

**GLOBAL FEMINISMS  
COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES OF  
WOMEN'S AND GENDER ACTIVISM  
AND SCHOLARSHIP**

**SITE: TANZANIA**

**Transcript of Fatma Alloo  
Interviewer: Anneth Meena**

**Location: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  
Date: August 21<sup>st</sup>, 2023**

**University of Michigan  
Institute for Research on Women and Gender  
1136 Lane Hall Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1290  
Tel: (734) 764-9537**

**E-mail: [um.gfp@umich.edu](mailto:um.gfp@umich.edu)  
Website: <http://www.umich.edu/~glblfem>**

**© Regents of the University of Michigan, 2025**

**Fatma Alloo** was born in Zanzibar and is a social movement activist, and journalist committed to social change. In the early 1980's, Alloo worked as a journalist with Daily News in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She has vast international experience internationally as a journalist, including as a radio producer during the Uganda war, and in Geneva, Switzerland, and Amsterdam, Netherlands. Fatma Alloo is the co-founder of the feminist advocacy group Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) in 1987. She is a co-founder of the Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF) in 1997. She is also she is a member and co-founder of Zanzibar Women on the Net (ZaWoN), of FEMNET, and of the Non-Government Organization Resource Centre (NGORC) based in Zanzibar. She is presently working with Civil Society Foundation based in Dar es Salaam. She a producer and co-producer of several documentaries, which have been shown at the Berlin Film Festival. She is an associate producer of Tanzanian feature film Maangamizi (extermination) and has won several awards for her films. She has many publications.

**Anneth E. Meena**, born in Coast Region in 1971, is an activist, researcher and feminist. She is an independent consultant in Environment, Health and gender issues. She is passionate about women rights. She has worked in several organizations holding various positions e.g. Monitoring and Evaluation coordinator for World Vision, Arusha (2000); Project Coordinator for Forum for African Women Educationalist on Centre of Excellence school in Tanzania as a model for gender responsive curriculum and pedagogy (2001 -2002) she pioneered the establishment of a family social enterprise and became the first school manager and later first principal (2007- 2017). She has worked as an independent consultant with various Women Rights Organizations including TGNP Mtandao; Women Fund Tanzania Trust (WFT-T); Readership for Learning and Development (Soma). Meena has been involved in documenting women stories through TGNP Mtandao, WFT-T, Soma and currently with University of Michigan. She is a member of various coalitions including sextortion, women leadership and constitution.

Meena has had various academic awards such as 'The Hammad Prize Award' in recognition of exceptional written work on an international topic, 2005 with Wagner School of Public Services, New York University, New York, USA. She was one of the two recipients of an Oprah Winfrey Scholarship as a graduate at the New York University (2004 to 2005). She was a Ford Foundation Fellow (2003) with International Centre for Research on Women Washington, DC, USA. In 1999 she received small grant Research Award from Council for the Development of Social Science Research. She holds an undergraduate degree on Environmental and Geographical Sciences from University of Cape Town, South Africa (1996); Masters of Demography from University of Dar es salaam, Tanzania (2000) and a graduate degree in Masters in Science in Management for Public Services from the University of New York, USA (2005).

*Keywords: Media, Art/Writing as Activism, and Community Activism*

**Anneth Meena: This interview is part of the Global Feminist Project, a multi-site international project sponsored by the University of Michigan. Our goal in undertaking these oral histories is to create and preserve conservation with women whose scholars or activism has contributed to women activism as well as to issues that are important to women.**

**We are going to spend about an hour talking about five topics. General background about your life and work, your reflection on your work, your thoughts about the relationship between feminism, scholarship, and activism, and how your work in relation to these practices. Your thoughts and insights about your work in the context of broadly conceived notion of women's movement. Finally, the connections you see, if any, between your work and those activists in other national settings.**

**First, background about your life. As you think about where you are today, how would you depict the journey that brought you to this point? For example, what are the central commitments in your life? What does your career look like? How did it look like? What do you consider your most significant lifetime achievement professionally?**

Fatma Alloo: *Asante sana. [Thank you very much.]*

**AM: You're welcome.**

FA: It's a pleasure that at the moment we are also documenting women's stories. Yesterday, it was a very significant day here in Dar es Salaam,<sup>1</sup> at the University of Dar es Salaam,<sup>2</sup> when we celebrated the Pan-African Women's Day.<sup>3</sup> Since inception of activism about women in Tanzania, I see a huge change in terms of women organizing, women making things happen, but what I want to say, when you say feminism, there's no word for meninism<sup>4</sup> because, in the process, we have been able to change men. Men's thinking. Yesterday also, there were men who talked about how TAMWA<sup>5</sup> changed their perception because we would seek them out, we would ask their opinion, we would challenge them.

---

<sup>1</sup> Dar es Salaam is a large, prominent city where the majority of Tanzania's administrative and governmental authorities are based. ("Dar es Salaam." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Tanzania>. Accessed 24 October, 2024.)

<sup>2</sup> The University of Dar es Salaam is a public university with 5 campuses in the area of its eponymous city. ("University of Dar es Salaam." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University\\_of\\_Dar\\_es\\_Salaam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Dar_es_Salaam). Accessed 24 October, 2024.)

<sup>3</sup> Pan-African Women's Day is celebrated on July 31 and began after the first Pan-African Women's Conference in 1962. ("Pan-African Women's Day: Celebrating Champions of Gender Equality." U.S. State Department. <https://www.state.gov/pan-african-womens-day-celebrating-champions-of-gender-equality/>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>4</sup> Meninism (also called Masculism) generally refers to men's rights movements and ideologies that can range from men's empowerment to antifeminism. ("Masculism." Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masculism>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>5</sup> TAMWA (Tanzania Media Women's Association) is a nonprofit collective which advocates for the rights of women and children through media. ("About Us." TAMWA. <https://tamwa.org/a/index.php/about-us.html>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

As far as I'm concerned, I'm born and bred in Zanzibar.<sup>6</sup> Then I went for my journalism studies in London. There, I got another kind of exposure because there was the Black movement<sup>7</sup> happening. I had never experienced it, because in Tanzania, we are all Black. There, I learned also the whole issue of racism and the way people organize. Basically, what moved me was the humanness of it. You just have to be a good human being with basic principles to be a feminist. I really believe that.

Me, even now, if I see a child crying, I always go there and say, why is this child crying? When you just pass when a child is crying, when a woman is beaten, you are not concerned, that's not a good human being. If you have your principles, you will find out the causes. Once you find out the causes, then you may be able to offer solutions. This has been my driving force.

Then I was lucky enough to be in Dar es Salaam University during the '70s when there were the ideological debates<sup>8</sup> going on. Intellectually, it challenged me to think through a lot of things. At that time, of course, we had Mwalimu<sup>9</sup> as our leader. He made us think through a lot of stuff. I remember when he introduced adult education<sup>10</sup> in Tanzania. I was sent to one factory supposedly to teach adult literacy to workers, in a village to teach adult literacy to workers. That experience, after that experience, I wrote an article that I thought I had gone to teach. I came out having been taught.

It centered on an experience I had in a village where one of my students, whom I'm supposed to teach, in the evening, we sit in the village under the tree. I saw her walking. She was pregnant. She was holding the hand of a baby and a hoe in the other hand. There was a load on her head. The man was walking free in front of her. The next day in class, I raised the issue. I said, why couldn't he help you? She listened to me ranting and raving because I was very influenced by Western feminism at the University of Dar es Salaam. I had this notion of equality and men must do this and women must do this. I went on and on. She patiently waited. After I finished, she said to me, even if he had offered, I would say no.

It was my turn. I didn't verbalize it, but I thought, really? Typical middle-class women. She explained. She said, this is my third husband. I have a land in this village. My father gave me land, and I was coming back from cultivating my land. The labor I put in the

---

<sup>6</sup> Zanzibar is an island off the coast of mainland Tanzania which forms a part of the Republic of Tanzania. ("Zanzibar." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Zanzibar-island-Tanzania>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>7</sup> The Black Power Movement emerged in the US in the 1960s as a form of resistance to racial oppression and a source of empowerment for the Black community. ("Black Power." National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>8</sup> In the 1970s, the University of Dar es Salaam was the site of high-profile debates between Marxist intellectuals, which are still recognized as an important cultural and revolutionary milestone in Tanzania. ("Arguments Within Marxism: the Dar es Salaam Debates." AfricaBib. <https://www.africabib.org/rec.php?RID=188693947>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>9</sup> Julius Nyerere, often known by the Swahili honorific "Mwalimu," meaning "teacher," was the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Tanzania from 1964-1985. Prior to that he led Tanzania's predecessor state, Tanganyika. Nyerere was also an anti-colonial activist and scholar. ("Julius Nyerere." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius\\_Nyerere](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Nyerere). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>10</sup> Since the 1960s-70s, Tanzania has implemented policies to provide basic education and improve literacy rates for adults. ("National Report of Tanzania." United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. [https://bit.ly/Tanzania\\_National\\_Report](https://bit.ly/Tanzania_National_Report). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

land is mine. This hoe is mine. This load is mine. This child is mine. If I let him put any work, any labor into my land, according to the village law, he can then claim a piece of my land.

That was my lesson in village democracy at a grassroots level. There was you pay for your labor. It was not exploitative. He says, if I continue to do that, and this is my third husband, I'll be left without land. I wouldn't let. I tell you, it really struck me, and I wrote an article. At that time, I was working in *Daily News*.<sup>11</sup>

Now, Mwalimu read the article because I conclude, I thought I was going to teach adult literacy. I came out, by putting through my conviction about feminism, I was taking away her land from her because I was insisting that the man must, but she educated me. Now, Mwalimu read that article, and he sent somebody to call me. He invited me for tea at the state house. Of course, I went there, but I was very scared. A head of state calling you and I'm little me.

He asked me. He said he was very inspired by the article, and where do I get my analysis? Where did I learn my analysis? I thought of it, and I said, "Mwalimu, from your writing," because I had read all his books at the university, yes. He laughed. He said, "You are a very intelligent woman. You will go very far." He loved that article. You see, we need this kind of leaders who inspire. Who was I? I was a nobody, and he read and he was inspired and he called. He made you like you are a citizen of this world, of this country.

After that, for me, there was no stopping because I had learned so much even with the workers because we read Frantz Fanon,<sup>12</sup> *The Wretched of the Earth*,<sup>13</sup> all those, and it really impacted our psychology. When I set up TAMWA (Tanzania Media Women's Association), it was with the intention that there are some problems regarding Tanzanian society in terms of recognizing women's contribution to this country.

Yes, we had the independence struggle where Bibi Titi<sup>14</sup> also had fought with Mwalimu for independence and lot of very prominent women, but then what happened after that? We needed to have a movement which was life and which will go on looking at issues in society of women. At that time, I remember, I think it was in-- where was it? if I'm not

---

<sup>11</sup> *Daily News* is a prominent English language newspaper in Tanzania. ("Daily News (Tanzania)." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daily\\_News\\_\(Tanzania\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daily_News_(Tanzania)). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>12</sup> Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) was a philosopher and psychologist from Martinique who pioneered the study of the effects of colonization on human psychology. ("Frantz Fanon." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Frantz-Fanon>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>13</sup> *The Wretched of the Earth* is one of Frantz Fanon's most influential works and examines the potential for colonized societies to achieve liberation and build collective identities. ("The Wretched of the Earth." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/frantz-fanon/#WretEart>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>14</sup> Bibi Titi Mohammed (1926-2000) was a Tanzanian political activist and prominent member of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), and a friend and colleague of Julius Nyerere, serving in his administration to advance women's issues. ("Bibi Titi Mohammed." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bibi\\_Titi\\_Mohammed](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bibi_Titi_Mohammed). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

mistaken, in Kigoma<sup>15</sup> side. They said they were burning witches. These were old women with red eyes.

**AM: Oh, in Shinyanga.<sup>16</sup>**

FA: In Shinyanga, yes. We started. We went there, and what we found is these women were not witches. They were called witches by community and burned. These women had land, so the family was after the land, and these women were not dying, so they were burning them so that they could appropriate the land. That stopped after we exposed the issue widely in the media.

You have to remember, when we were born, TAMWA was born, we were in a state in Tanzania where there was only one English newspaper, one Kiswahili<sup>17</sup> newspaper, one party paper, no television, 1987. Very limited, but it went, and radio was very powerful. Radio went everywhere. We used the radio very effectively.

Now the situation is very different. I see big changes in my twilight years, as they call it. That very big changes. When television came-- because until 1993, there was no television. 1993, because Mwalimu used to say, "Unless, and until we have our own images, we cannot use this imperialist images for our society," so he refused. Then we started our own programs, and TAMWA played a big role in providing people who knew camera work. I had participated in a survey saying that, should we have television in Tanzania? I knew it just takes time and television will come. What we did in TAMWA was really build the capacity of the women. We had a lot of good donor support.

At that time, the Scandinavian countries were really supporting Tanzania and they were not like they are now, where as we do this interview, they're burning the Quran<sup>18</sup> there in Sweden.<sup>19</sup> Sweden was at that time very progressive, and there were these four Scandinavian countries who really were supporting a lot, the government and also us to set up. They themselves had come from their civil society movement. It was a time of changing, and we were born at the right time.

When I say "we", it is TAMWA. All of us were media women, and there were only about 12 of us in the media. We were not many, but now, if you look at it, we are about 400 media women because now the television is there and local FM radios are there. Everywhere, there is media, media, media. Of course, we are being overtaken also by

---

<sup>15</sup> The Kigoma Region is an administrative region in Western Tanzania. Its capital is the city of Kigoma. ("Kigoma Region." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kigoma\\_Region](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kigoma_Region). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>16</sup> Shinyanga is the name of a city as well as its surrounding urban district and administrative region in the Northern part of Tanzania. ("Shinyanga." Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shinyanga>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>17</sup> Kiswahili is another name for Swahili, a language common in countries along Africa's east coast. It is the primary language used in Tanzania. ("Swahili Language." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Swahili-language>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>18</sup> The Quran is the sacred text of the religion of Islam. ("Quran." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Quran>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>19</sup> The Swedish Korankrisen (or "Quran crisis) in 2023 centered around a series of public Quran burnings and counterprotests. ("2023 Quran Burnings in Sweden." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023\\_Quran\\_burnings\\_in\\_Sweden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2023_Quran_burnings_in_Sweden). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

social media now. The time nobody had these phones which we have today. It was very different organizationally.

You asked me what is it that inspired me. I saw in my own life that even at the university, it was called The Ivory Tower. There were very few women who would speak out or who became part and parcel of the whole ideological debate. If I remember correctly, the only person who really spoke a little was Zakia Meghji<sup>20</sup> because she was also the wife of a comrade. We used to be called "Ndugu" *Sio?* Comrade.

**AM: Comrade.**

FA: Those days, comrades. Now you don't hear this "Ndugu" anymore. Me, I was *chapati*<sup>21</sup> maker. Making *chapatis* at home and feeding the comrades, so that was the scenario. Women didn't have a voice really, even at the university. I think that played a role. Later on, my own life experiences as a woman, but also having come from a very strong background, women had a lot of power in my family. I think in childhood, when you see that later in life, it does have an impact on your mind.

**AM: Definitely.**

FA: That's one thing in my yester years now I remember. All the women in the house were very, very strong. I think that played a huge role in my life.

Then being in the international environment at the university exposed me to other aspects of life. Making friendship, because what happened then in '70s, a lot of progressive from all over the world came because of the reputation of Dar es Salaam University. They were inspired by the changes, the Ujamaa<sup>22</sup> policies. It was really that euphoria of that area. Now, of course, it has died down in Tanzania. Your generation, I don't think you even know what happened there. Your mother knows. She was also part and parcel. She was very affected also. I think that's what impacted, to answer your question.

We set up TAMWA in a very, very strong way. I must say that at that time, all of us were journalists, all of us were writers, and we realized we had the media. We were the one who was putting out the media there, although it would pass through our bosses who were men, but we could impact. At that time, we had also a prolific writer, Leila Sheikh,<sup>23</sup> who we established the first women's magazine called *Sauti ya Siti*,<sup>24</sup> and she

---

<sup>20</sup> Zakia Meghji is a Tanzanian politician and activist who became the country's first female Minister of Finance in 2006. ("Zakia Meghji." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakia\\_Meghji](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakia_Meghji). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>21</sup> Chapatis are round flatbreads originally made in India. They're now popular in other parts of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. ("Chapati." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/chapati>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>22</sup> Ujamaa is a socialist ideological framework that centers local economic cooperation and community. ("Ujamaa." Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ujamaa>. Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>23</sup> Leila Sheikh was a Tanzanian writer and feminist activist who cofounded TAMWA in 1987. She died in 2023. ("Leila Sheikh." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leila\\_Sheikh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leila_Sheikh). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

<sup>24</sup> *Sauti Ya Siti* is a monthly feminist newsletter, first created by TAMWA in 1988. ("Tanzania Media Women's Association." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzania\\_Media\\_Women%27s\\_Association](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzania_Media_Women%27s_Association). Accessed 22 November, 2024.)

was the editor of that magazine. Now she has just died two months ago, which is a great loss to us.

She was quite a character in terms of editorship of that magazine, but also activism whenever there was. For example, then we began to impact laws like SOSPA.<sup>25</sup> SOSPA, we really worked hard on it. We went to Dodoma,<sup>26</sup> we made the ministers, all the members of parliament sign the support. We would tell them that if you don't support, we are letting the women know not to give you votes, things like that, we did. We got away with it because the men also began to realize.

You see, our Tanzanian men are very-- they believe in dialogue and engagement. That's why *wanasema*, "*WaTanzania wapole*." [they say Tanzanians are kind]. We are very calm. We believe in change through dialogue and not violence. The men were also quite engaged with us. People like Walter Bgoya,<sup>27</sup> people like Jenerali Ulimwengu,<sup>28</sup> the giants of the media then. The editors of the main media outlets. They would have debates with us. ITV,<sup>29</sup> Mengi,<sup>30</sup> when he started his-

### **AM: Media house.**

FA: -media house, a lot of stuff which he took were from TAMWA. We had that kind of relationship. I think it paid off. Then, of course, there was a very important case at the university, Levina Mukasa.<sup>31</sup> Levina Mukasa was a student at the university. She was a victim of PUNCH.<sup>32</sup> PUNCH was an outlet at the cafeteria of university, whereby those days, only 20% of the students at the university were women. When male students wanted to date a woman and she refused, they would PUNCH her. PUNCH-ing was a very demeaning image that the woman who is PUNCHED, it's very obvious that it is her, but in compromising sexual connotation to it. It would shame the woman.

---

<sup>25</sup> SOSPA (Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act) is a Tanzanian bill passed in 1998 which amends and clarifies penal code provisions, outlining citizen rights and responsibilities in sexual misconduct cases, strengthening protections for women and children. ("Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act." Tanzania Parliament. [https://bit.ly/SOSPA\\_Tanzania\\_Parliament](https://bit.ly/SOSPA_Tanzania_Parliament). Accessed 22 November 2024.)

<sup>26</sup> Dodoma is the capital city of Tanzania. ("Dodoma." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Dodoma>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>27</sup> Walter Bgoya is a Tanzanian publisher and Managing Director of Mkuki na Nyota Publishers. ("Walter Boyega." LinkedIn. <https://tz.linkedin.com/in/walter-bgoya-a6202a45>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>28</sup> Jenerali Ulimwengu is a Tanzanian journalist who serves on the board of the Raia Mwema Newspaper. ("Jenerali Ulimwengu." LinkedIn. [https://sw.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jenerali\\_Ulimwengu](https://sw.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jenerali_Ulimwengu). Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>29</sup> ITV (Independent Television) is a Tanzanian television/broadcasting company. ("Independent Television (Tanzania)." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent\\_Television\\_\(Tanzania\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Independent_Television_(Tanzania)). Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>30</sup> Reginald Mengi (1943-2019) was a Tanzanian businessman and media owner. He started and owned IPP Media, which owns ITV. ("Reginald Mengi." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reginald\\_Mengi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reginald_Mengi). Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>31</sup> Levina Mukasa was a student at the University of Dar es Salaam who died by suicide in 1990 after experiencing repeated sexual harassment which the university did little to address. ("Remembering Levina Mukasa." Africa Is a Country. <https://africasacountry.com/2020/07/remembering-levina-mukasa>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>32</sup> "Punching" refers to a practice that emerged at the University of Dar es Salaam in which derogatory imagery and allegations of impropriety are posted in public spaces to shame their subject. The Punch has been known to target female students through targeted campaigns of harassment. ("SISTERS OF THE 'PUNCH'." Washington Post. [https://bit.ly/PUNCH\\_Washington\\_Post](https://bit.ly/PUNCH_Washington_Post). Accessed 23 November, 2024.)



Now, Levina became a victim of PUNCH, and she sought help for a long time, six months, but in the end, she committed suicide and died at the university. For TAMWA, it was the beginning of our activism on sexual harassment. We marched from town to university. At that time, Gertrude Mwongela,<sup>33</sup> who was a central committee member, joined us. We were not supposed to march, but we marched, and Mwalimu said, "Let the women go. Let them march," because also he believed that it was injustice. Gertrude believed because Gertrude always fought for women's education.

I'm explaining to you the environment under which I also came into being and being the founder of TAMWA and the coordinator. I took part in all that activities, which goes, when we were marching, we had to take out pamphlets, this, that. We do a lot of stuff. It was very interesting. We started from Kisutu Market<sup>34</sup> in Dar es Salaam, and as we approached university. When we started, there were very few women, but on the way, the men joined. By the time we reached university, half the people in the march were men.

What I'm saying to you is also the rights of women. You cannot talk about the rights of women without the men being impacted. If we leave out the men, that society will continue to be in disarray. The men have to change. The men have to change and see, understand what is happening. That's where we are at. That's the change.

**AM: Wow. That's quite a lot. Thank you. Background about your work, you've mentioned a lot. I've just went through it to see if there's something that we missed out. What drew you to the work you do or that you have done? How did you first come to be involved in the work in this area? How was this involvement changed over time? Has your work changed in ways that have shaped by experience from your own life? You explained that. Have you experienced any personal changes as a result of engagement in feminist academic work or activism? What kinds of sites or set of action or intervention have you primarily focused on, and why?**

FA: I think I've covered a lot.

**AM: Yes, you've covered a lot. If there's something that you feel you missed out, you could.**

FA: No, the only thing I want to say is change is difficult. Women go through layers and layers of oppression, and many times they don't even realize it. They know they are unhappy, but when solutions are there, they're very timid to take them because it has to do with the children and the marriage, with this, with that. That is something I have learned, that you have to give a lot of space for change. That's one thing it taught me, because before I was young, very young then, so I used to think, ah, what's wrong with

---

<sup>33</sup> Gertrude Mongella is a Tanzanian politician and activist. She has worked with the UN in various capacities on a range of feminist issues and was the first President of the Pan-African Parliament. ("Dr Amb. Gertrude Ibengwé Mongella." World Future Council. <https://www.worldfuturecouncil.org/gertrude-mongella/>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>34</sup> Kisutu Market is a street market in downtown Dar es Salaam. ("Kisutu Market." Wanderlog. <https://wanderlog.com/place/details/10834838/kisutu-market>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

them? It's not like that at all. Change will come when people really are ready. When they take it on themselves, real change comes. That's something.

I've been through this engagement. It taught me to be patient, to be a very good listener. To be a very good listener. It has paid off because, when you look at Tanzania media women today, is still going very strong. What is strong about it is your generation now is taking the leadership. You see?

**AM: Yes.**

FA: That's what makes me very happy, that it has all been worth it. We are the founders, but now we are the grandmothers of the movement, but the movement is very much there. It has given birth. If you are there yesterday, you would've heard like TGNP,<sup>35</sup> FemAct,<sup>36</sup> all were born during that time. Even WILDAF.<sup>37</sup> They were born at that time, and they acknowledged it yesterday in the Pan-African Women's Movement.<sup>38</sup>

Now all these organizations, like here, you're sitting with me interviewing me, has grown and become quite important to the movements at a Pan-African level also, not only in Tanzania. This is what I feel. Okay, I played my role, and it has generated returns *matunda* [fruit]. It has generated this. *Matunda* [Fruit] is you.

**AM: The dividends. Oh, okay.**

FA: Yes, your generation. Like your mother was there. We worked very hard.

**AM: Sawa sawa. [Okay] Wow. Okay. Now we can go to reflection on your work. How do you understand the term feminism? What has it meant to your work? Can you tell us something about your relationship with other members in your own organizations? What are some of the expectation of your organization future? You have actually mentioned the last bit, but you can start with the first.**

FA: The term, to me, feminism is humanism.<sup>39</sup> To be human. It also affects men. When a man is human is same as when women are human. Some women are not. Feminism to me is justice-oriented. It has to be justice-oriented. When you take on a justice course, you will see even the men join you. Why? Because they are justice. They believe in justice. We have to give them also room for that. There is room for that. It has been proven in Tanzania. It's not only women; it's also male will join when it is justice-

---

<sup>35</sup> Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP) is an organization focusing on human rights and community building in Tanzania with the goal of supporting women and other disadvantaged groups. ("What We Do." TGNP. <https://tgnp.or.tz/what-we-do/>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>36</sup> FemAct (Feminist Activist Coalition) is a group of 40+ feminist organizations in Tanzania. ("Struggles Over Land Reform in Tanzania: Experiences of Tanzania Gender Networking Programme and Feminist Activist Coalition." Feminist Africa. [https://bit.ly/FemAct\\_TZ](https://bit.ly/FemAct_TZ). Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>37</sup> WILDAF (Women in Law and Development Africa) is a Pan-African organization which advocates for and connects women in legal and development work across Africa. ("Who We Are." WILDAF Tanzania. <https://wildaftanzania.or.tz/about/>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>38</sup> The Pan-African Women's Movement began in the 1960s and developed alongside the broader Pan-African Movement. ("African Women, Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance." UNESDOC. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000235230>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

<sup>39</sup> Humanism is a school of thought within philosophy that emphasizes the value of humanity and human experiences. ("Humanism." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/humanism>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

oriented. To me, the term feminism means justice-oriented movement. In terms of-- what was the other you want?

**AM: What has it meant to your work?**

FA: Oh, my work is totally oriented. I remember when we were setting up TAMWA and we were there and all like for women, by women, and all that. Then one day a man came in the office, and he-- it was obvious he had been really beaten up. He was in disarray and he really was beaten up. It was his wife who had beaten him. He says, you guys talk about us beating. Now, what about this? What are you going to do with me? Because my wife constantly beats me. I am tired now. He came to TAMWA for justice.

**AM: Wow. He's very brave.**

FA: I tell you, I remember we were all there, the founders, and we had this big round table. We were sitting around it and we were all looking at each other. We were really taken aback because we had never thought that a man can be beaten. Then later, we learned that there are some tribes, even in Kenya, where the women really beat up the men. We decided to take on his case. We did.

We had a number of lawyers around us, human rights lawyers. We took on the case. We went and talked to the woman, and he got his justice. Yes. What was interesting in that case for me was there were children. They were married and there was children. Now, with the women's-- when she comes for justice, very often she wants to keep the children. The men didn't want the children. Let her have. For me, it was very different then. I realized this whole gender thing and the attachment of mothers to the children, what is to be a father. This man later on became our friend and we began to talk to him what it takes to be a father.

We had a little group where he would talk and there were other men who joined the group. What is it to be a father and a good father, an engaged father. It was this whole thing that also the men began to question their role with the children.

**AM: Did he keep the kids?**

FA: He didn't want because he says, I don't even know how to look after them. That was the basis also of the men sitting in our office, few men who were interested, and talking about what is it that we make with the children. Why are the children so involved with the mother and not us? They felt it *kama watoto hawamtaki yule baba*. [if the children don't want the father] *Lakini [But]*, why? Because we also don't engage with them. It was very interesting. That's where I thought that's the hope. Our work is giving now birth to hope for the men also.

If you see today, like your generation and younger, you see the men very engaged with the children. It has changed. It has changed because after that, I engaged with a lot of this your generation, like Aidan, Abdul Simba, that generation.

**AM: Aidan Eyakuze.**<sup>40</sup>

FA: Yes. Are very engaged with their children.

**AM: Yes, he is.**

FA: I have worked with them. I could actually see these changes coming. When women change, men also change. That is what gives you the push to continue *kama* [like] you're building a better society for those kids. When the kids grow up, they have seen their father engaged, they are engaged in the family.

**AM: Because they have role models.**

FA: Yes.

**AM: The relationship between feminism, scholarship, and activism. How do you perceive the relationship between scholarship and activism in general and in your own work?**

FA: With scholarship, scholarship means support for education. When you take a scholarship, say you take a scholarship, you are in a particular university and you are engaged, your topic is feminism. How you use that scholarship to actually engage with grassroot level, like your research. You have made a certain thesis. Luckily, you haven't been to any grassroot community to test that which you believe in. How is it working?

You say that in this area, there is rampant wife beating. That's your theory. You got a scholarship, this is your theory. Now, you have to find out why. Why particularly that area it is so rampant. If you don't link it to this kind of activism, it's still academic but it is active academic, activism with academic. When you find the solution, that becomes the basis of your activism. *Kama* [like], okay, *iko hapa* [it is here] because of this, this, this. Either it is culture, it is particular group which believe in this and all that.

For example, yesterday I was watching something, and they said, in this community when a young man dies and he's not married, they still find a wife for him and they go to another village and bring a wife. The wife is not told that you are being married to a man who is dead because they believe that that man, his name will be eradicated if he doesn't have a wife. That wife then when she will go with another man and have children, but those children will be his.

**AM: To the dead one? Oh my gosh.**

FA: There are communities like this. Now, this I saw it's happening in Congo, the inside of Congo. Now they are trying to rectify it. *Kama* you can't do this. Man is dead, man is dead. Put his name there, he will live. Because you oppress. They interviewed the women. There were five women who were interviewed who had been married to those dead men, and they gave their point of view. That we are not told. We are brought from

---

<sup>40</sup> Aidan Eyakuze is a Tanzanian economist and activist, and the Executive Director of Twaweza East Africa, a development and humanitarian organization, with particular commitments to children. ("Aidan Eyakuze." LinkedIn. <https://www.linkedin.com/in/aidan-eyakuze-5409a217/?originalSubdomain=tz>. Accessed 23 November, 2024.)

another village. We are not told that he's dead. There are a lot of these issues with women that happens.

It doesn't happen with men because when a young woman dies, she dies. End of the story. Why do they feel that it is so important that men should leave a name? *Ndio nakuambia kazi kubwa*. [Yes, I tell you great job.]

**AM: There is a long way to go.**

FA: Very long way, and you guys have to keep on it. It is a never-ending. It has been there since Adam and Eve,<sup>41</sup> and it will continue. You can't say now we have got these rights. We have got a lot of rights. Tanzania is one of the highest in terms of women's rights. You can't say, okay, we have arrived. *Sasa tupumzike [Now let's bury him]*. No. Now you guys have to make sure your daughters and your sons also are aware of these issues because it will continue in another form.

For example, in Tanzania, when we started, media was just like one newspaper, no television. You know what happened after television was introduced? All the pretty girls got the jobs because they have to be on television. They have to look like baby doll. The whole issue of makeup and lipstick became very important. We were getting cases, *mi sikipata kazi [I didn't get it]* because *mi sio kisura [I am not a ghost]*. Then she has all the qualifications, but she doesn't get a job because she's not good-looking. These kind of issues come. Women began to be taken as baby dolls and the men played around with it because they are on TV. You have birthed now another kind of issue in Tanzania. It continues.

Now with the social media, you see what's happening. You guys are veterans about the social media. *Kwa hivo unaona [So you see]* It's another spiel. This is what I'm saying. Your generation has to now pick up what is it that is gripping society in terms of women's issues. Even men. Now even men are commodities, which has never been before in Tanzania. You look at now even these fashion shows and look how the men are portrayed. Have you been to a recent fashion show?

**AM: No.**

FA: Ooh, I went. *Wee. Unasema, eeh, dunia hii. Hata sijui. [Oh you say, "oh, this world, I didn't even know."]* The men are commodities. Because in our cultures you don't take off your clothes. Even at home. In the fashion show, six-packs. They have to show their six-packs. You see the young women cheering. They go after six-packs men. *Inaendelea hizi mambo [continues these things]*.

**AM: Now in different forms.**

FA: In a different form, yes. Hopefully, less oppressive. Less oppressive. Because these days women are also studying. They have jobs. At least *wanayo ile [they have that]*

---

<sup>41</sup> Adam and Eve are biblical figures described as the original humans. Some consider Eve responsible for their expulsion from the Garden of Eden and symbolically responsible for all human suffering, thus justifying the continued subjugation of women. ("Adam and Eve." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Adam-and-Eve-biblical-literary-figures>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

independence. Hopefully, when they make choices, they make informed choices. We hope.

**AM: We hope.**

FA: Yes, but you know these things.

**AM: We go to part five. The intersection of your work with the women's movement in the country and globally. What is your analysis or evaluation and expectation of the development of feminism in this country? What is your relationship with other women's organizations in this country and globally?**

FA: You see, with TAMWA from inception, I am a very good networker. I believe in networking. Movement is about networking. Internally and externally. Now, you have to remember that era when you were not born, but it was an era where there was an awakening of women's position all over the world. I immediately liaised with women's organization because I had been out and I had studied outside. I was like, I knew who was doing what.

There was this International Women's Tribunal Center<sup>42</sup> in New York. They really put out a magazine. They put out images which we used also in *Sauti ya Siti*. At that time, we didn't have these images here. We hadn't produced it yet. Afterwards, we produced. If *Sauti ya Siti*, the initial. Then later, our own artists were doing it. It became very important. This is a movement which gave birth to the UN Decade of Women.<sup>43</sup> Ten years of Decade of Women, which culminated in Beijing.<sup>44</sup> In 1985. Oh, '95, we went to Beijing.

**AM: '85.**

FA: I think '95.

**AM: Was '85.**

FA: No. We were born in '87. '95. We went to Beijing. The whole world was in Beijing. It was the most amazing meeting I have ever attended. First of all, the Chinese really organized it. *Unajua [You know]*, that's a very disciplined society, Chinese. Secondly, we had our Gertrude Mwangela, who was the secretary general of this UN meeting in Beijing, sitting in Beijing. We had a huge contingency from Tanzania in terms of at a ministerial level and also civil society level.

---

<sup>42</sup> The International Women's Tribune Center was an organization that aimed to help women in the global south participate in development and policy through the use of media and educational campaigns. ("International Women's Tribune Center." Channel Foundation.

<https://www.channelfoundation.org/grants/iwtc/>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>43</sup> The United Nations Decade for Women was a UN initiative spanning 1975-1985 which focused on addressing issues affecting women through conferences and programming. ("United Nations Decade for Women." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Nations\\_Decade\\_for\\_Women](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Decade_for_Women). Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>44</sup> In 1995 the UN's Fourth World Conference for Women was held in Beijing to review and build on the progress and planning of the previous three World Conferences for Women. ("World Conferences on Women." UN Women. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/world-conferences-on-women>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

We, as civil society, went there. Everybody puts up a tent. What we decided, we'll do our tent with *kangas* [wraps].<sup>45</sup> We took piles of *kangas*. We made our own tent. We did this booklet on *kanga*. What is *kanga* in Tanzania? I think I gave you one. It was a huge hit. Nobody had thought like that. This was a communication of women in Tanzania through clothing.

I remember, at that time, Winnie Mandela<sup>46</sup> had come. She came to our tent with Nyerere, Julius Nyerere.<sup>47</sup> Julius Nyerere was so pleased to see these *kangas*. We, his women. He used to call us, we are his women. Yes. He really took pride in us that we have thought of this *kanga*. We gave them the pamphlets about *kanga*. It was an era which birthed a lot of innovativeness in the women's movement.

Me, I remember in Beijing, it rained and it rained and rained where we were. You know what the Chinese did? They all gave us umbrellas. Particular umbrellas which we all came home with. Can you imagine? They distributed free. Secondly, they kept transport, bicycles. You could see women riding in bicycle. I remember the Sudanese women who, at home, they can't do this. They were all like free on bicycles and singing away, having a good time. It freed a lot of expressions that women in their own settings cannot experience.

It does something to you. It creates that whole spirit of freedom. We had all this. Now, of course, your generation doesn't have that. You have other things. Also, you can birth other things which is very, also, innovative and stimulates your generation to take up movements. Okay?

**AM: Okay. Thank you. That's quite a highlight.**

FA: Wait, I want to say about SOSPA. Because in Tanzania-- Did I talk about SOSPA earlier?

**AM: Yes, you mentioned about SOSPA with relation to TAMWA.**

FA: Yes. Yes, we took a big role in Dodoma.

**AM: Okay. The last one is connection to international forms of activism and scholarship. Do you have any connection with activists, scholars, organizations in other countries? How did this connection came about? What have they meant for your own work? How does you make sense of differences and similarities in issues raised or approaches taken by these activists, scholars, and organizations?**

FA: During our time, as I tell you, I'm in my sunset mood, but the earlier days, I was very connected to a lot of these organizations which were activists and universities. One of

---

<sup>45</sup> Kangas are printed rectangles of cotton popular in East African countries, commonly used for various types of clothing. ("Kanga (Garment)." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kanga\\_\(garment\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kanga_(garment)). Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>46</sup> Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was a South African anti-apartheid activist who was married to Nelson Mandela from 1958-1996. She later became a politician. ("Winnie Madikizela-Mandela." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Winnie-Madikizela-Mandela>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>47</sup> Julius Nyerere is the given name of the 1<sup>st</sup> president of Tanzania, frequently called "Mwalimu," described in footnote 9. ("Julius Nyerere." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius\\_Nyerere](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Nyerere). Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

the very strengths of TAMWA in the early days was to send people to this through scholarships. A lot of people went to Italy, because there was a very strong AIDOS, it was a women's organization, and they take them for courses.

Others were like, Halima Shariff<sup>48</sup> went to Canada for master's. Ichika Maro,<sup>49</sup> Pudenciana,<sup>50</sup> they all went to Italy and London. I went to London myself, but others also a lot. Also here in terms of a lot of journalists who were there didn't have qualifications. At that time also, in Tanzania what was happening is they were establishing School of Journalism.<sup>51</sup> I am a product of School of Journalism. One of the first students of School of Journalism. It was at Salvation Army.<sup>52</sup>

**AM: Oh. That's--**

FA: Yes, it started there. We were only about 20 students, men and women. We were products of that. Then the school of journalism also has developed, and now it's a degree course at the University of Dar es Salaam. The people who really struggle for it to be that is Penina Mlama<sup>53</sup> and Professor Amandina Lihamba.<sup>54</sup> They did on theater arts but also media. Now we have graduates, like these young people, they go there and they come out as journalists. Those days, journalism was seen as very touchy politically. You do remember. We don't know the world yet. The lecturers were very ideological. Interesting. Very ideological. I was remembering them the other day.

We had a political science class. In the political science, they talked to us about the political theories of Tanzania. Like Ujamaa, like the things that we should situate ourself when we write stories. We situate it within the Tanzanian context in this light. That's why I'm saying I was very lucky to be in that era because I had all this coming that time. We were building a nation, so it's a very different phase. Now, everybody feels we have built the nation. Now, these kind of courses will be very different. Maybe I should now

---

<sup>48</sup> Halima Shariff is a Tanzanian journalist and founding member of TAMWA, serving as its first Secretary General. ("Tanzania Media Women's Association." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzania\\_Media\\_Women%27s\\_Association](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzania_Media_Women%27s_Association). Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>49</sup> Ichikaeli Maro is a Tanzanian Journalist who served as Editor for the Daily News. ("Africa's Top Journalists Complete Intensive Programme at United Nations Headquarters." UN Meetings Coverage and Press Releases. <https://press.un.org/en/2000/20000623.pi1262.doc.html>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>50</sup> Pudenciana Temba, who died in 2024, was a Tanzanian journalist who served as Editor for the *Daily News* and focused on issues related to gender and patriarchy. ("Befitting Farewell for Pudenciana." Daily News. <https://dailynews.co.tz/befitting-farewell-for-pudenciana/>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>51</sup> The School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Dar es Salaam began as a government-managed school called the Tanzania School of Journalism in 1975 and was incorporated into the University in 2002. ("About Us." University of Dar es Salaam SJMC. <https://www.udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/schools/sjmc/about-sjmc>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>52</sup> The Salvation Army is an international Christian charity organization which provides social and human services. ("Salvation Army." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Salvation-Army>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>53</sup> Penina Muhando (also called Penina Mlama) is a Tanzanian academic and playwright who helped establish the Theater of Development movement in Tanzania which addresses sociopolitical issues through art. She is also an interviewee of the Global Feminisms Project. ("Penina Muhando." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Penina\\_Muhando](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Penina_Muhando). Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>54</sup> Amandina Lihamba is a Tanzanian academic, performer, writer, and professor at the University of Dar es Salaam. ("Amandina Lihamba." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amandina\\_Lihamba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amandina_Lihamba). Accessed 24 November, 2024.)



go and sit in the lectures and then do an analysis. I haven't done that, but it's food for thought, to do the syllabus of then and the syllabus of now.

At the University of Dar es Salaam, we also had those days Walter Rodney,<sup>55</sup> *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.<sup>56</sup> Oh, that played a huge role. It is still in the syllabus at the university because Nyerere adopted it as a syllabus at the university. Walter Rodney was my neighbor.

**AM: Oh, at the university?**

FA: Yes. I lived at the university. I was married to a professor, so I lived at the university. Walter Rodney was amazing intellectual. *Ndio maana nasema* [That's why I say] in the '70s, all these intellectuals were there to formulate. Horace Campbell,<sup>57</sup> if you know him.

**AM: Oh, Horace, yes [crosstalk].**

FA: He was in the university. *Alafu [then]* a lot of lecturers from South Africa, the ANC.<sup>58</sup> *Unajua [you know]*, they were all in exile. They were all like had jobs there at the university. University was a very progressive environment. I think that's where also our generation, Bertha Koda,<sup>59</sup> *ni hawa-- nani yule wa* [These are—who is that?] UNICEF?<sup>60</sup> *Jana*, [Yesterday] she talked about it. We were all that generation, TGNP ladies. We are all products of there. Chachage<sup>61</sup> was there.

**AM: Chachage.**

---

<sup>55</sup> Walter Rodney (1942-1979) was a Guyanese activist and intellectual who contributed prominently to anti-colonial scholarship and Pan-Africanism, Marxist and Black Power movements. ("Walter Rodney (1942-1979)." BlackPast. <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/rodney-walter-1942-1979/>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>56</sup> *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, a book by Walter Rodney, was an influential analysis of the ongoing impacts of European colonialism in Africa. ("Walter Rodney (1942-1979)." <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/rodney-walter-1942-1979/>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>57</sup> Horace Campbell is an academic currently teaching at Syracuse University. He has been influential in Pan-African movements and scholarship about systemic racism. ("Horace Campbell." Foreign Policy Research Institute. <https://www.fpri.org/contributor/horace-campbell/>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>58</sup> The African National Congress (ANC) is a political party that spearheaded the campaign to end apartheid. Nelson Mandela was the party's first elected president. ("African National Congress." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African\\_National\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_National_Congress). Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>59</sup> Bertha Koda is a professor at the University of Dar es Salaam in the Institute of Development Studies. ("Bertha Koda." University of Dar es Salaam IDS. <https://www.udsm.ac.tz/web/index.php/institutes/ids/staff/detail/Bertha/35>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>60</sup> UNICEF is a branch of the United Nations dedicated to responding to and addressing the needs of children globally. ("What We Do." UNICEF. <https://www.unicef.org/what-we-do>. Accessed 24 November, 2024.)

<sup>61</sup> Chambi Chachage is a Tanzanian academic who's written about the political and economic evolution of Dar es Salaam. ("Chambi Chachage." Research Gate. <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Chambi-Chachage>. Accessed 25 November, 2024.)

FA: Demere<sup>62</sup> was there. Demere also formative years were there. That you can see went into women's movement, the intellect part-

**AM: The intellect.**

FA: -and mixed it with feminism.

**AM: How is it different like ours and the global? Are there different issues?**

FA: Globally also, there were movements globally. You have to remember that was the era of change all over the world. Colonialism had just been--

**AM: Eliminated.**

FA: *Wamefkuzwa wote.* [They have all been expelled.] Independence. Africa '60s were the independent movements. Even in Asia. Europe was being challenged. Europe wanted to be seen as progressive, so they were more like opening up their doors to aid and all that. *Hata hawa* [Even these] Scandinavians, they were giving a lot of aid to Nyerere because they wanted to influence him also not to be too radical. You see, they also have their own agenda. It's not that they want to help us. It's to push their own agenda at a different level. *Kwanza walikuwa wametubana na askari na wote.* [First they had been fighting with the soldiers and all] Now, here, *wanatubana. Unaskia? Wametaka kutu* [they are fighting each other. Do you hear? They have wanted to fight. -impact *hapa* [here]. That colonial-- *nini wanasema ile* [What do they say]? Ngugi wa Thiong'o<sup>63</sup> *aliita nini* [What did he call it?? Mental--

**AM: Mental slavery?**

FA: Another word *katumia* [used]. It is mental slavery, but he used a specific word. Colonialism of the mind.

**AM: Oh.**

FA: Colonizing the mind.

**AM: Colonizing the mind.**

FA: That is what now we are still spending time decolonizing. It's still there. That's the most effective way of colonizing. The French did that to West Africa and other parts of

---

<sup>62</sup> Demere Kitunga is a Tanzanian feminist and literacy advocate. ("A Leading Feminist's Juggling Act as She Advocates Literacy." The Citizen. <https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/magazines/woman/-a-leading-feminist-s-juggling-act-as-she-advocates-literacy-3340886> Accessed 25 November, 2024.)

<sup>63</sup> Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is a well-known Kenyan novelist and academic. ("Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ng%C5%A9g%C4%A9\\_wa\\_Thiong%27o](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ng%C5%A9g%C4%A9_wa_Thiong%27o). Accessed 25 November, 2024.)

the world.<sup>64</sup> The British did that here, our part of the world.<sup>65</sup> *Hata ukienda* [Even if you go to] India, you'll be amazed how colonized they are in the mind.

**AM: In the mind.**

FA: They're all, "Oh, sisi ni sisi," ["we are we"] but when you look at it-- *Skia?* We have to be just vigilant, try our best to change the world, at least we contribute something to change.

**AM: Thank you so much. What's your last word or something?**

FA: My last word is *a luta continua* [*the fight continues*], especially to you young guys. Not only to women, but also to men.

**AM: To men.**

FA: No really. Men are also changing. Okay?

**AM: All right.**

FA: That will be my last word.

**AM: Thank you so much.**

---

<sup>64</sup> Beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, France engaged in colonial and imperial projects in parts of Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Caribbean. ("French Colonial Empire." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French\\_colonial\\_empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_colonial_empire). Accessed 25 November, 2024.)

<sup>65</sup> Beginning in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the British Empire engaged in colonial and imperial projects including in Tanganyika in 1919, which would later become Tanzania. ("British Empire." Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Empire). Accessed 25 November, 2024.)