

A Grounded Theory of Self-Justifying

A life of rural women in Tanzania

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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To all those who maintain their own limits

Abstract

The topic of the dissertation is the life of women in a rural agricultural Northern Tanzanian context. Tanzania is a rapidly growing country in East Africa and the majority of the population lives in rural areas and relies on agriculture. Despite growth in the economy and agricultural production the rural population struggles with poverty. This implies that a better understanding of the life of rural women who do most of the farm work in Tanzania is significant since an improvement in their lives has an impact on the general improvement in poverty reduction in the studied context.

The purpose of this grounded theory study was to examine the lives of Northern Tanzanian rural women, and to generate a substantive theory which explains their main concerns in their lives and how they resolve them. The study involving rural women farmers and men participants (the husbands and rural actors) (N= 62, 9) in Tanzania in the spring, 02/2011 and 04/2016, was carried out through workshops, open discussions, interviews, letters, and observations. The collected data was analysed, using classic grounded theory methodology.

The main concern of the rural women when living within external *expectations* was self-justifying related to hope of self-dignity. As a result, an emergence of a substantive theory of self-justifying shows a basic social psychological strategy experienced by rural women through sinking, awakening, toughening, and conceding.

Sinking links to questions regarding the meaning of oneself. Due to this, hopelessness, caused by realising that one's existence is only for the benefit of others, poses emptiness. During sinking, believing in oneself, a resource for continuation towards self-justification, is reduced by leaving a sense of insecurity. Additionally, the pursuit of self-dignity has lost its meaning. Awakening of hope of continuing shifts emptiness to uncertainty.

Awakening is manifested by uncertainty of how to continue. During awakening, believing in one's own efforts, a resource for continuation towards self-justification, is diminished until willingness to overcome conditions brings meaning to the future. Additionally, hope of self-dignity begins to emerge as progress advances.

Toughening relates to the willingness to overcome conditions, believing in one's own efforts and oneself, taking responsibility, internal controlling, and isolating oneself. Accordingly, the sense of being an independent responsibility bearer is created. As the progress advances a state of being *pure* enables believing in oneself, a source of safety, and mental freedom when living within expectations, whilst the hope of self-dignity is intensified.

In *conceding*, there is no need to justify oneself. Diminished need to justify oneself can be caused by prolonged despair, fear, or other factors which diminish believing in oneself and the continuation towards the fulfilment of needs.

By maintaining limits, generated from the expectations of how to treat others, self-justification is achieved. Self-justifying within limits, by prioritising the needs of others, is related to the level of safety. As the optimal outcome is reached, eagerness to take on more responsibilities intensifies, whilst unused physical and mental resources bring about a feeling of frustration. This is due to a limited access to self-development through material and immaterial sources because of currently living within expectations related to *participation rights*.

The substantive theory of the coping strategy of *self-justifying* gives a view of how the women in this study, who live in the rural area of Northern Tanzania, resolve the main concern in their lives. Through knowledge gained, improvement of the state of an individual whilst living within expectations can be reconsidered.

Keywords: Self-justifying, expectations, limits, prioritising the needs of others, grounded theory, qualitative data

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
HDI	Human Development Index
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoHCDGEC	Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women's Association
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UNCHR	United Nations Commission on Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

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1 Introduction

The greatest challenge to the advancement of gender equality is the way in which boundaries to equal participation are set. Boundaries maintained by expectations,¹ by women and men, not only impact on an individual level but also on the level of societal development. Throughout the world, inadequate implementing of laws and policies, limited access to decision making, discrimination against women, attitudes and social norms maintain unequal conditions between genders (UN Women 2021).

Hence, expectations of rural community members regarding behaviours, roles and beliefs have a deep and long-lasting impact on their lives and behaviour (see UN Women 2020). With regard to this, efforts have been made to address challenges and barriers to the development of rural women in developing countries, but changes to improve their living conditions are still insufficient. According to UN Women (2020) and Tanzania² Demographic and Health Survey 2015–2016, the lack of development of rural women is linked to their participation in mainstream political and socio-economic sectors including property rights, formal education, decision making, and capacity development. Violence against women and girls is another factor, but development can be reached through gender equality (UN Women 2020; MoHCDGEC et al., 2016). According to the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) indicators, globally, rural women face more persistent structural restrictions than both men in rural areas and men and women in urban areas (FAO 2019; FAO, IFAD, and WFP 2020a). However, rural women make a crucial contribution to local and global economies through their communities and households, in reaching and securing livelihoods through food production (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, and WHO 2021).

Due to the social and cultural barriers that exist, such as poor rural infrastructure and set cultural roles, the participation of rural women in employment, decision making and particularly in primary education when young is very limited. Rural women carry water and wood, take care of children, elders and sick people, prepare food and do housework. Women’s participation in power, leadership, and decision making in rural areas is still under-represented. In particular, unequal power relations and norms which maintain gender-based violence (GBV) need to be addressed (FAO, IFAD, and WFP 2020b), this plays a pivotal role in improving equal opportunities through the expected behaviours, roles and beliefs of rural community members.

¹ “the persistence of adverse cultural norms, practices and traditions as well as patriarchal attitudes and deep-rooted stereotypes regarding the roles, responsibilities and identities of women and men in all spheres of life” (CEDAW 2008: 5). See also the 64th session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women: “no country has fully achieved gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls, that significant levels of inequality persist globally, that many women and girls experience multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, vulnerability and marginalization throughout their life course” (UN, CSW 2020: 3).

² According to the United Nations, Tanzania is on the list of Least Developed Countries (LDCs). Department of Economic and Social Affairs Economic Analysis (DESA) 2018.

Thus, attitudes towards violence justify violence towards women (58% of surveyed women believed that a husband is justified to beat his wife in at least one of the five specified circumstances, e.g., “she burns the food, she argues with him, she goes out without telling him, she neglects the children, and she refuses to have sex with him”, MoHCDGEC et al., 2016: 330). Discrimination against women and girls not only maintains these expected behaviours but also prevents their development through material and immaterial sources (CEDAW 2008). “However, it is equally clear that without transforming this relationship between power, violence and leadership in the community, many women and the community paralegals that support them in making claims, will continue to face barriers to justice” (Dancer 2018: 60).

Even though developments have been achieved, such inequality continues to exist (UN Women 2021; UN Women and UN DESA 2019; Wollstonecraft 1796). The basic security of individuals may be at risk or not exist at all, because of social constraints and conditions preventing their development. There is a lack of relevant development opportunities for rural women. For instance, they are prevented from developing abilities in decision making, in improving knowledge, and in accessing financial resources. These inhibit women’s ability to participate in society, thus hindering equality of opportunities. Briefly, the prevention of individual development in improving quality of life through self-dignity, social and economic inclusion restricts not only potential social resources but also the individual’s basic need. Attempts have been made to counter discrimination against women and improve their dignity in many development programmes (UN Women 2021, 2020; WORLD BANK 2020). In addition, questions are being asked about legal and social norms as boundaries to equality and self-development through educational, financial, and property ownership structures (Klugman and Tyson 2016). These boundaries are maintained by attitudes, traditions, and the patriarchal system (Michael 1998). Thus, there is a need to study the daily life of rural women within their social structural conditions.

Expectations constantly affect one’s life, so it is essential to know what living with expectations is like from the perspective of the individual. This knowledge can be used to recognise the individual’s needs for participation and for the common benefit of those involved. Knowledge of planning, implementing, and controlling provides a view of the individual who experiences life lived within others’ expectations of what is acceptable. In addition, maintaining socially acceptable behaviours, skills, and reputation depends on one’s resources, such as self-regulation capacity (DeWall, Pond, and Bonser 2010; Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, and Twenge 2005). To cope with expectations when the aim is to stay living within them, one needs resources. Little is known about the expectations of rural women in developing countries and the coping strategies they use to secure life for their family whilst living within the expectations of a group or system.

Therefore, in this study, the aim was to explain the main concerns in the lives of rural women in Northern Tanzania, using a grounded theory method. The points of view considered are not only the psychological and philosophical, but also practical, explained through situations.

This study is important for drawing attention to rural women in developing countries who are seeking to ensure that life is secure for their families. The input of rural women is valuable for maintaining and developing food security (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, and WHO 2021, 2019; Annan, Donald, Goldstein, Martinez, and Koolwal 2019). Since food security concerns many people, it is important to study the structure within which these rural women operate and their ability to take the necessary steps to achieve security.

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

Using a grounded theory approach provides an excellent beginning for the study process. Thus, the analyst can leave her own thoughts and previous knowledge about the study area behind and focus on analysing the data gathered in order to find the substantive area. Grounded theory gives the analyst both freedom and steps to follow by a rigorous research method. The main concern of a grounded theory is believing in the emergence of the data. The aim in this research was to understand what is really going on in the life of a rural woman in Tanzania. The experiences I gained from the field provoked my interest to learn more about how rural women resolve their main concerns in their lives. Moreover, it was clear to me the rural women play a major role in securing life, for instance through food security.³ Therefore, I aimed to find out the main concern in the participating women's lives. The grounded theory methodology and its idea that "all is data"⁴ provided the path through the analysis to show the underlying patterns of behaviour and to explain what was actually going on in the data.

The aim of this study was thus to find out about the lives of rural women in Northern Tanzania and to develop a substantive theory in order to explain their main concerns and how they resolve them in their lives.

The research questions are:

Can you tell me about your life?

- 1) How do rural women in Tanzania experience their lives and which concepts help to provide explanations?
- 2) How do these concepts link to each other?
- 3) What kind of substantive theory emerges to explain the life experiences of these rural women?

³ "A situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO 2013; Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security, 2009).

⁴ "Doing Grounded Theory: Issues and Discussions" (Glaser 1998: 8).

1.2 Outline of the study

This study is divided into four chapters on the background, methodology, theory, and its implications.

In Chapter 1 the background of the study is introduced, as well as the context of expectations put upon rural women in Northern Tanzania. Additionally, the aim of the study and research questions are presented. In Chapter 2 the methodology of the grounded theory and the steps towards theory generation are explained, including different phases of generating the substantive theory.

In Chapter 3 the substantive theory of self-justifying is explained, including the context of external expectations, their effect, and the consequent response of rural women. In addition, rural women's participation rights and the tactics used to manage and control them are explained. The stages of the theory of self-justifying are presented, including the various behavioural patterns influencing limits based on the women's own needs, and the features of justifying through the maintenance of those limits. The theory is discussed in comparison with the emergent concepts in relevant literature.

Finally, in Chapter 4, the substantive theory of self-justifying is discussed regarding the choice and usefulness of the method, the ethical viewpoints of the grounded theory analysis used, the practicability of this study, and proposals for future research.

2 Methodology of Grounded Theory

The aim of this chapter is to explain classic grounded theory (CGT), its roots, background and how it has evolved from its origins. In addition, to show how CGT fulfils the criteria for researching the social behaviour of individuals. The experiences gained during the research have been incorporated into the process of following the method.

The first section is dedicated to the origin of grounded theory, the second, to explanation of the methodology, and the third, to following its path through the progressive steps of the process to generating a theory. I begin by presenting the roots of the grounded theory methodology (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978) and then show how the method has been put into practice in this study.

2.1 Background

The grounded theory methodology was inspired by the studies of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the 1960s. In its essence, the methodology evolves from and is influenced by their educational backgrounds; Barney Glaser with his qualitative studies, quantitative studies led by Paul Lazarsfeld at Columbia University, and Anselm Strauss's experiences of qualitative studies led by Herbert Blumer (1931) at Chicago University (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992).

The grounded theory methodology has its roots in the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967, 1965). Their widely known studies, *Awareness of Dying* (1965), *Time for Dying* (1968), and *Status Passage* (1971) explain the main concerns and how these are resolved by the participants. After this, views as to how to develop the method diverged. Firstly, the original grounded theory was modified by Strauss and his colleague Corbin, in their study *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (1990a). However, Glaser continued the path of the original grounded theory. The grounded theory method of Strauss and Corbin is characterised by allowing some literature review before, but most importantly they enforce theoretical coding, which they call conditional matrix (Strauss and Corbin 1990a). This means that their method does not involve "staying open" for emerged codes, whereas CGT has multi-dimensional aspects, based on memos of the codes.

Barney Glaser first mentioned the grounded theory method in his paper "The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis" (Glaser 1965). Since his views separated from those of Strauss, Glaser has published several studies and further developed grounded theory. Due to the development of divergent methods,

the name CGT was more appropriately given to the original theory (Glaser 1992). Glaser has published several books⁵ on CGT as “Glaserian grounded theory”.

2.2 Classic Grounded Theory

The grounded theory method explains the behaviour of participants. The method and its use are characterised by five S’s: subsequent, sequential, simultaneous, serendipitous, and scheduled (Glaser 1978).

The CGT method allows the subject of the research to emerge naturally, without any forethoughts as to the subject area, as the data analysed has its own power. The researcher applies no preconceived ideas and presumptions about the subject area. The main concern of the participants emerges through giving space to the data to speak. Grounded theory methodology is particularly appropriate when the area of interest is related to social behaviour. It has been widely used to enhance knowledge in areas such as the health care sector, education, management, and business. The aim of the substantive grounded theory is to be grounded, allowing a theory to emerge from the data freely, without any outside influence or preconceptions. (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005.)

To allow the grounded theory to emerge, with its inherent variability and flexibility to achieve its aims, it is vital to follow the process of generating a substantive theory, and show how the theory is generated. Generating theory is based on systematically analysing data into collected, coded, and integrated categories, whilst making observations and writing memos. The entire process is guided throughout by the emerging theory, and particularly by its core variable. Therefore, the grounded theory method is grounded in data,⁶ contrary to verifiable theory which is conducted by using testing methods in order to propose testable hypotheses. (Glaser 1978.)

2.2.1 Grounded theory analysis

The grounded theory analysis has unique features: *being sensitive* to emergence of the main concern, *trusting* data, *centralising* into the core, *gathering* pieces together by sorting and coding theoretically, and finally *opening*⁷ by conceptualising the behaviour of participants and how they resolve their main concern.

Being sensitive to emergence of the main concern means that the researcher remains open to what is really going on (the main concern) in a substantive area. In addition, the researcher remains sensitive to the emergent concepts of the data that fit and work, whilst constantly comparing them. Therefore, explanation and interpretation

⁵ See *The Grounded Theory Review – An international journal*.

⁶ See Glaser and Strauss 1967. CGT is based on a constant comparative method wherein the analyst may use both qualitative and quantitative data.

⁷ *Opening* is my own concept.

of the data depends on the capacity of the analyst. Furthermore, it is imperative to remain sensitive to the emergence of the theory generation (Glaser 1978).

Trusting data means that the analyst uses data systematically to allow a relevant, appropriate and modifiable theory to emerge. The emerging theory then provides and updates information and this information is updated based on re-collected and analysed data in the substantive area being studied. Additionally, the grounded theory can be updated with new data, thus deriving new information by a changed hypothesis. So, the grounded theory methodology is characterised by providing concepts that fit and work, which are reproducible and timeless. (Glaser 1978, 1998.)

Centralising into the core involves the concepts around the core variable, which explain how the participants resolve their main concern. The analyst takes account only of those concepts that have been saturated and have earned their way towards generating the theory by their emergence in relation to the core. (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005.)

Gathering pieces together is the stage when the analyst develops the concepts; categories and their properties which fit and work for the emergence of the integrated theory. This phase can be a great challenge to the analyst. (Glaser 1978, 2005.)

Opening is what happens after the analyst has coded data, written memos and generated ideas to the concepts that fit and work and sorted them: the phase of writing theory begins. The analyst must stay open-minded and let the data speak for itself, instead of withholding the power of the data. (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005.)

So, the theory generating process involves collection of research data, open coding and theoretical sampling whilst writing memos that generate ideas leading to saturation throughout the process of conceptual elaboration. The aim is to reach saturated concepts and their relations in order to get the emerged core that explains the main concern of the participants. In the process, the analyst writes memos about every idea of the concepts and re-memos based on the original memos, to let ideas emerge. The analyst constantly compares concepts and their properties. The constant comparisons reveal new properties and their new conditions as qualifying conditions for general hypotheses.

Any concept is indicated by what may be called a reasonable set of indicators which therefore may be seen as interchangeable. The interchangeability of indicators allows for different researcher to collect different indicators on the same concept and agree that each others' indicators are "all right" for the concept (Glaser 1978: 42–43).

This interchangeability makes it possible to indicate more concepts. For example, one may see more indicators of the same concept and generate its dimensions by enriching the differences in the same idea. The analyst generates concepts by

constantly comparing the interchangeability of indicators. “You get concepts out of indicators and the interchangeability of indicators and you get a theory” (Glaser and Tarozzi 2007: 27).

Once the saturation point has been achieved and all the stages of the process have been followed, the framework for writing emerges. The target is to prepare a theory that fits and works and not to skip any stages, which may prevent the emergence of concepts based on memos of the data. So, giving power to the data is paramount. When the researcher or analyst skips a step, it remains incomplete and overly descriptive. It takes time to progress to a theory that fits and works. When the analyst gives power to the data and stays open and sensitive to it, the theory begins to emerge. The reward for moving backwards and forwards through the process will be a naturally emergent theory instead of a forced one. (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005.)

2.3 Phases of Classic Grounded Theory

The CGT method (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978) and its distinctive phases moving towards the generation of a theory are presented here. In this section, I also aim to show why I chose this method. Progress is achieved by a rigorous drive to suppress the desire to direct the study, instead giving power to the data. If the researcher holds the power of the data, the analysis stays incomplete and too descriptive. Therefore, the researcher has to abandon efforts to influence the emergent concern of the main participants and let the data speak – trusting the data and the process of analysis. When the researcher bargains away their power, the analysis begins to emerge, as long as powerlessness continues to guide the data analysis towards the core variable. As the core variable emerges, the factors surrounding it are attached, thereby explaining its unique features. The core variable explains how the participants resolve their main concern. In addition, the core variable is a dimension of the main concern. (Glaser 1999, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2005.)

The CGT method (Glaser and Strauss 1967) was chosen for this study because it is a suitable approach to finding out what is really going on in the life of a rural woman in Northern Tanzania and explaining it. The method allows for the development of a conceptual model of the main concern of the participants and how they resolve it. This model can be illustrated as a basic social psychological strategy, including its unique categories and properties, thereby explaining the social behaviour.

The purpose of the analysis is to reveal a conceptually driven model to produce information about the substantive area under study. The conceptual model can be modified to enable new information to emerge. The model can be used in different contexts without binding to the original place where the data was collected. With new information, the conceptual model can be updated. Furthermore, the model

facilitates preparation of conceptual hypotheses to explain differences theoretically. (Glaser 1978.)

The CGT method was chosen to respect the valuable data provided by the participants. The researcher had a strong desire to get the participants' own thoughts instead of attempting to affect the material obtained. The basis of data collection was through open (not guided) discussion. From the very beginning the idea was to use only the data that the participants had chosen to provide. Therefore, to gain as rich data as possible, the open discussions were carried out various times and for numerous participants. A range of strategies and settings were used to allow participants to provide an adequate amount of data. Some of the discussions were made whilst walking, some were done whilst sitting around a table. Both indoor and outdoor discussions around a table were organised with face to face and group options. The target was to obtain realistic and reliable material which ultimately would repeat itself (Glaser 1978, 1999).

The grounded theory method is most successful when the analyst is committed to theoretical sensitiveness, to being open, and to giving the opportunity for data to speak instead of following the existing theory literature. The grounded theory method, when it is processed through all the stages, provides information which is timeless and replicated. This means that the study analysis can be updated when new information emerges from re-collected data. Then, the theory generation may continue.

The analyst aims to conduct conceptualised coded data as a basis for the categories and their properties to explain the basic social problem under study. The grounded theory works well in studies which seek to explain basic social problems of the participants. The grounded theory approach allows the researcher to process information which is based on grounded, saturated and matured concepts. The concepts need to warrant their place in explaining the main concern of the participants. Therefore, the concepts emerge from the data analysis, and when these concepts are saturated, this rich bank of concepts is used to generate a theory. The theory is explained by these well-grounded concepts and their interrelations. So, the concepts explain the problem. (Glaser 1978, 1999, 2002a, 2002b.)

The process of grounded theory methodology refers to identifying the main concern, the conceptual phases, the risk of making too conceptual a description, the interconnections of concepts to the hypotheses to explain the behaviour of the participants, the constant comparative method through collecting data and coding whilst memoing, theoretical sampling, sorting and finally writing up the emerged concepts into a substantive theory. The substantive theory is expressed through its hidden theoretical concepts, which ultimately create the framework for writing. (Glaser 1978, 2005.)

The aim of comparing incidents is to generate concepts that fit and work. This produces more concepts than psychological index formations where the indicators are summative (Glaser 1978: 62). In addition, each sentence is compared - line by line. This phase can be frustrating to the analyst but when it is done, it gives rich grounds to continue the study (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978).

When the researcher begins to follow the phases step by step, the emergent concepts start to tell their own story. In this study, too, I found that this was an enriching and enthusing experience. The grounded theory method can be used to draw a line around some of the most precious areas of basic social process/under study and to explain the behaviour of those involved. Having an open mind to look at what is really going on in the data can provide a basis for grounded concepts to emerge. (Glaser 1978, 1999, 2002a, 2002b.) Table 1 shows the phases in this process, from theoretical sampling to theoretical writing.

Table 1. The phases of the research process.

Phases of the research project	2011	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Theoretical sampling								
Open discussions	February		April					
Observing	February		April					
Field notes	February		April					
Letters from the participants			April					
Translation	Feb-June		April-Aug			November		
Substantive coding								
Open coding		April-June	April-May	April				
Core category		December	January					
Selective coding		December	Jan-March					
Theoretical coding			Jan-June		Nov-Dec	Jan-Dec	Aug-Nov	Jan-April
Memo writing		June-Dec	Jan-June	Jan-Dec	Sep-Dec	Jan-Dec	Jan-Dec	Jan-April
Memo sorting			November	April-May	Sep-Dec	Jan-Dec	Aug-Nov	Jan-April
Theoretical writing					Jan-Dec	Jan-Dec	Jan-Dec	Jan-May

2.3.1 Theoretical sampling: an emerging conceptual framework

Theoretical sampling is processed through collecting and analysing data, then refining and re-collecting data in order to develop the emergent theory. The emerging theory, and in particular its core variable, guides the movement. Theoretical sampling is supported by following the emerging substantive theory to clarify where to go next to collect data. The collected data as analysed and coded specifies the direction.

The collected data from rural women in Northern Tanzania in this study, coded and analysed, directed and specified the movement to the emergent concepts of the theory generation. The data was collected by open discussion “face to face”, group discussions, group work, writing letters, and interviewing in further conversations. In the beginning of collecting data, the most important rule is to not to have

preconceptions or use semi-structured questionnaires, but instead ask only: “Can you tell me about your life?”

Theoretical sampling differs from selective sampling. Theoretical sampling is based on an ongoing process of theory development. Therefore, the analyst operates freely without making decisions about the direction of a study because it is not known what will emerge from the sampling in the theory generation. Whereas, selective sampling, is a general sampling method in qualitative studies: the analyst can decide the place and information acquired from it, for instance, when investigating dimensions of the study subject. (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1998.)

When the aim is to re-collect data, by further selective sampling, the analyst can gather a more targeted extract. Whilst collecting data, the analyst observes and writes memos and notes from the field, both during and after discussions. The main thing is to listen to the participants and to write up ideas that appear during collection. If the researcher fails to write them down immediately, they might be forgotten. After collecting data, the researcher starts to analyse it by coding. The coding is done by comparing incident to incident and by comparing sentences line by line. During coding, the analyst writes memos. The coding phase usually proceeds at a high tempo. The aim is to write all the ideas up and create a rich memo bank. Whilst coding, the analyst starts to see connections between the codes and to organise them into categories which include their properties. (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978.)

So, to generate the theory, the analyst conducts a constant comparative analysis of data, re-collects data on clusters of variables that arise from this comparison, and delineates attitudinal and behavioural patterns of the study concerned (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 2001, 2003).

The grounded theory is inductive: it emerges from the raw data, stage by stage from the data analysis. The deductive logic only applies within grounded theory in terms of the codes that lead the process of sampling more data to generate the theory. The codes are generated by comparison however, not by deductions to verify existing theories. As the theoretical sampling stage progresses, the categories that emerge and the connections between them shape and direct the process. Thus, the grounded theory is based not on existing theories, but on data (Glaser 1978).

Inductive reasoning becomes apparent when collecting and analysing the data. The emergent concepts are generated from the raw data through constantly comparing incident to incident and concept to concept to develop categories and their properties. In grounded theory methodology, the deductive reasoning is based on this inductively constituted basis, which directs the re-collection of data for generating the theory. (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 2001, 2003.)

Conceptual elaboration during theoretical sampling is the systematic deduction from the emerging theory of the theoretical possibilities and probabilities for elaborating the theory as to explanations and interpretations. These become hypotheses which guide the researcher back to locations and comparative groups in the field to discover more ideas and connections from data (Glaser 1978: 40).

Grounded theory is an inductive methodology based on systematically collected data. Whereas deductive studies develop hypotheses from ideas or some other study. In grounded theory methodology, deduction includes the phase of theoretical sampling. "It is the carefully grounded deduction from an induced category or hypotheses of where to go next for data to compare" (Glaser 1998: 43). Moreover, it is not logically derived without the basis of systematic research: it is based on carefully deduced probabilities which guides the next move of the analyst and what data for the theory integration needs to be included (Glaser 1998: 43–44). A new direction in collecting data is needed only when the data discloses new incidents. When the codes and the emergent concepts do not yield new information, the analyst stops collecting data. When the analyst sees a repeated pattern in the data, the main concern of the participants will start to become clear. (Glaser 1978, 1998.)

The phase of theoretical sampling (collecting, coding, observing, writing memos, and field notes) is vivid and fast paced (Glaser 1978: 36). It has energy and leads to the new study area, an understanding which the analyst did not originally know was to be investigated. The state of mind of the analyst can vary from calm to manic. When the analyst begins to see the same incident in re-collected data, collection can cease (Glaser 1978).

In this study, the data collection was closed after the re-collection of data from 41 women participants (rural women and community workers) and from four men participants (rural officials and community workers). The first phase of data collection was conducted during a training course of women cooperative members in 2011 (25 women). In addition, two husbands, a rural authority, a NGO worker and a manager of the cooperative were interviewed. The second collection was conducted in 2016 over ten days and took about 8 to 10 hours each day. Some of the participants of the second collecting round were the same as in the first round. In total, the participants involved in this study comprise 62 women and nine men. In the second collecting round, the researcher rented a classroom where interviews were conducted with the rural women with the assistance of an interpreter. In addition, the interviews with actors in the field were conducted outside the classroom. The researcher recorded the voices of the participants. The interpreter interpreted their words and the researcher wrote notes about this whilst the recording and observing was taking place.

The grounded theory methodology does not normally support the recording of interviews, but the researcher saw this as the only way to get the translated version

from the collected data after the interview. The collected data was translated by three different translators (two women and one man). The researcher found that each translator used their own terms and interpretation. Consequently, the researcher additionally asked the interviewees to write letters either in English or in Kiswahili. Using the written letters, the researcher was able to carry out coding using the words of the participants. The letters were written in the classroom by 30 women participants (Appendix 1). The letters gave assurance to the validity of the previously translated material, but also provided new information.

The researcher was introduced to the participants and some of them remembered her from a previous period of data collection in 2011. Both parties felt comfortable in the situation due to the favourable atmosphere engendered by those previous sessions. The participants had the opportunity to talk about their life either alone or together with another woman participant. Some of them wanted to come alone at first and back later with another woman participant. The researcher gained a rich data bank. Analysis started during the first data collection day.

The grounded theory methodology does not use any criteria based on assumptions of analytic relevancy such as gender, age, or background. This is because they do not have any value until they have earned their place when their relevancy has emerged (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 2001, 2003). However, the researcher recognised that the rural area and community where the data was collected might generate ideas about a subject of interest to rural women.

The time that was spent listening to participants varied, some of them wanting to talk for longer than others. Sometimes the participants felt more comfortable, particularly those who came with a friend, and the length of time was consequently longer. The maximum time spent with a participant was almost one hour and the shortest time was under 15 minutes. The men participants were interviewed alone either in the yard of the cooperative or in their farm in the first and second collecting round.

Repetitious collection of data not only increases information, but also strengthens the skills of the researcher to prepare an interview event. For example, in the first collection, the recording device stopped working during the participant's interview, but there was another recorder available to immediately replace it. The researcher had had the same experience previously, and therefore three different recorders were available. Only one recorder was used at a time to create the most comfortable atmosphere for the participant.

The participants have been given anonymous codes (A1–A71) for this research to protect their privacy. The participants were skilled at writing which improved the validity of the study. Only one elderly woman wrote with the support of another participant. In Tanzania, primary school and elementary school are both free of charge. In addition, English is a widely used language. The participants ranged from sixteen to over 80 years of age. They worked in agriculture and lived in a rural area.

Fieldwork and observations

During the first collection period in the field in 2011, I carried out observations, wrote field notes, and made voice recordings of the observations. I found recording observations a very appropriate way to store notes, rather than writing them down during observations. The mobile phone was a suitable device for this purpose.

The aim of a grounded theory analysis is to explain what is going on in the data, that is, to understand how a basic social process explains the basic social psychological problems of the contributors to the substantive area. Theoretical sampling is based on the resolution about the sociological perspective of the people within the substantive area, rather than anticipatory measures to be taken by preconceived thoughts or hypotheses (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 2001, 2003.)

Qualitative or quantitative data can explain structural, procedural, and interactional properties of an action of the participants. The aim is to get a rich bank of data about the basic social problem or main concern of the participants and to explain it by the process and relations between the concepts that emerge from this data. During collection, the analyst writes memos, observations and analyses to prepare relevant conceptual grounds for the study. This phase may cause uncertainty as to the direction of the research. If the researcher makes questionnaires in advance, the basis for generating a theory stays artificial, as the researcher cannot know the (basic social) problem of the participants and may form an opinion, supposition or speculation about the problem based on incomplete information. Therefore, once again, it is necessary to repeat that the researcher is to remain open and have the sensitiveness required to allow the emergence of the well-grounded concepts from the data which fit and work. (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 2001, 2003.)

I analysed the data collected on the first day comparatively with open coding. During the phase of theoretical sampling, I focused on data that was relevant to the workability of the emerging theory. As the concepts have emerged by comparisons, the direction was deduced based on inductive reasoning. Therefore, all the risk factors that may diminish the power of the data has been avoided. For example, reading theoretical literature whilst comparing incident to incident and preparing emergent concepts for the further theory generation, can lead the development of generating a theory away from its path. So, the theoretical literature was not read until the framework was established. (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 2001, 2003.)

2.3.2 Substantive coding

A conceptual code integrates data and theory. “The code conceptualizes the underlying pattern of a set of empirical indicators within the data” (Glaser 1978: 55). Conceptual codes explain what is going on in the data. The target is to capture the

main phenomenon or problem of the data and verbalize the event in the data by categories and their properties. Substantive coding conceptualises empirical data, whereas theoretical coding conceptualises the relationship between the substantive codes (Glaser 2005). The aim of the theoretical codes is to explain the relationship between substantive codes in a hypothesis for the theory integration. Without theoretical coding, substantive codes remain empty abstractions (Glaser 1978).

Substantive coding starts with open coding. As the analyst constantly compares, aiming for saturation of the concepts, the phase of selective coding starts. The analyst begins to code data to generate an emergent set of categories and their properties. In open coding, the analyst constantly compares incident to incident and concepts to concepts. During selective coding, the analyst takes account of only those concepts that refer to the core concept (variable). (Glaser 1978, 2005.)

Open coding

In order to integrate concepts into the theory, they have to fit and work. To attain the relevant set of categories and their properties, the analyst codes different incidences into as many categories as possible. This is conducted by constantly comparing incident to incident whilst asking: “What is this data a study of?” and “What category does this incident indicate?” (Glaser 1978: 57). The aim is to code data without using any preconceived terms (such as human capital or social capital), until they have earned their way by emergence from the data. Open coding guides the movement of theoretical sampling. There is a temptation to drift away from the data if the analyst focuses too much on writing theoretical memos. There is a great challenge to the analyst to stay open-minded when coding data which has been collected in the field. (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992, 2001, 2003.)

Table 2. An example of open coding: *extending the day and non-stop drudging.*

An indicator	An incident	<i>An open code</i>
I sleep every night three to four hours. I wake up every morning at 4:00 am and clean the cow house, take the milk to the cooperative, get the children ready for school and prepare the food.	adding hours to the day continuous drudging for safety	extending the day non-stop drudging

During open coding, the researcher continually asks analytical questions such as:

“What is this data a study of?”

“What category does this incident indicate?” or “What category or property of a category, of what part of the emerging theory, does this incident indicate?”

“What is actually happening in the data?”

“What is the basic social psychological problem(s) faced by the participants in the action scene?”

The analyst also asks these questions continuously whilst analysing, collecting, and coding the data. The action of questioning keeps the analyst on track. Furthermore, the analyst analyses the data line by line, by constantly coding each sentence. The effort to analyse data line by line prevents omission of any significant category. This phase takes a lot of the researcher’s effort and time, though it keeps the process grounded and on track. The analyst pauses the coding process when an idea emerges from the data, in order to memo it. The analyst makes a list of codes as they emerge, leading to saturation in categories.

Table 3. An example observation from the field in 2011.

A very young girl, she is less than 20 years old, cleans and cares for cows alone on the farm of her husband’s relatives. She is very shy, fearful and speaks quietly. She does not have hope, she said. She says that she cleans the cow shed and takes care of the cows and after that she cleans the house and takes care of the children and elders and washes the laundry and prepares food.

This concept was openly coded in 2015 for this study. It was coded as “*drudging*” and saturated later as “*non-stop drudging*”. Non-stop drudging is the property of maintaining the behaviour and attitude of “*prioritising the needs of others*”.

Table 4. An example observation from the field in 2016.

She is perhaps over 70 years old. She looks really persistent, an empty look in her eyes, but still very humble. She says that she cleans the cow shed, takes care of the cows, washes laundry and prepares the food. She says her husband helps her. It seems that they both work on the farm. They do not own the land, it is governed by the state.

This was openly coded during the same day as “*non-stop drudging*” and “*limited property rights*” based on observations, interviews, open discussion, and letters. The concept of limited property rights was later included in the category of “*participation rights*”. This was the only farm where a husband also participated in farming and therefore it was decided to either collect more data later or to leave this incident out of the study.

In this study, coding started on the first day of data collection in spring 2011. Coding was done again in 2015, 2016, and 2017. The second set of data was collected from the same area in the spring of 2016. The final list of emergent categories was made in 2021. I constantly compared, trimmed, and fitted the codes until saturation was achieved and all the data fitted the integration of the theory.

Memoing was already shown to be the same in 2016. The feeling was absurd. The main concern had been evident since I started the analysis. The feeling was that I

could get this same answer from an oncoming person in the street. However, I gathered myself and continued the analysis. When I started to selectively code for a core variable, I limited coding to the variables that concerned the core variable. “Grounded theory is based on a concept-indicator model, which directs the conceptual coding of a set of empirical indicators.” (Glaser 1978: 62).

Table 5. An example of how an open code was generated.

An indicator	An incident of the data	A property	An open code
“capacity is power”	Needs to have capacity	Maintaining resources	Believing in oneself
“but shame for the woman to bring a man to court.”	Taking responsibility for the husband’s status	Maintaining needs of others	The benefit of others
“should obey the husband. It’s a rule.”	Expectations of the woman	Expected behavior and attitude	Expectations; obeying
“challenges, struggle for family”	Struggling	Maintaining basic needs of others by struggling	Struggling
“sometimes men don’t value them.”	Does not appreciate	Neglecting	Neglecting

Table 6. An example of a selective code.

An incident of the data	A property	A selective code
Believing in one’s own skills Confident action Managing situation Trust (present and tomorrow) A sense of independence “ <i>From the darkness to the light</i> ”	Believing in oneself Believing in one’s own efforts Independent responsibility bearer Trust in tomorrow	Believing in oneself (Source of safety) Mental Freedom
Increased willingness to develop oneself	Willingness to manage one’s own life	Unused resources
Willingness to make one’s own decisions Maintaining hope of improved conditions Hope of dignity through the children “ <i>Struggle continues</i> ”	Prevented to develop oneself Silent hope Investing hope in the future	Endless hope

2.3.3 Theoretical coding with theoretical sensitivity

Theoretical codes implicitly conceptualise how the substantive codes will relate to each other as a modelled, interrelated, multivariate set of hypotheses in accounting for resolving the main concern (Glaser 2005: 11). This is built by grounded integration wherein the theoretical codes are based on sorting memos of the compared data and further memos instead of sorting data.

Theoretical coding is closed when the code has reached its saturation. After this, development and integration lead to generating a theory. Progress is made towards an explanation of what is going on in the data and how the basic social process shows how the basic social psychological problems of the contributors in the substantive area are being resolved. The interchangeability of indicators enables the analyst to shift the emphasis to the new study area where the concepts and their properties can be suitably applied. Saturation through the interchangeability of the concepts encourages the examination of existing indicators instead of seeking new ones. In the grounded theory method, typologies are based on their earned distinction. Thus, the criteria can be either external to the concept as its outward features or internal to it as dimensions, measurable extent, or degrees of it. (Glaser 1978.)

In this study, self-justifying through prioritising the needs of others was a repeated action that kept producing the same consequences. The rural women participants repeated the same action over and over again in order to attain a feeling of safety. This is a cycling process, going over the same path in order to reach self-justification by maintaining limits.

2.3.4 Memo writing and memos of the memos

Theory generation is not completely integrated without theoretical memos (Glaser 1978: 83). Consequently, the analyst writes up memos of the codes and their relations during coding. This is an ongoing process from coding to the end of the research. Thus, the memos capture ideas of the codes and their relations. Memo writing takes place concurrently with coding, sorting, and writing. The main aim is to write down all the ideas and allow them to develop into more theoretical ideas. Thus, it is imperative to write up the ideas as they emerge to prevent them from being lost. (Glaser 1978.)

The aim of memo writing is to obtain emergent codes from the data, create categories and their properties for the hypothesis, and finally integrate the whole structure of the theory. A further aim is to compare the emergent theory to existing theories, which should be treated as more data to code. (Glaser 1978, 1998.)

Theoretical memos are not detailed descriptions: they guide theory generation by bringing it up to a conceptual level. Even though ideas are written descriptively, they are subsumed by the analysis. The substantive theory is generated by the use of

memos rather than rich descriptive explanation. In grounded theory, description takes place at the data collecting stage until the commencement of the theoretical analysis.

Theoretical properties define the codes. They narrow the theoretical features of the code to its empirical basis from where it has emerged – the unique condition under which it appears that indicates its connections with other codes. If this phase of the analysis is bypassed, the codes remain descriptive without meaning. Theoretical memos give meaning by theoretically coding the properties of the substantive codes. *In vivo* theoretically coded connections between the properties of the codes enable categorisation in relation to other variables. (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005.)

However, writing memos may have negative consequences: for example, codes may be over-described. Instead the aim is to write theoretical ideas about the codes to summate the integration of theory. In this phase of the grounded theory method, the analyst has a basic understanding of the theory integration. The sorted memos are integrated into a substantive theory. The crucial point is to write memos “as theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships” (Glaser 1978: 83). In addition, it is vital for memos to mature and saturate to enable rich theory generation. It is always possible to return to the memos if needed. Consequently, theoretical coding boosts the conceptual extent of the data.

There are some rules concerning memo writing. Firstly, the memo is based on data. Thus, memos are brought conceptually up to a theoretical level. Theoretical properties of the substantive code limit the code to enable saturation. The saturated code and its theoretically coded connections explain the data and the main theoretical subject in the data. “Memo writing forces the analyst to theoretically code also, that is to determine how the code is related and of relevance to ongoing social structure and other significant processes which can be discerned in the setting being studied” (Glaser 1978: 85).

2.3.5 Theoretical sorting of memos

The theoretical sorting of memos links different categories and properties together. Not the raw data, but the theoretical memos of the concepts are sorted. During sorting, new memos of ideas generate new connections. After substantive coding, the memos were sorted according to the theoretical codes that emerged. This sorting starts integration of the substantive theory of self-justifying, including the categories and their properties. (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978, 1992.) Sorting is carried out with those memos of the categories and properties which related to the core variable. So, only those concepts that related to the core variable are considered (Glaser 1978: 116–120).

In this study, the sorting phase gave me a feeling of freedom from the pressure of deciding how to continue the analysis. I sorted the memos on the table and the floor.

The length of the memos varied from a few words to one page. I marked the memos with the concept they referred to, which helped to clarify the origin of each memo. I cut the memo piles into pieces and noted them by their concepts. The connections and relations between concepts started to emerge, bringing new ideas. I wrote these new ideas on new and existing memos and included these in the sorting. Only those concepts which related to the core variable were included in the sorting. This phase of sorting was fast paced. The main issue was to stay in the conceptual, instead of descriptive, level. New ideas that could have changed the direction to a different study area were eventually removed during the sorting process.

When the relations and interrelations emerged from the theoretical codes, they were written up and sorted. In order to explain the relations between concepts, theoretical codes were written referring to the conditions under which they occurred. It is particularly important to notice variations. For example, the condition under which the relation of the concepts occurs and its changes by degrees.

Memos of the codes were sorted and re-sorted. During the sorting phase, the substantive codes were linked together by the theoretical codes regarding their connections in the theory integration. Thus, substantive codes can refer to a condition or a context or to two dimensions.

2.3.6 Theoretical writing

Theoretical writing includes writing up analyses by sorting memo piles into a theoretical explanation in relation to the conceptual construction of induction. This is the last phase of the grounded theory process wherein the conceptual product is presented based on the beginning phase from the fractured story to a conceptual level as “writing conceptually at the third and fourth level perspective” (Glaser 1998: 194). Theoretical writing begins with funnelling down to the core category. Funnelling down is one aspect of delimiting in grounded theory.

In this study, I continued resolving the main concern of the participant related to the core category, self-justifying, and delimited it to its facets or dimensions: fulfilling needs and maintaining needs related to self-dignity. This was explained by different phases in resolving the problem. Thus, centralisation and decentralisation were maintained to follow the organisation of the theory. In order to achieve an integrated format of the generated theory, I explained the sorted ideas of the conceptual product. The theoretical explanation was made by the conditions of limits.

3 The Substantive Theory of Self-justifying of Rural Women: a coping strategy within expectations

In this chapter, I present the structure of the substantive theory of self-justifying of rural women. *Self-justifying*, a core category, is explained in conjunction with its subcore categories: *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding*. In the following sections, I introduce the characteristics of expectations, their impact on the lives of the rural women, and individual responses. Finally, I discuss the substantive theory of self-justifying of rural women in association with the relevant literature.

3.1 Self-justifying

Self-justifying is achieved by maintaining limits. Limits comprises behavioural and attitudinal patterns of *prioritising the needs of others*. In this study, an individual is set expectations which need to be met. These expectations create needs related to safety for an individual as they aim to live with these expectations. The core category of this study, a *self-justifying* process, occurs through its four subcore categorical stages *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding*, including different conditions related to psychosocial behaviour of the individual.

Self-justifying includes two dimensions: *maintaining one's own needs* (to justify oneself) and *maintaining hope of self-dignity*. Both dimensions together explain the intensity of the maintained limits (on moral behaviour and attitude) and their effect by explaining the tolerance of living life within expectations. Successfully maintained behaviour and an attitude of prioritising the needs of others cause believing in oneself as a source of safety. A state of being *pure* is a state of safety. The equilibrium of achieving justification allows mental freedom to continue living within limits on one's own needs, firstly derived from expectations. In the case that one's own needs are unfulfilled, one feels the effect of limits as causing anxiety, hopelessness, and diminished believing in one's own efforts and oneself to continue to live within expectations.

Self-justifying comprises various behavioural and attitudinal patterns undertaken to maintain *limits*. Tolerance as a source of safety is maintained by self-justifying when living within expectations. Fulfilling one's own needs in order to achieve self-justification is performed through *prioritising the needs of others*. Even though, the expected attitude and behaviour of the rural woman requires the constant performance of maintaining limits towards self-justification, it is supported action by *expectations* through its *managing tactics of controlling* to ensure that they fulfil the needs of others.

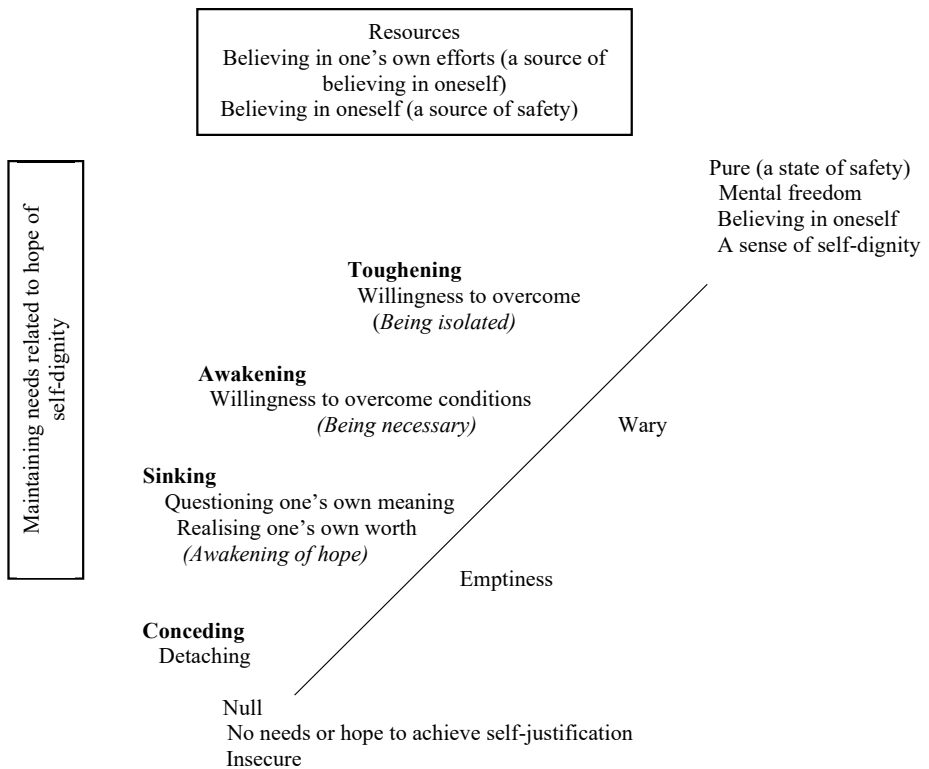


Figure 1. Self-justifying: stages and outcome states related to resources and needs.

In this research, self-justifying occurs in relation to fulfilment of one’s own needs in four stages: *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding*. The stages and their unique conditions are manifested by the states *emptiness*, being *wary*, *pure*, and *null*, which are linked to maintained limits. The occurrence of different states depends on the fulfilment of one’s own needs to maintain limits. Limits includes behavioural and attitudinal features of *prioritising the needs of others* to achieve self-justification. Sinking is manifested by questioning one’s own meaning and one’s own worth. A feeling of hopelessness creates emptiness. Due to emptiness, the pursuit of self-dignity has lost its meaning, and the movement continues to *conceding*, unless hope emerges and transfers to *awakening*.

Awakening is manifested by uncertainty about how to continue. Emptiness has changed to uncertainty. During awakening and at a critical point of uncertainty, willingness to overcome conditions triggers toughening or deepened despair leads to conceding. The strong *willingness to overcome conditions* allows *believing in one’s own efforts* and brings a sense of *being necessary* to create safety. One’s own resources, *believing in one’s own efforts and oneself*, are vital for the safety of others and oneself. Nevertheless, prolonged emptiness without resources pushes one to conceding, in which the progress can cease completely by *detaching*.

During *toughening*, the best outcome of being *pure* brings enjoyment in fulfilling the needs of others. In this safe state of being *pure*, equilibrium of achieving self-justification with the mental freedom to continue living within limits in terms of one's own needs is achieved. During *conceding*, prolonged emptiness can bring a state of *null* in which the individual no longer needs to justify themselves in relation to their self-dignity. This can be caused by totally diminished mental and physical resources for prioritising the needs of others (for acting within limits). The states include conditions of capability to live within expectations. One's own capability depends on one's resources for believing in one's own efforts, which enables believing in oneself. In addition, the states manifest recovery and hope of self-dignity. The stages *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding* occur partially sequentially, simultaneously, and separately due to fulfilment of needs and maintenance of the limits. The effect of limits defines how one experiences self-justification.

Self-justification is achieved through maintaining limits. By fulfilling one's own needs, firstly derived from *expectations*, through *prioritising the needs of others*, one can achieve justification for oneself. Thus, *self-justification* is an outcome of successfully maintained limits. In a state of being *pure*, as an optimal outcome, increased *believing in oneself* together with a *sense of self-dignity* create *mental freedom* and encourage one to believe in one's own capabilities. In the state of being *pure*, one feels hope for both the present and the future, or *long-term invested hope*. When one has successfully moved through the continuum of justifying, one feels confidence and a sense of dignity. However, hope in association with an increased willingness to develop oneself can bring frustration, due to limited resources available such as access to knowledge. The desired outcome of fulfilling needs improves well-being, leading to a state of being *pure*, in which *believing in oneself* operates as a source of safety to continue to act within limits.

Due to decreased self-justification, tolerance for living within limits is decreased. If one's own needs are not met, this causes hopelessness, anxiety, diminished trust in one's own capabilities and *fear of one's own coping* with life within limits. After decreased justifying over a long period, the individual shifts to or stays in *conceding* or begins to feel *necessary*, which pushes them to continue to fulfil the needs. Due to the increased effect of limits, one experiences diminished *belief in oneself* as able to continue fulfilling needs and thereby to justify oneself.

The limits comprise behavioural and attitudinal patterns in terms of *prioritising the needs of others* in order to justify oneself. The maintenance of limits affects the sense of self-dignity by causing conditions of the different states. These conditions affect one's tolerance to continue living within limits.

The first step in explaining this substantive theory is to identify the characteristics of *expectations*. Expectations refer to the terms set out for community well-being with which a rural woman is expected to comply. Expectations appear through the social

structural conditions that influence the life of the individual. They affect individuals constantly on the way towards self-justification, but also form the passage by which the individual gains strength. By fulfilling one's own needs through the needs of others, one justifies oneself. Therefore, by *prioritising the needs of others*, self-justification is achieved. Below, I also present features of the individual who is experiencing life within expectations. This is followed by presentation of a substantive theory of *self-justifying* and the required characteristics in terms of committing oneself to a process. In the next section, the characteristics of *expectations* of rural women are identified. Expectations based on needs of others constantly affect the life of an individual rural woman.

3.2 Expectations of a Rural Woman

In this section, I introduce the characteristics of expectations of rural women, their causes, and their consequences for the life of the individual. The emerged concepts of this study together with relevant literature are discussed in the next section in conjunction with expectations. Additionally, the discussed themes have emerged during sorting memo piles and writing-up the analysis of this study.

Expectations consist of the expected behaviour and attitude of the rural women. Rural women are expected to behave based on the needs of others. Consequently, they consistently act to fulfil their needs. These are the terms of compliance with expectations that are set for the rural women in this group or system. Terms define different features of one's existence (such as *servicing by obeying*) for the *benefit of others*. Fulfilment of these expectations depends on overall responsibility taking and dedication. For instance, *prioritising the needs of others* is maintained by *servicing, seeking, obeying, and hiding*. In order to keep an adequate level of priority, *non-stop drudging* and *struggling by extending the day* are required.

A rural woman is constantly under pressure to successfully fulfil these expectations. As the primary aim of the individual is rather to stay than leave, fulfilment of these expectations is paramount. Expectations are related to how one is expected to participate⁸ in a group or system: when the objective of an individual is to stay in the group, the only way to do so is to fulfil the expectations. These expectations that originated from the needs of others thus become one's own needs.

The expected participation of a rural woman is maintained by *participation rights*. Participation rights comprise various immaterial and material features of how to take part in a group or system.

⁸ "it had been decided, on the testimony of experience, that the mode in which women are wholly under the rule of men, having no share at all in public concerns... the adoption of this system of inequality never was the result of deliberation, or forethought, or any social ideas, or any notion whatever of what conduced to the benefit of humanity or the good order of society" (Mill 1869: 10, 11).

3.2.1 Participation rights

Participation rights are the structural conditions containing attachment points by providing unique circumstances for the individual. These points have different tasks relating to expectations of one's own way of participating. These conditions and points are limited rights to property, knowledge, and decision-making. *Limited property rights* comprise features enabling participation in an ownership structure. *Limited knowledge rights* include access to development through acquisition and improvement of knowledge. *Limited decision-making rights* refers to decisions related to one's own life. The conditions determine an individual's level of participation. For example, in the case of limited knowledge rights, an official may fail to give the correct information. Alternatively, the authority in charge denies permission or fails to deal with the whole issue or application for property. Or access to decision making regarding one's own life is prevented.

In this study, *limited knowledge rights* refer to one's access to correct information.

It is difficult. It takes time... and usually you can't get it... [A24]

In this study, *limited property rights* refer to one's access to an ownership structure.

A woman in the village can buy but she can't use her name, the land is under the man's name. [A13]

Land is not leased. Land is never leased. Land belongs to men. [A9]

I got my own piece of land in 2003 from selling milk and bananas... land is in the name of the husband... I can own but it's under my husband's name. [A14]

You can't have any choice for the cow, men own cows and get the income from the cow. Women do all the work for the cow. The cow belongs to the husband... and the children belong to the woman. [A7]

You buy a car but you can't use it. You can't even enter the car. Everybody says, shame you, if you ask, men say: I have my own business and leave with the car alone. Women need always to use the bus. [A19]

No, no woman can own anything. [A20]

No, we can't get our own bank account... the money goes to the husband's account. [A49]

In this study, *limited decision-making rights* refer to one's access to making decisions related to one's own life.

Now, when I get money from the cooperative, I can make some decisions with my husband. [A58]

We must ask permission from our husbands to get out of the village. [A13]

Participation rights, based on *expectations*, form the circumstances within which to operate. The attachment points of these conditions are maintained by *guiding* through the *managing tactics of controlling*. Due to this, the direction and the movement of an individual rural woman's action is constantly maintained, for instance, by other community members *threatening*, *neglecting*, *ignoring*, *punishing*, and *judging* her. These structural conditions are linked to *expectations* which form the basis of setting targets and the needs related to individual safety.

3.2.2 Managing tactics of controlling

The movement of an individual is guided by the *managing tactics of controlling*. These tactics shape movement towards the desired outcome: a more secure state. When movement is interrupted by interrelated conditions, progress can cease completely. These tactics are implemented, on the practical level, by *neglecting*, *appropriating*, *ignoring*, *compromising*, *enjoying*, *blaming*, *criticising*, *punishing*, *judging*, and *freeriding*.⁹ The *managing tactics of controlling* sustain the operations of *targeting* needs and are enacted on individuals by external persons.

It was one case in the bus: there were two men and the rest of the people were women. The other man said here are two of us and controlling. [A54]

Men are not taking care of the children... every time they have business... Women are working hard... Sometimes the husband doesn't value their families and neglects [them]. Most cases [arise] from a village women's need to take care of the family. [A18]

Guiding supports to maintain operations of *targeting* linked to *participation rights*. The *managing tactics of controlling* is used to support movement by directing the passagee (the person being controlled).¹⁰ If a movement is enacted in which the passagee shows an ability to work harder and apply themselves more strongly to the task in hand, then this individual appears capable of achieving the desired outcome of *prioritising the needs of others*. Managing tactics of controlling operate continuously and they support the movement towards the direction, and particularly, correct the direction when necessary.

Guiding is performed by *managing tactics of controlling*, and affects temporal aspects of the movement. It occurs at a practical level situationally and contextually.

⁹ "I agree with Petit, though, that, at least in ideal or pure cases, it can be said that the free rider tries to benefit by the efforts of others" (Tuomela 1988: 422).

¹⁰ "the means of control; ... the *balance* of control between agents and passagees" (Glaser and Strauss 1971: 58).

The movement of the individual is guided by these different features which reinforce each other.

Each individual faces various tasks on the attachment points, which are expected to be fulfilled in order for movement to continue. Through their unique conditions, the attachment points help to maintain the movement. These conditions are dependent on one's ability to fulfil tasks associated with movement. *Controlling* maintains operations of *targeting* needs, related to safety, and shapes the conditions for the passagee and their direction. If movement is interrupted, progress depends on one's own resources. Thus, *targeting* needs is closely linked to one's own needs and dependence on others.

She is absolutely nothing. A cow is really important, it is women's bank. [A30]

Expectations linked to *participation rights* are maintained through one's own condition. The structural conditions of participation rights consist of the behavioural and attitudinal properties of the individual and others involved. The attachment points include tactics to control the individual. A man rural actor described his expectations of rural women:

You know, in Africa... it's women's responsibility to take care of food for the family. A woman goes to a new family and a man continues in his family. [A68]

Men do business, women do this work. [stated by a man whilst sitting in the yard of the cooperative] [A71]

Men are controllers and users. [A36]

The man has two eyes to see how a woman makes money and they can relax. [A6]

Women do all the work. Men sell coffee away and disappear with the money. Many women cry about this. Women stay in the farm because they can do all the work in the farm. Some men neglect the family. Men rely on coffee. [A27]

Such tactics may either increase or decrease the velocity of the movement. An increase in velocity is caused, for instance, by *blaming*, whereas a decrease may be caused by *ignoring* (e.g., the authorities not handling a rural woman's whole issue). Although movement is supported by others' behaviour and attitude towards the individual, the individual maintains movement through reaching more safety conditions.

Internal or external physical or mental ailments can cause a critical incident during the movement. For example, the individual succumbs to a disease or accident. If recovery takes a long time, an individual can stop moving toward self-justification

completely. Therefore, the continuum of the movement refers to the whole period of the critical incident and its influence.

The *managing tactics of controlling* support the direction of the movement whilst prioritising the needs of others. As the managing tactics either increase or decrease the passagee's velocity of movement, it is imperative that controlling corrects their direction in order to sustain movement. When movement is interrupted by the passagee's own or someone else's actions, she either speeds up or slows down. The effect of the structural conditions on participation rights is continuous and is directed by the managing tactics of controlling. This creates unique personal conditions for the passagee, whilst maintaining expectations about their behaviour and attitude.

The rural women described these conditions as follows:

Should obey the husband. It's a rule. [A16]

Women sell banana, chicken, dairy, women's work, not good money. [A36]

Coffee belongs to men. [A30]

Expectations are externally indicated personal circumstances based on the needs of others. To maintain participation, a rural woman is expected to meet those needs through her activity. Expectations set the framework to experience life as an individual. They consist of structural conditions including elements of an individual's social, economic, and legal participation. Social duties and access to material and immaterial¹¹ resources are set as expectations related to how to take part in a group or system. Expectations maintain elements of *limited participation rights* such as *limited property rights*, *limited knowledge rights*, and *limited decision-making rights*. Thus, the context of expectations includes the expected behavioural and attitudinal patterns of a rural woman. Expectations related to participation rights are managed by *targeting* and *guiding* acceptable existence. Although the rural women themselves mostly maintain their movement through which living conditions can be strengthened by *prioritising the needs of others*, other community members also maintain these expectations through their attitude and behaviour. The expectations are linked to one's own life regarding safety, which is attained through *prioritising the needs of others*. In order to attain and maintain safety, the needs of others become the personal needs of a rural woman.

¹¹ "SDG indicators on women's land rights and tenure security, with the potential to use that knowledge to secure and protect the land rights of over 108 million women and girls in these countries" (UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, UN Women 2019a: 3).

3.2.3 The context of expectations and the literature

Women need to struggle all the way to ensure that family survive. You will cry in the village – even if you are a president, they don't care about you. You have to listen to him. [A13]

The context, including actions of discrimination against the individual, shapes expectations. This context comprises predetermined (dis)advantages and opportunities to express and develop oneself. These determine the condition and status of the individual in the group and in the system.¹² The direction of movement towards developing oneself partially cannot be avoided, because circumstances affect it. The direction of the passagee's movement is managed by representatives from the community or externals (people outside the community), rather than the passagee themselves. Thus, a turn to the opposite direction is highly unlikely. In this context, the expectations occur in relation to self-development. Access to self-development is managed and controlled by representatives of the state and community. Also, the movement is determined to some degree by its phases and velocity.

Correspondingly, the condition of an individual, based on the expectation that they will act for the *benefit of others*, is maintained by *participation rights*. Participation rights are implemented through the access to immaterial and material sources. They relate to the level of state and community. The level of the state includes laws, planned and implemented, and the level of the community includes rules and traditions. For instance, self-improvement is limited not only on the level of education but also on the level of employment.¹³ Such immaterial and material boundaries affect movement whilst securing life. For instance, the legislation and policies established and enforced by judicial decisions prevent dividing equal shares of aid or support between citizens. Moreover, by hiding information, state actors enhance this inequality by acting in the same manner in every situation in relation to rural women. This kind of situation may be caused by self-interested goals. Alternatively, even when the plan is to share aid equally, it may be distributed to benefit a few. Also, possibly when the representative of the state or community acts illegitimately instead of taking into consideration the change in the law.

These conditions form structural frameworks and are used to define the level of state, local community, and household. The laws, traditions, and rules maintain the principles relating to certain behaviours and attitudes of the community members. They are implemented on a practical level and maintained by *managing tactics of controlling*. These tactics include *guiding* to maintain operations of *participation*

¹² Such hierarchies of the distribution of influence opportunities and feasibilities in the group situation are called a “power prestige structure” or “status structure” in expectation states theory (Berger et al., 1974).

¹³ “The claim of women to be educated as solidly, and in the same branches of knowledge, as men, is urged with growing intensity, and with a great prospect of success; while the demand for their admission into professions and occupations hitherto closed against them, becomes every year more urgent” (Mill 1869: 26).

rights. They comprise both immaterial and material features that direct the movement. For instance, the law could be reformed in favour of community members, but misinterpretation may still occur with *implementing* on a practical level, or two laws may undo each other (see Dancer 2017).

The expectations set for the individual linked to *participation rights* are constantly controlled by various tactics in order to guide individual behaviour and attitude. On the practical level, community members implement *managing tactics of controlling*. The individual needs to reach various attachment points to maintain movement towards a desirable outcome. Their movement is dependent on their abilities to exhibit acceptable behaviours and attitudes. Therefore, character traits¹⁴ and levels of compliance play a pivotal role in how an individual secures their life. *Limited participation rights* are shown within social relations, which involve at least two actors, such as marriage. Although marriage may be a tactic to maintain conditions of an individual (see, e.g., Mill 1869: 51–53; Wollstonecraft 1796), it also provides a path for a rural woman to achieve self-justification in terms of her own safety.

Consequently, the condition, which originates from the expectations of attitudes and behaviour for the *benefit of others*, inevitably drives the movement of the individual. Expectations, based on the needs of others, are maintained by *targeting* needs related to the safety of rural women. Targeting needs is closely related to dependence on others.

Limited access to immaterial and material resources challenges a rural woman as a passagee. These unique conditions, contextual and situational, direct rural women. The knowledge and attitude of actors in decision making and practice increases the challenges around rural women's living conditions. Insufficient law making and implementation without giving direction to women's rights also plays a part (Rwebangira 1996). This is due to a lack of knowledge or skills (Nyerere 1977) and expertise on boards (Nyerere 1999; TAMWA 2017), and mainly caused by attitudes derived from heritage beliefs (Sarich, Olivier, and Bales 2016; TAMWA 2017, 2015). The challenges in rural areas often affect a woman's social, economic, and legal position (UN Women 2020; Sarich et al., 2016; Dancer 2015; Rwebangira 1996).

Additionally, performance expectations between interactants are defined in terms of propensity to reach the goal (Berger, Conner, and Fisek 1974). Performance expectations refer to a certain set of situational competences expected for achieving a specific goal which by mutual consent become generally shared between interactants. These expectations are related to experiences of the individual (Carr,

¹⁴ “Meanwhile the wife is the actual bond-servant of her husband: no less so, as far as legal obligation goes, than slaves commonly so called. She vows a lifelong obedience to him at the altar, and is held to it all through her life by law. Casuists may say that the obligation of obedience stops short of participation in crime, but it certainly extends to everything else. She can do no act whatever but by his permission, at least tacit. She can acquire no property but for him; the instant it becomes hers, even if by inheritance, it becomes *ipso facto*” (Mill 1869: 55).

Gibson, and Robinson 2001) and to quality of life during “a particular period of time between the hopes and expectations of the individual and that individual’s present experiences” (Calman 1984: 124). Thus, differences in status are derived from beliefs about competence and worthiness and may become consensually maintained (Ridgeway 1991). Performance expectations are linked to social norms between women and stereotypes about the expected social roles of the two sexes (Rose 1951), to identity by creating needs (FAO 2011), to achieving acceptance in community (UNDP 2019), and related to gender identity (UN 2021).

Goal reaching has been shown to relate to the need to belong (DeWall and Bushman 2011), to threat (Scheepers, Ellemers, and Sintemaartensdijk 2009), to acceptance and a rejection (DeWall and Bushman 2011) and to meaningfulness of life (Lambert, Stillman, Hicks, Kamble, Baumeister, and Fincham 2013). The difficulty of the goal is related to task performance and acceptance (Erez and Zidon 1984), and to beliefs in self-efficacy (Zimmerman, Bandura, and Martinez-Pons 1992) to improve living conditions.

Accepted participation plays a significant role in securing one’s own life (Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, and Twenge 2005). For instance, social power influences individual expectations of being accepted (Chen, Tarp, and Kuehn 2017). In addition, power relates to social rejection (Kuehn, Chen, and Gordon 2015) and to fundamental need for belonging (Baumeister and Leary 1995). Being a part of a group or a system lessens external threat and increases well-being (Baumeister et al., 2005; Leary, Springer, Negel, Ansell, and Evans 1998; Baumeister and Leary 1995), and it assists survival (Buss 1990). When power relations are unbalanced, dependence is asymmetric (Chen et al., 2017) and one actor, group, or system has power over another (Raven and French 1958).

The purpose of this study is to explain how a Northern Tanzanian rural woman resolves the main concern in her life. This substantive theory of self-justifying gives actors in the field and in project planning, guidance, and decision-making tools to consider her perspective when living within expectations. Additionally, to consider her perspective when living within expectations and her own needs generated from expectations, in order to maintain tolerance when living within limits. These limits are formed by the moral behaviour and attitude of an individual. In addition, to study expectations, (set) and consider which outcome with respect of achievement, determines the reputation for the individual. Moreover, to examine how improvement of one’s own well-being, through one’s own moral principles, justifies one’s own existence in a group or a system (comprising any cluster of persons considered together as being a whole, which operates within power relations). This is done using the words of the social group or a system in relation to one’s own existence. This grounded theory research is vital in order to provide a perspective on individuals’ responses to the expectations they face, to consider the common benefit

of fulfilled expectations, and to take account of the conditions that maintain the process or restrict its development.

Hence, this grounded theory research gives the viewpoint of rural women in Northern Tanzania in relation to their responses to expectations. In addition, it shows how these externally set expectations have transformed into one's own needs, in order to maintain an acceptable existence related to one's own safety among others through self-justifying. Understanding the characteristics of the behaviour of rural women is vital to explain factors in their coping process (Bonanno 2004, 2005; Rutter 1987). Previous studies on this topic have mostly been theoretical and very few empirical studies exist on the sources of the factors behind successful living within expectations in a North Tanzanian rural context.

3.3 A Rural Woman: for the Benefit of Others

The expectation that rural women will act *for the benefit of others* contains various attitudinal and behavioural features of *prioritising the needs of others*. The needs of others are fulfilled by compliance and obedience. The attitudinal and behavioural activities of prioritising the needs of others are maintained by *struggling* and *non-stop drudging by extending the day*. Prioritising the needs of others comprises properties of *internal controlling, serving, obeying, hiding, and seeking*.

I need to wake up every morning at 4:00 am and heat washing water for my husband, prepare food, get the children ready for school, clean the cow house. Then I bring the milk to the coop and collect firewood and water... sometimes from long distances by walking. [A41]

I can take if there is any food left... my husband takes first, then the children. [A39]

I'm the last person who goes to sleep after preparing everything for the next day. [A41]

Even the roof of the house belongs to a woman... even though we cannot own the house. If the roof breaks it is the responsibility of the woman to repair it. [A24]

The life circumstances of a rural woman are set externally: she is expected to maintain the well-being of others. The terms of *one's existence for the benefit of others*, set and managed by representatives with their notion of themselves as free of it, shape the living conditions of rural women. This management is maintained through social and legal activities on the level of the household, rural community,

and society. In this context, social relations between people are unbalanced.¹⁵ Although one gender has power over another, this system is maintained by both women and men.

3.4 Limits: one's own needs

Limits are defined by levels of personal needs related to safety. Personal needs are derived from expectations. Limits comprise properties of maintaining behaviour and attitude in order to fulfil the needs of others. The outcome of self-justifying, the combination of *believing in oneself* as a source of safety and *hope of self-dignity* reflects one's own feeling of safety and defines the effect of the limits. The decreased effect of limits increases self-justification whereas the increased effect of limits decreases one's sense of safety by reducing protection from conditions. Limits, related to the needs of one's own expected behaviour and attitude comprise performance of *prioritising the needs of others*. The mental and physical capacity to manage situations, expectation to be strong, and expectation to take responsibility are all factors in how one sustains prioritising the needs of others. Limits are maintained through *internal controlling, serving, obeying, hiding, seeking* new resources, *non-stop drudging*, and *struggling by extending the day*. Believing in oneself, and a relentless and persistent attitude maintain limits more successfully.

If I have money, I have to hide it... otherwise I have to give the money to my husband or he takes it. [A26]

I woke up always at 4:00 am, long distances from the rural area. I started every morning cleaning cows, milking cows, all the household work before the job in the town. [A20]

One's own needs are derived from expectations. Thus, one's need to belong – to justify one's own existence – involve properties such as maintaining the expected behaviours and attitudes to achieve an acceptable existence among others. Acceptable existence is reached by fulfilling expectations of behaviours and attitudes, which are governed by successful fulfilment of the needs of others. Therefore, an acceptable existence is reached by fulfilling the needs of others in order to achieve justification for one's own existence. Therefore, the properties of *prioritising the needs of others* ensue in order to achieve *self-justification*.

¹⁵ “That the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement” (Mill 1869: 1). And “it had been decided, on the testimony of experience, that the mode in which women are wholly under the rule of men, having no share at all in public concerns, and each in private being under the legal obligation of obedience to the man with whom she has associated her destiny, was the arrangement most conducive to the happiness and well being of both” (Mill 1869: 7); “the adoption of this system of inequality...conduced to the benefit of humanity or the good order of society” (Mill 1869: 8).

The principle of *prioritising the needs of others* explains the elements through which justification is achieved. More precisely, these elements operate within the limits linked to safety, through which self-justification is achieved. Self-justification is also achieved by satisfying one's own needs. Once the expected behaviours and attitudes of fulfilling the *needs of others* are satisfied, sustained performance ensues, giving a feeling of pride. This feeling of pride intensifies "*believing in one's own efforts and oneself*" which, in turn, increases maintenance of the expected behaviours and attitudes.

If women and men are working in the same office... it's a shame to ask a man to come home after work. [A47]

Expected behaviours and attitudes support fulfilment of *one's own needs* and are thus tools to improve one's own self-dignity. Thereby, appropriate maintenance of behaviours and attitudes in *prioritising the needs of others* is more likely to be maintained to create safety. In the next section, I present a substantive theory of self-justifying, the characteristics required to commit oneself to a process of self-justifying, and the social psychological strategy of varied personal conditions.

3.5 Maintaining Limits: towards Self-justification

Self-justification is achieved by maintaining limits. Limits are maintained by *prioritising the needs of others*. In this context, the need to justify oneself depends on the need for acceptable existence among others in the group or system, and thus, to secure one's own life. Acceptable existence is reached through satisfying the needs of others, which engenders *hope of self-dignity*. So, satisfaction of one's own needs via satisfaction of the needs of others gives self-justification. The principles of prioritising the needs of others form limits.

The effect of the limits varies depending on whether one's own needs are satisfied. As one's needs are satisfied, the limits have less effect, which increases one's *mental freedom*. If one's needs are not satisfied, one's tolerance for life within expectations diminishes. To achieve justification for one's own existence from the limits (to operate by maintaining moral behaviour and attitude). One's safety is dependent on fulfilling the needs of others. Therefore, by achieving success towards fulfilment of expectations one can fulfil the need for personal safety.

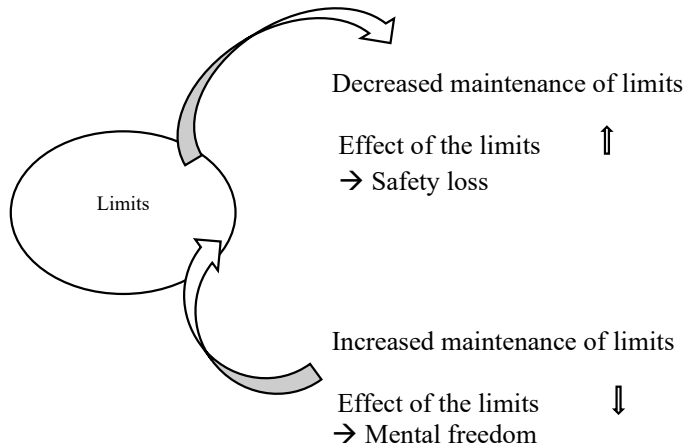


Figure 2. Self-Justifying: effects of limits through prioritising the needs of others.

The effect of the limits depends on the outcome of satisfying one’s own needs. As one’s own needs are satisfied, the effect of the limits (one’s own needs related to moral behaviour) will be diminished. If their needs are not satisfied, an individual may feel they have not met expected moral behaviours and attitudes, which causes frustration and pressure, deflecting the individual from maintaining conditions. In this case, the individual feels “shackled” and less safe.

The limits affects hope of self-dignity by varying degrees. When one’s needs are met, the effect of limits decreases due to believing in oneself and feeling of self-dignity – by bringing self-justification. When one’s needs are not met, the effect of the limits increases, causing hopelessness and fear that one will not cope by staying shackled within one’s own limits.

The core variable of the theory, self-justifying, and the outcomes from increased maintenance to decreased maintenance in terms to fulfilled one’s own needs results from the level of self-justification achieved. In this, limits relate to the needs required to justify oneself through moral behaviour. Increased maintenance decreases the effect of limits, whereas decreased maintenance diminishes the tolerance to continue living within expectations. Limits on the personal conditions of the individual have varying effect depending on how well the individual is *prioritising the needs of others*. As the effect of limits decreases due to satisfaction of needs, the ability to recover faster and a feeling of safety based on confidence emerge. As the effect of limits increases, the individual experiences reduced belief in their own capabilities to fulfil needs and diminished self-dignity in order to achieve self-justification.

The conditions of the limits are explained by the characteristics of the social interaction involved. Each stage has unique conditions. At the first stage, the *needs*

of others are met but the satisfaction of *one's own needs* is diminished (*sinking*). At the second stage, one's own needs begin to be satisfied with the needs of others (*toughening*). At the third stage, the needs of both are waiting for resources to be satisfied (*awakening*) or the needs of both are not met (*conceding*). When conceding is complete, this causes a state of *null*. At the stage of conceding, the conditions are such that one's own needs are not linked to justifying oneself. In contrast, the best way to achieve justification for one's own existence is to maintain limits. This optimal state is *pure*, wherein self-justification is achieved by bringing about a sense of hope of self-dignity. At this point, needs are successfully met for both actors, which is the optimal outcome linked to well-being and an acceptable existence in a group or a system.

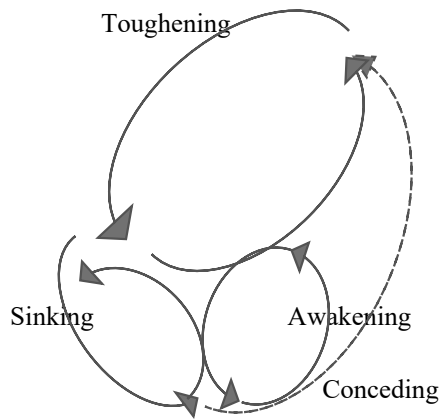


Figure 3. Self-justifying: stages through prioritising the needs of others.

Justifying occurs through the stages *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding*. These stages include different conditions. Due to its repetitious cycling process, a period of recovery will decrease movement towards self-justification, depending on the effect of an intervening contingent event. The shift from the *conceding* to the *toughening* stage may occur, but it depends on a sudden variable as a turning point, otherwise movement may stay in *sinking* and *awakening*, or only in *conceding*.

As her needs are fulfilled and personal conditions improve, the individual rural woman is constantly judged on her performance. Though the judgement of her performance, the individual experiences an either strengthened or weakened position which results in differing degrees of safety. This creates unique conditions and structures. For example, on gaining safety, the individual feels confident to experience life within limits due to their decreased effect. On losing safety, she feels less capable to continue to fulfil needs.

Hence, the constant influence of the limits is reduced by increased *believing in oneself*. To diminish the effect of the limits, one has to keep fulfilling the needs of

oneself through the needs of others. The individual can do this by avoiding all variables which may decrease fulfilment. Actions carried out to fulfil needs are performed in order to maintain a desirable reputation in the community and to achieve justification for oneself. Thus, one justifies oneself by continually *prioritising the needs of others*.

As a consequence of strengthened state, the individual gains self-confidence. This increased confidence and hope of improved living conditions brings a feeling of safety, which makes it possible to continue living within expectations. Expectations are the context that affects personal conditions and throughout the lifespan of an individual. The desired outcome of self-justifying eventually perpetuates one's own living conditions and the same way of participating in a group or a system.

The fear of losing resources, lack of belief in oneself and one's own efforts to fulfil expectations, is a constant pressure. In the background, hope of self-dignity is affected. Expectations are to be maintained by one's own moral behaviour and attitude of acceptance, and this affects an acceptable existence. One's state of well-being is associated with responsibility to maintain expectations. The attempt to gain approval by meeting behavioural and attitudinal expectations generates "one's own needs". In this, an interaction involving at least two actors exists as an asymmetric power relation. Within this asymmetric power relation, the actors focus on their goals, the individual response, and the benefit of such a process.

Women have to ensure that the family survives. Women are supposed to face challenges. Make sure that the family survives. Always women need to operate.
[A15]

In this study, pressure to keep fulfilling expectations has a continuous effect on rural women. The fear of losing one's own resources increases especially when fulfilling expectations has decreased. In order to sustain fulfilment of expectations, corrections may be made, to increase or decrease the pace of movement towards self-justification. This correction depends on the intensity of an intervening contingent event (e.g., physical *punishing*), which may vary in intensity depending on the context. The period of recovery depends on the individual's resources, both physical and mental. Intervening events may cause fear of losing one's own resources. As conditions are already hazardous with regard to lack of resources, stress ensues. In addition, limited recovery time prevents total recovery until fulfilment restarts. This is because expectations are maintained by constant *external controlling* of one's performance. Hence, if fulfilment is for some reason diminished, the tactics of control support the continuum of *prioritising the needs of others*.

The effect of expectations is diminished by one's own resources. Constant performance of fulfilling expectations reduces the possibility of losing one's own resources. In this, one's own resources function as the source of tolerance for living within expectations. The expectations are maintained by controlling one's behaviour

in order to produce the expected outcome. The undesired outcome leads to judgement by others. The judgement either increases or decreases the process of fulfilling expectations. Therefore, the resources to keep fulfilling expectations, set by and based on the needs of others, eventually determine the state of being of a rural woman.

This theory focuses on those who experience life in terms of external expectations. *Willingness to overcome* these conditions in order to improve one's own personal situation emerged from the analysis as a concern of the participants. An individual's feeling of safety improved through self-justification. Although external expectations constantly influence the personal conditions of the individual, the intensity may vary. The effect of the limits is diminished by successful fulfilment of one's own needs through the needs of others.

This substantive theory shows how people respond to external expectations and focuses on features which enable the process to be successfully completed through to the state of safety and continue towards self-justification. The next section explains the stages of *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding* which operate sequentially, alternately, and partly in parallel in this process of self-justifying.

3.5.1 Sinking

The effect of the limits is intensified when one's own needs are unsatisfied. This is mainly caused by realising that someone has taken advantage of one, thus causing loss of safety. This diminishes one's capability to continue, which was built by believing in one's own efforts and oneself. During *sinking*, one is "*questioning the meaning of oneself*" and "*realising one's own worth*" which causes a state of *emptiness*.

The experience of unequal treatment brings sorrow to rural women and plunges them into their own thoughts about their dignity. As a result, they feel that being "*for others*" is being servants, and the purpose of their life is to be for others. After "*realising one's own worth*" unequal treatment may cause them to drop to the state of emptiness in which "*hope of self-dignity*" is replaced by sorrow and despair. "*Believing in one's own effort and oneself*", one's resources to act, is reduced, leaving a feeling of emptiness. During sinking, acting for fulfilling needs in order to gain self-dignity has lost its meaning. In this period, hopelessness about one's own worth makes one feel worthless. After some time in a state of emptiness, hope to continue transfers the individual to *awakening* or deepened despair leads to *conceding*.

After experiencing unfair treatment, the intensity of *hope of self-dignity* diminishes. However, rapidly decreased hope of improved conditions is eventually replaced by hope of self-dignity, which triggers a return to moving along the continuum to fulfil needs. When the individual has moved further out of *sinking* and the conditions have

shifted through *awakening* to *toughening*, the intensity of hope of self-dignity in relation to increased *believing in oneself* balances the state of safety, enabling appreciation for oneself reached through the satisfaction of one's own needs.

In self-justifying, one's own needs are transferred from the expectations and connected to "*hope of self-dignity*". This emerged as a four-stage process of psychosocial behaviour: fulfilling one's own needs through *prioritising the needs of others*. Challenges to the prevailing hazardous conditions and a powerful drive "*to get further*"¹⁶ were mainly due to lack of resources, but also to gain appreciation for oneself by justifying one's own existence. Thus, one's own needs to achieve self-justification begin to force one to continue the process of fulfilling the needs of others. The turning and critical point on the stage of *sinking* due to safety loss depends on one's own resources and one's own needs to achieve the self-justification on which the hope of self-dignity lies. Due to deepened despair, the transfer moves to *conceding*, in which fulfilling needs can cease completely.

Although continuous performance of *prioritising the needs of others* brings justification for one's own existence, self-justification is reached by satisfying one's own needs. Thus, the need for appreciation sustains the continuum to fulfil the needs of others by bringing justification for one's own existence. In this, the *hope of self-dignity* plays a major role. This hope, which is linked to one's own need for self-justification, operates as a trigger for fulfilling the needs of others, whilst the needs of others operate as a passage through which one's own need for self-justification is fulfilled.

The hope of self-dignity is more stable due to the desired outcome of self-justifying. The desired outcome of self-justifying is reached by satisfying one's own needs. However, the condition to live within limits varies. For instance, when the effect of the limits (one's own needs related to moral behaviour) decreases, one's own needs are satisfied. When the effect of limits increases, one's own needs are not satisfied. In this, the effect of limits appears in the degree of self-dignity. An undesired outcome and intensified limits cause one to lose hope of one's dignity and belief in oneself, the source of safety. Although the desired outcome of self-justifying brings hope of improved conditions, it will eventually perpetuate one's own living conditions based on expectations.

Self-justification is achieved by fulfilling one's own needs through *prioritising the needs of others*. Prioritising the needs of others forms principles of the moral behaviour and attitude by which one's own needs are able to be fulfilled. Thus, one's own needs associated with principles form the limits within which to perform. The limits vary depending on how fulfilled one's own needs are. Hence, when one goes

¹⁶ "*We want to get further*" [A51] *In vivo* concept, from the interview in 2016.

beyond limits, one self-justifies less, and simultaneously the limits have a greater effect.

The outcome of the combination of the dimensions of attitudinal and behavioural patterns of resources and hope of self-dignity related to one's own needs form various conditions influencing one's safety. The degree of safety affects the conditions of limits. The undesired outcome of safety is the increased effect of the limits. Then, due to decreased maintaining of limits through moral behaviour, one's own needs are not satisfied, and one's resources within increased effect of the limits have been weakened. In contrast, the desired outcome of safety enables the decreased effect of the limits. Hence, by increased maintaining of limits, one's own needs are satisfied, leading to a state of being *pure*, which shows the person's full capacity. Although the desired outcome brings confidence as a source of safety, it will sustain to maintain one's own conditions defined by expectations.

During *sinking*, one's own needs are unfulfilled, so the limits have an intensified effect. One's own needs, brought from expectations, are derived from the hope of self-dignity in order to achieve justification for one's own existence. Thus, self-justification varies in terms of "*one's own needs*" to improve one's own personal conditions. Fulfilment of one's own needs determines how one achieves self-justification.

Realising

Sometimes a husband takes money and goes to the city... and drinks all of it.
[A51]

"*Realising*" that someone has taken advantage of the "*common security pool*" decreases self-justifying. As a person realises that they have become involved in or associated with another interactant's self-interest goals, their feeling of safety decreases. The loss of safety causes hopelessness and fear but also frustration about the conditions. "*Believing in oneself*", on which one's security has been previously built, disappears, and is replaced by hopelessness and fear. The feeling of hopelessness relates to oneself and the conditions one is living in. Moreover, having placed another interactant in a position of trust, which has been diminished, also diminishes trust in oneself. This diminished trust in oneself is related to the hope of self-dignity. As the person realises that their dignity was based only on their own assumptions about themselves, the hopelessness of the situation causes frustration. At a critical point, this brings about "*fear of one's own coping*", which manifests by influencing "*decreased justifying*" and the "*increased limits*". Thus, the performance of fulfilling one's own needs through the needs of others has not yielded the desired outcome.

However, after experiencing moments of being ignored and neglected by another social interactant, the person moves to the next level. The action of jeopardising begs

the question about the motives of the other actor but also questions the worth of the effort put in for others as equivalent to self-dignity. The resources that were previously built up decrease, and the person moves in an undesired direction.

“Realising” entails *“questioning the meaning of oneself”*. As *“questioning”* develops, one realises one exists *“for the benefit of others”*. Consequently, the state of *emptiness* is characterised by “diminished trust in others”, “diminished believing in one’s own efforts and oneself” causing *“fear of one’s own coping”*. Realising one’s own meaning causes despair. When a person has been affected by a feeling of emptiness for some time, the emergence of hope for continuing pushes them to *awakening*, or deepened despair to pushes them to *conceding*.

Questioning the meaning of oneself

They are all expecting that women to do all the work... in the village. [A14]

“Questioning the meaning of oneself” appears due to realising that one is involved in or associated with another interactant’s self-interest goals. The person questions their role “for others”. The experience of *“realising”* that someone has taken advantage of the common security pool is due to another interactant *“neglecting”* or *“ignoring”* social interaction. The experience diminishes not only *“believing in one’s own efforts”* and *“believing in oneself”*, but it also raises suspicions about one’s own worth. Resources are replaced by hopelessness, fear, and frustration about one’s own conditions and oneself, causing a sense of isolation and loneliness. In addition, trust in relation to the assumption of one’s own worth increases the sense of isolation and loneliness.

For the benefit of others

The hope that was affective previously within confident action has been diminished due to realising that one exists only for others. During *sinking* one is *“realising”* that “the meaning of oneself” is *“for the benefit of others”*.

Emptiness

Emptiness is characterised by feelings of distrust in and fear about one’s conditions and oneself. It explains how distrust and fear replace influence and growth. *“Believing in oneself”*, the basis of security, has been drained away in order to maintain “fulfilling needs”. Therefore, the performance of “fulfilling needs” is diminished or completely halted. Consequently, the diminished trust in another interactant causes sadness, but simultaneously causes anxiety about continuing to fulfil the needs of others. Although the effect of limits is increased during this stage, it decreases in proportion with the *“fear of one’s own coping”* which is dependent on one’s own efforts and resources. During the state of emptiness, one either decides to continue or stays in emptiness causing deepened despair. The latter transfers the

movement towards *conceding*. The continuum is caused by “*willingness to overcome*”, which occurs in the next stage of self-justifying by maintaining limits.

Diminished trust in others

You can see sometimes women cry... sometimes a husband doesn't respect his woman... [A52]

Diminished trust in others is caused mainly by being neglected or ignored. Before experiencing this, one begins to feel pride due to fulfilling one's own needs. Belief in oneself that has been developed as a response to external expectations has rapidly decreased. Thus, previously experienced distrust in others widens the gap further. The repeated experiences of losing trust increase distrust in oneself.

Diminished believing in one's own efforts and oneself

Concurrently, believing in one's own efforts and believing in oneself, once cultivated, are reduced. Through this, the movement in justifying oneself is decreased due to a loss of stability.

Adequate performance depends on having adequate resources. The adequate resources comprise features of “*believing in one's own efforts*” and “*believing in oneself*”. The first influences the second. The performance of “fulfilling needs” requires “*non-stop drudging*” and “*struggling*” by “*extending the day*”. In order to maintain the continuum despite challenges, believing in oneself is needed as a basis for security. The maintenance of the performance depends on the combination of belief in one's own efforts and oneself. Consequently, diminished resources increase the effect of limits.

Fear of one's own coping

I can't fall... there to the... [points to the field] [A21]

Though the “*fear of one's own coping*” has a strong effect during “*realising*” one's own position, it also triggers the continuation of fulfilling needs. Thus, the fear of one's own coping plays a crucial role in fulfilling needs. The fear of losing one's own resources is a deep concern. The continuum is not possible without resources, and therefore, the main concern is how to maintain and rebuild resources. The fear in relation to resources is directed towards oneself. This is because one's own safety depends on maintaining one's own personal conditions generated by expectations.

During “*decreased needs*” hope moves a person to the stage of *awakening*. Otherwise, due to a prolonged period without thoughts about continuation, movement shifts from the sinking stage to the stage of *conceding*.

The weakened state reduces tolerance of conditions. Moreover, intensified limits reduce self-justification. Due to the intensified limits, fulfilling one’s own needs in regard to justifying oneself is low, causing diminished “maintenance of one’s own limits”. The outcome of fulfilling one’s own needs in relation to hope of self-dignity either increases or decreases self-justification. This outcome defines the state of safety as a tolerance of life within limits. Therefore, decreased self-justifying diminishes the degree of safety, which increases the effect of limits.

Two conditions of limits, diminished and intensified, have different effects. The “*fear of one’s own coping*” is avoided by constant “*obeying*”, “*servicing*”, “*internal controlling*”, “*hiding*”, and “*seeking*” by “*non-stop drudging*”, “*struggling*”, and “*extending the day*”. During the stage of *awakening*, “one’s own needs”, which are linked to the “*hope of self-dignity*”, are affected by “*willingness to overcome*”, which triggers one to continue “fulfilling needs” to the stage of *toughening*. If needs regarding hope of self-dignity are not met, the movement may shift to the stage of conceding.

During sinking, believing in oneself, a source of safety, is reduced, causing a sense of insecurity and hopelessness. Accordingly, the worry about one’s own resources to continue in “fulfilling needs” reaches a critical point. The fear of losing one’s resources plunges one deeper into despair. One’s own personal conditions are more vulnerable under the weight of expectations. Moreover, the aim to act for others in order to gain self-dignity has lost its meaning. However, hope for continuing can push the person forward to awakening. Without this hope, the person moves to conceding, in which fulfilling needs can cease completely.

In sum – sinking

“*Realising*” that someone has taken advantage of the “*common security pool*” decreases self-justifying. The realisation that one is involved in another actor’s self-interest goals decreases the feeling of safety. The loss of safety associates with hopelessness, frustration, and fear. “*Believing in one’s own efforts*” and “*believing in oneself*”, the basis of security, are replaced by “*fear of one’s own coping*”. Hopelessness, frustration, and fear are influenced by the conditions one is living in. Moreover, the distrust affects how one sees one’s own capability to continue but also the challenge of trusting others. Diminished trust in oneself is related to hope of self-dignity. Self-dignity is based on one’s own assumptions about oneself. The combination of hopelessness, frustration, and fear decreases needs related to self-justifying by increasing the limits on conditions. The limits on the principles of moral behaviour and attitude have not yielded an outcome in which the person can achieve self-justification. Self-justification, linked to hope of self-dignity, has disappeared

and been replaced by intensified limits causing a feeling of anxiety. During sinking, fulfilling needs for self-dignity has lost its meaning.

“*Realising*” brings “*questioning the meaning of oneself*”. The person questions their existence “*for the benefit of others*”. Consequently, the feeling of *emptiness* is characterised by “*diminished trust in others and oneself*” causing “*fear of one’s own coping*”. After a prolonged period without thoughts about continuation, movement shifts from the sinking stage to the stage of *conceding*. Emerging hope about continuing transfers movement to awakening in which emptiness changes to uncertainty.

3.5.2 Awakening

Awakening is manifested by uncertainty about how to continue. During awakening, believing in one’s own efforts, a resource for continuation towards self-justification, is diminished by creating a sense of uncertainty until *willingness to overcome conditions* brings meaning to continue to fulfil needs. Hope of self-dignity begins to emerge as progress advances. During awakening, every step is taken with caution. This is because *believing in others* is totally diminished. In addition, *believing in one’s own efforts*, a source of *believing in oneself*, is completely decreased.

This brings about a state of being *wary* due to a lack of knowledge of how to continue and collect resources. Awakening explains the intermediate inactive, unproductive stage in time in which the need to justify oneself is lost whilst hope of self-dignity emerges. During awakening, a critical point of uncertainty triggers movement towards the stage of *toughening* or *conceding* depending on *willingness to overcome conditions*.

The feeling of uncertainty brings with it concern about how to move forward, as one’s own resources, *believing in one’s own effort and oneself*, are reduced. During *awakening*, “*willingness to overcome conditions*” enables believing in one’s own efforts. Decreased hope of improved conditions is eventually replaced by the hope of self-dignity, which starts to move the person along the continuum towards self-justification.

Willingness to overcome conditions

“*Willingness to overcome conditions*” explains increased will to get out of anxiety. This willingness arises from understanding one’s own role as a “*necessary person*” to secure the safety of others. This safety – of others and themselves – is dependent on the resources of rural women. When they realise this, being subordinated is out of the question for them. Willingness to overcome conditions together with a relentless attitude pushes one forward.

Being necessary for others

I'm the only one who does all the work. [A27]

Provided that one understands that one is a necessary person “*for others*”, the state of wariness has been transferred to “willingness to overcome conditions” that shows an understanding of one’s own importance in building security. The sense of being “*necessary for others*” triggers “*believing in one’s own efforts*” to fulfil one’s own needs.

The performance is constantly controlled by community members. By “*criticising*”, “*blaming*”, and “*judging*”, they increase the pressure on rural women to continue to fulfil needs. Thus, one’s social position depends on one’s own resources. One is constantly being judged. At any moment, and particularly when one fulfils needs more slowly than expected, one’s position is vulnerable. The effect of criticising, blaming, and judging deepens powerlessness to fulfil needs within limits. Although blaming causes pressure, it pushes one forward to continue to fulfil the needs – by going back in one’s tracks.

“*Believing in one’s own efforts*” increases “*believing in oneself*”. Self-confidence is the basis for security, which depends upon two outstanding issues. The first is whether one is able to pursue fulfilling one’s needs, which imposes increased believing in one’s own efforts and oneself as the basis for security. The second is whether one is able to maintain those needs. If one can maintain needs, the process remains stable and movement is directed towards self-justification.

In sum – awakening

As *awakening* progresses further, movement is transferred to the stage of *toughening* in order to fulfil needs. Alternatively, movement can be discontinued by a prolonged period of uncertainty, and the person transfers to *conceding*. As a result of “willingness to overcome” conditions, one becomes willing fulfil one’s own needs and hope of self-dignity begins to emerge. Hope of self-dignity is related to others’ dependence on the performance of “fulfilling needs”. “*Willingness to overcome*” is associated with “*believing in one’s own efforts*”.

During *awakening*, the previous state of *emptiness* has changed to being *wary* and concerned about how to continue and collect resources. *Willingness to overcome conditions*, which means the decision not to stay subjected anymore, allows rural women to continue. During *awakening*, *willingness to overcome conditions* plays a major role in the continuation of justifying oneself.

When the stage of *awakening* has developed and the conditions have shifted to *toughening*, the intensity of hope of self-dignity is balanced in relation to increased *believing in oneself*, enabling appreciation for oneself reached through the satisfaction of one’s own needs.

During *awakening*, “*willingness to overcome conditions*” enables believing in one’s own efforts. The emerged hope of self-dignity sustains the person to act and transfers movement to *toughening*. The person understands themselves as necessary in building security for others and for themselves.

3.5.3 Toughening

If you are not serious you can’t do this. [A19]

Willingness to overcome conditions

“*Willingness to overcome conditions*” explains increased will “*to get further*” at the early stage of *toughening*. *Toughening* is characterised by “*believing in one’s own efforts*” in order to continue fulfilling needs. Believing in one’s own efforts intensifies “*responsibility taking*” within “*internal controlling*”. Consequently, increased “*believing only in oneself*” causes “*isolating*”. Taken together, isolation, commitment to take the responsibility, and internal controlling strengthen a sense of being an “*independent responsibility bearer*”. One’s own willingness to overcome unequal conditions forces one forward despite challenges. The ability to fulfil needs independently strengthens not only believing in one’s own capabilities but also to maintain a safer state.

Believing in one’s own efforts

You have to do all alone... you can pay a help boy with your own money, but you can’t be sure that the tasks will be done. [A26]

Increased “*believing in one’s own efforts*” is caused not only by successful fulfilment of needs but also by perceiving that one is neglected and ignored. The action of “*neglecting*” and “*ignoring*” confirms previously experienced distrust in others. Consequently, “*believing in one’s own efforts*” increases by “*responsibility taking*” and “*internal controlling*”, which entails “*isolating*” whilst fulfilling needs. Thus, “*believing in one’s own efforts*” causes “*believing in oneself*”.

Believing in one’s own efforts comprises one’s behaviour and attitude in relation to responsibility taking and internal controlling. It is connected to justifying oneself, and it is particularly linked to believing in oneself, which operates as the source of safety to continue to maintain limits in the move towards self-justification.

Responsibility taking

Time for sleeping 4 hours every day from 23:00–24:00 to 4:00 am. That is why I’m so tired. Now when I’m in retirement I wake up still at 4:00 am. [A3]

“Responsibility taking” is the feature of “*believing in one’s own efforts*”. The ability to take responsibility refers to a commitment to ensuring a stable fulfilling. The

movement process of fulfilling one's own needs is ensured by "non-stop drudging", "struggling", and "extending the day" whilst "seeking", "hiding", "serving", and "obeying". Committing to responsibility taking is characterised by the expected behaviour and attitude of oneself. "Responsibility taking" is connected to justifying oneself through *toughening*, and it is closely linked to "willingness to overcome" conditions when living within limits. Consequently, a mental capacity to take responsibility intensifies one's belief in one's own capabilities. This intensified belief increases the commitment to take responsibility and sustains performance whilst hope of improved conditions begins to emerge.

Internal controlling

You must work like... a tractor... [A21]

"*Internal controlling*" operates in parallel with believing in one's own efforts. Thus, internal controlling is characterised by its essential role in responsibility taking whilst fulfilling one's own needs. They both feed each other. "*Internal controlling*" is connected to justifying through the stage of *toughening*, and it is closely linked to "willingness to overcome" conditions when living within *limits*.

Under the circumstances of external expectations, the individual strives to maintain performance because delays increase the pressure within already challenging conditions. Moreover, temporal changes such as delays shift the direction downward, thus forcing movement to speed up in order to maintain stability. The expectations, that are based on the *needs of others*, should be fulfilled. Therefore, the representatives of the community are in constant control in order to achieve the expected outcome on which one's own being or existence will be judged. Thus, the more the expected outcome ("*the needs of others*") is scheduled by representatives, the more limits are placed on the external expectations of the individual's ability to transgress expected behaviour and attitude.

Internal controlling plays a pivotal role in fulfilling one's own needs to move towards a safer state. In order to achieve a safer state, giving up is the only thing that needs to be avoided. Therefore, constant internal controlling together with responsibility taking increases the isolation of a woman.

Due to the circumstances of expectations, the quality and state of being are simultaneously affected. The quality of being shows one's tolerance towards expectations, whilst the state of being is dependent on the quality of being. Constant "*internal controlling*" supports one in fulfilling one's own needs by prioritising the needs of others.

Believing in oneself

I can't trust anyone... even the closest woman may betray... [A40]

“*Believing in oneself*” has been caused by “*believing (only) in one’s own efforts*”. Believing in oneself is linked to reflecting oneself towards others, and it refers to questioning trustworthiness of others in social interaction. Additionally, believing in oneself is linked to isolation of oneself. It is strongly affected when moving towards more safety. The influence of believing in oneself is weakened during the stage of *sinking* due to realising that someone has taken advantage of the common security. In the state of *toughening*, its intensity increases. Believing in oneself is strengthened whilst moving towards the state of more safety. Likewise, it is strongly affected when the person begins to reach the optimal outcome, the safer state of being *pure*, a sense of self-dignity together with increased hope of dignity. “*Believing in oneself*” is connected to justifying oneself through *toughening*, and it is closely linked to “*willingness to overcome*” conditions when living within limits.

Being isolated

“*Being isolated*” is connected to *toughening*, and it is particularly connected to increased abilities together with a relentless attitude to fulfilling needs. It is caused by the features of “*believing (only) in one’s own efforts*”. As “*responsibility taking*” together with “*internal controlling*” have associated with “*believing in oneself*”, “*isolating*” from others increases. One’s isolation strengthens one’s sense of being an “*independent responsibility bearer*”. Although the mental ability to take responsibility intensifies one’s belief in one’s own capabilities, this leads one to take more responsibilities, and thus, to be thrilled with one’s own capabilities for accomplishment.

We would like to get training... not from the village but from people outside the village. [A16]

Isolation within social interaction not only strengthens belief in one’s own capabilities but also enables one to see outsiders in different way than the interactants. Outsiders, away from one’s own circle of people, represent better living conditions. Hope that one’s personal conditions will improve is linked to support from outsiders rather than the people within one’s circle. The idea is that one can only achieve better living conditions through external expectations by one’s own hand. “*Isolating*” is connected to justifying through *toughening*, and closely linked to “*willingness to overcome*” conditions when living within limits.

External controlling

She must be lazy because she starts to cook earlier. [A12]

External controlling is always present. Together with “*judging*”, this magnifies performance of fulfilling needs by “*non-stop drudging*” and “*struggling*” and pushes one to strive harder. External controlling is connected with “*believing in one’s own efforts*”. The external social expectations are that an individual, by their

behaviour and attitude, is solely responsible for *prioritising the needs of others*. This “*internal controlling*” has an influence on both responsibility taking and on the fulfilment of needs to rebuild a safer state of well-being.

Thus, commitment to responsibility taking and “*internal controlling*” are connected to the tactics of “*external controlling*”. External controlling comprises actions of “*criticising*”, “*blaming*”, and “*judging*” in terms of the “*needs of others*”. So, *prioritising the needs of others* is linked to the tactics of “*external controlling*”. The performance of “*fulfilling needs*” is constantly controlled by “*criticising*”. In addition, the outcome is judged, and if it does not reach the desired level, the movement is guided by “*blaming*”. Thus, the “*needs of others*” increase pressure on individuals. *Managing tactics* maintain the direction towards the desired outcome to meet the needs of others.

External controlling is the feature of external *expectations*. The external expectations are maintained by *implementing the managing tactics of external controlling* such as “*ignoring*”, “*neglecting*”, “*criticising*”, “*judging*”, and “*blaming*” and enacted on the individual by externals.

Hope of self-dignity

I hope my children will appreciate my work for the family... in the future... when they understand. [A12]

“*Hope of improved conditions*” is decreased when an individual realises that another actor has used them. Intensified willingness to overcome conditions operates as a trigger by magnifying the continuum to fulfil needs. Thus, the maintenance of fulfilling needs is determined by the hope of self-dignity and ability to recover. During the stage of *toughening*, the individual starts to feel safer due to their relentless attitude towards conditions. During this stage, a relentless attitude pushes forward despite hopelessness about conditions. Consequently, during *toughening*, a greater state of safety begins to emerge which brings hope of improved conditions in future.

As the process develops, hope of improved conditions is intensified by a sense of self-dignity, which in turn produces appreciation of one’s own capability to recover, all of which determine the conditions for the stage of *toughening*. Therefore, maintaining limits sustains the performance of fulfilling needs. In *awakening*, the turning point of “*being necessary*” for others and oneself in securing safety strengthens “*willingness to overcome*” conditions in order to continue to fulfil needs, which determine the maintenance of limits. During *toughening*, both the capability to recover and hope of improved conditions begin to be balanced whilst conditions are maintained.

Hence, the hope of self-dignity sets out one's own needs to justify oneself. In *toughening*, the sense of gaining self-dignity is intensified. This is because, through the experience of being neglected and ignored, hope highlights one's own needs to overcome conditions. As the conditions in *toughening* develop, by fulfilling one's own needs through the needs of others, the intensified hope of self-dignity is balanced by increased satisfaction of one's own needs. Consequently, tolerance of life experienced within limits increases.

The sense of self-dignity plays a pivotal role in fulfilling the needs of others, and thus in achieving justification for oneself. Therefore, hope which is based on one's own needs to achieve self-dignity triggers continuation to fulfil the needs of others. The needs of others operate as a passage through which one's own needs are fulfilled.

In sum – toughening

We want to get further... [A51]

The stage of *toughening* includes “*willingness to overcome*” conditions “*to get further*”. Willingness to overcome conditions begins to grow during the stage of *awakening*. It emerges because the rural women resist subjection. Particularly, this involves understanding one's own role as a “*necessary*” person in security building *for others* and oneself.

Toughening is characterised by strengthened “*believing (only) in one's own efforts*” to improve one's personal conditions. Believing in one's own efforts intensifies “*responsibility taking*” within “*internal controlling*”. Increased “*believing in oneself*” causes “*being isolated*”. Taken together, this magnifies the feeling of being an “*independent responsibility bearer*”. The performance of “*fulfilling one's own needs*” through *prioritising the needs of others* is led by a relentless attitude and hopelessness about the conditions of one's self-dignity. The sense of self-dignity triggers the maintenance of one's own needs in relation to the principles of *prioritising the needs of others*.

Self-justification is affected by limits. The main actions one takes to justify oneself are “*fulfilling one's own needs*”, which comprises behavioural and attitudinal patterns of *prioritising the needs of others* by “*serving*”, “*obeying*”, “*seeking*” and “*hiding*”, by “*non-stop drudging*” and “*struggling*” and by “*extending the day*”. One tries to meet one's own needs in order to achieve self-justification, despite challenges. The ability to fulfil needs independently strengthens both belief in one's own capabilities and the stability of one's state of safety.

Movement towards self-justification is maintained by *believing in one's own efforts*, *believing in oneself*, and having a relentless attitude. Moreover, the actions of *responsibility taking*, and *internal controlling* sustain one's performance. The qualities determine the movement. In the background is the hope of self-dignity, the

“*silent hope*” waiting for any appreciation on offer. The intensity of hope depends on the current state and stage of self-justifying. Sustainable movement strengthens one’s position. Nevertheless, one’s performance depends on “*one’s own needs*” to maintain resources; as these increase, one gains self-dignity. Consequently, participants are more likely to be sustain their mental and physical resources by maintaining the limits, or principles of moral behaviour and attitude.

After any disruption, the person becomes less safe. Due to loss of safety, feelings of sadness, anxiety, and fear of one’s own coping overpower and diminish one’s ability to continue.

Both the producer (the rural woman) and the externals (the representatives of the community) participate in setting the expectation of a certain outcome of this social process. Yet, both have different ways to achieve the goal. One is obvious: they both have the same desire to ensure the continuum of production is lucrative. This means that they both have certain methods of maintaining the continuum. So, the viability of the process is maintained through the efforts of the producer and by the externals’ constant controlling.

3.5.4 Conceding

She couldn’t continue to work, she was scared about threatening, she moved away. Sometimes she woke in the middle of the night because she felt that someone had slapped her face but there was no one... she couldn’t take it anymore. [A42]

In this section, I introduce the stage of *conceding*, which includes “*detaching*”. *Conceding* is when a rural woman’s own needs are no longer of primary importance for her to maintain *prioritising the needs of others*. *Conceding* is the fourth stage of self-justifying, and it operates until the process finishes completely or when an intervening event prompts the individual to continue. Unlike the other stages (*sinking*, *awakening*, and *toughening*) where performance continues in varying degrees, *conceding* is the stage when the process will eventually end. *Conceding* occurs once resources are depleted to such an extent that *toughening* can no longer continue. During the stage of *sinking*, the performance of fulfilling needs is diminished, and confidence, the source of safety, is also reduced. However, an intervention can shift the person to the stage of *conceding*. This can be a result of emptiness, whereby resources to continue have diminished, which in turn has affected movement. During *conceding*, the individual detaches themselves from the performance in order to maintain their own conditions. The process of self-justifying either finishes completely or an intervention triggers the continuum to *toughening*.

During the stage of *conceding*, a rural woman detaches herself by either escaping or committing suicide due to her intensified need to lessen or remove anxiety, despair,

and fear. During *conceding*, fulfilling needs in order to justify oneself either ends or emerges yet again to reignite self-justifying.

Thus, during *conceding*, a rural woman has no need to reach the self-justification which she has been chasing in the past in order to maintain an acceptable existence. Fulfilling needs related to safety is thus dependent upon a rural woman's survival activities, that is, on self-justifying.

Actually, in some cases a rural woman may need to justify herself, but does not have the resources to continue doing so. The performance of self-justifying operates as fuel to maintain her own conditions. The performance of justifying is maintained not only by the activity of the rural woman but also by expectations maintained by rural community members.

Conceding is the stage in which the activity of self-justifying concludes. During this stage, features of totally diminished *believing in one's own efforts and oneself* are exhibited in the person's pattern of behaviour and attitudes. Increased fear and hopelessness feed an already anxious state. This can be a consequence of some physical or mental cause such as experiencing threats, violence, or illness. During this stage, one no longer maintains one's own moral behaviour and attitude by *prioritising the needs of others*. Instead, the drive to fulfil one's own needs indicates an exigency to escape and to end the activity of self-justifying completely. During detaching, all the resources to maintain one's own conditions (including moral behaviour) have drained away. Therefore, the individual is faced with the option of leaving everything or ending their own life. During the stage of *conceding*, the individual's well-being is reduced to a state of *null* because they stop maintaining their living conditions within expectations.

Conceding comprises the properties of "*detaching*". As confidence, a source of safety, is replaced by despair, the individual is ready to detach themselves from the process of fulfilling needs. This can be done in different ways, such as by escaping or committing suicide. Though the stage involves the behavioural and attitudinal patterns of detaching, it is mainly led by a deepening anxiety and feeling of despair at being caught in a trap. The outcome of *conceding* manifests itself in the individual as a state of *null* or a feeling of emptiness in which one's own needs are no longer being met.

Detaching

When the individual experiences sudden uncontrollable anxiety and fear, this can cause an exigency to leave everything. During this stage of *detaching*, psychological and physiological issues ensue in response to the reduction of resources for maintaining of one's own conditions. The resources vary depending upon how one is experiencing a certain situation in response to internal and external factors. The shift from the stage of *sinking* or *awakening* not only yields despair, fear, and

hopelessness about the conditions one faces but also produces an inability to see the future. The stage of conceding consists of the behavioural and attitudinal features of “*detaching*” whereby one may successfully escape, or instead harm oneself.

Escape is not always an option. Many of the challenges posed to an individual by diminished mental and physical resources to face the experienced situation may mean that the only option for some would be to commit or attempt suicide. In these cases, the prevailing circumstances make the individual feel mentally imprisoned. This state in which there is no belief in one’s own efforts or oneself, a source and feeling of safety, can be called a state of *null*. During this state, the drive to fulfil needs in order to fulfil expectations has totally drained away and been replaced by a feeling of emptiness. Without an intervening cause and effect which could shift the stage back to *toughening*, the process may cease completely.

However, if movement back to the *awakening* or *toughening* stage is triggered, the process continues. For instance, a feeling of shame, fear of stigmatisation, or requirements by relatives can intervene to support the continuum.

The increased fear of being unable to maintain one’s own conditions can be caused by the experience of “*threatening*”. Individuals may feel threatened due to insufficient maintenance of *prioritising the needs of others*.

She bought her own house and a car, but her husband took them and threw her out of the home. She left to a different country and when her husband heard that she had moved to some other country he asked: “Does she sell herself because she can manage her life?” [A45]

The managing tactics of controlling such as “*stealing efforts*”, “*ignoring*”, “*enjoying*”, “*criticising*”, and “*judging*” are performed because the conditions of an individual are expected to be maintained.

Threatening increases fear about one’s own personal conditions. Fear of the future reduces any sense of security which then causes an exigency to leave everything behind. *Detaching* is one way to resolve this situation.

The process of self-justifying by maintaining limits includes four stages; *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding*. The stages operate sequentially, alternately, partly in parallel and separately. When *toughening* is successfully performed, it brings about an increase in “*believing in one’s own efforts*” by strengthening “*believing in oneself*”, a source of safety, and thus a state of being *pure*. During this state, the drive towards fulfilling needs to maintain an acceptable existence is well maintained. In addition, mental freedom brings joy and a positive feeling of well-being due to the diminished effect of limits as one’s own moral guards. Thus, self-justification is reached. In contrast, the undesired outcome of *sinking* or *awakening*

may be a shift to *conceding*, producing a state of *null*, wherein the operation may cease completely through “*detaching*”.

The destructive impact of gender violence on individuals, their physical and psychological consequences, has been widely discussed. According to a WHO study by Garcia-Moreno et al. (2005) the sufferers experience feelings of shame, stigma, and trauma. In addition, controlling behaviour of partners is highly associated with physical and sexual violence in intimate relationships. Husbands who behaved violently towards their wives had controlling behaviours; their non-violent counterparts did not exhibit controlling behaviours such as limiting their wives’ physical or social mobility. Women who experienced severe violence left their home at least once for a longer period compared to those that experienced moderate violence who left for only one night. Reasons to leave were identified as: a diminishing tolerance of severe violence from their partners and being badly injured. Women in rural Tanzania usually stay with their spouse’s family. Generally, women want to get support from their family members. Their reasons to return after escaping included having an emotional attachment and orders from their family members. Intimate partner violence causes powerlessness, hopelessness, and isolation which diminishes attempts to seek support and increases fear of the consequences of seeking support for their children and their own safety. In addition, feelings of shame and stigmatisation were noted as reasons for the return or lack of initial flight. (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, and Watts 2005.)

According to a WHO study, women had thoughts about committing suicide when they experienced violence (Ellsberg, Jansen, Heise, Watts, and Garcia-Moreno 2008). A coherent connection has been made between violence against women and their attempts to commit suicide (Devries, Watts, Yoshihama, Kiss, Schraiber, Deyessa, Heise, Durand, Mbwambo, Jansen, Berhane, Ellsberg, and Garcia-Moreno 2011). In the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, and Watts 2006) the prevalence of intimate partner violence against women is clear: women who were more under the control of their husbands were more likely to experience violence and were more at risk of violence by their intimate partner than from another actor.

Traditions and cultural manners can be sources of men’s violence and discrimination against women in Tanzania:

Violence against women continues to occur in Tanzania. Physical and sexual violence, as well as economic, psychological and emotional abuse, occur in families and communities, in such forms as threats, intimidation and battery, sexual abuse of children, economic deprivation, femicide, female genital mutilation, and sexual harassment. Trafficking of young girls and children from rural areas to urban centres increased despite restriction in policy guidelines and the law (CEDAW 2007: 12).

Changing how community members think at all levels is the way to improve equality (UN Women 2020; CEDAW 2007). However, in rural areas in Tanzania, sexual violence including rape is rarely reported due to the long distances involved. This shameful experience causes the victims to be stigmatised and to be excluded from other community members (see, e.g., TAMWA 2012).

According to Laisser et al. (2011: 7) intimate partner violence against women in Tanzanian urban areas begins to fuel “a wish for change”. Women who behaved quietly, submitted to their husband’s will, for instance by asking permission, and were mainly obedient, were less likely to experience violence from their husbands. Moreover, due to limited access to their own resources (e.g., income) and barriers to managing their own lives, women’s dependence on men predominates. In some cases, however, women assume they deserve to be beaten. Husbands who didn’t have incomes and whose economic status was low were less likely to beat their wives, but in some cases, husbands beat their wives for exactly this reason, that they didn’t have jobs or incomes. Many women were likely to hide the fact that they were experiencing violence from their husbands, as disclosing it increased their feelings of isolation, helplessness, and fear, and caused them to withdraw from social life in their community. By *hiding*, women diminish possible harm to themselves and others. Due to this, marriage was seen as a trap. Some women whose partners were violent tried to find a way out, for instance by escaping. (Laisser, Nyström, Lugina, and Emmelin 2011.)

According to a WHO (2014) report, suicidal behaviour increases with inherent risk factors such as limited access to the health care system, shame, guilt, stigma, discrimination, isolation, trauma, abuse, and violence. A country’s cultural and social contexts are associated with these factors. For instance, discrimination against an individual within the community may cause stressors such as stigmatisation and violence. Experiencing neglect, domestic violence or abuse increases risks of psychological disorders and suicide. Psychological disorders are generally stigmatised which further diminishes requests for help. However, due to the limited data and investigations of the population in Africa, the suicide rates are difficult to estimate (Mars, Burrows, Hjelmeland, and Gunnell 2014; Mgaya, Kazaura, Outwater, and Kinabo 2007).

3.6 Self-justification

In this section, I present the desired outcome of self-justifying, caused by “decreased limits” on conditions in relation to the stage of *toughening*. I focus on features that increase safety, including their various conditions. I also present the causes, their consequences, and the associated features. Finally, I discuss the theory of self-justifying in association with the emerged concepts and the relevant literature.

3.6.1 Decreased limits

Limits have a decreased effect due to the desirable outcome of *self-justifying*, which is gained through *toughening*. During the *toughening* stage, conditions for safety are improved in order to experience life within limits. Successful *toughening* shifts movement towards a safer state of being *pure*. *Toughening* includes behavioural and attitudinal patterns of increased ability to recover faster including a relentless attitude, but continued hopelessness about the conditions of self-dignity. The aim is to move towards “*willingness to overcome*”. This includes features of intensified “*drudging*” whilst maintaining the relentless demands on oneself. In addition, “*one’s own needs*” are fulfilled through the “*needs of others*”, to eventually achieve justification for oneself. Hope of self-dignity first decreases as self-dignity is realised, although its intensity is obscured by intensified feelings. These feelings intensify because one realises that one is being subordinated and tries to resist staying in the resulting state of insecurity. This resistance to being exploited by another interactant manifests itself in attitudinal and behavioural features. Willingness to overcome is the essential prerequisite to start rebuilding the state of safety. The stage of *toughening* is characterised by willingness to overcome conditions, and comprises features of “*believing (only) in one’s own efforts*”. *Toughening* is related to the whole process of *self-justifying* in terms of willingness to overcome hazardous conditions. During *toughening*, emergent believing in oneself is linked to hope to reshape one’s state once one has fulfilled one’s own needs successfully.

Toughening is a stage wherein one’s own self-dignity begins to grow through “satisfying needs” towards justifying. This increased fulfilling of one’s own needs defines how one experiences life within limits. The limits are based on one’s own needs, though they are transferred from external expectations. The previous stage of *awakening* has reached its turning point of *being necessary*, generated from realising that one is subordinated, *willingness to overcome conditions*, and effort to fulfil one’s own needs in order to achieve more safety. During *toughening*, and unless an intervention diminishes its effect, increased fulfilling of one’s own needs increases one’s sense of self-dignity. The aim of *toughening* is to gather resources to maintain a more stable state of safety.

A higher level of safety is achieved by the desired outcome of the psychosocial process of self-justifying through satisfied needs. In this, *self-justifying* is the basic social psychological strategy of the individual living within external *expectations*. The limits derived from external expectations are based on one’s own needs. The effect of the limits eventually determines the degree of safety experienced by the individual. The optimal outcome is experienced as a state of being *pure*, whereas if confidence in conditions is totally diminished, anxiety increases. Individuals experience different levels of safety, depending on the fulfilment of their own needs. The slightest change in the fulfilment of one’s own needs will have a significant effect on the state of safety experienced.

As the stage of *toughening* develops, the individual achieves a more balanced state. Their willingness to overcome hazardous conditions begins to be balanced with a sense of self-dignity. This results in a shift to the safer state of being *pure*. When “*willingness to overcome*” and “*believing only in one’s own efforts*” coincide, hope begins to emerge.

In self-justifying, the effect of the limits depends on the outcome of fulfilling one’s own needs. Thus, when the optimal outcome is achieved, the limits have less of an effect. When needs are not fulfilled to the desired level, the limits cause instability and insecurity. A safer state is more likely to be achieved through “*willingness to overcome*” conditions.

Willingness to overcome

Willingness to overcome conditions triggers a push towards reaching a safer state. It is connected to one’s own needs to maintain the ability to recover faster and hope of improved conditions. Thus, it is composed mostly of a relentless attitude and the continuous performance of fulfilling needs within challenging conditions. It also contains hope of self-dignity, which has characteristics of “*believing (only) in one’s own efforts*”. This belief has the features of “*responsibility taking*” and “*internal controlling*”. Thus, willingness to overcome conditions is connected to justifying oneself, and it is particularly linked to improvement in “fulfilling the needs”. At this stage, the effect of the limits is decreased and replaced by an intensified sense of safety in terms of believing in oneself and self-dignity.

Through the maintenance of direction and movement by “fulfilling the needs”, the desired outcome of the safer state eventually emerges. “*Believing in oneself*”, as the source of safety, occurs as a result of satisfying one’s own needs. Additionally, the hope of self-dignity, which was first covered by the intensified relentless attitude, begins to emerge concurrently with hope of improved conditions.

As *toughening* begins to develop by satisfying one’s own needs, the state begins to shift towards more safety. In addition, due to fulfilment of needs, the intensity of *external controlling* is reduced, though it increases again if movement diminishes for some reason.

Self-justification is achieved through the desired outcome of *toughening*. *Toughening* begins by “*willingness to overcome*” the experienced conditions of safety loss. It is characterised by persistent physical and mental resources. Additionally, “*believing (only) in one’s own efforts*” is achieved by “*responsibility taking*”, “*internal controlling*”, and “*isolating*” which eventually cause “*believing in oneself*”. They function sequentially and simultaneously whilst the individual is pursuing a more stable state. If nothing intervenes, the stage of *toughening* develops towards the state of safety. When one’s own ability to maintain limits and needs regarding hope of self-dignity decrease, *toughening* shifts to *sinking*. If this worsens,

in *conceding*, one's own needs to justify oneself are totally reduced, causing loss of safety.

A person moves from losing to gaining safety by fulfilling their *own needs* through *prioritising the needs of others*. This transfer depends on the physical and mental capabilities of an individual to continue the process, including their ability to recover faster and hope of improved conditions. The transfer from loss to gain of safety is achieved by "*willingness to overcome*". Due to the satisfaction of one's own needs, life within limits can be experienced more freely. This is conceptualised as a state of being *pure*.

3.6.2 A state of being pure

Capacity is power. [A10]

When limits are maintained more, they have less of an effect. The state of being *pure* is reached when "one's own needs" are satisfied. Accordingly, "*believing in oneself*" together with a sense of self-dignity have supplanted the effect of limits. Thus, the conditions of limits that were derived from *external expectations* regarding the behavioural and attitudinal features of *prioritising the needs of others* have been maintained successfully. In this situation, the effect of the limits has lost its intensity and been replaced by tolerance of living within them. This means that one's own needs, related to a "hope of self-dignity", have been fulfilled. In order to accomplish the safer state, one's own needs are successfully fulfilled through fulfilling the needs of others.

In the state of safety, hope, which operates simultaneously with one's own needs, is more stable. A confident manner displays calmness. The state of safety is a display of one's ability to recover faster and hope of improved conditions. The safer state of being *pure* operates in harmony within "*believing in oneself*" and sense of self-dignity. It frees one from the effect of limits. Having one's own needs met generates happiness. It generates "enthusiasm to develop oneself", feelings of joy, grit, and independence, and belief in one's own capabilities "to control situations" by bringing "faith in tomorrow" and a stronger feeling of safety.

In particular, the state of safety is achieved through one's "*willingness to overcome*" conditions. This willingness to get out of anxiety increases despite experienced conditions. To begin with, *awakening* shifts to *toughening*, where one's own needs begin to be fulfilled. The effect of the limits decreases whilst their maintenance increases. Hence, *toughening* includes qualities of "*believing (only) in one's own efforts*", "*responsibility taking*", "*internal controlling*", "*believing in oneself*", and "*isolating*", which lead to improved conditions of safety.

If *toughening* continues without interruption, the conditions shift to a more balanced state of being *pure* where one's needs are met and limits are increasingly maintained. Fulfilling one's own needs in relation to ability to recover and hope triggers the

movement forward. As anxiety decreases and believing in oneself improves, a safer state is developed. This means that ability to face a challenge and recover from it operates as a mental and physical resource to continue fulfilling needs. In proportion with increased calmness, mental freedom from conditions emerges. *Mental freedom* is thus a consequence of satisfying one's own needs and, particularly, is a trait of justifying oneself. In order to achieve self-justification, one's own needs are fulfilled through *prioritising the needs of others*. Taking responsibility for maintaining external *expectations* has eventually brought about one's safety which is exhibited as unconditional obedience, abstinence, and a relentless attitude.

We can do something. [A16]

The state of being *pure* explains the fulfilment of "*one's own needs*" and shows a tolerance of limits. Accordingly, the "hope of self-dignity" has begun to influence the fulfilment of one's own needs. This is the state wherein one's own needs are satisfied through the needs of others. By *prioritising the needs of others*, one's own needs for self-dignity are fulfilled. Consequently, increased "*believing in oneself*" operates as the basis of security, thus decreasing the effect of limits. The pressure to fulfil needs has decreased. Justification for oneself is maintained calmly, as one has succeeded in satisfying needs by *prioritising the needs of others*. Justifying oneself brings happiness. Thus, "maintaining" one's own personal conditions has the effect of justifying oneself. This outcome of the process of satisfying needs either strengthens or weakens one's own personal conditions. However, the increased tolerance of limits derived from "one's own needs", eventually checks the maintenance of those limits.

Independent responsibility bearer

I feel that I have my own business. [A19]

Within a state of being *pure*, the performance of fulfilling needs manifests by being an "*independent responsibility bearer*". The satisfaction of fulfilling one's own needs has brought about a sense of independence. Due to this, one feels happiness and increased enthusiasm to take more responsibility. Additionally, the ability to control situations and to influence one's own life causes "*trust in tomorrow*" and an increased feeling of safety due to mental and physical resources. Moreover, a sense of "*being necessary*" for others increases "*believing in one's own efforts*". The category "*independent responsibility bearer*" comprises behavioural and attitudinal features of "*serving*", "*obeying*", "*internal controlling*", "*responsibility taking*", "*seeking*" new resources and "*hiding*", all of which make it more likely to avoid the feeling of loss of safety. The fear that one's own resources will diminish continues, but the individual still continues to perform "*struggling*" and "*non-stop drudging*" by "*extending the day*".

I hope my children will continue this work with a farm... work in an office is not real work. [A43]

Believing in oneself facilitates commitment to maintaining these improved conditions. Satisfaction arises from one's own achievement and is displayed through improved conditions. A cycle of fulfilment of one's own needs through *prioritising the needs of others* in relation to the *hope of self-dignity*, eventually has emerged. Needs that have been maintained in order to achieve justification for oneself in relation to hope of self-dignity finally show results as a sense of self-dignity. This outcome has been reached by constant drudging and prioritising the needs of others, responding to external expectations about one's social duties. Responsibility has been taken by meeting these expectations. The struggle has brought improved personal conditions in terms of believing in oneself as well as a firm foundation of safety.

Unused resources

Now when I have seen that the cooperative brings money, I want to get my own business like my husband has... I would like to get my own business... like a transport business. [A51]

I want to get training. [A16]

Unused resources are linked to one's level of hope. Even though fulfilling needs facilitates the commitment to continue, it brings about frustration. Frustration arises from unused resources being still available.

Mental freedom

The desired outcome of a successful performance increases *believing in oneself* as a source of safety and operates as a tolerance of limits. Life within limits can be experienced more freely. This "*mental freedom*" allows continuation within limits. Limits, which are derived from one's own needs, are gently maintained. This maintenance nurtures one's own needs linking to "*hope of self-dignity*". One's own needs (which the individual first derives from external expectations, and then adapts to achieve the expected behaviour and attitude) are maintained by "*prioritising the needs of others*". The "*hope of self-dignity*" relates to and varies in terms of justifying oneself. During the state of being *pure*, the effect of limits decreases as maintaining one's own personal conditions increases. As the effect of the limits diminishes, tolerance of them intensifies. The effect of the limits is further diminished by tolerance of living within them. Mental freedom brings joy, motivation and increased willingness to continue to fulfil social duties.

Investing in hope

I hope my children will respect my work later... [A44]

Although hope of improved conditions emerges, “*hope of self-dignity*” is always present. The state of “being worthy” appears as a “*silent hope*” of one’s own dignity. Firstly, one’s need for one’s own dignity begins to increase due to more stable conditions. Consequently, hope of self-dignity is strongly linked to the future as the “long-term investment”. For instance, a silent hope emerges in regard to one’s own abilities to manage challenges. Therefore, *believing in oneself and one’s own efforts* helps to maintain hope. High hopes of self-dignity are particularly related to level of self-confidence and the ability to manage situations.

Increased maintaining

Now when my dreams have become true the struggle continues... [A12]

Achievement of the successful outcome is recognised by externals. Consequently, a reputable social position is reached. Positive feedback, gained from successful performance in fulfilling needs, intensifies “*believing in one’s own efforts*”. Once a reputable social position is achieved, and the hope of self-dignity increases, the living conditions of an individual will be perpetuated.

In sum – a state of being pure

Pure explains the state wherein “*one’s own needs*” are satisfied. Satisfaction is achieved by justifying oneself. The desired outcome of fulfilling one’s own needs successfully diminishes the effect of the limits. Limits form the structure within which the needs are fulfilled. By going beyond these limits, justification is not achieved. Limits are firstly generated from an external source. Once adapted as “*one’s own needs*”, they gain momentum in relation to “*hope of self-dignity*” and the process of self-justifying may begin. Limits include features of *prioritising the needs of others*. Limits explain a condition that one is experiencing and define the boundaries within which one is able to fulfil needs.

3.7 Self-justifying of Rural Women and the Literature

This section presents concepts that have emerged from this study as well as the emerged concepts from the relevant literature¹⁷. In grounded theory study, the analyser begins with the extant literature until the core of the theory and its related categories and their properties have emerged. After this, the analyser knows how the participants resolve their main concern in their lives and what the main theme of the relevant literature to be discussed. If the analyser begins to look at the literature too early, until the relevant concepts have been saturated and matured, this leaves the

¹⁷ The emergent theory is discussed in terms of the existing theories, which should be treated as more data to code.

process incomplete by not giving the main concern of the participants to deal with. (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005)

3.7.1 Expecting: for the benefit of others

Expecting – for the benefit of others concerns the behavioural and attitudinal traits of the individual who is maintaining the well-being of others. In this context, justification for one's own existence is dependent on constant maintenance of one's own appropriate moral behaviour and attitude towards others by *prioritising the needs of others*. Limits is a concept which defines the area within which one's own moral behaviour and attitude is interpreted: this interpretation is led by one's own moral agency. Therefore, even though a desirable existence is maintained by adhering to moral principles, and thus, expected to be enacted consistently, one's own needs are fulfilled through doing this. Therefore, the goal of a more stable state is dependent on constantly justifying oneself whilst enhancing one's own well-being and *mental freedom*. Therefore, a good level of tolerance allows the individual to recover and manage the situation better with an improved ability to face and overcome various obstacles that occur. Although the reason why the moral is at play¹⁸ is maintained, it manifests itself as an *entry ticket* to a group and makes it possible to achieve a more stable state of safety whilst fulfilling the needs of others. Additionally, *expecting – for the benefit of others* produces the accountability of rural women for *maintaining the status of others*. For instance, based on the data collected, a husband's court case is expected to cause shame to his wife, though not self-inflicted. Also, women may have to bear the responsibility for property even though they have no involvement in the ownership structure. Thus, responsibility taking refers to the maintenance of social status whether it is caused by one's own behaviour or not.

The distinction between men and women is deep in our society (Bem 1981). According to the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, standards of desirable behaviour for women include sensitivity to the needs of others, sympathy, understanding, yielding, and gullibility. As a general rule, a woman's femininity associates with "*an affective concern for the welfare of others*". In contrast, masculine standards include acting as a leader, aggressive, competitive, dominant, and assertive (Bem 1974). Moreover, women are expected to be sympathetic, nice, and understanding, which are stereotyped as feminine-positive traits, whilst feminine-negative traits include subordinating the self to others and being servile (Martin 1987). Research also shows socially expected and agreeable behaviour, for instance women are expected to maintain behaviour of caring and an attitude of helpfulness, whilst men are expected to maintain controlling behaviour and an attitude of self-assurance (Eagly, Wood, and Dickman 2000; Eagly and Crowley 1986). The gender hierarchy displays where a high-power unit prevents the advancement of a lower-power unit (De Hoogh, den

¹⁸ "the interior self-consciousness, where factors such as the moral law and moral guilt are at play" (Nicholson 2009: 75).

Hartog, and Nevicka 2015) otherwise the high-power unit loses status in proportion to the lower (Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992). Women are more targeted and face more restrictions due to their solo status (Glass and Cook 2016), and women's structural position limits their opportunities (Ingersoll, Glass, Cook, and Olsen 2019).

Preventing

Preventing enjoyment includes activities of *limited participation rights*. Then, *limited property, knowledge and decision-making rights* prevent one from improving one's condition. For example, having *limited knowledge rights* prevents access to a decent education, an occupation, and the correct information. Having *limited property rights* to material sources (e.g., part ownership of a home) prevents improvement of one's own condition. For example, a girl is sent to work on the farm of her husband. The activities of *preventing enjoyment* limit one's opportunities to develop oneself (i.e., gain independence).

As expectations that rural women will fulfil the needs of others are set, implemented, women who neglect these expectations are corrected by representatives of the community, who use the *tactics of controlling*. The overall control of an individual's condition is maintained by these representatives. One's resources, or capability to pursue the overall acceptable social position, are built through maintaining limits, as moral principles, by self-justifying. Self-justifying allows one safety as long as one maintains resources and capability levels within the given social position in relation to expectations. The representatives in *sole controlling* existing as undesirable to the rural woman, is better to keep undesirable, rather than to experience harsher punishment. The participant is *bounded* by conditions.¹⁹

Setting dependency

Setting dependency includes various tactics used by community representatives to ensure the continued dependency of rural women. The action of representatives to exercise power over another person, can be brought about by the *expectations* based on heritage or beliefs about the present status of an actor in a certain group or system. The level of dependency set by the representatives includes certain activities that maintain the current condition of a rural woman. For example, *limited participation rights* prevents enjoyment of the benefits of a society. In addition, *expectations* regarding the *benefit of others* have a constant effect on the life of a rural woman.

The development of an individual is interrupted by *setting dependency* of representatives. Material and immaterial sources of development are restricted to maintain the condition of an individual, preventing them from improving their position. The condition of an individual is defined in terms of *the benefit of others*. In this, the *representatives* or actors having power over an individual are not limited

¹⁹ On the personal and social locked by conditions, see the "*hooking process*" (Glaser and Strauss 1971: 19).

to a certain gender.²⁰ The only difference between the actors is that other one has power over another. There are different ways to maintain power, such as status in the community (based on material resources) or *heritage expectations*²¹ which are inherited to the present. The beliefs and heritages expected of a power holder can be used to interrupt and maintain the living circumstances of an individual.

The asymmetric power relationship maintains dependence on the higher-power unit. Higher-power units prevent lower-power units from accessing to resources only available for higher-power units. Thus, the higher-power unit is more likely to enjoy rewards, access to resources and freedom (Emerson 1962; Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson 2003). Thus, the individual experiences uncertainty: one's own conditions are dependent on the resources available to fulfil expectations. Hence, the lower-power units are associated with punishment, threat, and prevented opportunities, linked to the goals of others' interests and situationally restricted behaviour (Keltner et al., 2003). In addition, whilst lower-power units face judgements about others' intentions, higher-power units are more likely to avoid threats (Keltner et al., 2003), so they are less concerned about rejection. Higher-power units are also more likely to hold acceptance expectations (Chen et al., 2017) and to neglect social and ethical norms (Anderson and Galinsky 2006).

Both actors in a social interaction participate in dependency because it benefits both of them to achieve their goals. The reciprocity in power-dependency and unequal power relations is manifested by both actors' power to different degrees. This means, higher-power holders are more aware of the likely behaviours of lower-power holders, but the latter benefit from previous achievements to reach their own goals. Unbalanced power relations are structural conditions maintained by both actors; they are related to either moral values or expectations of another actor. This reciprocal dependency maintains conditions or social positions in terms of needs. Moreover, this outcome dependency, which occurs under asymmetrical power relations, has the effect of symmetrical interdependence. However, the dependency of lower-power holders relates to survival under the control of another (Fiske 1993). Both actors are dependent on each other, but the higher-power holders are *judging, punishing, criticising, ignoring, enjoying, and neglecting* the lower-power holders as needed in order to maintain the status quo.

3.7.2 Self-justifying of rural women

This substantive theory of self-justifying of rural women considers causes and consequences of justifying oneself. This inductively derived theory, the concepts that emerged within it, and their relations explain the phenomenon of self-justifying in relation to the maintained limits. Though various scholars identify different

²⁰ Based on data collected.

²¹ "It arose simply from the fact that from the very earliest twilight of human society, every woman (owing to the value attached to her by men, combined with her inferiority in muscular strength) was found in a state of bondage to some man" (Mill 1869: 8).

strategies for the development of self-justification (see, e.g., Piper 2017; Lowell 2012; Nicholson 2009; Burkley and Blanton 2005; Fumerton 2002; Holland, Meertens, and Van Vugt 2002) to a smaller extent, it is the path including different stages and their stages towards self-justification of a rural woman.

Therefore, the previous studies provide alternative views and examples that relate to the findings of this study. This substantive theory of the self-justifying of rural women deals with some congruous themes within the studies of justifying oneself (Piper 2017; Lowell 2012; Hill and Roberts 2010; Holland, Meertens, and Van Vugt 2002; Snyder and Higgins 1988; Taylor and Brown 1988), which are used in strategies for achieving self-justification.

Self-justification

In this research, self-justifying occurs in relation to fulfilment of one's own needs through these stages: *sinking*, *awakening*, *toughening*, and *conceding*. Different states cause self-justifying within limits, which has similarities with moral dissonance inducing self-justification due to moral behaviour. "Dissonance is such an uncomfortable state, that we intuitively try to reduce it, sometimes by moderating our actions, but far more often through self justification" (Lowell 2012: 18). The individual rationalises their own behaviour through reevaluation of motives and attitude, caused by self-justification that was triggered by dissonance. Dissonance is an uncomfortable state of behaviour inconsistent with one's cognitions; a strong will to diminish this state is mainly produced through self-justification. The individual may bind to the process of self-justification as a strategy for controlling the negative effects of dissonance. Whilst trying to maintain a good reputation and give a good impression of oneself to others, moral dissonance can diminish.

Internal and external justification are distinct. Internal justification is linked to hedonistic dissonance wherein the individual belittles their own actions, thus causing self-harm by justifying an unfavourable action. In contrast, external justification is employed to diminish dissonance by reducing the responsibility for the dissonant act, for instance making excuses for oneself by suggesting actions are out of one's control. A positive amplifying feedback loop begins with immoral behaviour, incorporating the processes of self-affirmation and justification, triggering more immoral behaviour in the "deadly embrace" of the cycle (Lowell 2012: 22). Lowell's research into immoral behaviour of managers through self-justification has similarities with this research into the *self-justifying of rural women*, even though the perspective here is different, as the focus is on *prioritising the needs of others*.

The concept of justification

The concept of justification is discussed in philosophy (Fumerton 2002; Nicholson 2009), and psychology (Burkley and Blanton 2005; Lowell 2012; Piper 2017), social psychology (Holland, Meertens, and Van Vugt 2002) and social economics (Bilchitz

2008). Justification is an epistemological question, wherein knowledge is derived from the understanding of how beliefs are justified. Justifying in order to deal with those beliefs is thus related to epistemology (Nicholson 2009) by increasing knowledge of those justified beliefs (Fumerton 2002).

Hence, justification is the subject of metaphilosophical and methodological debates. In epistemology, theories of justification have been interpreted in different ways. Epistemologists differ about the goal of this: some are trying to define “the properties that *constitute* having justification while others are trying to identify properties upon which justification *supervenes*” (Fumerton 2002: 204). In addition, views differ as to whether believing a given proposition means having justification for a belief or having a justified belief (Fumerton 2002: 206). Whilst some epistemologists focus on features of justification, others describe the characteristics of the phenomenon which is followed by justification. Self-justification has been taken into account in empirical investigation in psychology (Piper 2017).

Justification is seen as the reason that someone holds a belief: it supports the claim by diminishing the doubt, thus the philosopher’s task is to increase knowledge through the justified belief (Fumerton 2002). However, in philosophy, empirical involvement in the discussion about justification is not justifiable. The empirical, rather than psychological, understanding of some phenomenon explains the given belief and how it has emerged. However, theories of justification are numerous, involving various understandings regarding its meaning, the identified properties of the phenomenon of a belief, and the reason why it is either justified or not.

The concept of justification is related to normativity (Piper 2017), that is, to what some think “ought” to be, causing an epistemically irrational belief in a given proposition. Without epistemic reason, belief can be justified or rational within a given set of assumptions (Fumerton 2002). In justified belief, for instance, the probability of the desired outcome may be reached by believing in one’s own efforts. For example, if one lives within the boundaries of power relations, one’s own effort will be rewarded in the future. Despite the boundaries which affect an individual throughout their lives, that person may maintain a reasonable belief. The belief in and the reason for a given proposition are either justified or not, depending upon the epistemic and nonepistemic reasons for the probability of the truth.

Hope of self-dignity

The case of justification beyond reason, in justifying oneself as a whole person, “the self itself and its existence” (Nicholson 2009: 78), is connected to self-dignity. The concept of *hope of self-dignity* explains the hope of improved conditions²² which occurs to some extent in justifying oneself. Dignity means worthiness as a human being, a relative rank, and being in line with others. The whole existence of the

²² “justification is something for which we *hope*, seeking as we do for what might afford a justification for our existence” (Nicholson 2009: 79).

individual is based on justifying oneself, as one's ontological being – in order to diminish the fault of one's being or existence. “The move to justify one's being is therefore the sustaining core of self-righteousness” (Nicholson 2009: 90). Additionally, hope is invested in the future. This represents “*long-term hoping*” in the expected value of “*drudging*” for others. One may believe that having dignity, even for a while, is based on belief in being a “valued person”. The maintained beliefs are then justified in terms of one's reasonable action, for which the belief is maintained. The probable truth proposition is derived from the belief in one's own behaviour.²³ “The belief for which the person had prudential reasons that resulted in the increased probability... what one *epistemically* ought to believe” (Fumerton 2002: 205, 208).

Justifying oneself, as defined in this study, contains three prominent aspects of an individual's personal conditions whilst living within “*external expectations*”: temporal (constant), distance (within limits), and quality (tolerance). In the dynamics of hope (Kylmä 2000) hope manifests itself as a basic resource for recognising constructive possibilities in one's own life related to belief in a life worth living, both now and in the future. In contrast, despair appears as an active state within narrowing existence (Kylmä 2000). Therefore, hope of improved conditions is maintained by avoiding all the variables that may diminish existential hope. “The homeostasis of hope” (Thulesius 2002) comprises three variables: existential hope, the value of every lived moment, and expected time left. When the expected time left is low it diminishes the value of the lived moment by rapid diminishment of existential hope. In this study, hope has temporal aspects or dimensions. For instance, *silent hope* of self-dignity constantly has an effect, whereas hope can be socially *invested in the future*, whilst *endless hope* emerges strongly when one feels self-dignity.

According to Neal (2012) the conception of dignity should be seen in relation to the intrinsic worth of all human beings, rather than restricted to human rights documents, where its meaning is inconsistent.²⁴ Dignity should be used to invoke or justify an ethical principle, for instance, “*sanctity of life*”:

But we can positively value vulnerability for its role in dignity-creation without... linking dignity to the possibility of self-destruction: simply by understanding human existence in terms of an existential balancing, or

²³ “suppositional reasoning does not make sense if we do not view perceptual justification as deriving from perceptual reasons”; “For if I am justified via the rule, then I am competent in the use of R. And if I am competent to use R, then I am propositionally justified via suppositional reasoning in believing perception is reliable.” (Cohen 2016: 217–218.)

²⁴ The Western conception of human dignity refers to a pragmatic fashion in policy makers' usage and is not suitable for identifying universal common ground. “The *potential* is intrinsic, not the realization. If so, then our capacity for morality, which is contingent on autonomy and freedom, not only distinguishes us, but is also the goal of dignity-focused policies. Construed as a potentiality to be realized or protected, human dignity can serve both as a diagnostic and as an orientation for those involved in policy processes.” (Mattson and Clark 2011: 306.)

equilibrium, we can appreciate the centrality of vulnerability to what we value when we value dignity (Neal 2012: 195).

In equilibrium, the conception of dignity is connected to the union of materiality and immortality in achieving balance in human life. “Here, the idea of balancing is clearly applicable: we conduct ourselves ‘with dignity’ when we behave in a way that exemplifies an appropriate balance between our finitude/materiality and our transcendence/immortality” (Neal 2012: 196). Dignity can be considered as an ethical imperative guiding how we treat others and helping us to focus on the equilibrium between the finite and transcendent aspects of our own nature: “the use of dignity as an ethical principle, or ethical imperative... ‘dignity’ is a claim or instruction about how we ought to treat other human beings” (Neal 2012: 197).

One’s own needs

One needs to meet the prerequisites for interacting in a group or a system in a desirable manner. Distinctions between *wants* and *needs* have been debated in fundamental philosophy. Wants are perceived goals justified by reason. Basic needs of the individual within specific circumstances – such as food or shelter – are related to the emotional and physiological traits of human condition. Needs (for instance, needs in securing life) are used to characterise strategies to achieve goals (Doyal and Gough 1984). The relationship between wants and needs is in evidence wherever people want to improve living conditions. Needs and wants are not measurable in the same way (Bay 1977, 1968). Each individual has their own authentic, “inner nature’s basic need priorities, so that their most salient wants may truly come to serve their needs” (Bay 1977: 4). Hope for a better future may be a demonstrable want, which may be motivated by the need for power to affect one’s social environment or direct one’s life. The concept of human needs is widely used, and it is only rarely defined practically or within researcher’s own beliefs about human needs than theoretically formulated.

The temporal aspects of self-dignity are experienced at different levels. The level of fulfilment and maintenance of needs will determine the sense of self-dignity related to hope of improved conditions. The temporal aspects of the sense and hope of self-dignity depend not only on the current stage, but also on the degree to which they occur at that stage. Accordingly, the degree of hope is dependent on social interactions but also on the individual’s current resources at each stage. The development towards self-justification is shaped by its direction and its temporal dimensions.

Believing in oneself

In previous studies, social acceptance has been linked to psychological well-being and increasing confidence (DeWall et al., 2010). However, the fear of negative evaluation is linked to loneliness and insecurity (Cacioppo, Hawkley, Ernst,

Burleson, Berntson, Nouriani, and Spiegel 2006). Anxiety pushes one to avoid being socially excluded (Buss 1990). Loneliness relates to social rejection and exclusion, which operate as stressors and diminish feelings of self-worth. In addition, loneliness is associated with a lower capability to rebuild, maintain, and recover (Cacioppo, Hawkley, and Berntson 2003; Cacioppo, Hawkley, Berntson, Ernst, Gibbs, Stickgold, and Hobson 2002). Self-esteem is seen to play a significant role in avoiding depression, and in experiencing a satisfactory life and a willingness to continue despite challenges (DeWall et al., 2010). Self-confidence plays a pivotal role in coping. For instance, an individual with high self-esteem makes positive choices (West and Sweeting 1997) and minimizes negative feelings (Smith and Petty 1995) due to coping strategies (Leary and Baumeister 2000).

Comparing different degrees of self-esteem, lower self-esteem refers to weaker performance under the leadership of toxic characters. With low self-esteem, more psychological distress and exhaustion was found, including lower performance. In addition, self-esteem, self-efficacy, emotional stability and locus of control associate with an individual's self-worth, abilities and control (Chang, Ferris, Johnson, Rosen, and Tan 2012). Characteristics such as exploitativeness, entitlement and aggressive tendencies were more likely to be coped with by self-confidence and tolerance than with lower self-confidence when one is vulnerable to abuse.

Lichtenberg has considered whether altruism²⁵ and altruistic acts exist at all. When benefiting others, it is obvious that one expects the favour to be reciprocated. Particularly, achieving one's own satisfaction may be a motive for helping others. The altruism of an individual's acts depend on that person's psychological state in the situation in which they act. (Lichtenberg 2014.)

Different cultures view the self and individualism from different perspectives. In interdependent cultures the self is seen as a part unit; in independent cultures, the self is its own unit (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Self-criticism appears more frequently in the interdependent cultures (Heine, Lehman, Markus, and Kitayama 1999) as a mechanism for self-regulating expectations.

Thus, the path towards justifying oneself leads to a more stable condition when the individual performs without interruption. However, the effect of external expectations may be diminished by tolerance of one's qualities or traits in terms of justifying oneself. Additionally, the movement may either change direction or stop, temporarily or completely. Thus, the structure within which an individual is enclosed shifts to a new one, which may be similar in every way. For example, unequal treatment forces a person to change where they live or find another cooperative (for

²⁵ "But there's a more fundamental reason why evolutionary altruism does not amount to altruism in the ordinary meaning of the term...we want to know whether they intended to benefit another person (recognizing the cost to themselves) or whether their reason for acting was to benefit another (without regard to personal gain). Whether people act altruistically, then, depends on their psychological state, on what is going on, or not going on, in their minds when they act" (Lichtenberg 2014: 213).

instance, if a cooperative reduces pay to farmers although the quality and amount of produce remains the same). The discontinuance can be complete and enforce action within new structures (such as from natural and physical causes). In addition, the change to new structures may change the direction of movement. The new structure within which the person is embedded may diminish the benefits of the cooperation. Or else, a new law that has a new article for the person's benefit is interpreted in a different way. Moreover, the new article and the parallel law may revoke each other. Misunderstandings and self-interested goals revoke existing structural conditions and establish new ones.

Perpetuating

The efforts rural women make are recognised by the governments in low-income countries. With regard to this, through her skills, capabilities, and even willingness, a rural woman is thought to be fulfilling an economic and social function: she is strengthening poor rural areas by securing life resources for community members. However, the lack of recognition of the status of rural women, the lack of quality in policy practices, and legal plurality all provide challenges, and even laws do not always aim for the same targets (Dancer 2015; Rwebangira 1996). Due to this, the social and legal aspects of a rural woman's responses to life within structural conditions have been taken into consideration in planning and implementing many development projects (see, e.g., WORLD BANK 2020; UN Women 2019b; UN 2018).

To focus on social level practices, marriage is socially controlled by subjugating an individual and their social status. For example, according to customary law, forced marriage still exists as a *legally binding social institution* regulated by traditional and codified laws. The functionality of these incomplete law mechanisms, particularly for those who are vulnerable according to them, show a system still far behind in terms of equal treatment of people.

Even though many developments have been achieved,²⁶ the understanding or misunderstanding of this binding institution still exists. Re-regulated laws to balance those vulnerabilities have been taken into account, however the matter persists. Knowledge, understanding and misunderstanding, attitudes derived mainly from beliefs, are all involved in the law mechanisms in terms of “*planning*”, “*implementing*”, and finally “*targeting*” how the system is expected or not expected to function. “Any country with a mixed legal system and a mention of traditional, customary, or Islamic law is recorded as having a plural legal system” (Sarich, Olivier, and Bales 2016: 473).

²⁶ See UN Women, Progress of the World's Women e.g., in *Pursuit of Justice* (2011) on legal plural systems, and 2015–2016, 2019–2020. <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2019/progress-of-the-worlds-women-2019-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=3512>

In most African communities, the strong cultural background reflects the gender imbalance of a maintained biases against women. This attitude not only prevents women's development but also fails to see the potential of most women to participate in community development (Michael 1998).

An "individual's power should be characterized not in absolute terms but as falling on a continuum relative to the power of others" (Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson 2003: 269). In an asymmetric power relationship, external *expectations* refer to the predictability of one's behaviour. As such, the social structure is characterised by power asymmetries between actors and *expectations* shaped by the *needs of others*. In the group or system, community representatives control the social acceptance of lower-power holders through rewards and subjective judgements (see Fiske 1993). These representatives of the dominant group use tactics to control lower-power holders. In this situation the participation of lower-power holders is restricted compared to that of the higher-power holders (e.g., *limited decision making*). Power appears as a property of this social relationship rather than a trait of the actor and functions in a social relation of mutual dependence (Emerson 1962).

According to Article 1(1) of the 1926 Slavery Convention:

Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.²⁷

Article 7 (a) of the Supplementary Convention (1956) states that:

"Slavery" means, as defined in the Slavery Convention of 1926, the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised, and "slave" means a person in such condition or status.²⁸

Conversely, once one's behaviour is maintained as expected, one's social position is judged as reputable. The movement to improve one's personal conditions through justifying oneself is constant. Though lower-power holders are dependent on the external expectations of higher-power holders, they both take advantage of each other. The system, including expectations, takes advantage of the self-justification of a rural woman, and vice versa. Thus, the development in which justifying oneself occurs feeds on involvement in expectations and the condition of the individual. To maintain a reputable existence, the individual needs occasional involvement with expectations in order to maintain resources appropriately.

According to the analysis, acquiring a social position by successfully completing tasks in hazardous conditions brings gratification and confidence in one's worth.

²⁷ See Slavery Convention. 1926, art. 1(1).

²⁸ See Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions of Practices Similar to Slavery (1956).

Strengthened social position in the hierarchy enhances not only interactional advantages but also one's abilities to take more responsibility and to challenge oneself. Nevertheless, the advantages gained regarding resolved and successfully maintained expectations seem not to affect one's social position in the hierarchy. Strengthened status in the hierarchy confirms existing personal conditions, rather than improving the status of individuals. Moreover, education seems to be irrelevant to attitudes and traditions which mainly affect expectations. Based on the analysed data, external expectations continuously influence the life of the individual and their achievements in respect of their social position along their entire path towards self-justification. In the theory of *self-justifying of rural women*, performance expectations of an individual eventually determine the conditions within which that individual continues to develop their abilities. Expectations affect personal needs to develop abilities to move towards strengthening one's social position; this can only be achieved in relation to the needs of other interactants. Thereby, the theory of self-justifying of rural women comprises the behavioural process of an individual as well as needs derived from expectations and evaluated outcome. In this theory of self-justifying, one's tolerance of life within expectations depends on the effect of limits. Limits include the fulfilment of one's own needs and acts as a moral agent²⁹ involved with behavioural and attitudinal patterns, which provide an ability resource. The effect of the limits varies depending on the extent to which needs are fulfilled and this determines the maintenance of the movement towards self-justification.

Although features of other studies mentioned above resemble the traits of the individual strategy identified in this research, this strategy is based on concepts which emerged from the analysed data regarding the main concern of the participants and how they are resolving it. Accordingly, justification for one's existence is achieved through maintaining the behaviour and attitude of *prioritising the needs of others*. This is the basic social psychological strategy by which one's existence is justified in order to maintain a desirable existence. Justification may be performed in terms of one's successful accomplishment or existence regarding participation. One's act depends on one's moral duty to perform beneficence. One's act is justified by the reason for the action in terms of advantages. "When the agent or a critical observer weighs the possible detriments of the action against the reasons for it, and finds that the reasons outweigh the detriments, the deed has been justified" (Nicholson 2009: 78).

²⁹ According to Nicholson (2009) the maintenance of moral behaviour is not dependent on the conscience of the individual, rather the conscience directs us towards authenticity and once this has proceeded, the individual will become their own moral agent.

3.8 Summary of the Theory of Self-justifying of Rural Women

Through *self-justifying*, an individual achieves a safer state. This defines the process through which well-being is improved by the achievement of increased safety. The outcome of the process is manifested by increased and decreased maintenance of limits. If the outcome of self-justifying is desirable, it will facilitate maintaining limits. If the outcome is not attained successfully, the maintenance of the limits, drawn from expectations, will be diminished.

Self-justifying is the basic social psychological process, by *prioritising the needs of others*, through which justification for oneself is achieved. Hence, the limits facilitate justifying oneself. The limits formed by one's own needs are generated from expectations. These limits are related to the behaviour and attitude of the individual in terms of *prioritising the needs of others*.

Expectations are set and controlled by externals. These expectations are achieved through *targeting, implementing, and guiding* the overall level of acceptable existence of the individual. By *prioritising the needs of others* successfully, one may achieve the justification for one's own existence. Therefore, justification for oneself through the fulfilment of the needs of others is a prerequisite to improving one's own state. The expectations based on the *needs of others*, once fulfilled, enhance one's own living conditions.

This substantive theory of *self-justifying* shows how people respond to expectations and focuses on features which enable the process to be successfully completed through to the safety state, including additional features which maintain continuous movement towards justification of one's own existence.

When their state of being improves, the individual gains confidence and self-dignity. This increased confidence and dignity brings a feeling of safety when living within expectations, as a shelter towards the conditions. External expectations fill the personal conditions and have a constant effect during the lifespan of the individual. Consequently, *willingness to overcome* these conditions in order to improve one's personal conditions emerge from the analysis as a main concern of the participants. Although expectations constantly influence the personal conditions of the individual, their intensity may vary with the effect of the limits.

In this research, the pressure on self-justifying varies depending on the needs to achieve justification for one's own existence. This act is performed in relation to *hope of self-dignity*. The intensity of hope varies. The maintenance of limits, by *prioritising the needs of others*, affects self-dignity. Sometimes, hope is manifested due to positive outcomes of *drudging* and *struggling* in the present moment. Fulfilment of one's own needs is affected at the same time as hope increases. Sometimes, hope is embedded in the future, through investing in an expected outcome. At times, due to some intervening contingent event, hope decreases rapidly. As hopelessness is prolonged, the present state does not support the continuum. In the stages when hope is low, achievement of one's own needs is still necessary for self-justifying. However, prolonged hopelessness decreases one's need to justify oneself.

4 Discussion

In this chapter, I discuss each phase of the study process, from choosing the grounded theory via estimating its usefulness in the analysis towards assessment of the substantive theory. Additionally, I consider ethical viewpoints on the process, followed by options for implementing the grounded substantive theory, and suggestions for future research.

4.1 Choice of the Grounded Theory

The intention was to use grounded theory methodology to find the main concern of the participants in this study and how they resolve it. The elements of their main concern are explained by the basic social process, which involves structural and psychological aspects. The enthusiasm for using grounded theory methodology played a pivotal role in this study process. However great the interest in learning about the methodology, it was a long process and it will continue. It takes approximately one year to understand grounded theory methodology, and from eighteen months to four years³⁰ to find out the main concerns of the participants and explain these through the basic social process for a doctoral dissertation (Glaser 1998). Completing this process actually took me longer.

I began this study process by learning about the Straussian grounded theory methodology (Strauss and Corbin 1990a), a modified version derived from the original grounded theory methodology (Glaser and Strauss 1967). By using Straussian grounded theory methodology I was able to learn how to analyse qualitative data by coding it, the aim being to derive concepts through open and axial coding for categories and concepts for the purpose of theory building. In selective coding, categories are created, and these are then combined around a core category. The coding is carried out on written memos from the beginning until the very end of the study process. Memos of the study subject are then sharpened through the study process. In open coding, interactions and actions are compared in order to form categories and their subcategories. “In axial coding, categories are related to their subcategories, and the relationships tested against data” (Strauss and Corbin 1990b: 13). For instance, the concept of “securing”³¹ emerged by comparing incidents in the data through conceptualisation in 2014; this was the only concept taken into the study process which began in 2015. I found that using a “coding paradigm” of the Straussian grounded theory method left the analysis incomplete. Comparing Strauss and Corbin’s approach, I found it paid less attention to emergence than the

³⁰ Grounded theory methodology seminar led by Dr Barney Glaser in Mill Valley, San Francisco, 06/2015 and 11/2015.

³¹ Securing is a property of the sub-category “*prioritising the needs of others*” of the category “*maintaining needs*”. In Glaserian grounded theory, the concepts are expanded by writing memos on them.

Glaserian's analysis. This is because Strauss and Corbin began the study process with the broader view: for instance an analyst may write memos about influences of the study process (Charmaz 2008: 159). Using the modified version of the original grounded theory gave me too many options for approaching the problem. However, it was great fun learning to make conceptualisations of the data, categories and their included concepts by comparing incidents to incidents. After realising that I needed to find a methodology which prioritised the main concern of the participants I decided to learn about Glaserian CGT methodology (Glaser 1978; Glaser and Strauss 1967) in which "Glaser expands his view of emergence" (Charmaz 2008: 158). This decision was my fundamental basis for dealing with the data. Even though the study process was time consuming and challenging, this analysis was most fruitful, carried out with memos of the concepts rather than incomplete concepts, thus providing a theoretical explanation of the social phenomena under study.

To adopt a learning process to use CGT methodology based on the original study of Glaser and Strauss (1967, 1965) was not only difficult, as the process is long and painstaking, and the core that will emerge is unclear, but it provided an outstanding way to refrain from imposing preconceptions about what the analysis might look like. To learn to trust in the emergence of the data was the most difficult aspect of this process. By analysing the data, the main concern of the participants shows through clearly; this is more useful than a methodology based on the analyst's thoughts. To trust in the emergence and the concepts derived from the analysed data instead of logically derived assumptions provides not only a great learning process but the optimal way "to generate an inductive theory about a substantive area" (Glaser 1992: 16). The process is explained by the concepts which are deductively derived from this inductive research (Glaser 1978: 38). Glaser (2012: 30) states "Categories, which are concepts, are not wondrous gifts, they come from the tedium of the constant comparative method linked with sensitive theoretical sampling and are constantly fitted to the data."

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990b) grounded theory derives its theoretical basis from pragmatism and symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1986). However, according to Glaser³² it is no use to talk about philosophical orientations of the phenomena, because this discussion will never end.

Abstraction by focusing on concepts frees an analyst to see what is actually going on in the data instead of trying to describe the problem (Glaser 2012). Moreover, through constant comparison, an analyst does not make any impact on the data and focuses on whenever and whatever emerges as relevant (Glaser 2012). The data needs to earn its relevance: "all is data", instead of forcing the analyst, for instance, into a constructivist vision that has been connected to grounded theory (see Charmaz 2000).

³² Troubleshooting seminar led by Dr Barney Glaser, 11/2015.

4.2 Estimating the Use of the Grounded Theory Methodology

The aim of this study is to understand what is going on in the lives of rural women in Northern Tanzania. Therefore, an inductively derived type of research was more suitable than a deductively derived type, which uses preconceived thoughts about the phenomenon found in the existing literature. In this inductive research, constant comparison of incident to incident and concept to concept in the data, provided the deductive base or “grounds” needed for further data collection (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005). The new data and emergent concepts guided me to find suitable literature for this study. The new data gave saturation to existing concepts and new concepts by shaping and aggregating all the parts together for the integration of the theory.

Grounded theory needs to have relevance and to fit, it must work, and it must be modifiable. To meet these four criteria, the theory is systematically generated from the data. *Fit* relates to the concepts which emerge directly from the data by a constant comparison of incident to incident and concept to concept whilst writing memos. Each concept is sharpened during theory generation. Fit includes two aspects: refit and emergence. This means the analyst needs to refit the categories or concepts to the data to indicate what is actually going on in the data. Moreover, in order to achieve emergent fit between the data and the category or concept, all excellent ideas must earn their place in the generation of the theory. This is achieved by constantly comparing whether the material is data, from the literature, or needs to be compared with existing data and memos to fit and work. (Glaser 1978.)

A theory needs to *work*. The three aspects of workability are: a theory needs to explain what has occurred, what will happen, and interpret the phenomenon under study. As the aim is to explain people’s behaviour, rather than the people themselves, the theory needs to work by explaining relevant behaviour patterns relating to the substantive area. (Glaser 1978.)

Relevance is met by the core and/or the processes as the analyst trusts in the emergence of the data. The theory needs to be relevant to those concerned in the substantive area. A relevant theory enables the main concern of the participant in the field to appear and shows clearly how they resolve it. (Glaser 1978.)

Finally, a theory needs to be *modifiable*. Modifiability means that during theory generation, all that emerges from the data is taken into consideration and there are opportunities to include new data. Therefore, by theory generation and a focus on the data the theory is able to be modified. A verificational study is more challenging because a hypothesis is difficult to modify in a short period and keep up to date. (Glaser 1978, 1998.)

A conceptual code links data and theory together and conceptualises the underlying pattern from a set of empirical indicators within the data. Theory is generated by these conceptual codes as indicators of the connections between concepts and their

categories. Coding provides a way to analyse data without staying on its empirical level by breaking the data by constant comparing it into the codes. There are two types of codes. Substantive codes conceptualise the empirical substance, whereas theoretical coding is how these substantive codes are related into the hypothesis (Glaser 1978). For instance, two substantive codes emerged from this study analysis, “*prioritising the needs of others*” and “*being judged*”. Then this was theoretically coded into a hypothesis as a consequence based on degree. Thereby, if prioritising the needs of others was minimal, the individual was more judged by others.

The core variable guides the analyst to collect more data and carry out theoretical sampling to find out how conditions and consequences are related to it. For instance, in this study after the second data collection, the core concern of *self-justifying* acted as a guide to further investigations. Concepts are formulated by comparing indicators to other indicators and to the emergent concept. Thus, the concept-indicator generation explains the dimensions of the concept (Glaser 1978). For example, the concept of *hope of self-dignity* emerged in this study. Its dimensions consisted of temporal aspects such as: stable *silent hope*, and hope invested in the future, which is conceptualised as *investing hope*. Both of these vary in degrees depending on the outcome of *self-justifying* by *maintaining* limits.

Using the concept-indicator model one may construct a typology based on earned distinction. This can be produced by either looking at the internal dimensions of the property or degrees of it. Typologies are used to define behavioural aspects, not people. (Glaser 1978.) For example, in this study, I created a typology of the criteria based on dimensions internal to a concept such as temporality and certainty.

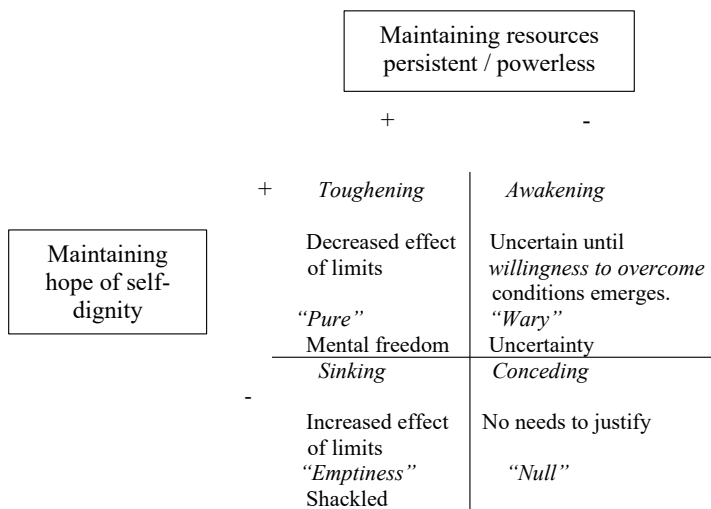


Figure 4. Self-justifying outcomes: tolerance to live within limits.

I constructed another typology of the outcome of self-justifying in terms of social position:

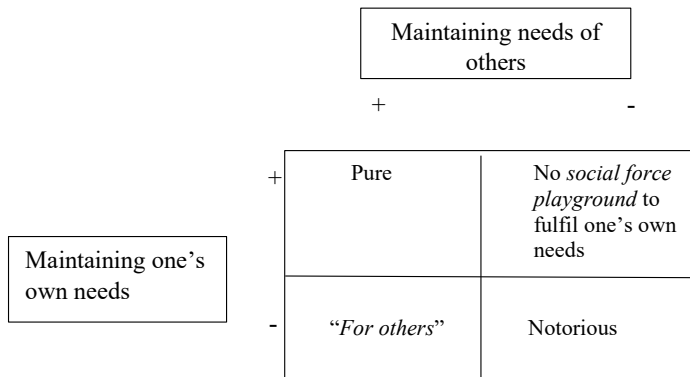


Figure 5. An example of the success typology of a rural woman.

4.2.1 Ethical viewpoints on the process of grounded theory analysis

According to Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) the grounded theory methodology is based on information emerging from the data rather than from logical assumptions. The path from data collection to integrated theory is constructed by the emergent knowledge which is based on the ideas that have emerged from the data. The aim is to learn about the phenomenon under study from the data, instead of using existing theories or preconceived thoughts. Therefore, the emerged concepts, their categories and properties form the unique parts that are inductively integrated into a theory that can explain the main concern of the participants and how they resolve it.

Thus, as the aim was to increase knowledge about the main concerns of the rural women and how they are resolving them, knowledge based on the data from the rural women played a pivotal role. The concepts, based on the data, became the most important elements in increasing knowledge about the main concerns and how they were resolved. This method of emergence from the data is both time consuming and financially draining; however, it proved to be a valuable way to gain information from the rural women for the purpose of this research. I analysed the data by writing and rewriting memos and by collecting new data. Only those concepts that explained the main concern and how it was resolved through the basic social process were taken into account. This comprised a series of actions: constantly writing memos, generating concepts, writing more memos, and generating more concepts that would fit and work well with the data. The only problem for the analyst is to be open and trust in the data. Pressure on the analyst is diminished by trusting in the data completely. Then, the process, its core, and its sub-processes eventually begin to emerge and explain the behavioural patterns of the participants:

GT is a general induction method which can use any type of data whether quantitative or qualitative... it is just a simple methodology that is based on a concept-indicator model... based on the interchangeability of indicators (Glaser 2005: 127).

In CGT methodology (Glaser 1967) it is important to be sensitive to the emergence of theoretical knowledge from the data. From the beginning to the very end, the focus is on the knowledge emerging from the data. Analysis is based on constantly comparing between and within incidents, and comparing concepts to other concepts, whilst continuously writing memos and ideas about the concepts and their interrelations in respect of integrating the theory based on data.

Analysis commenced directly after data was collected in the field. Any previous knowledge of the study subject or area could lead to misinterpretation of the knowledge gained in this early phase; in this study, I had previous knowledge about the research area. I took a great deal of time to find the correct starting point by taking the appropriate methodological steps. I sought to use a few qualitative approaches and one inductive grounded theory method with the data, but felt confused and worried that the real message from all the valuable data would be destroyed. However unaltered correct information was gained only by trusting in the data and a willingness to continue to find a solution. I was able to start by using the chronological order of the methodological steps of the CGT. I had already collected the data by open interviews and unstructured discussions with the interviewees. The main aim was to collect data by letting the participants speak in their own language and without interrupting them or using controlled prepared semi-structured questions. During the first data collection, I had realised in the field that it was a waste of time using structured forms as they did not allow the interviewees to use their own voice. Consequently, the second collection of data was carried out without using structured or semi-structured questions.

However, instead of being encouraged, I was filled with a sense of confusion and lacked confidence. The analysis process seemed unclear. Although I was willing to move forward, insufficient knowledge about how to do this combined with the need to carry out the process using the correct methodological steps, meant that the survival of the process was a struggle.

Having pre-existing information of the study area hinders the development of knowledge of the study subject. This is because pre-assumptions about the data lead the study away from any real development at the beginning of the study process. This became self-evident to me. In the early phase of analysis, acquired information from the field started to affect my preparations to learn about the methodology of grounded theory. The previously acquired information was so dominant that I felt the preparations to start the real methodological steps was a waste of time, however it provided real opportunities to learn something new. Once, after a long struggle, I started the real methodological steps, excitement towards the methodological steps

dominated the learning process. However, the change from a lack of knowledge to the excitement of gaining some knowledge had only a temporary effect.

As the grounded theory method began, another concern arose: how should the proper steps progress without appropriate knowledge of the methodology? Once the learning process has started, the steps of the analysis will progress in more depth, and become more comprehensive as the analyst starts to enjoy the grounded theory analysis. The excitement of learning about the concepts by generating categories and their properties eventually reaps rewards. Even though progress is made along the steps, alternately moving back and forth and partly simultaneously, it takes a long time to generate ideas based on the data. However, motivation to continue the learning process is generated. By systematically analysing data, the resources of the analyst are well tested. The analysis can be a painstaking process due to a lack of knowledge and a feeling of confusion about how to successfully manage the continuum by only trusting the data. This study progressed by not only moving forward, but also returning to the previous steps in a double-step process. This confusion about where to go next and how to manage the process tested my resources and resolve to the extreme. The phases of data collection up to writing the theory includes steps from theoretical sampling whilst writing memos for the emergence of a core. The basic social problem of the participants and the process by which they solve it will emerge from the analysis. The emergent core will then lead onto selective theoretical sampling and coding whilst constantly writing memos. When saturation of the memos occurs, the analyst begins sorting. Sorting entails the theoretical framework whilst generating more memos; these are also sorted. When the memos and new memos are sorted the analyst starts writing up the piles of data. (Glaser 1978.)

Holding onto the power of the data was my greatest challenge in this study. Only when I gained a greater understanding of how to allow the data to speak could I follow correct methodological steps. The analyst must not prevent the emergence of the concepts by forcing the method into the data or vice versa (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005). However, when I trusted the data, the core of the concern and its process for resolution eventually started to emerge.

I started to analyse using the grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin (1990a). Using this method, the analysis remains on a vertical level rather than a horizontal level, and proceeds by constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Therefore, I decided to make full use of the data by examining how the basic social process is carried out by explaining the behavioural patterns of the participants.

The relief at beginning the process from an “empty table” came after I participated in the first grounded theory seminar led by Barney Glaser, founder of the method. There was not any option to escape after realising the narrowness of the analysis that I had done before. Even though I could return to the existing information, I could not use it in the grounded theory analysis. New knowledge replaces the previous

assumptions from the study subject. Therefore, discovering the main concern of the participants and how they resolve it through the basic social process became the central hub of my study.

Whilst the grounded theory is generated from the data by integrating its emergent concepts and their categories (inductive method), the deductive method is manifested by the phase of further theoretical sampling. Thus, the grounded theory integration is based on an inductive research method, which can be used within other theories as a deductive process through further coding. Therefore, any existing theories enable extension of the scope of the existing grounded theory. (Glaser 1978.) The kind of data used, how it is analysed, and how it is recorded in memos depend on the analyst's resources. The data even has power over the study subject, but the analyst decides how much work will be undertaken. This can bring about both a temporal and financial gap for the analyst whilst prioritising the data. As the analysis provides concepts and categories that fit and work they are rewarded by transferring to another stage in the study process. The continuum is maintained only by believing in the data and its emergence from the very start to the very end of the modifiable study.

The emerging theory guides the movement throughout analysis towards theory integration. Consequently, theory integration is based on emergence rather than verification. In addition, the emergent theory integration generates the variables for hypotheses instead of using hypotheses at the beginning of the method. Whilst movement continues towards theory generation, the analyst becomes very familiar with the data collected, the method of collection and coding it, leading on to category development whilst writing memos. All these different phases of analysis encourage the analyst to concentrate fully on their data analysis. The analyst will develop an understanding of the data through the analysis and the main concern of the participants by explaining the basic social process theoretically. (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005.)

The aim is to generate an internal integration of connections of concepts in order to develop a dense, complex, and rich theory. This is verified by the phase of sorting. During sorting, the analyst writes more memos of the new concepts which are integrated into the theory. By writing about data instead of concepts, theory integration stays linear rather than multivariate. Consequently, during the sorting phase, existing literature can eventually be integrated into the theory. The existing essential literature engenders new memos and concepts, which are also analysed. These new concepts are brought into the sorting process and integrated into the theory. The analytic rules applied in the sorting phase encourage the analyst to begin preparations for writing the first draft of the manuscript. (Glaser 1978, 2005.)

The sorting phase forces the analyst to remain on a conceptual level instead of a descriptive one. This is due to constant comparison of categories and properties whilst thinking theoretically about how the concepts are integrated into the theory. Theoretical coding of the concepts prevents a descriptive explanation of the data

being produced. Therefore, since the concepts are grounded, the cumulative development of the theory is purely integrated by the concepts that fit, whilst omitting those concepts which are either over-conceptualised or pre-conceptualised or the analyst's own *pet codes*. (Glaser 1978, 2005.)

The sorting phase sets the limits of the theory integration by preventing over-conceptualisation. In order to avoid a very thin theory by over-conceptualisation, the concepts and their interrelations are limited purely to the focus on the core variable (Glaser 1978, 1998, 2005; Glaser and Strauss 1967.)

4.2.1.1 Collecting data and ethical principles

Once entering the field, a researcher has a responsibility for the participants studied (Pels 1999). Confidentiality about and trust from the participants plays a pivotal role throughout collection and storage of data, therefore it is appropriate to have knowledge of the harm which may be caused to the participants (Dilger, Pels, and Sleeboom-Faulkner 2019). The ethical principles begin on entering the field and continue to apply whilst writing and then interpreting the results. The ethical principles must be considered in every phase of research from collecting data to protecting and saving it (de Koning, Meyer, Moors, and Pels 2019). Therefore, with regards to the data collected, how to introduce oneself to the participants, how to collect, analyse, and save or store the valuable and sensitive source for the study, all play a pivotal role. Then, it is important to handle and analyse the data correctly, without doing any harm, and to save the information provided in an appropriate way. And finally, it is vital to present and interpret the results, by explaining what is going on in the life of the participants, whilst maintaining anonymity of the field work data, as a precondition for extracting knowledge from the participants (de Koning, Meyer, Moors, and Pels 2019).

The first data collection was conducted in February in 2011 and the second in April 2016. The first data was used in my master's thesis in 2012, but it was also used in this study. After entering the field, it was time to introduce myself to the participants. The participants were members of the producer cooperative, including members of the management team and farmer members. I introduced myself by telling them my name and the country where I am from. I had previously practiced introducing myself in Kiswahili whilst in the aeroplane. The participants were delighted to hear me speak my few words in Kiswahili, even though my skills were poor. During the rest of the introduction when explaining why I had arrived, I used English. English is widely used in Tanzania. Therefore, most of the management team members spoke good English. During this time, I didn't know about their background, age, gender, tribe, or if they had children and if they were married, single, or widows. The only information I had was that they were members of a producer cooperative located in a rural area near Arusha in Tanzania. Before I entered the field, I contacted the Finnish NGO that had both trained and supported the members. The interviews were conducted with the support of an interpreter from the Moshi Co-operative University.

The locations for the interviews were organised with the support of local rural actors, who I was in contact with before entering the field. Without this prior knowledge and support from both the Finnish NGO and rural actors in the field, my trip to Tanzania would have been a challenge.

During the first data collection in 2011, I had prepared semi-structured questionnaires for the interviewees and had them translated into Kiswahili. I had one recorder and batteries, paper, and pencils for the interview and for writing notes whilst observing. The Finnish NGO supported me by explaining to the management team that I was writing my master's thesis about the cooperatives. The members introduced themselves and asked me to come to their office where they had a small table with chairs around it. The room was dark and small. When the members had found their chairs and were settled down, they started to tell me about their cooperative, its history, present and future plans. Before they started to speak, I asked permission to make recordings. I put the recorder in the middle of the table for the management team members, few farmer members, and some external rural actors who were present. The management team members started to talk about their challenges regarding production, harvesting, animal feeding and how their own products had been marketed. The interview that I had prepared did not start. This was because they wanted to tell me about their long history within agriculture and the development of the cooperative activity. This was much better than I had ever envisaged. All the information provided was valuable. After a break and change of venue more suitable for the interview, I decided to only partially use the prepared semi-structured questionnaires and prepare an open discussion. All the participants were asked for their permission to take part in the interview. I realised I was ill prepared regarding the organisation of the interview. During the short field period, I spent time with the management team members, made observations and took notes, and recorded irrespective of whether we were in the forest, field, or sitting around the table. I even recorded my own voice on my mobile phone when I did not have time to write things down sufficiently well or I could not find any hard surface to lean on. Whilst visiting the farmer members' farms, I mainly used the mobile to record all the observations. Eventually, when it was time for the interview proper, I had had time to think about how to begin the interview. I decided to hold the interview in the yard where there were chairs around a big table. There were four to six people participating in each interview. The interviewees were from the management team and farmer members. I put the recorder on the table, and I started to ask questions. I had decided earlier that I would not use all the questions because whilst spending time with the cooperative members previously, some of my questions had already been repeatedly answered in the discussion sessions or by observation. The interview was conducted with the interpreter, who was a representative of the local NGO. Whilst the interview was in progress, I noticed that the recorder did not work properly. So, I decided to continue to record with my mobile so I would not miss out on any data. After the data was collected, I started to write down the data sentence by sentence. I made notes on my observations and the

translations from the interviews every night. The farmer members were interviewed during the visits to their farms. Some of their husbands were also interviewed. I ensured that the interview venue was as comfortable as possible. In the early phase of the first interview the interviewees remained quiet until I started to speak. The semi-structured questionnaires were only partly used as the rest of the time the interviewees were happy to talk about their experiences within the cooperative. The most valuable data came from the open discussion.

Part of this collected data was used in a case study for my master's thesis in 2011. Those results appeared artificial and too descriptive, but this doctoral study provided the opportunity to analyse the data more fully.

During the second data collection in 2016, I asked the following question in the interviews: "Can you tell me about your life?" This is an appropriate way to collect data when using grounded theory methodology. The interpreter was involved in the interviews. I had had questions translated into Kiswahili. I also asked the participants to write a letter either in Kiswahili or English telling me more. I found the data collected from the letters to be most valuable. I had two recorders and spare batteries, paper, and pencils for the interview and for writing notes whilst observing. During the previous data collection in 2011, the device broke down and because of this, I had another one ready to ensure the recording of interviews would not be disrupted. The local NGO that I made contact with before entering the field supported me appropriately by telling the members of the producer cooperative that I was conducting interviews for a doctoral thesis. Some of the participants had also participated in 2011, but also some new members were involved. The classroom that I rented for the interviews was bright and peaceful and was located in the rural area. As on the previous occasion, the interview venues were as comfortable as the conditions allowed. When the members had settled down, I explained the aim of the interview. The interpreter who supported this explanation was a representative from the Moshi Co-operative University. All the participants were asked to give their permission to take part in the interview and during the interviews, I asked for permission to record. The participants in previous interviews remembered me and wanted to tell me about their challenges within the cooperative. I wrote these observations down. All the information I received was very valuable. After the data was collected, I began to write down every sentence. I wrote every day about everything I had observed or what was translated from the interviews.

The most valuable data came from the observations, letters, and from the interviews by using one question: "Can you tell me about your life?"

4.3 Practicability of the Grounded Substantive Theory of Self-justifying

The dissertation is about the life of women in a rural agricultural Tanzanian context. Tanzania is a rapidly growing country in East Africa and the majority of the population lives in rural areas and relies on agriculture. Despite growth in the economy and agricultural production, the rural population struggles due to a lack of poverty reduction. A better understanding of the life of rural women who do most of the farm work in Tanzania is significant since an improvement in their lives has an impact on general poverty reduction in this context.

The aim of this study was to find the main concerns of the rural women and how they resolve them. The resulting substantive theory of self-justifying provides an understanding of the features of a rural woman living within expectations. The theory may be applied to people who experience life within external expectations to improve their personal conditions, including perspectives on social behavioural attributes.

Various previous development projects in regard to women living within expectations include closing gender gaps through business training (Bardasi, Gassier, Goldstein, and Holla 2018, 2017), psychological aspects (Donald, Koolwal, Annan, Falb, and Goldstein 2017), considering cognitive skills with women farmers in planning and implementing policies (Montalvao, Frese, Goldstein, and Kilic 2017), including women in development processes to narrow the gender gap in agriculture (World Bank 2020), and increasing decision making power (Hinson, Clement, and Thompson 2019). Yet areas of gender equality still require attention (Balasubramanian, Kuppusamy, and Natarajan 2019; Chigbu 2019; Chigbu, Paradza, and Dachaga 2019; Klugman, Hanmer, Twigg, Hasan, McCleary-Sills, and Santamaria 2014) particularly the social behavioural aspects of designing, planning, and implementing more equal opportunities between people.

This substantive theory provides knowledge about how an individual rural woman experiences life within expectations and develops her own living conditions. By *self-justifying* by prioritising the needs of others through *sinking*, *awakening*, and *toughening*, she may gain confidence.

4.4 Suggestions for Forthcoming Research

This study proposes that the main concern of a rural Northern Tanzanian woman when living within external expectations is to achieve self-justification related to hope of self-dignity. The substantive theory of self-justification explains how she resolves this main concern in her life. This substantive theory introduces various conditions and elements in strengthening the personal conditions of an individual through self-justification within limits to be considered for further research. Since self-justification itself has been widely studied it is appropriate to take into account the conditions of the limits of the individual when considering expectations around them. Particularly, further research is needed on how to improve the personal conditions of rural women.

First, this study presents concepts that may be used in further research on improvement of the personal conditions of rural women. This study presents an account of how rural women resolve life by maintaining the behaviour and attitude of prioritising the needs of others for achieving self-justification.

Second, this substantive theory of self-justifying may be used to relate or measure quantities and qualities in designing instruments for targeting, planning, and implementing the mechanisms needed to improve the personal conditions of rural women.

Third, this substantive theory of self-justifying may be used in other disciplines to study the individual living within expectations and to examine the features involved in the coping mechanisms used, such as maintaining one's own behaviour and attitude in order to maintain the acceptable existence. Additionally, the theory can be used to consider the operations involved in maintaining those expectations around the individual.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Characteristics of the participants.

No.	Marital/social status	Age			
A1	wife	75/80	A45	wife	45/50
A2	wife	60/65	A46	wife	45/50
A3	widow	65/70	A47	wife	40/45
A4	widow	65/70	A48	wife	40/45
A5	widow	65/70	A49	wife	40/45
A6	wife	65/70	A50	wife	40/45
A7	wife	65/70	A51	wife	40/45
A8	wife	65/70	A52	wife	40/45
A9	wife	65/70	A53	wife	40/45
A10	wife	65/70	A54	wife	40/45
A11	wife	65/70	A55	wife	40/45
A12	wife	65/70	A56	wife	35/40
A13	wife	60/65	A57	wife	35/40
A14	wife	60/65	A58	wife	35/40
A15	wife	60/65	A59	wife	20/25
A16	wife	60/65	A60	wife	15/20
A17	wife	60/65	A61	single	25/30
A18	wife	60/65	A62	single	25/30
A19	wife	60/65	A63	husband	75/80
A20	wife	60/65	A64	husband	65/70
A21	wife	60/65	A65	rural actor	60/75
A22	wife	60/65	A66	rural actor	60/65
A23	wife	60/65	A67	rural actor	45/50
A24	wife	60/65	A68	rural actor	30/35
A25	wife	60/65	A69	rural actor	30/35
A26	wife	55/60	A70	rural actor	25/30
A27	wife	55/60	A71	rural actor	25/30
A28	wife	55/60			
A29	wife	55/60			
A30	wife	55/60			
A31	wife	55/60			
A32	wife	50/55			
A33	wife	50/55			
A34	wife	50/55			
A35	wife	50/55			
A36	wife	50/55			
A37	wife	50/55			
A38	wife	50/55			
A39	wife	50/55			
A40	wife	50/55			
A41	wife	50/55			
A42	wife	50/55			
A43	wife	45/50			
A44	wife	45/50			

Appendix 2. Guide to sorting memos for analysis (Glaser 1978: 120–127).

1. Begin sorting anywhere from the piles of memos.
2. Write memos during sorting and sort them into the integration.
3. Begin sorting categories and their properties only if they relate to the core category.
4. Sort only for one core category, sometimes there may be two, and focus on those properties which relate somehow to the core. Notice how those properties are related to the core and write memos about how they relate to each other. Write memos about the theoretical code of the relation of a concept to the core.
5. Sort and integrate the concepts as they fit in the outline, otherwise the integration must be modified. Keep on asking, “where does it fit in?”
6. The last level of sorting the memos may be sentence by sentence.
7. Explain the theory with the fewest possible concepts with as much variation as possible of the behaviour of the main concern under study.

Appendix 3. Categories and properties of sinking.

Stage of the subcore category	Categories	Properties
Realising one's own worth	Loss of safety	Being neglected Being ignored
Questioning one's own meaning	For the benefit of others	Absolutely nothing <i>[in vivo]</i> "even if you are a president they don't care about you" "Even if I'm in a hospital a man doesn't care"
The state of emptiness	Fear of one's own coping	Standstill despair Diminished trust
Awakening of hope		Decreased hope of one's dignity

Appendix 4. Categories and properties of awakening.

Stage of the subcore category	Categories	Properties
Willingness to overcome conditions	“ <i>To get further</i> ” Not subordinated	Believing in one’s own efforts
Being necessary	Believing in one’s own efforts	“I’m the only one who does all of this” “Everything is in women’s hands” [<i>in vivo</i>] Faster and skilled
The state of being wary (uncertainty)		Hope of one’s own dignity Decreased believing in one’s own efforts Diminished believing in others

Appendix 5. Categories and properties of toughening.

Stage of the subcore category	Categories	Properties
Willingness to overcome conditions	<i>“To get further”</i>	Believing in one’s own efforts Distrust due to experiences Internal controlling Ability to take responsibility
	Believing only in oneself	Believing in oneself Expecting oneself to be strong Expecting oneself to manage situations
Being isolated	Internal controlling Believing only in one’s own efforts Independent responsibility bearer	Expecting oneself to cope with challenges

Appendix 6. Categories and properties of a state of being pure.

Stage of the subcore category	Categories	Properties
Believing in oneself	<i>“Capacity is power”</i>	A confident manner Calmness Enthusiasm to develop oneself Managing situations
		Believing in oneself Believing in one’s own efforts
Mental freedom	Source of safety	Faith in tomorrow Light at the end of the tunnel
Unused resources	Willingness to manage one’s own life	Increased willingness to develop oneself Willingness to make one’s own decisions
	Independent responsibility bearer	Sense of independence A feeling of having business

