believe that narrowing our understanding of the social impact of AIDS to the results of responses to interventional influences limits our ability to broadly interpret the prevention efforts of individuals. Particularly, their agency towards HIV/AIDS prevention seeking behavior. At the mundane level, some agents have the potential to reformulate meanings that express their concerns, therefore counteracting the public health discourses or ignoring them entirely if they do not inform their lifestyles.

Proponents of a medicalized sexuality see this view as ostensibly value-free, outside the scope of morality, and universal, because it is predicated on both "objective indicators of health and on the modern, reified concept of sexuality as an autonomous domain" (Pigg & Adams 2005:20). Yet, as Pigg and Adams stress, this medicalized sexuality is anything but neutral. It is instead the product of a particular western conception of sexuality concerning what constitutes the sexual dimension of human experience. As such, public health initiatives to address AIDS have reduced sexuality to the bare biological "facts," and in so doing have promoted a narrow notion of sexuality as independent of social relations. Basing on Ikuenebo's analysis of African philosophy, I agree with Wyrod's critique (2007) that a narrow notion of sexuality as independent of social relations (as suggested by the notion of medicalized sexuality) does not sit well

with African thought systems and practices (Ikuenebo 2006). I argue that this limitation of the medicalized sexuality framework can be verified partly by using a multi-generational life course framework to study the social impact of AIDS.

The global institutional response to the AIDS epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa was, at first, largely determined by the way that AIDS research and policy proceeded in the West. Despite attempts to "globalize" the lens through which epidemics in Africa are understood, the pandemic is still viewed first and foremost through a biomedical lens, and only secondly through a narrow public health lens that focuses on individual sexual behavior. The central focus of AIDS policy is based on the premise that change in individual sexual behavior is brought about by information and that individual education is the main weapon in the fight against AIDS (O'Manique 2004:9 cited in Wyrod 2007).

Wyrod (2007) critiques scholars informed by a medicalized view of sexuality and offers an alternative developmental perspective for studying the social impact of AIDS. This perspective argues that AIDS in Africa needs to be understood as part of a larger story of sexuality in development,[2] in which a narrow scientific framing of a biologized sex (Pigg 2005) has come to dominate disease prevention efforts. What makes AIDS unique is the unprecedented extent to which a universal, medicalized sexuality has been mobilized to "deliver some 'badly needed' goods to a 'target' population" (Escobar 1995:44 cited in Wyrod 2007).

While I agree with scholars like Wyrod that the medicalized conception of sexuality has played a prominent role in the response to AIDS in Africa at the macro level, I note that not all responses within different social groups at the micro level can be

[2] Development here refers to the development of a nation.

explained by a development framework[3]. For example, using a life course approach can shed light on changing conceptions of sexuality and gender over time and across generations. Informed by this development literature, Wyrod justifies his framework by arguing that if AIDS is indeed caught up in the discourse of development, understanding the social impact of the AIDS epidemic means examining the impact of a relatively new, biologized sex on sexual relations and gender relations. While I acknowledge the contribution of this framework to the study of the social impact of AIDS, I think it must be supplemented by an approach that can bring out agency in the way people respond to AIDS. Such an approach facilitates understanding the social impact of an infectious disease's gendered sexual mode of transmission on gender relations and sexual conduct.[4] With this thinking we can expect AIDS to produce a situation necessitating some gender reconstruction as an adaptive response. HIV/AIDS is among the factors opening up an unintentional opportunity for cultural reflexivity because its transmission is promoted by culturally normative gendered patterned behaviors (Inhorn and Brown 1990). Wyrod emphasizes how the interaction between medicalized sexuality discourses and multiple ideologies of gender and sexuality influences change in constructions of masculinity in husbands in Uganda. I emphasize that the disease's gendered sexual mode of transmission is rooted in a lifestyle that is no longer desirable for couples who wish to remain uninfected by it. Hence, these couples reconstruct that lifestyle.

[3] A framework that starts with viewing efforts from the western world play a role of advancing the developing world irrespective of whether there is compatibility between the efforts and the local environment.

[4] These include taken for granted male multiple sexual partners behavior outside marriage which can be unsafe and thus cause AIDS infection, and women's respectability norms hindering marital sexual variety.

Echoing Spronk (2006), we need to refocus and complicate our research on sexuality in Africa by adapting a dialectical focus. The research should go beyond the ways in which the dominant norms and culture place young peoples' sexual health at risk, to also investigate the ways that particular young people resist those norms (Aggleton & Campbell 2000). I suggest that the key to studying how particular social groups resist high-risk sexual behaviors lies in understanding how people responding to the uncertainty, suspicion, and stress of sexual partnerships (and life itself) in a time of AIDS react to this HIV risky gendered normative sex. Specifically, how they respond by constructing new sexual lifestyles *not entirely* informed by existing ideologies of sexuality and gender. Lay perceptions [5] also play into the interactions of multiple sexuality ideologies.

Such ideological interactions are complex and, as Pigg suggests, occur in a wide and porous zone in which multiple meanings of sexuality circulate. Public health interest in sexuality presents itself as a point of interaction where a particular kind of modern, reified, and biologized concept of sex pushes against other sexualities. Sexed and sexualized bodies are constituted in contexts where multiple ideologies of gender and sexuality are always salient, whether they are biomedical ideologies of an autonomous scientific sexuality or other ideologies in which sexuality is not at all autonomous but fused with gender in complex ways (Wyrod 2007). As Wyrod argues, sexuality in Africa cannot be understood in isolation—including in isolation from gender relations. Hence, to understand its changing processes means understanding it within a historical perspective.

[5] People's assessments and judgments of the disease, its transmission and prevention which may at times contradict with that of the medical domain.

Ideologies of Sexuality and Gender in Tanzania

In Tanzania several ideologies of gender and sexuality operate simultaneously, and, unlike those employed in HIV/AIDS intervention programs, these are not premised on a medicalized sexuality autonomous from gender relations. Rather, these alternative ideologies present sexuality and gender as deeply intertwined. For example, according to the literature on pre-colonial gender and sexuality in some postcolonial African states, there is evidence that African societies had two competing gendered paradigms of sexual socialization—western (based on Christianity and a cash crop economy) and local traditional institutions (based on an African communal way of life)—that offered detailed instructions on gender and sexual relations prior to marriage to fit a pre-colonial lifestyle (Stewart 2000). These deteriorated due to a number of factors, including colonialism, migration, state socialism, and urbanization. As a result of this decline, successive younger cohorts became increasingly dependent on more diverse sources of cultural consumption to inform the knowledge repertoires they used to model their gender and sexual relations. These were not limited to the folklore, proverbs, and religious codes adopted for the construction of gender difference by most ethnic groups in Tanzania, but also included western cultural products (e.g., films and novels) and activities (e.g., television watching and leisure activities).[6] Hence, the question here is how deep-seated are the pre-colonial and colonial era ways of thinking about gender and sexuality in postcolonial cohorts and how do they affect the HIV/AIDS generational cohorts exposed to the discourse of medicalized sexuality?

[6] Other knowledge repertoires include the school, church, mosque, peers, and to a lesser degree parents (Obrist Van Eeuwijk & Mlangwa 1997).

This study is important in the sense that it adds to our knowledge of how changing mind sets—habitus-- about gender constructions could influence change in behaviors that impact health positively. It brings to light the role of gender agency in HIV prevention.

1.2. Research Questions and Objectives

This dissertation examines how the AIDS disease's gendered sexual mode of transmission is disturbing normative gendered sexual conduct and producing resistance, transformation, and reconstruction through encounters with people who are exercising agency with respect to structural ideologies of gender and sexuality in the urban Tanzanian context. By influencing dominant traditional sexuality and the biomedical sexuality that is propagated through international AIDS prevention efforts, couples create their own individual sexual conduct initiatives for prevention efforts. In this way, I draw on the insights of Spronk (2006) to examine the social impact of AIDS. However, I also expand her framework by emphasizing the need to examine this disturbed normative gendered sexual conduct within the context of existing ideologies of gender and sexuality across two generations.

In order to understand the social impact of AIDS, particularly on gender relations and sexual conduct, I place these issues at the center of the conceptual framework I employ in this dissertation. I begin with the idea that in any social context there are multiple ideologies and a seemingly dominant normative ideology about how gender relations and sexual conduct are, or should be, related. A disturbance of the dominant normative ideology of gender relations and sexual conduct by a disease, which is

transmitted through sexual relations and fueled by the existence of the very dominant ideology, can trigger negotiation and transformation of the ideology. This can happen through encounters with motivated and agentive people who seek prevention from the disease by reconstructing their gender and sexuality away from the central cultural constructions that may pose a risk of HIV/AIDS infection.

The primary research question addressed in this dissertation is: What is the impact of HIV/AIDS on gender relations and sexuality among young Tanzanian professional couples? How do these couples act as agentive social actors to reconstruct gender norms in the context of HIV/AIDS prevention? Specifically, how has HIV/AIDS influenced conceptions of masculinity and femininity and why have these changes not led to increasing use of condoms in marital sex? At a more general level, this study addresses the contexts of the social construction of gender in a society against the backdrop of the role of disease.

Specifically, this study has three primary objectives. First, I describe and analyze the process by which young professional couples construct gender within different historical contexts; this analysis is accompanied by a historical timeline of events in Tanzania. What does a comparison of two generational cohorts, born in the 1940s and 1970s, reveal about changes in these contexts? How do shifts and continuities affect the social construction of gender as put forth by young professionals? How does generation convey and structure gender interactions?

Second, I examine the process by which young professional couples obtain gender competence (rules and resources) and what sources they bring to their experiences of masculinity and femininity. The questions that inspired this part of the study include:

What type of resources and approaches do young professional couples use and consider important for gender construction? What concerns them and what influences them as they enact and experience gender? Do their gender experiences differ by cohort, tribal identity, and class, and if they do, what accounts for the difference?

Finally, I examine the link between HIV/AIDS prevention and generational gender constructions, and potential policy implications arising from this link. The questions that motivated this part of the study include: When comparing older and younger professional generations' life experiences, what changes in the constructions of masculinity, femininity, and sexual conduct are related to the HIV/AIDS pandemic and enhance the prevention process? How will changing constructions of masculinity and femininity inform ongoing HIV/AIDS intervention programs?

1.3. Research Design

In order to address these research questions, I conducted in-depth life history interviews with respondents who were partners in older or younger professional couples living in urban Tanzania. To support these findings, I gathered additional data via semi-structured questionnaires, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and participant observation. My sample: sample size, the methods you used to find the respondents, and the basic demographic characteristics I discuss in the methods chapter.

1.4. Overview of the Chapters

I begin the study by providing background and context in Chapter Two. I situate the study in historical perspective through a brief account of Tanzania's socio-cultural,

political, and economic characteristics; I revisit the literature on HIV/AIDS prevention and gender; and I develop a conceptual framework. In Chapter Three I describe the methodology used for the study and reflect on my position as a field researcher. In Chapter Four I analyze the historical context of the social construction of gender and sexuality among professionals in Tanzania. I examine the role of the socio-cultural, political, and economic contexts, and the ways in which shifts and continuities shaped each young professional cohort in relation to the gender-defining process. Specifically, I discuss how contexts like the pre-colonial era, colonialism, state socialism, and the neoliberal era contributed to the production of the kind of conditions that shaped younger professional couples' contemporary conceptions of gender that influence sexual life and their propensity to change or innovate these conceptions.

I turn to the qualitative data in Chapter Five. In this chapter I provide a description of resources, such as cultural consumption, spousal communication, and memories of family upbringing, that professional couples from both generations link to their experiences of masculinity and femininity. I discuss what concerns influence them to make certain choices and employ the resources they do as they enact and experience gender in everyday life. I illustrate how this plays out differently according to generation, tribe, and class. Significantly, I also discuss how these concerns determine the extent of their consciousness of gender change or innovation.

Chapters Six and Seven offer a nuanced understanding of social and cultural constructions of gender in response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, specifically focusing on how men and women in couple relationships grapple with adjusting. I also explore the

ways in which couples define and redefine masculinity and femininity to create safer[7] marital lifestyles. Specifically, I analyze the HIV/AIDS-influenced constructions of gender and sexuality which led to the construction of a "mindful marital lifestyle." Chapter Six focuses on femininity while Chapter Seven addresses masculinity.

Through an examination of masculinity and femininity in urban Tanzania and across generations, it is evident that the gender-related mode of transmission of AIDS has indeed shaped responses in the sexual and non-sexual dimensions of masculinity and femininity. This is most notable with regard to the value of men having multiple sexual partners, women's silences, and women's sexual moral ethics. Because they are interpreted as social practices, health-related behaviors, like other social practices that women and men engage in, are a means for analyzing femininities and masculinities (Courtenay 2000). Yet, as the opening vignettes makes clear, the impact has also been limited, destabilizing normative gender as a basic organizing principle of the social system without transforming the social perception of risk in marital sex. The explanation behind this puzzling limitation is that young professional couples prioritize socially safe sex above physically safe sex. As shown in the literature on medicalized sexuality outlined above, condom use is associated with the latter. The objective of medicalized sexuality, its assumption of self autonomy, and its compartmentalization of gender and sexuality encountered a backlash among young professional couples.

The perception of sexuality as an individual responsibility outside social relations (i.e., marital relations) is not conceivable within Tanzanian marriages as this study indicated. Young professional couples argue that an HIV prevention strategy for couples

[7] Safer, according to their perceptions.

has to be a package that includes the protection of both the marriage (implying social relations) and the virus. They contend that protection of only one of these is unsatisfactory, which is why condom use alone is inadequate or problematic. This reasoning explains why couples seem to act in ways that are socially safer but physically more risky, which contradicts public health discourses on medicalized sexuality as offering a safer preventive method.

The final chapter sums up the salient issues emerging from the study, pointing to the broader implications it has for the study of disease and gender constructions. I also offer specific suggestions for the future direction of interventions aimed at the prevention of sexually-transmitted-related disease (i.e. HIV/AIDS) among married and working couples. Finally, I identify critical areas which require further research to add to the much-needed literature on gender-based HIV/AIDS disease prevention and individual responses.

CHAPTER TWO

SITUATING THE STUDY

2.1. Socio-cultural, political, and economic context

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania is a good place to study social change due to the many changes that the country has undergone before and since independence in 1961. The changes before 1961 will be covered in chapter four. There have been a number of economic, political, and social changes which may have influenced the shifts in gender constructions (Mzinga 2002) that have impacted sexual lives. For example, important

changes happened following the shift in Tanzanian economic policy from socialism to a neo-liberal economy. These factors matter, since they may explain the rise of a cultural ideology of possessive individualism as well as an influx of Western cultural products and images. Harold (age 33, an advocate), one of my research participants, stated that "[the] neo liberal era has brought mixed rules and confusion to couple relationships." The Tanzanian government is now encouraging foreign investors to own companies, which has expanded the market for both male and female professionals in private sector jobs. The neo-liberal culture[8] also offers room for individuals of each gender to realize more of their potential. As Harold explains, "it is not only women who are realizing their potential but also men in issues like raising children."

As Tanzania transformed from a socialist ideology and economy (1967-1980) to a neo-liberal market economy, young professionals were strategically situated to benefit from this change. However, those in the lower class, especially men, were disempowered following labor retrenchments and rising inequality. This negatively impacted lower class masculinities and femininities and brought into question how motivated this social group would be to engage in responsible sexual behavior and HIV prevention (Silberschmidt 2001). In the socialist era there was minimal room for lifestyle variation in urban and

[8] This culture is characterized by redefinition of individual freedom as the capacity for self-realization and freedom from bureaucracy rather than freedom from want, with human behavior re-conceptualized along economic lines (Leitner et al 2007:4). From the late 1960s to the mid 1980s Tanzanians lived a communal life whereby the society was organized on the basis of a communal and egalitarian ethos, with an equal and mutual social responsibility for everyone to work in order to contribute to the community, and to make sure that every person was taken care of (Ikuenobe 2006:67). With neoliberal culture, people's lives are in their own hands and they are made responsible for their failures and successes. Well-being and risk management is an individual responsibility and there is no reliance on the state/community. Citizens are empowered to actively make self interested choices, to advance both their own well-being and that of society. Self esteem is realized through personal and social responsibility rather than through how well individuals use their abilities and wealth to care for others and the ability to act in a way that reflects the caring values and mutual interests of all in the community. In communal life the latter actions are beneficial to the community and, in turn, beneficial to the individual.

rural areas. More important, perhaps, was the fact that professionals did not receive high income due to government tax and wage policies designed to reduce class inequality and therefore many of these professionals ended up emigrating. Under socialism, the Tanzanians government's goal was to create a uniform lifestyle in the name of equality and communalism. However, many professionals have now decided to remain in the country to take advantage of the opportunities that a neo-liberal market economy has brought.

This study hypothesizes that political and economic changes, along with the advent of AIDS at approximately the same time (1980), provided a good foundation for the existence of agency, or critical reflexivity, in the lives of the young professional social group as they respond to gender related challenges. During this historical time, these young professionals experienced transitional stages in their life courses such as transitions to starting a career, dating, adulthood, marriage, and having children. Large-scale socio-cultural, economic and political changes in Tanzania included the shift from the communal life entailed in the "Ujamaa na Kujitegemee"[9] policy to neo-liberalization, the rise of multiparty politics, and the advent of AIDS, coupled with deteriorating traditional sexual-regulating institutions such as initiation rites,[10] occurred during the transitional stages in the life course of these young professionals. I hypothesize that these changes created an unprecedented opportunity to explore the life course of individuals as

[9] "Ujamaa" connoted "familyness," and "Kujitegemea" connoted "self reliance," a policy which expected Tanzanians to live as one big family in designated communities while working together to produce; the policy began in 1967 and lasted until the mid-1980s.

[10] Initiation rites were very popular in the 1960s and 1970s in Tanzania, in the form of a daughter having the aunt or grandmother discuss codes of behavior when they reached menarche and boys talking to appointed men to guide them into manhood. This training took different forms depending on the ethnic group. But these traditional institutions deteriorated with urbanization and the expansion of education amongst girls (Liljeström & Tumbo-Masabo 1994; Obrist van Eeuwijk & Mlangwa, 1997).

embedded in and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over time (Elder, Johnson & Crosnoe 2003).

I argue that scholars cannot generalize about life courses and male disempowerment in Tanzania without exploring context-specific patterns of gender and sexuality among class and occupational groups. Nor can those who study Tanzania conclude that socioeconomic changes negatively impacted all masculinities and femininities; rather studies should discuss how different masculinities and femininities were impacted or changed.

As the literature on development indicates, because it was no longer possible to make a decent living in government service, many highly educated younger Tanzanians were opting to go into private sector employment, while others chose self-employment (Tripp 1997:93). By 1990, a group of middle class business women had formed a national association of business women in Tanzania to assist in dealing with problems such as lack of capital and neglect by financial institutions (Tripp 1997). In addition, middle-class professional women pursued their own professional interests in organizations such as the Tanzanian Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) and the Women's Research and Documentation Project (WDRP), both of which invite government representatives to their workshops and lobby the government on policies identified as important for women.

In most postcolonial African states the majority of the population lives below the poverty line. For example, in Tanzania 61% of those in the urban population still live below the poverty line (Fields 2000). Therefore, it provides an interesting site to investigate the life dynamics of those above the poverty line (less than 40% of the

population) and their responses to AIDS. Is this privileged group in a better position to exercise agency, particularly in relation to their health? Only 2% of Tanzanian men and women can be classified as professionals (National Bureau of Statistics 2003). However, these statistics do not do justice to the concentration of professionals in urban centers, especially Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's largest city. Hence, disaggregating the effects of socioeconomic and political change on different groups and on patterns of vulnerability is important in understanding HIV prevention, especially when we consider that a unique feature of the current AIDS epidemic in Tanzania is its class gradient. For example, infection rates are three times higher among those in the highest wealth quintile (11% of women and 9% of men are infected) compared to those in the lowest wealth quintile (3% of women and 4% of men) (TACAIDS 2005). These data suggest poverty and economic deprivation may not be the only factors that drive risky behavior. Although this is not the main focus of my dissertation, I shed light on the matter by suggesting that the cultural analysis of class[11] in addition to material conditions would help scholars understand why there is such a high level of HIV/AIDS among professionals. Although they may have better material conditions they may also share moral values which work against sexual safety, i.e., a perception that to express desire for sexual variety to your spouse is disrespectable. As this study suggests absence of marital sexual variety creates opportunities for extra marital sex, and hence chances for viral risk.

To conclude, the social-cultural and economic conditions in Tanzania have partly fostered an enabling situation for young professionals concerning their social construction of gender in response to HIV/AIDS; on the one hand, fear of AIDS has

[11] Class is used with a cultural, in addition to, its material connotation as described in Pierre Bourdieu's (1992) and Andrew Sayer's (2005) work.

triggered mutual concern for reconstructing couples' sexual conduct governed by conceptions of gender; on the other hand, couples have been forced to work together in addressing their plight. I now turn to an examination of earlier studies on the impact of HIV/AIDS on constructions of gender.

2.2. The Sociological Literature

For over two decades the topic of HIV/AIDS and gender constructions has attracted attention in the HIV prevention discourse. The HIV prevention literature consists of works from different disciplines. One can therefore argue that HIV prevention research has acquired an interdisciplinary status. The literature is largely comprised of research that addresses how risk and vulnerability to HIV transmission occur and are perpetuated. The main drive for this type of research is to inform intervention programs in order to better control the spread of the disease. In his comprehensive review of studies that have been conducted on the link between HIV/AIDS transmission and gender in Africa, Richard Parker (2001) argued that issues related to gender and power have become central in current research in an attempt to offer a better understanding of the importance of cultural and structural factors in organizing sexual relations and HIV/AIDS-related vulnerability. Scholars in the area argue that the concept of vulnerability and its determinants was a pivotal yet under-explored issue in attempts to move towards more effective prevention strategies (Kalipeni 2007).

More recently, however, now that the HIV/AIDS epidemic is in its third decade, some scholars are interested in not only how gender fuels its transmission but also how the gender-related mechanism for transmission (i.e., gendered heterosexual sexual

relations) has been impacted. After two decades of AIDS prevalence, with AIDS remaining rampant in most parts of the world, it seems reasonable to move beyond asking questions that seek to understand degrees of risk and vulnerability, to include more questions on the initiatives taken by individuals to avoid transmission, i.e., agency and HIV prevention in everyday life. Less work has been done in this area. Very few scholars have addressed how constructions of gender have shifted over time. There is little theorizing concerning how people may be influencing these normative gendered behaviors and their underlying meanings in order to protect themselves from contracting the disease. This study focuses on this under-researched area.

It is important to consider the role of the life course literature in understanding change in gender relations that influence HIV risk behaviors. Placing people in generational cohorts permits analyses of historical effects; it allows the examination of crises or incidents (e.g., HIV/AIDS) in group life that interrupt habits and give rise to changed conditions of consciousness and practice (Thomas 1905 cited in Elder 1994). Specifically, in the study of social change it is important to note that since each new generational cohort experiences society in its own way under unique historical conditions, each cohort inevitably contributes to social change by reinterpreting cultural values, beliefs, and attitudes and adjusting to structural constraints (Riley 1974; Ryder 1965; Mannheim 1952).

The nature of the existing research on HIV/AIDS and gender can be divided into two broad categories: (i) the impact of gender on HIV/AIDS; (ii) the impact of HIV/AIDS on gender. Each of these research areas will be addressed in turn.

The impact of gender on HIV/AIDS

By the late 1990s, there was a growing recognition in AIDS prevention research that gender inequality was central to the progression of the epidemic (Parker 2001). Across Africa, women, especially young women, are now disproportionately affected by HIV infection, in some cases staggeringly so (UNAIDS 2006). These disturbing figures have drawn attention to ways that gender relations are implicated in the evolving epidemic. Studies began to focus on explaining the *impact of gender norms on HIV/ AIDS* transmission due to the vulnerability embedded in constructions of femininity and masculinity (Dowset 2003).[12]

In this body of literature on the study of HIV prevention, one can identify four distinct groups of research focus: individual-based biomedical and rational action; cultural analysis; structural or context analysis; and, the integration of structural and cultural analysis models. These four types of research focus have evolved progressively, with more of the first two types still ongoing. In the early aftermath of the advent of AIDS (around the late 1980s), research focused on the biomedical, rational-action models of change in individual behavior which had been adopted by AIDS intervention programs.

[12] For example, men more often report an aversion to condom use, one of the most effective means to prevent infection, because it is believed to inhibit intimacy and pleasure during sex. Also, many men also feel compelled to engage in risky behavior in order to "prove" their masculinity. Another side to this is a hegemonic masculinity based on a set of beliefs that males are biologically programmed to need more sex, often from more than one woman, and that sexual health-seeking behavior is unmanly. Fidelity is considered more the duty of a woman. Furthermore, frankness about sexuality is considered inappropriate female behavior in many cultures. Hence, women tend to avoid prompting condom use or engaging in any kind of sexual negotiation for safe sex. They refrain because such deliberations can connote promiscuity on their part and mistrust of their partner, leading them to be viewed as disrespectful in the relationship they value; however, by keeping quiet they become vulnerable. Gender-based power differentials can influence the risk of unprotected intercourse.

The scholarship driving this early period was characterized by a heavily biomedical emphasis and an individualistic bias in relation to the ways in which the social sciences might contribute meaningfully to the development and implementation of an HIV/AIDS research agenda. By focusing on the links between empirical data on sexual behavior and psychological theories of individual behavior such as the Health Belief Model, the Theory of Reasoned Action, or the Stages of Change Model, studies assumed that more broadly based prevention programs could be developed to persuade people to change their behaviors in ways that would ultimately reduce the risk of HIV infection (Turner, Miller, & Moses 1989).

Studies in this camp include the work of Klepp, Biswalo and Talle (1995), Katabaro (1997), Caceres et al (1997) and Ulawaka & Matsu (2002)—all of these focused on the behavioral analysis of risk constructions. These scholars studied how information can help people reduce risky behavior. However, with time, the limitations of behavioral interventions based on information such as stimulus for risk reduction became evident. Scholars found that information itself cannot produce risk reduction. In addition, individual psychology as a basis for intervention was limited since scholars discovered that the social construction of risk was different in different contexts. This understanding led to a new wave of research endeavors based on cultural and structural analysis.

Heavily influenced by developments within interactionist sociology and interpretative cultural anthropology, as well as by insights drawn from fields such as women's and gay-lesbian studies, the attention on AIDS intervention research next moved to include a broader set of social representations and cultural meanings that could be understood as shaping or constructing sexual experiences in different contexts (Parker

2001). This shift in emphasis from the study of individual behaviors (calculus of behavioral frequencies) to the investigation of cultural meaning has drawn attention to the socially constructed (and historically changing) identities and communities that structure sexual practice within the flow of collective life (Rubin 1997).

Based on this shift in direction, an important reformulation of the very notion of intervention has begun to take place in the AIDS research community. Earlier notions of behavioral intervention gave way to ethnographically-grounded AIDS education and prevention programs that are community-based and culturally sensitive. These programs aim at transforming social norms and cultural values, and thus at reconstituting collective meaning in ways that will ultimately promote safe sexual practices. The earlier focus on individual psychology and individual subjectivity shifted to a new concern for intersubjective cultural meanings (Gagnon & Parker 1995; Parker & Aggleton 1999). Models like sexual scripting and lay perceptions of the local became popular with this type of research (Bujra 2000; Nzioka 1996). One example of a study conducted in this framework is "*The Lay Perceptions of Risk of HIV infection and the Social Constructions of Safer Sex: Some Experiences from Kenya"* by Charles Nzioka (1996).

Using qualitative ethnography, Nzioka collected insights into some of the ways in which individuals make sense of HIV/AIDS in order to produce socially meaningful constructions of "safer sex" against a background of strong cultural beliefs, inadequate knowledge/information on HIV/AIDS, and low literacy levels (Nzioka 1996: 567). The focus in this HIV-prevention study was to explain the possible causes of less success in increasing condom use in the attempt to control the spread of HIV/AIDS in Kenya. This failure to increase condom use, Nzioka explains, may have arisen because programs were

not presented in language that takes into account cultural predispositions and because the programs did not explore whether people are actively responding to the threat of AIDS by deducing locally-based prevention strategies. Nzioka's study established that condoms were associated with a liberal sexual culture that encourages wantonness, wild promiscuity, permissiveness, and moral decadence; this liberal culture conflicts with the African sexual culture that encourages moral restraint and sexual activity confined within the context of polygyny in Kenya. This analytical research on the social and cultural constructions of sexual meanings provided important insights into the representations shaping HIV-related risk and offered a basis for the development of culturally sensitive, culturally appropriate, and community-based HIV/AIDS prevention programs. However, risks were discovered to be far more complex and seemingly structurally based than previously assumed. Hence incorporating a structural analysis became necessary.

In the 1990s it became evident that not only cultural, but also structural, political, and economic factors shape sexual experience (and hence constrain the possibilities for sexual behavior change) to a far greater extent than had previously been understood (Parker 2001). Despite the variety of language used in the research on structural factors in relation to HIV/AIDS, it has consistently focused on what can be termed forms of "structural violence." These forms of structural violence determine the social vulnerability of both groups and individuals. Increasingly, the focus of inquiry is on ways that communities and societies structure the possibilities of sexual interaction between social actors—the ways in which they define the available range of potential sexual partners and practices, as well as the ways in which they impose both the sexual possibilities and options that will be open to differently situated actors. With the

awareness of the ways in which social orders structure the possibilities (and obligations) of sexual contact, special attention to socially and culturally determined differentials in power (particularly between men and women) and shared meanings of masculinity and femininity has come to the forefront of AIDS prevention research (Gupta & Weiss 1993).

Studies adopting the structural-violence approach consider the interactive or synergistic effects of social factors such as poverty and economic exploitation, gendered power relations, sexual oppression, racism, and social exclusion (Farmer, Connors, & Simmons 1996). Scholars in this type of research try to link HIV vulnerability to a consideration of the ways in which such structural violence is itself situated in historically constituted political and economic systems. Systems that entail diverse political and economic processes and policies create the dynamic of the epidemic, and must be addressed in order to have any hope of reducing the spread of HIV infection (Silberschmidt 2004; Setel 1999; Farmer et. al 1996).

The research of Silberschmidt (2004) shows that economic change disempowered men, resulting in men resorting even more strongly to traditional ideals[13] of enacting their masculinity through their use of sexual prowess and multiple partners in order to compensate for their decreased economic status and self esteem. Since these disempowered men cannot afford to take care of the extra-marital relations economically, Silberschmidt reports that they share these outside women's costs with other men, hence increasing the likeliness of disease infection. This analysis reinforces the picture of more vulnerability with emphasis on women.

[13] Generally these are associated with patriarchal social arrangements.

Silberschmidt (2004) conducted her multiple methods studies in Kisii, Kenya and urban Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She used case studies, life histories, and focus group discussions to understand changing gender roles and relations as well as the sexual and reproductive health behavior of men and women. Focusing on Tanzania as an example, Silberschmidt's (2004) study gives an account of historical events that led to the disempowerment of men in Tanzania and subsequently changing gender roles, specifically due to the lay offs from formal employment which took place in the 1980s and the consequent shift to the informal sector of the economy—a sector that is overcrowded and predominantly occupied by women. However, this study is silent on the opportunities that opened for other men and women with the neo-liberalization of the economy that occurred around the same time. We can bridge this gap by examining the gender situation within the segment of the population of those who benefited economically from these changes.

The fourth group characteristic of the current research on AIDS prevention seeks to integrate both cultural and structural concerns and to provide an alternative to more individualistic behavioral research paradigms. Issues related to gender and power have become central in current research to offer a better understanding of the importance of cultural and structural factors in organizing sexual relations and HIV/AIDS-related vulnerability (Obbo 1995).

This prior research has resulted in calls for new prevention efforts geared toward women, as well as a new concern with how men are implicated in the spread of AIDS. This shift in thinking was reflected in the annual UNAIDS World AIDS Campaign in 2000 which had as its focus the theme “Men Make a Difference.” The campaign

encouraged new programs "to involve men more fully in the effort against AIDS and to bring about a much-needed focus on men in national responses to the epidemic" (UNAIDS 2000).

These developments within the international public health community reflect and incorporate the current academic interest in masculinity and AIDS. Over the last decade this research has grown quickly, with studies exploring how masculinity shaped sexual behavior and fueled AIDS risk in a variety of African contexts (Obbo 1993; Campbell 1997; Setel 1996, 1999; Rivers and Aggleton 1998; Rweyemamu 1999; Bujra 2000; Silberschmidt 2001; Haram 2005). By creating more nuanced understandings of African masculinities, this work demonstrates how masculinity influenced the behavior of both men and women in Africa during the early stages of the AIDS epidemic. However, it provides less explicit explanations of how femininity impacts masculinity or vice versa in the context of AIDS prevention.

This previous research focuses primarily on the separate study of how notions of femininity, and later masculinity, fueled the spread of AIDS, especially in the 1990s; however, it does not address how conceptions of femininity, and in turn masculinity, are now being shaped by AIDS. Specifically, it does not explore how they are being shaped in social relational contexts such as marriage. Recalling Spronk's (2006) remark, the lack of focus on HIV/AIDS prevention as a dialectical endeavor has prevented scholars from investigating the ways that particular young people resist the gender norms that fuel the disease (Aggleton & Campbell 2000). Spronk's argument offers a bridge to another research area in HIV/AIDS prevention, namely the impact of HIV/AIDS on gender.

While acknowledging that context may limit the choices concerning HIV prevention possible for various groups, there is motivation to establish a nuanced understanding of the *interaction* between context and individuals, because within the constraints of their world, individuals are planful and make choices among options that *construct* their life course (Clausen 1993, cited in Elder 1994). This life course view differs from the one that dominate public health discourses that views individuals as making rational choices from among available options, and is absent in the literature on HIV prevention.

The impact of HIV/AIDS on gender

Within the context of the mature, long-standing HIV/AIDS epidemic, a new group of studies emerged which extended previous research by examining the ways in which constructions of masculinity and femininity in Africa are changing. The work of Spronk (2006) and Wyrod (2007) typifies this area of research; Spronk studied single young professionals in Nairobi, Kenya and Wyrod investigated masculinity in urban Uganda. This young research agenda aims to understand how HIV/AIDS impacts gender and sexuality. Scholars have not sought simplistic causal links between AIDS and gender, but instead investigate how the context of the AIDS epidemic matters to changing concepts of gender and sexuality in contemporary urban Africa.

Spronk (2006) examined how HIV/AIDS impacts sexuality in the context of modernity. She argued that research on sexuality in Africa is missing a dialectical focus. Informed by Malinowski's (cited in Spronk 2006) framework of the challenge of analyzing the erotic phase as a fundamental factor in the scientific analysis of society, she

analyzed the lives of young professionals in Nairobi in the context of modernity. She analyzed intertwined discourses on cultural heritage, gender relations, and sexuality; the varying directions that young professionals take in their intimate lives; and how these intertwined discourses that cross each other at certain points play out in their personal experiences.

Using ethnographic research methods, her findings revealed how youth are constructing new sexualities. She takes up sexuality as a prism to study postcolonial transformations and the generation of new subjectivities. She works out the complexities of sexuality and culture by focusing on public debates which put these issues on the one hand, in opposition to personal sexual relationships, intimacy, and self-definitions on the other. Her objective was to correct the hegemonic trend of simplifying sex in Africa and consequently de-erotizing it to an act devoid of meaning. Although she focuses more on sexual behaviors and less on the gender norms governing them, in doing research in the context of AIDS, she shows how AIDS is conditioning the young to change.

Her findings provide evidence that young people have a motivation to protect themselves from AIDS because sex is embedded with multiple meanings in their lives. She found that the AIDS pandemic is framed as a social challenge, currently causing sex to be a source of anxiety and ambiguity, codified with negative meaning in public. For the young people in Nairobi, she also found that sex signifies a feeling of one's gendered self—oneself as a “woman” or a “man.” For her respondents, sex also meant being wanted and being sexually attractive, both of which contributed positively to the respondents' self worth. Furthermore, it is an expression of a lifestyle important to the

social group of the young professionals. This positive image of sex motivates this social group to protect themselves and forge new sexual relationships in the AIDS era.

Spronk's (2006) findings suggest that individuals in every society construct meanings about what they do and that these meanings are sometimes not wholly explained by broader global discourses on development, modernization, or medicalized sexuality, which tend to have a Western epistemological bias. She argued that these new self definitions in Nairobi, Kenya are owned by the locals themselves and are not only imitations of western concepts. Wyrod (2007), on the other hand, wanted to explain the impact of AIDS on masculinity in urban Uganda from a development framework. He examined the interaction of biologized and medicalized sexuality discourses in HIV/AIDS prevention from the public health community with multiple sexuality ideologies in urban Uganda. He wanted to see how these discourses, which have roots in the Western perception of development, affect ideas of masculinity in contemporary times when they encounter existing sexuality ideologies in Uganda.

Instead of focusing exclusively on how masculinity impacts AIDS, Wyrod also aimed to understand how AIDS impacts masculinity, a nascent area of research (Wyrod 2007). He investigated how the context of the AIDS epidemic matters to changing notions of masculinity in contemporary urban Uganda. Like Spronk (2006), using an ethnographic field study, his findings proved that AIDS is indeed having an effect on conceptions of masculinity, but only the sexual (not on the non-sexual) dimensions of masculinity. For example, his findings reveal that the hegemonic status of men having multiple sexual partners has been destabilized. Men in Bwaise, Uganda were oriented towards monogamy primarily for practical reasons, what Wyrod labels "pragmatic"

monogamy. Other aspects of masculinity (i.e. headship role) are also shifting in urban Uganda, but in different ways and for different reasons. Using Bwaise, Uganda as a case study, Wyrod's research helps specify how AIDS matters to changing notions of "proper" male sexuality and how the shifts in conceptions of masculinity shape sexual relations in the age of AIDS.

The Uganda case study findings help refine theories of masculinity by providing a more nuanced understanding of the relationships between gender, sexuality, and masculinity. One of the issues addressed, which is significant to my study, is how to understand the ways in which ideas of gender are changing. It was important for him to emphasize that masculinity is complex and multidimensional, and conceptions of it within a given context are multiple and often contradictory. Attempts to understand how ideas about masculinity are changing, he suggested, should focus on how the contemporary milieu provides a new context for a multiplicity of notions of masculinity, rather than looking for clear breaks from the past or the emergence of a singular new masculine ideal. Some of these notions may be relatively new, while others have been salient for generations. This is true in any social context, and is especially true in Africa.

In response to this methodology, I suggest that in order to understand the gender change in Tanzania it is desirable to look into the past (by comparing two generations) in order to trace shifts and continuities of gender designs along a country's historical timeline. Doing so can provide valuable insights into how designs *for* gender at the macro level build on designs *of* gender at the micro level for individuals at different points in time, while appreciating that this happens in a dynamic state. Examining gender in

contemporary urban settings, then, requires attention to the specificities of the context of the country being studied, both present and past.

African lives, like lives everywhere, are an aggregation of social worlds, a lamination of various modes of social practice, and an overlapping or entanglement of diverse strands (Thomas 2003 cited in Wyrod 2007). I agree with Wyrod that what makes Africa such an interesting, and some might argue unique, place, is the transparency of many layers of social life, which allows scholars of Africa to see the past in the present and examine how pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial ontologies are combining anew. Independence added a new layer on top of the old, but the new layer is far from opaque, making the colonial and pre-colonial visible and relevant today. While AIDS has undoubtedly changed Africans, it is only one current in a complex whirlpool of historical social forces shaping constructions of femininity and masculinity.

The work of Spronk (2006) and Wyrod (2007) provides valuable input to the study of the ways in which HIV/AIDS is changing the gender system at the micro level; however, a study comparing the behavior of young people with that of previous generations (who came of age before the advent of AIDS), would shed a great deal of light on the subject of how AIDS is changing young people's gender and sexual lives. That is the contribution of this dissertation within this new emerging body of literature.

Adding to the knowledge of sexual and gender relations in single life experiences, in this dissertation the impact of HIV/AIDS is examined in a social relational setting—the life of a married couple. Studying changes in concepts of gender as a relational factor enables me to help reverse the prevalent tendency to overemphasize the exploration of gender and AIDS in relation to women or men separately. Data from around the world,

including Tanzania, suggest that married women's greatest risk of contracting HIV is through sexual intercourse with their husbands (UNAIDS, UNFPA, and UNIFEM 2004). This implies that masculinity explains the marital risk. However, it leaves the role of femininity unexamined—the ways in which masculinity interacts with femininity in marital contexts to construct marital risk, or lack thereof, remains unexplored.

The impact of AIDS on gender as a relational factor, especially in marriages, is relatively unexplored. Gender as a relational factor entails an approach that examines men in relation to women, and women in relation to men, and how both men and women are affected by AIDS, since sexual relations are social practices. Gender studies with a relational approach examine social relational contexts whereby individuals define themselves in relation to others in order to act (Ridgeway & Correll 2004). The approach, at least with regard to heterosexual relations, that treats gender as a synonym for women, is a short-sighted view in seeking to understand femininity without engaging men, as is attempting to understand what masculinity means without also engaging women. Hegemonic cultural beliefs provide blueprints for enacting gender in most settings where individuals consider themselves relative to others (Risman 2004; Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin 1999). Certainly, as the subsequent chapters will show, both wives and husbands can follow or deviate from these blueprints as they renegotiate them in light of their circumstances. Some of my conclusions are similar to those of prior studies, while others differ because of the unique historical trajectory of the setting[14] in which my study is located.

[14] A setting characterized by, for example, colonialism, socialism, and a neo-liberal market economy

By studying the impact of HIV risk on constructions of gender, which influence sexual conduct, from a life course approach, this dissertation also addresses the love discourses in Giddens (1992) work on the social transformation of intimacy, love, sexuality, and eroticism which is also absent from, yet relevant to, the HIV prevention literature. Giddens' work is relevant as it lays a framework for understanding how modern sexual love is navigated in the midst of the sexual conduct which carries the risk of HIV infection.[15]

It is important that I now clarify the conceptual framework this dissertation employs to understand the social construction of gender in response to HIV/AIDS among young professional couples in Tanzania.

2.3. The Conceptual Framework

I conceptualize HIV/AIDS preventive behavior as a gender construction context—a fashioning of a new lifestyle in people's everyday lives. The overarching theoretical paradigms guiding this study are social constructionism and the life course, within which I locate and examine the HIV/AIDS prevention efforts of young professional couples, and the connection of these efforts to constructions of gender.

"Social constructionism" as used here broadly means "reality is socially constructed" (Berger & Luckmann 1966:1). Furthermore, in all its perspectives there is support for a relational theory of meaning and action, which suggests that people maintain their social identities through their interactions with others. Without these

[15] Modern love and intimacy, according to Giddens (1992), is characterized by being revolutionary with greater democracy within the sexual partnership. Giddens attributes part of the enabling environment of this transformation to self help discourses.

interactions with others, within historically bounded contexts, actions would be chaotic, maladaptive, and senseless (DeLamater and Hyde1998). On the other hand, the life course paradigm maintains that biography is a social construct. Social context is not a scene or setting through which the person, loaded with a particular set of natural predispositions, must proceed. Rather, social context constitutes the person, which means it literarily makes people who they are. Each person is viewed as highly malleable, as highly capable of change in response to what he or she encounters. People do not develop according to their natures but, rather, they are continually produced, sustained, and changed by their social context (Shanahan &Macmillan 2008: 63). The basic conceptual premise rests on the following argument:

> Neither gendered nor egalitarian division of labor [and marital gender relations as a whole] are stable once negotiated because both must be continually renegotiated as life circumstances change…there is a recursive relationship between discourses of gender and constructions of gender. Couples not only respond to prevailing gender discourses as they develop their marital gender relations, they also actively resist and reinterpret those discourses in light of their circumstances (Deutsch 1999).…people are purposive…through the exercise of agency, people construct their own life course through their actions, reactions, and choices (Shanahan & Macmillan 2008).

This observation illuminates the conceptual understandings of the complex interaction of gender discourse/ideology and practice and calls out for a reformulation of mainstream gender thought and practice with regard to HIV/AIDS prevention research—appreciating the dynamism of the gender system linked to HIV/AIDS. From these perspectives, the inquiry begins with social context and asks how it affects the gender construction process. For this study, the pertinent question arising from this is: While there are multiple and dominant discourse(s) of gender that shape masculinity and femininity

constructions in Tanzania are young professional couples in Dar es Salaam subjecting them to reinterpretation in light of their circumstances, including HIV/AIDS?

Brickell (2006) would suggest applying historicism[16] to the social construction of gender to answer the above question. He would argue that rather than conceiving of gender as an unchanging individual essence that we might trace over time, we can investigate its contingency upon historically specified frameworks of thought and practice (Brickell 2006). A central concern that emerges from this perspective is the need to chart the effects of the history of gender relations discourses that impacted the social organization of gender and expressions of agency in people's responses in specific generational contexts. This theory can be generalized to apply to Tanzanians. Using this approach, I will study the social construction of gender in two generational cohorts experiencing young adult hood before and during the HIV/AIDS epidemic. A generational cohort[17] functions as a relevant analytical device because it consists of numbers and kinds of people born at the same time with life courses reflecting unique historical backgrounds characterized by special socio-cultural and environmental events to which they are all exposed (Shanahan et. al 1997).

The historicism/social constructionism theoretical framework provides a valuable anchor for my analysis of the social impact of AIDS in Tanzania. It allows room to incorporate both gender and generational analysis, which are both important for my work. However, I am not only interested in tracking history, but also eliciting experiences of

[16] Historicism is a version of the social constructionism applied to history.
[17] Generations refers to individuals living at particular historical periods (and spanning some birth years) in order to facilitate an understanding of the effects of social change on lived experience (Kertzer1983:143; Ryder1965; Manheim 1952).

gender agency. Specifically, I want to explore the mechanism behind the agency[18] and how is it enabled. To accomplish this, I supplement the historicism approach with a gender interactional approach.

Gender interactionist theorists conceptualize gender as a social institution[19] but they differ in that one group highlights the institutional aspect and views interpersonal interactions and social interactions simply as manifestations of its construction and maintenance (Martin 2004; Lorber 1994). The other group emphasizes interpersonal interactions whose expressions are drawn from the institutional arena (West and Zimmerman 1987). Garfinkel captured this interplay of the two dimensions of the gender system nicely when he argued that the subject's sense of gendered selfhood arises through routinized and managed interaction with others within shared "communities of understanding" about what gender "is" and what it "means" (Garfinkel 1967).

To explore the possibilities of change in this managed gender interaction informed by a shared community, Benjamin and Sullivan (1999) suggest using an approach that is grounded in the idea that understanding gender relations necessarily involves both institutional and interactional dimensions. In their study of the possibilities of change in marital relations of middle class professionals in the United States, they argue that investigating the possibilities of change in marital relationships involves examining the interplay of gender consciousness,[20] relational resources,[21] and material

[18] My working definition for gender agency in this dissertation is: people's initiatives to work out their gender relations to suit them—to respond to gender related vulnerabilities as active rather than passive agents in their everyday life. Agency here refers to the reinterpretation of gender discourses and effecting change, if needed, to suit one's circumstances.

[19] Earlier theories locate gender within the individual.

[20] Gender consciousness is here regarded as a critical *enabling* element in the desire for the transformation of the normative boundaries which regulate gender relations (Benjamin & Sullivan 1999:4) In Benjamin & Sullivan's approach gender consciousness can be thought of as a continuum along which a generalized

circumstances in their concrete interactional manifestation. They further contend that while much research is devoted to the influence of material or structural resources on indicators (such as the domestic division of labor) relatively little direct attention has been given to the issue of differing 'relational' or *interpersonal* resources. This speaks to my research.

As stated above, HIV/AIDS statistics for Tanzania indicated higher rates of infection for the economically advantaged group in 2007. This implies that although these young professionals have access to material resources, these resources do not adequately translate to agency in HIV/AIDS prevention.[22] Hence, the questions arising here are: If there are any young professionals out there exhibiting agency, is it explained by material resources or relational resources or both (or other factors)? If other factors figure into the explanation, are generational and gender consciousness among these factors? What if the change cannot be explained entirely by social positioning explanatory models?

Starting with the first question, Edmund and Turner (2002) would agree with Benjamin and Sullivan's thinking about gender consciousness and relational resources as important factors in changing marital gender relations in economically advantaged social

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gender awareness is succeeded by a consciousness of the rights associated with specific gender locations within a given system. This in turn implies a reciprocal influence on the generation of these rights in social interaction, which might be either reactionary or progressive in nature. Finally, a clearly articulated challenge to the existing system of gender relations may emerge, containing an explicit commitment to change. Gender consciousness is thus, according to them 'central to whether or not partners, particularly women, push for change. I adopt this meaning for my work.

[21] The term relational resources in this work refer to interpersonal skills for marital gender competence which I understand as the combination of the interpersonal and emotional skills and resources that individuals bring to a relationship. Examples of such skills might include change-directed negotiating skills and the ability to express thoughts and feelings more clearly.

[22] Earlier studies in HIV/AIDS prevention dwelt on the economic disadvantage of women, especially, and poverty in general, coupled with gender inequality as factors explaining vulnerability and disempowerment to negotiate sex.

groups. They would argue that society can be shaped by generational location and shared generational experience rather than economic class (Edmunds & Turner 2002). Relational resources, like material resources, can act as important facilitators of change in aspects of intimate relationships (Benjamin & Sullivan 1999; Edmunds & Turner 2002). Although not every generation creates a new frame of reference for its particular situation, if they do, it may be a result of a generation[23] characterized by consciousness, critical reflexivity, and agency.

Generational consciousness like class consciousness is conceived as "generation for itself" as opposed to "generation in itself" (Andrews 2002). Discontinuity between generations is most probable during periods of rapid cultural changes. In such periods, a significant number of members of a generational cohort operate as agents who spur social change by challenging traditional interpretations and offering alternative interpretations (Mannheim 1952). According to Manheim, then, social change occurs as significant numbers of the younger generation reject, oppose or alter the cultural heritage created by the older generations and embraced by many of their contemporaries (Mannheim 1952).

I can use this framing to understand gender agency in young professional generation related to HIV/AIDS prevention not as much through the chronological understanding of generation as through the ways in which a generational cohort (born in same era) becomes a generation. This situation nevertheless does not explain how these

[23] A generation in Mannheim's theory consists of three components: First, a "generational location" is a cluster of opportunities or life chances that constitute the "fate" of a generation. Second, a "generation as actuality" that shares a set of historical responses to its location emerges within this context; and third, within a generation there are generation units which articulate structures of knowledge or consciousness that express their particular location (Edmunds &Turner 2002). Times of discontinuity characterized by social upheavals most likely stimulate a transformation from "generation as location" (i.e. generational cohort) to "generation as actuality" (Andrews 2002). As a symbiotic movement, the accelerated tempo of social change helps to actualize a generation (i.e., to produce generational consciousness). Actualized generations, in turn, realize social change

social agents become conscious or when a shift from generational location to generational actuality happens, or how a generation becomes conscious of its location and takes action to create social change. Andrew (2002) provides an answer to these queries.

Andrew would argue that, generational consciousness can be interpreted by adopting Freire's concept of conscientization as a journey to developing a critical consciousness. Thus, while the tempo of social change may increase the probability of a generation moving from a "generation as a location" to a "generation as actuality," conscientization is the driving force for the transformation to be realized (Andrews 2002). He would further elaborate that critical consciousness is attained when people have a structural perception[24] to conditions around them (Freire cited in Andrews 2002). To simplify understanding this therefore, it is only when this generational consciousness is accompanied by a structural understanding of the social world and of a generation's potential to act upon and influence prevailing social conditions that a realization of generation as actuality might occur. When it occurs according to Edmunds and Turner (2002) a generation becomes a strategic acting generation by using available resources to innovate in the cultural, intellectual, or political spheres.

Up to this point this framework seems to promise the potential to analyze my young professional couples in the younger generation, especially those who are manifesting change in marital gender relations. Applying the framework to young professional couples socially constructing gender in response to HIV/AIDS era would mean: a process of a generational cohort becoming a strategic acting generation by using available resources to innovate in the cultural is ongoing/underway, manifested in lived

[24] A simultaneous constraining and empowering consciousness of your surrounding. The next step is to choose which direction to take—to exercise agency.

experiences of seeking prevention. I would argue that a subgroup of the larger young professional generation (generation unit) that seems to exhibit agentive innovation in gender meaning constructions and enactments in times of the AIDS pandemic social challenge exists. These innovations in gender in turn are constructing sexual conducts that promote sexual health in the marital life of this generation unit.

I am aware that generational studies have shown that continuity of social groups like “generations” is achieved through the institutionalization of collective memory and through rituals and commemoration ceremonies (Halbwachs 1992). Further still, generational continuity is enabled through passage rites. I join other scholars who think that this is not true always. For example, Mannheim (1952) and Myers and Booth (2002) submit that young professionals have the economic and cultural capital to pose as ‘social change agents’. The young professionals can break the generational continuity.

In the section on situating the context of young professionals I explained that this group is living in an era when all forms of institutionalizing the transfer of generational knowledge of gender relations and sexual conduct is almost diminished. Instead they acquire relational resources almost entirely from self help discourses in cultural consumption. This self help resource to interpersonal skills and the generational consciousness in the gender sphere together with their material resources is what partly would account for any manifestation of gender agency related to HIV/AIDS prevention.

My dissertation analysis argues that it is a combination of increased gender consciousness and the development of particular inter-personal skills [which I call resources for gender competence] that facilitates negotiation and change in the boundaries regulating marital gender relationships that have a bearing on sexual conduct.

Two of the above three questions have now been answered. The third question deals with how we would explain change when generations and gender analysis can not entirely offer explanation. Initially I had expressed that not only do I want to explain the history of gender constructions but as well understand the motivations behind them and how they are enabled. We have dealt with the enabling part but not the motivation part. Sayer lends support to this.

Sayer (2005) argues that agency is also a matter of being able to command respect/moral value around significant others. Men and women in marital relations in Tanzania and most parts of Africa have moral personhoods (Ikuenobe 2006) which they value and are committed to in order to gain respect in a shared community environment. This moral personhood is part of the gendered self and sometimes changes to gender may necessitate change in the moral personhood. The concern arising here is what would motivate change in morality that may facilitate change in gendered sexual lives of the young professional couples if need be? Andrew Sayer (2005) would argue that the response to this may not necessarily lie in social positioning explanatory models alone but lay normativity perspectives as well.

Life has a practical and normative character that is often overlooked. Sayer argues that everyday situations often require us to make decisions and justify what we do, because appropriate behaviors are not *simply* prescribed by external forces or cultural scripts. People care deeply about things for which they may form commitments and which they may value more than their lives. These commitments are normative tendencies of normative beings. This lay normativity, according to Sayer, is part and parcel of our subjectivity. Humans are more than a product of discourse or socialization

but a particular kind of being who is capable of enculturation, and of having concerns and commitments, of worrying about what to do and what would be for the best. We care about things that have welfare implications for us and others. This means that we are capable of flourishing or suffering and of registering how we are faring. Human values are fallible yet not irrational or merely subjective. They indicate a perspective that provides reasonable judgments about situations and processes (Sayer 2004).

In his reasoning, Sayer presents human beings as more than the "mere internalisation of social influences" (2005: 35). Human beings are represented as social beings who deeply "desire recognition and self-respect" (35). Sayer argues that the goods which are valued and bring recognition and self respect in society or rather practices and ways of living that are valued are not determined by class, but are in *part* conditional on what people do, how they behave and live. Class only impacts the possibility of achieving that valued life (Sayer 2005). Sayer argues that "class concern" is also about having access to the practices and ways of living that are valued, and class often renders this access highly unequal. This formulation reinforces the view of the life course generational perspective that change can occur irrespective of material resources. This means it occurs not only because of material conditions that empower professionals' ability to take control of their situations but also because of the cultural properties they possess such as interpersonal relationship skills. By using this lay normativity perspective I do not de-emphasize class analysis but rather re-conceptualize class so as to incorporate the moral and ethical dimensions that are part of class analysis. The material conditions of the professionals give them the opportunity to travel, to be exposed to

westernization and various other thought systems. This social mobility it is assumed enables them to rethink their moral concerns and commitments differently.

Applying Sayers formulations to my analysis would mean that the wealthy in Tanzania are also *concerned* with cultural expectations of masculinity and femininity, expectations for valuation, which are now posing sexual risk. But in virtue of their class position they can reinvent these *concerns* strategically if they want to retain them. Alternatively, they would juggle around their *concerns* and yet remain safe from the disease (i.e. not use condoms in marital sex but create mindful marital lifestyles). When they decide to reconstruct their gender [or their moral concerns] with regard to HIV/AIDS prevention, they would use lay judgements. This formulation of the practical life explains incidents of gender change when moral justifications, and not rational explanatory models, make sense.

Since not all members of a generational-cohort will experience historical changes on their gender the same way, their understanding will depend on other stratifying forces such as SES, place (rural versus urban), ethnicity, and religion, etc. All of which determine their chances to exercise agency. At the personal level, the reciprocal relationship of people and time is a function of how much agency can be exercised within the constraint and opportunities the time offers (Elder 1994). Hence, in order to grasp the personal level from a generational-cohort framework, I looked at intra cohort variation (Cohler & Hostetler 2003). This analysis helped me to illuminate individuals and their differential developmental trajectories in ways that a focus solely on cohorts on their own could not.

Eliciting all this kind of knowledge (i.e., about agency) was enabled by the life-story/narrative method which I adopted. With this method, I was able to understand how individuals construct meanings from the stream of everyday life experience, integrating both positive and negative chance events, and assembling role transitions into a narrative which itself changes across the life course as a consequence of social and historical circumstances (Cohler & Hostetler 2003:2). While cohort or generation represents the more general level at which culturally- and historically- embedded "plots" of the life course are enacted, intra-cohort variation in idiosyncratic life-events give shape to the "differential developmental trajectories" that make each life story unique (Cohler & Hostetler 2003:3). In support to this Andrews, (2002) submits that it is through narratives garnered through in-depth conversations with individuals that the complex interplay between continuity and discontinuity of generational identity becomes particularly evident. The stories people narrate about themselves and their lives indicate both specificities of their locations as well as their position within a wider historical perspective (Andrews 2002). He further argues that "we come to know ourselves, and others, as members of a generation through acts of narration" (Andrews 2002:85) and we reveal our generational consciousness.

All above three conceptualizations of gender analysis, generational analysis and, motivation and morality analysis are based in Western theorizing. The question remains: Can they be used to analyze non-Western societies? Rather than discussing theoretical debates about this, I want to leave it as an empirical question. Since all these conceptualizations are amenable to empirical research, I leave the answer to be part of the results in this dissertation. Nonetheless, analyzing gender agency among contemporary

young professionals in Tanzania means analyzing lives in the postcolonial era characterized by great globalization influences.

I have laid out a conceptual framework on how I complicated understanding disease prevention with regard to AIDS and gender. AIDS prevention being partly and largely framed through *gender constructions* gives more evidence to infectious disease prevention's *socially based status*. In this theoretical context, gender constructions that are fluid and malleable consequently became framed as *health related behavior*, and in turn conceptualized as *collective lifestyles*, by virtue of their systemic nature of unfolding in individual lives. I argued that understanding any potential change in these collective lifestyles through a comparative analysis of different generational-cohorts, focusing on lived experiences of constructions of gender, sheds light on *the process* of how people are moving away from healthy-risk gender constructions or not. It also illuminated the politics involved, such as how people construct gender, what resources/capital they use with respect to ethics/moral, why others differ, the presence of power dynamics, and especially how this occurs without people losing their moral integrity.

Broadening our framework of disease prevention into looking at lived lives as a whole, taking a life course perspective to analyze generations and framing disease as a historical change allows us to capture prevention process in a less medicalized manner, but as an everyday life experience, similar to gender constructions. How to be a man and how to be a woman is an everyday concern. Gender expressions and acts are imbued with great valuation but vary across places and times. In the context of AIDS, we need to look at disease prevention in light of the social construction of new collective lifestyles at the

interface of postcolonial transformations and the generation of new subjectivities in a globalized world.

This section set the stage for an examination of young professional couples in the age of HIV/AIDS who are constructing their gender as a response to HIV/AIDS. The study investigates both macro and micro aspects of gender construction and reconstruction of masculinity and femininity to create safer marital relations against contracting HIV/AIDS. Using young professional couples as a case study, I demonstrate how marital gender relations shape the HIV/AIDS disease and are shaped by it. Through a dialectical lens, one can fully appreciate the manner in which marital gender relations have affected HIV/AIDS disease and in turn been influenced by the disease.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1. Methodological framework

In this chapter I explain my methodology and research design. I describe the sample and recruitment process, the types of data collection and analysis methods I employed to conduct my research as well as justify the rationale of using them. Some of the quotes I include from the respondents add to the rationalization. Additionally, I include a reflection of how my role as a researcher was while doing the dissertation fieldwork.

As I set out to do this research I was often asked by colleagues, onlookers and relatives how I will manage to get the couples talk about their intimate affairs. I was

specifically asked how men of all people would confide in me about their sexual life. The questions can be summed up by asking how one might conduct research on sexuality in Dar es Salaam when the topic is so taboo. I did acknowledge that it was a challenging endeavor to get anybody to speak about their private lives let alone their sexual life, and I knew that I would have to make a very persuasive argument to my research participants as to why I needed their cooperation and where I stand in the research.

Generally, at the beginning of the life history interviews, the main source of my data, there was a tendency to speak cautiously, but with time when both of us got more relaxed and the rapport grew, participants were willing to express, and did express, a lot to my surprise. Some of the women even shed tears as they narrated parts of their married life histories. I never received everything I heard as final. I kept interpreting it against the background of someone's daily practices and overall life as she/he narrated the life story.

Hence, in September 2007, I embarked on a one year fieldwork study of young professional couples' lifestyles in Tanzania with a specific interest in their gender and sexuality experiences from two generations. This involved a generation that lived before and, during the HIV era. The entire fieldwork lasted ten months. I had devised a research strategy that enabled me to place the personal narratives within their historical contexts. It involved biographical narratives based on interviews with people about their lived experiences as the source for the data. I paid particular attention to some of the implicit and often suppressed perspectives the respondents had in order to get a clearer and more in-depth picture of their lived experiences. Using a multi-method approach, I combined the biographical interviewing method with participant observation, semi-structured

interviews and focus group discussions. Next, I give reasons to why I chose to study professionals.

Young professional couples in Dar es Salaam?

> "Dar es Salaam became more a transit point, a way station gathering and relaying cultural goods between Tanzania and the world. Rather than being a place where heterogeneous Tanzanians meet each other and create the nation, Dar es Salaam has become the place where Tanzania meets the globe."(Lewinson 2005:27)

The regions in Tanzania most affected by prevalence of HIV infection among adults include: Kagera, Iringa and Mbeya with a prevalence range of 15% to 20%, and Dar es Salaam, Rukwa, Shinyanga and Mwanza with a prevalence range of 10% to 15% (TACAIDS 2005). I chose Dar es Salaam for my study even though its HIV/AIDS prevalence data are located in the second group because it is the most developed region in Tanzania and has more ongoing and globalized social, cultural, and economic connections that allow for more exposure to diverse views on and experiments with lifestyles. I chose the city also because of its concentration of professionals. Almost all organizations that employ professionals have their headquarters there. Some of the professionals live in Dar es Salaam and work in other cities. It is also the most populated part of the country. Thirdly, I chose it for convenience purposes, since I could access the field easily there due to my long established social networks as a medical sociologist. Next, I give an account of how I accessed the field and recruited my respondents. I also provide demographic features of my respondents.

Researching gendered conceptions of sexual life in couples as lived experiences to understand disease prevention: research places and practices

The research started with the younger generation born in the 1960s-70s, those experiencing young adult couple life in the age of AIDS followed by the older generation born 1930s-40s whose members experienced young adult couple life before the age of AIDS. After struggling for a while as to how I would find these research participants, I located the younger generation from the Tanzania Graduate and Professionals Association and the older generation from a health supplement trade social network. I got access to both of the networks' databases from the chair persons of these groups. For the younger generation I wrote an email letter and copied it to all members, explaining my research interest and inviting all who would like to participate. As for the older generation, I was given a telephone directory and subsequently I called individuals. After introducing myself and explaining my research interest, I invited them to participate in my research. For those who accepted I used a recruitment screening questionnaire to select them (see appendix 1). I selected the participants who were born in the specified periods of time and are experiencing young adulthood or have experienced it, hence they represent the historical times of the two generational cohorts. They also qualified as professionals (retired and working) and married at the time of their young adulthood. All the 60 people (15 couples per generation) I interviewed are from couples married to one another, and none of them took part in the subsequent focus group discussions.

It turned out there were some couples who did not want to be interviewed. In one case, one spouse agreed and the other did not. In such situations I recruited a new couple. Out of my target of 20 couples per generation, I ended up recruiting 15 couples from each

generation to participate in my research. Both groups were living in Dar es Salaam at the time of the research. I intended to recruit both Christian and Muslim couples for both generations, but only managed to recruit Christian couples. Muslims were not forthcoming, perhaps because of my outsider status in the Muslim community of Dar es Salaam. (See table 1.0 and 1.1 for the profile of my research participants).

Table 1.0: Socio-Demographic Characteristic of the Research Participants

	YOUNGER COUPLES		OLDER COUPLES	
AGE	**MALE NUMBER**	**FEMALE NUMBER**	**MALE NUMBER**	**FEMALE NUMBER**
30-39	7	12	0	0
40-49	8	3	0	0
50-59	0	0	0	5
60-69	0	0	10	6
70+	0	0	5	4
Total	15	15	15	15
EDUCATION LEVEL				
College Level	3	3	4	10
Undergraduate	3	4	3	2
Graduate	8	7	7	3
PhD	1	1	1	0
Total	15	15	15	15
INCOME LEVEL(TSHS)			**No data available**	
below 0.5m	0	0		
0.5m to 1m	2	5		
1m to 1.5m	5	5		
1.5 m to 2m	0	2		
2m to 2.5m	1	1		
2.5m to 3m	7	0		
3m and above	0	2		
Total	**15**	**15**		
INCOME LEVEL(TSHS)	**No data available**			
below 500			3	6
500 to 1000			4	4
1000 to 1500			1	0
1500 to 2000			1	0
2500 to 3000			1	1
3500 to 4000			1	1
4500 and above			4	3
Total			**15**	**15**

Source: Computed from research findings 2007-2008. The USD is equivalent to 5TShs and 1000TShs in the older and younger couples' times respectively.

Table 1.1. Distribution of Research Participants' Professions

	Younger Generation				Older generation		
Profession	Husband	Wife	Total		Husband	Wife	Total
Medical Practice	4	2	4		0	1	1
Auditing	1	0	1		0	0	0
Teaching	1	3	4		3	8	11
Catering	0	0	0		0	1	1
Finance/Accountancy	0	1	1		1	1	2
Nursing	0	2	2		0	1	1
Marketing	1	0	1		0	0	0
Banking	0	3	3		2	0	2
Law	0	0	0		0	1	1
Pharmacy	0	1	1		0	0	0
Entrepreneurship	1	0	1		0	1	1
Agriculture	0	0	0		1	0	1
Journalism	1	0	1		0	0	0
Surveying	0	0	0		1	0	1
Environmental work	1	0	1		1	0	1
Academic	2	1	3		2	0	2
Administration	0	0	0		2	1	3
Information Technology	1	0	1		0	0	0
Social science	0	2	2		0	0	0
Total	**15**	**15**	**30**		**15**	**15**	**30**

Source: Study findings 2007-2008.

I was affiliated with the Health, & Development Research Consultants Company in Dar es Salaam where I had a desk and met some of the research participants there for the interviews. I did not do all the interviews in the office because I was flexible and could meet with participants in their place of choice. Consequently I conducted my interviews in various places, including bars, homes, workplaces, hotels and open places (i.e., university grounds). There was more interaction and freeness when I conducted the interviews away from the office. However, since these were professionals and they were used to office environment, the interview place did not make any difference in their willingness to speak or the content of their answers. Locating a place to meet turned out

to be a joint action. We would call each other several times to set a mutually agreeable place to meet as well as a mutually convenient time and date. I had to display a lot of patience and flexibility as I encountered a lot of setbacks, such as the cancellation of appointments, rescheduling, and rejections. Rejections as we will see later, I came to learn was associated with a multiple of reasons such as marital insecurity and busy life schedules.

I conducted the research in the language of choice of the research participants. It turned out we used both English and Swahili depending on how and when the research participant felt comfortable with either language. I observed that when we talked of very local stuff, we used Swahili mostly but when they wanted to emphasize something, English was used.

The study involved 15 wives and 15 husbands for each generation totaling 60 subjects with roots from different regions of Tanzania (see map, fig 2. p.57). Knowing where the different respondents come from geographically in Tanzania is important for my study because the history of constructions of gender is not uniform across ethnic tribes and this will be more explicit in the older generation's narratives. However, in the younger generation the diversity is less due to urbanization and less contact to traditional roots of gender socialization. The younger couples are more globalized in terms of thinking.

The population of Tanzania consists of about 120 ethnic groups, primarily of Bantu speaking origin. Approximately twelve of these groups make up half of the population of 26 million. Unlike some African countries no single ethnic group dominates in terms of size or political influence and therefore conflict between cultures is

low. The majority of Tanzania's people are made up of two general indigenous groups, which consist of those speaking Bantu and those speaking Nilotic. Bantu speaking people tend to be involved in agriculture and food production. The Nilotic speaking people whom originate from the Nile Valley tend to be involved mainly in cattle farming. The remaining 2% of the population is made up of Europeans, Asians and Arabs who generally live in the urban centers. My research participants were distributed between thirteen regions namely, Lindi, Ruvuma, Mara, Morogoro, Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Singida, Mbeya, Mwanza, Tanga, Tabora, Iringa and Kagera. For the younger generation 30% of the 15 couples sample (wives and husbands included) are the Chagga from Kilimanjaro and 20% are the Haya from Kagera. There were no younger generation participants from Iringa, Arusha, Tabora, Morogoro and Singida. On the other hand for the older generation again the majority were Chagga (36%), and Bondei from Tanga (20%). There were no older generation participants from Mbeya and Mara. Except for the Yao from Lindi who have a matrilineal history, the rest practice patrilineal. The difference between the generational regional compositions was a result of who lived in Dar es Salaam at the time of my study.

The Chagga were one of the first tribes to accept ecclesiastical influences - both religious and educational, which has contributed to their modern reputation as an educated people. Like the Chagga, the Haya are a Bantu-speaking people who took a relatively early interest in education. As such these two ethnic groups are found working throughout Tanzania.

Since we were all living in Dar es Salaam, I kept running into these couples at different occasions even after the interviews so we would stop and chat and revisit some

of the issues we talked about during the interviews. At times some of the participants would add or clarify some issues. They also never forgot to remind me that they wanted to see the end product of my work! This suggests a high level of interest in my topic on the part of many respondents. One couple I met at a bereavement gathering. They came up to greet me and then the husband remarked, “You see, we go to social occasions together” which supported his attempt to prove what he had previously narrated to me about doing things together as a couple. Some of the other places research participants and I met included the church, funerals, weddings, at the beach, and at shopping centers. In fact these are places I was also using as my sources of data collection. I participated and observed in these areas to gather data on gendered relations, such as who came, wife or husband or both, and how their behavior in these public places related to my findings about their relationships as revealed during the interview conversations.

Figure 2.Tanzania Regional Map

Key

○ **Regional distribution of research participants' tribal origin**

Researching gender and sexuality as relational, interactional, and generational concepts

To begin with, as noted earlier much of the data on gender conceptions of sexual life in previous research is either collected from a woman or man alone perspective and

not from both at the same time. Researchers either study the role of masculinity or the role of femininity in health promotion. In my case I studied the role of gender (both masculinity and femininity) with regard to sexual health promotion in a couple. By collecting data on gender from couples I was able to capture the relational nature of gender.

Secondly, my approach was different from other studies of gender and AIDS in that I collected comparative data on gender using a generational approach. This kind of data allows me to observe any shift in gender and the contexts for its shifting with respect to AIDS.

Thirdly, I studied the young professionals as a cultural as well as an occupational social group. I took note of how class as both a cultural and economic phenomenon can shape our ways of thinking and living. I studied the patterning of lifestyles within the young professional social group from both generational cohorts to tease out differences and similarities. I adopted this cultural stance in approaching class because one, economic factors alone do not explain why those who are educated and better-off economically have higher HIV/AIDS transmission rates in Dar es Salaam; two, economic analysis of class alone can not explain change in gender relations in this social group if it occurs.

Throughout the data collection process , I focused on that which the two generational cohorts knew and know about what was going on and does go on among other females and males in their social groups, and not only their own narratives of their gender and sexual lives. Many studies have shown that projections about others when narrating self-indulgent issues in most cases reflect the close-to-actual experiences of

those narrating (Kumar et al 1999). In the focus group discussions I used a number of projective techniques (Murstei 1995) to elicit information. I specifically used the life-story method (Cohler and Hostetler 2003) to elucidate the ways the HIV/AIDS pandemic is related to particular lives. It is through the narratives and in-depth conversations with individuals that I was able to understand the complex interplay between continuity and discontinuity of generational identity. The stories the couples narrated about themselves and their lives indicated both specificity of their locations as well as their position within wider historical processes (Andrews 2002). I now turn to the methods used to collect and analyze data.

3.2. Methods

Researching gendered conceptions of sexual life in couples as lived experiences: Collection of data and validity

I started data collecting activity with face to face in-depth conversations and life histories interviews with the younger generational cohort, followed by participant observation of the couples in their social lives with friends, on social occasions like kitchen parties, funerals, and churches and most importantly in entertainment/cultural site places. Another data collecting activity I used with only the younger generation was to conduct two focus group discussions, (wives and husbands—separately) from a different set of participants and not the interviewed couples. Thereafter I conducted face to face in-depth conversations and life histories interviews with the older generation but with this group I did not conduct participant observation because they were narrating retrospective life experiences. In the course of the in-depth interviewing of the life histories for both

generations I collected socioeconomic and demographic data and information on leisure activities (i.e. cultural consumption patterns) both current and retrospective using a semi structured questionnaire (see Appendix 1for all the research instruments for this study).

I was also able to conduct two key informant interviews with the main speakers of kitchen parties (see table 2.0. below) for the data collection profile.

Table 2.0. Data collection profile

Interviewee/research site	**Number of persons/sites**	**Method of data collection**	**Type of data sought**
1.Younger generation 2. Older generation	15 15	Life history interviewing	1. Historical contexts of gender relations. 2. Factors influencing gender 3. AIDS as a context in gender constructions.
1. Younger generation	10	2 Focus groups, 5 wives, and 5 husbands per group.	1.Factors influencing gender , 2. Tools and resources to define gender 3. AIDS as a context in gender constructions.
1. Younger generation 2. Older generation	15 15	Semi-structured questionnaire	1. Socioeconomic and demographic 2. Information on leisure activities (i.e. cultural consumption patterns) and lifestyles.
Kitchen party Speakers	2	Key informant interviews	1.Marital life socialization to brides to be (femininity)
Kitchen party Funeral/bereavement Beach Church Evang. Christian meetings Hotels/restaurant, *nyama choma* (barbecuing places), etc. i.e. market.	2 2 4 Suns 4 20	Participant observation	Gender displays- enactments in their social contexts- ,what is the setting, who is there, what they do, why they come, how they relate

Suns: Sundays.

In the subsequent sections I describe how I actually conducted the different data collecting activities:

1. In depth life history interviews

When I did my interviews, I started by creating a rapport. Instead of focusing on gendered conceptions of sexual life immediately, I approached the topic via other related topics to create the necessary trust to allow the interviewee to speak openly. Therefore on almost all the interviews I begun with an opening question, *I would like you to tell me about your whole life however way you like to narrate it.* I left the choice of the starting point of narration to the research participants. Some started with now and with how they live their couple life and go backwards. Others started with when they were children, how they were raised, how they went to school their current status in general. Something I learned in this activity is that people liked the narration because they told me it gave them an opportunity to stop and think about their lives retrospectively, and address a situation or plan to change some of the issues which are currently important and need attention. For example, Nora (age 36) was experiencing a strain in her relationship and she did not understand why because she thought she was doing everything right. When we talked, she said it was a very good opportunity for her to go through her couple life and examine some of the factors she thinks could be contributing to the strain in her relationship.

When they are done with the first part of the narration I would probe into some of the topics they raised and introduce others if not mentioned such as family background,

reflections on childhood, puberty, courtship, career and lifestyle before we arrived at the main topic. When I felt there was enough rapport, I shifted the interview focus to discuss meanings of gender and sexuality and the concerns they had about them. I encouraged participants to tell me how they maintain or depart from the stereotypical meanings of gender and sexuality culturally accepted in Tanzania, and the tools and resources they use to construct the conceptions and beliefs they have about gender and sexuality. In other words, we talked about gender and sexuality socialization. In these talks, I paid attention to the way these couples think and reflect upon how they enact their gender. I also paid attention to how they reflect on factors that influence them to redefine their gender. When the factor of HIV/AIDS arose in the conversations, I tried to get more out of the discussion by pursuing questions such as why and how it is influencing them to shift gender conceptions. For example, John (age 39, a medical doctor) decided to use condoms with his wife in the age of AIDS because his wife became pregnant even though she had informed him that she was on a contraception pill[25].

On some occasions they would have already touched the main topic briefly in the initial narration hence, I would build on it and probe more. Also with me I carried an open ended in-depth interview guide which I referred to when and where necessary in the course of the interview. The interviews lasted between one to two hours[26] and I ended up doing only four recalls from the 60 interviews I did. At the end of every interview I administered a face sheet field notes questionnaire. This allowed me to summarize

[25] John is one the few husbands in the young professional social group in Tanzania who use condoms for marital sex.

[26] The one to two hours was not in all cases a successive timing but in total. I would sometimes spend the whole day at a respondent's home and we would talk in intervals. This was more with wives, particularly of the older generation who I met at homes and they would be having other preoccupations in the house.

demographic details, put comments about each interview and judge whether I may need to have a recall for it.

I started out recording and writing down notes as the interviews progressed but eventually I focused more on recording and listening and would write notes after the interviews. On several occasions after completing the interviews, the research participants asked me how other participants were responding to my research and where I saw trends developing in the findings. They even asked me if at the end of my research we could all (all participating couples and I) convene and have a workshop to brainstorm through the findings jointly. I did consider their request and planned to have a workshop to present my preliminary results, but due to time constraints I did not accomplish this. I plan to have a workshop to present my dissertation findings after my defense.

2. Cultural consumption semi-structured questionnaires

During the in-depth interviews I asked all participants to complete a short questionnaire (see appendix 1) that requested basic socioeconomic and demographic information as well as data on their cultural consumption habits, such as the kinds of books, magazines, television programs, and other media they prefer. They also wrote about when and how they consumed the cultural products. Beginning with the first interview I alternated asking them to fill the questionnaire at the beginning and at the end of the interview. This helped me reduce the monotony of the interview schedule. The older generation did not remember everything but they did record the activities they loved most, which some still carry out.

3. Focus Groups

In order to open up the study to a broader and more interactive discussion, I used focus groups. I conducted two focus groups discussions, one for each gender within the younger generational cohort. The focus groups comprised of five people each. The group conversation started with an introduction of my self followed by the group participants in turn around the table we convened. Then the moderation of the discussion proceeded aided by a moderator's guide. I used a recorder to record the discussion. The focus group discussions lasted for about one and half hours. I convened these focus groups at the Health and Development Research Consultancy office. The setting did not affect the behavior and the data collection process because the professionals were accustomed and at ease with such an environment. It would probably have been an issue if I was talking to a group of people which is not exposed to corporate environment. I was allowed to use the office's room facilities to conduct my focus groups. I also offered refreshments in the form of tea and sodas with some bites to the group participants.

The focus groups added breadth to the depth of information which individual interviews produced. As a technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher (Morgan 1996), focus groups create a more conducive environment to express broadly young professionals' opinions about sex, sexuality and gender as they gained motivation from the interaction with others in the discussion.

4. Key informant interviews

I conducted two key informant interviews with two kitchen party[27] main speakers. The topic I addressed were, the role of kitchen parties in the society and marriage, contents of what is happening in them, their historical context, and their relationship with constructions of femininity

5. Participant Observation.

To characterize the changing conceptions of masculinity and femininity and how the younger generational cohort of young professional couples redefines gender in contemporary Tanzania, I complemented the in-depth interviews with participant observation. I conducted this part of the research with the younger generation. I did not structure when to go to these cultural sites but whenever the opportunity arose while in the field I went. The time I spent in these sites varied in some places like the church I stayed through out the service. In the places I stayed shorter was like one to three hours and in the places I stayed longer was like the whole afternoon (e.g. beach) or half the night (e.g. kitchen party). With me while in the field I kept a log book in which I logged in all interesting things I observed pertaining to the study. The participant observation method allowed me to "catch" both spoken and unspoken meanings, through observing how the couples relate in their everyday living. I would log in all the interesting and

[27] Kitchen party is a modern version ceremony for initiating brides in Tanzania. Knowledge of building a home is passed on by experienced married women -based on mainstream popular patriarchy gender ideology-the central theme is how to please a man.

relevant observations into my journal sometimes at the site when the situation allows or when I returned home. I did not always carry the log book.

Specifically I participated in cultural sites and activities frequented by the young professionals. These included social occasions like weddings, churches, funerals, sports, and gyms, etc., as well happy hours, such as night life, parties, kitchen parties and other social functions that I identified during the course of the study. I attended two kitchen parties, four beach visits, two funerals, I missed twice church but I attended church every Sunday, one wedding, four parties, many happy hours like more than 20 where we eat *nyama choma*(barbecued meat)[28], did swimming twice, and visited night places twice. I also attended evangelical Christian meetings six times. These were happening not very far from where I was living. I would sit longer in restaurants and hotels where I meet for interviews after the interview is done. I observed what is happening to gender norms in the couples' spaces other than their homes that constitute their social environment. For instance, I logged into my book things like, *what was the place, how can I describe the place, who was there, was it the wife and husband, or one of them, with whom, were children there, what was happening in the site, who did what, who else where there apart from the couples, what other insight can I get about gender relations from the site.* The aim of the observation was to capture how defining gender is happening within a social context and its interrelated factors. These activities helped me to observe gender enactments in their social context, particularly how different actions will serve to express

[28] '*Nyama choma* eating' is the lifestyle in most young professionals in Dar es Salaam. I was invited even during lunch hours at work where I was attached. This is why it was the cultural site I most frequented. Normally this happens in restaurants and neighborhood bars and eating joints.

and maintain gender identities within different situational contexts (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999).

For the younger generation I visited the cultural sites also to acquaint myself with the cultural activities they mentioned in the cultural consumption patterns questionnaires to observe how gendered they are. I also read some of the cultural documents they mentioned such as *Parents* magazine and viewed some of the soap operas they mentioned such as *Generations*. For the older generation I wanted to find the commonly consumed cultural documents of their time but this became difficult since they are no longer in circulation. For example, some of them mentioned a news paper called *kwemkia* which was in circulation during the colonial time. Similarly, the radio plays they mentioned they listened to are no longer available and in their time, there was not yet television. I relied mostly on what they told me about their cultural documents and counter-checked with other several older people, such as my mother and kinsmen. I used the same magazines they consumed in the projective techniques for the focus group discussions. For example I asked them to use pictures from the *Parents* magazine to make collages of *culturally expected gender relations* and *contemporary gender relations* and thereafter we together analyzed these materials as to what they mean.

Research on sexual life and experiences of sex has practical limitations since one cannot directly observe what people claim. To validate my data I used the window of beliefs, and conceptions the participants expressed regarding how to be a woman and man to determine their masculinity and femininity sexual identity expressions. For example, do they identify with sexual submissiveness as a femininity identity? The in-depth conversations and life stories were my window on to their mindsets, how they

think, and how they articulate their gender identities. As Andrew states, “we come to know ourselves, and others, as members of a generation through acts of narration” (Andrews 2002:85). People’s narrations reveal their generational consciousness. I relied on the personal narratives from the conversations to understand the intersection of the individual and the collectivity, the cultural and the social (Laslett 1999). To ensure that I would obtain clear and reliable information, I recruited members of two generational cohorts who have extensive networks with other members of their generational cohort. The two sets of interviewees articulated a more or less typical profile of the generational cohort they represent. The participants have many friends and acquaintances and they were willing to talk about the prevailing young adults’ gender and sexual norms and attitudes in their particular social groups based on their personal experiences. I gathered knowledge of what was going on specifically in terms of the shared meanings of constructions of gender and sexuality and their lived experiences, that is, how they actually feel being woman, man and sexual.

Another approach I used was comparing between what they narrated as shared meanings of gender to actual behaviors as I observed them in cultural sites such as the beaches, churches, and funerals. For example, one wife narrated to me that they always spend leisure time together at the beach (as a family), yet seeing her with the kids alone twice at the beach without her husband gave me a different impression. This contradiction opened a new conversation theme regarding family time and how much each spouse contributes. Another husband told me that family outings in Dar es Salaam, from his experience, are mostly an outing of the mother and children with the father absent.

With regard to the older generation, I was aware that a product of the nature of memory is its likelihood to be influenced by current times. Participants did express some opinions based on what influences them now. To avoid their using current referent points, I emphasized past-event narration. To guide the historical accounts, at times I used political events or developmental stages, such as childhood, adolescence, and transitions from school to work and to marriage.

The kind of research I undertook can be termed *reflexive* because it developed as the research progressed (Buroway 2003). Many of the participants at some point asked my opinion. Siah (age 38, a medical doctor) , for example, told me about how their *sex* is not as good as it used to be so I asked her if she thinks her husband is cheating. She responded, “I am not sure” so I asked his response when she talked to him. Instead of answering me she asked me if I thought he is faithful when I interviewed him. Of course I respected the confidence I received from the spouses and was careful not to breach it. I found that with women the air/environment was more open to engaging in reflective discussions as *women amongst each other*. In the next section I discuss how I processed and analyzed my data.

Data processing and analysis

I analyzed the redefining process of gender conceptions that govern sexuality among Tanzanian young professionals in the context of dealing with HIV/AIDS as an instance of situations that necessitate change or innovation in gender conceptions that influence sexual life. In this research I traced and documented what occurs when actors who are in an advantageous social location [middle class] encounter a disturbed

situational environment for enacting normative gender interaction in sexual life and subsequently use their reflexivity in redefining gender.

Field observation is both a data-collection and theory-generating activity. I am trying to explain shifting *gender conceptions that influence sexual life* and my explanations highlight the *context of dealing with HIV/AIDS, or "HIV/AIDS a sexually transmitted disease as a disruptive situational factor.*

Gathering and analyzing the data in a systematic fashion and coding and recoding field notes into emergent categories provided the prism for further observation and ensured reliability (Buroway 2003). Well-refined descriptions of how people think and act merge into explanations of their behavior. The following is an account of the steps I followed to code and analyze the various kinds of data I collected**.**

I did the analysis largely by hand. To assist this process I used some word processing computer programs (i.e. spread sheets and word processing).

Step 1. Field notes taking

I began my data analysis with field note-taking. Therefore, I ensured that all field data including notes, comments, and recordings I made were kept well. Field note taking involved recording and reflecting on emerging themes as I continued with the data collection.

Step 2. Field notes editing

At the end of every interview I reviewed my notes and verbatim reports to make sure that they make sense in relation to the study questions. Comments or any

observations I made during the interview I added or clarified in the face sheet field notes questionnaires.

Before leaving the field, I completed short summaries of the discussion, ensuring that any additional notes on the interview are included. I also checked that I have the cultural consumption patterns questionnaire completely filled. I later transferred all these notes and filled questionnaires to spread sheet files in my computer. The data sheets also helped me to organize the analysis.

Step 3. Transcribing

Since the interviews were recorded digitally, I transcribed the audio media files which I had transferred to my lap top verbatim. Afterwards, I underlined the points that are important to the study topic. I then reconciled this material with field notes and my comments.

Step 4. Coding

I categorized life history interviews material into various sub-topics through the cut and paste process which involved sorting out notes and transcriptions into the broad topics and sub-topics used in the guide, and adding any new themes from the interviews. For example, during an interview with a wife the question I asked was “How did traditional rites shape your knowledge and experience of being a woman?” Besides talking about gender roles, the wife may mention the absence of such rites in some ethnic tribes. Such information I would “cut and paste” under a sub-topic, “Traditional Tribal Rite Availability Status” This procedure ensured me that “scattered pieces of

information" on the same sub-topic are put together for a complete review. For each of the sub-topics created, I recorded responses of each informant from the cut and pasted material assembled from all sources of data. For me these sources included life history interview transcriptions, my notes and comments, focus group discussion transcriptions, key informant interviews and observations.

Next I labeled each category using appropriate headings**.** For example, under reasons for polygamous behavior, responses included, it was manly, a source of maximizing labor, a symbol of wealth, an escape from marital problems, irresponsibility, and a source of pride. These categories of response I would assign labels such as socio-cultural, economic, socio-economic, psychological, and so on. For example, "a source of wealth" and "a source of maximizing labor" can be put under socio-economic reasons.

Finally I described and interpreted the major findings. I considered responses in each topic as group, and drew interpretive conclusions about individual experiences, and commonly held beliefs, attitudes, or opinions and the departure from these. I did this by engaging the theories and assumptions I set out with at the beginning of the research. I ensured that major findings were in line with significant broad topics of the life history interview guide. I now turn to give an account of my position as a researcher in this study.

3.3. My Social Location as a Researcher

A married Tanzanian, female professional, studying abroad, with a home in Uganda doing research in Tanzania.

My social location shows the social mobility factor of professionals. When I wrote about my social location in this study I could not help remembering what Jennifer Pierce's (1995) elaborate discussion about the insider, outsider, and outsider within positions of a researcher. In her account, she explained that in a field experience a researcher does not occupy one position but shifting positions depending on situations, and I could not agree more. Relevant to my study I found that there were incidences I was accepted as an insider, when my respondents viewed me as a fellow wife and a professional for that matter, yet at other times with the same designation of a wife I was considered an outsider within, especially when they saw me as a possible outside women for their husbands. With men I was at times an insider because of my mobile personality and living long spells of time away from my spouse. They were open to discuss how couples cope with this because they assumed I understood. With the older couple they saw more of a child and a student and wanted to impart knowledge to me. I was made aware of my role as a graduate student several times too. Hence, I do pay attention to the different positions I took and the different meanings they made to my respondents as I analyze my work. As Pierce put it, the shifting positions and the multiple meanings your respondents may have regarding your identities, the most important thing is to guide your sociological eye, and not allow it to disappear completely (1995: 200). She also adds that there is no way we can occupy a *master status* and cannot be seen or see in any other way, it will always have/hold multiple and contradictory meanings, whether we are

insiders (assumingly having privileged position) or outsiders (assumingly having objective position). This is so because the concepts insider, outsider and outsider within are not static or dichotomous categories but fluid, layered and changing (Pierce 1995: 205).

The intriguing aspect of my position as a researcher in this study is that I have been living in the USA for the past four years away from my husband. This situation raised an eyebrow for the majority of the younger generation. They wanted to know how I was living my sexual life under such circumstances. My answers were basic and dwelt on the idea of women being able to realize their potential and my coming from a background in which my parents encouraged us to study and realize our potentials. I recognize my situation may have bearings on what my participants had to say or do as I also try to show in this section. Some considered me as a wife who is risking her life and yet studying that risk. For this group the choice for them seemed clear. I should not have gone to study outside of East Africa. For them I was kind of rebellious, playing with fire. Others admired my initiative as a graduate student and expressed that they would do the same if they obtained such an opportunity. They encouraged me to produce a good work for the benefit of our society. On the side of men, they saw me as a woman, and some lingered for a while after the interviews by calling me now and then and asking me out to keep me company. When I turned down their offers, they let go. I do not judge them. They may have genuinely wanted to keep me company, like have lunch together, but it was easier for them to pursue this because I was alone in Dar and they learned that I also lived alone in the US. I do acknowledge though my situation did make them speak out more. I tend to reassure myself they were honest because they used my status to talk

about how being far from a spouse is sexual risky. Men were very open when it came to talking about living far from your spouse and its impact on sexual life. I think they felt I shared some experiences. Indeed I did have some experience. Among both wives and husbands, some advised me to be careful. They also wanted to hear from me about how I coped sexually. Besides these shifting positions and the aspect of my geographically mobile life, there are other aspects of my role as a researcher in this study which are also worth mentioning.

As a female Tanzania married young professional with work experience in the area of health promotion, I assumed these qualities would give me an advantage to gain rapport with my respondents. But it turned out not very necessary for me to occupy this position all times. I tired to fit in the way the respondents defined me at particular moments. However, I was aware that as an academician the participants might think I was conducting the research there for my own interests and not theirs. So I endeavored to put the participants first whenever it was possible without jeopardizing my research objectives. As a female I thought I might receive poorer cooperation from males than females in discussing sensitive issues such as sexuality. Astonishingly, enough men were very cooperative, especially when I began with them and then asked them to connect me to their spouse. Women were mostly willing to cooperate, with a few who refused because they assumed I had sought them through their husbands and they did not know how I was related with their husband. Some refused to talk with me even when I had already talked to their husband. They would not answer my calls, or they would hang up, or they will give me appointments far in the future, and when I reminded them, they would claim they were busy. They did this until I gave up on them. For example, there

was one woman whom I persistently pursued for an appointment after talking to her husband. She dilly dallied until she decided to come clean with me. She asked me "How do you know my husband, are you his girlfriend?" I realized that if this is the kind of thinking they have, these women did not trust their husbands 100%. They felt in-secure or they knew the *Dar*[29] *women* well enough to have reasons not to trust them. Surprisingly though, this very woman later sought me out and came for an appointment. When we met she told me of a story of a woman who wanted to take her husband who was also studying in the US and so she had suspected it was me.

It is customary for elders in Tanzania to take pride in narrating past events to the younger generation, especially when they think they are in one way or another participating in airing their views to educate the younger generation for a better life. I was like their daughter. For this reason I did not experience any hesitations or refusals in talking to the elderly as the project was very fulfilling for them. It is also against this background that my work should be read.

Next I turn to part I, where I address the historical contexts of gender construction and resources for gender socialization in Tanzanian professional couples.

[29] *Dar* is the popular abbreviated name for the full name, Dar es Salaam.

PART I

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS OF GENDER DESIGNS FOR TANZANIAN PROFESSIONAL COUPLES' EVERYDAY LIVES

4.1. Tanzania professional couples' gender profile

In the previous chapters we learnt that it is only recently that an interest has developed in the HIV/AIDS prevention research community to explore how gender relations that influence sexual relations are being affected by the presence of the HIV/AIDS. In other words, including this dissertation there is an interest in understanding agency in individuals as they seek and promote disease prevention/health seeking behavior. The few existing studies have focused on the present and on lower classes of the society. Given the constructed character of gender and its cultural and historical variability and transformability, the focus in this study is on the social impact of HIV/AIDS in relation to broader shifts in gender and sexual relations among contemporary young urban Tanzanian professional couples. With this in mind, my objective in this chapter is to place the social impact of AIDS in proper historical context. I do this by creating a gender profile for the professional social group while tracing key shifts and continuities of gender designs along the Tanzanian history time line.

As I look at how professional couples define gender under different contexts, I do not only show how two generational cohorts acting as situated agents use their designs *of* and *for* gender--as they appear for instance in missionary practices, colonial policies, or in the demands of new contexts (such as a AIDS)—but also analyze them in their

interaction with existing sets of gender rules. Earlier designs, which have been materialized in biological and social bodies, set down as cultural codes in religious books and tribal rituals, norms, dress codes etc, are likely to influence the possibilities for change. The designs *of* and *for* gender means that there is a tension between, on the one hand, the designs *for* gender, plans for differently organized relations between the sexes, hence different contents of femininity and masculinity, and, on the other hand, designs *of* gender, the already established practices and ideas concerning the social and cultural organization of gender relations that seem to resist change. The main argument in this chapter is to show how designs *for* gender challenge or build on designs *of* gender at different points in time. Such a dual perspective will enable me to show how multiple and varied are the mechanisms by which gender continuities and shifts occur. The difference between designs *for* dominant gender and/or normative discourses and designs *of* people's way of navigating between normative discourses and everyday life choices, chances and, challenges is important for me to understand people's agency and helps me to show the nuances.

A gender profile can be more than a comparison of particular aspects of women's and men's situation. Primarily, gender refers to the social construction of people's identities as women or men, in specific times and places. Two limitations characterize existing gender profiles in the literature in Tanzania. First, they are characterized by a woman centered focus. Ideally, a gender analysis, among other things, enables us to understand how not only women's but also men's social identities are constructed, and how men perceive and act out their roles as men in particular contexts. Secondly, a profile of gender relations can also go beyond comparing and analyzing quantitative data

on women's and men's relative situation, in schooling or employment for example. Gender relations refer to the nuances of interaction between women and men that normally involve negotiation, bargaining, and compromise as well as expressions of differing perspectives and conflict. These issues have not been covered extensively in the existing Tanzanian gender profiles in part because the quantitative data used do not reveal the qualitative and more nuanced subjective aspects of gender identity and relationships.

Due to these two limiting factors of the existing gender profiles, not offering the dual analysis of men and women's gender construction and the nuances of their interactions, I consider the profiles wanting in deeper and holistic history of the changing contexts of gender designs at the micro level. The importance about the nuances of interactions is that they manifest people's experience and views that show change from "within". In my profile I attempt to analyze both the construction of gender identity for women and men in the context of professional couples' lived experiences.

Most work in which the scholar wants to trace the gender profile of Tanzania begins with the pre-colonial context as the setting. I believe this is as far back as one can go to capture presumably the original social systems that structured the social organization of society. This is so especially, if one wants to trace the gender relations in diverse ethnic groups of Tanzania before the coming of the imperial powers who included traders, missionaries, and colonialists among others. I take the same path for my gender profile. In this chapter shifts and continuities in gender and sexual relations will be examined through four historical periods: (1) Pre colonial 18th Century Tanganyika;

(2) Colonial era 1880-1950s; (3) Nyerere, and the socialist era 1961-1980s; and, (4) Neo-liberal era 1990 to the present. I begin with the pre colonial context.

Pre-colonial 18th century

Pre-colonial Tanzania life was primarily shaped by the patriarchal system in most tribal ethnic groups. There were a few ethnic groups who adhered to matrilineal[30] social organization of gender relations. In my study sample these are husbands and wives originating from Lindi, Singida and Morogoro. Veronika, a civil servant from the older generation of professionals gave an account of how her grand mother was a queen and she had to sit in village courts and give court rulings for the village. She also narrated how her grandmothers' brother who was a prince could not rule on anything without consulting his sister the queen. This gives us a glimpse of the dynamics of gender power in these kinds of societies. Women had more authority.

In the patriarchal system men are dominant and women subordinate, and men are considered to have power, ownership, and control over things of value, such as land. On the other hand, women are considered to be powerless and have no or fewer ownership rights. But by having no ownership rights to land this did not exclude them from "occupying" as opposed to "owning" land through the mandate of their husbands or sons. These patriarchal relations, even between elders and the young, were based on or rather justified through the ideology of men's superiority and women's inferiority, in which the

[30] Matrileneality refers to transmission of family affiliation through women, not men. In matrilineal societies, maternal uncles-not fathers-were important figures and nephews inherited through them. The term is often confused with matriarchy, the opposite of patriarchy, which did not exist in Tanzanian society or, so far as it is known, anywhere else
(Bonnie & Kitunga 1999:13).

former have more social value and worth than the latter. However, the practical aspects of these patriarchal relations varied in quality and intensity from one ethnic group to another. Patriarchal relations are significant in the sense that they work contrary to goals of sustainable equitable human development and transforming them requires a qualitative shift to how society is socially organized.

Under the patriarchy system, girls and boys in Tanzania grew up in households and communities that treat them differently and unequally. Boys learned that they had greater social value because they were permanent members of their families of birth. When they married, their new wives leave their own families to join them as Noah a retired civil servant (aged 76) and his wife Leah a retired teacher (aged 76) narrated:

> Even when your husband dies if you did not have a son, you could be inherited by the brother of your husband in order to keep the land of the clan and for you to get a home. Otherwise if they do not practice inheritance they will tell you there are two things: remain unmarried or leave the clan and go and get married somewhere else, because you can not bring a *Komba* (name of ethnic group in Ruvuma) to a *Nguruwe* (name of ethnic group in Ruvuma) land.

It was expected that widows could not inherit land or other valuable property, such as a house or cattle from a deceased husband if she had no sons. If a widow chose to remain with her in-laws (whether she agreed to marry a relative of her deceased husband or not), in many parts of the country she had the right to continue using a portion of clan land. But she held this right through her sons, and if she was childless or had only daughters, her land use rights were not secure. The relevance of male sons is seen in Zakayo's narration. A retired teacher (aged 79) he shared how his mother decided to choose her elder son to be her guardian after the death of her husband:

> "After the death of our father the clan assembled a meeting of the elders to decide on who will inherit the wife of the deceased, that is our mother. My mother had many boys and

> his eldest son was an adult by the time our father died. So when my mother was called ….and was asked, "Who do you choose to be your guardian in the clan" she held her eldest son's hand up. This was not rejected, and it secured her position even more firmly within the clan".

When the father dies, boys – and not their sisters –inherited rights to clan land or valuable property such as cattle. One of the spouses from the older generation gave evidence to this by stating that in their home land Kilimanjaro, all the land now lays dormant because all the men died and the women who are alive can not go and live there because of that norm. The norm seems to have entrenched itself even to this century. For example, one of the young professionals in the focus groups discussion revealed to us that her in laws are anxious because she has not yet brought a boy child into the family.

Girls, by contrast, did not have such rights within their natal families. When they married, their labor was lost by their parents and gained by their husbands and in-laws. The pre- colonial villages had predominantly agricultural girls and women who did more than their fair share of the work to sustaining household economies, and for this service, the women were valued as farm laborers. However since they had no rights to inherit clan land, girls learned early that they did not "belong" in the same way or have the same social value as boys. For example, Elizabeth one of the professionals from the older generation comments that:

> "in the old days what women prepared themselves for was to get married, they knew their home is not there at their father. Even the pre colonial education was based in passing on values and beliefs to girls which culminated in initiation rites, about how they should respect and take care of their husbands to-be and motherhood. While, boys were imparted with values, skills, beliefs and authority which culminated in circumcision ceremonies, for later heading their households. Mothers would also tell their daughters that you will one day leave us and be owned by another clan, we are just taking care of you for them. Furthermore, child brides used to happen whereby a child is marked as already betrothed although living with her parents. Her parents would receive cattle for her bride

> price in advance. When she grows then she is handed over to the man who betrothed her. So she lives knowing she does not belong like her brothers"

There were exceptions to these norms though. Daughters of chiefs had land and in some places in Tanzania they were not allowed to marry while their father was still alive (Larsson 1991). They were considered as men because they had land and property hence had no reason to marry. This gives evidence to that norms were not strict designs but flexible.

Tribal and not mixed tribal marriages were encouraged under this pre-colonial context. More emphasis was put on reproducing the social structure of the tribe through marriage. Hence, mixed tribal marriages potentially threatened the continuity of the social organization of gender and sexuality within a tribal structure and encouraged renegotiation and possibly change. As Koponen (1988:311) writes, the historical record shows beyond doubt that in Tanzanian pre-colonial societies marriage was considered a central institution for reproduction and maintenance of social structure, and was strictly controlled by elders of descent groups. Marriages were generally polygamous. A man with many wives was considered powerful because he needed the family members as a unit of production and not necessarily for sexual love. For example each wife would have her own homestead and all of them will contribute in their husband's farm work.

Another much regulated area in pre colonial traditional societies which continued to the colonial era was fertility. Young adults were not allowed to have children out of wedlock. Noah (aged 76) a retired civil servant who grew up in the colonial era explained that when you were finished with elementary school, your parents begin to ask you when you were getting married. They did not care whether you have a job because you could

get land and cattle from your parents and start your own homestead. Even Zakayo's wife Magdalene (aged 73) and a retired teacher agreed to this. She said her husband was given land and cattle by his father in case he wanted to get married. Parents feared if their sons moved around without being married they could get a child, and this was not encouraged in the pre-colonial social structure. However, there was no regulation as to how many children one should have once married, in fact the society encouraged many children. The women had no say in this, in most cases as older professional wives admitted they would go on giving birth until the last possible. Noah wanted further studies, so he did not get married until he finished university studies. For women the choice for studies was limited. They were socialized to become wives and mothers. When Christianity brought by missionaries came however, it offered women a new choice in terms of living conditions and autonomy by providing an option to be nuns/sister. This role of the missionaries in recruiting sisterhood amongst the pre colonial girls has been debated by scholars to how much of it really empowered and brought tendencies of equality in gender. Fundamentally the role of missionary education is contradictory. On the one hand it introduced a space for freedom to do something else i.e. be a nun instead of a wife with limited self expressions. But on the other hand it brought hierarchical relationships between wives and husbands through Christian monogamous marriages and further on through colonial construction of gender-docility.

With Christianity, some girls got to go to school. With the missionary schools, girls were encouraged to speak up, not whisper, especially in the presence of men (Larsson 1991). Quite a number of girls became nuns in order to avoid getting married and being dependent on a man. This pattern of becoming nuns continued into the colonial

era and influenced the decisions for marriage in some girls as some of the older professionals whom I interviewed pointed out. Godwin (aged 75) a retired civil servant admits he had to wait a while before his wife accepted his marriage proposal. He explains the reason for the long waiting was because his then girlfriend Pamela (aged 70) a catering officer, was initially considering becoming a nun/sister. "She had to battle with her mind for a while before she decided to go for marriage", said Godwin. According to Larsson, entering the sisterhood as a profession was the girls' own decision and an act of agency in their struggle to assert control over their lives and in their striving for greater dignity. Likewise conversion to Christianity implied both religious and social improvement and women and men utilized it for the purposes of greater dignity and freedom. For instance with Christianity the converts learnt even daughters can inherit property from their father if he had no sons, as the Bible taught[31]. Christianity contradictorily played a great role to counter some of the traditional norms that govern life in pre colonial era. The education system and the career opportunities created by missionaries contributed to the formation of a new national *elite*. Yet with this seemingly pro social improvement objective for the people missionaries served colonial interests as well. The colonial interests were not in favor of gender equality. Through missionary schools women were encouraged to speak out/be confident but at the same time socialized to accept the private sphere rather than the public sphere as their main space of influence as compared to men by the social roles they were introduced to such as home crafts and baby care.

[31] Found in the Bible the book of Numbers chapter 27 verses 5-11.

Relations of intimacy were informed by the same pre colonial cultural prescriptions and notions of personhood that operated within the larger society to influence gender division of labor, such as the confinement of agricultural production to women only, gendered traditional educational training through initiation rites and circumcision sessions, the elders legal system, and the gendered structure of leadership. The manifestation took form in various ways, such as sexual practices and sexual understandings, within the sphere of private relations were governed by a strict and bounded feminized sexuality and a less sanctioned masculinized sexuality. This often involved a prescription of relative passivity for females, and the according of sexual decision making and initiative to men. It was also manifested by a tolerance of men's greater sexual experiences both prior to and after marriage [i.e. extra marital sex]. Continuity of this attitude of taken for granted male sexual behavior was brought up by Douglas one of the older professional husbands in our conversation. He stated that, "nobody really cared about men's movements as they did with women. In fact my grandmother would suggest to me to go out and meet girls, she would tell me, are you scared of them?"

Women were often expected to give but not receive pleasure. This reality is, however, not generalizable. There are some tribal ethnic groups which did socialize their women to experience pleasure (Swantz 1969). This was also revealed by some of the younger generation in this study who admitted to this, especially those from matrilineal decency such as Lindi, Singida and Morogoro. Francis a professional from the younger generation who comes from Lindi argues that he has heard from his grandparents that it is not only his generation but even their ancestors valued the role of women experiencing

sexual pleasure. In fact women were taught to do that. Another young professional shared that most of the tribes which did not expose their women to sexual pleasure occupied the hinterland areas of Tanzania. In contrast all those tribes who value female sexual pleasure occupied the coastal areas. This could suggest that some external contacts along the coast influenced the sexual conduct of the people living there.

From this account of the pre colonial context of the social organization of gender, I can submit that it was an era characterized by two main dominant gender frameworks of thought system and practices: Patriarchal and Christianity[32]. The former framework which generally conceived males and female as unequal contained discourses such as male owned land and property while women were the agricultural producers for the home, women as property, and tribally arranged marital unions. Christianity which in subtle ways counter acted some of the patriarchal discourses professing oneness in God contained humanity, integrity, equal opportunity and freedom discourses. Given the association of Christianity with patriarchal attitudes and female passivity in many parts of the world, certainly the US this stands out as quite different. Missionary Christianity in Africa operated contradictorily. The two dominant gender frameworks provided gender designs *of* the era and gender rules from which individuals could manipulate to construct gender designs *for* their own lives. Overall all the forms of patriarchy and the early Christianity gender related discourses in Tanzania in the course of history continued to undergo challenges. They became negotiated, reinforced and sometimes changed when

[32] I am aware that not only Missionaries and their Christian activities, but also Traders, Explorers and other group human movements influences, shaped lives in pre colonial Tanzania. The literature tends to lump patriarchal and Christianity framework as one and the same, but I do not because of the evidences of their activities in the historical contexts I am reconstructing.

they came into contact with other ideologies. This was the case with the encounter of capitalist relations under colonialism, and it with pre –colonial designs *of* gender.

Colonial era 1880-1950s

The capitalist relations imposed with colonialism introduced European patriarchal ideas, that for example, men should "work" ("breadwinners") and that women should ensure household maintenance ("housewives"). This system not only maintained women's subordination but also strengthened the male dominance. Colonial government brought land tenure ship and disregarded clan occupancy of land. Men were turned into cash laborers so that they can pay for the land they own within the colonial system. Women became not recognized as the farm workers occupying their husbands' lands. At some point women found themselves unable to access the cash which they too contributed to earn through cash crop economy because the colonial system alienated them from occupying clan land and made it taxable. Men and not women were made to work on the farming land. Hence, some of the wives decided to abandon their homesteads and became known as "runaway wives" (Hodgson 2001, Larsson 1991). Marriage became the only means to occupy land by a woman. As women failed to occupy land for their family and domestic production under the forced labor colonial economy except by marriage and men took full control of the cash from the cash economy introduced by colonialists, the women ran away and some succumbed to prostitution as a way to liberate themselves[33]. Braun (1978) argues that it is the urban elites, for example the young professionals of Tanzania during colonial rule, who were easily assimilated into

[33] In the pre colonial setting women were the agriculturalists, and the land they farmed they felt is theirs as members of the clan. They were the main food producers.

these new ways of constituting gender and sexuality whereby a women stayed at home and men became the head of household. Besides doing their domestic work the older professionals' narratives reveal that some women worked but under less salary compared to men. For example, Elizabeth's mother worked as a housemaid in a missionary home. In the pre- colonial patriarchal system men were not perceived as 'being the head of a household'. This would connote breadwinning. Women were in charge of all the food which was produced for the household. However, they were not identified as heads of households. That concept was not present. Instead men were the dominant member of the household under the pre-colonial patriarchal system. They ensured that all was done under their leadership.

Furthermore, under colonialism the diverse customary practices of the majority of the Tanzanian ethnic groups which are patrilineal were codified and modified to incorporate European (mis)understanding of customs as well as their patriarchal biases about men as heads of household. It is also within the colonial administered customary law that daughters were made **on paper** unable to own or inherit clan land from a deceased father. If a daughter inherited, ownership would be alienated to her husband, an outsider. This relates to Caroline a retired education officer's confession. Caroline from the older generation confessed that she felt so sad when their father informed her and her sisters that since he had no sons he will pass his house to one of his brother's son upon his death.

With customary law, there was the act of paying bride price for a woman to be married by his suitor to her parents. The custom of bride price enhanced the act of viewing women as men's property. The bride price justified women's lack of ownership

rights. This is why with time the bride price has been undergoing change, in terms of the meaning behind it but not entirely abandoned. Adam (aged 68) a retired banker did not pay any bride price for his wife because her father refused to sell his daughter. All he asked was for Adam to love and cherish his daughter. Others, including professionals from the younger generation have continued to use bride price but as a symbol of respect to the parents of the daughter and the bonding of the two families. Even the items to give have become diversified. Instead of cattle or money, some give clothes, food or other items for relatives of the bride. All this I argue suggest attempts to reduce and transform the offensive meaning attached to bride price. Legalizing inheritance customs and bride price under customary law, marked significant impact on marital gender relations. Loss of property by widows and wife beating are some of the impacts.

Since all property was assumed to belong to the man, even that which women came to own by their own efforts while married, at the time of the husband's death, his relatives under customary law would have the right to take everything from the deceased's wife. Under the customary law the man was in charge and in control of everything in the house including food. In some tribes, the children were not to eat before the father ate. At times the wife kept the best meat or food for the father. Furthermore, husbands would control all the cash of the house irrespective of who produced it. Men would ask the women to hand over the money obtained from selling farm produce. This was not a directly colonially introduced practice. It indirectly emerged with cash economy and the attitude of associating men with property. This mentality continued even after independence. Shila (aged 72), a retired nurse by profession, admits that her husband expected her to hand over her salary for him to allocate its use. She adds, "You

see they had planned from the village, my in-laws, that since I was a working wife, my income would be for them (women do not need to have money of their own), and my husband's will serve our own household." Although Shila did not reveal to me whether she abided to this organization, it seemed likely she did from how she talked about her couple life. What suggested this is she also implied she consented to her husband's dominant status (maybe unwillingly). She did this when she revealed she would not take away anything from their house without asking her husband's permission. Even if it is giving her own mother some food to take to her home in the village. Likewise, she had to beg for permission from her husband to go out, wherever. This is how she puts it "when he refused then I would not go." Nevertheless, Shila did think of stopping working because of the money issue, as she notes in this remark:

> "…if you have studied all these years and now you want to enjoy your earnings, be able to take care of your parents, give back to all that they did during your growing up, and someone tells you to give them your money,…I just said ok then I might as well be a housewife…they were planning everything for me as if I did not have a say of myself….I had put a housemaid to help me …noise came from the village, why would a woman want a servant, can't she work…but I wondered …but it's my own money I can afford to keep a housemaid.."

From Shila's situation one can see how the continuity of husband and his clan viewing a wife/women as a tool/laborer with no social rights persisted despite the husband being educated.

The bride price practice was also associated with and justified the wife beating practice. The understanding was since the man paid for the woman, if she did not do as he wanted, he could beat her, or even send her back and reclaim his cattle. All professional husbands from the older generation admitted trying their level best to avoid beating their wives because they detested the idea. Those who did not come from a

Christian family[34] had observed a lot of it from their parents. Helena (aged 69) a retired teacher speaks with wonder and shock over how her mother stomached all the beating from their father. Here is her very sad description:

> "My father was cruel, and an alcoholic (he was also one of the first educated medical assistants in Tanzania). He would beat our mother in the night every other day and in the morning we will see our mother taking water for him for bathing in a pail to the bathroom. I would wonder, she is the one who has been beaten with bruises, yet she is the one attending to the beater. …all I could say and think at that time, is …me, when I get married I will go there first for testing. If I find that the man beats me like the way my father beats our mother, I will return. Even now my sisters still remind me and tease me…didn't you say you were going there only for a trial….My father was a terror, when he approaches home, he would whistle as a signal for those at home, and we would become attentive and still. Nobody will move even an inch. Others would remove his shoes, socks and take his bag and then we all leave the sitting room".

Helena also explained how her father controlled their mother's entire life. She could not go to have her hair braided, nor could she bring friends home whom her husband did not approve. One day she overheard her father scolding her mother loudly "*unaringa nini na hizo nywele nitazikata*!" (What is it you are showing off with… eh with that hair…I will cut it!). To her utter amazement, the beautiful hair which her mother had which she would at times braid by herself, her father took scissors and cut it all. It is very vivid in Helena's narrations supported by Veronika a retired accountant that some wives and not all in the colonial era lived in awe of their husbands. Veronika's mother had to leave the home and return to her parents at times. Such incidents it is claimed by these older professional wives occurred especially in those families that did not embrace Christian values. Although others would argue Christianity also had a role in strengthening male

[34] There was a divide in the older generational professionals between those who were raised in strict Christianity influence. Their narratives of wife beating were more addressed towards their neighboring families and not their families.

dominance in the Christian patriarchal ideology (Cloutier 2006). This was not supported by my study. Contrary to the early missionary work on Christian education that encouraged girls as much as boys to attend school, education in the colonial era was male biased, hence in most of these first generation marriages(parents of the older generation I interviewed), the women were not educated. Things were slightly better in Helena's own marriage whereby both her husband and she were educated. However, the colonial female education policy was still geared to groom docility in women for male's advantage.

The colonialists introduced the Victorian English ideal "gentility" which entailed passionless women as an extension of the Victorian sexuality by then in Europe (Braun 1978). Through this ideal, women in Tanzania and other parts of Africa were assimilated to be submissive, stay at home, bake, and do crocheting while depending on their husband for their income, rather than working as agriculturalists, owning land, and feeding the family as they did before colonial rule (Braun 1978). As Zakayo a Christian convert puts it "we respected the role of women because they were the actual producers in the past".

The backbone of "colonial Christianizing" was marriage and education. The German missionaries used the African *chiefly elite* that had been set up by the colonial authorities and leaders to accomplish the spread of Christianity after their initiation. In most instances they, the missionaries through the consent of chiefs would train catechists who thereafter taught Christianity to their community. Adam and his wife Elizabeth, Noah and his wife Leah, were among the children of these leaders. Groups like the White Fathers, Holy Ghost Fathers and Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) offered basic education coupled with catechism and medical care to villages. Christian

marriage practices were introduced, replacing customary practices to those who converted. These practices included a shift from polygamy to monogamy. Polygamous men had to pick one wife in order to be baptized and be accepted in the new religion. One of the wives from the older generation informed me her mother was picked amongst three wives to be her father's wife when he converted. The conversion included as well being baptized with your chosen wife. This is not to say that pre-colonial Tanzanians did not have a religion, they did. Religious leaders included women identified as spirit mediums who were able to live in this world yet understand the working of the spirit world.

It is important to differentiate the initial objectives of missionary education and later on colonial education implemented by the missionaries. As I noted earlier the role of missionary education was contradictory. At first the church taught equality[35] which makes a woman a human entity and not bound to her husband's mercy. This became different when the missionaries' baptismal preparation teachings and schools, gradually became schools established following a colonial government influenced education curriculum. Not all the missionary schools changed though, some did not reform to the colonial government influenced curriculum. Those that did not reform continued to teach self esteem, maturity, and broader horizons to women, such as one called Kashasha[36] Girls School in Kagera region (Larsson 1991). In contrast, missionary colonial education was geared towards domesticity and in this process the category of "dependent wives" was further developed (Braun 1978). This explains how the colonial education policy was

[35] Some debates exists on whether this was a genuine teaching by the missionaries or an entry point to pave a colonization process.

[36] The headmistress, Barbro Johanssen, a Swedish teacher of this school later joined the independence struggle of Tanganyika with Nyerere and became among the first members of parliament when Tanzania became independent. Tanzania has currently built a contemporary girl' secondary school named after her in honor of her historical struggles to liberate Tanzanian girls in the midst of colonial legacies.

targeted more so to reinforce the capitalist relations within the colony. The colonial rule created a dependent African housewife who was confined to her home and economically dependent on her husband. Colonial rule then overlooked the prime role of women in agricultural production. The second generation who went through missionary education and training became the first professional couples (remember only husbands were educated and not wives in the first generation of professionals). Because missionaries worked with chiefs and leaders, these African chiefs influenced the curriculum at some points. Until they allowed girls to go to school in their jurisdictions, the chiefs ensured emphasis on the curriculum was on household duties. They discouraged anything that could alienate the girls from accepted traditions of their homes (Larsson 1991). Hence, girls' education curriculum was practical emphasizing domestic economy, child welfare, mother craft, and their schools were linked to maternity and child welfare clinics to give girls nursing experiences before leaving school. The early girls who went to school were essentially prepared to be wives of the colonial African elites, such as African Christian teachers and catechists.

This domesticity became materialized in many of the things women believed they were attuned to do as females, such as cooking, sewing and child care. This is what Larsson (1991) explains in her study of missionaries, gender and social change in northwestern Tanzania. Using missionaries' dairies she recounts the way colonial policies imparted the culture of motherhood in missionary schools to the elite's *wife to- be* as in contrast to the previous role that women held in agriculture. The colonialists realized their newly educated elites who work in the colonial system would need wives with knowledge of how to raise a child and have a basic knowledge of the geography of the

country. The objective of the colonial education curriculum was domesticity and could be summarized as follows,

> "The academic standard is very fair throughout and a girl who leaves the school should have no difficulty in keeping her household accounts, reading to her husband if he should so desire, writing to him if he is absent, sharing his interests (if any) in agriculture and explaining to him the simple geography of Tanganyika if debate should arise' (Inspector report in 1937 about Kijunja school in Larsson 1991:182)".

Table 3.0 below shows that the older generation interviewed for this study reported more of the home craft activities noted in the colonial education curriculum than the younger generation.

Table 3.0: The Domesticity of Education and Femininity Construction

Home crafts/skills	**Number of wives who mentioned the craft/skill**	
	Younger generation (Total sample 15 wives)	Older generation (Total sample 15 wives)
Sewing	0	6
Baking	2	10
Knitting & crocheting	0	8
Gardening	2	4
Taking care of the sick	0	7
Cooking	2	14

Source: Fieldwork findings in Tanzania, 2007-2008.

Hence, we can observe that colonial constructions of gender were informed by the assumptions that women were the property of men and their main role was social and biological reproduction. Even those who practiced Christianity observed the role of biological reproduction as one to fulfill. There was less attention if at all on controlling the number of children one could have as it is evident in Noah and Leah's life.

Noah and Leah are both children of catechists/teachers. Their parents were baptized in 1910. Both of them are Roman Catholic converts who grew up under strict Christian values. They came from the same parish and are both *Wangoni* (an ethnic group from Ruvuma). They were engaged in 1950 and Noah went on for university studies. Leah waited for a number of years as Noah did a postgraduate studies after his first degree. The parents and elders encouraged Leah to resign and find another suitor, but she declined. People even started gossiping that Noah had abandoned her and even feared that he would find one of his fellow educated persons there at the university for a wife. So much pressure was put on Leah to succumb to marriage with someone else but Noah did return and married her eventually. They had seven children. Leah was a professional teacher, and Noah an educator who excelled to become one of the ministers of the Nyerere[37] government.

Being Catholics, Noah and Leah did not use any contraception and went on delivering until the last child. The spacing they adopted was abstinence. This is how Noah describes the act of giving birth for them, "the more the merrier, until God says stop." When I talked to Leah she acknowledged this was right. She even admitted that, "the earlier children came pretty close to each other. Yet it was happiness and we never thought of aborting". But she added that life was relatively affordable for them hence, they were economically capable to raise the children.

Of great significance to the trajectory of gender construction process, the children of the first generation, the likes of Leah and Noah, experienced somewhat altered patterns of socialization processes. This happened particularly to the children whose parents had

[37] First president of Tanzania.

received education, were Christianized, or both. Illustrations of the altered socialization pattern can be glimpsed from Adam's account:

> "Although I did not get socialized into gender and sexuality through the traditional channels such as going to *jando* (male puberty initiation practices), I got such training through the school system. Since the village I lived in was almost all revived into Christianity, and 95% of the schools in my village, district and region were owned by the church, they were able to modify the puberty initiation practices to suit Christian values. Elders who would talk and teach young boys at *jando*, were invited to come and give talks at our school about growing up and what to expect and their duties, however, in line with Christian values. Students and people were encouraged to live in accordance to Christian values".

The converted parents valued their children equally irrespective of gender and encouraged the education of girls and the participation of boys in domestic work at household level. More illustrations are evidenced in the following narratives:

> "Observing how my parents lived influenced me not to want a wife as a slave. Since during my childhood housework was accomplished by everyone in the house irrespective of gender I also encouraged that in my home. We did all domestic chores parallel with the girls, there was no choosing work, and mother was the one supervising. She was very strict. Father was most of the time at church. To keep the house in order was upon us older boys. To fetch water, to take animals in the field, to help take care of the little ones". (Adam a retired banker).

> "Our father had this stand… he wanted all his children to get education. He did not have any gender bias as who should get education, he did not even encourage us to go and get female circumcision by then … I never felt inferior because my father did not make us feel that way I saw myself … I am capable like you (a man). Even when I joined Med. School I knew we girls were there just the same way as boys". (Veronika a medical doctor).

These narratives may seem to contradict my earlier characterization of the older generations' views on gender relations (i.e., not equal). But as I also noted earlier, the coming of missionaries and Christianity led to the emergence of discourses on equality in

subtle ways. Hence, some older generation families who got exposed to these discourses of equality attempted to fashion how they raised their families in accordance to them.

In addition to Christianity, education in this era also marked significant changes in ways of thinking about gender relations. The process of seeking to be educated created mobility of people from different tribes and concentrating them in places other than their village homes-schools. Attainment of education also produced new ways of thinking between girls and boys. Luiza a retired financial manager reveals that she by then considered education as a tool of liberation and an example in her family not so for the girls but also the boys, her brothers:

> "School made me know I could do things, I went to the university, and out of my allowance I bought something for my father. I was very proud here I am I have managed to go to school and my brothers didn't, it shaped my personality and my orientation to marriage. I knew I had a say in life".

Veronika a medical doctor as well articulated the role of education in her life as a source of emancipation to women and she sees it as a break through to giving the women the voice and confidence to do things this is how she frames it:

> "When I was in medical school, I used to see my self the same as boys. One boy used to tell us and my fellow girls "what are you doing here your place is in the kitchen" we stare at him and wonder what is with him. To annoy him we would always find a sit close to him in class and sit. I have grown up like that, speaking my mind, even in my career life… at times I gasp "was I the only woman talking there in the midst of men!?" I would say equality is not only the matter of numbers 5 boys =5 girls No. It is also excelling to show that we can do. If you fail it is an issue of your intellect and not a "right". …I like to focus more on reality and wisdom. Even in my marital life, for example, If my husband when we both return from work asks me to give him a glass of water and I was doing something else, rather than telling him arrogantly " we are both from work get the water yourself" , I would say, " I can not give you the glass of what because I am doing something else could you please get it your self" To say this does not cost me anything…Good understanding between the two of you is what is important. Culture may be there but it is a theory….how the two of you implement it is up to you".

This realization of a possible life with both the men and women educated was not present in women only but men too as evidenced in the narratives of Abraham a retired lawyer and Gregory a retired civil servant:

> "I was very motivated by being educated, I wanted to succeed in my career, so I was very careful in all I did including how I behaved how I treated my women friends and even when I got married I was a man of good behavior. I used to admire my neighbors who made it in education and had good marriages and wanted the same for myself. I have never seen a woman as inferior to me, after all that's why I married an educated woman. I wanted a woman we can relate intellectually and not one to wait on me. One who can challenge me and one who together we can raise our children responsibly". (Abraham a retired lawyer).

> "I have seen the light by being educated I do not abide in my tribe's norms any longer." You see in my tribe women have no say and we man have the last say. A woman can not tell a man anything in return when she is told to do something. Worse still when it comes to sexual conduct, everybody knows in the tribe that all women are for men, anybody can have sex with my wife and I too can have sex with anybody, there is even no need to do it secretly. Women undergo very hard times in my tribe that's why they would not want to marry us and they go and get married to our neighbors the WaChagga (from Kilimanjaro). We are not very different from WaKurya (from Musoma) we beat our women as well. I say our culture is bad. I can find a man for my sister even if she is married even she can do the same for me. A woman could not tell you anything but now that I am educated I ask my wife for advice on many issues. I married outside my tribe because the girls feared me within my tribe". (Gregory a retired civil servant).

This kind of thinking about seeing women not as servants to men emanating from both men and women after attaining education had great implication on how the subsequent professional generations related gender wise. According to Nyerere (1966) it encouraged a white collar mentality and contempt to manual labor. Education represented personal success, a means of developing the society as a whole but people viewed it primarily as a means of personal development and separation from the greater reality of the society (Nyerere 1966). These societal realities included women's manual hard work, and men's dependence on land and cattle for subsistence by then. The colonial era was the time when the first professional couples, of which my study is based on, experienced

their formative years and early career. They went to colonial schools which were set away from their homes. Some continued to universities and abroad for further studies. Examples included Caroline and Luiza who went to Nairobi and UK respectively. Others included Noah, Abraham, Zebedayo and Mathayo. More analysis and discussion of the factors contributing to the shifts in gender relations will unfold as we progress reconstructing the Tanzanian professionals' gender profile in this chapter. However, we can so far see that it is during the colonial period, that professionals, both men and women, were actively cultivating new personalities and new consciousness of freedom and rebellion from their village life roots that related to patriarchal domination. This was partly a result of the professionals' alternate socialization pattern, urbanization and the emerging of the elite middle class social group. New ways of being and knowing as a result of taking a different route compared to others could be observed.

In the colonial era therefore, Tanzania was introduced to European patriarchal framework of thought and practice which did not challenge the existing modes of thinking but reinforced them. Hence, the discourses of women having fewer opportunities in life were reinforced by the housewife and dependent wives discourses. Men were made more dominating by discourses of breadwinner, head of the household and sole owners of marital property. Discourses related to the customary law pushed women's chances for equality further down. Things like bride price and wife beating persisted to the disadvantage of women. The illustrations for this were seen in narratives of some of the older generation's gender designs *for* their parents' lifestyles. But we also saw that Christianity prevailed and influenced some of the first generation's lifestyles, especially in raising their children differently. Additionally, the attainment of education had further

influence on the first generation's children (the first professional couples). The children who some of them became part of the small emerging African elites[38] within the colonial system.

The shaping of the sexuality of these elites had a lot to do with colonial education implemented by the Missionaries. For example, to acknowledge the existence of female sexuality, to focus young women on their sexual potentials educating them in the area of sexual pleasure, was considered vile, immoral and offensive to human nature, by the colonialist powers, through missionary work (Arnfred 2002). Like wise boys were discouraged and sometimes stopped from going to attend the cultural initiation rites. Adam a retired banker gave evidence to this. He said, I did not attend initiation rites, all of us in my family. Our father was a catechist." This left the first professionals to experience altered puberty and marital gender and sexual conduct socialization. Such a result created diminished sexuality knowledge imparted to the older generation professionals I interviewed whose parents had converted to Christianity contrary to the detailed sexuality knowledge which was imparted in tribal rites to the children of the first generation whose parents had not converted. The latter sexuality knowledge contained the respectability norm in female sexuality in some tribes[39]. Consequently, a tide of more urban self fashioning as opposed to less rural and communal driven lifestyles emerged within the professional group. A more nuanced formulation of this shift is addressed in the next chapter.

[38] This is how Nyerere referred to them, "…the very fact that they were so few gave them a great scarcity value. They were able to get jobs in the civil service, with commercial firms, and as teachers in the mission schools…they were forbidden to have anything to do with political movement. TANU was hence, led by not the educated but it is good because it will be absurd for TANU to be led by the educated minority (Nyerere 1966:179-180).

[39] This norm encourages women to accept that expressing desire for sexual variety is immodest and disrespectful for married women but street women/prostitutes.

The negotiation and renegotiation of gender relations became further strengthened with newer challenges in the independent era with its different frames of thought system and practice. Nyerere the first president himself championed the project of gender equality however with a bias towards women when he said, "Tanzanians at all levels" would have to be re-educated to regard both sexes as equal. Men will have to learn to accept women as equals in social production and women must cultivate a new personality, a new consciousness of freedom and rebellion against male exploitation and domination" (Rogers 1983:23).

Nyerere, and the socialist era 1961-1980s

After independence Tanzania subscribed to an alternative non-capitalist development strategy, based on rural socialism and self reliance, which was formalized in the Arusha Declaration in 1967. This development strategy was locally known as "Ujamaa na Kujitegemee"[40] . Julius Nyerere was Tanzania's first president. Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa socialism and the consequent strategy is touted in his particular vision of African communal traditions that encompass the political ,economic and social organization present prior to colonialism and from which flowed three central principles—mutual respect, the sharing of joint production, and work by all. He isolated two basic inadequacies of traditional society-- its poverty and the *subordinate position of women,* both of which he believed could be rectified by the strategy of Ujamaa socialism (Nyerere 1967). The discourses guiding thought system and practice in this era included

[40] "Ujamaa" connoted "familyness", and "Kujitegemea" connoted "self reliance", a policy which expected Tanzanians to live as one big family in designated communities while working together to make their produce beginning 1967 to mid- 1980s.

those from previous historical context and newer ones on freedom, unity, equality and peace as propagated by the state socialism mode of political and economic system of production. Tanzanians were even socialized to call each other "ndugu" which connote relatedness, brotherhood. Gender equity steadily became a national priority and was enshrined in the Constitution (1977) and the Bill of Rights (1984). Soon after independence in 1963, the first president made it his policy to unite all the various ethnic groups (120) and prevented the dominance of any single group. The most unifying factors have been the use of the Kiswahili language in primary schools and as the official language. Another factor was the establishment of the compulsory national service army for all who finished high school and tertiary colleges. As Gregory notes:

> "This was an outstanding move by Nyerere to attempt to remove class, gender and tribal inequalities. At the army women and men from different economic backgrounds came from all over the country and learnt to work together… and live together in a community….I really admired him for that…". As a result, a socially stable society developed in which ethnic conflicts does not on the whole threaten the stability of the country at the national level".

Shifts occurred elsewhere too. The former matrilineal societies mostly located along the coast (e.g., Lindi) and in the south (e.g., Singida), weakened and became challenged by patrilineal practices. These groups began to recognize fathers rather than mothers or maternal uncles as their guardians of children after divorce. This seems contradictory and this study does not provide an answer. Why matrilineal societies tend to deteriorate with time calls for a research on this topic. As Adam says about his family, "My father although he married a woman from the matrilineal customs, was among the first in our village to oppose vigorously the custom of matrilineality. For him he said anybody with his name will remain in his clan". Interestingly even Zebedayo a retired university lecturer opposes matrilineal values strongly. He considers himself modern as

in thinking differently from some of the past norms yet in this aspect he reveals remnant of those past values:

> "I do not appreciate living under the guardianship of customs and traditions. Like I do not think we should follow matrilineal at this century; we should adopt what is *real*. The children should really be the father's. I am the line of inheritance".

For him "real" is conceived as patrilineality. Again we see this as continuity in the midst of shifts pertaining to gender beliefs. This demonstrates the dialectic nature of gender constructions in professionals in Tanzania. It shows how gender designs *for* people can accommodate together aspects from different gender designs *of* the era(s). Zebedayo exemplifies this dialectic relationship of gender construction by claiming to be free of traditions yet embracing patrilineal tendencies of ownership.

Nyerere had the objective of constructing a specified framework of thought and practice that is characteristic of a national culture that would trickle down to all aspects of Tanzanians' lives including gender relations. Among the instruments he mobilized is the music genres of *ngoma* (traditional dance), *dansi* (urban jazz), and *taarab* (sung Swahili poetry). These played prominent parts in official articulations of "Tanzanian National Culture" over the years (Askew 2002). According to Askew (2002) music, has been central to the Tanzanian state's attempts to establish particular nationalist identities, at particular points in history, for its citizens to follow. Historically, music also played a great role in gender identity constructions in Tanzania. For instance, before socialism *ngoma* was found primarily at life cycle rituals such as weddings and initiations, but then also at state celebrations. It proved to be a good socializing instrument, an effective message conveyor, for the African context. Thus, it was adopted to socialize Tanzanians into socialism. On the other hand *dansi*, found primarily at urban nightclubs, rare elite

weddings, or state celebrations, was considered pan-ethnic, and marks urban, elite status. *Dansi* offered a cultural route to social parity with colonizers, representing a genre of change and modernity. The professional couples from the older generation gave evidence to having *dansi* as their choice of couple leisure activity in their young adulthood. *Taarab* was used as a tool for social critique, political positioning, gender debate, identity contestation, and dispute negotiation (Askew 2002).

Nyerere's policies transformed these genres to suit the socialist policies. For instance, lyrics were translated into Kiswahili—a notable process of standardization and cultural centralization in a country with more than a hundred languages (Askew 2002). Elitists in the socialist system were humbled to live like the rest of Tanzanians.

During this era, the economy was nationalized and the sources of information and knowledge were singularized with less conflicting discourses. For instance, there were only the national radio stations, national newspapers, and one single political party. There was almost no opportunity to access different opinions on how to live your life other than the communal socialist life. Schools, the media, the national service army all prepared the professionals to live in accordance to socialist values. Television services were absent less they pollute the minds of the people. This context amongst others instilled a sense of community where both men and women were appreciated. As Askew (2002) put it, the emphasis was on uniformity of movement, uniformity of dress, synchronization, linear formations and repression of improvisation. Some new laws also came into practice in this era that helped women.

As laws changed, new statutes began to protect women from losing their right to the property which they co-owned with their deceased husbands. This was not possible in

the past due to the customary law. However, only those women or husbands who know these laws use them for their protection. As Gregory states, "I had to put everything of my property like a company with shares written for every member of my family. I know if I die my wife will not manage the family from my clan". But Gregory, a reflective person, also said: "Why is it that women always tell us men to write wills, why don't they do it? I mean we developed the investment together, so I would think in today's life women should also step out and write wills, what if she dies first!" The issues Gregory raises suggest shifts in the project of gender equality. He himself offered clues to when and how these shifts came about. He suggests that much of the shifts can be attributed to education and the acts of the first president of Tanzania Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. The following is part of his narrative:

> "The change in gender relations towards more cooperation was due to education…also another facilitating factor is our first president, the way he handled the country. He was very successful to break the legacy of tribalism, secondly religion …although this wants to come back...the national service and lastly the Kiswahili language… You know, in the past, there was no such thing as marrying outside your tribe, it was not there and it just did not make sense. Unless you were a migrant laborer and found your self in another region working on one of the colonial farms and met a woman there. Otherwise you would marry home".

According to Gregory's suggestions, the going to school event marked the beginning of the shift in gender relations. Nyerere's policies encouraged mixed tribes marriages. It is within this era that professional couples from the older generation, experienced their young, adulthood, professional life and marriage. On the other hand it is the era when the younger professional couples experienced their formative years. It is also within this very era that significant shifts were seen to occur with regard to the reproduction of traditional social structure through mixed tribes marriages. One of the wife in the older generation admitted she deliberately got married to another tribe

because she did not want to go through the intense labor women were exposed to in her tribe. She always felt sorry for her mother. The older professionals begun to intermarry across the tribes but not as much as the younger generation, hence, transgressing the tribal marriage norm. This disrupted the smooth continuity of the social structure. As the table below shows, there is a descending number of mixed tribes marriage as you move from younger generation, to the parents of older generation. The difference between mixed tribes numbers in parents of the younger generation and the older generation is due to recruitment and number of respondents. The older generation was not recruited as parents of the younger generation. The study was not aimed to bring out statistical difference but an inclination to which marriage type was adhered in which generation. Table 3.1 below indicates the shift from tribal to mixed tribes marriages with generations.

Table 3.1. Tribes and Marriage

	Tribal Marriage (No. of couples)	**Mixed Tribes Marriage** (No. of couples)
Younger Generation (Total sample 15 Couples)	6	9
Parents of younger generation (Total 30 Couples)	22	8
Older generation (Total sample 15 Couples)	10	5
Parents of older generation (Total 30 Couples)	30	0

Source: Fieldwork findings in Tanzania, 2007-2008.

Tensions did arise from the confrontation of old schemes with the new one in this era. This sometimes happens when newer generations disclose the capacity to engage

with an environment that is not always ready to cope with their dynamic agency. Mixed tribes marriages speak to this tension. To demonstrate how tragically these marriages were to the traditional society, the wives of Adam (age 68) a retired banker, Douglas (age 70) a retired accountant and Zebedayo (age 61) a retired university lecturer, who were of different tribes were rejected by the male parents. It was after a year and some more when they gradually became accepted. This is how each narrated his experience:

> "My parents did not accept the idea initially because she came from another tribe, and also because my mother had earmarked some other girl in our village whom she wanted me to marry. I did not like the girl my mother liked, because I wanted a somewhat learned girl not completely a village girl. She was a village girl. I earmarked a teacher or a nurse. My father had no reservation he just said the woman you marry will be our in-law. He even told my mother, nobody chose a husband for you. Hence, I got to marry her. We lived for 10 years without my mother recognizing her as part of the family. She did not value her as her daughter-in-law". (Douglas a retired accountant)

> "When it came to seeking a bride for marriage, I faced a situation which until today I cannot adequately explain. Under the Christian influence, I understood I had freedom to choose whom I wanted to marry from any part of Tanzania. I came across a girl. This girl happened to be a child of one of my father's colleagues, and even later on I found out that one of my brothers went to school with one of this girl's brothers. For me this was an ideal choice. And to top it up, the father of the girl was a Lutheran church leader. He was amongst the first bishops of the Lutheran church. I was very excited that my father will be very happy with my choice. To my disappointment my father did not approve. This is how my father responded reflecting the pre-colonial traditional values, "These are *Wachagga* (an ethnic group from Kilimanjaro) and we are *Wanyiramba*. You can not marry people we do not know! If a problem arose where will I begin?" Here one would ask what happened to faith. Did not this man get revived and should he know better? These were the questions I battled with. Despite my attempt to talk reason and reminding him of faith, my father did not change his mind. In the end he reluctantly said, "If you really love this girl go and marry her but the wedding will not take place in my home." I left to go back to my job very sad and confused. I could not appreciate nor conceive the magnitude of how problematic the elders (first generation) felt about mixed tribes marriages. We did the wedding in my girlfriend's side in 1969. Nobody from my side came with the exception of my eldest brother. We later visited my father and he hid from us. It was in 1971 that he came to Dar es Salaam to us and we reconciled". (Adam a retired banker)

> "I found my wife while I was at the university. I had met her before when we were students in 1966 in Tanga and met again in 1969 at the university. We come from different tribes and the friendship continued in our second meeting. We decided to get married. She comes from a matrilineal background so we told her parents and they told me there is no bride price provided the children are theirs. My family refused and was even dismayed when they realized the children will not be mine. For us we went ahead

> and set a wedding in 1971 and her relatives came but not mine". (Zebedayo a retired university professor)

The closest one can suggest to what is going on here is that the parents wanted to maintain the status quo. As Adam hints, "I think my father was scared that the new wife would not know how to handle W*anyiramba* (his tribesmen from Singida). But for him he said he wanted an educated wife.

These are his reasons:

> "Some of the *Kinyaramba* (things from Singida...) values are outdated and they were not going to be good fit for my contemporary ways, that is why I did not want a *mnyiramba* (person from Singida). During the early years of independence still few girls were allowed by their parents to go to school as compared to us boys, because they were expected to marry and produce children. I intentionally wanted an educated girl, whom I did not see in the *Wanyiramba* but in the *Wachagga*".

From these stories we see how complicated and sometimes contradictory things in everyday life can be. The social actors reveal exceptionality, at times they are gender sensitive in some ways but not in others. That's how social life is. The fact that more Wachagga got education during the colonial era is documented. In the early years of independence, Nyerere told the nation that the missionaries chose were to build schools and these places happened to be Kilimanjaro (home of WaChagga), and Bukoba (home of Wahaya) and there fore it is upon the new nation to extend education to the rest of the country (1966). Not all of these professionals from the older generation embraced change in gender relations in its totality. Douglas maintained that "I grew knowing I am a boy and did not do any domestic work. The girls, my sisters would serve us boys and we would help with taking care of animals". He further confesses that he will always be a traditional man. This is revealed in his narrative about his marital life:

> "I am a *mwanamume wakizamani* (old time traditional man who adhered to male dominance) I remember *babu* (grandfather) told us that to have other women is allowed but we should not have children with them. I call this "illegal crazy". You do this during the times when your wife is on menstruation or breastfeeding, why should you suffer. This is not at all for purposes of enhancing masculinity. On the other hand women are not allowed to do this... it is unforgiveable until heaven. For me gender equality concerning that area, is a daydream. Maybe …amongst young people who are really committed to God…As I noted I am a traditional man. I will die conservative and as the saying goes, "you can not teach old dog new tricks, that's me". My wife is not allowed to ask me where I am going. "I come back from work, and then I say I am going out". It is obvious out there you may encounter bad company. I always try to avoid it, but I also do not comply with the idea of husbands who just sit around at home after work. He won't have friends. I socialize very little with my wife, there is not time, and when we do go, I decide where to go. I can not lie to you I feel superior to her all the time. Like if she wants to go out to see one of her friends, and if I do not approve I do not grant her permission. I would say, "not today," she will ask again and I would emphasize, "I said not today, another day". But she can not talk to me like that. *Babu* told me she should never wear the pants (the saying of wearing man's clothes symbolizes acting like the man)".

Douglas represents some of the professional husbands from the older generation who continue some elements of the legacies of patriarchal gender relations. I say some elements because according to his wife Shila he does accommodate female sexual decision making. We can observe this from Shila's account:

> "When we had just gotten married we used to have sex twice a week, then the span went down. When he approaches me… and I would say I do not feel like it. He would remark now, where do you want me to go. I would just reply, I don't know I can't force it. He would get very mad. I would tell myself but I can not just go if I do not feel like it. Then one day he asked me why don't you also ask me or don't you ever desire me. I would respond that I do want you but I just can't make myself say it… I think he is a good man, because if he was not and I tell him so many times I don't feel like, he would have beaten me or gone outside to get some other women. He got used to my ways and accommodated me. It is true at times I really feel I want to be with him but to say it to him, I feel it like a heavy load on me until we have now aged. I never could do it. I now tell brides in the farewell ceremonies like the kitchen party, to talk to their husbands, and tell them when they desire them. I realized my husband was good he was well trained by his grandfather, but you never know. You could say I don't feel like and he may not accommodate you instead he may go out and get some other women, while you are there saying I don't feel like".

Shifts and continuities in gender relations are clearer at the micro level of people's everyday lives as manifested in these older professionals' narratives. At every point in

history there may be newer gender designs *of* the day that challenge or reinforce older designs but it's upon individual lives to choose the mix they find works for them. Shila's narration suggests she did not live a completely unequal life.

These findings indicate that people's initiatives towards gender equality or rather egalitarian lifestyles at the micro level are complex, fragmented, contradictory and dialectical. This was a challenge for the newly independent country of Tanzania to address and that is probably why, there were less details on how women's subordination was going to be eliminated in the socialist policies. The president relied on the Union of Women (UWT) to take care of women's issues. The Union was established as a wing of the Tanzania National Union Organization (TANU). The gender project in the socialist regime however, put more emphasis in changing women's position and not men with regards to constructions of gender. Issues like women's right to owning property were legally revisited. Just as the patriarchal attitudes related to the customary law changed, some individuals have debated the consequences of according a daughter the right to her father's land or property. Gregory (aged 60) a retired civil servant cautions that now women seem to be getting a double deal and he does not now what implications this could have.

By giving an illustration from his own family, he admits that his daughter who is currently married has a share of land and property from him but she is as well entitled to land and property of her husband. He puts it like this, *"yeye anachota tu kwote kwote, kwa mume, kwenye kihamba cha ukweni na kwangu"* (She receives from all ends, from her husband, her in-laws and me). Gregory thinks because of this the sons may end up getting less than the daughters. He gives another scenario, "*yeye akisikia tu huko*

*nimekatika, anakuja kudai avute sehemu yake ya urithi hata kama kule anacho!" (*As soon as she gets wind that I have expired, she will rush to claim her share of inheritance, even if she has something already!).

It is proper to argue that, the state socialism era and its unity discourses contributed to great shifts that pertain to bringing men and women from all over Tanzania to appreciate each other in a somewhat egalitarian manner as is perceived by Gregory in his narrative:

> "Now the mixture of Tanzanians became even greater due to one, national service, expansion of school, studying far …one comes from Kilimanjaro and goes to school in Mtwara. At work all you are asked about religion is for purposes of when you get sick or died what to do with you, otherwise nobody cares what your tribe is. The environment changed such that you could not insist or impose your tribal values on another person. The mixture is so big. Nyerere was so successful on this part. Like where I live here in Kigamboni Dar es Salaam, eh… the tribal diversity is so big. All of us are migrants. There are mixed couples from WaChagga (a tribe in Kilimanjaro) and Wahaya (a tribe from Kagera), Arusha and Iringa people, etc. and mixed religions as well. Therefore, the mixture has helped a lot. To speak along tribal lines has become a weak sport in our midst. For example, if you speak your tribal language in front of others they do not appreciate they may even consider you backward/primitive you are viewed as not a sensible person. I am from Arusha and my wife is from Iringa… Of cause the other contributory factor to the unity is Kiswahili language. We all put effort to talk in Kiswahili. You all talk your tribal language with your kinsmen as a courtesy. But it is very unlikely people to talk in front of a non tribal member their tribal dialect. It will look like you are tress passing about her or him".

In the mid 1980s during the economic crisis following increase of debts and adoption of the International Monitory Fund (IMF) policies of development (structural adjustment period), which caused a lot of women to enter into the informal market as bread winners to support their husbands, women became more aware of their role in the household. They did so because they were able to make money in the informal sector and influence decisions at household level. No longer did all women accept a position of inequality without questioning. Neither did the situation favor the smooth continuity of male dominance. Not all men owned property nor were they in dominant positions.

Factors other than gender became relevant as men and women interacted in structuring their relationships. The key factors became age, educational level, economic status, rural or urban residence, and others. The resultant synthesis of the ideology of gender domination continued to structure gender relationships but also changed as a result of Tanzania was being drawn into the global economy but also as people tended to take different and exceptional decisions from the norm to construct their lives. More so within the professionals.

The rise of the AIDS pandemic in the early 1980s with its vulnerability and prevention discourses marked a challenge to gender relations and sexual conduct as well in this era. AIDS discourses were coming from the government through the media and street campaigns. The government also used maternal health clinics to impart knowledge about AIDS. Unequal sexual decision-making power in sexual relations entailed vulnerability to the disease. Women were considered to have less power to negotiate safe sex (i.e. tell their partners to use condoms). Additionally concurrent sexual encounters aggravated the disease transmission situation. The government's public health discourses on safe sex and faithfulness informed by the Western medicalized sexuality discourses challenged tendencies of multiple sexual behaviors in couples and unequal sexual negotiation power between men and women. These AIDS discourses are pertinent to this study because they foreground young professional couples' formative years. Young professionals encountered these discourse throughout their growing up, their puberty life and now their young adulthood. Due to this, AIDS discourses particularly associated with gender and susceptibility have inarguably provided a context that provokes questioning

and contestation of some of the masculine and feminine conceptions governing behaviors among men and women. Such behaviors include sexual behaviors.

Nyerere's era can be summed up to have constituted discourses of freedom, unity, equality and peace under the umbrella of state socialism. These provided the repertoire under which gender designs *for* individual lives could be constructed. The rhetoric of women's liberation had become quite acceptable in Tanzania, also in the media. It became important because inequality is an impediment to socialist transformation. Patriarchal and anti-egalitarian gender relations discourses in Tanzania experienced further challenge with the national change and reconstruction in the first decades of democracy following the collapse of socialism. The distinction between equality discourses in the socialist and the democratic eras is that in the former the state regulated equality in the public sphere and left the private sphere to religious and traditional institutions. While the state still does not involve itself vividly in the private sphere in the neo liberal era, the private sector institutions do, complementing the religious and traditional institutions. The private sector institutions did not have an independent status (which they now do) under the socialist era a condition that hindered their influence on the fight for equality of the genders.

Neo-liberal era 1990 to present

This era brought transformation in the political, economical and in turn social-cultural aspects of Tanzania. With the onset of multiparty democracy, the one-party system came to end through the 8th Amendment to the Constitution which amended the Parliamentary Laws of 1985. Nyerere's era or rather the socialist regime ended when the

state decided to receive IMF's assistance, whose policies were in conflict with socialist ideals, to revamp a deteriorating economy under the socialist mode of production. With democracy came a free market economy. Issues such as customary rules about inheritance and other practices that discriminate against women have in the last two decades become widely discussed in "gender awareness" workshops which relevant government ministries, NGOs and civic groups hold throughout the country. These workshops also solicit men's views in these fora. Normally the men's views sought are oriented towards how they can welcome women's emancipation and less on how men can reconstruct their historically driven superiority. The participants in the workshops do not ask what kinds of tools and what rules they need and where should they seek them to help men socially construct masculinity to fit the new social demands. This topic will be addressed further in chapter five. The emphasis on women in the gender equality project suggests tendencies to deny how relational gender relations are organized. As pre-colonial ethnic groups in Tanzania socially organized gender, they did so simultaneously, that is, both men and women were socialized to accept and behave the way they should to maintain the society. The rules of the organization favored men but in *relation* to women, hence, even when efforts towards gender equality are made, they should probably move in a relational manner. Otherwise, as my dissertation shows in chapters six and seven, if they do not, instances of *troubled femininity*[41] begin to emerge. Hence, multipartysim ushered in discourses of democracy that enhanced equality and rights based discourses. This is the era that young professionals are experiencing their young adulthood life. The difference between equality under socialism and under democracy relevant to this study

[41] Troubled femininity connotes instances whereby professional wives stumble on how to construct femininity that fit a gender equitable marital relationship.

is that people were given more supportive mechanisms to express equality under democracy than in socialism. In socialism the state aimed at equality of the genders in the public sphere and delegating the private sphere more so to religious and traditional institutions. While in the democracy era, state involvement into forging equality into the private sphere is relatively low. However, more parties are involved in the private sphere other than the state. I addition to religious and traditional institutions, there is ample involvement by the private sector and civic organizations. These latter bodies have great autonomy under the democracy as opposed to the socialist era.

Some of the amendments recommended for Tanzania's customary law are still lagging behind to become law even though relevant bodies that represent gender relations issues such as a ministry for gender have been formed. Another reason for the tendency to delay passage of the new laws is the relevance of including male perspectives to change the patriarchal ideology rationalized by customary law (Keller & Kitunga 1999). However, it is correct to state that a number of national policies, strategies and reforms have been adopted under the current era. These seem to offer potential opportunities for women and men in socioeconomic development and enhanced female empowerment in decision making.

This is also a free market era with a lot of communication, further globalization which encourages individualistic fashioning of lifestyles. Discourses of self are in great tension with dominant discourses of collectiveness, and shared community as it was configured in the past. In stead there are new shared communities based on class, and peer subcultures such as the young professionals. Shifts in gender relations can be observed as a result of these newer discourses. For example, professionals from the

young generation embrace discourses of partnership, friendship, modern masculinity and femininity in contrast to wives treated as subordinate to her husband in shaping their marital relations as the following narrative from Clifford (age 39) a civil engineer shows:

> "My wife and I relate as buddies. I can be free with her and she is to me. I believe this is what brings happiness. You see if you the man are having drawbacks like miscellaneous behavior you can not feel free to initiate anything in the home. By this I mean one has to begin self checking himself before he can judge the other. I do not like being superior since it creates a strange environment of blocking my partner, in this case my wife, to open up to me. When my wife becomes inferior, I will not realize the happiness I desire by being with her. Happiness becomes compromised because she will fail to participate to think, to decide, and to contribute, a situation I don't like at all".

Clifford's wife Jennifer (age 34) who is a medical doctor also admits that they do attempt to work together equally in many fronts of their marital life and even when she sees opposition from her husband she tries to tell him. This is how she elaborates on this:

> "I sometimes sense my husband wants to dominate but I always restrain myself talking back as my mother used to do. So I would say, "Just go ahead and do it but I do not agree with you" and sometimes this would make him hesitate and rethink his action. Tight now we are building our house and I suggested that I wanted or rather I would like this or that put into it and he answered rigidly, "When it comes to construction I am the one who advises". But I still tell him, "I will also live in this house for the rest of my life so if at this stage of the house it already bores me…."he stays quiet, thinks, and then he asks "Ok, what is it you want?" I do this to make him see that if he does things without involving me what he really thinks I can not participate in decision-making the way we both desire...we like to decide matters together. And it works".

Regarding their sexual life she confesses that she plays an active role in decision-making, as her remarks show:

> "I can not say I have total gender equity in my home, because although I am listened to occasionally, sometimes my suggestions are refused just like that with no good reason. However, I can say that in the sexual decision-making sphere, I am the lioness!! I am the head there… until sometimes I retract my footsteps and tremble and think, "My goodness I will be divorced!" Part of this boldness came from my pregnancy. My pregnancy had a lot of complications, I was hypersensitive, and had other medical complications. Hence, I gave birth under a lot of stress and fear for my health and he saw all that. So after giving birth I was advised not to use any type of oral contraception. I also can not use a loop because this type of contraception is not advised to be used by women who expect to conceive again soon. My plan is to finish school and get my second child. My options

> remained to use a condom and safe days. Apart from heading this department I have even tried to bring him medical books so that he can read and inform himself of my health risks".

These narratives show us how and where the young professional couples are giving each other confidence to dialogue and express their concerns to each other in marital life.

According to the 1999 and 2007 Gender Profiles prepared through the Tanzanian Gender Networking Program work staff in collaboration with SIDA(Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), the government of Tanzania continued its commitment to gender equality in several ways: (a) through amendments to the constitution designed to increase women's representation in Parliament (2000,2005) and in the local government councils (2000); (b) through Gender Specific Policies, such as the *Women and Gender Development Policy*, 2000, (c) through law reform whereby some aspects of laws as the *Land Act, No 4 and the Village Act, No 5 of 1999*; (d) the *Land Act, NO2 of 2002*; and (e) the *Amendment to the Land Act in 2004* incorporated some key gender equality concerns. Other notable efforts were the adoption of a renewed universal primary education policy, the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) which entailed a major increase in school enrollment of both girls and boys. Efforts have begun to improve secondary school enrollment, which is currently among the lowest in Africa (Mascarenhas 2007).With regard to marriage and family matters, in urban areas there is a greater tendency of young men and women to democratically choose their marriage partner, although arranged marriages are still prevalent. What is driving these initiatives is economic development. These initiatives aim to empower especially the women economically in order for her to be able to make decisions for her welfare.

Within this era, gender division of labor at the household level, especially in urban areas, has been somewhat mediated by the role of house servants. This is more relevant to those who can afford them such as professionals and also those who use distant relatives for this task. Thus, the house servants mediate the professional women's subordination in the domestic labor sphere. Few professional wives speak of being burdened by domestic work. Siah (aged 32) a medical doctor from the younger generation group explains that the nature of tasks has changed. Rather than being manual and requiring physical strength, contemporary tasks for women have become more mental thus requiring brain power. This is how Siah contrasts the situation of their couple life and the past in terms of household division of labor:

> "The man would say he is going to invest, build the house, and for me I will feed and take care of the home….you find budgeting for food is not a joke, ensuring all is as we desire I take care of the home, taking care of children even if I do not clean, farm and wash like our fore mothers, but thinking and planning and saving and looking for better deals is mentally taxing too..."

This kind of division of labor has its root in men being attached to land and property as noted earlier.

The plurality of the media, more newspapers, and magazines, the coming of television channels and other information technology, like the internet, and mobile phones, has also contributed to exposing both women and men to alternative ideas of how to live their lives. This has brought new ideas of gender relations compared to those inherited from previous generations. Many of the younger generation couples refer more to ideas they get from the diversified media in addition to parental influence as sources of how to relate. The self help industry has become influential with its discourses on self fashioning of lifestyles. There is still however concern on the misrepresentation of gender

issues in the media. Much of what is portrayed is negative aspects of women and achievement aspects of men. Women continue to be portrayed as tools of pleasure and entertainment, and less is reported about what they achieve, such as their political status. For example, popular newspapers attract readers by using pictures of women posing in provocative ways that emphasize sexual parts of the body. On the other hand although Tanzania has a high representation of women in parliament, it has the lowest proportion of women politicians given coverage in the media. They constitute only 8% of the sources in the political category. Women's views and issues seem to dominate in areas of beauty contests, sex workers, and homemakers. All this undermines the project of gender equality, in the sense that the media becomes underutilized to instill ideas about equality in gender relations in the society. Efforts are being made to counteract this negative publicity by the actions of non governmental organizations like the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) and TGNP. Together these organizations work with the media to raise public awareness through public debate on gender issues

There are individual diverse ways in which gender relations of different types are changing and one of these is marital gender relations. The questioning of patriarchal ideologies is happening at the level of individuals and organized groups through NGOs and other initiatives. Other changes have been facilitated by changes in the law. For example what is today called customary law is not "traditional" in the sense of the pre-colonial era. Women can now under new statutes own land and property left by their deceased husbands. However, although we can talk of relative changes in patriarchal ideology, one can still find some selective patriarchal attitudes continuing to play an important role in structuring gender relations in contemporary Tanzania. This was noted

earlier with Douglas and Shila of the older generation professional couples. Significantly, such selective continuity is also present in some of the younger professional couples. The following illustration from one younger professional couple gives evidence to this:

> "When I ask for something to be done at home and find it was not done, I feel bad. There must be a hierarchy in a home, just like in the office. It is not that the boss is the most intelligent; there just must be a manager. I can give directions, and I assume that I am the head of the house. I can instruct even discipline. I don't say I am the final decision maker of everything. I delegate a lot of decisions. When I am convinced it is done properly, I don't push to head. I like sharing my headship". (Thomas (age 40) a university lecturer).

Thomas although he welcomes changes in gender relations but he wants to maintain the position of the man in the marriage with regard to being in charge , he thinks it is for the betterment of their marriage. He continues to express that for him a wife's duty is to help him he says he has even considered stopping her from work but he is still battling with the idea because he does not also want to belittle his wife. Thomas is another example of the dialectic nature of how gender is constructed in Tanzanian professionals. This idea of how the gender roles can be somewhat separate because of work circumstances for Thomas seems not to contradict with gender equality at marital level as his narrative reveals:

> "I have gradually become busy to such an extent that I fail to wash my handkerchiefs and other private belongings. I have a wife whom I consider a helper to bridge the gap. She must plan for family budget and buy even airtime for my phone. She must prepare and serve me food. I really dislike being served by house servants. Even if I came back at midnight I prefer her to wake up and serve me, failure of which leads to conflicts. When I am frustrated I must get a consolation from my wife. If she can't, she is a failure, she must take care of my emotional needs because I must be fit emotionally for my demanding work. I reason that this is her part of the burden for provision of family. I am always curious that wives should contribute substantially to family budget, what I mean is that wives should be able to run the house in the unlikely event of the death of a husband".

Thomas' narrative differs from many of the older generation couples because the latter treat gender roles as separate duties for separate genders. With Thomas the narrative suggests that he is more concerned about availability. He considers his wife less busy hence available to support him in many ways even if some of these ways others may interpret as inequality. Thomas is an example of how young professionals enact their marital gender relations in very contradictorily manner with regard to the subject equality. They act in ways which are at times dialectical containing elements of both unequal and equality tendencies for the genders.

Seen from a different light Thomas is very practical when it comes to his marital sex life. He works with his wife cooperatively on this front. He admits:

> "In marital sex you have to find ways to understand each other, but as for me I don't expect my wife to keep with the pace at which I would desire her and want to have sex with her. I respect that. There is a need of a balance between her space and my sex need. That is what I try to accomplish…because I am aware that if a man is not satisfied over a long period of time, it can contribute to conflicts and even extra marital relations…we try to work on this."

Thomas's wife, Elina (age 39) a secondary school teacher in turn expressed that he knows that her husband is busy and if he had time he would have loved to help more with taking care of their children and house work and that whenever he can he does. She says, "I supervise everything in the household … So we come back tired from work yet I have to check my children's school work. Sometimes I sleep at midnight". Nonetheless, she described her sex life as not exciting which probably explains why her husband is concerned with their marital sex frequency. This is how she describes their sexual relationship:

> "There are times when he comes and say, "I really need you" and I would say, no please not today. He will insist and say, "So where do you want me to go now?" and I would tell

> him to persevere until another day. He would complain, "I waited until you finished your menstrual now you still don't want!" so I accept but I tell him I don't want to reach climax, and he will say, now how will I do this alone? You see I just don't want to wait until I climax every time I get really tired so I just want him to do his thing and finish. But he always tells me that by doing that he would not enjoy anything. But I thank God that he is listening to me. I know this is hard for him… knowing how busy he is, sometimes I just feel sorry for him and accept even though I did not feel like".

While Thomas may seem to be very domineering and perpetuates the gender based division of labor, he does have a dialogue approach to his wife concerning matters of sexual decision-making this is a shift from the past. Mariamu a government official from the older generation confessed it was not a matter of saying no to sex during their young marriage, even when she was tired there was no room to say no especially when her husband was under the influence of alcohol. The shared marital sex saying which girls and boys got exposed to in the past is, "we did not come here to sleep, you are not my sister nor am I your brother". For some this explains the wife's hesitation to say no or the husband's decision not to initiate.

The neo-liberal era is largely characterized by the AIDS menace which has relevance to marital gender relations. After two decades, AIDS continues to create a context under which gender relations are subjected to possible shifts because of women's limited control to determine their own lives, their lesser ability than men to control the nature and timing of sexual activity, and their frequent inability to negotiate change in sexual behavior (Bailey and Bujra 2001). It is precisely the link between control over potentially risky sexual relations and women's position within the wider society that is crucial, however, for an understanding of vulnerability and the way in which HIV moves through a population (Bailey & Bujra 2001:6). To this I add understanding of vulnerability also requires understanding how men are responding to their taken for

granted sexual behavior in the HIV era. In the 1980s a focus on *gender relations continuities* illuminated the intensity of the spread of the disease. In the current era a focus on *gender relations shifts* offers to potentially illuminate how the spread can be curbed. As Heise and Elias suggested in 1995, empowering women necessarily requires redefinition of what it means to be male. AIDS has necessitated the need to change attitudes and behaviors in men and women in intimacy relationships.

Relevant to this study is the establishment of the Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS) in 2001, and a more intensive strategy to address the pandemic and to create greater awareness of the gender specific aspects of HIV and AIDS. There is no denying that AIDS' discourses have greatly challenged gender designs *of* the past especially those facilitating multiple sexual partners behavior and inequality in sexual relationships. As the following extracts from the younger professionals' narratives show:

> "Men tend to take rioting easily [he means multiple sexual partners behavior] but due to this disease, our wives can lose confidence and loose loyalty, and when they loose loyalty even they can riot…when a wife does that in a marriage it can be a very dangerous marital lifestyle…that's why I think husbands need to change by being closer and open to their wives…I am doing that". (Atubone (aged 42) a civil servant)

> "There is no objection the nature of the disease itself is forcing some changing…before sex was free… so patriarchal… we must now change... *imepunguza kasi* (the pace of male multiple sexual partners behavior has reduced)…I mean male multiple sexual partners behavior is no longer a prestige but vulnerability". (Bishanga (aged 39) a university lecturer)

> "AIDS has become a check and balance for sexual conduct….as we sit and drink eh …we see a woman passing by and we say *"ona kile kitu hakina ukimwi kweli?"*(Check out that thing is it really safe from the disease?). .. "*ingekuwa enzi ningepiga na kukiacha"* (if it were the old days I would have it and move on)….but now we only look…and concentrate on our wives…strengthen our marital sex". (Patrick (aged 32) a medical doctor)

> "…our lives nowadays are checked by the presence of AIDS. Some couples are conscious of the death threat posed by the disease. The radios, outdoor advertisings, AIDS workplace workshops, etc. All speak to us about being careful and taking precautions in our sex lives. These shape our thinking now of how to live our lives. At

> least I have noticed this with few of the people I know. Couples talk or call for support from others when one of them is not faithful to marriage". (Clifford (age 39) a civil engineer)

From these narratives we see men are rethinking accustomed male multiple sexual partners behavior which was part of patriarchal gender organization and suggesting responses to reconstruct it in the age of AIDS.

An analysis of professionals' gender relations in the AIDS context requires a full understanding of the knowledge, motivation and constraints faced by both men and women, because as noted in the profile of Tanzanian professionals' gender relations, the relationship between men's volition and women's dependence and restricted agency remains at issue. This relationship impacts even intimate sexual relationships. Overall the AIDS menace laid the groundwork for potential gender redefining, a topic that will be addressed in chapters six and seven. AIDS can also be said to be a factor[42] influencing young professional couples' lifestyles, as they articulate their gender relations, a topic addressed extensively in chapter five. Apart from the AIDS disease as a social force impacting contemporary life, Christianity in its contemporary versions, in different ways does the same.

Revival and evangelism have also increased during the neo-liberal era. A lot of ministries have emerged in Tanzania. Some of these emerged within the traditional churches such as Anglican and Lutheran, while some outside them, such as Kakobe, Agape, and House-to-House ministries just to mention a few. These not only have provided new ways of thinking about gender relations in marriage but they have provided

[42] This is one of the rules or reasons behind contemporary young professional couples to attain gender equity.

room for change. These ministries have produced what are called *born again*[43] Christian couples who believe in building their relationships based on the Bible per se. These arrangements, similar to those in Larsson's description of the Christian revival during the colonial era, have given women and men an opportunity to find some sort of understanding and peace in their marriages.

The expansion of the private sector and a more equitable access to the education system has provided additional opportunities for formal employment for both men and women particularly in urban areas. Women are also involved in business enterprises to the extent that there is a business women's association. Professional women have relatively begun to acquire economic autonomy but their overall number is still low compared to women as a whole and men in general. This is more so with regard to wage structure differentiation. Men still occupy relatively higher salaries compared to women.

There are more reproductive health services as opposed to earlier eras, however access is still a problem in the rural areas compared to urban areas. Women who can access these services have the option to space their children well. Next I turn to some of the shifts and continuities in gender relations captured from this gender profile of Tanzanian professionals.

4.2. Shifts and continuities in gender relations

With regard to shift and continuities, we have seen that each generation of professional couples had their share of developing new kinds of readjustment to the assumptions informing designs *of* gender relations basing on their changing nature at

[43] These are Christians identifying with Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior as the Bible preaches. They commit to serve the Lord and do good with His help.

each point in the history of the country. Some of the key shifts, included: socialization patterns of children by the parents of the older generations, mixed marriages and women rights to property by the older generation and partnership lifestyles embracing greater marital sexual dialogue in the younger generation. However, we also saw members of generations retaining selectively previous ways of thinking and behaviors which impact gender relations and sexual conduct. Some manifestations of these continuities include: wife beating in older generations' parents, male superiority and the treatment of wives as property in older generations and gender division of labor in the younger generation. The selective continuities in gender designs relate well with the "practical consciousness" concept (Giddens 1984:6). Giddens implies that social life is not simply governed on a rule-governed basis. Professional couples, worked within their circumstances some with flexibility to accommodate shifts or entertain continuities. Some of these shifts involved macro levels of decision-making such as law making in the case of widow's right to property ownership while other did not such as marital sexual dialogue. This selective continuity and shifts in gender construction is what also explain the dialectic nature of gender constructions which is relevant for understanding gender agency linked to HIV prevention.

The readjustment process is likely to continue as newer social upheavals emerge that call for renegotiations of the gender order such as is the AIDS epidemic doing now. AIDS as a unique context is not a political system or economic system imposed on people as it were with colonial power or Christianity by Missionary activities or further still state socialism. It is an all encompassing socially and physically human insecurity phenomenon that calls for the re-interrogation of human morality. Doing gender is part of

this human morality. Although much of the old traditions or habits of life associated with gender relations and sexual conduct conflict with the existence of AIDS amidst our everyday life, new knowledge generated by society, more precisely by the urban context that is increasingly diversified, and new circles of socialization which are multiplying new ways of thinking as well as possibilities and choices, inspire me to argue that AIDS influenced gender shifts are possible.

To sum up this chapter, I have shown that Tanzania has passed through different political and economical times which not only reorganized the gender social structure from a macro point of view but that these macro changes were reflected at the micro level in individuals as they lived their lives. This was seen in the quotes from the two generations of professional couples. The individuals were juxtaposed to accept, resist or negotiate their gender relations basing on the discourses of the time. At every point of the historical contexts analyzed here professionals were exposed to one or more specified frameworks of thought and practice with regard to gender relations. Beginning with the pre colonial era, the dominant gender design *of the* day was patriarchal which was later complemented by gender designs emanating from Christianity. It was more the converts and later the first generation of professionals who adopted the Christian gender designs *of* the era to construct gender designs *for* their own lives.

Then came the colonial era, this ushered in the dominant gender designs *of* the day imparted through education for the fulfillment of economic and political legacies of the colonial system. Existing alongside them were the persistent Christian and patriarchal gender designs. Gender design *for* some older professionals in this era contained a blend of the variety yet distinguished in the nature of embracing partially egalitarian tendencies.

Independence era and then state socialism gave stimulus to the egalitarian movement but in a particularly nationally unified manner. There was a national socialization of the people into a national culture which encompassed gender designs *of* the day. Finally in the neo liberal era we saw tendencies towards partnership marriages were favored but also remnants of patriarchy could be noticed as well.

From this history of gender relations examined here I have to point out that the similarities between the older and younger generations seemed much more than the differences. The reason for more similarity is suggestive of their status as professionals. Both show tendencies to be open to change in gender relations in a dialectic manner. Therefore, I would argue that both the similarities and differences between the older and the younger generations lend help in teasing out gender relations that matter to HIV/AIDS prevention seeking behavior.

CHAPTER FIVE

MARITAL GENDER CONSTRUCTION: RULES AND RESOURCES

In the previous chapter I showed comparative gender designs from two generational cohorts of Tanzanian professional couples while locating them in historical contexts. I showed that as different socio-political and economic conditions changed, so did the social organization of gender and this trickled down to how individuals negotiate gender designs *of* the time to create gender designs *for* their lives. These changing historical contexts brought about key shifts in the overall social organization of gender,

some of which throw light on Tanzanian professional couples' gender designs trajectory. For example, most of the 120 ethnic tribal groups in Tanzania had traditionally organized institutions that dealt with the intergenerational transfer of knowledge about puberty[44] and marital[45] gender socialization to their members[46]. But at some point in history, professionals stopped receiving this socialization in its original form. Important factors accounting for the shift in this pattern were religion, geographical mobility, and ethnically and religiously mixed marriages.

While there are studies on gender and sexual socialization/initiation rites of Tanzanians in general, there are none that address professionals in particular. With the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Tanzania, attention has been focused on how people relate in terms of gender relations and sexual conduct, and hence understanding the sources of how people learn about gender and sex have become relevant. Since a majority of the professionals did not undergo the group puberty rites which had the objective of preparing them for adulthood and marital life in the context of village/community life, it is unclear in the literature what shaped their gender and sexual behavior for urban life. In order to obtain gender resources, to navigate their urban marital life where did they resort to? How did the process work? How do the outcomes of gender relations compare to different tribes and to couples from low income population? These are the questions I answer in this chapter.

Puberty initiation rites were very popular in the 1960s and 1970s in Tanzania in the form of a daughter having the aunt or grandmother talk her through behavioral do's and don'ts when they reached menarche and boys talking to appointed men to guide them through manhood. This training took different forms depending on ethnic groups. But these traditional institutions deteriorated with urbanization and the expansion of education amongst girls and boys (Obrist van Eeuwijk & Mlangwa, 1997, Fuglesang 1994, Liljeström & Tumbo-Masabo 1994).

See Mbunda (1991) for an elaborate description of this in his book "Traditional Sex Education in Tanzania: A study of 12 Ethnic groups" and in (Haram 2005; Setel 1999; Swantz 1969)

[46] See Allen (2000) for an example(s) of tribes which did not have formal initiation rites.

5.1. Christianity, mobility, mixed marriages and socialization rites

My study revealed that there came a time when professionals could not attend mainstream community organized tribal puberty and marital initiation rites. First of all, some of the parents of the older generation couples got Christianized and abandoned participating and following their previous traditional rituals and this included not sending their children to traditional initiation passage rites. They encouraged their children to observe Christian teachings instead. Secondly, this process happened largely because of the mobility of the girls and boys during the time when these traditional functions were meant to happen, namely at puberty and close to marriage times. At these points in their life courses, the boys and girls were at school far from home and many did not go back to get married in their home villages after school or college. Some did not even marry their tribesmen/women as we saw earlier.

The intergenerational transfer of marital knowledge was also affected by mixed marriages. Mixed marriages created a situation whereby trainers were not sure which knowledge would approximate applicability for mixed tribal backgrounds.[47] This complicated the smooth administration of the rites to this social group. This ended up with them having no instructions or they acquired alternative ways, which marked a less amount and quality of knowledge received than expected. In some cases, it was an improvised knowledge that they received. Mariamu, a governmental official (age 61), gave evidence to the change, when she said:

[47] This gradually changed with tribes becoming more unified through the strategies put in place by Julius Nyerere, the first president, such as one language, KiSwahili, which replaced tribal languages as the main official language.

> "The chance for *kufundwa* (to be molded into the cultural expectations of a wife/woman) was not there …like kitchen party today. I think in our time that was not there at all...in most of the women of our time. Because we were away from home for a long time …far….you are at school, you go to high school, you go to the national service, then the university or any other higher learning college…you get a man while you are still over there…..we did not get married from home most of us…now the mixing of tribes you find yourselves in the center and cut off from many things …..[Here she means traditional and single tribe focus arrangements]"

During their growing up some of the families of the first generation of professionals tended also to take it for granted that their children were educated and needed no elaborate traditional initiation to marriage. Some aunts even felt less confident to impart the knowledge. Discourses like "…*wewe si msomi bwana* (after all you are educated)" influenced the neglect, as reported by the professional wives in my study. As a result, some wives did not get much knowledge. They were just told to take good care of their husbands. There were some who admitted they did not get any knowledge imparted to them, such as Helena, a retired teacher (age 69). This is what she said:

> "I entered marriage without being told/instructed anything… *Ndoa ilijiendea ovyo ovyo tu*. (the marriage at first was a struggle) … but *unaenda ukiwa mtoto halafu unakuwa* (you enter as a child and then you grow) [she uses this as a metaphor]".

The same happened to Mariamu as she says in this quote,

> "I did not get instruction from anyone. I just read books…, how to be a wife. My wedding was like automatic there was no preparing ….almost all of the friends I had , they too did not get marital instructions prior to marriage…I did not see when parents were involved. We just hear so and so got married and they are staying together".

On the other hand, men also reported that if they did not go to *jando* (traditional male puberty initiation rite), they were to expect almost nothing in terms of instruction given prior to marriage. This was emphasized by Noah, a retired civil servant and government minister (age 76). The result was that most of the second generation

professionals ended up getting puberty knowledge either from peers or one of the members of the family. The professionals who fall under this group also included those coming from tribes which did not have any of these rites in the first place. For example, Patrick, a medical doctor (age 32) in the younger generation, admitted that he got some puberty instructions from his paternal uncle.

Hence, from societal organized traditional puberty initiation rites for most tribes, puberty knowledge transfer shifted to become the task of a member of the family, in most cases a grandmother/grandfather or an aunt/uncle for both generations. Those who could not access these sources relied on older students' coaching at school. Marital gender relations socialization also became a task of a member of a family/clan for both generations and specialized urban trainer(s) were called upon even more so for the younger generation. However, with time there emerged urban-oriented marital initiation rites known as kitchen parties. These offered another option of marital instruction for the wives in the younger generation[48]. From my findings, all the younger professional wives had kitchen parties prior to their weddings. Nonetheless, according to professionals from both generations, these initial sources of marital instruction were considered not complete and additional sources were sought to complement them.

Husbands specifically informed me that they use a lot of their common sense and logic to relate in marriage because they did not get much in terms of knowledge to prepare them for marriage. Francis, an IT professional (age 39) from Lindi where the *jando and unyago* norms are still persistent, commented that he can tell the difference

[48] I am aware there is a replica of the kitchen party meant for husbands to-be known as "bag party" but none of my respondents experienced it. It may serve as a good potential site for public health interventions on AIDS prevention as well.

between men who did not get prior adequate instruction on marital sexual conduct and those who did as he listens to their conversations about their relationships with their spouses in leisure places. Francis represents one of the few members of professional husbands from the younger generation in Tanzania who attended *jando*. He rebukes the way Tanzanians characterize men and women from Lindi, Mtwara, Tanga (coastal areas) as overemphasizing sexual matters in their lives[49]. This is how he retorted:

> "They really don't know how important sex is to marriage [he said this angrily]… like now look…with AIDS those men who can not satisfy their wives or rather the wives cannot satisfy their husbands the chances for marital strains are great…this is not healthy for marital fidelity".

With this background in mind and focusing on couple relationships, the key thing I want to accomplish in the subsequent sections is to show where the Tanzania professional group from both generations obtains its additional marital gender and sexual socialization. Specifically I want to show the "sites" and the reasons they embrace them, which gives them inspiration, motivation, competence[50], and resources for constructing and reconstructing marital gender relations and sexual conduct.

[49] These are areas where there are still remnants of intense traditional instructions particularly on gendered sexual conduct.

[50] Competence in this document is used like Bourdieu's habitus concept, a "feel of the game". He argues that agents have a practical grasp upon or "feel for" the types of situation they are in, and a habitual repertoire of usual ways of acting, solving problems and framing things. It is this practical feel and repertoire which steers their actions. This is not to deny that agents may reason before acting nor that their actions are, to a degree reasonable, but this entails a practical reason, replete with all manner of "rules of thumb", prejudgments, typifications, habits etc.
"...the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemas engendered by history" (Bourdieu 1977: 82).
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5.2. Ethical concerns and structural consciousness in the gender construction process

Investigating the possibilities of change in marital gender relations, as I outlined earlier in my conceptual framework , involves examining the interplay of gender consciousness, moral concerns, interpersonal skills (which I call gender relational resources in this study) and material circumstances in their concrete, interactional manifestations within a historical time. The attempt to address this interface is grounded in the idea that understanding gender relations necessarily involves examining gender both at the institutional and interactional dimensions.

In the course of showing the different "sites" where additional resources are sought for gender relations competence, I submit that my findings suggest that cultural consumption and spousal communication have become key sources for taking advantage of local resources and thereby attaining competence for constructing gender lifestyles pertaining to modern masculinity and femininity. While both generations seek resources for gender competence from cultural consumption and through spousal communication, the way the younger professionals do it reflects more structural consciousness[51] of gender matters. It is against this structural consciousness that their narratives manifest patterns of constructions of modern masculinity and femininity that seem to predispose *some* of them to respond mindfully and responsibly during the HIV/AIDS era/context. On the other hand, older professional couples also possess inclinations to change but the ethical concerns they protect are not tested in the ways experienced by professional couples from the younger generation.

[51] This describes the situation whereby young professionals not only become conscious of how constraining gender relations are organized institutionally (macro) but also become conscious of how empowering they feel to reorganize these gender relations at the interactional level (micro).

Living up to the dictates of gender relations of the time, i.e. joint decision-making in all spheres of marital life including sexual conduct, presupposes that couples reconstruct notions of both masculinity and femininity based on equality. Traditional masculinity was generally rooted in authority, wealth (in the forms of land and cattle), independence, and hence domination. Femininity was based on service/submissiveness, respectability, reproduction, dependency and hence, subservience. Hence, for transformation to occur, scholars have come to realize that both have to be altered to give way to a new existence. New situational imperatives require professional couples to abandon control of masculinity as was condoned by earlier cohorts and gain a new control. Likewise feminine submissiveness as a control of respect and the *cultured woman* virtues honored in women of Africa needed to be re-worked. In order to change these, young professional couples have to reckon with some of the moral issues in the age of HIV/AIDS. How has this process of seeking new areas of moral integrity in gender marital relations been happening, from the generations of older to younger professional couples? What "sites" do the couples identify as additional sources of knowledge influencing this process as they articulate their social actions in everyday life gender experiences? Are there other concerns they hold if they do not embrace gender equality discourses wholly or make an effort to change?

Using data from mixed methods, including life histories, semi-structured questionnaires, focus groups, key informant interviews, and participant observation, I will argue that the two generations of professional couples differ in the way they carry out/perform reconstructions of femininity and masculinity because they have different

concerns[52]. Here I am informed by the theoretical stance pertaining to morality and ethical dispositions (Sayer 2004) discussed earlier. Scholars who share this viewpoint submit that lay normativity should be taken seriously precisely because it matters to people, and it matters to them because it is about things which seriously affect their well-being. Furthermore, they argue that the struggles of the social field, between different groups, classes, genders and ethnicities certainly involve habitual action and the pursuit of power, but they also have a range of normative rationales, which matter greatly to actors, as they are implicated in their commitments, identities and ways of life. Those rationales concern what is of value, how to live, what is worth striving for and what is not (Sayer 2004:4). Situating my analysis in this framework I submit that these professional couples from two generations differ in what *concerns* them most as they strive to achieve balanced gender relations in marital contexts largely due to their different life courses and ethical dispositions.

Elder (1994) argues that when times change, lives change. Sayer (2004) extends the concept of habitus to include ethical dispositions that help people determine good and bad for their welfare and others. By excluding ethical dispositions from the habitus constitution, we are left without tools to understand what is good and bad in people's perspectives of their welfare and others (see Sayer, 2004).This, I argue, pertains to

[52] The term *concerns* here is formulated from the idea of grasping not only the predominantly practical character of everyday life but its *normative* character. With this idea scholars reflect the notion that actions are mainly explained externally, in the third person, as products of social position and influences, discourses, cultural norms, or indeed habitus. Instead they welcome the preposition that in their own lives, people, including off-duty sociologists, are *concerned* about what they do and what happens to them and *justify* their actions rather than explain them externally. However, justifications are indeed influenced by social position and by wider discourses, but reflexivity is needed not only to examine such influences, but also to examine what they do *not* explain, that is how everyday situations often require people to make decisions and *justify* what they do, for the appropriate behavior is not simply prescribed by external forces or cultural scripts (Sayer 2005)

observing change in gender constructions in young professionals in Tanzania. Thus, due to difference in *concerns,* the two generations of professional couples therefore do not necessarily self mobilize the same resources, or competences/know-how in the same way. Neither are they necessarily motivated by the same factors. *Concerns* drive the direction to which an individual wants to avail himself/herself to be socialized into marital gender relations for their welfare and that of their spouses. My study suggests that although one can speak of some uniformity in gender relations in couples, these uniformities are a situation-specific phenomenon. The couples in my study have given evidence for shared situations which represent instances of a gender dilemma.[53] Resolving this gender dilemma for older professionals has generally meant exploring how to live with alternative gender relations arrangements alongside dominant gender relations. In other words, they would tend to reform but not revolutionize the gender system. For the younger professionals, resolving sometimes meant more than innovating gender relations; it meant changing them.

To understand better how transformation and change is happening in gender relations within the professional social group, I extend our knowledge of conventional gender socialization forms of agents to non- conventional forms like cultural consumption. I argue that such "sites" have a lot of bearing on how traditional gender relations are innovated, changing, or stabilizing.

[53] I use gender dilemma to connote situations whereby a husband may find himself needing to compromise his comfort zone of enacting traditional masculinity for a better *concern* he has or sees. Likewise the term signifies situations when a woman has to fall back to traditional femininity for a better course in her marriage. It is basically a term which connotes times when gender responses are calculated and weighed as to which would be the way forward action that both partners *care for* and may not necessarily be rational or expected of the public/larger community.

5.3. Examining marital gender relations through sources of resources and competence

As noted earlier, professional couples generally would experience marital instructions prior to marriage from sources which I call initial sources. However, professional couples from both generations have acknowledged that marital instructions from the initial sources are incomplete. In this section, I analyze and discuss additional sources that inform and equip professional couples with marital gender relations and sexual conduct competence. Before I analyze these additional sources I provide an overview of the initial sources highlighting their limitations, their shift over time in terms of the topics addressed, and how they are implemented as illustrated by data from life histories, key informant interviews and participant observation.

Initial sources of competence

According to my findings the professional couples identified four categories for initial sources of competence for marital gender relations and sexual conduct. These are: 1) One- to -one with a member of the family/clan, 2) One-to-one with specialized trainer(s), 3) Church marital instructions, and 4) the Kitchen party. The content of the meetings within the categories one to three for a long while has been centered on domestic gender roles, motherhood, hygiene, and bedroom relations[54] but it differs in terms of how they are implemented, the intensity of the training, demonstration and ritualism. The family/clan-oriented category is less descriptive but sometimes ritualistic

[54] These connote sexual conduct.

and may have no demonstrations[55]. There was more emphasis placed on the bride's teachings than bridegrooms. The professionals who used these sources included those coming from tribes which did not have any of the organized traditional rites in the first place. The next section presents and discusses the four sources of gender competence.

a) *One to one-- with a member of the family/clan (an aunt, uncle, mother or father)*

This kind of instruction was experienced more by the older generation. However, there were two professional wives in the younger generation who experienced this in addition to a kitchen party. Younger professional husbands mentioned sitting with their uncles and receiving some broader outlook to marriage but nothing specific. The couples who experienced this category in either generation described it as taking the form of the bride or groom being taken aside into a room where they were given some wise words to build her/his home. For older professional husbands this was more informal, such as through a conversation with an uncle, as John, a medical doctor (age 32) reported. Fewer husbands, like Douglas, a retired accountant (age 78), said: "I had repeated conversations with my grandfather as a young adult close to marrying". The husbands were taught more about how to maintain social values, be strong, avoid being ruled by the wife, put a distance between himself and the wife, retain a kind of mysterious quality, mind his duty

[55] In Tanga even these will have elaborate demonstrations from married wives. It is considered a celebration of wifehood/femininity. They usually do it with traditional dances and they would pound maize then stop and dance on the big standing wooden motor set on the floor on which they were pounding maize. Every wife will be given an opportunity to climb the motor and twist her waist as she dances to show her balancing competence while the bride to-be watches on. The act of pounding and dancing on top of the motor symbolizes the sexual act. The session is called *utwasi.* It is an occasion filled with merriment and joy and full of sex jokes while wives display and show off their sex act tactics to each other and to the bride to- be! No man is allowed (personal communication 2007).

and not interfere in the wife's affairs. However, older professional husband admitted that these social values sometimes contradicted the church teachings (to be discussed in another section). Both professional husbands and wives in the two generations agreed that the instruction curriculum for the brides was taken more seriously than that for the bridegrooms as reflected in their accounts. However, some professional wives got very little and hurried instruction while others received more detailed instructions.

Instructors for professional wives in this category can consist of an aunt alone with the bride or some wives (2-5) from the family/clan can accompany her. Examples from the data transmitted include the way Pamela, a retired teacher (age 72), said:

> "My mother told me stuff…it was not common…for her to do so but I did not have aunts. She told me now that you are getting married, marriage means having your own husband, you will have children together, you will be in a different family community from us…you learn how that community lives and you emulate."

Veronika was a medical doctor (age 59), who was in medical school at the time of her marriage. When she came home for her wedding, she sat with her aunt and received some instructions. She confesses it was very little,

> "…she did not go deep into details like the way we do with kitchen parties nowadays for our children… It was hurried….she told me when I go to the other family [meaning her husband to -be's family] I am supposed to respect them more…put respect first…she did not teach me things to do for my husband…no."

Selina, a retired accountant (age 60), also admitted getting little knowledge. She said her aunts' main message was, "*mlee* [she put emphasis on the word] *mume vizuri* (take good care of your husband)". She wondered why they did not tell her how he was going to take care of her as well. It did not make sense to her. These three women represent those

professional wives who complained that they received very little marital knowledge prior to marriage.

Others represented by Magdalane and Shila, retired nurses age 73 and 72, respectively, experienced somewhat elaborate teachings and rituals. According to Magadalane, in addition to teachings about how to be morally upright in the marriage, a bride was taken through some rituals. This is captured in her narrative below:

> "…For us Christians the wedding service is performed on Sunday …hence on Thursday or Friday of the week of the wedding there are women who are sent to examine you …if you are still a virgin. So we really took great care of ourselves…otherwise if you are not found …the suitor will have to claim a cow or goat. He will go and claim this from your parents. This put shame [moral unworthiness] to your parents in the community. He will still marry you though! Gossip will pass all around the community. …Others would leave the newlyweds to spend one night and then special women would be sent to check if the *arusi imejibu* (a metaphor for "has the wedding answered?" If the woman was found a virgin this connotes the wedding has answered/replied). So these women will come back with a parcel of meat they know how to wrap it so if they find you were not a virgin, they poke the parcel with holes all over, and it is the mother of the bride who has to open it... but now girls have become out of control (she is implying the younger generation). In our village if you became pregnant you will have to run and be a second wife of an old man".

Shila, a retired nurse (age 72), also testified that she went through the ritual of virginity test successfully. Interestingly I re-emphasize my reasoning here related to Sayer's perspective that these women justify these gendered sexual rituals as efforts to maintain moral discipline in the society amongst women and not to suggest anything with their female social positioning. When I asked Magdalane and Shila if they felt subordinated by those rituals and why men didn't go through such a ritual, their response was that if you teach the woman, you have taught/saved the community[56]. For them these rituals meant if women are sanctioned to remain morally upright, then there will be fewer

[56] This statement was used as a slogan in much of Julius Nyerere's efforts to emancipate the women during the state socialism era.

women violating the social order and men will have fewer women to transgress with. This statement has been translated positively for political gains to mean women play a great role in the society's development architecture in Tanzania. Yet this partly informs the continuity of women biased efforts to the social reconstruction of gender from independence to contemporary times. Apart from this source, young professionals particularly mentioned specialized trainers.

b) ***One to one with specialized trainers (family or non family).***

Only the younger professional wives mentioned this type. Those who experienced instructions by specialized trainers explained that the bride will go to them or they can come to an agreed residential home for the instruction. The instructors are what Tanzanians popularly call *wanawake wa kiswahili* (KiSwahili women). Such a label connoted those less formally educated but popular for having applied and practical worldly knowledge that pertains to sex and love.

The first category for marital instruction did not include any demonstration with the teachings. In contrast, in this second category as Sabina, a nurse (age 27), narrates that demonstration was present:

> "My husband and I decided I should get some instructions before we marry. So there was a couple who was our friend and the wife knew some specialized trainers. She escorted me there...at *Kariakoo area* (a market area in Dar es Salaam)... Six women sat with us. One of the women was her aunt. We paid 20, 000 TZ shillings… we bought *khanga* (African fabrics for wrap around) for all the women including us. We all wore them at the session. Very interestingly… they told us to wear the khanga and bra only… the session begun with general life teachings like hygiene. They base their instructions more on the man …like a man is to be treated like an egg. You have to be on top *kumhudumia* (attend to him),

> *mvue viatu, nguo, mpelekee maji kuoga, weka chakula mezani* (remove his shoes, clothes, prepare water for bathing and set food on the table). …it was like the wife's life is dedicated to that man, how to adore the man…. They say nothing about what he will be doing all this time! Know how to cook a variety of dishes which please him and wash his cloths… ha then they zero on sexual conduct *kwa sana* (especially). Again they emphasize on what me the wife should do…they instruct you from the beginning to the end and they practically demonstrated it for us to see…like how to rock your waist….and all other moves. In principle after they demonstrate they want the apprentice to try it out until they are satisfied you got it. But unfortunately I was pregnant so they skipped that part. My husband wants me to go back now that I have delivered (she laughs). They insist you have to be the main participant….you should play the big role…and the man will come with his styles that's how it should be…and pleasure comes… Show you know how to be active, when the man comes with his style you combine…I found it very useful, they taught me things I did not know …most stuff I have applied …some not yet ….It will be very tiring to do all the domestic chores for me I use helpers…like cooking…oh and they said if when you are boring, not clean, you do not please , you do not do anything to show you are sexy, other than a wife, you are inactive in bed, he will go to another women who is cleaner and will treat him well. …they stressed bedroom and body cleanliness…and I forgot …they advised me to be *mchokozi* (to initiate sex) and the tricks to do it".

Much as Sabina acknowledged that these instructions helped in building her marital sexual life the theme of focusing on the man for her seemed unfair. She wondered if she would have to do all that to keep the man inside and if they both go to work, where would she get the time. She also reflected on who will be choosing clothes for her. Finally she admitted that in real life some of the teachings may fail to be applied. Gladys, another younger professional wife, thought there are cases when a husband does not prefer some of the stuff from the kitchen parties and that means if the gist of the matter is to keep a husband inside the house, then the wife will have to explore other ways. Sabina's husband admitted he saw the difference in his wife and thanked the friend who took her to the special trainer. Sabina herself said her husband liked it very much when she became *mchokozi*.

Sabina drew my attention to a puzzle she noticed about the profile of the instructors which she associated with the content of the teachings. She remarked that the discrepancy she noted is that the women who instructed her were mostly not married. Her friend's aunt is a widow, another woman was divorced, one was married and the rest were single. None of the women were formally employed. She thinks this profile somewhat explains why they teach what they teach since they have all the time in their lives to do the stuff they teach. Further research on the instructors' profile in Dar es Salaam with regard to what they deliver may enlighten us more on this.

Sabina represents the many professional wives in the younger generation who opt to have these specialized trainer sessions prior to marriage. Returning to the instructors' profile, I earmark it as one of the limitations of these initial sources. Having zero marital experience, for instance, suggests that they lack authority to impart knowledge about building a marriage. But I critically look at this attitude. Professional couples in the younger generation reported discussing sex within their social networks and peers. They revealed that there existed one group that considered sex as sex whether in or outside marriage and another group that saw marital sex as different.

The first group is informed by the liberal school. Supporters of this approach submit that spouses should strive to make marital sex as erotic and diverse as possible even if it involves transgressing some cultural expectations. The second group is informed by the traditional school. Supporters of this group submit that husbands thought straying from practices such as the sexual missionary position would insult their wives, and wives fear that willingness in more varied sexual play might risk their moral status as respectable women of the home as opposed to a shameless woman of the street [those

who can have sex anyhow, which describes the first group's view as well]. The view of the second group creates a situation Hirsch et al (2007) found in Mexico as leading men to rely on women other than their wives for sexual variety. More of this will be discussed further in the next two chapters. Hence, based on the viewpoint of the first group, we can justify the role of the single instructors in imparting sex knowledge for marital sex.

Professionals from both generations mentioned the church as an initial source of competence for marital gender relations.

c) Church marital instructions

Many of the professional couples received marital instruction from the church as one of the steps proceeding toward their wedding. This process happened in both generations. For example, Patrick, who is Ziporrah's husband, a medical doctor (age 32), said, "We attended a one day seminar at the church we were to be married off". Eustis, a clinical officer (age 39), admitted the same. Likewise in the older generation. This was evidenced by Adam, a retired bank professional (age 68), and Hosea, a retired teacher (age 75). Hosea remarked that, "churches served as substitutes for the traditional initiation rites".

In contrast to the traditional instruction of creating distance and mystery between spouses, the church instructed couples to share everything, that everything one owns should be known and what one has such as money, is also the spouse's money. But a man has to be a man. Godwin, a retired civil servant (age 75), elaborated on this last part when he said: "He has to stand like the father and head and the children have to recognize these roles he holds …who is the father and who is the mother of the home". Godwin also

explained that the church taught the importance of sharing by eating at the table together with the children because it cemented their love for each other and the children get to see that their parents love each other. Professional wives also appreciated the role of the church specifically in wives' marital instruction as seen in Magdalane's remark:

> "The church was in the frontline , it used to offer to instruct us…indeed there was a women's committee…comprising of the pastor's wife and church women elders…they were very strict…with teachings on sexuality…women submitting and being humble..".

Both Zakayo and Hosea, retired teachers (age 79 and 73 respectively), cited the church instruction prior to receiving the sacramental communion as having laid groundwork for a Christian construction of manhood which had a subsequent impact in their lives as husbands and fathers. They were, in other words, initiated to become "heads" from the Biblical point of view[57]. Likewise as Magdalane, Zakayo's wife's narration above shows, the church teachings lay the ground for the construction of womanhood that later led to respectful and submissive wives from a Biblical point of view, however not in the traditional sense. With time, for the younger generation, the church marital instructions took place alongside what came to be known as kitchen parties.

d) *Kitchen parties*

Most of the younger generation professional wives in my study experienced kitchen parties. The content of this session is not that different from that of the face-to-face specialized trainers' instruction experienced by Sabina. They differ more in how

[57] The Bible in the book of Ephesians 5:22, 28-31, give directions for marital gender relations: "Wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife, even as Christ is head of the church; and he is the savior of the body".

they are implemented. The kitchen party is a party as the word implies. Others have referred to it as a bridal shower. All the friends and relatives a bride wants to come are invited and a mistress of the ceremony guides the schedule of the itemized program, with food and drinks accompanied by nice background music. Drawing from my participant observation of two kitchen parties and key informant interviews with main speakers, I was able to gather the following information.

Kitchen parties are an all-women occasion with the only men being the music disc jockey and camera man. The main items in the program are the delivery of the instructional speech by the main speaker(s)/instructor(s) and the presentation of the goods (in the form of kitchenware and house ware) as gifts from the invited guests. The kitchen parties in Dar es Salaam are divided into three types--those considered Christian, those considered secular, and mixed-type kitchen parties. All three types include cleanliness, home care and sexual acts as main topics. In all types there is an overemphasis on how the woman should treat the man.

In the “Christian” kitchen parties, the instruction is based on Biblical foundations of marriage and the creation of men and women. The speakers include pastors’ wives and women elders who are members of the Christian community. I observed the topics at a kitchen party I attended for a government official. The speakers emphasized love, patience and waiting as one theme, peace was another, followed by the theme of how to take care of one’s husband. The latter involved issues of sex followed by the themes of managing finances and home economy. Other sub topics included handling the house girl and friends so that they do not create tension between you and your husband, cleanliness and knowing different menus for cooking, praying for your husband, practicing humility,

and knowing when and where to talk with your husband. Rather than talking about emerging family or marital conflicting issues when both parties are angry, they taught brides to wait or to go somewhere other than the house to discuss marital threatening issues. There was no demonstration of sexual acts.

The "secular" kitchen parties, on the other hand, largely followed the popular discourses of marital relations. According to the two key informant interviews I did with the kitchen party main speakers, a woman here is instructed to be on guard for her house as she is the one responsible to build her house. Sex was given priority and a lot of dos and don'ts were imparted together with identification of triggers of extramarital sex. The main speakers in "secular" kitchen parties would be in almost all cases the KiSwahili women. Such kitchen parties would involve a lot of demonstrations of the sexual act by specialized trainers and there would be a lot of popular metaphors, symbols and sayings to impart the instructions[58]. Some of these teachings will even go to the extreme of teaching brides how to survive with more than one sexual partner[59].

The "mixed type" kitchen parties comprise elements from both the "Christian" and "secular" types. For instance in the "mixed type" kitchen party I attended for an engineer, the woman was identified as what the Holy Spirit is to mankind, namely "the helper". This was explained by the main speaker as enabling the woman to be stronger inwardly. This topic was mixed with instructions from popular discourses of sex as well, like metaphors and sayings. The sex act and talk were described and imparted based on

[58] Examples of these include *mwanamke urembo* (a woman is judged by her husband the way she grooms and decorate herself) and *mafiga matatu* (a saucepan is not stable on a one stone traditionally a house is not stable on one pillar (one man) but three). Sometimes the pillars are substituted to mean husband, prayers and personal involvement.(key informant interviews 2008)

[59] Not all kitchen parties under this group necessarily do this.(key informant interviews 2008).

Biblical verses from the Books of Proverbs and Songs of Songs. The main speakers in these kitchen parties could be any experienced married women, preferably a close family member or friend. Sometimes these may also use the KiSwahili women or church women elders. The one I attended had a Pentecostal evangelical preacher as the main speaker.

Additional things which were done in "secular" and "mixed type" kitchen parties but not in "Christian" kitchen parties included *kusasambura,* which means showing off the bride-to-be's things in a suitcase prepared by her mother and sisters. This was fascinating to observe. The married girls present attempted to demonstrate romantic scenes and sexual act postures associated with the things. They would rock and twist their waist while using some of the stuff from the suitcase to imply how they would be used. They would do this while another person would be narrating what is going on in the demonstrations. For instance, they demonstrated the use of handkerchiefs for cleaning each other in the process of the sex act. In the process, the bride was taught sex talk, sex initiation and sexual moves. I observed that these demonstrations were the fun part for everybody present.

The suitcase also had things like sex lingerie, including thongs and lacy bras, body scents, beauty lotions and a variety of sweet looking feminine slippers. To me this was a glimpse of what Hirsh et al (2007) described for Mexico as sexual variety gaining new respectability as part of the modern couple ideal, with a consequent expansion in even a decent woman's sexual repertoire.

Music accompanied the events throughout. In the "mixed" kitchen party there was mixed music such as gospel and pop/worldly. In the "Christian" kitchen party only gospel

music was played and in the “secular” kitchen party all sorts of secular pop and sexually provocative traditional dance music ruled the moment. Food is served last at all three types of kitchen parties and prior to eating the bride is shown the many gifts she received. I observed that gifts given were rather modern and high tech (consumption is a marker of status in this group) for all kinds of kitchen parties. These included a refrigerator, electronic food mixer, rice cooker, television set, music system, sofa sets, microwave, a lot of electronic housewares and utensils (some exotic), furniture and more. Some of these things were worth millions of Tanzanian shillings. Overall the kitchen parties aim to pass to brides some bits of wisdom in the form of tips for managing domestic arguments and ensuring a happy sex life (Tanzania Affairs Jan-April 2009) as well as supporting the setup of the new home economically.

Ten to fifteen years back, the idea that wives could be initiators of marital sex was not part of the content of these meetings. But this has changed as Sabina and kitchen party brides were trained to be *mchokozi* (sex initiator) not only by deeds but also by words. Topics such as financial management are now featured more than they were before under the home economy theme. On the other hand, from being less or non-demonstrative, some of these meetings now include elaborate demonstrations of the things they teach. Another important factor is that the main speakers are gradually becoming more varied to include the professionals themselves. Lastly professional wives have also observed the shift to more emphasis on the economic benefits of the kitchen parties compared to the teachings of sex and marital life. Most women desire the kitchen parties more for their economic support in terms of goods given, due to the high standards of living in Dar es Salaam. Though slowly, the ongoing shifts imply that the

kitchen party social institution is adapting to changes of the time. Contrary to the thought that many Tanzanians hold that marital gender socialization has tended to be uniformly rigid, over time these findings show that kitchen parties are relatively open. They are open to incorporate some of the feedback raised by their apprentices and society such as marriage increasingly becoming an issue of gender equality involving two-way participation.

That being said, I also noticed how these instructions are still restricted and limited in five ways: First, they work on the traditional assumption that women are males' property. They assume that they do not get tired or that they have all the time for serving a man. Secondly, the topic of hygiene is limited to self grooming and cleanliness of the home environment although it has the potential to incorporate sexual health matters. Topics such as contraception, marital fidelity and infidelity as factors affecting sexual health from a social and biomedical perspective could be incorporated. Hygiene and sexual health could be an entry point to discuss links between AIDS transmission, sexual vulnerability and marital gender relations associated with disease prevention efforts[60]. Thirdly, in my sample, younger professional wives although they held reservations about them admitted that kitchen parties did and continue to help them in some ways strengthen their marital gender relations. They keep attending those of newer brides. But Judith, Eustis' wife and a university lecturer (age 39), adamantly discredited

[60] The non governmental organizations' society has already taken advantage of kitchen party space for HIV reproductive health messages by distributing traditional wraps, called khangas, with prints of health messages to encourage discussion of these topics (Tanzanian Affairs 2009). With the unlimited sexual explicitness found in kitchen parties, I concur with Rwezahura-Holmes (quoted in Tanzania Affairs 2009) that they can be great catalysts to push the sexual agenda in homes which still suffer the difficulties of discussing matters of sex and relationships at home.

them as still leaning too much on the image of gender stereotyped social roles for women. She submits this as a corrective when she questions:

> "…why do people send more kitchen related house ware as gifts?!! When for instance, I in my home, do many things in the house… like fixing doors, changing car tires, and removing and replacing locks. Other than cook…they should send spanners as well…the kitchen is no longer "the" place for women".

From this questioning Judith is of the opinion that kitchen parties tend to perpetuate some of the traditional gender roles that characterized men as associated with mechanization and women with servitude, which she does not agree is a correct depiction of reality. Fourthly, there is a bias in the absence of such sessions for bridegrooms. Although some events are being created such as "the bag party" and other professional wives from the older generation talked about isolated incidents of sitting both the girl and the boy prior to marriage and talking to them about the pros and cons of marital life, such efforts are not yet popular. They are also being initiated by women. Gregory a retired civil servant from the older generation views this as a limitation and this is how he describes the matter:

> "Nowadays they say they teach the man as well…, but those who bring the agenda are the women themselves… those who prepare the sessions are also the women…you wonder. Now how does the sex talk work …in front of the man's mothers? [he implies all the women are considered mothers to the bridegroom] …they do not go into details…they just say …oh both of you should work hard together …now it's about gender equality…bla blah … I think for this to work men should see this [instructing contemporary bridegrooms] as important, too, and participate in its creation… after all they used to do it in the …eh… old traditional rites".

Gregory talks to the need for a change in the course of women-biased efforts in/for the social construction gender in Tanzania. This idea links well with my dissertation work because I argue that men should be part and parcel with women in initiating these efforts

towards reconstructing gender. If there are men who think like Gregory, then obviously they will not refuse offering ideas on how men can take an agentic part into the efforts. For a very long time, men's marital needs and desires, [at least for the professional men] have largely been articulated, represented and conveyed by women in the bridal showers/marital instruction sessions. How well these discourses represent men is for men to articulate.

Finally, there is a concern that kitchen party teachings have a generalized curriculum. This is well portrayed as problematic by Baraka, a marketing consultant (age 38), in his narrative below:

> "Women get a generalized dose, although she (the trainer) is molding the bride with good faith, but she is using tools which she used when she was getting married, and probably she was a house wife by then …and her husband a shopkeeper or driver …she overlooks that this bride is a professional who has a career. For instance some of these local KiSwahili women will tell the bride "don't call him by his name" …and sometimes this does not align with real lives of professionals …I like to be called by my name by my wife! They are so rigid in this aspect giving the same dose…it's like once they knew then they found out….they don't do research to develop their syllabus. What they tell a bride marrying a Yao (from Lindi) and the one marrying a Chagga man (from Kilimanjaro) is the same, ….the same thing they tell the one marrying a 25-year-old man and that marrying a 50-year-old man is the same …they don't mind the age difference…men are different. For them they believe men are the same. …like babies. They [trainers] almost think like… a consumer is the king but even with the consumer, one has to know what drives their tastes before selling and not every consumer uses the same brand".

Baraka's observation relates well with the reasons some professional wives admitted to experiencing a dilemma in accepting how some of these teachings would make sense in their real lives. Baraka also answers partly why some of the kitchen party discourses may not adequately represent men's expectations from a marriage.

In this section I discussed the modalities of transferring marital gender relations

and sexual conduct knowledge and practice to professional couples following the deterioration of traditional forms. I also analyzed the shifts over time in one, topics covered within the knowledge and practice of marital gender relations and sexual conduct and, two, the nature of how the knowledge transfer is implemented. With specific reference to the kitchen party I noted its potential for sexual health promotion and lastly I addressed its prevalent limitations. I now turn to the analysis and discussion of additional sources of marital gender relations competence.

Additional sources of competence

> Shifts on conventional notions of masculinity and femininity can be best understood as originating from the negotiation of discrepancies by individuals in their movement within and across fields of social action (McNay 1999).
>
> Individuals never fully occupy or identify with norms (i.e., no continuous congruency between habitus and field), and that there is *ambivalence* at the very heart of inclination, hence, social transformation (Adkins 2004; 2002).

These paraphrasings above basically suggest that constructing gender can be a continuous interactive process of becoming in one's life trajectory. In this section I do not simply mention or locate the "sites" for sources of marital gender relations competence: I also show how the professional couples express their experiences when using them in their everyday lives to construct marital gender relations. Examining the "sites" through this approach enables me to capture their role in how changing constructions of gender is being achieved or blocked and how gender relations are generally constructed in this social group.

With reference to the *concern* concept elaborated earlier, based on my findings there was an indication that the older generation of professional couples had *concern* for

the flourishing of the family as a whole (wife, husband, children and kinship), even at the expense of the individual (as a husband, or a wife). Self centeredness was avoided by all means. The things they *cared for* were bringing peace and harmony and hence *getting along* was very important to accomplish this. All relational resources[61] that enabled better *getting along* are what professionals of this generation obtained most as appropriate to them.

On the other hand, my findings suggest that the younger professional couples have *concern* for the flourishing of each spouse as an individual in addition to the nuclear family. Self expression and individual aspirations seek space to be accommodated. The things they *cared for* are asserting their being and recognition and hence *spousal communication* is very important to accomplish this. For younger professionals all relational resources that facilitate better *spousal communication* are what this younger generation finds useful. I will analyze these additional sources of marital construction of gender relations and sexual conduct by generation, tribe and class criteria to show how they affect professional couple's propensity to gender innovation, continuity and change. This propensity I submit is important to understand with regard to how the younger professional couples have responded in terms of their sexual conduct in the HIV/AIDS era context. I begin with the analysis of generations.

[61] I use this concept to mean the combination of the interpersonal and emotional skills and resources that individuals bring to a relationship. Examples of such skills might include change-directed negotiating skills, the ability to express thoughts and feelings more clearly, and the controlled use of anger in conflict situations (Benjamin & Sullivan 1999). I argue that relational resources, like material resources, can act as important facilitators of change in aspects of intimate relationship such as marital communication.

Generations

The resources for motivations, inspiration and competence for *getting along* in the older generation of professional couples were found in four key "sites": i) The church, ii) Cultural consumption –comprised of literature (books and novels); iii) each other; and iv) Family upbringing memories. On the other hand, resources for motivations, inspiration and competence for *spousal communication* in younger generation of professional couples are found in the same three key "sites" as the older generation of professional couples, with one additional different "site", role models. Although most of the "sites" seem to be the same in the two generations, their content characteristic features are not the same. For example, the cultural consumption "site" comprises more sources for the younger generation in forms such as television, internet, leisure spaces, etc., which were absent in the older generation. In the following sections I discuss the additional sources of competence in marital gender relations within the two generations.

i) *The church*

My findings show that religion turned out to be the dominant factor that influenced the older generation of professional couples' continued gender life experiences in their marriage[62]. Religion is considered as a strong factor offering competence on how they relate in marriage. The respondents admitted that religious beliefs and practices help them bond when other factors do not work. We see this in Noah's admittance:

[62] Partly this can be explained by the influence of Christian Missionary activities in their formative years of growing up.

> **"**I am so glad that my wife and I were brought up in Christian families… Christianity instills in me a sense of continued love for my wife. My father would summon us to pray…eh… every evening… we do the same with my wife. Christian values are our tools of life."

His wife also revealed that because their parents knew each other through religion, which continued to influence their marriage as well. Not only did Christianity build strong marriages through the church, it worked as a social control system as Magdalane explains:

> "As respectable women we wives by then would not go to the bars because if you are seen going there, the church will excommunicate you. We rarely went to bars with my husband."

Even the younger generation gave evidence to this when Clifford, a civil engineer (age 39), said he never saw his mother accompanying his father to the drinking places when he was growing up. If anything, his father would bring their mother beer upon his return home. Christianity also worked as a reference point for how a wife and a husband should behave in a home and marriage, as Selina (aged 60) a retired accountant cites it in her narrative:

> "As we attend church every Sunday, sometimes we are reminded that men have been given the superior position in the home by God… as the Bible tells us. You can not refuse their status... [She pauses]… Even if women begin to have economic power, you have to communicate well with your husband on how to use the money together. We women are capable of becoming arrogant when we acquire money or wealth,…mhm… so I tell myself , always remember to humble yourself especially to your husband, as the Bible teaching tell us,… and that is how you can be happy and peaceful together".

Even Shila who prefers peace above all likewise refers to church teachings to justify her actions by saying, "after all, the bible tells us the husband is the head. I do not like fighting or quarrelling so I let be".

Many of the professional wives from the older generation would turn to church teachings to account for what they ultimately *care for* --which is *getting along*-- when they manifest behaviors such as perseverance and patience in marital life. The church offers them the vocabulary to express the justifications of their social actions. Monika narrated:

> "At that time of our growing up …. My mother was a very submissive wife…and I related her behavior with the church teachings and I realized for a marriage to succeed…eh... a woman is to be submissive… you the woman are the one to create the peace in the home. I leave by depending upon God, and I do not do anything that I was not instructed by my parents…. [She pauses to think and like an afterthought she then speaks]… Once my husband was transferred to other parts of Tanzania… and he started having extra marital relations there… I just prayed and asked God to help us [she implies him and her]. Some friends told me to go to the witch doctor…. about it but I did not…I was never taught to do that… We had a misunderstanding period for while and then it went away. Perseverance and patience helped me".

The implication of this narration is that at times in their difficulties with marital gender relations, wives seek Bible teachings for comfort and pray for change to come from God supernaturally and thus for them, praying is a form of agency. Helena remarked that at the beginning of their marriage she had some difficulties in interpersonal communication with her husband. Religion later on proved to be helpful. When she too converted[63] like her husband they understood each other better and hence got along better. She admits that God's word became their toolkit, where they draw the means of how to relate.

The church also gave the professional couples from the older generation skills for achieving marital peace. Marital peace was very central for this older generation. As they reflected upon their gender interactions and sexual conduct in marital life, they viewed it as a journey of searching and creating a peaceful environment no matter what. To achieve this some have admitted that one of the two has had to submit or sacrifice some of his or

[63] She became a devoted Christian, an evangelical.

her self centeredness. Therefore *peace* comes to mind to some of them when they think about their motives behind their gender life experiences and church sermons reaffirm how important such a virtue is in a marriage. Religion hence, was part of the older generation's ways of negotiating the marriage as indicated in their life stories.

A peace-seeking orientation[64] seems to drive gender relations where there is a gender dilemma and equality seeking tendency. In such times, self recognition sometimes becomes less of a priority as Luiza's husband, Abraham, a retired lawyer (age 70) articulated:

> "Love was and is still a very valued virtue in our marriage, if you can not do something, you will do it for love. I sometimes kept quiet when my wife raised her voice because I love her and I do not want to speak back less we start telling each other things we will regret and disrupt our peace."

Even Abraham's wife, Luiza, a retired financial manager with a master's degree in financial management (age 67), admitted to sometimes resorting to the same strategy:

> "I tell myself always you have to be submissive just to maintain peace, just accept things… don't be quarrelsome, always arguing because you will break your home and your children will be in danger… I think and believe God made us wives to be able to defend and protect our children so we sometimes must sacrifice our conditions for their sake."

Luiza shows more concern for the family than for herself. Selina also works around ways which can bring peace in the house as her narrative reveals:

> "Men were not socialized to do domestic work. So they are not good at it. I am happy to do it with the help of house servants. I prefer the man not to be all the time at home… he should be at least sometimes away… because if he is always inside the house chances of arguments and quarrels become more possible… He has to be around his fellow men and think more about taking care of his family and how to do investments. With this way of life there is more peace in the family".

[64] This may also not come as a surprise since this generation lived its young professional and marital life in the peak of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea era, Nyerere's socialist policies, which profess unity, and peace.

Selina tries to accommodate men's going out of the house and spending time with their fellow men because it does not disrupt what she *cares for,* peace, by suggesting that if they stayed indoors a lot, it can also be problematic. So she thinks there should be a balance. While Selina relayed her point cautiously, Shila bluntly confessed that due to her obedience, with a character of enduring and a desire to seek peace and harmony in the home, she readily accepts being led. Implicitly, she wants to declare that she can be totally submissive, do whatever her husband desires for the sake of harmony in her home. She is not alone since many older professional wives sometimes resorted to that strategy as reported by the sampled older professional wives when they talked about their peers.

An affirmation of the church as an important "site" for sourcing additional resources for building gender relations in marital life is summed up well in the following quote by Luiza:

> "Honestly!" exclaims Luiza, "if it was not for the church, women of our time may have had nowhere to get any further teachings about marital life and relationships with the oppo*site* sex ...apart from self initiatives like reading books …eh … and learning from each other".

Her statement indicates that the church played a stronger role than cultural consumption and the process of learning from each other as we will see later. On the other hand, younger professional couples with their desire for recognition as individuals sometimes compromised peace. Younger professional husbands confessed that professional wives now and then unconsciously create environments that create spousal conflicts because they want to voice their opinions about issues concerning the home. For instance, they tend to use the ideas they get from their girlfriends to express themselves, as Joseph (aged 39) a tailoring entrepreneur points out in his narrative:

> "Couple relationship depends on the way of how you make it….you find a husband may come home from work…wondering will there be understanding today at home or the same noise and quarreling. Our wives sometimes bring in from their friends rationales that do not make sense …rather than critically reflecting on them she may bring them exactly the way she got them and use them to push a point but instead she instigates spousal confrontations… communication in marriage needs to be very sensitive. I don't feel good when I am reminded all the time how other couples are doing better…or how I compare to others".

Joseph believes these antagonistic couple interpersonal communications provide the seeds of marital strain. As he continued airing the views of many of his peers he asserted that having a *little house*[65] does not happen suddenly: "You don't plan to have a *little house*, things build slowly, at home it's noisy, the children shout, their mother shout …there is no harmony. *Hakuna kitu kinakupa raha kwahiyo unakuja nyumbani kulala tu* (There is nothing which brings you joy, makes you feel good in the home you come home only to sleep)".

The church "site" does not work the same way as it did with the older generation in the majority of the professional couples from the younger generation. However, some did acknowledge the church's efforts to reach them. Andrew described these efforts to include what is called *Jumuiya*. These are weekly family prayer gathering in Catholic parish neighborhoods. The meeting places change from one family to the other depending on who would offer their homes for the meetings. The church leader of the parish would oversee the activities and the continued spiritual and social health of these *Jumuiya.* People gather as couples and families for prayer and at times for pot luck meals together. These gatherings are not very different from civic associations based on occupation that Parikh (2007) found in Uganda.

[65] This is a popular label for the other sexual partners of married men.

Parikh found the Uganda drivers' association (UTODA) developed a peer-based system of sexual regulation in an attempt to hold members accountable to the group and to their wives. Among other objectives, this association emphasizes and rewards notions of masculinity that center on being responsible not only for the economic well being of the households but also for the affective well being of the marital bond. Given traditional social norms that limit public socializing between spouses, they held social functions like the *Jumuiya* where they offered a space for wives and husbands to become more familiar with each other and less shy about their public role as wife or husband in a social function. The speeches in both *Jumuiya* and UTODA are geared towards building happy and faithful marriages and strong families.

While church effort was brought up more as a characteristic feature in the Catholic Church by my respondents, there was evidence that the evangelical churches had similar arrangements in what they call *cell house* meetings in neighborhoods. As Hirsch et al (2007) found in Mexico, my study also shows the potential these Christian family movements have in teaching participants about the value of physically and spiritually satisfying marital life but also in providing an alternative set of social spaces (such as potluck dinners and couple retreats) through which members can enjoy couple-oriented heterosociality.

The response from some of the professionals from the younger generation to the increasing efforts by the Christian churches is a critical approach to the Bible. Zipporah, a pharmacist (age 28), rather than seeing the Bible as good for guidance, thinks it is also oppressive. She says:

> "There are times I see the Bible as oppressing me, for women to be told that they are the ones who will break their own house [she is referring to a verse in the Proverbs book of

> the Bible] …I feel it is unfair…I do not have to work myself alone to build my house. I don't think I am supposed to be like that [she implies what the Bible wants of her]".

Her husband Moses, a medical doctor (age 30), also has trouble with the concept of "head." He says it is not a good concept in real life. It is better to say the couple are co-operating since there are areas where the husband leads and there are areas where the wife leads. This critical approach to the church teachings indicates a relatively diminished role that religious teachings offer to this social group compared to the older generation. Still some young professionals adhere to it in some ways. For example, John, a medical doctor (age 32), denies that the Bible is oppressive, especially with regard to the headship role. Rather than seeing headship as domineering, Joseph offers an alternative understanding based of the same verse in his expression that:

> "…the Bible yes, says that the man is the head…a leader of the home …this does not mean to subordinate and oppress the woman but to love and protect her….the man is there to lead like a monitor in a class".

In agreement with John, Eustis, a clinical officer (age 39), elaborated further when he said the Bible actually said the woman would be the man's helper. This for Eustis, justifies that wife and husband should work together

Concerning those who use church teachings in someway, Upendo offers another illustration. Upendo, a banker (age 39), has realized that she needs God to relate to her husband Joseph, a tailoring entrepreneur (age 39). She expressed this realization as follows:

> "…with human effort you can't relate sometimes. Men do not like to talk …when you talk they complain of noise…therefore you need God's divine power to make that which comes out of your mouth to be words that talk to him…reach and touch him…and make him see it as something of worth of listening".

From Upendo's statement one can observe her struggle to shift the boundaries of spousal communication. It seems her husband does not realize his wife can reach him. They seem to lack relational resources for enabling spousal communication.

In summary, churches do play into gender constructions in marital life in the younger professionals but not as a key source of competence. We can see this from the statement made by Harold, a lawyer (age 39):

> "I see a lot of people going there…to new churches especially [he means more Pentecostal and evangelical].I see in the Bible you get relief in what you read…it's giving people some comfort….people have moved there….to model their lives…

I also derive from this analysis that while both generations may use church teachings to construct gender, they use it differently. The older generation of professional wives uses the teachings to justify the emotional states they sometimes go through in marriage like perseverance, patience, obedience and humility. Likewise professional husbands from the older generation used the church teachings for finding peace and love to relate with their wives. The Biblical perspective rewards both the husband and the wife in this generation. However, in the younger generation, the wives more frequently than the husbands said they use the church teachings to accomplish overcoming some structural barriers to modern marital gender relations such as communication and headship. They do this through prayers and reinterpreting the Bible[66]. While church teachings featured more in older generations' lifestyles, cultural consumption as an additional source of competence was shared by both generations.

[66] There are some young professionals who believe the Bible has a role in constructing egalitarian lifestyles.

ii) *Cultural consumption: books, novels, magazine, cinema and lifestyles*

Cultural consumption products were a second source for the older generation but first in younger professionals' list of "sites" for sourcing resources and competence for marital gender relations. As Mariamu from the older generation notes, "We at our time did not get much teaching on how to live a marital life, but we did read books, like me I did that". Older professionals claimed to get additional tools to learn how to relate in opposite sex relationships and gender and sexual life in marriage during their time from reading books, novels, watching cinemas and listening to radio programs such as *jarida la wanawake* (a women's magazine program dealing with matters pertaining to women's lives).

Based on their responses to the cultural consumption patterns in semi-structured questionnaires (see Table 4.0 page 170 &171), both husbands and wives in the older professional couples consumed books from African literature collections authored by writers such as Okot Bitek, Sembeni Ouesmane, and Chinua Achebe. These works portrayed African societies during the colonial period and illustrated how the culture was transforming and showing the best of African life in comparison to Western values as options for Africans. The works also dwelt on topics concerning politics like the struggle for independence, anti-colonial resistances, and their impact on people's lives. Using their literacy, older professional couples could follow some of the examples and learnings obtained from these sources and adopt them in their lives. One of the common themes derived from Okot Bitek's novel remembered by the older professionals was the preservation of the African culture by elites. This notion was portrayed by a saying in his work "Don't uproot the Pumpkin in the old homestead". The older generation

professionals started the uprooting but they did not attempt to remove all the roots from the ground as my study suggests.

Apart from these African books/novels, the older professionals also read western novels of romance by Barbara Cartland and Mills & Boons novel series for wives. Both husbands and wives shared the adventures of Agatha Christie's detective stories. This category of books served more as self-help for building their love relationships. By viewing how romantic love is displayed by men and women of the Western world, Noah admitted that the ideas helped him and others in his generation to know how to treat modern women [he implies not village girls of the old days] by putting them first and handling them with care.

Pamela, a retired teacher (age 69), on the other hand, speaking for the older professional wives, said the novels taught them how to keep themselves beautiful and smart and pleasant for their husbands and themselves. She admitted that during their times they dressed smartly like the queen of England. Western novels as well cemented some of the skills of home décor. In addition to learning home crafts such as knitting, embroidery, sewing and crocheting from school, the older professional wives could connect to these skills when depicted in the Western novels. They also related to the cooked items such as cakes, buns, pies and grilled chicken described in the novels since they learned about cooking them at school. They used embroidery and cooking skills to enrich their everyday marital life. They said they would knit sweaters for their husbands, and try different menus from cookery books to show affection to their husbands. They would also sew table clothes and bed sheets with embroidery for their house to make it a pleasant place to be for the family.

Table 4.0. Cultural Consumption Patterns of Professional Couples from two generations.

Cultural product/activity	**Older generation of professionals, lifestyles in the 1960s-70s**		**Younger generation of professionals, lifestyles in the 1990s-2000s**	
	Husbands	**Wives**	**Husbands**	**Wives**
Books	Professional/career oriented and Christian.	Christian.	Academic, career-oriented, life skills and family life.	Academic, Christian, family life, and the Bible.
Novels	Shakespeare, African literature, African fables/tales, Western, novels, detective, and political.	Romantic, African and Western novels, e.g. By Agatha Christie, Barbara Cartland, and Mills & Boon.	None.	Christian, romantic and espionage.
Magazine/news-papers	Local &International papers: Kwemkia, Uhuru, Ngurumo, Kumepambazuka and Newsweek and the Times.	Local & International papers: Daily News, and the Times. Magazine: *Drum, and True Romance.*	Local &International: Daily News, the Guardian, Business Times, and the Economist. Magazine: *True Love, Bang, Lifestyle,* and *Parents.*	Local &International: Daily News, and the Guardian. Magazine: *Parents, Bang, Drum, Ebony, Cosmopolitan, Femina and True Love.*
Films	Comedy, violence, war, historical, musical and X films.	Comedy, romantic, James Bond movies and X films.	Nigerian, romances, and action.	Nigerian, African, romantic, life stories, and Christian.
Music/dance	Country music, rock n roll, twist, samba, music by F Sinatra, J Reeves, Fadhili, Makeba, Kiko and Kondo. Latin American and African music.	Country music, rock n roll, twist, samba, and music by Makeba.	"Bongo Flav", R&B, gospel, Zairen and reggae.	"Bongo Flav", blues, gospel, and Zairen.
Television	Nil	Nil	Channels: local-ITV, BBC, and CNN. Programs: News, lifestyle, sports, music, Isidingo series, Nigerian movies.	Channels: local-ITV, and TVT. Programs: News, "Jarida la wanawake" (forum for women), Nigerian movies.

Table 4.0. Cultural Consumption Patterns of Professional Couples from two Generations Continued.

Radio	1.Tanzania Radio-programs: News, sermons, and classical music 2.Outside radio: BBC and Kenya Radio	1.Tanzania Radio-programs: drama plays, health, sports, religion, 2. Radio Injili Station.	Local Radio stations: Radio One, Praise Power, Tumaini and Tanzania radio. Programs: music, parliament sessions.	Local Radio stations: Upendo FM, Clouds, and most Christian radios. Programs: Our marriage, and music
Place of entertain-ment	Cinema, bar drinking, beach family outings, weddings, "ngoma" and male outings	Cinema, weddings, "ngoma", Sundays gramophone listening at home, going dancing, and beach family outings	Local music bands, cinema, beach, disco, drinking places, dinner & dance with wife, weddings, children's parks, church, parties, and "nyama choma" outings (barbecues)	Family dinner, weddings, cinema, children's parks, beach, "nyama choma" (barbecues) outings, dine & dance with husband, disco, and kitchen parties.
Clothing style	Tailored suits, ready made shirts.	Both tailored and ready made.	Sensitive, respectable, and special/ready made.	Designed, and special/ready made.
Sports	Football, athletics, squash tennis and darts.	Netball, hockey, swimming, volleyball, "ngoma" and church choir singing.	Running, tennis, and football.	Volleyball and netball.
Gym	Nil	Nil	Occasionally	Infrequently
Church	Plays big part of life: as church elders, choir leaders, and church treasury work.	Plays big part of life: as choir singers, church elders, and mothers' union members.	Frequently, as church member.	Frequently, as church member.
Prayer gatherings	Rare, prayed at home and church.	Rare, prayed at home and church.	Attend "Jumuiya" (Catholic prayer gatherings), and evangelical fellowships	Attend "Jumuiya" (Catholic prayer gatherings), evangelical fellowships, and choir competitions music galas.
Others	Professional association membership, engagement in politics and private business creation.	Home crafts: gardening, decoration, cooking, baking, crocheting, knitting and drawing.	Travelling locally and abroad, "couple getaway sprees", and internet surfing.	Travelling locally and abroad, "couple getaway sprees", internet surfing, visiting friends, friends get together parties and gardening.

Source: Fieldwork findings in Tanzania, 2007-2008.

The Western novels with magazines such as *Drum* and *True Love* also served as tools to learn about romance and urban life. Many of the stories found in *Drum* were designed to amuse and titillate as well as to provide guides for young urban residents to navigate town life (Ambler 2002). Both husbands and wives in some of the older professional couples boasted they had the greatest romantic lives with their spouses during their young married lives. In their narratives they referred to those times as the good old days when they partied and danced the "twist" to the tunes of jukeboxes, wearing bell bottom trousers and mini skirts, each with his or her spouse.

Pamela gives evidence to use of self help discourses. She said that her husband and she used self help books a lot to figure out how they were going to live prior to marriage. From their reading they agreed to help each other because marriage seemed a new venture to them as they lived in the city with no supportive mechanism from the community, unlike back in the rural area. This is how she described how she felt:

> "I was not sure of how it will work, everyday life…I asked my boyfriend by then, how are we going to live …the day-to-day life? And he told me we will help each other. I told him I don't know you …he suggested we get to know each other first so we started dating learning how each behaves…dancing and music bonded us a lot. I loved dancing …I saw couples dancing and partying from the novels I read as a way of bonding and relating…so he learnt to dance too and even when we got married this aspect of our life helped to draw us even closer to each other. We would put the children to bed and then go dancing till late. We also read a lot of books and shared what we learnt from them with each other".

This narrative relates to the shift experienced by couples who settled in urban centers with no support system as opposed to homesteads in the country side. In previous times, a man would be given land and cattle by his parent and with the support of the clan he would build a home for his wife and raise cattle and they would start their home in the midst of the clan. And in most cases their clans would have known each other before they

got married. Previously, the couple's security and welfare would rest mainly within the communal set up, whereas in the urban setting support rested largely within their jobs and themselves.

This group obtained most of the nitty-gritty knowledge on reproduction, sex, contraception and giving birth to a child from self-help books. As Veronika puts it "I did not learn about the acts, like what to do to my husband sexually from my parents, church or school…I read a lot of that in books …" Such books for Veronika were published by the church/Christian organizations and secular institutions. This is yet another category of books older professional couples consumed apart from African books/novels, and Western novels. She recounts that the church/Christian organizations did publish books on the biology of a girl and a boy, as well as reproduction and contraception for married couples. These texts taught sex-free courtship and marital sex for those betrothed. The teachings included what the woman should do and how she should behave and likewise the man, and how to recognize safe days naturally. Other secular books on sex and reproduction were also available.

Older professional husbands reported reading philosophical books about how to succeed in life and how to raise a family in a cash economy environment contrary to the countryside agricultural farming lifestyle in which they grew up. These professionals would access these Christian or secular books from bookshops and libraries. The self-help literatures provided therapeutic discourse[67] for couples to elicit relational resources to negotiate and make possible interactional changes in marital gender relations.

[67] Therapeutic discourse in the sense in which I use the term refers to part of the wider ideological environment, and encompasses a range of practices and media at both the professional and popular level: self-enhancing workshops; self-help books, tapes, videos and media talk shows'. A major message of

Cinemas, such as what these older generation couples called *X films,* were also mentioned as relevant tools for molding sexual relationships during the older generation's time. Cinema represented a relatively established leisure institution that afforded an opportunity for respectable young men and young women [elites] to meet one another and socialize. They mentioned a number of old cinema places in Dar es Salaam such as Drive In, New Chox, Odeon and Avalon, to name a few, some of which are no longer in existence. These are places they would go to watch comedy and romantic films. As Godwin, a retired civil servant (age 70), and Pamela's husband narrates:

> "Life was full swing during our days, we had cars which we could buy by own salaries, the shilling then had a value…on weekends we would gather our friends and drive off to dance rock 'n' roll, country music …samba…and twist …or go to the cinema to watch James Bond or romantic stories. Socializing with our wives helped so much make us be free with each and love each other…in the city it was rare[but present such as bar drinking] for us professional men to socialize alone without our wives…even the women would not dare go out alone".

There was also a lot of family socializing mentioned by this generation. They would go with the children to game parks and on trips to the countryside where the children could see their grandparents. They would attend baptismal and wedding ceremonies as well as go to watch traditional dances called *ngoma za kitamaduni.* As local sources of entertainment *ngoma za kitamaduni* were instruments used by the state to unify the many tribes existing in Tanzania during the older professionals' young adulthood. Other cultural consumption activities included going swimming with the children, and playing games like hockey for wives and tennis and darts for husbands. While husbands did have more male-based leisure times in public, wives in the older

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therapeutic discourse is that people can develop and improve the inter-personal skills which they use within their relationships. It is claimed, for example, that people are able to learn how to 'talk'; how to communicate their feelings; how to change their feelings; and how to manage situations so as to maintain the sense of being in control (Benjamin & Sullivan 1999:796).

generation rarely did so. In contrast, wives in the younger generation do participate in public leisure. Professional wives' participation in non-traditional activities/spaces challenges gender restrictive social roles.

Listening to the radio was also a very good source of self help knowledge since there was no television. Both older professional wives and husbands said they listened to the Radio Tanzania station mostly, which was the only existing station then. This was the government station that aired most of the discourses related to building and securing state socialism in Tanzania while this social group was living their young adulthood. Older professional husbands mentioned listening to additional stations outside the country too, like British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and Radio Kenya. Women did not mention listening to news as did the men.

Going to church was a major element in these older professional couples' lifestyles. This pattern was no surprise considering their great dependency on the church for life skills. Some of them, for example, Douglas, have been church elders throughout their entire lives. Some wives, such as Magdalane and Shila, are still members of the Christian mothers' union. In some couples both husbands and wives participate in church choir singing. Although the church still has a great place in their lives, the older professional couples tend to be conservative and abide by their traditional churches [these include, Universities' Mission to Central Africa (U.M.C.A.), Lutheran and Roman Catholic]. The couples reported that during their young adulthood there were not many Pentecostal churches that brought competing evangelical modes of preaching. The evangelism they know is that which is within their own traditional churches.

Cultural consumption provided the older generation with a lifestyle to emulate and a pace for their lives. While the church held the highest priority in terms of molding them and giving competence to marital gender relations, it was second in the sourcing sequence. At first they sought books, novels, and other sources of modeling life from a variety of cultural consumption products. But as time passed, this older generation engaged more church teachings and each other to further their construction of gender lifestyles. The tools and resources from the church teachings resonated better with their *concerns*.

In contrast, the young professional couples admitted to having many more sources in the cultural consumption "site" to find strategies for constructing their gender compared to previous generations. However, they acknowledged that the challenge was juggling and choosing strategies that worked practically for their circumstances. Some of the strategies they searched for consciously while some came to them through circumstantial conditions in the course of living their everyday life. Books, articles, magazines and newspapers were consciously sought at times to navigate gender relations in this younger generation. This is evidenced by Andrew when he narrated reading an article about the man-woman relationship prior to his marriage:

> "I remember when we were getting married, there was a research pamphlet I came across …about who is a man and who is a woman. I read it thoroughly and understood it…while we were at our honeymoon I told my wife…we are now married the primary thing to know is that we are both imperfect… and she showed fear as to why I was telling her that… she remarked "why are you scaring me?" ..I told her no, no, no, I just want us to try our best to know each other very closely … now we are in true colors, let's attempt to study each other. With time you will know my orientations and I will know yours. I can say now that you do not know me well enough or I you and it may take a year or so….eh let's not hate each other. At first she felt I was being defensive or some sort. I told her that was not my aim and that she will see with time what I mean. Then I gave her the pamphlet to read and understand it. I insisted to her that she should read it very carefully. I did this because I know we learn to live through, getting to know each other better and, improvisation".

Younger generation couples revealed that they do not read as many novels and books outside their careers as the older generation couples did. This is explained partly by the increased alternative sources besides print media, such as television and internet, which depict stories in the younger generation's time, whereas books and novels were a great source of leisure for African readers during the colonial era (Ambler 2002). Younger professional wives reported that they read a variety of romantic novels when they are travelling while their husbands reported not reading novels at all. Some of the novels read by professional wives included those by Sidney Sheldon and novels with an espionage theme. However, modern magazines depicting lifestyle trends and fashions appealed to both wives and husbands in the younger generation.

In addition to local papers and some subscriptions to publications such as *The Economist* and *Times* magazines, professional husbands shared that they like looking through lifestyle magazines such as *Bang*, *True Love and Parents*[68] which include a lot of therapeutic discourses. The same magazines were also cited by their wives who also included others such as *Oprah*, *Cosmopolitan*, fashion and diet magazines. These new magazines, which flooded the newsstands of Dar es Salaam following the death of state socialism since the late 1980s, invite the urban professionals to create new, modern, urban identities for themselves in the way they dress and act, as well as where they go, what they eat, what entertainment they choose, how they decorate or organize their domestic space, and so forth. To a certain extent these magazines do work as instruction

[68] These lifestyles magazines are all African based with Bang from Tanzania, and Parents from Kenya, True Love is an East African regional magazine.

manuals for everyday life, promoting self instruction, self help as means of becoming " more perfect" in everyday life roles.

While these magazines received a great positive response from this social group, they also received ambivalent reactions. Some professional husbands expressed concern regarding what these magazines are doing. They think copying and grabbing too much from them may threaten African identity. Msagati, a marketing consultant (age 42), spoke to this fear through his remark below:

> "…you find in leisure places when a man complains about his wife…some men would tell him.." come on man don't allow yourself to be pushed so much by a woman…more over your woman" and women, too, would be told by their pals " come on don't take crap from men, those days are long gone!" At the end of the day some professionals say I should watch what I grab from these external influences less I lose my identity, we are who we are…Africans".

Msagati's narrative reflects the idea that some professionals have to exercise critical reflexivity as a necessity before they can adopt a change strategy into their marital gender relations in fear of losing sight of "Africanness". However, these magazines are playing a role in guiding professional wives through the change to new rites of passage in the modern, urban world. The magazines focus on an urban and middle class clientele to give them inspiration to identify with the lifestyles they advertise. Their influence can be noted in the narrative from Maria, a senior banking executive (age 33):

> "We model our lives also in accordance to western influence---like women physique, we like to look young and beautiful and fit…not like our mothers who enjoyed looking like mothers (she laughs). We like to look young and stylish so we can win our husbands eyes longer and longer…also enhance our self esteem. She says "look at Vanessa Williams for example, she looks great and has fun….ha-ha we don't want to age ha-ha." We call each other by first names not *mama fulani*[69] amongst our girl friends and even between

[69] A popular way to call or address married women and men in Tanzania respectably is by putting the word mother/father (*mama/baba*) and adding her/his child's name there after e.g. the mother of Isaack / the father of Isaack. *Fulani* stands for so and so representing a person not a thing. Even couples were socialized to call each other in such manner. However, this younger professional generation wants to stop that and call each other by a first name which was considered disrespectful especially when a wife called /addressed her

> spouses. You won't hear me calling my friend by her child's name like mama Joseph no way neither do I call my husband *baba* (father) so and so no way!…I call him by his first name. I think its brilliant –it says that I am still myself. We want to retain our identity it's just the modern era we don't want to be influenced by *umama umama* (motherly/aged tendencies). This is why we even retain our names more nowadays rather than cancelling your name you add his [husband] name after yours".

Name changing as is seen here signify new sought identities that mark more a person's selfhood. By abandoning being addressed by their husbands' names totally they include their maiden names to retain their self hood. This is a part of the neo liberal discourses of democracy in intimate relationships like marriages.

Like their husbands, professional wives also claimed that balancing new ways and old ways is necessary. The younger professional wives' focus group discussion addressed this balancing process when they discussed their lifestyle creation in relation to intellectual orientations. The following is an excerpt from the discussion:

> "We still like the old things sometimes like *kujipendekeza kwa mume* (praising and complementing the husband)… if you position it to your advantage it is a very powerful tool. But if you interpret it *kisomi* (intellectually) it will mean subordination to you. Even with religion… we like to strike a balance between the old and the new, *mwanamke mwema* (a wise woman) who can be humble but at the same time agentive and capable of being heard. In the kitchen parties we get varied love expressions which we can use in our marital relations strategically without feeling subordinated". (Young professional wives' focus groups 2008)

The same applies to television watching and radio listening. Young professional couples make selective choices of what to consume. As Eustis says, "we learn a lot of social skills from them but before consuming, you first adjust them to how your actual life situation demands". Since the young professional couples fall under the segment of the population

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husband like that. For them this removes formality, brings them close, and makes the relationship more daring/bold to each other and not subordinating.

in need of perfecting their self expressions in gender interactions, their response to magazines and electronic media is substantial.

Generally my findings suggest that the lifestyles of younger professional couples are characterized by busy work schedules and more egalitarian leisure patterns compared to older professional couples. Young professional couples have realized that merging the leisure patterns of a husband and a wife offers an environment to realize more competence in reconstructing gender. This is so because it brings them closer. They share more or less the same music: gospel, Bongo flav (local rap), and Zairen music. Husbands enjoy watching CNN, BBC, and sports channels but they also share an interest in watching South African soap operas/series such as Isidingo, Nigerian films and music videos. Patrick says even if he finds his wife watching a soap series and he needs to watch football, he will in no way demand switching channels. On the other hand, Gladys, a medical doctor (age 30), explains how soap operas can offer one motivation to handle tough marital decisions in this account:

> "When we watch soap series, the message of women standing up for their rights sinks slowly into wives' minds even if you are not subscribing to it at first, the message gets to you and when you [are] in that situation it's not foreign anymore….it's like before people did not see anyone leaving their husbands but now you see in our generation wives leave their homes, get their own apartments and rent…so it's now sort of a norm …part of our lifestyles".

Younger professional wives also like to watch the women forum. This is a program discussing and showing women advancements i.e. development projects, aired in the local television station called "ITV". Both younger professional wives and husbands made great use of the internet technology as well to communicate while within the country and when they travel abroad. They admit that this source of technology helps

maintain the closeness of spousal relationships which is very important within this group. Gladys shared:

> "We used the internet to help our relationship when we are mobile. I was away for a year studying in the US. We were able to relate intimately using the internet… like sending each other video clips…these really help and work to cement relationships when you are far from each other".

With regard to radio stations, which are many now in the neo liberal era, the Christian radio stations such as Tumaini, Praise Power and Upendo are more appealing to this group in addition to BBC. They tune in to Upendo FM station for talks and teachings about matters of marriage. Radio and television also expose the younger generation to gender campaigning discourses. As Andrew, an IT professional, and Jennifer, a medical doctor (age 34), reveal in their narratives:

> "We live during the era of *mfumo wa usawa* (gender equality social system) not *mfumo dume* (male dominancy social system). Everybody is responsible… women are not to stay behind. All have the right , we do things together without discriminating another ... these are the rhetoric we hear constantly….around…in radio…TV…posters….I like it but I still insist the wife has to recognize in marriage there has to be a head of the family ".(Andrew).

> "Gender campaigns through women's programs in television help. They give you words and tactics of how to argue your case in marital life. The communication skills can be obtained in some of their broadcasts". (Jennifer).

These two young professional cited gender discourses from the electronic media as among sources that offer competence and resources on how to realize a joint-decision making gender lifestyle for their social group. In other words, they offer relational resources. Young professional couples in focus group discussions also cited discourses of gender from AIDS Prevention programs as sources of resources to construct gender. Some of these programs I had already known about from my pre-dissertation research on

an inventory of HIV/AIDS gender based structural interventions in Tanzania (Mlangwa & Meier 2006).

Most of the AIDS prevention programs cited were structural programs and cultural in nature. They attempt to change underlying collective gender norms in Tanzania. Examples of some of this type of interventions are the "Twende na Wakati" and 'Tuseme'[70]projects. Twende na Wakati' has been applied to HIV prevention and control in the form of popular radio and television soap operas. By role modeling people discussing HIV and family planning, the project intended to stimulate interpersonal communication about AIDS in audience individuals, in order to challenge some of the actions pertaining to how best to live in the AIDS era. Likewise using a performance-based approach in Tuseme projects, a play, dance, song, puppetry or game drives the process of gender consciousness and post performance discussions are held. The project is gender empowering in that it cultivates amongst women and between men and women from a young age a habit of dialogue and interpersonal communication, on life issues including favorable and unfavorable social norms. They also cited one project initiated by the church called "Tosheka Naye"[71] for married couples.

I was encouraged by my pilot study in finding that there are many gender-based structural interventions in Tanzania, and some of them attempt to change underlying culturally-based gender structures that grant more power to men in sexual matters. As seen in my dissertation research, the younger professional couples mentioned them as some of the sources where they get resources and competence in marital gender relations.

[70] In Swahili, 'Tuseme' means 'Let's speak' and 'Twende na Wakati' means 'Let's go with the times'.
[71] "Be satisfied with her/him" more about this program see the *Observer Reporter* 2006.

Most of these programs, however, attempt to affect gender change with women alone, while only a few to address women and men from a relational perspective. The World Bank (2005) asserts that changing gender norms will be possible only when it is widely recognized that gender is relational, that it is short-sighted to seek to empower women without engaging men, and that it is difficult if not impossible to change what manhood means without also engaging young women. Despite this realization, programs still tend to treat HIV-gender related issues as women- centered, perhaps in part because of the increasing feminization of the epidemic.

While these programs do offer some vocabularies that spouses can use to reconstruct their gender relations, young professional couples also have mixed feelings about them. For example, Harold thinks the public health discourse some of these programs adopt has made the "body" to be a total control of the "self "and therefore the "self" has become the one to decide upon what it wants for its body while before the body was socialized and under social surveillance of customary norms. He emphasizes that "the "self" had no autonomy…but now… this is diminishing with time". This is how he describes the effect:

> " …it has never been so easy to get a girl/woman than before….because there are no norms to disturb you ….girls and women have become individual… the decision on sex is theirs alone…no shame no stigma, nor sanction…. So this makes now to be a time when getting a woman has never been that easy".

With this mixed feelings it tells us that rather than their being considered good for AIDS prevention, gender equality public health related discourses are viewed as worsening the situation as they have freed sex from the watchful eyes of the community. From having had a communal/collective surveillance, sex is now self-surveilled. Harold's concern can

be put into context as emanating from the medicalized sexuality discourses associated with most of the western funded AIDS prevention programs. This is why some of the professional couples attempt to create their own lifestyles within their social networks/sub communities. Within these social networks they can enact collectively reinvented traditional gender arrangements. These spaces offer them security and help them from not feeling deviant of the conventional/traditional gender arrangements, or the medicalized sexuality discourses. Some of these spaces are leisure spaces.

In addition to Harold's observation, my findings also point to the link between the public health discourse that younger professionals report to supposedly place more individual responsibility on sexual conduct and the self-help industry offering therapeutic discourse that younger professionals consume. As Crawford (1995:179) argues, the quest for self-transformation encouraged by individualistic social science does at least give women [and men] the message that "Your life is yours to control". This belief may be necessary and empowering for anyone committed to change outside marital wedlock. But many of these self help discourses associated with individualism from the self help industry are entertained by young professionals because they coincide with the time when Tanzania is experiencing a neo-liberal era. One wonders how the outcome of public health discourses on HIV/AIDS prevention would be if state socialism persisted in Tanzania with its communal discourses and the centralization of media and cultural production[72]. It will undoubtedly be different because there will be less differentiation in what can be consumed to provide alternative re-thinking about gender and sexuality.

[72] By cultural production here I simply mean stylization of lives.

Returning to cultural consumption patterns of the younger professionals, social outings for them encompass a lot of dine-and-dance as a couple events, occasional family dinners, weekend beach outings and visits to children's parks with the children, weddings, and frequent *nyama chomas* (barbecues). I went to these events to participate, observe and be with some of the families on weekend beach trips and to children's parks. Husbands would some days go alone to join their male friends for drinking. Although they are attempting to do less of this male based leisure, the younger professional husbands did not hesitate to acknowledge its value. Clifford admits that these *vijiwe* (men's joints/sitting rooms) are surely another source to increase marital gender relations competence when he gave this remark:

> "Friends are especially my source of tools…I have different kind of friends *wahuni* (promiscuous) and religious so I get to learn from all and balance my life… I go to *vijiwe* more often alone and once in a while with my wife. She does not enjoy them much and sometimes I know it makes the men not free enough to talk so I prefer to be there alone… we get many strategies from different sources and blend them to form our own ways".

Younger professional husbands may also go watch football while wives may go to the gym, movies, or drink with their girlfriends. While gym is more for exercising for husbands, it works also as leisure time and a social networking occasion for wives. This public leisure for professional wives is becoming more of a pattern as opposed to its uncommonness during the older professional wives young adulthood. I was able to attend some of these wives' outings at drinking places. According to Maria and Siah, it is from such networks and peers that they learned additional tidbits about being a professional wife in contemporary urban Dar es Salaam. Some admitted that at times the information shared is useful and some is irrelevant for their consumption. The useful discourse relates to household tasks that a wife must keep in order, even if it is regarding

the supervision of the house servant. Even more helpful is the discourse about ways that a wife should constantly touch base with her home surroundings, such as whether is food well prepared, the home is clean, and that the husband likes being at home. Importantly is the discourse about how the wife should be always mindful of her marital relations less she misses out on anything going around her (i.e. tendencies of providing an environment that may facilitate infidelity). Beside discourses that share the juggling of a professional career, wifehood, and family life, other discourses include how best to work cooperatively with one's husband.

Shopping together is also considered a leisure activity by these professional couples. Due to their busy work schedules, most of them shop on Saturdays. Preferred shopping places included the newly built shopping complex in Dar es Salaam called Mlimani City Shopping Complex. I visited the complex and was able to observe some of them coming to shop. Some came with their children as well. Every Saturday morning I went to the city market to buy vegetables with one of the young professional wives, Laura, another senior banking executive (age 41), who offered to take me. There I met Daudi, a computer engineer (age 38), coming to shop for his home and other days I saw his wife, Maria. I noticed more wives than husbands coming to the market. Unlike Laura, her husband James an auditor (age 43), never came to the market throughout my one-year stay in the field.

The church is part of the younger professional couples' lifestyle, as they frequent the church and are members of specific churches. I was able to observe this in the churches which some of the couples frequented. They are not as active in terms of singing in choirs or becoming elders as were the older generations during their young

adulthood. In contrast, the younger generation is relatively more active in evangelical activities outside their home. They attend and participate in *jumuiyas* for Catholics and once in a while Christian fellowships for Protestants. I also observed couples attending funerals together, where I met Moses and his wife Zipporah twice.

Lastly, rather than engaging in home crafts and experimenting with cuisines as much as the professional wives from the older generation did, professional wives from the younger generation enjoyed more travelling with their husbands on what they call spousal getaway sprees. Both activities are resources for spicing up marital relations for the different generations. Patrick and Moses from the younger generation give testimony to this:

> "We leisure together a lot… I take her to my club, …last week we were in Zanzibar…just to enjoy, to be together and have some quality intimate time…we enjoyed, we took photos and had long tete-a- tete conversations. We have planned to go to Sea Cliff every week end [is one of the high status hotels in Dar es Salaam]". (Patrick)

> "My friends say I have become a family man…I can't go for pastime without Ziporrah how would I do that, maybe if she went to a kitchen party. I always tell my pals I am coming with my wife and they would go like…also you ah. We like to go out together …and talk and just be yourself with your spouse". (Moses)

Like the older professional couples' lifestyle, leisure for the younger generation couples is divided into family leisuring, gender-based leisuring (husbands and wives separately) and couple leisuring. In contrast, my findings suggest that spousal/couple leisuring represents efforts of young professional couples to change their behaviors to fit with their modern beliefs of egalitarian marital gender relations while in the older professional couples, couple leisuring did not hold such a role. Additionally couple leisuring among the younger professionals is seen to bridge the gender divide which existed in traditional

patterns of leisure. Professional couples from both generations also sourced gender relations competence from each other, which I next analyze and discuss.

iii) *Each other*

The older professional couples claim it is from each other that they learned to relate better, hence how to love and respect each other. As Christians, Gregory remarked: "We abide to church teachings but we consult each other as well… there is less claiming to be "head" of everything. We have flexible relationships …there has never really been a time when I forced to be the only one to be listened to in our relationship". Even Philemon, a retired engineer (age 63), said the same:

> "I have not dogmatically insisted on being the one with the last word. We talk, learn from each other …listen to what the other has to say for example, we decided together at some point to stop building a house in Tegeta (a neighborhood in Dar es Salaam) because we concluded it was a waste of money. We consult about what we should do with our resources…where should we invest…"

They also talked about how to manage situations in the home by learning how the other feels. When talking about this they gave examples of times when a wife earns more than the husband. The following are their remarks:

> "…if you love the man you can not start belittling him, his position vis-à-vis yours can never be an issue, if you love your husband. But if he develops inferiority …because you have more money, you have to know how to handle it/him it's up to you to manage that situation. Sometimes some ladies do not realize they have got to manage, it's a management issue. How do you get this …you are a blessing, do you go to church together, do you share moments of prayer together, do you have other things, values together which money does not become an issue…how do you behave, do you develop friendships which make him feel threatened. Feel threatened because people socially behaving awkwardly at this time is bad, you start seeing jealousy starts growing slowly, but if you manage, it won't happen. I don't have a masters degree my wife has, its not that I couldn't do it, I had chances, I didn't need it. I am a fairly informed person". (Abraham a retired lawyer)

> "…I never ever wanted my husband's status to go down…in front of people. I love it when he goes somewhere he appears a man! The man you got married to! And my husband loves to wear smartly even his children comment about it. We really take each other with care …we have patience to learn from another the other likes, hates, or saddens him or her. We also helped each other a lot to adapt within marital life …when you know this is how he gets angry you keep quiet like wise him too he has learnt to apologize when he sees he has wronged me". (Elizabeth a retired teacher)

> "There was a time my husband had less income and he felt very miserable. Since I knew him when he had money I decided to help him feel good. I gave him my car to drive purposely [by then he did not have his] so that he does not feel inferior. In doing so we became happy, we are very happy. As a woman you should be able to judge, to take care of your home and your husband. Put your husband in a good condition so he can feel a person amongst people. Don't just leave him there feeling miserable while you go off with your car…and your own business". (Selina retired accountant)

Selina expressed further that this process has even given her insights to make better her gender interactions with her husband as she claimed in this quote:

> "Another thing I realize in my life is I use my husband to get authority, when I love him I do things for him, respect him he gives me much authority than I can ever want. He would consult me on everything he wants to do".

These statements show how this older generation was concerned in being there for each other. Their efforts to learn from each other is for purposes of making their life together work and not necessarily wanting to change the other in any structural way. This is further enhanced as they mentioned their attempts to understand each other's life philosophy.

Through trial and error, and experimenting these older couples have sought how to mould their relationships in accordance to their life philosophies. From the many know-how/competences, and resources for living they have accumulated separately from different sources they work to synchronize them into one customized philosophy of life. For some this becomes easy especially if they share a life philosophy but for some who do not, they work together to find one they can share. With life philosophies they learned

as they went along, *self initiating* some ways to find consensus in their marital gender relations. All older professional couples admitted that possessing an inclination to self initiation was an overall driver of the entire factors influencing the stability and growth of their gender relations and sexual conduct. As Matayo confessed:

> "Some of our decision making in our couple life was based on trial and error. We would be like swimming and when we find a consensus we adopt. For example, how we used our money, we did not have a set plan... we just did it as we moved along. This is needed …we look and see do we have the money… if we do we buy. Nobody had specific responsibility to buy what. We all did. We never had a strategy. Maybe just when we planned to buy a car we would sit and decide how to save for the car, or what money to use. There was no one breadwinner...we both brought the bread".

His wife Selina acknowledged this by adding that:

> "You see as you go along you correct each other on how to build your relationship. It's not like everything is rigid and can not be readjusted… no…, we do adjustments as we live to find what suits us best… For instance my aunties did not tell me what the husband will do when I am pregnant, or give birth. We figured this out ourselves. He helped me with the baby when I gave birth. We raised our children together although I carried them all during pregnancies [she laughs!]".

Elizabeth says at first she would not like it when her husband would not pick her choice of things when they went shopping for home décor. She would walk out of the shop and leave him there but with time she started appreciating indeed he had a good and better choice in things so she stopped feeling bad. She said she told herself why should we compete. After all when people visited their home, they admired what he picked.

Cultural consumption is very common in structuring gender relations among the young professional couples. On the other hand, their orientation to change, especially from past traditional norms to modern lifestyles that embrace more egalitarian gender relations, requires them to constantly seek each other's opinions. They consult each other so that they can together as a couple learn how to move forward in reworking their

gender relations to suit their everyday life. Hence, drawing from each other's mindset is also one of their "sites" for sourcing practical gender relation strategies specific to their couple relationship.

Those who use this "site" have demonstrated that they possess predisposed orientations to welcoming dialogue and interpersonal communication in their spousal relationship. For example, Gladys reminded me that in her case, dialogue is readily welcomed but for some couples this may be hard and therefore such a strategy may not work for them. Other couples who revealed such an orientation are Daudi and his wife Maria in the following accounts:

> **"**We learn from each others' transparency and avoid secrecy by encouraging transparency… we can all express the way we feel about issues and how our relationship is moving. You tell the other what you expect of her or him. Like… I learn more about which roles I can be more supportive in the home by observing but most important asking my wife. Like when we had a baby, I would help in the night so she can rest in the night. This she appreciated most…compared to if I washed nappies". (Daudi a computer engineer)

> "It's not a one way traffic, we talk…*mume wangu vipi*? (What is wrong my husband?) *ukisha mjua mtu wako* (when you know your man) things fall into place, like my husband can wash his dishes, make his tea if he sees I am busy. It's strange to think other husbands want only their wives' meals! It's shocking in this generation to expect such… when we are both working…how can it work! We need to help each other. …I work out my marital life by knowing my man…when you understand what your man wants…like to go down a bit, though you are educated to act in a non confrontational manner, express real points wisely…try to show your presence tactically without jeopardizing the relationship…I know he appreciates this. With this kind of carefulness …I want to think even marital sexual exclusivity is realistic if you work towards it together as a couple". (Maria a bank executive)

We see that this depiction of couple relationship exhibits a mutual relationship because each spouse wants to understand the other and attempts to take that spousal knowledge of the other into account when they act out their masculinity or femininity. Baraka as well supported this idea:

> "I always believe in talking to improve what I am doing… wives need to ask their husbands what is it they want…also we husbands should talk …your wife is your source of resource to redefine gender… I talk a lot to my wife….."

Even on matters of marital sex, these young professional couples insist on transparency. Patrick noted that for them in issues concerning marital sex and satisfaction, they required each other to be transparent so that each knows what to do for the other to ensure a satisfying sexual relation for both of them. These depictions reveal how modern love is navigated amongst these young professional couples.

Although these younger professional couples opt to consult each other to construct their gender relations and sexual conduct, for some it is a struggle. Dialogue and being really transparent sometimes met with resistance and not knowing how to respond, as we can observe with Siah and Harold. Siah complained that when she put so much effort into being transparent and communicated how she feels about their relationship, her husband fails to understand her way of thinking. Instead he would accuse her of being proud because she has education and some economic autonomy. He attributed these aspects to making her less respectable to men, especially to him. He would say words like "just because you have seen the light and God has blessed you with some little money, now you want to shake the world…you do not have respect for anyone". These words would hurt Siah so much but instead of keeping quiet and humbling herself or letting the comments go, she would insist on trying to solve the situation by further communicating verbally. But at the end of the day their relationship has become strained and the way her husband has limitations in marital communication is pushing them further apart. Siah confessed that she can not be passive like some women, and the more she expresses herself, the more the situation gets worsened.

According to Benjamin and Sullivan (1999), in critical gender consciousness, relational as well as material resources are necessary as a bundle to make change possible in marital gender relations. Critical consciousness is attained when people have a structural perception of conditions (a sense of constraining and empowering at the same time, towards how to address life challenges) around them (Freire cited in Andrews 2002). Structural consciousness of one's surroundings is thus, according to Andrews (2002) and Thompson (1993), central to whether or not couples push for change. It may be regarded as a critical *enabling* element in the desire for the transformation of the normative boundaries which regulate gender relations. Such as is the case with marital communication in Harold and Siah's marriage. One way to interpret their situation is that while Siah seems to be ahead in demonstrating critical consciousness with respect to gender relations, Harold lags behind. With a structural consciousness to marital gender relations, conflicts or dissonance as a clearly articulated challenge to the existing system of gender relations may emerge, containing an explicit commitment to change as exemplified by Siah. However, I wish to add that another factor, the ethical concerns that spouses may hold, may or may not predispose them to change.

Harold claims that women have become very complex and confused with the individualistic tendencies which came with the neo-liberal life and their rising economic status and he raises ethical concerns. He feels that women are no longer in touch with the community and want to live their own separate life that follows no structures. He does not think to receive respect as a husband one should earn it because he says, "My grandmother loved my grandfather[73] despite all and respected him…but with our women

[73] He had eleven wives and Harold's grandmother was the fifth wife.

…you need to buy her a Mercedes to show that you love her". Harold does not necessarily mean you actually have to buy the car but he uses the imagery to show that in his opinion women have become difficult to tame by ordinary and simple love. I suggest that he is using ethical considerations in his criticism of possessive individualism that tend to not fit the times. Giddens (1992) would critic Harold by reminding him that democratic modern love as is exhibited by Siah's previous and further on narratives does not conform to the communal ideal of love which Harold's grandmother adhered to.

Siah described that she sometimes tries to stop talking and advising her husband too much so there can be peace, but she admits it lasts for a short time because she just can't bring herself to be passive. This is how she describes her state: "I cannot fake my personality. I talk, I like to communicate, tell me what you feel I tell you what I feel…we move on with life…if I don't, then I am being artificial …and that makes me unhappy". She would tell her husband this:" How can you expect me to live like the way our mother's lived? Those days are gone…our mothers did not have room to make decisions…it's unfair to follow the old rules, I have to have a say in all that we do in our life together". Harold, however, does not have the social skills or does not want to attempt to look for the social skills in particular those linked with relational resources to manage such vigor in emancipated women and their inclination to live a full partnership kind of marital life. Thus, with regard to my study, Siah and Harold represent young professional couples who live a life characterized by what they both identified as *uhusiano wenye msuguano* (a relationship characterized by friction). They both want to be assertive and heard, seen as making sense in their way of thinking and behaving,

without compromising the self. According to Siah, this stance greatly hurts marital sexual life. This is how she describes the impact:

> "Sex life becomes affected …..even the urge/desire to touch each other …begins to fade …it is no longer there strong …you think how does he think of me …does he really love me if he does not want to acknowledge my abilities …wants to push me down always…"

Such difficulties in the construction of gender relations in marriage are sometimes given space due to what goes on in popular gender discourses in urban Dar es Salaam and sometimes extended family influences. Some men source their perception of wives from peers because you would hear them say things like "I want to get married", "I am tired of washing and cooking". Msagati experienced hearing these narratives and shared the situation in this way:

> "I would wonder and say, then you need a house servant and they will say no. I would joke then a maid who will give you children!! These are my friends… You see they view woman as more a supportive personality...and appendage…the man is the figure and she is to offer support...that's the norm for many Tanzanian professional men still. Like my father I could also characterize another group of professional men more to fit a situation whereby they are victims of their own backgrounds, past and modern ways of seeing women so they are swayed between the two. It is a kind of conflict between the two worlds. At times they comply not totally accepting of it but then again they are not totally anti that sort of lifestyle. So there are times such husbands quarrel with their wives due to this coexistence of two worlds in them".

So what Msagati is saying is that although there are sources to expose people to newer ways of living their lifestyles with regard to gender relations, i.e. like living as partners in a marriage, there will still be conflicts between the old and newer norms affecting the younger generations' way of thinking. Even though one may be a part of this changing segment –i.e., the elite—one still has extended family/relatives who are not from that segment and they may influence some of one's attitudes. Not all of them share the new vision/concepts of life. We saw this in the opening vignettes in chapter one by Eustis and Judith. Furthermore, Msagati also admits that there is resistance to change due to the

mere feeling of not wanting to lose one's African origin so to speak. Therefore one may find competing discourses about gender relations and change exhibited in one's lifestyle. This is what I refer to the dialectic construction of gender relations in the professionals. They are dialectic in the sense that they possess both equality and inequality discourses to form a unity.

What I elicit from Msagati' detailed narration is that these younger professional husbands and wives must exercise great critical reflexivity before adopting any change strategy connected to the social construction of gender in their everyday life. This partly is due to the ethical dispositions they value conflicting with the structural conditions surrounding them. They hold beliefs of gender equality lifestyles but they have not yet reconstructed their behaviors to fit them.

Apart from these three "sites" as sources of additional knowledge for marital gender relations competence, family upbringing was also cited by both generations. This "site" worked differently yet served the same purpose. It was sourced through flashbacks of memories.

iv) ***Family upbringing memories***

Family upbringing is a memory "site" for both older and younger generation. From family upbringing flashbacks, the couples obtained inspiration to maintain certain family aspects in their marital life. The memories also acted as motivators against changing and guarding the perpetuation of some undesirable family aspects. This "site" provided a check-and-balance system in the form of gender-related memories from the family of origin. For example, Selina did not hesitate to reveal some of the inspirational

insights she got from her mother's marriage when she was growing up to take care of her own marriage. Her mother told her:

> "A man is more carefree than a woman, so you as a woman have to shoulder more. There can never be equality in how the two of you approach things…my mother used to say … 'Some things mean more to you than him and if you abandon them for him to handle them and then he does not, you are the one who will get hurt in the end'. For example, keeping the living room smart…I fuss more than him."

From her revelation she is convincing herself and women that if you want to be happy, there are things in the marital life you should do for you and not necessarily for him, because after all it is you who wants them done (i.e. living room smartness) at times and not him. Other professional wives consent to family upbringing as a source of inspiration behind their gender relations. This can be observed from Luiza's words:

> "… seeing my mother submit to my dad who was very strict and stern, yet I saw my mother could stomach and let it go affected me a lot, you just don't know you of this generation [she was addressing me], our mothers used to be really beaten, just a small thing she could get a very bad beating. I tell myself I don't get beaten, my problems can not be compared to hers, yet she could stomach, why I can't I, too, let go."

Like wise, Veronika added, "we got very good family upbringing both my husband and I, our parents had good harmony". Family upbringing affected not only wives but also men. They, too, cited upbringing when they reflected on their own lives, and how they related to their wives. Generally they would either say, "I never saw my father beat my mother so I will not beat my wife also" or "I used to be so disturbed when my father beat my mother, for me I want to avoid at all cost to beat my wife." Abraham confessed how he felt about his mother being beaten:

> "…there are times he was ferocious [meaning his father], and certain things he was doing to my mother I did not like and I decided I will never do those things to my wife, and that is hitting/beating. He used to make me feel bitter. I forgave him but it taught me a lesson that I am never going to beat my wife. As I say if I am angry, I walk away. It's a way of

> management of the situation…you do not know how you can control not speaking words that are worse than beating".

Others shared their specific memories like Zebedayo a retired university professor in this narrative:

> "I think how my parents led their marital life was very influential to mine. My mother respected our father and she showed considerable perseverance on some of the things she experienced ….[he says this as an afterthought] and I observed that my father loved her, while making sure they all worked hard for the family, like farming and stuff. I, too, became a very hard worker to raise my family. Because my father led well our family, we never starved at our home although we heard some neighbors at time going without food. I also wanted the same for my home…to lead well by actions, and not by speech only. I always tell my married children to follow my example…aha… they should learn why I was able to stay with their mother for over 36 years. I don't separate my life from hers, we leisure together, I have no extra marital affairs".

In another life story, Caroline, a retired education officer (age 65), remembered how her dad favored boys more than girls when it came to paying school fees. She said she does not want such a thing to happen to her three children, two boys and one girl. In Caroline's family there were four girls and her father decided he would give his inheritance to the son of his brother. Caroline remembers how when she passed standard five, her father said he had no money but he paid for his youngest brother, Caroline's uncle. Luckily enough Caroline's uncle[he was going to standard ten] approached the principal and informed him that the father of Caroline was on a journey and that he would pay her fees when he returned. So Caroline was allowed to continue with school. However, when she passed her exam to join high school, her father again declared he did not have money to pay for high school. Her mother heard from people that they can get spared from paying the whole fee amount if one went to plead at the district officer's office. So she went and she was successful. Caroline continued with high school. Caroline went as far as the university in Nairobi for her degree in Education and then earned a master's degree in the

United Kingdom. She admits that it took her father a very long time to realize that even a girl child can be fruitful for/in the family, because she consciously showed him by always asking him what his brother [the one for whom he paid school fees] and his brother's son [the one who was to inherit their house but eventually did not because Caroline succeeded in advising her father to give it to his daughters] did for him when they started working. He would say nothing. Yet Caroline was there for him in everyway. She took great care of him together with her sisters, until just before his death he confessed that truly girls can be very useful.

Similarly to the older professional couples, the younger professional couples also used memories of their family upbringing to adjust and readjust their gender relations as the following examples from the data show. Siah wants to avoid living like her parents where there was a strict disciplined lifestyle where only the father had the last say and there was no discussion no matter what. Her femininity is shaped by a reminder of how her mum worked so hard to raise them upon her father's death despite her being very poorly educated. This is how she describes the situation: "My mother was not educated like me … yet she managed somehow… then I know anything is possible provided you put great effort to realize it". Patrick, on the other hand, revealed that he only has to remember his family upbringing to remind himself how important a wife is to marital and family welfare. He elaborated this in his narrative:

> "Frankly my father influenced me a lot on this area…when my father went for his PhD in the U.S., we all had to go and my mother was by then a lecturer at a finance institute in Dar es Salaam. She had to leave her job to join us. Leaving the job was a mutual thing for them, at that time life was hard in Tanzania and lots of people would come back with a lot of stuff from abroad when they return from studies…but my father gave my mother an opportunity to pursue a masters degree …she paid for her studies there in the U.S. By giving my mother education capital, this translated to a lot of good in our future family life and thereafter my mother has been a very active partner in my father's life…in fact

> she is more aggressive than my father when it comes to business ventures...I mean she pulls off successfully many family investments…I discovered very early the contributive role of a women …they have a big part to play in family. I respect women for that and I encourage my wife, too… to be active...I try not to lose sight of that always".

Equally Nora a nurse used family upbringing memories to check that she does not continue favoring one gender in her home as she explained in this narrative:

> "Taking care of you brother! Oh well in the very past I bought into it but when I grew older and begun working while still living with my parents, I started to see it as unfair and not right. I come back from work my mother welcomes me by warning me that the food is little, my brother should eat it and that I should enter the kitchen and cook something for myself. She tells me because I am a woman it is expected of me to go into the kitchen and not my brother. My brother now also feels guilty and allows me to eat but my mother insists that I should not eat the food my brother is hungry and just feels sorry for me. I went to sleep without eating and in the morning I find the food still there… my heart pained… It occurred that neither did my brother eat the food… now my mother blamed me because I made my brother feel guilty yet he was hungry. I told her it was not fair. How can our mothers like male children like this? I vowed I will not raise my family like that …and this incident reminds me not to".

With respect to other memories of family upbringing, in this group, resembled the older professionals. The younger couples noted their desire to avoid fighting in front of the children like their parents. Most husbands also aimed to maintain their parents' orientation of not engaging in wife beating. Others wanted to avoid polygamy as Joseph recounted:

> "The thing I remember and want to avoid is marrying a second wife. My father was polygamous and it affected not only my mother who was a third wife but also us children. We had to live with different mothers…our father's wives. I missed mother care…you can't predict but if you can rescue your marriage don't go polygamous…it's bad for you and your children. These are the things I wouldn't like for life".

Polygamy is currently not encouraged in the Christian community but it is there in the Muslim community. Joseph's parents who lived in the colonial era did not give him a good impression with regard to having multiple wives-polygamy. Polygamy is not illegal but not condoned by the Christian community.

These memories of family upbringing expose how family life has a great influence on the construction of gender for future generations. It is an important "site" of resources for the instillation of equality in contemporary couples' gender designs to be later employed through memory by their off spring-- the future generations. How the government and public health community in Tanzania does or does not take this into account in designing gender-related health promotion efforts becomes pertinent.

Professionals from the younger generation mentioned a fourth "site" for sourcing gender relations competence, role models.

v) *Role models*

Only the younger professionals cited role models as a "site" for sourcing competence in gender relations. A role model is a person or a couple whom the young professional couples mentioned as worthy of emulation. The role model(s) also worked as a "site" for sourcing resources, motivation and inspiration and competence to construct marital gender relations. Different categories of people filled this role including relatives, friends, and parents, as the following narratives and quotes depict:

> "I admire my uncle. He shows great respect for his marriage. He has no children outside wedlock. He would always tell me …don't be very scientific in handling marriage… ….that this should be like this …sometimes it can be different. He means two people can think in different dimensions. He also reminds me an educated person failing to handle marriage is shameful…and that he has never heard of a person who left his wife and stayed alone and got any happiness out of it. I often listen to his advices". (John a medical doctor)

> "My in-law's family…my wife's family is my role model… I like the way they have involvement in decision-making by all members of the family, father, mother, and children. I admire that a lot because I did not experience it in our family. So this has made me want to have a *consultative process headship*[74] with my wife… it has

[74] This younger generation professional group views "headship" to be a consultative process between the spouses.

> impressed me so much seeing them discussing about something until they all find a consensus, I said to myself "I also want to build my family like that ..in my family my father's word was the last… my mother could not resist it". (Daudi a computer engineer)
>
> "My mum is my role model, she takes no crap. She stands on what she believes in… I wanted her to be a role model of my wife…she was a partnership kind of person and I wanted that for my marriage". (Msagati a marketing consultant)
>
> "My sisters' marriages were my role modeling sources. I learnt about patience and loving your husband first from them". (Angelina a teacher)
>
> "I mean you watch how other couples live…when you see them make mistakes you attempt to avoid them…I have never been sat by anyone to advise me on how to live my marriage…I use the method of looking for models into other people... you observe how they live and pick what would help you" (Eustis a medical staff).
>
> "My mum is my role model of a woman. I learnt a lot from her. I wish I could have learnt more (she is dead) she raised me to be able to stand on my two feet. Be able to cope on… I am doer I don't sit and wait for things to happen—I would not be able to cope with a man who wants me to sit…I wouldn't know how to. She was never a kitchen person. I learned that a woman does not have to be in the kitchen to survive you can do other things to survive. So I rejected this popular saying that a women's place is in the kitchen". (Gladys a medical doctor)

Gladys continued to explain how constructing alternative femininity can be very taxing. First of all she believes a transformed mind set is not enough for a woman to construct modern femininity that empowers. A woman has to be economically empowered, [what I refer to in my study as material resources] and vice versa. With economic power, you need a transformed mind set---socially empowered, [what I refer to in my study as relational resources].

According to her, for women to be taken seriously, they sometimes need to be extra tough. And when they are extra tough, they are sometimes interpreted as rude and bad and they may alienate others as bosses and as wives. This is problematic at work places where people tend to prefer men bosses to women bosses. At home husbands may tend to despise that extra toughness of a woman. One of the professional husbands did speak to this by expressing how he felt with such kind of women as a wife:

> "You feel like you are living with your fellow man…I search for the woman I married …and I see a man sometimes…it can be frustrating. (James)

This of course applies to heterosexual couples. James, like Harold, is among the group of professional husbands who don't know how to respond to the empowerment shift in wives and are uncomfortable with it. Whereas some professional husbands like Msagati, Baraka, Daudi and John greatly appreciate this shift in women. John says he wants a wife who is independent and aggressive in her stance not someone who displays dependence on him. Baraka admits he gets so fulfilled and is filled with admiration when observing his wife when they have heated debates between them. Likewise Msagati stresses that for him it is the toughness in a woman that contents him and Daudi likes to encourage his wife to be totally transparent to him even if it may offend him.

It is undeniable that the varied sources of strategies to construct gender have enabled some of the younger professional couples to develop independent minds less constrained by the social structure of normative thought systems and practices regarding gender relations. From these professional couples, we can identify examples of members of the younger generation viewed as a generation unit who articulate structures of knowledge or consciousness that express their particular location (Edmunds & Turner 2002) and are predisposed to take action to create social change. For example, Daudi and Maria and Msagati and his wife Gladys represent couples who are members of a strategic-acting generation that uses available resources to innovate in the cultural sphere—i.e. their gender relations. This is observed in the way they expressed themselves in their narratives as the cases below show:

> "From reading, travelling and observing life, through media, radio, etc., I have developed an independent thinking capacity…I have become an independent thinker, so I respect what people think [structural ways of understanding and behaving]… but it's not

> important to fit to others if they hate my ways…I wouldn't change for them…I am rooted. If you are not rooted, you can easily face challenge from the rest of the system". (Msagati)
>
> "If my husband calls me and tells me I will be late home today, I expect I can do likewise when I need to without hesitation...you see parenting can shape you but it's the experience when you begin to live your life …negotiating norms and your rights …that can make you what you are". (Gladys)

These younger professional couples, as mentioned earlier, display generational critical consciousness with regard to gender relations because they have a structural perception to conditions around them (Freire cited in Andrews 2002) and are choosing to use their empowering consciousness to exercise agency to change undesirable (for the social health of the marriage) marital gender relations.

While couples from the older generation also sourced competence for gender relating from each other, they did so to accomplish bringing peace and harmony into the marriage rather than ensuring their personality was recognized by the other to enable a structural shift. They were less into themselves than they were into the family as a whole. If the husband's words made sense, the wives did not bother for theirs to make sense, too. Consequently, I argue that the older professional couples were focused on creating stable marital gender relations that brought peace in the home even if some of the traditional norms of masculinity and femininity in some areas were persistent. The most they did with traditions was to rework them without necessarily changing them entirely.

This situation, I suggest, was partly accomplished by the limited competing alternative but socialist/communal ways of thinking about enacting gender during their young adult professional lives in the state socialist era. They were also closer to the first generation professionals, their parents, who although the husbands were educated, still held onto pre colonial communal norms about gender, thus they too impacted their lives

to a certain extent. In the older generation, husbands still felt protective and leaders and wives did not resist this orientation but embraced it. Rather than targeting marital gender social change, these couples reconstructed alternatives which might not reproduce conventional gender but work alongside it innovatively. They did this through agentive unplanned acts of resistance to conventional gender ideology. They did this when they sought convenient ways of *getting along*. Their actions laid a favorable foundation for the next generations to move the gender equality project further ahead as we see in the younger professionals.

In contrast, younger professional couples in my findings have shown that they embrace more change and independent thinking [meaning they are weakly attached to past traditions], sometimes characterized by intentional agentive acts in reconstructing gender relations in addition to innovating them. Despite occasional difficulties, they are reconstructing gender in different ways to affect their everyday lives. They are creating new arrangements of organizing gender relations and sexual conduct within their peer networks, arrangements which move further away from gender-biased to egalitarian lifestyles. I argue that the "sites" in which they seem to be more engaged with for sourcing competence for this endeavor are "each other" and "cultural consumption patterns." In the next section I present an analysis and discussion of focus group collages for more illustrations of the perceptions of these changing gender arrangements in young professional couples.

Collage Analysis of Focus Groups for Younger Professional Husbands and Wives

After the moderator (I) established in the discussion that the younger professional couples believe there is ongoing change in the gender relationship within marriage in Dar es Salaam Tanzania, she asked them if they could portray that change in pictures.

Question

If you really believe there is a change in the way you now experience gender relationships from how you heard or know about them before how would you show these using pictures from the very magazines you consume: Parents, True Love and Bang? Please construct two collages depicting the changing gender relationships.

Objective of the collages

To understand the young professionals perception of the change in gender relationships and how they experience it.

Analysis

Two group collages emerged from the exercise titled “Traditional Gender Relationships and Modern Gender Relationships” from the husbands and “Conservative and Modern” from the wives (See the collage data presentation for each gender group on table 5.0 on pages 207-208 and table 5.1. on pages 209-210). First I analyzed the collages by comparing the picture contents and the texts inserted for each picture with the focus group participants. We looked at what is present and absent in which group and why.

With this preliminary analysis I then further interpreted the analysis based on my study framework.

Data presentation

Table 5.0 Young professional husbands' Collages

Focus group	**Gender relations**	**Collage Depictions**	**Emerging Themes**
Husbands	Traditional	- Male breadwinner - women child care - woman cook	1. Confined Gender roles
		- boys get more time to study	2. Unequal gender upbringing/opportunity
		- men have power to say	3. One way Communication
		- women's role to prevent pregnancy	4. Gender and reproduction
		- women cry - men are supposed to be strong	5. Confined gender emotional states
		- decorative and respectful clothing for women	6. Confined Gender Clothing
		- wisdom was related to old age in women.	7. Gender Neutrality with old age

	Modern	- Child care a joint responsibility - expanding gender knowledge through new technology-TV - mobiles phones give women power to communicate - women involved in decision making - men & women hang out together - men can even cry - women get education	1. Shared gender roles 2. Globalization and gender 3. Two way communication 4. Multi-sex leisure patterns 5. Shared gender emotional states 6. Gender equal opportunity

Table 5.0. continued.

Interpretation for husbands' group's collages.

What we can read from the emerging themes (see table 5.0) is a shift in how husbands view gender relations. Husbands appreciate that life in the contemporary world brings the need to share some of the gendered socialized behaviors, like emotions, roles, and leisure. They also appreciate that women are getting opportunities to advance education wise and from the exposure they get through the impact of globalization they demonstrate power to communicate. However, husbands do not indicate whether they feel they need to share the reproductive, contraception role. This is a role which is tied up with the discourses of safe sex in the AIDS era. I would interpret this to mean they still consider preventing pregnancy a women's responsibility. Furthermore, the collage

implies that husbands are still considering themselves as the main breadwinners and cooking is still predominantly the wives' expected role. Hence the division of labor still assumes some gendered roles. Additionally, husbands still prefer/value women to wear decorative clothing and dress respectably. This suggests that the age factor has become not as important for women to achieve a say in the modern era as it was when traditional gender relations were unquestioned. Young and old women can now have the power to speak, while before only old age accorded them wisdom. Next, I discuss the wives' collages.

Table 5.1. Young professional wives' collages

Focus group	**Gender relations**	**Collage Depictions**	**Emerging Themes**
Wives	Conservative	- only women work hard at home - women keep pain, and issues to self, fear men - marriage a fulfillment of societal norm - an age requirement - children build and protect marriage - women cry - men are stern, no warmth - no friendship	1. Confined domestic gender roles 2. Silences in marital gender relations 3. Marriage ownership (more social vs. personal property) 4. Motherhood provides marital security 5. Confined gender emotional states 6. Formal marital relationship

	Modern	- As a couple look nice together, happy with smiles on their face in public socializing - Full of life - Are promising (show potential) - Cooperate, supportive of each other - Seem like equal - Greater eye contact, , relaxed posture, closer distance, touch, and listening to each other - Spouses express freely emotions of caring and loving - Free spousal and family(including children) communication	1. Relaxed couple image in public socializing - friendship 2. Moving towards gender equality lifestyles, 3. Moral agency -Unreserved public bodily talk - trust and encouragement in expressing intimacy - shameless versus respectability 4. Shared gender emotional states 5. Democratic family communication

Table 5.1. continued

Interpretation for wives' group collages.

What we can read from the emerging themes (see table 5.1.) is a shift in how wives view gender relations. Wives appreciate that life in the contemporary world opened up the space to transgress or do away some of the beliefs related to a wife's behavior that should be guided by the respectability norm. Women express in these collages that they appreciate couples being freer with each other, in all areas including intimacy. That a

married woman can be unreserved and shameless to her husband without the husband feeling like he is insulting his wife in response, reveals a state of moral agency exercised by the young professional couples within their marital gender relations. This is a change which is tied up with the discourses of safe sex in the marital context in the AIDS era. Wives also perceive changes in the need to share some of the gendered socialized behaviors, like emotions in couples. Rather than silences, wives perceive that there is a trend towards democratic communication not only between spouses but within the family as a whole. Children were mentioned more as part of the family and not a source of security for the marriage as was perceived for the older generation by the wives. They also appreciate that there is less formality in public appearances among young professional married couples. Before, there were gendered sitting spaces in places like churches, weddings and parties, with the women on one side and the husbands on another. Nowadays young professional couples tend to want to sit together as a couple. Furthermore the idea that marriage is more a social property driven more by the society is perceived to be fading. More feelings of it being a personal matter are emerging and given space to thrive. I would interpret all these changes as efforts to create spousal closeness, as mentioned in their narratives elsewhere in this dissertation. Of great relevance to this study, the wives seem to perceive themselves as young professional couples more likely to acquire marital gender equality lifestyles compared to the older generation. This, I argue, has a positive bearing on how they would manage their health seeking behaviors with regard to HIV/AIDS prevention.

Collage analysis conclusion

There is not much difference between the young professional husbands and wives' perceptions of how marital gender relations are changing compared to the older generation. The most obvious difference was the domestic roles which seem to be still predominantly gendered, mention of leisure, followed by the complex issue of contraception. It was husbands who perceived that contraception is more the women's responsibility. This reasoning may affect the choice of condom as a contraceptive option in marital sex, bearing in mind that this group does not support condom use. Before, this would have posed a social risk for the welfare of their marriages however; based on their perception of freer spousal communication and moral agency, I argue that we should expect them to welcome the idea of condom use for contraceptive purposes without antagonizing their marriage. Further research on the acceptability and applicability of condom as a contraception option in marriage will throw more light on the issue. Finally, shared leisure time and space was mentioned by husbands but not by wives. This is because leisure sharing involved more the husbands refashioning their leisure patterns to incorporate more spousal leisure from the initially emphasized men only leisure patterns and women leisuring more at home or with children. The focus group collage analysis and discussion offers data reinforcement on the results obtained from other data collection methods from this study about the existence of an on going process of changing gender relations in the Tanzanian professional couples.

Earlier in this chapter I had outlined that I will analyze the additional sources of marital construction of gender relations and sexual conduct by generation, tribe and class criteria to show how they affect professional couple's propensity to gender innovation,

continuity and change. I have already done this by generation, I now continue with this analysis and in the next section I look at the impact of tribal association, if any, on the changing organization of gender relations among the professional couples in Tanzania as indicated by my findings.

Tribes

With the exception of tribes like Kurya from Musoma and Iraq from Arusha who, according to my study, were mentioned to be associated with extreme gender oppressive beliefs and behaviors towards women, tribe on its own generally does not influence likelihood of adapting newer ways of constructing gender relations. It can so only in conjunction with marriage type (tribal versus mixed tribes), at least for my study. What I am suggesting can be illustrated by what Joseph, one of the younger professional husbands, said about whom he married:

> … I told myself I will not marry from my tribe …I saw the setback of culture. Our culture in Musoma has its share of problems. It is among cultures that are built on viewing the women as servants. She won't be a wife, she will come as a servant...and…it will drive me to live *kimila* (traditionally in accordance with old customs) which I don't want. Like now, our children are not living *kimila.* They live in accordance to how we choose to raise them…this is what I desired…to put a break to the continuity of old customs.

Professional couples from both generations with spouses from two different tribes (mixed- tribes marriages) compared to tribal marriages exhibited more consciousness of willingness to innovate and change constructions of masculinity and femininity in marital gender relations towards egalitarian lifestyles or at least different from the patterns of hierarchical lifestyles. In my study these included 14 couples, five from the older and

nine in the younger generation respectively. The total sample is 30 couples, 15 from each generation.

Professional couples with spouses from the same tribe tended to cherish allegiance to their ethnic group ways of life, particularly the older generation, but also in some ways the younger generation as well. These included 16 couples, ten and six respectively, from the older and the younger generation. Some ethnic group ways of life were characterized by in-egalitarian and hierarchical lifestyles, but these were manifested differently from one ethnic group to another. My findings suggest that newer ways of constructing gender are more adaptive to environments where there is a loose connection to any one firm established social organization of gender in a couple, i.e. ethnic based cultures.

Finally, in the next section I analyze the role of class in changing the organization of gender relations in Tanzania for professional couples, using secondary data to make a comparison with the working class. I do not make an exhaustive class analysis to arrive at firm conclusions but use available secondary sources to complement my work and make some provisional claims. I identify tendencies that may require additional research.

Class

This class analysis of the younger professionals and working class couples uses Magrethe Silberschmidt's (2001) work on masculinity and femininity in East Africa to document experiences of the latter. Silberschmidt is skeptical about whether the stereotyped dominant gender is still male in working class couples following the effect of economic change on men's life situations in East Africa. In her study, she cautions that

efforts to empower women and to improve sexual health should consider the negative consequences of male disempowerment as well. Precisely because of patriarchal structures working to the detriment of women, she brings to gender scholars' attention the point that hardly any attempts have been made to investigate and analyze the impact of socioeconomic change on men's new situations. She posits that poverty has been feminized and men have been neglected when they too have been impoverished. Her study, like this dissertation, adopts a relational approach to study gender.

There is now increasing recognition of the need to address and involve men in sexual and reproductive health approaches to make them responsible partners (Frost & Dodoo 2009). But Silberschmidt argues that this is being done without understanding or exploring men's changing life situation and how it may interact with their sexual behavior. Hence, Silberschmidt used interviews and 13 focus group discussions on the low income segment of the population to explore this idea. She did the study in urban Dar es Salaam during the period of 1996-97. The sample for the interviews consisted of all men and only one woman with secondary education out of the 53 men and 38 women. She primarily examined cultural ideals of masculinity and femininity and specific characteristics of (hegemonic) masculinity to learn how they are constructed. She probed how these ideas change and how they are linked to sexuality and sexual behavior in the working class.

While I examined how these identities are justified when acted out, for instance what "concerns" people have when they construct femininity or masculinity the way they do, Silberschmidt examined what gives "value" to these respective identities. Like me, she also sees marriage as constituting one of the most important institutions within which

gender ideology is produced and reproduced, and as fundamental for the construction of gender and sexuality.

In her findings Silberschmidt found both low-income husbands and wives share the notion of men as breadwinners. Her data indicated that "a man should be the head of his family, he should provide a house (and if possible land), pay school fees and clothes for wife and children" and that such a man who fulfill these has social value and is respected (Silberschmidt 2001:663). In contrast to these data, my findings show that younger professional couples are reconstructing the roles of breadwinning and headship to be a consultative process shared between the spouses and no longer dominated by men.

According to Silberschmidt's study findings, while the low income husbands want to maintain the social value accompanying breadwinning, they are however failing to fulfill these expectations due to low earnings. This, she argues, has led them to increasingly withdraw from household responsibilities. Consequently their status as head of household is seriously challenged because wives cannot count on their husbands' support. While younger professional husbands can still fulfill these responsibilities, sometimes in partnership with their wives, they nonetheless do not need them to ascertain their social value the way low income husbands do. The main concern is how to maintain their sense of self and assertiveness while at the same time building joint decision-making lifestyles. Respect and not economic autonomy is more important in the gender construction of the younger professionals.

Although male headship is attributed by both classes to be a God-given fact for the younger professionals, the perception is not as practically rigid as it is in principle, and there is openness towards innovating and reconstructing it. This is not present in the

low income class. Most of the low income couples' marriages required the bride price, which had implications for both women's security and male control over women's sexual and reproductive powers. This was not the case with the young professional couples. For the latter group, bride price is increasingly becoming less of a tool to control women. This is partly because most of the younger professional women's parents reject claiming a bride price. In the young professionals, bride price is sometimes given as a token in the form of things such as clothes or gifts to the bride's parents instead of cattle or lots of money as it was in the past. Furthermore, the attitude of the young professional couples to embrace partnership sentiments in marital gender relations also weakens the bride price's original connotation/meaning.

Silberschmidt found drinking leisure relationships between men in the low income social group to take precedence over their marital relationships and obligations. Quite the opposite, I found men in the younger professional social group innovating to include their wives more into their leisure spaces. For example, they go with them for drinking sprees. This, they argue, is a way to be closer in the age of AIDS. Hence, I see this as part of their resources to construct "mindful marital lifestyles". The perception of how leisure has become one of their marital obligations is also significant. Interestingly though, there was an indication from both studies that the new-found awareness, autonomy and self-confidence in women from both classes, for example, work in the informal sector for the working class and career advancement for the professionals, tended to make them less respectful of their husbands. Not only did Silberschmidt's and my findings suggest this, but our results corroborate Tripp's findings (1997).

In the low income couples, women reported that “when husbands are crushed down economically they suffer from feelings of inferiority” a man’s ego is hurt” while, on the other hand, in young professional couples, husbands reported that when husbands encounter aggressive and arrogant wives who are equally economically empowered as them but not respectful to them, they feel like they are relating to a fellow man (i.e. feel displaced) and this hurts their ego. Unlike the low income husbands, the professional husbands did not report boosting their ego by resorting to aggressive and violent behavior to demonstrate their threatened authority. Incidentally, our findings coincide when extra-marital partners were reported by both social groups as potentially providing husbands relaxation and comfort when the need to build up their hurt pride or boost their ego arose.

With regard to the younger professional husbands, my study reveals that there are some who are responding positively to the rise of women’s economic independence and shifting dependencies on men. It is from them that we learn how gender relations are being negotiated in marriages to accommodate egalitarian lifestyles. Findings from Silberschmidt’s study reveal that since low income husbands fix their authority on a material base and male responsibility is normatively constituted, when these are disturbed, the husbands feel a lot of helplessness and inadequacy. Rather than doing likewise, I found that most young professional husbands seek to understand and improve their marital gender relations primarily through spousal dialogue/communication and rely less on normatively constituted foundations. They also self mobilize other resources such as books, magazines and role models for this task. This process works for young professional wives too.

As a result of the feelings of helplessness among the lower-income husbands, Silberschmidt reports in her study that these men sometimes seek psychiatric help because some experience identity crisis. In some instances, she also found low income wives would seek other men to satisfy their material needs under such distressing marital conditions. In such a marital climate, Silberschmidt concluded, the low income couples were not exhibiting potentials to act responsibly in the HIV/AIDS era. However, my research found that young professional couples are predisposed to do so.

What I have tried to show in this analysis is that although both classes experience contradictory and confusing masculinity and femininity that have accompanied women's rise in economic autonomy and shifting dependencies, they adopted different strategies to resolve their situations/circumstances. While low income couples are not coming to terms by reconstructing their marital gender relation for the better, some young professional couples are. One reason that may explain this difference that may benefit from further research is the continued seeking of competence in marital life from traditional "sites" without a critical and structural perception of how practically useful these resources can be in contemporary times. For example, couples should accustom themselves more in differentiating "tradition" from "rights" discourses when settling their gender struggles to fit their lifestyles. The right of respect and honor for a husband or wife is not determined by material possession. The sensitivity to the needs of the other, on which gender changes are in part based, can disrupt the preoccupation with domination (Connell 1995). Consequently, replacing gender as the organizing principle of marriage with equality, and accessing care by negotiation rather than entitlement, brings relational needs, intimacy and commitment into focus (Giddens 1999). To the extent that practice creates reality,

reworking the elements of marital gender relations may contribute, even if in small ways, to redefining the meaning of being a man and woman that can be relevant to HIV/AIDS era-related lifestyles.

In this chapter I treated gender not only as a characteristic of individuals, but as a basic organizing principle of social systems. In this analysis it is not just people who are gendered: gender is also built into the structures and practices of social institutions and embedded in ideology. Intertwined with this emphasis on the ways that gender relations are shaped by social structures is an equally important focus on the active construction of gender in the myriad social interactions of daily life while sourcing competence from different sources. Gender relations are constrained, but not determined, by the institutionalization of gender in social structure and practices. I showed how both groups of professional couples in Tanzania often contested the unstable and unequal gender system. They do so continually and gender becomes constructed and reconstructed through social interaction as they self-mobilize resources for competence from different sites. Through the study I discussed how the couples renegotiate their marital gender relations making use of different sources of competence. I also argued and illustrated what they chose as resources and how they employed them in their lives, which is affected by the concerns they have in living their lives and the type of generational and gender consciousness provoked in them.

Using different data sources I displayed the role of the “sites” where professionals source inspiration, motivations and competences to construct gender relations and sexual conduct that suit their situations and reflect the era. Looking at gender change through micro level processes of interpersonal interactions and negotiation, I identify resistance

within professional couples through which inequality of gender is contested in daily life. I elicited the sources where they acquire social skills to help them construct and reconstruct gender. This analysis also showed how the system of gender intersects with other factors, specifically the concerns people hold. I focused explicitly on the processes of interaction and negotiation by which gender is constructed in couple relationships.

My analysis is as much about how men construct a gendered self as about how women do; most important, it is about how men and women construct the system of gender relations together through interaction. I showed how gender is dynamic by demonstrating how husbands' and wives' roles arise out of decisions, negotiations, and actions that are part of the seemingly insignificant details of daily life. I provided evidence that the practical exigencies of life, often in the form of structural constraints and opportunities, are critical in shaping couples' constructions of gender (what I termed the structural perception to conditions around everyday life). Consequently, I showed that marital gender relations are never stable but are very changeable because they must continually be renegotiated as life circumstances change.

According to the analyses and discussion in the preceding part I, my research illuminates the complex interaction between ideology and practice. Couples not only respond to prevailing gender ideologies as they develop gender designs *for* their lives, they also actively resist and interpret those ideologies *of* gender designs in light of their circumstances. Furthermore, it was evident that professional couples are likely to adjust behavior to fit their beliefs than change beliefs to fit their behaviors. This dynamic is particularly clear in the case of professional couples whom I studied, whose beliefs sometimes seemed much more modern--individualistic than their gender designs. This

means there is a kind of cultural lag. For example, men may believe spousal communication about sex is imperative in marital life but do not know how to handle it at the level of behavior. This also exemplifies the dialect nature of gender construction in this group. I showed that tribal identities do not matter much in the way couples respond to social change that affects gender relations but that class does matter. In chapter four and five I have presented a foundation for the discussion of gender agency and HIV prevention in the following chapters. This is with regard to whether the HIV/AIDS era context is influencing young professional couples to modify their gender relations and sexual conduct as a preventive strategy. I did so by discussing *how* some of the young professional couples are *predisposed* to respond responsibly or to change their lifestyles to fit with the HIV/AIDS era' sexual health demands. This I argued is a result of an ever renewed mind set over time that entertain critical reflexivity enhanced by gender consciousness to push for change. Some members of this younger generation have gained gender consciousness which enables them to discern the structural conditions around them i.e. collective norms they see unfit for their lives, hence initiate social change by use of relational and material resources. Although this is piecemeal change at the individual level and not dramatic I will agree with Benjamin and Sullivan (1999) that it is nonetheless change. On one hand, it is critical to identify changes at the level of the ideologies and discourses that structure gendered interaction. On the other, the key lies in the detailed analysis of daily interactive processes of change as described by the actors themselves, of which I illustrated. I now turn to part II, the influence of HIV/AIDS on gender.

PART II

AIDS INFLUENCED CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY IN THE CONTEXT OF AIDS

In the previous chapter I analyzed the resources young professional couples in Tanzania use and consider, and what concerns and influences them as they enact and experience gender. By using generation, tribe and class categories, I showed how and where their accounts of making sense of the gender experience differ and relate. In the analysis, HIV/AIDS discourses turned out to be a major factor that influenced gender experience in the younger generation. This was evidenced in their narratives, cultural consumption patterns and focus group discussions. In this chapter I analyze gender power relations and the contradictions and confusions associated with sexual identity and normative (hetero-) sexual practices within the generation living in the age of AIDS. I do this to understand the process of the construction of a safe environment for marital sex that is being undertaken by young professional couples in the age of AIDS. This again is what I call "mindful marital lifestyles".

Understanding the ways in which sexual identities[75] are currently constructed within gender relations is crucial for the achievement of gender equity and is especially

[75] Identity in this document is used as a category of practice that emphasizes how one is identified by others and less on how one identifies oneself. The processual active side of the term identity derived from a verb, i.e. identification, becomes more important in this definition (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 14-15). There is a distinction between self identification and the identification and categorization of oneself by others. I use the external identification, i.e., public identification of sexual orientations such as respectable sexual identity and monogamous identity. The manifestation of such identity conception in Tanzania should not come as a surprise. It is important to take note that Tanzania is just familiarizing itself with western individualistic, liberal and autonomy –based values and epistemology. Men and women, wives and

significant in developing strategies for protection against HIV/AIDS. Against much generational cohort consciousness discourse, in my research I seek to challenge the idea of fixed conceptions of femininity and masculinity grounded in biology, bodies or gender hegemony[76]. I want to show that AIDS is destabilizing the logic that maps gender onto central cultural constructions of heterosexuality. First I have to explain that the conceptualization of heterosexuality in the HIV era is extended from object of desire to reputational sexual categorization (Hirsh et al 2007). With this extension, heterosexual identity here includes both the one with whom you desire to have sex and your sexual conduct from the public's point of view. Hence, using the second component of the heterosexual identity in this chapter, I argue that AIDS is conditioning young professional couples to reconfigure their reputational public sexual identities. Normatively a wife was accorded a *respectable* reputational public sexual identity. While single women fell in one of the following categories: *Mwali* (virgin), *Malaya* (prostitute), *Mhuni* (promiscuous)[77]. On the other hand, a husband was identified as monogamous or polygamous (multiple sexual partners/wives) as his reputational public sexual identities. Single men were identified in the same way as single women.

However, in order to reconfigure these reputational public sexual identities, I further argue that the young professional couples had to first reconstruct some sexual and non-sexual aspects of femininity and masculinity (gender). Therefore my central argument in this part two is that AIDS is conditioning some sexual and non-sexual

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husbands had personhoods and identities which were primarily defined in a communal way (Ikuenobe 2006).

[76] Gender hegemony refers to as a social order whereby masculinity and femininity establish symbolic meanings for the relationship between women and men that provide the legitimating rationale for social relations thereby ensuring the ascendancy and dominance of men (.Schippers 2007).

[77] This labeling is with regard popular culture. There are more categories than the ones I mention.

aspects of gender to undergo reconstruction, thus influencing shifts in sexual conduct amongst young professional couples in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Masculine backlash politics, the emergence of "what about the boys?" issues, as well as the awareness of male dominance and sexual violence, have given rise to studies which focus on constructions of masculinities in many parts of Africa (see, for example Swain 2000; Silberschmidt, 2001). There would appear, however, to be a need for more studies on femininities and couples. Indeed, as has been argued by gender scholars, an emphasis on the relational aspects of gender and on making both femininity and masculinity problematic, are essential in addressing gender reform (Pattman and Chege, 2003; Silberschmidt, 2004; Pattman, 2005; Schippers, 2007). Challenges to hegemonic notions of both masculinity and femininity could open spaces for a wider range of reconfigured identities that encourage sexual safety.

In this study I focus specifically on the ways in which young Tanzanian professional couples living in the city of Dar es Salaam attempt to reconstruct, manage, negotiate and represent their sexual selves. While I acknowledge the importance of an intersectional analysis and, in particular, the significance of social class and ethnicity to the production of gender/sexual identities and more broadly in post-socialist Tanzania, my analysis focuses on the professional couples respondents as a group. This is neither to essentialize an economic segment of the population nor to imply a false unity in their lives, as I look at the similarities, differences and ambiguities within this grouping. More specifically, in the first section I explore young professional wives' accounts of their gender and sexual identities to provide insights into the power dynamics, contradictions

and confusions with respect to normative sexual practices (Lather and Smithies, 1997; Weedon, 1997) and reconfigurations in couple relationships.

Gender and HIV/AIDS

Surveillance studies show that AIDS prevalence in Tanzania increases with education, marital status and economic status. That is, AIDS increases among educated men and women. For those with secondary education the rates are 7% for men and 9% for women. While the rates are lower in men and women with no education. These are 4% for men and 5% for women. Thus, adults with secondary or higher education are almost twice more likely to be infected with HIV as those with no education (TACAIDS 2005). Taking into consideration marital status, women and men who are separated, divorced or widowed have a significantly higher rate of HIV/AIDS infection (20% and 15% respectively) than currently married men and women (8% and 7%) respectively; or never married men and women (3% and 4%). Additionally, infection rates are three times higher among those in the highest wealth quintile (11% for women and 9% for men) compared to those in the lowest wealth quintile (3% for women and 4% for men) (TACAIDS 2005). These data suggest that poverty and economic deprivation may not be the only factors that drive risky behavior. Cultural meanings and economic privileges[78] may also play a part in understanding risky behavior.

[78] This group maybe more vulnerable due to the economic resources that are at their disposal, which may provide easy access to women by men and easy access to young men by women. Also geographical mobility demanded by the nature of their jobs also creates temptation and vulnerability to engage in extramarital sex. If these extramarital affairs are done unsafely, then susceptibility to HIV is high in this social group.

Though clearly important in describing what is going on in specific contexts, the preceding quantitative indicators and macro-approaches, dominant in development discourse, biomedical research, and favored by many international development organizations, provide limited and limiting understandings of the gendered social processes that give rise to these statistics. It is through more nuanced micro-level research, in particular, that we can start to deconstruct the categorical gender variable used in quantitative research and open up a dynamic theoretical and social space to engage with the construction of gender identities and sexual conduct (Parker 2001; Dunne et al., 2006).

The importance of more contextualized and relational understandings of gender and sexuality has been highlighted in work on gender and HIV/AIDS in Africa (Baylies and Bujra, 2000; Kent, 2004). Studies show that deep-seated and habitual gender power relations which define male and female identities and practices, both in intimate relations and the wider society, are key drivers of the epidemic and significant to women's vulnerability and inhibit their attempts to protect themselves (Baylies and Bujra, 2000; Silberschmidt, 2001; Haram, 2005). Interestingly, my research reveals that these key drivers of the epidemic are the very means professional wives adopt to achieve a safe marital sexual life. Such drivers include: female submissiveness, and non-use of condoms. Referring to professional wives, their failure to use condoms is motivated by a desire to protect themselves by avoiding the marital strife that condom use might provide. This strife can cause their husbands to engage in extra-marital affairs in search of sexual fulfillment. Likewise men would prefer their wives to outside women when they is no

condom use in the marriage. This discrepancy must be understood and addressed if interventions around HIV/AIDS are to be effective.

Gender identities and sexual conduct

Other research has explored the ways in which institutional practices such as schools, families, churches, and work produce and reproduce hegemonic femininities and masculinities in the Sub-Saharan African context (Morrell, 1998; Mirembe and Davies, 2001; Dunne et al., 2005). As Kimmel (2000) argues, "appropriate" behaviors are learned in schools, families and communities that are gendered sites, where dominant definitions are reinforced and reproduced. I recognize, however, those are not the only sites[79] for the production of gender or other social identities; and neither is everything that happens in these sites the result of the location alone. In the Tanzanian context, the on-going public health and information campaigns with their ABC [Abstain; Be faithful; Condomize] safe sex message, is a pertinent example of an influence beyond them.

To analyze my findings in this chapter I am inspired by constructionist theories of identity that emphasize communal (Ikuenobe 2006) and individualistic (Brubaker & Cooper 2000) multiple processes of identity construction. I invoke the theories to understand variation of gender identities and sexual conduct in heterosexuals. An understanding of gender identity that reflexively links the individual and society (Hall, 2000; Carpenter, 2001) highlights the importance of shifting personal understandings within different specific contexts. It is to these understandings my work contributes using Judith Butler's (1990) theory of "performativity" and Connell (2005) and

[79] We encountered other sites in chapter five.

Schippers' (2007) formulations of gender hegemony. I use these perspectives to explore the relationships and interconnectedness between young professional couples' gender identity constructions and sexual conduct within the context of HIV/AIDS amidst city life in Tanzania. I supplement these perspectives with a generational consciousness life course approach because social constructionist approaches alone are insufficient to account for the subjective experience of the constructs they utilize. This perspective helps me to explain how agency takes place to reconfigure gender identities and sexual conduct by locating it within the events of the time.

Butler argues that sex (male, female) is typically seen to cause gender (masculine, feminine), which is seen to cause desire towards the opposite sex, and these are seen to map onto one another. Her effort was to challenge these supposed links, such that gender and desire are flexible, free floating and not caused by other stable factors. However, we must remember that the axes of sexual identity of object choice (gender of the object of one's desire), emotion, and "transactionality" (i.e., whether sexual intercourse is gay or straight or for love or money) should not be taken as cultural universals, but as salient in Euro-American culture. My findings support what Hirsh et al (2007) found in rural Mexico, namely the importance of reputation as a locally meaningful axis of sexual identity. People in Dar es Salaam almost invariably talked about their own or others' social (public) and sexual identities by using reputational categories. In addition to the ones I mentioned earlier these include; *Mwingi* (there is a lot going on in his sex life), *anajiheshimu* (respectable), *moto wa kuotea mbali* (like fire, someone to keep away from) and *ametulia* (calm). According to my findings, wives occupied a respectable public reputational sexual identity as their conventional reputation. However, in the context of

AIDS they are forced to reconfigure it. Their conventional sexual identities[80] did not change but their reputational sexual identities and sexual conduct are changing. Past research has made it increasingly clear that no direct causal relationship can necessarily be assumed between sexual desire, sexual behavior, and sexual identity. The ways in which sexual identities are built up in different settings depend in large part on the sexual categories and classifications available in different sexual cultures (see, for example, Herdt 1987; Parker & Carballo 1990; Parker 1998).

Returning to Butler, she asserts that there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender . . . identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results (Butler, 1990: 25). It is in this respect that Butler (1990) describes a "heterosexual matrix" in which gender is systematically spoken through heterosexuality, and that is assumed in expressions of "real" forms of masculinity and femininity. Within a framework that understands gender identity as a performance, that is, what you do at particular times, rather than a universal who you are, we recognize the potential for reconfigurations of gender and sexual identities. Put in another way, it is the relationship articulated through the qualitative content of femininity and masculinity that is the central feature of gender hegemony, from which we can begin to think about multiple configurations of masculinity and femininity and their implications for gender hegemony (Schippers, 2007). Within this same framework, we should be able to distinguish between what we are defining as contextually and culturally specific sets of meanings for what women and men are and should be (masculinity and femininity) and the mechanism (social practice) by which those meanings come to shape, influence, and

[80] They still are attracted to male as their object of desire.

transform social structure. In the context of HIV/AIDS, the theoretical possibility offered by a move away from the strictures of the heterosexual matrix can open a path to understandings of varied gender, sexuality, sexual choices and sexual conduct. This variety is a result of the fact that people are not just subjected to social locations, they are engaged with them (McNay, 1999). Hence, we will see how professional wives are not subjected to the heterosexual matrix but engaged with it to construct meaningful and committed sexual relationships.

In this part of my work I have largely focused on data from individual life histories of 15 young professional couples born in the 1960s and 70s, group discussions and key informant interviews with kitchen party[81] main speakers. Data collection took place in two configurations including separate groups of wives and husbands and with individuals. This process provided opportunities for single-sex discussions about the respondents' desires, fears and anxieties in relation to the opposite sex, as well as opportunities for the young professionals to confront and challenge gender stereotypes, expectations and assumptions, and to learn from each other about their feelings. This variety of methods *was useful because* sexual conduct is not clearly observable, and beliefs about it are mostly privately held, often sensitive, confused and/or ambiguous, and not easily accessed by direct questions. I privileged the voices of the participants throughout the study. I begin with analyzing young professional wives in chapter six followed by young professional husbands in chapter seven.

[81] Kitchen party is a modern ceremony for initiating brides in Tanzania. Knowledge of "building" a home as in the dos and don'ts of a wife is passed on by experienced married women and is based on mainstream, popular patriarchal gender ideology centered on the theme of how to please a man.

CHAPTER SIX

THE HETEROSEXUAL FEMININITIES OF YOUNG PROFESSIONAL WIVES IN THE TANZANIAN CONTEXT OF HIV/AIDS

> In 1976 Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere opened the seventh biennial conference of the national women's organization, Umoja WA Wanawake WA Tanzania (UWT), with an exhortation to the assembled women to undertake two tasks. "First, said Nyerere, you must intensify the struggle against us (men) for the purpose of doing away with loopholes and laws that prevent equality between men and women. Second, you must overcome mental attitudes imposed on women by social orders." As a result of social systems, declared Nyerere, "women have become either slaves or flowers". (Cited in Rogers 1983:1)

In this chapter, I argue that young professional wives in urban Tanzania experience hegemonic femininity[82] as both a safe and unsafe gender identity that needs to be transformed in order to achieve gender equity within their marital relationships, and, crucially, to reduce vulnerability to the contraction of HIV (i.e., to increase HIV-self protection and achieve sexual risk reduction). I also argue that these professional wives profess to mix *hegemonic* and *alternative*[83] feminine gender identity qualities to nurture marital love. For instance, they confess to using some of the hegemonic feminine sexual practices as methods to enhance and spice up their sexual relations. They employ these practices for seductive, flirting and foreplay purposes, and as *the technique* to entice and keep their husbands *in the house*. *Condom-free sex* (sex without a condom), submissiveness and pleasing the man are aspects of *the technique*. However, they are

[82] Hegemony relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole. Hegemonic femininity consists of the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Schippers 2007).

[83] This is a feminine gender identity that struggles to bridge, rather than to perpetuate hierarchy in, relationships between men and women (Schippers 2007)

conscious that *the technique* may be in conflict with safe sex practices in the AIDS era if it is not employed with sensitivity to what is going on around the marital life as a whole. Given this situation, the sexual identities and practices which Euro-American culture would interpret as female subordination actually mean sexual agency for women in Tanzania. These identities and behaviors are understood by professional women as tactical protective gear for sexual relations in the context of AIDS. One study found out that one reason condoms are not used in extramarital sex is because of its erotically charged nature (Hirsch et al, 2007). This dissertation suggests that young professional wives attempt to make marital sex erotically charged in order to keep their husbands.

I selected emergent themes from frequently voiced descriptions and experiences as well as those that were exceptional and the often-overlooked voices from the margin. These developed into the themes within which the responses were eventually grouped. There were some significant similarities, as well as striking differences, between husbands' and wives' responses. In the following discussion I focus on the young professional wives' gender identity and sexual conduct constructions; I organize the discussion using three main themes starting with *expressive love* (not taken for granted) *and trust* (fidelity and sexual exclusivity in marriage), which concern the ways in which relationships are maintained. This important part of the lives of young professional wives is often the space/place where they negotiate their sexual selves in an atmosphere of uncertainty and diverse understandings, with personal, social and physical dimensions. For them, love can only be there if it is expressed, verbally or non-verbally, and trust comes from efforts to build it.

The second theme, *communication and respect*, looks at the participants' present sexual relations and practices. The final theme, *troubling femininities*, discusses the reconstructions of hegemonic femininity within the dominant context of compulsory heterosexuality (as it is articulated in the Tanzanian context), and in particular highlights the competing and contradictory discourses between safe and unsafe sexual practices in marital life within the context of HIV/AIDS.

6.1. Expressive love and trust (fidelity/sexual exclusivity in marriage)

Overwhelmingly, the young professional wives in this study presented a powerful discourse of reciprocal love and its associated promises. However, they were also very sober in relaying how practical love is as they experience it. The desire to love and be loved was one of the principle reasons that young professional wives engaged in complacent normative sexual relations—what individuals in the AIDS era generally categorize as unsafe sexual practices. This is consistent with other research that suggests that women link sexual activity and love, and in which love is a legitimate reason for sex (Dilger, 2003). Evidence for this is given in the following narrative of Siah, (aged 35) a medical doctor with a master's degree in public health. She shows how submissiveness can be satisfying:

> "I am not disturbed at all to do all it takes to be a submissive wife if I see love…I will lie down my degrees, um, at the doorstop and come in as a wife…uh, a loving wife. I would cook for my husband, bathe him or have a bath with him, massage him, pamper him and give him all the best from me. But if I do not see this love…you see...men should not continue to think that if they *just* tell you they love you, then you will have to do anything to please him".

Reciprocal love which is observable seems to be the trigger for good sexual relations amongst these young professional wives, as the following wives explain:

> "Most wives are no longer scared that if they refuse to express love when they do not see affection from their husband then they will strain the marriage. No! They are not even afraid to end the marriage, before…it used to be a shame but now there are many single women making it with their children. Parents even encourage their children to come out of a strained marriage provided she is economically autonomous. Before you could not do this it was a shame for your parents, kinsmen, and yourself....And most wives were dependent on their husbands". (Gladys aged 30, an MD)

> "Some men only think about a *given sexual submissiveness*…like a right of some kind. When we have mutual respect to each other and work around convincing each other of the love we have for each other then I do not feel subordinated being submissive". (Siah aged 35, an MD)

> "My husband loves me, and although he prefers bare sex…we cannot have sex without a condom; since I insist on it, he still comes home to me. I know in other instances a man would go find someone else to do it without a condom. And I know he does not because we still argue about the condom use. Realizing this makes me love him more because I know he is accommodating my preferences. We only use the condom when I am not on my safe days, because my health does not allow me to use other contraception". *(*Jennifer aged 34, an MD*)*

As these examples suggest, the need to love and be loved is a powerful determinant of the extent to which females are prepared to assert or compromise their agency in a sexual relationship. The quest for love may be exercised in terms of a lack of assertion to comply with conventional safe-sex practices[84] despite the risks involved. The respondents' understanding of love, closely tied to fidelity, worked to make sexual practices seem harmless in a marital context and further complicate their notions of

[84] The conventional safe sex practices here refer to condom use. At this juncture it is important I clarify that safe sex practice as it is understood in the public health domain is *use of condom, be faithful and abstinence*, but the mainstream have zeroed it to use of condom. Now in the context of marriage, *be faithful* is the dominant safe sex practice used while *use of condom* is considered the unsafe sex practice (Findings of this study).

sexuality. When talking about safe sex in the age of AIDS, a discourse of a particular normative marital sexual relation becomes prominent:

> "[HIV/AIDS knowledge] teaches us that [sic] *be faithful*. You love your partner, you are faithful but you do not know how faithful he is…it is a challenge. So you talk about it often, keep it fresh in our minds by reminding each other that death is at stake. As a couple you have sex, you must be sure and be able to love and trust the person it happens with". (Maria aged 33, a banker)

> "I do not believe in my husband wearing a condom, it just does not feel right…it feels like I do not trust him, and I am accusing him of infidelity." (Haika aged 27, a nurse)

> "Condom use in married couples is not realistic because we will use them until when? We have a duty to bear children…not so? Well, we could stop and test before we work on conceiving but at just that period of not using the condom, how each of us behaves sexually is known to each of us individually. You can not be a guard of your partner but have faith". (Gladys aged 30, an MD)

> "Condom use can also be a pain too… and in marriage it creates a suspicious environment and if I do not have proof I will not be the first one to bring up the question. It's like looking for a fight….We do understand that unprotected sex is dangerous even in a marital context and we could stand a chance of contracting HIV/AIDS. Personally, we tested before I conceived". (Judith aged 40, university lecturer)

Some of the focus group discussants had this to say:

> "I believe in trust." (Helena aged 40, a marketing consultant)

> "You have to have something then you can say wear a condom, and because he would want to show you there is nothing he will refuse to wear it to prove to you he is faithful". (Christina aged 30, a social scientist)

> "…and this is when the fighting and the beating start…honestly until I tell you to wear a condom, then you are as good as I don't need you, I mean this is about sex and joy now what's this about me thinking of AIDS/death while we are having sex. It cannot reach to that point. (Spoken with great force)". (Helena aged 40, a marketing consultant)

One effect, as suggested by these wives in their descriptions of sexual relations "happening," in a marital context, seems to be that they are resigned to the absence of safe sex/self care, a lack of personal control and a touch of fatalism. Yet, this was not how the professional wives interpreted their position. Rather than feeling out of control, these women believe that if they have condom-free sex in their marriage they and their husbands will love one another more. They think they will share a stronger bond with their spouses and this will ensure a better understanding in their relationship. Young professional wives who embraced religion also considered condom-free sex as a way to live up to religious expectations. However, young professional wives did speak about conditions that condom use may be applicable as the following narratives express:

> "If I were single there is no way in the world I would sleep with a man without a condom. It is also very much in place to demand for a condom in that context because you are not tied down to each other as in marriage". (Gladys aged 30, an MD).

> "But we can not generalize on individual experiences; the reason for using condoms is experienced differently by different couples. Condom is both a contraception method and an AIDS safe sex measure". (Lucy aged 30, a social scientist)

> "I had a friend who came back from studying abroad and before she resumed sex with him they went for a test. She had to do some extra work to persuade the guy to go for the test [they all laugh]. *Alifanya usanii mwingi* [she had to comfort and tell her husband many sweet words] until the husband accepted to wait until they tested". (Christina aged 30, a social scientist)

As Gladys and the other focus group discussants clarify, the discourse of love clearly contradicts the discourse of safe sex as it is understood outside the context of marriage. Nevertheless, many of the wives constructed *faithful* sex (as in hoping your man is faithful) as a strategy for the nurturing of "love" and assuring stability in their

relationship. Paradoxically, for many of the wives condom-free sex was considered "safe sex," and protected sex[85] was considered "unsafe sex" and not suitable for marital life. Protected sex jeopardized the possibilities for nurturing love and enhancing marital stability. For these young professional wives, risk was assessed in terms of love for, and trust in, a husband. Demanding condom use, for example, would undermine love and trust, which in the process might be transformed into suspicion and risk, therefore compromising the important goal of "perfect love" in a marital setting. Thus, use of condoms in marital sex is believed to offer physically safe sex but socially unsafe sex; socially safe sex is more important for marital health for this group.

The young professional wives' accounts were located within the competing discourses of marital love and sexual safety. Some rationalized their risk reduction behavior and explained in terms of love and trust why condom-free sex was logical and practical for them. These young professional wives regarded a loss of bonded love (a catalyst for getting along) and marital strain as a negative consequence of protected sex which could create the risky environment they are trying to avoid. When a husband does not feel trusted, he can then go *outside the marriage*. This was highly important in their accounts and yet it remains unaddressed in the advocacy of many public health programs and calls for marital-specific HIV/AIDS prevention programs. Current programs instead encourage condoms as a blanket approach for everybody in order to protect against the potentially negative consequences of sexually transmitted diseases (including HIV/AIDS).

[85] Protection here only implies use of condom not other contraceptives such as pills to protect from pregnancy.

The young professional wives' accounts of "normal" heterosexual relationships within a marital context, as illustrated by the narratives above, provide a further regulative discourse in which sexual activity was largely described in terms of meeting marital expectations; these expectations tend to coincide with male needs and desires. Across the interviews, the young professional wives echoed this discourse, as they focused on the need to nurture the love that exists between themselves and their husbands, at the same time that they attempted to balance either their own needs and desires, or what they perceived to be the risks of unsafe sex. Nonetheless, it was apparent that wives were not forced into condom-free sex. They justified it to themselves as safe sex through critical consciousness[86],

Young professional husbands, on the other hand, regarded their satisfaction (sexual and otherwise) as their right to some extent, although they were ready to negotiate and participate to create the circumstances under which it should happen. For the women, satisfaction came when they succeeded in pleasing the men and they saw love from them, and had the chance of channeling it to a sustainable love. For these young professional wives, to be hegemonically feminine was to always aspire to an ideal relationship, to trust and to love and to make men happy, but at the same time see their love reciprocated in their terms. These terms, we will see later, rest more on being valued and respected as well as a certain manner of communication.

Significantly, reciprocal love also meant appearing sexually unknowing and knowing, teasing out the hegemonic and alternative sexual femininity identities.

[86] Attained when people have a structural perception of the conditions around them, a condition which was explained earlier in the dissertation to mean seeing social reality as both empowering and constraining..

Regardless of their knowledge and economic status, these young professional wives succumbed to tremendous social pressure to maintain an image of submissiveness in marital sexual relations. In marriage, submissiveness was constructed as a precaution against sexually transmitted diseases and a facilitator in the creation of a safe marital sex environment. Unless they had good reason to do so, the professional wives insisted that they did not refuse condom-free sex with their husband. For instance, in the following excerpts, respondents explain that this may happen only when the wives have evidence of spousal infidelity.

> "My cousin was cheating on his wife and his wife found out. Since the wife was studying far away from their home in another district, she decided to call a kinsmen meeting. She wanted the whole extended family to know that if AIDS comes into their home the likeliness of who will bring it is her husband. She also wanted to have an AIDS test for both herself and her husband before they continued with marital sex". (Jennifer aged 34, an MD).

> "When people ask me why I do not want to go and study abroad, I just keep quiet. I actually decided to study at home just to reduce the risk. You see sexual risk is created; you may first be in a risky environment which then turns into a sexual risky environment". (Helena aged 40, a marketing consultant).

For these women, raising the issue of safe sex practices (such as condom use) would imply an inappropriate degree of sexual knowledge. Many wives suggested that it was easier to submit to condom-free sex in marital relations, than even to raise the issues of protected-sex practices and be considered *huniamini* (distrustful) or *huaminiki* (unfaithful) by their partners. This is clearly illustrated in the way this wife imagines her husband's response:

> "These are very difficult issues, and in a marital union you cannot force someone to use a condom unless there is evidence from the hospital that this man is positive. You cannot tell him to wear [a condom]...by basing on mere assumptions and gossips that he has affairs, it is difficult. Personally, when I decide to have my

> husband wear a condom...he will turn the issue around me. He will say, "you are the one who has become dirty, aha" this will spoil our marital stability completely". The marriage will be in a very bad situation. Upendo aged 40, a banker).

Indeed, in the very action of submission, women are rewarded and branded as *mwanamke aliye fundwa* (well-groomed women) by their peers. This shows there is still a great deal of social support for performing marital sex in its hegemonic heterosexual nature[87] but less so for alternative directions. If some of these wives decided to deploy the power of deviance (Foucault 1980) and acted out counter-hegemonic femininity traits, Tanzanian society would actually label them *foolish wives* who are breaking their own house with their own hands (this analogy is adopted from bible teachings). Tanzanian popular culture, through music, art, drama, and language encourages wives to blame themselves when their husbands go *outside the house.*

Constructing new femininities does not require women to be economically autonomous because it does not adequately translate to sexual autonomy (Silberschmidt 2001). However, trying to "undo" the social construction of sexuality through "alternative" sexual practices may fail if it does not address the material structures. We can see this from the following wife's narrative:

> "I know being a medical doctor puts me in a better position for my husband to accept using a condom because I can explain to him confidently the harm I may experience by using other types of contraception. Things would have been different if I was not this educated, he may have refused to comply". (Jennifer aged 39, an MD).

Despite protected-sex advice, the young professional wives expressed reluctance to suggest condom use, since it translated to a distrustful sexual life in marriage.

[87] More emphasis on serving male interests.

According to them, keeping with the trusting, innocent/unknowing image of a “good” wife (a performance for sexual appeal) created a safer marital sexual environment. In the interviews, the women articulated an idealized femininity for themselves in which they held communication and respect in high esteem. They used these as complementary terms; their ideal femininity was constituted of, prevention of loss of respect and transparency, and the fear of possible marital strain. It was in this context, and through a discourse of threat to their marital well-being, that these young professional wives constructed marital sexuality.

Whichever theme dominated the discussions, whether, nurturing and expressive love, condom-free sex and/or communication and respect, a discourse of self responsibility in marital sex was largely absent for these young professional wives and had become subsumed by a discourse of sociality in the context of that of threat and/or disease. It may appear that the wives negotiated their sexual lives through their navigation between the contradictory demands and risks, leaving them actively constructing their own sexual empowerment through nurturing love and enhanced marital stability, because for them marriage is a commitment that depends on reciprocal love. This contradictory nature of AIDS risk avoidance observed in the young professional wives indicates the dialectic nature of the process of gender relations construction in the course of seeking marital sexual safety in the AIDS era.

6.2. Communication and respect

The communication and respect discourse was sustained by the overwhelming majority of the young professional wives as they positioned themselves as [equal]

partners, proudly announcing that they were “not living in the era where a woman is a yes person to everything a man says.” (Female focus group discussion). Irrespective of their experiences, this was obviously a popular thing to say, and to be heard saying, in peer group discussions. It was clear that communication was closely connected with respect, and was viewed as a bridge to women’s move to equity. However, according to the young professional wives, communication is commonly understood as authority in men and perceived as sometimes *kelele* (noisy) in women by men and society. Interestingly, in an era of concern with the risks of multiple sexual contacts, the marriage has become the focus for advocacy of domesticated monogamous marital sexuality, a sanctuary from disease and highlighted as important for women’s safety. The gender-differentiated discourse around sexual activity does not seem to necessarily promise protection for the couple as we see from the interviews. As illustrated in the following wife’s words, there were some young professional wives who doubted the safe haven of marriage:

> “It’s really a continuous struggle to have sex during the AIDS era. For some women it’s not like they trust their husband but they just surrender, they have no way out. They are no longer even sure of their health status, because they see they are just in a risk environment. They do not have that power to dialogue with their husbands. There is no more happiness in marital sex to some couples. You just keep appearances. In many couples the center of power is at the sexual relations realm”. (Helena aged 40, a marketing consultant).

Many young women believed that their fears about sexual safety would be erased if there was good two-way transparent communication in marriage. They insisted that as long as they were ignorant about their partner’s potential sexual adventures, they would insist on transparency, frequent talking about AIDS, as a way to keep the topic at the top of their mind and not fall into temptation. Young professional wives agreed that for both

spouses if they succumb to sexual temptation, they should ensure that they use condoms. The use of condoms by a spouse outside the marriage was advocated by professional wives [and husbands as we will see later]:

> "Since we are very transparent with each other I would like to feel/think there is no risk, I trust him 100%. I would not suspect him to do anything awkward". (Maria aged 33, a banker)

> "We talk too much, share stories from work, I tell him about my HIV patients at work. After seeing some of the patients dying from the drugs, I always tell my husband, the best way to prevent oneself from AIDS is not to have it. We always talk about AIDS to remind ourselves. We also pray to avoid temptations. There is a man who has been persistently following me for a while now…..but I have succeeded to avoid him. Above all I surrender my husband to God's keep". (Jennifer aged 39, an MD).

When it came to discussing how they talk with their husbands about sex, the women explained that men are often reluctant to discuss sex with their wives, but that as wives they often pressed their husbands to do so:

> 'AIDS is about sex and sex is taboo. The moment you get married all that talking you used to have when he was wooing you goes away in most marriages. So really talking about sex in the couple depends on how you relate to each other, how open you are. I talk a lot about the men who pursue me to him, but he never does. That is why I try to maintain a friendship kind of relationship with my husband, so that we can talk. I call him by his first name and I refuse to allow that fearful relationship that my mother and my father had to come into our life". (Helena aged 40, a marketing consultant)

> "Aah! Men do not talk—only by forcing them, sometimes. Like he may be watching some ad in the TV about AIDS and he would tell me, are you hearing? Things are difficult out there". (Christina aged 30, a social scientist)

> "Sex is a respectful thing in our Tanzanian context and husbands respect their wives…they won't discuss it. However, they discuss it where it is not respectful…..in extramarital affairs with concubines. There they are able to tell those women anything…like how to please them, they are so open, and not shameful because they do not respect those women. But when I am emotional I

> speak out because it is at the sexual act where my heaven (joy) and death (risk) rests". (Helena aged 40, a marketing consultant)

Gladys (aged 30, an MD), described an indirect method of communication about sex between wives and husbands when she noted that "It is believed by many women that men talk to the women who initiate brides-to-be on how to live well in their marriages. That is why these bride-to be initiation ceremonies are centered on how to please a husband."

These narratives reinforce the results of other research on sexuality in Africa. Moto (2004) found that the Malawian society relies on indirect expressions, euphemisms, and idioms to talk about sex and HIV/AIDS. Regarding male and female genitalia specifically, Machera's (2004) findings in the urban Kenyan context are similar (see also Diallo (2004), for the Malian case). Her findings actually go further to suggest that while feelings of shame are associated with verbal references to the vagina, this is much less so when the penis is discussed.

The gendered discourse of communication at times produced double standards in which outspoken males are valued as leaders and outspoken females are devalued as *mwanamke mwenye mdomo* (chatterboxes and disrespectful woman). While both female and male participants regarded it as desirable for males to be heads in marriage, the women held certain ideas about how this should influence specific interactions. They preferred men to lead in the sexual act but to do it the way they like it. In conjunction with nurturing love and trust, pleasing the male partner produced further confusion and contradictions in understanding safe sex discourses, asserting their gender identity, and understanding their own sexual desires:

> "As for me I would like to talk to him about sex and AIDS, you see I have four relatives who are infected and they had stayed two years before revealing it to their wives. But I do nothing, I just pray, and keep cautioning him to be careful. I am not sure of his outside life". (Christina aged 30, a social scientist)

> "We have an identity; I do not want to be westernized just like that. I want us to be aware that this is our identity, and we have to work around it slowly, we are trying to conquer what was not there. Speaking about sex is taboo". (Helena aged 40, a marketing consultant)

The young professional husbands in this study also saw communication as an important tool in sexual relations and overall marital well-being. They all agreed that a successful marriage necessarily included sufficient interpersonal communication. Some encouraged their wives to contribute to decision-making, dialoging, and debating, rather than simply accepting the husband's suggestions as final, while others tended to slip into the dominating position but were often checked by their wives. It was evident from the focus group participants' discussions that respectful relationships in which each spouse is free to express him or herself were important in the construction of marital sexual lives. Advocacy of safe sex must also take into consideration marital communication, and it should recognize this communication as a key site for gender/sexual regulation, and more specifically, the production of asymmetrical gender relations and compulsory heterosexuality. For the young professional wives, in particular, messages about safe sex that stop at advocating use of condoms do nothing to prepare them for sexual negotiation and sexual risk within marriage. It is during the process of communicating and looking for respect and giving respect, that the young professional wives realize how troubled their gender identity had become.

6.3. Troubling femininities

It was clear from the explanations of the young professional wives that the dynamics within heterosexual relationships work better if they were usually guided by the preferences of the male partner. However, the wives strove to balance the situation by strategically incorporating their preferences. In the context of hegemonic gender order, professional wives who make themselves more vocal meet obstacles. It is always easy for them to be misinterpreted, which can get very depressing as Siah (aged 39, an MD) suggests:

> "I mean you are not understood! If you insist on talking to give advice you find you just need to stop, but when you stop, you see as if it is not you who's doing that, you live a life that's not yours. Therefore you try to keep quiet when he tells you his things you just nod or make a low sound mhu. "Or I see!" he erupts and he gets angry, "I am telling you about my things and you don't care!" Now what should I do, when I critically respond you tell me I think I know too much, oh I don't want the best for you…what do you want me to do? That's why I resorted to keep quiet. When I tell him that he becomes even angrier….and this atmosphere affects marital love and sex. We become tense with each other".

Yet, it is not always necessary for a woman to be voicing decisions in marital life to feel empowered. It depends on the couple's relationship experience. There was awareness among the young professional wives of the inequality in sexual decision-making and gender negotiation. While a few challenged this, others did not. Those who did not challenge this inequality explained that they chose things to be like that consciously and it was working for them. Gladys expressed this sentiment in the following account:

> "Even if I know I could make the decision myself I would always consult my husband and see what his opinion was. I have resorted to trust him to give the last word, even if we discussed it between us. I do this not because he is a man, but because from the experience I got from dating him and now married to him, his judgments have always turned out to be the best. He is wiser… it so happens that he is also a man". (Gladys aged 30, an MD)

The dominant discourse of femininity through which these young professional wives made sense of their gendered selves stood in direct contradiction to their sexual safety as interpreted from a public health discourse. According to the message of the imperative to *use condoms*, a femininity that emphasized subservience to male sexual desires constituted an unsafe gender identity and conventionally feminine behavior was putting wives at risk (Holland et al., 2000). However, young professional wives are not unresponsive. They are reconstructing conventional femininity to take care of their own interests but they do this without challenging men's interests. They attempt to strike a balance. There were obvious tensions for the young professional wives between their sexual identity constructions and safe-sex discourses within marriage. Even though they described certain forms of disempowerment integral to performance of heterosexual femininity, young professional wives esteemed the payoff in terms of nurturing love and enhancing marital well being. In this sense, the young professional wives who questioningly conformed to traditional femininities should not be accused of actively engaging in their own disempowerment and in risking their sexual safety. Rather, there is a need for a better understanding of their strategy of taking charge of and prioritizing their marital stability, rather than prioritizing their sexual health by advocating destabilization or deconstruction of hegemonic femininities. This, however, might be seen to contradict with messages to *use condoms* for safe sex and therefore as a threat to the family, which is a major thread in the campaigns against further HIV infection.

The young professional wives were consciously working around the contradictions in contemporary feminine sexual conduct, in particular between

expectations and experience, between intention and practice, and between different discourses of femininity (Holland et al., 2000). They noted that female identities are fractured by their widespread depiction as sex objects, yet at the same time indications of sexual desire on their part can render them as "whores," "good-time girls," or "slags" in the marital context. However, my findings suggest that this troubled female-sexual-conduct discourse of maintaining sexual respectability is giving way to expressive sexual desire. Judith's (aged 40, a university lecturer) discussion of her experience with sex in her marriage illustrates this transition:

> "Today I can say I want him....It has to be a friendship that you have, eh, in order to be able to speak like that. I tell my husband mhm...you are my friend...I can call him and tell him to come home early because I want to have sex with him. Age differences sometimes stop this…we are almost age mates so it is easier. I tell him everything, where to touch, what to do…eh...the way I like so I can be fulfilled".

Another wife, Upendo (aged 39, a banker), mentions the sources of new ideas she introduces for making their sexual relationship charged. But she does not end there, she also talks of her fantasy marital relationship, which she is not yet getting:

> "Through movies, buying CDs, reading books, I also steal some kinky ideas from the kitchen parties which struck me as wonderful. Sometimes I show him the movies, or tell him where I get the new ideas so that he does not get suspicious why am I the one who is always bring new sex tricks into the house….when you get someone you sit with him and talk, and he listens to you and he handles you well, just handling you, let alone the sex, he can talk to you nicely, with a glass of wine, you talk smoothly, he has good speech, good words, he is attentive to you, caring, and he is romantic aha...even the sex act we can put aside for a while you get prompted with time in such a situation I m not kidding you".

Being economically empowered is one factor that can emancipate and give autonomy to professional women, as Judith (aged 40, a university lecturer) explains:

. ”When I was pregnant, in the middle of the night when I felt ill, I would wake up, dress up, and tell my husband to accompany me to a gynecologist. He would say let’s wait till morning you are not that sick. I would respond, are you a gynecologist? So I tell him are you getting dressed or should I call my relatives to come and take me? Another thing…I chose the hospital I wanted to give birth, my own room with a TV, and which doctor to operate me. Hahaha...if I am sick I say I want to see a specialist. Not any doctor. I know I have the money that’s why I can make decisions like these”.

However, earning much more than their husbands calls for use of wisdom to navigate their autonomy. Judith (aged 40, a university lecturer) and Upendo (aged 39, a banker) both describe this situation:

> “When you have a lot of money, if you have not asked God for wisdom, you will develop pride. And this is especially true with women. You see your husband is not good enough; he should not question you, nor ask about your actions….Since everybody needs someone to acknowledge them, then in such a disharmoned home each may seek acknowledgement from outside….For example, in my personal life economy gives me autonomy but also a little bit of a stressful life, mhumm...I need a new phone, it costs 700,000/= Tshs(700USD) and I can afford it, but I won’t buy it because my husband will tell me I am using money badly and I do not want to make him feel *namnyanyapaa* (I am superior), I like him to feel he is part of the decision-making process of purchasing costly things for ourselves so it limits me”. (Judith)

> “The way I see things in this period a women to be empowered is very crucial because things don’t move….They don’t move if a women does not have a large enough income. Mhu…there are times my husband says he has no money at all and here we are with the children needing school fees, so I have to pay and he will do other house needs later on. I can see if I did not have some earning…aamh things will just halt”. (Upendo)

Likewise these young professional wives indicated that when a woman earns more than her husband, it provokes him to enhance his conventional masculinity and it is a woman’s role to be able to respond effectively and to work around it. Judith and Gladys address this notion in the narratives below:

> "Is there friendship in your marital life? With such a busy schedule…we tend to spend more time apart then together, you build friendship with others, and you don't see it….The clandestine women make an effort, *wamewashika* [they have a good grip on them], and you, you tell yourself you ah you are married and take it for granted. "I have already entered inside the bed net….I am not waking up" is your response when he asks you for something…attention to your children and husband deteriorates…you have to be conscious that things are bound to happen, and then you lose a husband. He tells you he does not like you in *minis*, you disagree because you feel empowered…[she laughs]...as for me I don't disagree I go inside and change. If your conscious is alert always you will not overlook these small things. Now if you do not have a friendship, when he tells you he does not like you in that dress, you start a quarrel. For him he will conclude, aah... you are becoming bigheaded". (Judith aged 40, a university lecturer)

> "In a relationship which you are so synchronized to each other, even when you make decisions it is reflected. People say he does not involve me in his decisions. I say yes, it depends on what kind of a relationship you have with your spouse. Do you share...everything? Your dreams? Your aspirations? Your fears? I mean...your future goals? If yes, then how can he skip you in his thinking? But if you don't know him, he will just let you know when the decision is made". (Gladys aged 30, an MD)

As evident in these narratives, femininities that connote sexual safety encompass a lot more than simply using condoms or condom-free sex. Friendship, wisdom, and economic empowerment come out as important building blocks of a safe environment for marital sex. Young professional wives realize that they have to work harder to be sexually desirable and sexually active in a marital context. They learn to look sexy, to attract their husband's desire, to enjoy sex for themselves, and also to respond to their own needs as mothers and career women. As Upendo (aged 39, a banker) describes, it is a hard situation knowing that women are socialized to handle a man in marriage but not all men in all tribes in Tanzania are in turn socialized to handle their wives:

> "It is a one way relationship…marital sexual love...our culture got it wrong from the start, kitchen parties teach one way…how to live with the husband, if there was a way of teaching/socializing also the husband from the start this would have been a two way thing. The woman gets to a point, responsibilities weigh her

> down, and the man still expects the same rhythm from day one. When he sees he does not get what he wants, aahh...he says to himself... this woman is tired now. I think we should begin this socialization from the family level in how we raise our male children. We should raise them knowing they are not *gods* so that by the time they get to a point of getting married we can talk to them effectively about being good husbands and fathers".

Hence, the young professional wives work on balancing their sexual lives and other pressing factors in their lives with the hope of building *fidelity opportunity structures*[88] and in turn break up the social organization of extramarital sex. It is within just such a context, fraught with discontinuity and conflict, that these young professional wives negotiate their gender and sexual identities. Although the young women were beginning to construct their own definitions and assumptions of sexuality and gendered relationships, they often did so in relation to men. However, there is evidence of the existence of *jike dume* (women exhibiting conventionally masculine characteristics) from the discourses of young professional wives and husbands. I think this is what Schippers (2007) meant when she said in any empirical exploration of gender hegemony, one way to identify contextually specific features of hegemonic masculinity would be to identify locally defined pariah femininities—characteristics or practices that, when embodied by women in the setting, are simultaneously stigmatized and feminized. *Jike dume* are somewhat stigmatized, and seen differently from the rest of the women. Hence, *jike dume* is a locally defined pariah femininity in Tanzania. Siah (aged 39, an MD) explained that she is seen as a *jike dume* by men and society. She notes that her husband and kinsmen do

[88] Fidelity opportunities structures are conceptualized as reconstructed gendered social structures that work counter to the conventional gendered social structures that encourage extramarital sexual conduct.(Hirsch et al 2007)

not appreciate her in some ways, which I argue indicates her contamination of the hegemonic gender order:

> "[My husband] always like to say, you think you know so much eh, because you went to school a little eh...now you think you know everything. He told me this after I tried to analyze why he was so sensitive with women, eh....He had a rough history with women in his past….I know I am tough, and men say *mimi mkali kama mwanaume* (I am firm like a man), even my nieces they call me *mummy Siah mkali* (mother Siah is stern).…I am a Muslim, and one day we were talking with one of my uncles and I asked him why they were bothered with me marrying a Christian….My uncle replied that, you know too much, to give a woman education and exposure outside the country is bringing trouble in the family. [Siah got her master's in public health in UK.] So you see what kind of a response that is from your own uncle".

As we have seen, the reconstruction of femininities is undertaken with special consideration for men's interests, as they are perceived to be important for the well-being of the marriage. I do not concur with Connell that "there is no femininity that holds among women the position held by hegemonic masculinity among men" (187). For him, one form [of femininity] is defined around compliance with this subordination and is oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men. He calls this "emphasized femininity." Others are defined centrally by strategies of resistance or forms of non-compliance. Others again are defined by complex strategic combinations of compliance, resistance, and co-operation (pp. 184–185). Instead, I concur with Schippers (2007) that just as there is hegemonic masculinity and subordinated masculinities, there is a hegemonic femininity and subordinated femininities. Both manifestations were apparent in the young professional wives' narratives. The young professional husbands in this study seem not to be the frontline dominators as Schippers (2007) would argue. A quotation from Jennifer (aged 34, an MD) illustrates this:

> "My husband is just not those men who have eyes up for women, because he would certainly have not remained arguing or listening to my point of view and try to understand that I cannot do sex with a safe sex method other than condoms when I am not in my safe days…ha, he would have left me for another women outside a long time ago to relieve himself".

This narrative shows how young professional husbands try to remove the features of silences in the sexual domain from their wives and male sexual autonomy mandated in hegemonic masculinity. As we will see in their narratives, sexual autonomy is not a strict feature for constructions of masculinity among young professional husbands. This is so because the meanings of sexual autonomy as a component of masculinity do not establish a naturalized, hierarchical relationship between women and men in this group. Along with AIDS, women's education/status (health need changes) have necessitated that men welcome women's participation in sexual dialogue. This, in turn, has led to ideological changes in the meanings of sexual autonomy and its centrality for defining manliness.

As Schippers argued elsewhere, a focus on the relationship between masculinity and femininity opens up the possibility for empirically identifying ways in which hegemonic femininity and masculinity, pariah femininities (women exhibiting conventionally masculine characteristics), and male femininities (men exhibiting conventionally female characteristics) can be intentionally replaced with what she called alternative femininities and masculinities (Schippers, 2007). Through the proliferation of an alternative set of meanings for being a couple and for erotic attraction in marriage, husbands and wives in the young professional subculture establish alternative femininities and masculinities that provide a rationale for individual and social practice in their marriages. In this case, alternative femininities and masculinities are discursively

valued traits and practices in women and men that do not articulate a complementary relationship of dominance and subordination between women and men.

In this section I have explored some young professional Tanzanian wives' understandings and explanations of their own gender identities and more specifically how they locate themselves within the dominant discourses of femininity. Within the Tanzanian context of HIV/AIDS, I have reflected upon the ways in which safe sex discourses intervene to compound the ambiguities and contradictions experienced by these young professional wives. The everyday accomplishment of gender identity and sexual conduct was played out through a dominant discourse of heterosexuality, which when interpreted from a conventional point of view seemed to effectively disempower the women. However, viewed through the lenses of hybridism and reconstructed femininity in the context of HIV/AIDS, this same structure offers these women a safe sex environment. The complexity involved in sexual decision-making and marital negotiations, as well as the different sexual standards regarding sexual conduct for young professional husbands, posed difficulties for women's performances of femininity. The situation encouraged high-risk sexual behavior when the quest for safer marital sex was not pursued as a couple. This has profound implications for efforts to stem the spread of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania because it highlights the contradictory [and dialectic] discursive contexts within which young professional wives strive to accomplish their gender identities.

Because femininity shapes the gender identities and sex lives of men as much as women, I now turn to an analysis of men's sexual relationships, emphasizing the links between masculinity, femininity, and sexuality. The goal of the following section is to

move beyond a superficial categorization of individual sexual behavior and to illuminate how conceptions of masculinity (in relation to femininity) shape sexual relations in young professional couples in the age of AIDS. In the next section I analyze the ways in which professional husbands share the commitment to creating a safe marital sex environment by unpacking their constructions of masculinity in the context of HIV/AIDS.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HETEROSEXUAL MASCULINITIES OF YOUNG PROFESSIONAL HUSBANDS IN THE TANZANIAN CONTEXT OF HIV/AIDS

In the previous chapter, I examined how ideas of gender difference relate to conceptions of femininity and argued that female submissiveness and putting men's interests first remain central aspects of femininity for young professional wives in Dar es Salaam. While there is a growing acceptance of ideas of gender equity[89] among both men and women, it coexists with an entrenched notion of naturalized male privilege that remains even in the age of AIDS. According to both the young professional wives and husbands and what they hear from their peers in Dar es Salaam, there is a common belief that women have some fundamental rights and deserve a certain amount of equal treatment. However, these ideas are framed by an understanding of gender difference

[89] By gender equity, I refer to ideas that men and women have similar rights and deserve equal access to education, health care, etc. This is in contrast to gender *equality* which emphasizes the fundamental equality of men and women in all realms.

predicated on a bias towards male interests, and this does not necessarily mean male superiority.

Notions of natural male privilege[90] remain hegemonic and are central to dominant conceptions of masculinity. This was evident in the focus groups. Alternative conceptions of masculinity that accommodate gender equality do exist and a few men, and many women, do see these as ideals. However, both women and men recognize that such conceptions of masculinity remain marginal and subordinated to prevailing notions of natural male privilege. In this section I analyze and articulate how the HIV/AIDS pandemic and its discourse are influencing young professional husbands' experiences of gender relations and sexuality. I will explore their HIV/AIDS-influenced gender-defining pattern(s). Specifically, I examine how masculinity, with regard to sexuality, is currently being reworked by young professional husbands in Dar es Salaam; I focus on three key themes: *multiple sexual partnerships*, *communication and leisure and time*, and *troubling femininities* (associated with husbands trying to cope with economically autonomous wives).[91]

When examining masculinity and sexuality among young professionals in Dar es Salaam today, it is important to recognize the historical roots of contemporary connections between sexuality and masculinity. As discussed in Chapter Four,

[90] What I am trying to highlight here is what the respondents themselves see and how they define themselves. Wives do not define men as superior but explain that men are socialized to get more out of women and they do not know how to give back naturally, so they are now struggling to socialize themselves to do it. In a couple this is only possible if both husband and wife work together. The women see men as having innocently inherited the privileged position and believe that some men are ready to rework it when they realize it is not constructive in their contemporary life. The men believe they need to tone down their privileged position.

[91] This was also a theme in the wives' responses.

polygyny[92] has strongly shaped connections between masculinity and sexuality in Tanzania, with value placed on men having multiple sexual partners and women remaining monogamous. Over the last century, the monetization of the economy and the rise of the male breadwinner role have transformed the economic context in which polygynous relationships were based. During the same period, Christian missionaries and colonialists introduced new sexual politics that promoted monogamous marriage for both men and women, yet polygyny as an ideal was never completely undermined and remains relevant to this day. More recently, ideologies of "modern love" (Spronk 2006) and companionate marriage have added another dimension to discourses about monogamy (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006) and have become intertwined with AIDS-prevention messages which have stressed the need for men and women to "be faithful" to their sexual partners.[93]

Discourses about monogamy, or what I call marital sexual exclusivity, in contemporary Tanzania are, therefore, complex and composed of multiple, sometimes conflicting, strands. Conservative Christian ideas about monogamy coexist with notions premised on gender equality and human rights, traditional communal gender relations, new generational discourses about nuclear families, relatively new notions of "modern love," and AIDS-prevention messages; all of these exist both as fashionable ideologies

[92] Polygyny is a specific form of polygamy, where a male individual is recognized to have more than one female sexual partner or wife at the same time. It is distinguished from a man having multiple sexual partners outside marriage, such as concubinage, casual sexual partners, paramours, and recognized secondary partners. Polygyny is the most common form of polygamy. The much rarer practice of a woman having more than one male sexual partner is called polyandry. (Wikipedia free encyclopedia)

[93] Older AIDS-prevention messages in Tanzania focused on men having fewer sexual partners, but this emphasis on pragmatic changes in men's sexual behavior was replaced by more morally oriented messages that emphasized the need for both men and women to "be faithful" to their sexual partners.

and as lifestyles.[94] Young professional husbands position themselves in relationship to these shifting discourses on monogamy, which are central to local understandings of how masculinity and sexuality are interrelated.

With this backdrop in mind, I turn to an analysis of the constructions of masculinity and sexual relationships of the young professional husbands. This section begins with a discussion of the sexual relationships of a few of the young professional husbands. Their sex lives help demarcate the boundaries of male sexual behavior in young professional husbands in Dar es Salaam, and their sexual histories are examined in relation to those of other husbands in the total sample and what they report about their peers.

7.1. Multiple sexual partnerships vs. keeping closer to a spouse

When examining the copious survey research on sexual behavior in Tanzania, there are clear and distinct differences between men and women, especially regarding numbers of sexual partners. While the vast majority of married women report that they are monogamous, married men consistently report multiple sexual partners. Six percent of the married women and twenty five percent of the married men reported multiple sexual partners in one survey on multiple sexual partners among men and women in Tanzania (Tanzania HIV Indicator: 2003-4). Overall, men have more sexual partners than women, both in the short term and over the course of their entire lives, because the idea of polygyny has been central to many of the ethnic groups in Tanzania. Masculinity and

[94] Lifestyles are defined here not just as the behaviors in which individuals engage, but rather, as the relationship between people's social conditions and their social practices. (see Frohlich et al 2001: 785)

multiple sexual partners have been linked for generations, just as femininity and monogamy have been coupled.

Given these striking differences in the history of the sexual behavior of men and women, it would seem that having multiple sexual partnerships was fundamental to masculinity for men. However, when I spoke with young professional husbands there was a great deal of ambivalence about the value of having many sexual partners in the contemporary era. Their interpretations of the situation seemed to be explained less by rational forces and more by non-rational forces as Smelser (1998) would predict. It would seem that if masculinity is dependent on multiple sexual partners it will create ambivalence. According to Smelser, this is because adult relationships entail a certain entrapment or dependence and dependent situations breed ambivalence. It is when a man escapes the entrapment (i.e., does not depend on multiple sex partnership relationships for enhancing masculinity), that he can avoid ambivalence. But the dependence of masculinity on multiple sexual partners behavior is more a structural than an individual entrapment. A man's freedom from it may require motivation, critical reflexivity, and a structural awareness of the conditions surrounding him in order to exercise agency.

Married men with multiple wives or girlfriends were not significantly stigmatized or shamed. According to my respondents, many of their peers are attracted to different types of women with whom they can engage in extra marital sex. These include students, economically vulnerable women such as prostitutes, and also many city women/wives who desire to keep themselves well but need a certain social status or additional

economic support.[95] Daudi (aged 40, a computer engineer), who is currently studying for a Masters degree in Business Administration in his job with a bank, had this to say about multiple sexual partners:

> "When husbands get more money, they get more outside women, the *nyumba ndogo*s [little houses].[96] Those with higher income and well-placed positions like directors and managers are *wanahonga wa chini* [they pay off those who are low in the success ladder]. They tend to have a *nyumba ndogo*, a university student and a well-established career woman as girlfriends, and maybe a prostitute….So promiscuous behavior differs with economic status, the more money the easier it becomes".

To Daudi, this behavior is not associated with the expression of masculinity but plain *tamaa* (a bad desire which is associated with wanting more and more and never getting satisfied). He thinks that men and women are just fulfilling their carnal desires and failing to control them. He says the same goes with women, who are directors and high top government officials, and explains that they, too, have affairs with young men. Daudi argues that to have such a life one needs to have dispensable money and must not care much if this money (here he implies money gained through corruption/embezzlement) is ill spent or lost to promiscuity. This is his impression. He explains that in his current socioeconomic position, he could not figure out how to manage multiple sexual relationships. He among others wants to do a lot for his family so he just cannot picture how he could share his income with outside houses (other women). He even wonders if he were to be with another woman where he would take her. He asks himself "do you tell her to go first at the meeting place then you follow?" He cannot imagine people seeing

[95] This support is for survival needs. They desire to live according to high standards of life. They want to own and drive modern cars, be fashionable, visit expensive hotels, furnish their homes luxuriously, and go on holidays within and outside the country in style.
[96] Little houses are informal wives (see Lewinson 2005).

him with her. Later Daudi gives an account of what his peers at his office think about extramarital sex:

> "One of my colleagues did a calculation on the cost of sex per week outside marriage and found it very expensive. Extramarital sex is costly…it may impact your next month salary…also another woman, would call you in the night, I don't have this or that, sometimes she may even call you while you are with your wife and this creates suspicion from your wife. It is so costly…socially and economically. We tell each other this at work but at the end of the day you do what you want. At the end of a work day, I would bid my pals farewell and proceed to the gym before I go back home. If you want to give your children family life, and are a faithful husband, you cannot get time for extra marital business".

Daudi comes from Kilimanjaro and he admits that in his region and his clan, having many women is a source of pride and that *nyumba ndogo* are common with people from his tribe (*the Chagga*). He does not even use his original clan surname because it is linked to having multiple sexual partners. He even added that in his particular clan having children outside wedlock is interpreted to mean you are demonstrating your manhood, that you are a real man. But Daudi decided to moderate his sexual life during his secondary school years in the 1980s at the peak of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Tanzania. This is how he describes his shift of attitude and behavior towards sexual relations:

> "You see the more you have sex the more sensitive you are to it. While I was in form two I could not sleep without sex, and girls liked me. I could not stay three days without sex. But I saw my friends get sick, and some died with HIV/AIDS. When I went to a boarding school it was different, I only did it when I came back for holidays at home. But while at school I abstained. So with time I felt I could do this abstinence. When I got to form four I said to my self *taabu yote ya nini! (*What the heck!). Why should sex slave me, so I decided to do exercise a lot. With exercise I was able to abstain for two years. Then for my university studies I went to India. And there we were only thirteen men and there were forty-three girls. Girls liked me. But I reminded myself that my goal is to study so I focused on that. I want to raise a good and exemplary family, build and invest".

This is what has been keeping Daudi on track—he keeps reminding himself that he wants to achieve his goals. So with this focus, he keeps counterchecking his sexual life lest it become a barrier to his objectives in life. Daudi continues that he found his wife while studying in India (she was one of the forty-three girls). He confesses that he really struggled to win her. She was difficult to get but towards the end of the program she accepted him. After the program, Maria (aged 33, a treasury dealer whom we read about in the previous section) went to the UK for a master's program in Business Administration (MBA) and Daudi returned to Tanzania. He claims that during the two years he waited for his bride to be he abstained from sex.

For Daudi, the AIDS epidemic during his teenage years made a great and lasting impression on his sexual life. He decided to put principles in his life and has followed them to date. Although the entire background environment of his tribe and clan encouraged him to engage in multiple sexual partnerships, he decided to transgress this custom for the sake of attaining his life goals. He acknowledged that having monogamous sex did not make him any less of a man and concluded that rather than really enhancing one's masculinity, promiscuous sex is just *tamaa*. He acknowledged that AIDS is among factors which made him rethink the taken for granted multiple sexual partners behavior in men.

John (aged 32, an MD) is another young professional whose sexual marital life was shaped by AIDS. He describes a disciplined sexual life as opposed to a carefree one before HIV/AIDS. Although he does not use a first person voice, he includes himself in this view:

> "Sexual life is now limited, the truth is all over the world many people would have loved to maximize sexual joy. Many people used to like multiple sexual partners, even if you use condoms you just don't feel relaxed, when you think of your innocent wife who maybe has not done anything wrong and you are doing something to her. AIDS has given us a hard time, made us *kuwa makini zaidi* [extra cautious] and the challenges of sick relatives, concern in injections, people are sick….However, as a doctor it has helped me, maybe if I was an engineer I would have been reckless".

John believes there is change in people's sexual behaviors. He explains:

> "You know what, people have never lived in the past that's why they don't know if there is change. Our teachers told us they used to study at the Makerere university long time ago and they used to queue to get medication for gonorrhea at the Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STD) Clinic every Monday. But just the day before yesterday at the clinic which is here in Dar es Salaam, there was no queue, partly due to antibiotics, maybe they buy them from the counter, but also because people are using condoms. What you see now if it was not for HIV/AIDS would have been doubled or thrice. Globally HIV rates are going down".

By saying that current sexual activity could be double, John implies that HIV/AIDS has changed the way people lead their sexual lives, compared to behavior previous to the epidemic. His ideas of a disciplined sexual life are shared by Atubone (aged 43, a marketer) who has a job that involves a lot of travelling across the country:

> "AIDS is affecting me because there are things I cannot do anymore. I cannot afford to be far from my family…meaning I have to be in constant touch with my wife. I have to build trust in my wife...I have to ensure she understands where I am, due to this disease, *mama* (my wife) can lose total confidence and eventually lose loyalty…and when *mama* loses loyalty she, too, will riot [by riot he means sexual promiscuity]. In marriage when your wife starts to riot it is the most dangerous than anything else that can happen in your life".

I was intrigued by this perspective and asked him why he thinks women's rioting was more dangerous. I thought he did not take into consideration that men riot, too, but instead he informed me that:

> *"Wanaume wakati wote wanariot*, [men are forever rioting] because they are free to move. Women help us when…she wants to know where you are, what are you doing, and what time can you return home. But when you call *mama* she will tell

> you, I am just checking out some baby stuff and won't be long, or I am picking some grocery then I am on my way home…you see she will always have a good reason but when *baba* (husband) is called he may say I am in a meeting I don't know how long it will take, sometimes it may even not be a meeting. Before I felt the seriousness of HIV/AIDS I did not care how important this was…my wife to know where I was. Because of this, I have argued that AIDS could be giving another chance to men to begin having respect in the house, because you understand AIDS has no cure, it will kill the family, you will leave orphans, you don't know who will take care of the children. These are the concerns for the couple in a house. If my wife dies can I manage or if I die will she manage, or if we both die what happens? So to lose one of us is altogether a crisis for the family. For me I have seen AIDS has enhanced my reality of having self respect and I know my marriage will be in danger if I don't keep a distance between engaging and not engaging with extramarital sex".

From Atubone's description of how he sees AIDS impacting his sexual life, we see it is making him move away from the hard and uncaring attributes of masculinity. Instead he is feeling concern for his family and believes he needs to be careful for his family's sake. Fear and concern for the family is partly what is driving most of the professional husbands to switch to a monogamous sexual lifestyle, as Patrick (aged 38, an MD) states:

> "I fear AIDS, it brings problems. It spoils the economy. When you get AIDS you will infect the mother of your children, It scares me, I am not just afraid of death nor but just the disease gives me the freak, when I was not married and there were times I slept with a woman without a condom, my goodness during the act I would just imagine myself with AIDS, going thinner and sick in bed and I would become horrified. I have the habit of testing again and again. I used to test three times a month before I got married. Even if I for some reason fall prey of extramarital unprotected sex, I will have to go and test first before I resume sex with my wife. It is very important."

Patrick is a very social person. From his life history I learned that he had one special woman whom he met during secondary school and he even went with her to medical school hoping that they would marry and raise a family. Unfortunately, the girl did not graduate from medical school and traveled overseas and the relationship ended two years later. To heal himself, he started dating as much as he could; he would insist

that his girlfriends get an HIV test before he had sexual relations with them. At first Patrick, now a father of two, did not care very much about his sexual conduct (although he also claims he did not have much of it because he was being faithful to his former girlfriend) until he got married:

> "I would not want even for one day to allow my children's father to get HIV/AIDS or to die of HIV/AIDS and leave them live alone with their mum. Nowadays AIDS has a check and balance on man's sexual behavior. While with my pals we say "*Tunasema ona kile kitu, hakina ukimwi da, mimi ningepita nacho na kuacha tu"*. ["Look at that thing (implying a woman), does it really not have AIDS, if it were those days I would just have her and move on."]

Immediately after getting married Patrick and his wife lived apart for a year or so. He was working in Dar es Salaam, and his wife was working in Mombasa. According to Patrick, he had to exert extra effort to maintain the closeness. He, like Atubone, believes keeping close contact with one's wife is the best way to live one's life during the age of AIDS:

> "One year we were living far from each other, luckily Mombasa is not far…we would [keep contact] with each other through text messages all day long….I resorted to calling and commuting. I would travel to Mombasa every week. In the meantime we were exploring how she could move to Dar….Even if I would be there for only eight hours but we would make the best out of that time to maximize to be together….I have plans to go for my PhD and we were careful that she should not be jobless, that is if I should go and I cannot go with my family. So she too commuted once or twice until eventually we agreed she should resign and come to live in Dar".

This is not to suggest naively that the majority of men in this group of young professional husbands are actually monogamous in the age of AIDS, rather I want to emphasize that most men described themselves as prioritizing monogamy. Indeed, although they did not speak for themselves according to the young professional husbands in this study they accept that some of their peers still accommodated sexual relationships

with women other than their primary sexual partners. We can see this below in Patrick's account of what is happening amongst his fellow professionals:

> "It comes to a point when men ask each other, *"sasa mkioa hawa madame wanje mnao itakuwaje?"* ["Now when you get married what will happen to the outside women?"] People have come to conclude, something I also concurred at some point but not anymore, that it is a must to have a wife who will take care of family, and who takes care of you, and get things going….they actually use the popular slang to talk about this "*kuoa siyo mwisho wa kuwa na vimeo*" ["to marry is not the end of having affairs"]. This for them means several men when they have an affair it does not necessarily mean he does not love his wife. Better still, it does not mean anything, I do not know what to tell you… [He put emphasis on the last point]…We went to Zanzibar for a weekend and we found a person we have great respect for with *a kimada* [another woman]. And my wife was, "we know his wife…this is sad".

Patrick also described some of his friends' sexual behavior, such as this account of a promiscuous friend:

> "Men differ in character. Some men would say "I want that woman"… like yesterday I went to my friend who is married and he has a child outside wedlock, his wife does not know about. I think he should let his wife know about the child. The child was conceived during the time of his wedding preparation This guy when he is attracted to woman he pursues her he has sex with her, but he informs her that he is married and that she should not call him".

Unlike Daudi, who labeled these multiple sexual behavior tendencies *tamaa,* Patrick says that a few years ago he and his peers thought it was just *what men do*, which would imply that it is a masculine character. Even Atubone agreed that men have a natural inclination to "riot" but AIDS is conditioning men to abandon this habit for the sake of the family, by indulging in behaviors that draw them closer to their wives. Overall, the narratives from Daudi, John, Atubone, and Patrick show that, for a majority of the young professional husbands I interviewed, masculinity is increasingly no longer premised on men having multiple sexual partners.

The rate of HIV/AIDS (new infections and ongoing cases) in Tanzania has dropped to 5.7% in 2007/2008, down from 7.0% in 2003/2004, according to the latest available figures revealed by the Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey 2007/2008.[97] Although this statistical decrease in HIV rates suggests success of current HIV prevention policies which highlight condom use, my findings suggest these statistics can also be explained differently. While part of the decline might be due to current policy, another part of the decline may be assumed to be due to other methods that have been ignored by these policies. What my findings show is that the public health AIDS prevention method of condom use is an incomplete strategy. For it seems that there are potentially successful prevention methods that do not involve condom use, as the findings of this study suggest. This applies to the decrease in rates (if at all) among population groups such as those who are married, highly educated, and wealthy. Notably, the decline in HIV/AIDS infection rates in recent years supports my findings that people are responding positively towards HIV prevention. However, I can not confidently link the HIV/AIDS' decline with the young professionals because I d not have a breakdown of the HIV rates declining numbers per social group. Providing such confidence is beyond this dissertation's scope, which is to understand how individuals exercise gender agency in HIV prevention seeking behavior.

In the previous section we saw that professional young wives were generally not ambivalent about men having many sexual partners. They considered it their duty to contain their husbands at home and limit them from the temptation of extramarital sex. However, they were not willing to tolerate a man with other sexual partners if they had

[97] These results came out June 2008, after the fieldwork for this study was completed.

proof of the indiscretion, not even for the sake of the fact that he provided for the family. Most young professional wives simply wanted men to prioritize fidelity.

As mentioned earlier, AIDS is changing the sexual aspects of masculinity; however, these changes have triggered transformations of some of the non-sexual aspects of masculinity, too. These aspects are analyzed in the next section.

7.2. Communication

Because gender relations are not only affected by HIV/AIDS, but also by other factors, and largely by the ongoing growth of young professional women's economic autonomy, refashioning compatible marital lifestyles is a 21st century challenge in Dar es Salaam. For example, the young professional husbands in the focus group discussion unanimously agreed that the discourse of love is being jeopardized by the discourse of rights in marital communication. They describe this situation as *"mapenzi yanakuwa ya kawaida. Mimi ni kama wewe."* ("Love has turned out to be ordinary. I am like you"). They feel that there is a need to differentiate between love relations and gender relations. As Heri, aged 30 and a medical doctor, one of the male group discussants, explains:

> "To bathe someone does not translate that a woman is being used…in the past did she use to perform this for purposes of remaining married [securing her marital position] and not love? Women did a lot as negative reinforcement…so that she is not beaten, not chased/divorced, not rebuked by the community/society but these days…I do not do things for him only but for me, positive reinforcement, what does this feel for me if I serve my husband food, if I serve him water, if I bathe him…how will I become happy if he becomes happy...what does it add value to me when I do these things? The primary thing is for neither of them to do things without being forced by anyone…*freedom*…is what gender relations are all about".

Young professional husbands ask themselves these questions to figure out the way forward in this life where women are becoming more obsessed with rights at the expense of love. John, aged 33, an accountant however, thinks such pressure is leading more people to get serious about building love in couple relationships: “If you find someone with someone these days it is because they really want to be with that person. So you have to make it real and mean it. No joking around.” Musa (aged 45, a journalist) and his wife Salome (aged 31, a program officer) have even developed a way to communicate with one another, about what they mean to each other (which is also shared by Daudi and his wife Maria), by often telling each other this statement, sometimes even jokingly, *“ukitaka kuniua niue…ukitaka kuniua mwenzagu niue” (*which means “if you want to kill me just kill me… if you want to kill me, my friend, just kill me.”) In other words, they are trying to communicate to each other that in the age of AIDS I am at your mercy. I am giving it all to you, so if I am to die with AIDS, you alone will cause it. This statement works as a self vigilance tool used to constrain one’s sexual behavior. Through vigilance, among other factors, young professional couples construct “mindful marital lifestyles” in the age of AIDS. With regard to multiple sexual partners the group discussion participants had a consensus that nowadays much of the marital communication is about making the other satisfied with you, lest he or she gets tempted to go out. Many women have become very strict if a man shows tendencies of unusual and suspicious behavior. Wives would do a follow up of a husband who seems suspicious. This is why the idea of keeping close to one’s wife is becoming a more sensitive issue for young professional husbands in the age of AIDS. Baraka (aged 38, a marketing consultant) told me this story

which substantiates further the compelling attitude young professional couples have about drawing closer in the age of AIDS:

> "Protection for HIV/AIDS among couples is to be closer. If I were a woman…you see a certain woman realized that her husband liked women and women liked him, too. Since she had some capital she decided to quit her job and embark on a business. She started a shop. People around her laughed and thought she was silly. But she said I want be free. Yet for her she did not care, she would call her husband to check on him every day. She even became his driver, taking him to work in the morning, to places he needed to be, and picking him from work".

Baraka explained that the woman told him, "I do not tell him anything but I intersect into the time that could have enabled him to meet other people [women], I surprise him with lunch boxes at his office, and sometimes I take him out for meals." Baraka notes, "*hachezi mbali"* (the lady does not play far).[98] Additionally, the woman revealed that "because I don't work therefore even with regard to sex *namudu na kumnyungunya."* (She can handle and make him completely wasted.) She says, "*nimefanikiwa hajiwezi*" (I have succeeded. He cannot manage another woman.)

AIDS has given women a reason to challenge masculinity and, in turn, it has also caused men to reflect on the way they enact their manhood and begin to change. Msagati (aged 41, a marketing consultant) decided to marry someone with whom he could be equal, fifty-fifty. Although some men consider a woman who talks a lot as a problem to their relationship, especially their intimacy, Msagati believes if the talking is assertive, then that is the way forward. He remarks, "I wouldn't like a submissive woman in a traditional sense. It feels like she is bowing to my will, not what they want but what the other wants, and their way is the order! I prefer *acceptance and agreeing not submission."* (Emphasis in original)

[98] This is a metaphor meaning the wife keeps a closer watch of her husband by being around him most of the time.

Msagati and his wife Gladys (a medical researcher) talk to each other about everything and this makes it easier for them to please and love each other. According to Msagati, communication during the AIDS era between couples has to change to allow each individual to feel free to express what he or she wants and cares for, rather than accepting what the other wants or cares for. He acknowledges that women's economic autonomy can create tension in marital communication. He learned this from his peers. One of his friends described to him that the thing with women is that the moment they get education, position, and economic power they become funny. This friend was actually referring to his wife. He continued, telling Msagati that such women get funny, dominating, contentious, and aggressive. Msagati indicated that such a situation does not influence the historically unequal relationship between men and women for the better. He admitted that on the one hand, financial independence gives wives power and confidence, while on the other hand, he thinks it intimidates the men who are a product of the social norms of traditional submissiveness. Msagati also acknowledges that women do put a lot into providing for the home in their generation. He notes that despite "*wearing the pants,*" some women can still keep the man's ego satisfied by taking a semi–submissive role when they interact with children and company. Overall, Msagati sees this as women not knowing how to reconstruct their femininity to fit with their new economic status. Msagati's views are shared with Bishanga (aged 42, a university lecturer).

First, Bishanga described what is going on with gender relations in their generation as not actual change but a process of transition. In his view, people are still struggling to renegotiate the traditional gender order to come up with a suitable gender

order for the current time and he touches on women's economic autonomy as a reckoning issue in the transition. This is how he expressed these ideas:

> "Some of them are my relatives whereby there is a great income difference. With the husband earning little money…The tendency, I don't know why I see women to use that [more income] as an oppressive instrument to men…I mean now…for me I see this as not a good thing. Whenever a woman is economically powerful, there is a tendency to regard…they even start saying "what kind of a man is this, a man has to bread win if he is not doing that, he can't deliver, what kind of husband is this one!"

Bishanga believes this situation is problematic, and both spouses have a stake in resolving it. He thinks either the husband has to be ready to accept the situation that his wife has more money and power and hence she can influence more decisions, or the wife should stop using her high income to oppress her husband. Bishanga wonders if this is a psychological thing or "what's going on here?" He confesses that he can take a participatory approach to gender equality but he cannot handle a total shift of women as the head and the husband as the servant. He noted that he saw this kind of situation happening in the West[99] and it saddened him. He argues that women have a tendency to use economic power as an instrument of oppression, yet he reflects that men (but not all men) also used economic power to subordinate/oppress women. He suspects that now it has become like retaliation, like a person seeking revenge. She (referring to a wife) knows that men have oppressed women for a long time, so she feels *"ngoja nimwonyeshe huyu wangu.*" (Let me teach this to my man…implying her husband).

Sadly, Bishanga concludes that under such circumstances the whole question of gender equality gets ruined; he laments, "if we empower women, and then, they too bring oppression in the other way round, what is the point of women's emancipation then?"

[99] Bishanga is currently doing his PhD in collaboration with some universities in the UK and USA. Sometimes he visits these places.

Msagati reveals that in his household, they work with a co-chair, co-leadership model. He confesses that this is still a problem and this is not specific to Tanzania only. Tanzanian couples are learning to say we can share decision-making and do it. The challenge of achieving partly comes from not having institutional settings that are supportive. Even peers at times may not be supportive. He reminds me that in Africa society is oriented toward extended family. Africans interact with cousins, and some of them do not have the new vision/new concepts we have. So even those who are exposed and want change still have conflicting perspectives on gender relations—both theirs and those of the family at large. He concludes by saying that the concept of a woman as an equal partner in a marriage is not really palatable in the society at large. He confesses that even he, if he was shaky in his stands and philosophy of life, would easily be influenced otherwise. For instance, he was pressured to justify his motives for allowing his wife to go overseas for a master's program, leaving behind their baby with him:

> "…people asked me why you let her go. I say I am not her father…we talked about it—the pros and cons. There is that sense people think I am a good guy I gave her permission…this is what the society tells her. But if I was the one who went, there would have been no talk like this. This shows how a woman is still considered under the jurisdiction of a man, not an independent thinking person".

Msagati views himself as an independent thinker. He accepts that deviating from stereotypical gender expectations can be a challenge. He respects what people think, but it is not important to him to conform to the views of others if they disagree with him.

Communicating about sex has also taken a different turn in this generation. As couples work toward creating a safe sex environment, they have been opening up to each other more. Daudi says that when he and his wife got married, they agreed to be as

transparent as possible to each other in every area. He believes that lack of transparency is one factor that can lead to spousal conflicts. These thoughts were also shared by the husbands in the focus group. They explained that with openness to each other, even the sex act can become more fulfilling for both parties. To illustrate this, Francis, an IT professional (age 39) narrated a story about a couple who were dating with the hope of getting married as I was interviewing him in a restaurant in Dar:

> "Did you see that guy who came and greeted me? [I responded yes.] Well, he had a girlfriend whom he wanted to marry, but along the way this girl leaked amongst her friends that the man is not satisfying her sexually, "he just touch, touch me, and then he piss and off he goes telling he has something to attend to. *Jamaa hamna kitu*" [the man is not good—she means sexually]. When we other men heard the story, it was an eye opener, because we men assume we know how to have sex that it is in us, but no. When women start exposing such information men get intimidated and they start self reflecting, "How am I doing in my quarters? I must check, less I am also being enjoyed and not performing at all." So slowly men we begin to ask our girlfriends if they are getting what they want and this needs a lot of transparency from both sides. Before talking about sex was a taboo. But it is the women themselves who have begun talking…we are living in a different gender order you see, it is no longer the age of *mfume dume*, but *mfume wa usawa* [gone are the days of the patriarchal gender order where man was superior, we now live in the era of gender equality]. So the poor man did not get the woman…it did not work".

This wave of women opening up to sexual matters and being in touch with their sexual needs and wants was also found among young professionals in Nairobi, Kenya (Spronk 2006). Francis links this occurrence with the fact that most men in his generation do not really have adequate information on how to perform the sex act, he explains "…for them they think all you need to do is to achieve ejaculation. They cannot prepare a woman well, they cannot realize how she gets satisfied and so forth." He attributes this lack of information to the lost norms of initiating men to sexual life which used to occur in many of the Tanzanian ethnic groups. He considers himself fortunate that he comes from an

ethnic group which until recently continued to take sex initiation seriously. Francis comes from the southern parts of the Tanzanian coast[100] He also noted that people have been teasing that people from the south are obsessed with issues of sex yet they are now realizing how useful those lessons are. He noted, "I often see whenever there is talk about doing sex and the abcds of it by someone who is knowledgeable, many of the young professional men would prick their ears to get something. They do so because they have limited knowledge." This comment ties in well with what Joseph (aged 39, a tailoring entrepreneur) admitted, that "sex as a source of pleasure is more a coastal practice."

In the countryside, explained Joseph, sex as a source of pleasure or entertainment was not a big issue; it was more about manpower and to be seen you must have a group of people (women and their children) whom you can rule/govern. It was an issue of maturity; but he acknowledges that with time men from the hinterland were exposed to coastal influences concerning sex, and have begun to adapt some of the coastal customs and beliefs. Joseph comes from Northern Tanzania (Mara) where polygamy used to be common and is, to some extent, still a norm. Hence, the fact that sex was in some parts of Tanzania a symbol of the ability to rule and in other parts a pleasurable act partly explains why Francis thinks some young men have limited knowledge of how to conduct mutual sex with their women. Baraka echoed the situation of young men of his generation having inadequate knowledge about handling women and also that sex is not only about penetration when he shared some of his life stories:

[100] He comes from a region called Lindi, where they have a very elaborate tradition of teaching both the groom and the bride how to have sexual relations prior to the wedding. He reveals that the sessions are intense and elaborate with accompanying demonstrations. The older women attend to the bride and the older men attend to the groom.

> "…women enjoy *extended sex*[101] what you do, talk, it really makes women feel loved. I know it; some men do not know it. So I am very keen on this. I regulate in accordance to how the situation is with my own marital life. If you fail to be close to your wife in any way, it is very dangerous. I know she sometimes see that I am tired physically but we talk, a lot, we joke we laugh together. Just that presence to talk in itself it is enough, with women… "

Given the danger of HIV infection, young professional husbands make greater efforts to create more transparency in communication and this becomes more important in the sex realm. As Daudi sums it up:

> "You are to communicate with your spouse everything even when you see you are in trouble of being trapped by another woman…you tell her so you can work it out together. Because at work women can be very aggressive, sometimes it is not you who want but them and they may try everything to get you. You wife can be a good security and protection if you confide in her. Transparency is the way forward".

This idea articulates a big step towards reconstructing masculinity. As the literature on masculinity has shown, men tend to keep some of their lives to themselves but now we see living in the age of AIDS has made some of the young professional husbands abandon this norm. As I also heard in the focus groups, the young professional husbands express that AIDS has made them communicate. One of them said that he receives several text messages from his wife asking him to make sure to use a condom when necessary. Another one admitted his wife warns him not to go to men-only gatherings because he might encounter discourses that encourage and perpetuate extramarital sex. Altogether these young professional husbands believe their wives are now communicating freely to them, *the men,* about safe sex because of AIDS. They even tell them to go for tests once in a while. This may sound as if men are still promiscuous but it

[101] Extended sex is Baraka's term, which he said he read about in books. It does not stand for foreplay. It can be described as additional things (aside from intercourse) couples can do to meet their sexual needs.

is not entirely that; it is more about becoming closer and communicating. For this generation, safe sex is equated with faithfulness, regular testing, and outside use of condoms if the need arises. None of the male respondents accepted the use of condoms for AIDS prevention in his marriage, but only for purposes of contraception when their wives are on fertile days. As much as they all claimed to be working on faithfulness, they confessed they would use condoms if they fail to meet this goal.

This study illustrates the very small role condoms play in the young professional couples' marital sex lives.[102] Condoms have no historical connections to masculinity, as described in chapter one (which relates the historical context of gender relations in Tanzania). The medicalized sexuality discourse with its condom-use prevention strategy is facing a significant backlash among the young professional couples I interviewed.

Joseph (aged 39, a tailoring entrepreneur) added his take on how poor communication is key to having extramarital sexual partners. He reminds us that when we talk about men changing how they communicate with their spouse in the age of AIDS in order to improve their sexual relations, it also involves men telling women what men enjoy sexually:

> "I believe if my wife initiates sex it will be very good sex. It brings out the love from her and as I respond, I feel the difference and this is healthy for the family…as to only when I initiate sex. We men have to communicate to our wives on how we want them to be, what we like best rather than sulking, and going off to conquer other women".

Among the things Joseph listed as important to communicate to wives is the way women tend to think of sex as a third party issue when they get into wedlock. According to him, when women get married—when they get their certificate and they become wives—they

[102] See appendix 5 for more of my wondering about condom use.

change their grooming habits, how they keep their home, how they talk, how they laugh; he continued that "even when you buy her a night dress which you want to her to wear, she will tuck into the wardrobe. They do not know that a man wants his wife to look like his girlfriend all the time." Joseph confesses that, "A husband loves to see you as his girlfriend, he loves the tender care you used to give him…the pampering, to be cared for, it makes them feel like you are loved."

Joseph also admits it is the responsibility of husbands to inform their wives that they should not use sex as a tool to keep their men at home, rather they should do sex to satisfy their men.

> "Women use sex as a tool for men not go outside the house, they give him sex so that he ejaculates without wondering if he was satisfied or what. A man will ejaculate whatever maybe because he is biologically fixed to do so. For any man when doing sex at some point he is likely to ejaculate. But hardly does ejaculation equate to sexual joy and satisfaction. It is just the man's biological build up to ejaculate different with women who require a particular state of mind. So we have to tell our wives that it takes more to do sex. It lies on how you do the sex, how you communicate in the sex, and how do you get yourself prepared for sex at that particular day".

Joseph continues, explaining that it is up to husbands to encourage their wives to explore different ways to do sex. Since talking about and doing different things for one's husband used to be considered immodest in women, Joseph believes wives need to be given confidence by their husbands to change their marital sexual behavior. This shows he does not share the attitude of men who used to think a wife should not know much about sex in the previous generations. He continues his explanation:

> "With AIDS you want to achieve the best sex in the wedlock [so that] there is no room for maximizing and innovating on it outside the wedlock. How you communicate during sex times is important. Most of the time wives would talk, interrupt, and say you know what I don't feel like doing it, or while you are doing

> it she may tell you things to distract you like the children's school fees or some issues which had disturbed you awhile which you do not want to dwell on. She may even start thinking about your future lives and sharing it to you".

This kind of situation, according to Joseph, is what partly withdraws a man from the home. He describes this further:

> "Wait and I tell you why husbands like to have girlfriends. A girlfriend is not committed to you hence, all the time you are with her, she won't tell you serious issues. She is just there for the romance. You will drink, talk, laugh, joke but to stay with a wife, she is bound to tell you serious issues even at the most unsuitable times like during when you are having sex....communication in marriage needs to be very sensitive".

According to Joseph's account, he now sees the importance of couples communicating about these contradictions with regard to their marital expectations of each other.

As they continued sharing their thoughts about everyday life and about how monogamous sex is convenient for times like the age of AIDS, the young professional husbands stressed that remaining close to one's wife necessitates spending time, making time, and sharing some leisure habits with one's wife. Hence, another non-sexual aspect of masculinity which the young professional husbands find necessary to modify in the age of AIDS in order to achieve a fulfilling monogamous sexual life is shifting the gendered nature of how they spend their leisure and time.

7.3. Leisure and time

Many of the leisure-time habits which were occurring, and that still occur in some couples, consist of husbands spending their time with "the boys" and the women spending more time with the children and occasionally their female friends. Sitting at home or spending time with one's wife are not considered masculine activities. Men in

Tanzania are commonly expected to go out and learn more about how to manage a home from their men friends, either over a drink or while watching a sports game. Msagati offers a description of how time is spent in a typical young professional couple:

> "The guy after work enters his 4x4 car and goes to a bar which he frequents and hangs out with the people he knows. The wife after work rushes home to sort out home stuff and check on kids. Some but few would stop by a joint to chat a bit with girl friends before heading home. In the weekend the wife takes the children to the beach or some public game place for the children to play and eat out…this is the family out together rarely with the guy".

Clifford (aged 42, an engineer) believes one's parents have a lot to do with the continuity of gendered leisure habits. As much as he likes going out together with his wife, he remembers his father used to go out alone and come back with beers for his mum. He would tell them at those men's gatherings, it is not respectable to take your wife. First, the men there drink a lot and sometimes can misbehave, and your wife will not feel free to participate in the conversations. Some of the conversations are constructive about making money and getting new ideas about business ventures, some are just men's talk about sex. Given his father's descriptions, Clifford thinks he himself will feel unhappy when he is with his wife in the men's gathering and therefore he avoids taking her, but he says he does not enjoy leaving her home. So as much as he wants to go everywhere with his wife, Clifford does not like to take her with him to the men's gathering and neither does he want to abandon the gatherings because he learned from his father they have some good in them.

Going to men-only gatherings is something women do not like their husbands to do in the young professionals. This was revealed by Moses, Patrick and Msagati. Men's gatherings refer to husbands going to bars and leisure spots without their wives to chat

and drink. But these places are not exclusively male. According to Patrick, a medical doctor (age 32), it is correct to attribute bad sexual influences to the men's gatherings because in those gatherings "your faithfulness to your wife may be tested, as well as your masculinity." Peers talk about having multiple sexual partners as something that does not hurt marriages. "They would also convince you it is impossible to watch beautiful women just pass you by." For instance, he says that "when you are there and you see good stuff [attractive women] and you do not respond, your pals will be shocked." This, Patrick says, does not feel good to some husbands; it is like their masculinity is being challenged. So, due to the male ego, one can find oneself "relinquishing to taking the women just to feel he fits in the male group." This is why he argues that wives are very bitter towards these men-only gatherings. They know what could happen. For instance, there was a friend of Patrick whose wife does not rest when he knows her husband has gone out. She would call him every other minute and ask where you are now. One day they were at a garden bar drinking with friends and this friend was present. While they were talking, his wife called him and wanted to know where they were. He told her and she said she was coming and she didn't care if there were thirty men in a meeting or whatever. "So she emerged there within a short span of time. The rest of the group started teasing her and telling her, "*shemeji* [sister-in-law][103] what do you think you will find this man doing eh?" She responds, "I have to come and check on him." According to Patrick she is very protective. But Patrick said he did not blame her. This tradition of separate gendered leisure habits has created a double world in the lives of couples and can sometimes create

[103] In Tanzania men would call all of their friends' wives *shemeji*, a sister-in-law to them, because their buddies are like their brothers.

a wall between them. To remove this wall, some of the young professional couples are experimenting doing things together. Moses stated:

> "We like going out, to visit friends, I like friends, to go and sit and eat barbecues somewhere, but nowadays I am not there for them, I want to take care of my family. My friends grumble and say you stay at home too much, you have become a family man. I can't go and leave Zipporah how I would do that may be if she is going to a kitchen party.[104] I tell them I am coming with my wife. You see men like to be on their own and we like to go and talk and just be yourself. I like everybody to come with their wives, and we talk about family stuff. I also like our children to get to know each other. I imagine a certain generation whereby our children know each other, we are cooperative to each other in case of problems".

Moses wants to change the men's gatherings to family gatherings. Other young professional husbands try to make more quality time at home for the benefit of the family as a whole and for the benefit of their sexual relationship. This is apparent in Daudi's description of the ways he attempts to spend quality time with his wife:

> "My wife's job is busier than mine. I return earlier from work….I would not want my wife to come and start running around with housework while I am seated at the sofa reading [a] magazine. So by taking my daughter walking, my wife returns to find everything done and she can rest a bit and we have dinner together. Even when we have sex she is relaxed and compatible. But some men do not think of this, yet they demand their right to sex without taking into consideration their wives' physical status, whether she is tired, willing".

As for sharing leisure habits, Francis (aged 39, an IT professional) described that he has discovered travelling with his wife away from home occasionally is very effective for reducing temptations and spicing up their sex life. He discovered that his attraction to his wife took another face when he had sexual relations with his wife in another place (other than their bed at home). This was a revelation to him when they were attending his mother-in-law's funeral. On their way back, as they were driving home, they stopped in a hotel for a night. He admits the experience was incredible:

[104] This is a place where men are not welcome. It's a women-only thing. So by saying it Moses means he accompanies her everywhere unless it is forbidden.

> *"…nikamwona kama siyo mke wangu nikaona kama mwanamke gani huyu, kama siyo mke wangu*. [I saw her not like my wife but some woman, I don't know what woman] I said to myself what's this? Although we were in mourning, *lakini tulishughulikiana vilivyo* [we had the best sex ever] until even herself was satisfied and wondered what was happening".

When they got home, Francis says it was easy for his wife to forget about the incident but for him he was curious about it and planned to try it again. While he was on a work-related trip in another region in Tanzania his male friends invited him to go dancing and the women disturbed them. He did not like this, therefore, he decided to ask his wife to join him over the weekend. He called her and she agreed to come. While there they had the same experience they had had during the drive back from the funeral. Thus, spending part of his work trips together is now a regular occurrence. Similarly, at another time, Francis' wife was attending a workshop in another region and towards the end of the workshop, Francis joined her for a night. Francis insists that these get-away trips do a lot to cement their sex life:

> "I tell you when we are in new environment. We feel like we are just beginning our sex life. We move each other the way we love. There is nobody; you are just the two of you. We are free. You see with the kids growing up they would call you or daddy, mummy they want something from you. This interferes…. [Taking these trips] has helped me a lot not to even think about outside temptations".

These *spousal sex getaway trips* are not the only thing Francis and his wife do to make time for each other. They also do family things together like go out with their children to parks, to eat, and to do other things together:

> "We have a big farm which we go and supervise on weekends. We got to church every Sunday. We go to the Christian meetings together. Our parents were strong abiding Christians and so we try to emulate. The greatest protection or security which I have is from her, it helps me not to wander around, because temptations are there but I thank God that we, the way we are so close and busy with our life together most of the time, it helps me a lot….Sometimes you concentrate on

> getting satisfied by casual sex which may be dangerous for you health. But this happens when you are less in touch with your wife".

I found that *spousal sex getaway trips* were a recurring theme among the respondents in this generation. In addition to Francis, other respondents such as Daudi, Msagati, Patrick and Thomas (aged 42, a university lecturer) also discussed these trips. AIDS is conditioning these young professional husbands to have sex sprees with their wives rather than other women, as was common in previous generations. According to the respondents, the act of having sex somewhere else outside the house symbolically makes the wife look like another woman. This feeling of difference seems to be what they really need.

The focus group discussants expressed that this kind of leisure is enabled by the fact that marriages are currently understood as more of a relationship between two people than a relationship between two families as was the norm in previous generations. Given this background, couples are in a better position to develop friendships. Wives and husbands in this generation work on developing friendship relationships in marriage. Because they are friends, they are able to appreciate each other's time and can share some of their leisure time. Young professional husbands endeavor to befriend their spouses, spend time with them, and relax together to achieve marital sexual harmony and bliss. These are some of the characteristics of modern love. Nevertheless, men observed that learning how to be a woman in their generation has become very problematic to a point where all these efforts to rework masculinity can become futile. As mentioned earlier, one cause for this is attributed to the increasing autonomy that results from economic power and professional status for women. Men associate this achieved power in women

with women being unprepared to enact their contemporary femininity. An outside observer might assume that women know more than men about how women should enact their womanhood. In the marital context, however, historically the man was the head of the house in all aspects and the woman was subordinate to her husband.

7.4. Troubling femininities

In this last section I draw from Harold's narration, a lawyer (age 39), and the focus group discussion to understand how young professional husbands think the uncertainty of wives about how to be a woman in a so-called equal-gender marital relationship potentially provokes the re-emergence of at least some aspects of the old masculinity, rather than encouraging efforts towards reconstructing heterosexual masculinity. When I asked Harold his experience with gender equality, he talked a lot, but most of his comments focused on how rule-less life in his generation has become. He spoke bitterly when he admitted there are women who want to control men. He explained, "Women who try to control men, they drive them bazak(crazy), they push them to a corner… personally I can go bazak if unfairly someone push me to the corner…most men/guys like challenges so when you do that you bring out the challenge in them." As Harold reflects upon the stories he heard from his parents about life and women, and also the time he spent with his grandparents, he observed that "My grandmother knew she was loved no matter what, but now you need to buy a posh car, a Mercedes you know what I mean, to express love….expensive flowers…it's a different kind of definition of love." Harold here Giddens (1992) would argue does not want to accept that his generation is exercising a different kind of love—democratic love.

Here Harold is explaining that professional wives need very sophisticated things to be shown they are loved. Sometimes, he argues, if you do not fulfill these, since the women can afford those things themselves, they are ready to get them. This case was illustrated by Judith. She expressed that she was ready to take care of herself at whatever cost, provided she had the money. Harold is not comfortable with this way of enacting femininity. He acknowledges that:

> "Yes, there was a certain generation in between which was extremely domineering….They had rules which took care of each party's interests according to their world…[then] liberalization came in. It did not come with any rules, actually everybody was able to do everything and the current generation is not able to think through that and develop some rules…..before wives had to do one-two-three, and if you go to someone not doing these, they will say she is wrong…and there was abc for men….Liberalization didn't prepare anybody…oh changes are coming you have to be ready and this is how you will support each other in marriage…as a matter of fact what I see now in most relationships, it's a struggle between two people who are supposed to be a team because there are no rules and no one has guts to lay down the rules".

Harold blames a liberalized culture for the struggle between spouses. Although he accepts that the culture has brought out the potential of each gender, it has brought great tensions in gender relations. People are still searching for ways to stabilize their spousal relationships. He continued:

> "…liberalization is good in terms of realization of their potential more for women also men like rearing children….but I think it's absolutely crazy… right now….Because we lack these progression rules, like people understanding themselves and knowing who does what and when….There are no rules it goes down to two partners….Principles of life, relationships and raising families have all got destabilized big time! I wonder… now where will you go to find solution of just a little disagreement with your spouse and then you come up with an answer from the third party. If they decide to compromise that's what they do…there is no way they can say that's right….before if you do wrong there was some sanctions from community".

Harold may not be pleased with the way things are in Tanzania, especially among those who are well-to-do, but it appears that what is happening has led couples to take individual approaches to reworking their marital lives. There are no longer communal messages dictating right and wrong behavior. As Harold himself admits, "it boils down to the two in a marriage to discuss what is right for them." Within this situation it is likely that some men will revert back to dominating positions, since decisions about correct behavior are left for them to decide themselves.

Meanwhile, one of the focus group discussants pointed out that when marital conflicts arise over who is the leader in the house, they are a result of women wanting to be the head of the household. Another male discussant added that in most cases, wives get these strong-headed ideas from TGNP,[105] which he alleged is responsible for wrecking many marriages. The young professional husbands in this study insisted that in modern couples the spouses need one another not for purposes of ensuring gender rights are adhered alone but love purposes as well. One of the respondents described how gender takes a back seat in his relationship; "I need my wife so much but I don't think I can die of hunger if I am not with her, and even…she knows that she cannot fail to survive if I am not with her but we need each other…to fulfill a love relationship."

According to these focus group discussants it seems that women have been so obsessed with rights discourses that they fail sometimes to see that gender is not relevant in all instances and occasions. For example, Heri, aged 30 and a medical doctor describes his experience:

[105] TGNP is the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme which is committed to working against all kinds of subjugations of women and advocating for a gender equal country at all policy levels. It is run by top female intellectual professionals from Tanzania. Whether TGNP is responsible for causing marital conflicts and divorces is a matter for further research.

> "…when she makes the bed…she refuses me to do bed making because she says *namkwaza* [she feels offended] now I would not argue and say I have to make the bed because I am gender sensitive, no let them do what makes them happy, eh [the couples]. Or maybe she arrived earlier than me from work and I find she is not cooking because she cooked yesterday, its ridiculous".

Thomas, aged 42, a university lecturer takes a different view. He argues that some of his friends have reached a point of terminating their wife's work and making her stay at home. He thinks this could be a result of jealousy—that his wife will be desired by men out there—but also because he wants to eat food cooked by his wife only. An outside observer might wonder if this is pushing love too far—what about the wife's desire to excel in her profession? Thomas argues that if a man can fulfill all his wife's wants and needs and meet all the family responsibilities, what more would a woman need. He insisted that creating an environment where his wife does not need to work is not an oppressive gesture on his part and claimed by that not giving her husband food cooked or prepared by her, she is denying his right (he put emphasis on the right).

Again, this knowledge came as a shock to me as I thought these young professional husbands understood that women work not only for economic returns but for their own self development and the realization of their professional competencies. However, as we saw earlier, the young professional wives described their economic support in their families as practical. They do things which men cannot do. In other words, if their men could do all there is to be done and also keep them satisfied they could do without their jobs and their professional status. This partially explains why even professional single women need men to boost their lifestyle in Dar es Salaam, as was pointed out by Daudi in the beginning of this section. It also explains why when a wife is the breadwinner, there is the potential for marital conflicts. Down deep in their minds,

wives still prefer the husband to be the primary breadwinner even if she is earning four times his income. Therefore, the question remains: who is creating obstacles to marital gender equality? Is it the husbands or the wives themselves in the young professional couples? If some of the young professional wives see themselves as becoming economically autonomous only for practical reasons, then no wonder it does not translate well into their sexual decision-making autonomy (and for some not all). These are some possible interpretations of these narratives about marital gender relations in the age of AIDS among young urban professionals in urban Tanzania.[106]

In this section, I showed how the narratives of young professional husbands illustrate the declining significance of multiple sexual partners to local conceptions of masculinity. The narratives also reveal how men in this class are oriented toward refashioning their lifestyles to accommodate *monogamy.*[107] While some men who claim to be living a monogamous lifestyle rationalize occasional infidelity if it happens, this type of monogamy still represents a break from older ideals of male sexuality based on polygamy. Polygyny is no longer an ideal for men in this social group and polygynous marriages are not common among young professional husbands. Hence, having multiple sexual partners is no longer a hegemonic aspect of masculinity for young professional husbands according to this study. I also showed how the young professional husbands in Dar es Salaam are working toward building partnership relationships with their wives. They do this by reconfiguring other non-sexual aspects of masculinity. These findings

[106] At this juncture, I want to remind my reader that I am writing about gender relations in a marital context, and gender relations could play out very differently in another context, for example in the workplace. Hence, the way these young professional husbands are articulating their marital gender relations in the age of AIDS may not necessarily apply in all contexts of their lives.

[107] Monogamous is a reputational sexual identity for men which the young professional husbands want to achieve.

support what Wyrod (2007) found in Uganda—men who held such ideals of marital partnership tended to be more highly educated.

Wyrod (2007) argued that the majority of men he met in Bwaise (urban Uganda) asserted they were oriented toward monogamy in the age of AIDS primarily for practical reasons. He labeled this a *pragmatic* monogamy. In contrast, for young professional husbands in Dar es Salaam, the move toward monogamy is more a fashioning of a new lifestyle (a lifestyle in the making). I labeled this lifestyle a "mindful marital lifestyle". The goals they are working toward in order to best fit into this monogamous lifestyle include communicating constructively with their spouse; juggling the time spent with peers, wife, and family; and creating new avenues of leisure which draw them closer to their spouses. These changes enable them to avoid environments that may jeopardize their desire to live a respectful and committed married life.

My central argument in this section has been that while in some aspects masculinity remains linked to men having multiple sexual partners, these links are weakening and they do not have as much popularity, relevance, and desirability as in previous generations. Men having multiple sexual partners may still be an aspect of masculinity among young professional husbands, but it is not a truly hegemonic aspect of masculinity in this social group. AIDS, I argue, is an important part of this story and key to the destabilization of the hegemonic status of men having multiple sexual partners. As an ever-present source of fear among young among professional husbands, AIDS has profoundly shaped sexual relations and reframed male sexuality in new ways. It has operated in conjunction with evolving discourses on monogamy or marital sexual

exclusivity, and modern love to challenge established connections between masculinity and sexuality.

AIDS, masculinity, femininity, and the fashioning of safer marital sex lifestyle: Mindful marital lifestyles.

In chapters six and seven I analyzed how young professional couples in Dar es Salaam reconstruct their gender identities and sexual conduct to achieve marital partnership for a safer marital sex life in the age of AIDS. While each wife and husband was interviewed separately in this study it was apparent from the narratives that wives and husbands conspired together to reproduce and regulate forms of the hegemonic gender constructions. The ongoing process of abandoning, or selectively and creatively using, these dominant constructions offered young professional wives and husbands unrestricted gender/sexual identities and open forms of gender/sexual relations. I interpret this as a new lifestyle in the making with regard to gender relations and a monogamous marital life in the age of AIDS.

I argue AIDS is among factors making professional men desire to achieve a respectable reputational sexual identity in the eyes of the public, which means monogamy and fidelity, while professional women desire a shift in their private lives from respectable sexual conduct and gender identity to engagement in erotically charged sexual conduct. In the eyes of their husbands, these women want to be what their husbands want them to be, do what they want them to do, and likewise as human beings women want to realize their needs and wants. For these wives, this means replacing what

men usually search for outside the house, with a fulfilling and exciting sexual life inside the house.

HIV/AIDS is one factor that has reorganized the social organization of gender and sexuality; however, it is through prevention efforts and policies that the realization of an apparent call for a social construction of gender can be conceived. While there is some evidence of change as young professional wives and husbands both comply with and resist existing gender regimes, there is a confounding absence of change in the advocacy of safe-sex practices (i.e., condom use within marriage).

Based on the narratives of the young professional couples, I argue that constructions of masculinity and femininity are increasingly becoming *self-initiative and self-reflective* processes.[108] This refers to a process of making sense of the socio-cultural environment in their lives and of the gendered meanings and messages it offers one for understanding and practicing marital relationships. It is as important for professional men and women to be morally accepted individuals as it is for them to make decisions regarding sexual and gender encounters (Dilger, 2003). Due to this, young professional wives and husbands are seeking to work within the dominant representational system and social arrangements of the hegemonic gender order, but produce alternative and even subversive meanings.

[108] These identities have become less institutionally- or communally-supported, compared to those experienced by the older generation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

8.1 Concluding Remarks

I set out to investigate the social construction of gender in response to HIV/AIDS among young Tanzanian professional couples. While research from across the African continent demonstrates how gender and sexual relations fueled the spread of AIDS, scholars are just beginning to understand how AIDS has affected gender and sexuality in African contexts. Specifically, I examined how the disease's transmission mode through gendered sexual conduct governed by dominant cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity has influenced the lifestyles of young professional couples. The empirical data revealed that young professional couples are reconstructing their gender identities and sexual conduct to align more closely with an ideal of marital partnership as a result of the HIV/AIDS disease.

After realizing that HIV/AIDS transmission is fueled by lifestyles that embrace constructions of masculinity driven by multiple sexual partners and those of femininity controlled by sexual modesty and respectability, the young professional couples jointly rearranged their priorities from communally- and institutionally-supported social practices to self initiative and self reflective actions in order to construct "mindful marital lifestyles." In these types of lifestyles, they do not abandon hegemonic gender constructions entirely, but rather selectively and creatively use them to create less restricted gender/sexual identities and open forms of gender/sexual relations suitable for a monogamous marital life in the era of AIDS. For example, the non-use of condoms by young professional couples is not due to a lack of female sexual negotiation power or

male refusal. It is part of an effort to construct a socially and physically safe sex environment which promotes fidelity.

By approaching health-related behaviors as collective lifestyles I was able to conceive disease prevention as a process embedded within the gender construction process in the everyday lives of individuals. Instead of examining prevention in individuals indirectly through their responses to the prescriptive behaviors of prevention programs, health-seeking behavior in the context of AIDS in this study was ultimately examined in a historical framework, because the social process was itself possible only in a historical and cultural context where "the social organization of gender" became conceptualized as a distinct arena of human experience. Using two generations of professional couples who lived their young professional lives before and during the HIV/AIDS era, I did not try to determine causes of particular enactments and meanings of gender in the couples in each generation. Rather, I interrogated particular explanations of the social organization of gender and the conditions in which these have emerged beginning with the pre-colonial, colonial, and socialist eras and proceeding to the neo-liberal and AIDS eras. By doing this, I was able to understand gender as a lived social relation, and explore how gender agency emerged out of the processes of experiencing life in each era. Preventing AIDS is incorporated into the everyday lives of individuals doing gender and is not reducible to bare, biological facts.

By working at the interface of history applied to the perspectives of social constructionism, life course/generations, gender interaction, and lay normativity, I was able to understand constructions of gender explanations as historically specific social attributions that reveal the conditions of their own production and the meanings they have

for those subjected to them. Based on this conceptual framework, this dissertation has thoroughly analyzed sexually transmitted HIV disease prevention as a historical context for gender reconstruction. AIDS has opened up new ways of thinking about and defining gender as linked to sexual conduct.

In addition to multiple theories, my study also employed a multiple-method approach. This approach is, I would argue, important if one plans to work at different levels of analysis, and in the analyses presented above different methods were used to address and clarify different parts of the social phenomenon studied. The main method—life history in-depth interviewing—was used to investigate self-assessed interpersonal skills, gender consciousness, and changes in the pattern of the sexual conduct, and to assess couples' experiences of detailed negotiation and transformation of gender designs *of* the times to construct gender designs *for* their lives. Semi-structured questionnaire data was used to investigate demographic and lifestyle patterns, and exposure to relational resources (e.g., self help material). Other methods, such as key informant interviews and participant observation, were used to triangulate the relational resources and lifestyle data obtained from life history interviews and semi-structured questionnaire data. Focus group discussion results were used to triangulate the data on gender consciousness emerging out of the interaction between the institutional level and individual level negotiation of marital intimate life from life history interview material. I also used focus group discussion material to investigate change in gender relations (i.e., through collage analysis). By examining information collected by different methods findings can be corroborated across data from each method, reducing the impact of potential biases that

can sometimes exist in a single method (Creswell 2003). Next, I summarize some of the key empirical findings and their implications.

The shift to an orientation toward "mindful marital lifestyles" discussed in chapters six and seven signals a new configuration of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality in which the value of multiple sexual partners enabled by the norm of male multiple sexual partners behavior has lost prestige. This does not rule out HIV risk in marital sexual relations, though. If either of the partners does not adhere to the "mindful marital lifestyles" there will be risk. This may probably partly explain the current high HIV rates in this group, given their mobility status as professional and their material conditions. Another key change has occurred in the attitudes of women who no longer feel shameful and disrespectful when they engage in erotic marital sexual conduct. This finding confirms Giddens' conceptualization of modern love. These free and "shameless wives" are ready to engage in marital sexual variety—democratic love. They do so not only because of AIDS, but also the parallel existence of the self help discourse on love that empowers young professionals to be more democratic and revolutionary in sexual love. In this way, the new marital lifestyle that aims to realize marital sexual exclusivity is an indication of the reach of AIDS prevention efforts in the context of a transformation of love discourses through individual initiatives. However, because some men see "mindful marital lifestyles" as compatible with limited forms of multiple sexual partnerships, it also represents the limits of prevention efforts based on individual sexual behavior change. This explains why not all young professional couples within a generation demonstrate this change in lifestyle; rather, the change occurs only for couples who exhibit a structural perception of conditions around HIV prevention.

My findings are comparable to a study on condom use in rural Malawi. Again rational choice theory with it's framing of the meanings of condoms as a simple choice to avoid risky behavior and rationally attempt to protect ones' health fails to explain and understand the complex semiotic space that rural Malawians navigate. For rural Malawians, condom use signifies a risky, less serious and less intimate partner. According to Swidler and Tavory (2009), a complex semiotic understanding of how people talk about condoms and their use has implications for HIV/AIDS prevention seeking behavior. For instance, they argue: "Even when people believe condom use is appropriate, wise or even a matter of life and death, the statement that condom use makes [e.g. untrustworthy, promiscuous sexual partner, loveless sex, etc] about a relationship usually trumps all other meanings[i.e. sexual safety]." (p171). One would rather not use a condom in order to be considered trustworthy in a relationship because that "value" matters to her or him.

Like other studies, the Malawi study nonetheless, does not address how people deal with this contradictory concern with both physical and social risk in order to seek prevention (i.e. exercise agency), which my study does. My study reveals a "mindful marital lifestyle strategy", a disease prevention seeking behavior which dialectically takes into account, both the social risk involved (i.e. the gender relations shaping social risk perception that influence sexual conduct) as well as the physical risk of HIV. In doing so, married couples prioritize the avoidance of social risk in order to avoid the physical risk that might follow if either of the couple is unsatisfied with marital sexual relations. This explains why couples opt for condom free sex, even though a rational choice approach would see this as physically risky because it fails to take into account the social

risks present in an era of HIV/AIDS. An alternative approach that considers values and commitments not just rationality is able to address how couples exercise agency by embracing gendered behaviors that enhance marital stability and promote marital sexual exclusivity, hence possibly sexual safety from HIV.

Overall, the impact of the AIDS epidemic on conceptions of masculinity and femininity revealed in this study has turned out to be organized around a two-facet emerging/ongoing process: the serious weighing and consideration of "taken for granted" male multiple sexual partners behavior and the reconfiguration of marital sex. Next, I summarize the main findings related to the two-facet process.

Serious weighing and consideration of "taken for granted" male multiple sexual partners behavior: Humbled husbands

Professional couples in the older generation did not seem to have worried very much about extramarital sex, partly because it did not pose a fatal outcome. Because they experienced their young professional life during the era of state socialism, their gender relations were largely driven by discourses of peace, freedom, and unity which were greatly reflected in their life history narratives. They lived in an era that shared the belief that some sexual practices were considered shocking and shameful in the marital space but normal in the street. In the younger generation, these sexual conduct considerations have been overturned due to AIDS. This transformation was also facilitated by changes in marital ideals, or rather concerns. While the younger generation held marital ideals characterized by emotional intimacy, sexual pleasure, trust, and warmth, the older generation focused more on respect and fulfillment of gendered obligations.

Young professional husbands are disrupting extramarital opportunity structures by changing the way they respond to them. They are fashioning more spousal leisure time and spaces and exercising moral agency in having sexual variety with their wives. These husbands embrace a self consciously modern masculinity. These "mindful" and "humbled" husbands articulate an encompassing vision of themselves as family men and committed partners of their wives. This is an assertion not just of an affective and sexual companionship but of a partnership based on a deep knowledge of one's partner's true self.

On the other hand, the young professional wives are refocusing on private success in marital sexual conduct. Wives are transgressing the decent women ethic of sexual respectability in the realm of marital sex. Young professional husbands share commitment with their wives to reconstructing marital sex morals through companionship and fidelity. This male commitment has not stopped extramarital sex but has pressured and alerted men to practice safer sex if need be outside by using condoms, for example. Likewise women demand condom use outside marriage.

Reconfiguring marital sex: Shameless wives

This is not to say that all women were, or continue to be, dominated by men. As discussed in Chapter Five, there were many elite Tanzanian women who garnered significantly more power and authority than most men. Contemporary changes in the status of women in Tanzanian society are of fundamental importance to current tensions around masculinity and male authority as well as troubled femininity. As discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, the shift in dependencies among women on men has created a

demand for women to reconstruct newer ways of being a woman. Young professional couples accept women in a limited headship role that entails a consultative process of joint heading while the breadwinner role is not a big gender-distinguishing factor anymore. Each spouse admitted bringing home the bread but this in itself has not challenged notions of male superiority because many men easily reconcile women working with continued male authority in all spheres. However, several other factors not directly related to work have also impacted connections between femininity and female sexuality.

AIDS has made professional wives seek to engage in sexual variety, implicitly becoming the street woman in their own houses, as they transgress the respectable wife norm. The narratives of professional wives from the older generation showed that their own sexual dialogue was limited and that marital sex was considered respectful. The importance of women's sexual respectability contributes to the quest for sexual variety in both husbands and wives. The female sexual respectability norm is constructed and reinforced through discourses of men fearing to insult their wives by straying too far from normative ways of doing sex. Women, on the other hand, fear that willingness to engage in more varied sexual play will risk their status as a respectable wife of the home as opposed to a shameless woman of the street. This configuration of marital sex creates the potential for both husbands and wives to rely on other sexual partners for sexual variety. It thus forms the backdrop for the extramarital pursuit of sexual variety among couples whose marriages lack the confidence (trust) that would facilitate such variety.

However, as we saw in this dissertation, this construction of marital sex based on the respectability norm is being reconfigured in the young professional couples. They

develop trust and give each other confidence to facilitate sexual variety as a strategy to keep sex in the house in the age of AIDS. With greater critical sensitivity to their everyday lives' pursuits, individuals can make even more efforts to reconstruct their gender so that no ill health consequences emanating from fixed conceptions of gender constructions are experienced. Below, I offer some suggestions on what directions such an agenda may take. First, I provide a summary of how AIDS is affecting gender based on the existing literature and my dissertation findings (See table 6.0 and 6.1 on the next page). Pertinent in the tables means that it is an issue individuals are reconstructing. In the first table I list the aspects of gender and HIV risk which are important in young professionals' lives according to previous literature. In the second table I list what young professionals reported as important aspects of gender and HIV risk in the current study.

Table 6.0. SUMMARY: Reconstruction of Masculinity and Femininity in Young Professional Couples in Dar es Salaam in the age of AIDS

	Aspects of Gender that influence HIV risk	Aspects of HIV gender risk being reconfigured	Pertinent to Husbands?	Pertinent to Wives?	Pertinent to both?
From the Gender and HIV risk literature	1. Male biased sexual decision-making	X	Yes	No	No
	2. Female control of sexual situations	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	3. Taken for granted male infidelity.	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	4. Masculinity expressed in sexual risk-taking & and drug-using	X	No	No	No
	5. Coercive sex				
	6. Condom use	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	7. Oppressive Cultural norms	X	Yes	No	No
	8. Economic autonomy of women	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	9. Women submissiveness	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	10. Knowledge of sexual matters	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	11. Women pose as modest	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	12. Wives not act promiscuous				
	13. Women silent on sexuality and sexual health including STI/HIV prevention.	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	14. Men expected to be sexually knowledgeable and experienced	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	15. Men expected to be virile and healthy,	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	16. Manliness expressed and proved through casual and multiple partners	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	17. Manliness expressed through infidelity, and dominance in sexual relations.	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	18. Vulnerability associated with their age and norms				
	19. Marriage as major risk factor				
	20. Condom use and motherhood	X	No	Yes	No
	21. Sexual violence				
From the current research	1. Expressive love and trust (fidelity…sexual exclusivity in marriage)	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	2. Communication	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	3. Respect	X	No	Yes	No
	4. Troubling femininities	X	Yes	Yes	Yes
	5. Leisure and time	X	Yes	No	No
	6. Keeping closer to spouse	X	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 6.1. Detailed explanations of gender aspects that influence HIV risk in Table 5a.

	Aspects of Gender that influence HIV risk
From the Gender and HIV risk literature	1. Men are assumed to have the right to decide whether and when to have sex, regardless of the woman's wishes. 2. In some situations, young women are expected to control sexual situations, and blamed if they are unable to do so. 3. Expectations of sexual fidelity often differ by sex, putting one or the other partner at greater risk of infection. 4. Men who believe that risk-taking is an expression of masculinity may be more likely to engage in high-risk sexual and drug-using behaviors. 5. coercive sex 6. A woman's unwillingness to demand condom use indicates a wife's inability to refuse sex with an infected partner. 7. Cultural norms that assign members of one sex a subservient position. 8. Limits of the economic autonomy of women 9. Girls and women are often raised to be submissive. 10. Girls and women are often raised to be unaware of sexual matters until marriage 11. Women often fear reprisals from their partners and others, or being identified as immodest or 12. Women often fear reprisals from their partners and others, or being identified as promiscuous, 13. Women often fear reprisals from their partners and others, or being identified as unfaithful, if they raise issues related to sexuality and sexual health including STI/HIV prevention 14. Boys and men are often expected to be sexually knowledgeable and experienced, 15. Boys and men are often expected to be virile and healthy, 16. Boys and men may express sexual prowess to prove their manliness through casual and multiple partners (including sex workers), 17. Boys and men may prove their manliness through infidelity, and dominance in sexual relations. This deters many men from asking questions or seeking STI/HIV/AIDS services 18. Vulnerability associated with their age and norms may promote respect of men's authority in sexual matters and contraceptive use, and dictate sex as a wife's duty, regardless of risks to herself. 19. Marriage can be a major risk factor for women who are powerless to a) negotiate condom use or b) their husbands' extramarital behavior. 20. Social values surrounding fertility and motherhood often prevent women from using condoms 21. Sexual violence

8.2. Study implications and recommendations.

In this section I present the general theoretical implications of my study for analyzing the impact of HIV/AIDS on gender prevention research, and HIV/AIDS prevention programs.

Implications for social construction theory of gender and practice in health interventions in the context of HIV/AIDS

The concern about using Western theories in the African context is valid. However, my study showed that such theories can be adapted to the local context to offer insight into behavior among individuals in sub-Saharan Africa. One example of this adaptation was seen in Butler's (1990) conception of object of desire as an important factor describing sexual identity in the West compared to sexual public reputations in Tanzania.

My findings suggest that in Tanzania, while there are alternative, more gender-equitable discourses circulating and responding to changes in historical contexts, professional wives and husbands continue to adhere to some traditional notions of gender relations and sexual conduct. They appear to be drawing on resistant discourses that place problematic interpretations of HIV/AIDS interventions (i.e., condom use) for marital AIDS prevention strategies in the foreground. It is crucial for gender theorists, practitioners, and the public health community to recognize that gender roles and relations are grounded in shared ideology. Because gender roles and relations are reciprocal and mutually agreed upon, attempts to change the knowledge, attitudes, motivation, or practices of only one group may disrupt familiar gender-linked interaction

patterns without offering viable alternatives. This holds true not only in Tanzania but in all localized systems of gender. I contend that developing an understanding of the gender system from the perspectives of both women and men is an essential precursor to the success of any interventions into sexual practices and gender relations.

Thus, one important lesson from my study is that it would be a mistake to target only one half of the gender system, such as only wives, when developing interventions for social change, particularly HIV prevention. In Tanzania, much of the earlier research and practice tended to prioritize women. This emphasis has been criticized for inadvertently blaming women for the HIV/AIDS epidemic and for reproducing traditional gender roles, heteronormativity, and hegemonic (hetero) sexual practices. Prioritizing one gender may leave little room for stepping outside the ongoing current construction of gender. Thus, some professional wives in my study felt that renouncing the effort to seek equal ways of sharing decisions may help with the confusion of professional husbands and wives thinking that women want to retaliate through asserting gender-based economic status (something which was justified in some cases). This "solution" retains the zero-sum notion of power that underlies the current gender system.

Instead, I argue that the shared ideology of zero-sum power should be challenged by working with both women and men. With women, the sense that "enough is enough" and women should fight back, can perhaps be channeled into pro-social collective action. With men, the notion of women having too much power could perhaps be channeled into a conceptualization of power as family and group based rather than adversarial and individual. One optimistic development is that the spouses who professed faithfulness articulated an encompassing vision of themselves as committed people and partners of

their spouses. Rather than focusing on presenting a skillfully packaged public sexual self to their spouses, these spouses insist on seamlessness between their sexual reputation and their inner self that precludes the possibility of hidden sexual indiscretions.

Young professional husbands and wives who talk about fidelity as a crucial element of their modern gender relations (masculinity and femininity) can be seen as cultural innovators. Not only do they avail themselves of locally available discourses from cultural consumption sources about modern masculinity and femininity; they interrogate and negotiate these discourses with ambivalence in the process of constructing alternative conceptions of masculinity and femininity. It is important to note that fidelity-concern discourses were not present in the narratives of professional couples from the older generation. This finding leads me to conclude that these discourses have become salient among the current generation because of the presence of the HIV/AIDS disease.

Another implication of my results is that a backlash can be expected following intervention efforts designed to empower women. Social change in the direction of gender equality usually provokes resistance. Backlash was evident in my study in the discussion of troubled femininity by the many male claims that the empowerment of women has already gone too far, and that men are being victimized and disempowered by these changes (see also Silberschmidt 2004). Researchers who design HIV/AIDS interventions, and practitioners who provide services to targeted social groups, should be prepared for a similar backlash and develop strategies to minimize and channel it. This point underscores my study's recommendation that interventions be specific to certain population segments. While I affirm the importance of continued investment by the state

in programs to encourage condom use among persons who engage in sexual relationships outside marriage (e.g., young single individuals, students, divorced individuals, prostitutes, widows/widowers, etc.) I recommend the "mindful marital lifestyles model" for married couples. I further recommend that rather than focusing on one intervention to serve everybody, there should be targeted interventions. Organizers should conduct population segmentation studies to determine which segments face what issues and to uncover what would be the most effective HIV-prevention strategies prior to installing them.

Change in the direction of gender equity in Tanzania may depend on recognizing and acknowledging the deep ambivalence about change that is present among both women and men. For example, a factor that will need to be considered in planning interventions aimed at men is the widely held conviction that men, too, are victims of traditional gender relations, and are, in fact, discriminated against in seeking help for disentanglement from the cultural entrapment of being the privileged gender. It is evident that far more than the current constitutional and legal change is required to shift the entrenched gender roles and practices that prevail in traditionally patriarchal communities. For example, with respect to the legal changes and resources made available to women who are victims of gender-oppressive marriages, educational interventions are required to prepare communities for the appropriate use and acceptance of such resources. Thus, intervening in the social and material conditions that underlie the HIV epidemic will necessarily require tactics aimed at overcoming resistance in both women and men to changes in gender relations.

As long as Tanzanian men (and some women) conceptualize power as a zero-sum game, legal changes, economic changes, and social programs aimed at empowering women will continue to provoke resistance. Redefining masculinity and femininity and shifting gender relations in the direction of "power with" instead of "power over" is a tall order but perhaps a necessary prelude to lasting social change and curbing the HIV epidemic in Tanzania.

By using the life course approach to study change in gender relations that influence risky sexual conduct, this study has revealed the following theoretical implications pertaining to disease-prevention-seeking behavioral studies in the public health and medical sociological literature. This study has shown that rational choice theory fails to explain how change is produced in gender constructions linked to risky sexual conduct. Instead, moral concerns—as in lay judgments and a transforming love and intimacy—take precedence in explaining behavior change among the gendered sexual conduct of young professionals' in the era of HIV/AIDS.

In most cases, health/disease-prevention-seeking behavior models depart from the assumption that individuals generally aim to maximize utility and thus prefer behaviors which are associated with the highest expected benefits. Socially safe sex behavior is characterized by erotic and democratic sexual conduct as well as marital stability, as opposed to physically safe sex which is characterized by marital strain. Additionally, emotional aspects and non-rational behavior (i.e., condom-free sex and physically risky options) which strongly influence health/disease-prevention-seeking behavior are given much less weight. Given this limitation of rational choice theory to explain the sexual

conduct preferences of young professionals, the life history approach could significantly enhance the medical sociology literature on disease-prevention-seeking behavior.

In order to respond to community perspectives and needs, health systems (in this case AIDS interventions) need to adapt their strategies, taking into account the findings from behavioral studies. Hence, my study offers several policy implications discussed in the next section.

Implications and recommendations for HIV/AIDS prevention programs

With respect to potential policy implications, the "mindful marital lifestyle" described above has important implications for both HIV prevention locally and for the framing of prevention programs more broadly. First, given the ways couples are revealing a commitment to jointly/cooperatively manage their opportunities for extramarital sexuality in order to facilitate marital sexual exclusivity, if one partner is responsible for infecting the other, he or she is likely to be the subject of scorn in the marriage. The first approach to prevention suggested by these results, therefore, would be to frame HIV prevention messages around a couple's strategies to protect one another.

Another important finding that supports this first approach is the changing gendered use of leisure space to resist hegemonic gender constructions and relatively new discourses of gender equity. Closing the gap in gendered leisure time and spaces in marriages through more leisure time spent as a couple, and reconstructing the sexually respectable wife into a shameless lover through trust and open communication is a crucial strategy through which young professional couples protect each other from social risks of infidelity.

Creating effective dialogues about marital HIV protection for young professionals has to incorporate messages that support what is already being undertaken by the young professionals themselves. Prevention messages should consider issues such as career mobility, geographical separations due to spousal job transfers, and work-related mobility and the challenges these bring to marital sexual integrity. They should also offer supportive messages about how to better manipulate both relational and material resources to construct the desired partnership marital lifestyles. Significantly, the messages should entice couples to encourage each other to exercise moral agency linked to sexual variety in marital sex.

Second, policy makers must take the social risk in marriage as seriously as the viral risk. This is important because the individuals who are to be reached exhibit a social rather than an individual view of their health as the foremost goal. Third, policy makers and public heath advocates should ground professional-couples-based HIV prevention programs in the notion of "mindful marital lifestyles." It is time to go beyond an emphasis on searching for risky acts and shift the focus to empirically-supported preventive strategies initiated by individuals. Using the idea of "mindful marital lifestyles" would mean allowing the social construction of HIV prevention to be driven by experiential responses to the disease. This implies developing specific interventions to support and encourage the initiatives of individuals. The findings of this dissertation support the argument in Smith's (2007) work on extramarital sex in Nigeria—that explaining extramarital sexual behavior in terms of men naturally needing or wanting multiple sexual partners is insufficient because sexual desires do not emerge or operate in a social and cultural vacuum. Indeed, in this dissertation the narratives of young

professional couples revealed certain patterns in the *social organization* of extramarital sex and described the ways in which these couples are turning away from these patterns.

Already there are prevention efforts addressing marital transmission through extramarital sex in Tanzania, such as the "OneLove Campaign" by the *Femina* Health Information Project. To complement these efforts and connect them back to the people, their perspectives can be combined with the socially constructed change strategies illustrated by the people's responses to marital risk. The *Femina* project points to a lack of communication as the reason for multiple sex partners. "Some people have sexual preferences but they are either afraid or ashamed to communicate this with their partners."[109] This is a fact which motivated the young professional couples examined in this dissertation to exercise moral agency in marital sex in the age of AIDS. They do this by increasing transparency in communication, implementing innovations in their use of leisure spaces, keeping closer, and giving each other trust and confidence to indulge in sexual variety in marital sex. The concept of "mindful marital lifestyles" can result in a great deal of helpful information for programmatic prevention efforts by offering examples of how some couples are attacking the social organization of extramarital sexuality which is the most common route for HIV marital transmission.

Finally, the kitchen party is a great resource for imparting relational skills and HIV-related knowledge to couples, through wives. Likewise, the newly invented "bag party" for husbands offers a new venue for inviting a representative from a public health organization to be the main speaker. For both social events, this speaker could address various topics, including how to handle the moral implications brought about by some AIDS prevention measures, such as condoms. They can also share ongoing strategies,

[109] (Philemon, *Guardian/IPP Media*, 10/24/2008).

such as “mindful marital lifestyle” practices, with the audiences. This public health involvement requires lobbying efforts in order to convince the main stakeholders of the kitchen party institution (the church, other KiSwahili women, and the brides and grooms) of the usefulness and relevance of critically examining marital relationships in the age of AIDS.

8.3. Agenda for future research

There are several issues to be addressed by the research agenda that emerge from this dissertation. Some of the items include the role of class analysis in understanding further how different groups initiate HIV-prevention strategies, the role of different relational resources in gender construction that translates to positive HIV prevention strategies, and the role of leisure in marital sexual exclusivity or enhancement of marital fidelity. I choose to discuss the latter.

This dissertation has highlighted a massive void in existing scholarship regarding the link between leisure patterns and gendered constructions of marital sexuality in Tanzania, especially in understanding patterns of individual initiatives of HIV/AIDS disease prevention. There is therefore an urgent need to fill this gap by undertaking gendered leisure analysis of individuals’ HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives. Studies in the West have documented how leisure practices reproduce dominant gender relations in society. The recognition that gender ideologies are socially constructed (Lorber and Farell 1991), and that the process of assigning meaning arises out of social actions and interaction, underscores the importance of leisure in the construction of meaning. This

has led to theoretical discussions on the potential impact of leisure practice on ideologies of masculinity and femininity.

The process of cultural reproduction through leisure can be seen to arise out of the activities that people engage in, the social interaction that takes place during such activities, and the gendered messages embedded within leisure consumer products. Many leisure practices are seen simply as "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman 1991). For example, the act of professional husbands going out to drink without their wives in both generations in a male separate leisure space not only leads to constraints on the broad participation of both females and males, but also reinforces the idea of the gendered appropriateness of activities. Similarly, the taken for granted separation of male leisure outside and the female in the home also perpetuates conformity to dominant gender relations. The role of interpersonal interaction in the reproduction of gender is evident in social leisure. For example, teasing, joking, and abusive interactions in drinking places reinforce patriarchal values and perpetuate the social control of women's behavior. Hence, because most leisure activities are characterized by social interaction, the potential for reproduction of gender is apparent. However, even when it is limited, the consumption of media products reinforces gendered ideologies as can be seen in the "messages" conveyed by such products.

Leisure, of course, does not always reinforce dominant gender ideologies. It can challenge such ideologies as well. More research is needed to describe ways in which husbands and wives resist and challenge hegemonic views of masculinity and femininity through leisure that lends significance to HIV/AIDS prevention. Although relatively little empirical research on leisure as resistance has been completed to date, many different

leisure activities linked to extramarital sex, such as leisure during work- related travels, can be seen as potential sites for resistance for both women and men. This is because the characteristics of leisure include freedom of choice, self expression, and self determination. This is a potential area of research where we may wish to explore ways in which daily leisure activities and pursuits contribute to the social reconstruction and meanings of gender that implicate HIV/AIDS prevention in Tanzania . Questions to further explore can include: which leisure can be seen to act as a challenge to dominant ideologies governing sexuality? What is the outcome of leisure practice on gendered beliefs? Does resistance in leisure carry over into other areas of social life, including the home or the work place or health seeking behavior?

Leisure activities may be significant in terms of resistance to historical legacies of thought systems and practices that perpetuate HIV risk, and may be a critical part of the construction and reconstruction of a new gender order. “The fact that leisure pursuits are often “ordinary” everyday activities and are typically thought as “innocent” or “marginal” will hopefully not mean that their potential for reproduction and resistance will be overlooked” (Zeleza and Veney 2003:68). This applies to HIV/AIDS prevention scholarship.

In this study I have documented the dynamic and complex processes of interaction that actively constructed and continue to construct the gender system in Tanzania. I demonstrated the power of studying both women and men as a means to uncover the dynamics obscured by a women-biased approach. Moreover, I focused on professional couples, who are inclined to, and are already developing, egalitarian lifestyles and on the processes by which they arrived at these lifestyle choices. I argue

that their views offer more insight into the use of a relational approach within the gender system in Tanzania. The study findings also provide knowledge of practical value that can be incorporated into gender equality campaigning efforts in Tanzania.

Although this study focused on young professional couples in Tanzania, its findings and implications will no doubt resonate for other African countries. Hopefully it will help young professional wives and husbands around the continent become more critically sensitive to obstacles inhibiting their inner desires of excelling in both marital and career aspects of their lives in the age of HIV/AIDS, and respond "mindfully" in dealing with them. Hopefully, the moral agency exhibited through reconfigurations of marital sex and reconstruction of male multiple sexual partners behavior through "shameless wives" and "humbled husbands" in the contexts of HIV/AIDS prevention will someday gain popularity and contribute to diminishing AIDS-related human health insecurity.

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APPENDICES.

Appendix 1

Research Instruments

a). Recruitment questionnaire

Demographic and socioeconomic data
Number……..
Date of birth: (If not 1940s or 1970s drop)…….
Occupation: (must be professional)……..
Marital status: (must be married)……
Spouse name……
Spouse occupation (must be professional)

Other characteristics
How social are you?

a. keep to oneself- if yes do not recruit
b. have extensive networks of peers – if yes recruit
c. have extensive networks of all kinds – if yes recruit

1940s cohort
Were you and spouse working in 1970s? If yes recruit

1970s
Are you and spouse currently working? If yes recruit.

Note:
The label "young middle class professionals" in this work apply to a group of young adults in the middle class with a specialized knowledge in the work they do. These include but are not limited to technological, organizational, intellectual and business management expertise.

b). Cultural consumption pattern questionnaire

Please complete this short questionnaire that requests your basic socioeconomic and demographic information as well as data on your cultural consumption habits, what are they and how do you consume them. These include such as the kinds of books, magazines, television programs, and other media you prefer as well as cultural sites you visit and cultural products you consume.

Demographic & socio-economic information

Date of the interview…….. Number……

Place of the interview…….
Place and date of birth……..
Father's place and date of birth, occupation
…….
Mother's place and date of birth, occupation
…….
Marital status……
Type of profession…….
Education status…….
Gender…….
Income bracket……..
Type of car own……..
Renter/homeowner……

Cultural activities/products/sites

Books…….
Novels……
Magazine……
Films/video……
Music……
TV programs……..
Radio programs…….
Places of entertainment (cinema, theater, drinking places, traditional events, discos, parks, taarabs etc)……
……..
Clothing style (khangas, tailor maid, "special" bought from shops, etc)…….
……..
Sports…….
Gym……..
Church…….
Evangelical meetings/prayer related gatherings……

Others not in the list?
……
……..

e.g. How do you consume books? Library? buying?
How do you consume videos? Renting? Buying?

c). Face-sheet and Field notes

Date of the interview: _____ Number: _____
Place of the interview: _____

1. Gender: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Place of birth: _____

4. Place of residence in : _____

5. Religion, if any: _____

6. Years in Dar es salaam _____

7. Where else lived in : _____

8. Current marital status

    1. Married _____ where is spouse? _____

    2. Divorce _____ where is former spouse? _____

    3. Widow (er) _____ (has to be currently married)

9. How many children do you have, if any? _____Where are they? _____

10. Highest degree obtained:
    1. College Diploma/Technical_____

    2. Bachelor degree_____

    3. Graduate School _____ (has to be educated)

11. What is your occupation? _____ (has to be professional)

12. Where is it? (Dar es Salaam, or any other place. Does it involve extensive travel or long periods away from home?)

Comments: (Description of the setting; interviewee's reaction to the questions; issues that called my attention during the interview; summary of the interview and themes that emerged in the interview; difficulties I encountered during the interview; new questions I should ask in the future; other aspects).

d). Interview Guide for both 1930s-40s & 1960s-70s cohorts.

Interviewing for life-histories, lived situations and personal experience

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to collect information on the different experiences Tanzania young professional couples from two generational cohorts have in relation to cultural constructions of gender in general and personally. The focus is on cultural beliefs, values and practices revolving around gender as a social structure within the Tanzania young professional couples community before the onset of HIV/AIDS epidemic (a sexually transmitted disease whose spread is fueled by gender inequalities) and how these get reconfigured if at all during the HIV/AIDS epidemic era. The interview is expected to last approximately one to two hours. All the information collected in

this interview will be confidential and your identity will remain anonymous. I will be the only person who will have access to it.
Feel free to interrupt and ask for clarifications, if a question is unclear. You don't have to answer all the questions if you don't want to and you can stop the interview if you feel like it.

Note 1: The interviews will be conducted in Swahili, unless the interviewee decides otherwise.
Note 2: I will use the biographical narrative interviewing mode into people's lived experience of their lives and situations which has a concern for the variety of past and present, dominant and less dominant perspectives that they currently hold on those experiences and that they held before and during those experiences. This method, through its focus on eliciting narratives of past experience rather than (just) explicit statements of present or remembered 'position', facilitates the expression and detection of implicit and often suppressed perspectives in the present as well as the expression and detection of earlier perspectives (and counter-narratives) that are no less contradictory and emotional. Consequently, biographic narratives research is particularly suited for longitudinal process studies, since it asks for retrospective whole stories and particular incident experiences prior to the first biographic narrative interview.
Note 3: Opening question: "Please tell me your family story and your personal life story; I am interested in your whole life. Anything that occurs to you. You have as much time as you like to tell it. I won't ask you any questions for now. I just will make some notes on the things that I would like to ask you more about later; if we haven't got enough time today, perhaps in a second interview". The guide below will be used selectively depending on what was not well captured in the first life history narrative.

Gender defining, constructing and enacting contexts:
(*The goal for this section is to have the participant give an account of his or her gender defining and construction experience within her/his historical, cultural and socioeconomic context[s]. To account for any change in gender defining, construction and enactments over time. Probe for how have detrimental social norms about manhood, poor communication between spouses, and women's poor roles in sexual decision-making become contested and changed. Interviewer should be able to differentiate accounts of expected normative gender definition and behaviors from accounts of alternatives).*

[Have you ever been interviewed before about your gender experience?**]**

Cultural factors
How would you describe who is a man and who is a woman?

- What are the socially prescribed definitions of appropriate male and female behaviors and responsibilities? Have these remained the same throughout the time you knew about of them? If not how have they changed and why*?(look out for how colonial, socialist and early independence social conditions i.e. missionary work, traditional rites, kinship ties, nationalism, national culture, "Ujamaa" in the 1940s cohort and neo liberal economy, multiparty politics, HIV/AIDS, globalization, religious fundamentalism, consumerism and pluralistic ideologies in the 1970s cohort shaped gender conceptions and behavior)*
- Describe what you do as a man/woman? What do you do as masculine/feminine? Or what do your peers do?

Do you think there are things you can and cannot do as women/men? How so?
Do you feel there are things you can and cannot do as women/men? How so?
What beliefs do you hold that make you think, feel you can and cannot do as women/ men? How so?
How did you become the man/woman you are?

Are these your individual or a family beliefs influence? Or peer? Or popular culture? (Or any other source)How so?
Have these beliefs remained the same throughout your lifetime? If no, how have they changed? What changed them? How so? *(Probe; generally, and personally in their life experience. Probe for gender beliefs that require females to remain ignorant, passive, subordinate, modest and faithful in sexual relations while simultaneously promoting the notion that man ought to be knowledgeable and experienced.)*
So, what do you consider are your appropriate behaviors as women/men in a couple relationships?
What are your expectations of a woman and man in a couple relationships? Have these remained the same in your life? *(Probe for gender inequality, gender violence, fgm, sexual negotiation, love, intimacy, fidelity, morals, emotions,)*
Are there values determining these roles and expectations? If, so describe them? (Probe for religion, modernity, HIV/AIDS, etc.) (define value)
Who else shares these views of roles and expectations of a women and men in a couple relationships? *(Probe: age, generation, class, gender,ethnicity, religion)*
What is your opinion on women and men equality? How is the status of gender equality in your relationship? In your peers' couple relationships? Describe it? How does it manifest? If no, and why?

- Given what you have said about your life before you became the man/woman you are now and given what you have said about your gender experience now, how do you understand gender relations in your life? What sense do they make to you*? (Probe for social memories, ethical dimension of gender and moral concerns).*

Is the belief in the inherent superiority of males prevalent in your life?
What is it that makes men still heads of households today, if women can do most of the stuff that is associated with headship?
What is the role of male authority and power in your marriage? Is there room for a woman to exercise authority and power in your marriage? If so how? If not why?
How do expectations that males are primary decision makers in all spheres of the family play out in your couple relationship? (Probe for sexual matters, such as when and how to have sex, use of protection etc.)
Do you believe males should always initiate and control sex? If so why, if no why?

Economic factors

- Economic independence

How does/did economic autonomy affect your decision-making in your relationship? Did/does it matter? How so? (Probe at sexual realm).
How does/did it affect your sexual behavior?

- Access to good employment

How does/did job security shape your expectations of a man and a woman in your couple relationship?

- Access to education and training (knowledge).

How does/did being educated and exposed affect your decision-making ability and shape your expectations of a man and a woman in your couple relationship?

- Job and career mobility and geographic mobility of employment

How does this affect your sexual life?

<u>Influencing factors and rules/schemas and resources in the gender defining process</u>

(The goal for this section is to have the participant give an account of the factors that influence his or her social actions when they articulate their experiences of gender relations and the rules/schemas and resources they use to construct gender. (look out or probe for social forces such as imperialism, globalization, religion, modernity, economy, HIV/AIDS, class and their discourses, and schemas and resources such as cultural consumption and social memories. Interviewer should note differences of accounts by cohort, tribal connections and gender and what explains the differences).

Social forces and their discourses influencing gender defining process

- What factors shaped the way you define and enact how to be a man/how to be a woman over time? *(Probe for social forces such as religion and modernity and their discourses)*

Have the factors shaping your definition of how to be a man and a woman changed? If they did, how has the change affected you? What factors shaped your earlier and current definitions of masculinity and femininity? (Probe for education, participation in jeshi, HIV/AIDS, neo-liberal era etc.)

- How did the factors you mentioned become influential in shaping your masculinity/femininity experiences?
- Describe the role they play in shaping the meaning you attach to femininity/masculinity and how you enact femininity/ masculinity in your everyday life.
- Given what you have said about the role the given factors play in shaping your gender life, how do you understand these factors that influence your gender related social actions? What sense do they make to you?

Tools to define gender: cultural products and activities

- What role has cultural consumption of cultural products played in building your relationships, sex , and gender*?(probe for films, magazines, books, novels, music ,clothing, and Swahili radio plays, TV programs etc)*
- What role have cultural activities and lifestyles played in building your relationships, sex, and gender*?(probe for lifestyles and fashion, praying, western leisure activities, drinking, and locally based leisure activities such as traditional dances, taarabs, etc.)*

What messages are given out through the products, activities and styles of life?
How are men and women portrayed?
How do you feel about the messages given out? Why?
Have the messages influenced you in any way? Your opinion or behavior? How? Why?
How do their messages relate to you? Do you feel the messages are directly relevant to you? How? Why?

- How important are cultural products and activities as schemas and resources (define these concepts i.e. building blocks) to use to construct your gender. What do you feel are the most important cultural products and activities? Why? *(Note for strength of cultural products messages, changing role of the cultural products consumed)*
- Is it common for you and your spouse (men and women) to consume same cultural products and take part in same leisure activities? If yes which products and leisure activities are these? If, no why*?(probe for gender distinction by consumption tastes of products and leisure activities)*

Gender social memories

- What role have historical memories associated with your family history and popular culture

played in building your relationships, sex, and gender**?** (Probe for, family history, popular culture- kitchen parties, etc.)

What messages are given out through the memories? How clear or vague are these memories?
How are men and women portrayed?
How do you feel about the messages in the memories? Why?
Have the messages influenced you in any way? Your opinion or behavior? How? Why?
How do their messages relate to you? Do you feel the messages are directly relevant to you? How? Why?

- How important are memories as schemas and resources to use to construct your gender conception and enactment? What do you feel are the most important memories? Why? *(Note for strength of messages in historical memories and changing role of the remembered gender memories)*

What was your view of gender relations in the time you were a child compared to now?
How did you come to understand/ know about gender relations of any kind? Did your parents/relatives/peers/other sources tell you about how to relate with the opposite sex? Examples
In what ways did your (mother/ father/ relatives) teach you children/ kids about gender relations in your time of growing up?

- How do you identify yourself? Traditional man/woman, Modern man/woman, Tanzanian man/woman? Why, what meaning do they carry and where do you use each label—if at all? Can you give me examples?

How are you called by your peers, wife/husband? How are you called by other men/women?

For 1930s-40s cohort only

Comparing relationships in couples of the time you were a young adult to contemporary young adult couples, what things do you think are similar? What are different? If they are different, what and how so? How would you describe gender relations of current Tanzania young professional couples? What were the gender values then? What would be practices that show them then? Are the gender values similar or different now? How so? What might be the reason(s) why they are similar or different?

What gender values would you like to instill in your children? How have you succeeded to do this?
What would be the best way for a man and a woman to relate? How so? Examples
Do you think you and your peers have a different way of enacting your gender than other social groups? How so?

<u>Is HIV/AIDS changing gender and sexual relationships?</u>

(Gender is considered as a key determinant of sexual power dynamics which in turn influences HIV risk. The goal for this section is to have the participant give an account of whether the HIV/AIDS pandemic is a factor that influences his or her social actions when he/she articulate her/his experience of gender relations and if it is in anyway reconfiguring any of the cultural beliefs, practices and values on gender that affect sexual relationships he or she or peers held. Probe for shift in attitudes and behavior transformation).

- How aware are you of gender relations as a factor in influencing HIV risk? *(Probe for multiple sexual partners as manliness, men's dominant control over the actions of their female partners, etc.)*

How is the HIV/AIDS pandemic social force and its discourse influencing your experiences of gender relations and sexuality? *(Probe for couple relationships, sex, and gender?)*
What messages about manhood/womanhood do you receive from the HIV/AIDS pandemic discourses? How do they affect your own expectations of manhood/womanhood?

- Did the HIV/AIDS pandemic become an influencing factor in your gender life? If yes, how?
- Describe the impact of HIV/AIDS in you life and gender relations.
- Given what you have said about the impact of HIV/AIDS on your life and gender relations in particular, how do you understand HIV/AIDS influenced gender constructions and enactments in your life? What sense do they make to you? *(Probe for violence, fidelity, love, headship, sexual negotiation/decision-making, multiple, concurrence or serial sexual relationships, enduring and forgiving as feminine)*

Sexual history

Thinking now about the time since you became sexually active:
Have you had more than one sexual partner? If yes, where do you meet your partners? *(Probe for partners and sexual activities through the years to the current time are there changes related to HIV/AIDS?)*
What influences your partner choice/selection? What influences whether or not they become sexual partners?
Have you had partners who you haven't had sexual intercourse with?
Have there been periods since becoming sexually active when you haven't been dating, been without a partner?
Do you currently have multiple partners? Times when you are seeing more than one person? *(Probe for extra-marital sex)*
How would you describe your extra- marital relationships? Do they tend to be casual? Are they serious? *(Probe for "nyumba ndogo", "booze" attitude and practice. Use a time line indicating when relationships started, ended, their duration, their type, feelings about them…their changing nature)*
Are you generally attracted to the same sex or the opposite sex or both? (ask with care…health focus)
To what extent do negotiations about sex take place? Who leads the discussions? What is said?
What normally leads to sex? Reasons for engaging in sex *(Probe for with spouse and others if relevant, love, intimacy, rape, violence)*
Do you pay or get paid for sex? Receive/give gifts?
Are you fearful of others finding out about your activities? Who? Why?
Do you feel that you have been active in creating your sex life?
What activities have you / do you normally engage in
- oral sex?
- anal sex?
- vaginal sex?
- all?

Do these activities mean different things to you? How do you feel about them?
To what extent do you try to influence the way things happen in terms of pleasure? Pleasure for whom?
Are you happy with your sex life? Why? Why not?

Protective sex

How do you protect yourself from sexually contracting HIV/AIDS?
Which forms of protection against STIs do you generally use? Who generally provides it/them?
Whose responsibility is protection?
Are there any barriers to pursuing protection? What? How are they overcome?
What has your use of condoms been like throughout the years?
(Context) What, why, when and how was its use or non-use decided?
Why do you use them? In what instances have you not used them? How do you decide when and when not to use them?

Have you found it easy to discuss the issue of protection with your partners? In what instances has it been difficult? How have you handled/responded? *(Explore risk reduction strategies and gender agency in the sexual realm in detail)*
Were/have any risks (been) considered or discussed? What risks? How where they discussed?
Do you consider yourself to be at risk? Why? Why not?
Have you ever had an HIV test? Have any of your partners had an HIV test? Why? Why not?
Have you ever asked a partner to have a test?
Did/do you find it easy to discuss the issue of protection with your spouse or partner? Who led the discussion?
Did/do you try and influence the way things happened, if protection is or is not used? How? Were/are you successful?
Was/is there pressure to use protection? Not to use protection? By whom?
In what circumstances hasn't protection been used? (context)
How did/do you feel about not using protection? How did/does your spouse or partner X feel?
Whose choice/decision was/has it (been) to not use protection?
Were/have any actions (been) taken when protection wasn't used?
What are you looking for in sex? *(Probe for meaning and feeling of sex, describe best sex and bad sex (consensual).Explore how these situations differ***)**
What do you think about or feel whilst having sex?
Do you feel more masculine/feminine during sex?
How concerned are you in measuring up to culturally salient versions of manhood/womanhood in relation to sexual relationships? Do you perceive you will be assessed as to whether you live up to the expectations? By whom? Spouse? Peers? Clan?

(Probe for solo sex activities- as safer sex measure in context of long distance relationships, while traveling, away from spouse, etc)
Have you ever done/ experienced/used… …

- Masturbation
- Fantasies
- Thinking about sex
- Erotic literature / porn magazines
- Sex toys
- Porn videos (even of your spouse)
- Erotic TV images / programmes
- Phone lines / chat lines
- Internet sex (with who? spouse?)

If so, how often do you do it/experience/use it? Has this changed over the years?
Why do you do it? *(Probe for what options for long distance sexual spousal relationships)*
How do you feel about it? Has this changed through the years? *(Probe if HIV/AIDS is a factor)*
Do you have fears of people finding out? Why?
If no, what is your attitude about them? *(Explore feelings about, and knowledge of, various types of protective measures)*

e). Focus group discussion guide.

MODERATOR'S GUIDE

INTRODUCTION & warm up (5mins)

Introduction

Introduce yourself and what your research is all about
It's a free discussion, you are free to express your own views and opinions
Give your honest opinion because we are learning from you
Explain the purpose of the tape recorder, and projective techniques.
Ask them to introduce themselves, their status/occupation and hobbies

LIFE AND LIFESTYLE (5 mins)

Most important things in life

What things do they consider most important in their life and why?
What makes you happy, what are the things that make you happy?
What are the most significant changes taking place in the country today that affect gender relations?
Which are the most difficult challenges facing young adults today related to gender relations?
How have these challenges affected your conception and enactments of masculinity and femininity?

Aspirations

What are your goals /ambitions/aspirations in life?
What obstacles do you see that would stop you from achieving your goals?
Is HIV/AIDS an obstacle from achieving your goals? If so, why?

Background on Gender relationships/behavior and sex (20mins)

Gender reworking (5mins)
Could you tell me all words, images, associations coming up to your mind when we talk about manhood and womanhood?
How have conceptions of manhood and womanhood changed over time?
What kind of gender relationships do you engage in nowadays? (Probe for reconstructed gender meanings and roles)
Tell me about the kinds you would never use, why?

Are you aware of people struggling to rework traditional gender definitions?(Probe for headship, breadwinner, primary decision maker etc). How are they doing it?
What are the factors that shape how to be a man and how to be a woman in Tanzania? (Probe for religion, modernity, globalization etc)
What resources do people use to construct gender? Where do they get the language to express their gender? (Probe for cultural products such as films, books , novels, music and social memories from family histories, kitchen parties, popular culture etc)
Is reworking of traditional gender norms associated with better communication in sex during the AIDS era? If so, how?

Sex & communication (5mins)

- *What is the role of communication in sex?*
- *How do gender relations affect sexual decision-making?*
- *Who has to be the primary decision-maker in sexual relationships? Why?*
- *What environments encourage good communication in sex? (Probe for marriage, extra-marital relationships etc)*
- *How does one's economic autonomy and education influence power to communicate in sex acts? Or do they not matter? Why?*
- *Has HIV/AIDS improved communication about sex? How? Why?*
- *How can couples who share conceptions of gender that consider women as submissive and modest achieve communication in sex?*
- *What are you views on traditional constructions of gender and ethics?*
- *Considering contemporary times Is it ethical*
    - *For a woman to be subordinate in sexual matters?*
    - *For a woman to be modest in communication?*
    - *For a man to express manhood through multiple sexual partners?*
    - *For a man to express manhood through work?*
    - *For a man to express manhood through domination? If not what would be ethical?*
- *What are your concerns on how to be a man or a woman today?*
- *What judgmental obligations do you feel/think you must live up to?*

Role play – managing and communicating sexual risky behaviors (10mins)

- *How do you discuss sexual risky behaviors in marriage? (sex without protection, extra-marital sex)*
- *How do you discuss your wife's/husband's infidelity? If at all?*
- *How does masculinity and femininity play out in these discussions?*
- *How have extra-marital sexual relations been affected by the presence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic? (Probe "nyumba ndogo", "booze" cultural patterns)*

For men

- *Suppose you were a woman and you want to suggest using a safe sex device during a sex act. How would you go about it? Describe.*
- *Imagine your husband is refusing, describe how you would negotiate.*
- *Consider you went on and had un-protective sex .*

How does it make you feel?

And what do you do with that feeling?

What do you plan to do next?

For women

- *Suppose you were a man and you want to suggest using a safe sex device during a sex act. How would you go about? Describe.*
- *Imagine your wife is refusing, describe how you would negotiate.*
- *Consider you went on and had un-protective sex .*

How does it make you feel?

And what do you do with that feeling?

What do you plan to do next?

Disease PERSONALITY (10mins)

I would like you to imagine that HIV/AIDS is a human being like you and me. Please describe this person for me.

Sex, Age, Dressing, Residence, Occupation, car model (if any)
Personality traits, Values, beliefs
What is his/her character?
Relationship with respondents- How does he/she behave towards people?
What would he/she say in your absence?
What do people say about him/her?
What is your relation with him/her?
If he/she was to give you advice, what are some of the things he/she would tell you?
And if you were to advice the person, what are some of the things you would tell AIDS
Where do you see this person 5 years from now?

User Imagery- of those who rework their gender to avoid gender related health threatening behaviors

What kind of people are they?
Where do they normally do their shopping
Where do they usually go out?
Where do they live – who else lives in that area
Please describe for me the type of the life they life?
Do they drive?
How do they dress?
Do they own a car-what type of car?

User Imagery- of those who continue accepting dominant constructions of gender and are vulnerable to gender- related health threatening behaviors (i.e. sexual risky behaviors)

Mod. Do as above.

Cultural Consumption Mapping Exercise (15mins)

I am going to give you cards with writings on them of different kinds of cultural leisure activities; I would like you to classify them into groups. You can have as many groups as you wish. Then I will ask you to explain to me why you have classified them like the way you did. For instance :
Have you put these together? Why?
What kinds of people consume the leisure activities in this category? Why?

What kind of people would not consume the leisure activities in this category?
Which gender would consume the leisure activities in this category? Why ?
Which gender would not consume these leisure activities category ? Why ?
Which leisure activities are consumed by both male and females? Why?
What have these leisure activities categories and their consumers been like over the past ten years ?

HIV/AIDS Disease prevention behavior strategy (10mins)

Gender reworking

Are any of you reworking your gender (i.e. finding alternatives to gender norms that seem unsuitable for you) to avoid HIV/AIDS? (if there are any continue below, if other adopt other HIV/AIDS strategies go to other)

Motivation for choosing this behavior
You told me you redefine your gender to avoid gender- related health threatening behaviors, why do you use this strategy?
How does it make you feel?
And how is that feeling important to you?
Of all the above statements / needs which ones are the most important?

Mod: pick each important attribute and ask: (laddering)
Why is the attribute important to them?
How does it make them feel?
How is that important to them?
What are the reasons that make you use it as your number one HIV prevention strategy?
What does gender reworking do for you that makes you choose it over other strategy?

Other
Reasons for choosing …… (Do laddering in the same way as gender re-workers)

Interaction with alternative constructions of gender
When you hear about discourses of gender equality what springs to your mind…?
What do the discourses suggest about sex and HIV/AIDS?
When do you rework your gender, if at all, and why?
Where do you resort to that?
Why do you use that strategy less often?
Suppose the health promoters ask for your advice on how to encourage more people to rework their gender to avoid gender related health threatening behaviors …what would you tell them to do…?
For those who switched from reworking their gender to other options, what were the reasons?

REACTIONS TO Ongoing campaigns on HIV prevention (15mins)

General ads awareness

Tell me about HIV/AIDS Ads that you are aware of?
Where have you seen or heard these ads?
When did you see them

Which ones do you like/dislike? Why?
Which ones do you consider the most powerful? Why?
What kind of messages do you derive from them?

PROBE FOR gender reworking messages IF NOT MENTIONED

Spontaneous perception of the messages- radio and TV & POS

Tell me about the Radio Ads/TV/POS?
What words, images, emotions and ideas came to your mind concerning this advertisement?
Tell me about one any Ad, what is it about, what kind of people/images are used?
What is the one thing that is most distinct or remarkable about this Ad?
Does it connect with you as a person seeking safer sex? Why, why not?

Take out / perceived message

According to you, what do the safe sex messages want to say to you?"
Do the Ads succeed in talking to you and others? Why, why not?

Likes/dislikes

What are the things you really like/dislike about this advertisement? Why? »
What would you suggest be done?

IMAGERY: COLLAGE EXCERCISE (35 min)

Moderator to divide group into two teams of four respondents each. One group per team to do a collage on reworked gender conceptions and behavior and the other on continuing dominant conceptions and behaviors of gender

MOD: give respondents magazines

Respondents given an array of magazine pictures and asked to choose pictures that:

a) Are "expressions of dominant constructions of gender and alternative reworked constructions of gender" to them (pictures that express how they feel about the type of gender construction)
b) Respondents are to use prestik to make these pictures into collages.

- Respondents are to explain **why** they chose their pictures – i.e.: how their pictures **relate** to their gender construction.

Mod to ask: when you are enacting the masculinity/femininity you desire, how do you want to **feel**?

THANK RESPONDENTS AND CLOSE