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Situational Analysis of Education of Girls/Women in Tanzania

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1. Introduction

In the field of education, women lag behind globally. Out of 948 million illiterates in the world, two thirds are women. In 1990, 130 million children had no access to primary school, of these, 81 million were girls. Gender disparities are widest in the following regions: South Asia, Middle East., North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. The high illiteracy rates in most of the developing countries and particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa has been singled out as the most severe impediment to the advancement of women and to the, development process in general. Furthermore, education is said to remain the most powerful tool for the social, economic and political integration of women. Education is also said to be instrumental in promoting tolerance, democratic values, political awareness and respect for the human person.

Existing data indicate that, women in Sub-Saharan Africa have an average of less schooling than in any other region of the world, that is just one year compared to a male average of two years. There are however, variations per country. Women in Seychelles, for instance, have on average the largest amount of schooling in Africa (4.4 years) although the gender gap is large. While Mauritania, Guinea-Bissau and Mali have on average the least amount of schooling, in the region, that is, one-tenth of one year compared to male average of a half of one year, hence have the largest gender gap in the region.¹

Sub-Saharan Africa moreover, has the lowest gross female enrolment and has the second lowest female literacy in the world (after South Asia which has the lowest literacy rates and largest gender gap). The literacy rates of women and men in Sub-Saharan Africa is 36% and 59% respectively. There are however, some variations with countries like Madagascar having the highest rates of female adult literacy, that is 73% and smallest gender gap in the region. The gender ratio is 0.83%.

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Gender gaps exist at all levels of schooling with some few exceptions such as Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius and Swaziland which do not have significant gender gaps at all levels of schooling. Countries like Chad have the largest gender gap at the primary levels of schooling and the second largest at the secondary level. Equatorial Guinea has the most severe gender gap at the secondary level in the region with the ratio of 0.18, despite the fact that female enrolment at primary school is at the rate of 81% of the male rate which is slightly above the regional average- with both sexes enrolling at a gross rate of about 100%.

In some countries like Mali, however, girls remain enrolled in primary school at rates that are approximately 60% of the boys' rates, but experience difficulties in gaining access to secondary level education. Girls drop out at greater numbers than boys at secondary school levels. While countries such as Tanzania which at one point seemed to have overcome problems of a gender gap at primary school level have had problems of accessing girls and retaining them at secondary level. The gross secondary enrolment gender ratio in Tanzania is 0.75 which is suggestive of lower access for females at this level. It is estimated that the gross secondary school enrolment gender ratio is 0.50 despite a primary completion ratio of 0.81. Statistics indicate that fewer girls complete secondary school level than boys with a completion ratio of 0.64. The condition is worsened at tertiary level with a gross enrolment gender ratio of 0.22. In sciences and technological subjects, the proportion of girls to boys is even smaller. A study conducted in 1988, which covered 20 countries, indicated that females were a minority in all levels of higher learning and mainly concentrated in art related streams. The data indicated that Ethiopia, had, during that particular period a total of 16000 students at tertiary level of which females were 3520 or 22% and males were 12480 or 78% respectively. In terms of subjects, 59% of those in Arts were females and 41% were males. Admittedly, the Ethiopian case was considered to have been unique in the 'sense that the majority of students were in the sciences'. A country which was a typical example of the African case was Tanzania which had 6200 students at tertiary levels, with 83% males and 17% females. There were 65% and 35% enrolled in the Arts and Sciences respectively. Female enrolment in Arts and Sciences was 76% and 20% respectively.

We locate the existing educational gender inequalities in the socio-economic and cultural norms and attitudes and particularly those which assign women a subordinate position in the society. That is, the relationship between women and men and particularly the power dynamics between the two genders as it, affects participation of both genders in the educational process. This in turn shapes the perceptions that inform curriculum designers, text book writers, audio-visual aids designers as well as teachers and pupils.

In the field of knowledge, it has constrained women's participation as producers and consumers of knowledge. Men have had an advantage of dictating what is to be learnt, who is to learn it and how it is going to be used. The existing gender gap in the educational process does limit and constrain women's intellectual input in the production of knowledge. This factor affects the capacity of communities in producing balanced knowledge about social variables as well as limits efficient utilisation of human resources for development purposes.

Educational stereotyping does reinforce existing oppressive gender relations and perpetuates women subordinate status in our society. Education is thus playing a very vital role in the social construction of women and men in the Tanzania society through allocating gender specific packages which reinforce the oppressive gender relations. This factor contributes significantly to educational underdevelopment which in turn limits the country's ability to fully utilise all factors of production, particularly the human capital resource.

Many structural factors influence whether women and men derive equitable benefits from educational processes. Education about our social capacity to transform gender relations can take place in the home, the school, the community and the workplace. We can encourage people to create gender relations that are empowering rather than oppressive. The liberating effect of understanding gender as a social construction makes it possible to appreciate how the relationship is structured, attitudinally, socially, institutionally, politically and economically. It is in this context that this paper seeks to analyse the situation of girls and women in the Tanzanian educational process.

The first part of this paper will address the policy issues and educational practices as they perpetuate or redress gender imbalances. This will be followed by an analysis of the participation of girls and women in the educational process. Factors which determine the level and nature of women and girls participation will also be explored. Such an analysis will provide grounds for the recommendations made in the concluding chapter.

2. The Policy Environment

2.1. Constitutional and International Conventions

The government of Tanzania has taken a very strong position on the general principles of equality and human rights. Both the constitution of the United Republic and that of the ruling party CCM is built on the principles of equality before the law, based on the principles of human rights. Article XI of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania provides for equality in education and technical training. As a matter of principle education and specifically primary and basic education is a human right which is supposed to be guaranteed by the state.²

The Tanzanian government is also a signatory to the UNESCO Convention against discrimination in education. The government has moreover signed and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against women. Article 10 of this convention asked state parties to 'take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education, which includes same curriculum, examination and standards for teaching and scholarships. It calls for life long education, equal participation in sports and elimination of stereotyped content.

In addition to the above, the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 put particular importance on female education and the role of women in the development process. The Government of Tanzania is, a party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (adopted by UN General Assembly in 1989), and the Declaration of the World Summit for all which underscored the principles of equal rights of girls to education. The OAU International Conference on Assistance to African Children (Nov. 1992), which the Tanzania government was a party to, reaffirmed the commitment of the Children's Summit and the World Conference on Education for African Girls. The World Summit for Children calls for an end to gender apartheid. Tanzania, moreover, took part in the Pan-African Conference on the Education of Girls and the Ouagadougou Declaration which, among other things, called upon governments "to give priority to equity (and equality) and define a target for improving girls education within the framework of national development plans" (UNESCO/UNICEF:1993).

The government has also ratified both the International Conventions on Civil and Political Rights and the International Conventions on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, popularly referred to a Women's Convention. This convention was signed by the Tanzanian government in 1985. The Women's Convention as one observer notes, "adds the female half of humanity to the total human rights picture." This implies that Tanzania recognises that gender inequality exists, and it promises to generate the necessary political will to redress all forms of discrimination based on sex.

As signatory to the Women's Convention, therefore, Tanzania is, as provided for in Article 3, committed to "take, in particular, in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise, and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men." The signing of the

Women's convention commits the government into taking specific measures to eliminate gender discrimination. Article 2 of the Charter for instance commits all parties to

pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end undertake: (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate means, the practical realisation of this principal: (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions which are appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women; (c) to establish legal protection of the rights of women on equal basis with men and ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective-protection of women against any act of discrimination ...

Article 3 commits all parties in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on basis of equality with men.

Article 4 calls upon governments to take affirmative actions on a temporary basis to accelerate de facto equality between men and women.

While signing and ratifying UN instruments and provisions in a constitution do not in themselves guarantee gender equality, they nevertheless provide a point of reference for the mobilisation of efforts directed at achieving the reality of national equality. It also reflects a commitment to support women's struggles for equality before the law and in other spheres of society. Both the constitution and the legal instruments are therefore necessary and have a normative value in achieving equality. It is in the light of this context that we tend to review educational strategies and commitments which the Tanzanian government has pledged to undertake in order to eliminate gender apartheid in the field of education.

2.2. Educational Policy Strategy Commitments

The Tanzania government has also spelt out some strategies of enhancing gender parity particularly during this time when the economy is liberalising. The following are some of the measures which the government has committed itself to do in order to enhance and sustain gender parity.³ These include:

1. Guarantee access to pre-primary and adult literacy to all citizens as a basic right.
2. Promote and ensure equitable distribution of educational institutions. The government will hence do the following:

- (a) Planning for the establishment of educational institutions.
- (b) Review educational act no.25 of 1978 to make it an offence to deny a child access to education due to sex, creed, political persuasion or socio-economic status.
- (c) Identify sector services distribution complementing or assisting in those areas where there is a deficiency.
- (d) Establish an educational trust fund in order to assist schools and individual children.
- (e) Encouraging individuals, communities, NGOs and public institutions to establish, manage and administer educational institutions.

The Education Policy document however, considers women as a disadvantaged group. Special programs for orphans, girls, and street children will be supported. Resources will be made available to disadvantaged groups.

Despite these commitments, Tanzania is far from achieving gender equality in education. There exists some structural factors which continue to disadvantage women. As statistics show, at all levels there are fewer women than men who complete different educational packages, and their performance rate is lower than that of men. Female participation in higher levels of education particularly University, technical and in science related disciplines is extremely low. To make matters worse, there are very few women curriculum developers and fewer women who make important decisions on what is to be learnt, by whom, and how it is going to be utilised in the Tanzanian educational process.

Studies have identified structural factors which determine access, completion rates, and performance. These in turn determine whether or not women derive equitable benefits from the educational process. These include: teenage pregnancy, gender stereotyping forms of education, declining quality of education, parents attitudes, lack of role models, and insensitivity to the specific gender needs of girl children in learning environments. These factors underscores the need to concretise the educational policies which strategize implementable activities.

Education is a double-edged sword. It can have two dialectically opposed impacts. On the one hand, education can be used as an intervention strategy which legitimises subordination, submissiveness and docility, hence it can perpetuate gender apartheid. If the content of education is stereotyped, and if the methods are full of gender biases, education will not bring about changes in peoples attitudes and norms even if women get access to education in large numbers.

On the other hand, education has a great potential for transforming the

society if it is utilised to conscientise men and women on the need for gender equality. The potential of education in transforming the society will be enhanced if curriculum is changed in order to remove all gender biases, textbooks are reviewed with gender sensitivity, and if the content is also reviewed in order to make it gender responsive. This is the context within which the causes of gender inequalities in the Tanzanian educational process is going to be explored in the section which follows.

3. Basic causes of Gender Inequalities at All Levels of Education in Tanzania

This section, explores the major determinants of the gender gaps in education. For purposes of analysis, these factors are categorised into non-school and school factors. These factors are however, inter-related as they tend to overlap.

3.1. Non-School Factors

3.1.1. Socialisation

Gender is the social construction of what it is to be a man and what it is to be a woman. This social construction defines the gender roles assigned to boys and girls and determine the social position of both boys and girls, women and men. It assigns female gender a subordinate position while the male gender is assigned a superior position. This total process of socialisation is therefore the major single factor which affects the schooling system in its totality. It determines the attitudes and perceptions which contribute to the designing of the curriculum, it affects the content of the educational process, as well as shapes the distribution process and consumption of knowledge. It defines who produces knowledge, how it should be produced, and who should be—the major clients, and for what purpose. Discriminatory practices can thus be traced in the life cycle of the Tanzanian woman. This discrimination is reflected in the manner different societies express preference for male children through differential treatment of girl child from birth. Various rituals including naming of the child, announcements of the newly born child, preferential treatment of mother and child and so forth illustrate the different values attached to male children and female children. The impact of these practices on the development of children and particularly how this impacts their participation in formal schooling remains grey areas yet to be explored.

The majority of children in Tanzania and particularly those in rural areas do not go through a pre-primary school. By the time a child is enrolled in school, he/she would have formed most of his/her perception of her/his gender roles. Such perceptions are shaped by the very social status which women, hold in the society and through what women transmit to the young boys and girls of their

social roles. Women are considered custodians of culture, and yet, they are responsible for the transmission of cultural values, attitudes and norms, which assign them an inferior social status relative to that of males.

The social construction of both genders is further enhanced by the existing dominant religions and belief systems. In Tanzania, both Christianity and Islam have some aspects which condone male superiority over a woman. In both religions, the man is supposed to be the "head" of the household. This is regardless of his mental, physical and material composition. Such existing norms and values affect the social construction of women and men and therefore determines sex roles which in turn influence the nature and level of women's participation in the learning process. This process does impact the way people define and construct their culture.

3.1.2 Whose Culture?

Culture constitutes the totality of peoples ways of life, their values, moral principles, ideology, religion and social practices. A culture can thus be a force of liberation or oppression. Male dominated ideologies have tended to use culture to justify oppressive gender relations.

So-called African culture has been used as a smokescreen by some African male and a few female scholars, particularly those who have defended the subordinate status of African women, to conceal existing gender oppression, and hence justify the perpetuation of oppressive gender relation. And yet what exists of African culture today is a mixture of Arabic, European, Indian, Chinese and a host of other cultural influences which the continent has been exposed to over centuries of exposure to the external world. In the history of humanity all existing cultures have had to deal with oppressive elements in their cultural practices. Africa and indeed Tanzania cannot be an exception to this rule. It is through these struggles that slavery was declared obsolete in human culture. And indeed it is through similar struggles that gender discrimination will have to be declared obsolete in the development of human society.

In terms of production of knowledge however, and particularly with regard to the role of women in producing knowledge, African societies might have something to offer humanity if properly studied. Although little is documented of the role of women in the process of producing knowledge, living examples demonstrate that women in the African cultural context, and probably in other societies, were knowers, and that they played a very instrumental role in transmitting that knowledge to both boys and girls in their societies. In African societies for instance, herbal medicine was not a gendered discipline. Both men and women practised as herbalists. Today, that field is stereotyped into doctor and nurse, with nursing being constructed as female occupation with less

remuneration while a doctor is socially constructed as male discipline in the country.⁴

Knowledge about plants, animals, birds, and living things was not a monopoly of one gender. The individuals who in some cultures were considered as rain makers were both men and women who had ability to also predict rain (meteorologist) because of their understanding of the ecological and environmental patterns and living things.

It could be that in some areas, women's knowledge was superior to men due to their biological differences and vice versa. In my own cultural background, "gynaecology and paediatrics" (even though these fields did not have such sophisticated terminologies) were fields essentially dominated by women, understandably so since they had the advantage of biological experiences in child bearing and rearing. Some had knowledge on how to take care of premature babies until full maturity, and how to deliver still born babies, or babies who were in bad positions in their mothers uterus before birth. Both men and women had knowledge on how to treat various types of fractured bones.

We could cite many other cases where knowledge was not monopolised by one gender. This includes areas such as spiritual leaders in the African societies such as Spirit Mediums who provided some moral guidance to the community during the time of peace and war.⁵ Indeed, in the traditional African societies, science and art were not gender constructs.

Not only is the wealth of this knowledge dying, but the ungendered nature of the traditional knowledge has been replaced by very stereotyped knowledge which seeks justification in "an African patriarchal culture". While the patriarchal ideology might provide an explanation of the other aspects of the women's subordinate status, it does not explain the gendered nature of the present day educational process. This is indeed an area which needs more careful multi-disciplinary study which will explore the process of knowledge in the African cultural practices and the position of women as knowers, consumers and producers of knowledge. By fishing out these positive aspects of the African culture, we shall be able to dismiss contemptuously the portrayal of African culture as the most oppressive and most brutal of all cultures which human kind has gone through.

Through the socialisation process, knowledge is also engendered. Any meaningful attempt to redress the gender imbalances in the educational process has to focus on the total process of the socialisation of the child from birth to death. Such a holistic approach will thus re-examine some of the socio-cultural practices and norms which cause gender imbalance, the abuse and misinterpretation of culture and values with regard to the position of women in

the African society, and the power relationship between men and women within the cultural milieu of the African society. In this context, culture and indeed the African culture has to be considered as a dynamic force which is capable of changing the oppressive cultural practices including existing oppressive gender relations.

In essence, I would argue that formal schooling had introduced the present gendered patterns of learning which reduced women into objects of knowledge and not subjects of knowledge. It defined gender roles and reinforced patterns of gender oppression.

3.1.3 Cultural Attitudes and Gender Roles

The present gender specific tasks and the subordinate status of women, has resulted from various socio-economic changes in our society. For instance, the migrant labour system affected the traditional sexual division of labour 'through forcing women to assume roles assigned to both male and female genders. This explains why women are so overburdened today. It is estimated that women contribute 71% of their time for different activities on the farm and household chores. This is compared to 19.1% for men and 9.3% for children. The present division of labour and particularly the heavy load which women carry has to be located within the context of colonial legacy.

The tasks which women carry out are also given low value. Women's workload has been identified by many studies as one of the major factors contributing to poor performance of girls as compared to boys. It is further argued that in the household, women are farmer, extension worker, cleaner, cook, storekeeper, nurse, teacher, water and firewood collector, lawyer, diplomat of the family and so forth. But despite the heavy workload, it is observed that women do not benefit from access to appropriate technology that would make their work and life easier, neither is scientific knowledge directed at improving the social reproductive tasks which women perform. This tendency, it is further argued, can be a disincentive to female education and particularly in the fields of science and technology.

As a result of, and because of the above, mothers tend to rely upon the support of the female children for labour input to complement their own workload as well as part of the socialisation process. During a crisis period in particular, women's demand for labour in the income generating activities increases. This is a factor which can force female children to drop out from school, or force them to balance schooling and domestic chores. This can impact on girls performance. The heavier load which women carry, does affect their participation in the schooling system generally as well as determines the nature of their participation.

Studies of achievement and performance in Tanzania have revealed that

girls perform better in boarding schools than in day schools. Tadreg (1991) established that more girls from boarding schools qualified for form 5 selection compared to those in day schools. It has also been found out that 23% of boys compared to 17% of girls in boarding schools were selected to join Form 5 while 25% of boys from day schools were selected compared to 13% of girls from day schools. There are two possible explanations for this scenario. It is possible that boys attending day schools get more parent attention and supervision as they are expected to be future bread earners. It is probable that parents might be investing slightly more in the boys through paying tuition fee. This is however, an area which needs more scientific study.

The better performance of girls in boarding school is associated with less workload. In boarding schools girls are relieved of the domestic chores, and are in greater control of their labour, hence better performance.⁶ But as will be illustrated in the subsequent sections of this paper, the best performing girls school has been a day Advanced Level school.

But while the workload can explain the poor performance of girls and probably their ability to complete studies successfully, it might not be telling us the full story. To date, many street children especially those supporting families in petty business are boys and girls and in some towns such as Moshi, and Arusha, boys appear to outnumber the girls. Moreover my own experience and from interviews with fellow women who have made it through the apex of the educational ladder does suggest that some women have succeeded because of the support they have been getting from their mothers much as mothers are portrayed as a cause of poor performance of girls through allocating differential gender roles. We need to document more carefully the role mothers have in facilitating participation of girls in the educational process and the support they give to enable them to successfully complete their schooling. Nevertheless, the existing division of labour and particularly the heavier workload which women carry does explain to a limited extent the nature of women's participation in the educational process. This does contribute to gender inequalities in the educational process. Related to the above is the existing attitudes of the society with regard to sex and sexuality and women's sexual rights.

3.1.4. Sex, Sexuality and Gender Inequality

Sex, as observed by McFadden,

is one of the most basic human activities, bringing us closer to other members of the animal world in its commonality as well as in its essentially instinctive nature. The biological component of sexual need is generally overlooked or underplayed, because humans would like to emphasise their unique characteristic of choice and decision making. (McFadden in Meena:1993:167)

Knowledge about sex and sexuality have been eliminated in the formal learning processes. And yet, recent studies carried out in different parts of the country reveal that both boys and girls engage in sexual relationships at a very tender age with girls experiencing it at a much earlier age. The impact of such experience on the educational processes including its effect on the development of both cognitive and psychomotor skills, remain grey areas to be explored. However, it is known that motherhood at a very young age is a common phenomenon in many societies⁷ including Tanzania. Early child bearing continues to be an impediment to improvements in the educational, economic and social status of women in all parts of the world. Early motherhood and early marriages severely curtail educational and employment opportunities for girls. It is in this context that the International Conference on Population and Development which took place in Cairo 1995, and in which Tanzania participated, recognised in para 7.3. of the Program of Action, that "full attention should be given to the promotion of mutually respectful and equitable gender relations and particularly to meeting the educational and service needs of adolescents to enable them to deal in a positive and responsible way with their sexuality."

The introduction of formal education undermined the traditional patterns of initiation of young people into adulthood which included sex education. And yet the schooling system did not introduce alternative forms of sex education, or family life education to substitute the traditional system. As a result of this, girls and boys have been left to explore and experiment with their sexuality without guidance. This factor results in teenage pregnancy and has been the major single factor which contributes to girls drop out from formal learning institutions. The problems of school girl pregnancy is well documented and we need not go into its details here.⁸ Figures available show that more than half of girls who do not complete their primary and secondary school education are those who become pregnant. In 1987 for instance, out of 86 girls who did not complete school, 49 were expelled because of pregnancy. Only two boys were expelled during this time because they were responsible for impregnating girls. This is out of the total 38 boys who did not complete their secondary education during this period.

In a nutshell, some of the causes which seem to run through all the cases are: lack of knowledge on contraceptives, economic related problems, distance from school to home area, attitudes of the society regarding women and men's rights to sex and sexuality, rape and sexual violence. (Puja, 1992; Tumbo-Masabo, 1992; Shuma, 1992; Ntukula, 1992; Rugumyambeto *et. al.*; 1992 Mbilinyi *et. al.*, 1991).

Pregnancy has been one the major factors affecting girls completion of

secondary education. While the actual figures shown in official data is not high and while we doubt the reliability of these figures the effect of pregnancy on teenage girls cannot be ignored. There are some who commit suicide, others undergo illegal abortion which endangers their lives, and yet others dump the babies or abandon them. In one recent survey which covered 13 schools for instance, revealed that between 1979-82, there were 7 deaths related to pregnancy. In the same sample the survey revealed that there was an average of 42 cases per year which totalled to 168 cases. This is much higher than the official statistics from the Ministry of Education. These findings underscore the need for a more systematic study to cover a more representative sample of all the schools in the country.

The above underscores the need to, have an appropriate sex education in the educational system which will have to be supported by some mass programmes to educate and sensitise the public on this problem. The Ministry of Education has dragged its feet for too long in debating on whether or not sex education should be introduced in the schooling system. The debate on this aspect dragged for years until 1989 when the Ministry of Education introduced family life education in a few selected schools as a pilot study. During the same year the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar, created a unit, to study the possibility of introducing family life education in all the educational programmes (Puja:1992). A pilot study is a mechanism to postpone the issue. The extent at which these initiatives will successfully address the problem of sex and sexuality will very much depend upon the commitment of the whole society to readdress the issue in the context of the prevailing values and attitudes with regard to women's rights to sexuality.

The "moralists" have been arguing that sex education will be a license to extra-marital relations. And yet the moralists have no mechanism to control the young men and women from engaging in sex. Neither do they have solutions to the problem of school girls pregnancy other than the penalty to terminate their studies and shoulder mothering responsibilities at a very tender age. The Ministry of Education has a regulation requiring termination of girls from schooling if pregnant. Boys are also expelled if they are found guilty of causing pregnancy. Statistics show that very few boys have ever been penalised by the existing policy on expulsion thus assuming that girls willingly choose to become pregnant and expulsion is the only form of punishment which will also deter others from engaging in extra-marital relations.

Pregnant students are doubly punished, first by having their school life prematurely terminated, and also by shouldering the responsibility of child care single handed at a very tender age. It has taken so long to introduce family life education because of the existing attitudes and values about sex and sexuality.

MacFadden argues that sex for reproduction is one of the oldest and most resilient elements in the establishment and maintenance of patriarchy and male power in all human societies (McFadden in Meena:1992).

Related to the attitudes towards pregnancy, is the existing aura of silence concerning sexual abuse and sexual harassment in all institutions of learning and in the communities at large. The problem is further compounded by the existing serious problem of the killer disease AIDS and some of the myths regarding its cure. Some AID victims have been misled to believe that sex with virgins has some curative effect. While cases of rape by AIDS victims is yet to be explored, the increasing number of HIV positives in the schools cannot be ignored.⁸ In a very quick survey in some schools in Dar Es Salaam for instance, it was established that 200 girls were HIV positive in Dar es Salaam.⁹ This covered a very small sample of the school population in this city. A few of these HIV positive cases admitted that they were forced into sexual intercourse with people they feared to name. This scenario further implies that the issue of sex and sexuality and lack of proper educational programmes which address these issues is not only causing a waste of human resource through the drop-out of girls from schools but is also threatening the lives of young people in this age category.

The factors summarised above cannot be analysed in isolation of the school factors. As already indicated, attitudes and cultural values influence the way curriculum is designed, the nature of content, and methods of imparting the knowledge. Hence there is an inter-linkage between the non-school factors summarised in the preceding section and the school factors to be summarised below.

3.2. School Factors.

3.2.1. The Pedagogy and Gender Oppression in Schools.

In 1967 Tanzania issued a policy statement which spelt out the implementation of education in the socialist state. Education was intended to "liberate" the individual through encouraging participatory pedagogy. The document moreover, condemned irrelevant educational models which limited the development of the creative capabilities of the Tanzanians. The document emphasised practical teaching as opposed to theoretical rote learning which characterised the colonial educational system.

Both the document and its interpretation at operational level did not essentially question the gender biases in the curriculum and in the educational process as they undermined the rights of both sexes to have a more balanced form of knowledge. Both the teaching and the content of science for instance

has been constructed as a masculine factor which discourages female participation in science subjects. And yet, in the history of science, great minds of both men and women have contributed towards scientific innovations.

At operational level, moreover, the implementation of the document did not challenge the "macho" environment, in the institutions of learning which might be limiting equal participation of females and male students in the learning process. The "macho" environment is portrayed in many forms, at primary school level, the corporal punishment and rote learning, in secondary schools, sexual violence which is reinforced by authoritarian systems of administration and male domination in certain disciplines especially in sciences, this is carried through all learning institutions including the University where wall literature popularly referred to as "Mzee Punch" institutes disciplinary measures to females who do not conform to the dictates of stereotyped behaviour.

This is an area which needs systematic studies to analyse the impact of the schooling environment on the education of females and boys. Issues of corporal punishment, teacher/student relationship, boys/girls interaction in co-educational institutions, types of punishments and regulations being applied in single sex and co-educational institutions and their impact on female participation, as well as some of the unwritten but observed rules which assign social position to female learners, are some of the areas which have yet to be explored in order to understand how the environment promotes or limits female participation in the learning process.

At this juncture we can only make some few propositions from my own personal experiences as a former student and school teacher. The use of corporal punishment in primary schools, and authoritative pedagogy have an impact on the learning of both boys and girls, and might be impacting on the girls in a more negative manner. This is an unexplored area of analysis.

The primary school syllabus for instance is extremely overloaded and provides little room for sports and outdoor activities. For most children, and particularly girls, schools are the only venue where they could find leisure and creativity. The, primary school system offers very little space for children's recreation. Sports and particularly those which would promote and develop girls' competitive spirit are hardly encouraged. Instead, traditional dancing which exploit the girls' sexuality are the only form of recreation to the majority of primary school girls. Alternatively, boys engage in more competitive games and sports such as football, athletics and so forth.

School administration tends to encourage gender stereo-typing by assigning boys leadership positions as prefects while girls act as deputies or assistants. In the few single sex primary schools, the existing regulations promote submissiveness and very little assertive skills are built. This scenario is also reflected in secondary schools.

Some of the regulations which are applied in single sex girls and co-educational boarding secondary schools for instance, are those which can only be found in the 18th century English novels. Until today, there are headmistresses who would be reading letters of the students to ensure that they are not having "illegal" relationships with boys. In the few boys schools I have been in, this habit which is an extreme form of distrust does not apply. Visiting hours are very restricted for girls, and in some cases, the names of the 'legal' visitors have to be known by the teachers. Outings during weekends is out of the question in some schools and in others, once per month at most. This is not the case with boys-only schools. Frequent inspections of their personal belongings is carried through by teachers and headmistresses to ensure that the girls are not in possession of "illegal" literature including love letters. Female teachers and particularly matrons and headmistresses are extremely hard on the girls for lack of better alternative pedagogic methods of teaching and relating to the young and sexually active women. The trauma which these girls go through is an area which has to be studied. But the other part of the story is that teachers and heads of school spend a lot of their energy in implementing these archaic regulations and probably less energy in the teaching of actual subject matter. This can also frustrate teachers who do not conform to the existing rules.

While the list of rules and regulations are probably well intended to "protect" the girls from early pregnancy which brutally affects their completion of schooling, there are no similar efforts to enhance their confidence and assertiveness. The boarding facility while assuring greater completion rate and probably higher achievement ratio, does not contribute significantly in building confidence and assertiveness. It thus breeds very submissive female secondary school leavers.¹⁰ This affects their lives in post secondary and other tertiary sectors as well, as well as their total perception of their being. It is no wonder that at the University level, girls are subjected to all forms of submission which they seem to accept without challenging.¹¹

Corporal punishment and other forms of punishments and disciplinary measures which are administered on boys and girls can have some negative impact on the learning process, and might be affecting girls in a differential manner. As a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Tanzania has to respect all the implications of the declaration. Any form of physical violence against an individual ought to be considered as an abuse of one's human rights. The school children are not exempted from this. The trauma which girls go through after corporal punishment imposed probably by a headmaster, or a male teacher as well as by fellow women is yet to be analysed in relationship to their performance. The utility of this in the learning process also has to be scientifically studied.

It is however, probable that teachers resort to oppressive pedagogic methods due to lack of appropriate and alternative facilities in the teaching. The individual teachers and particularly women teachers are working under very oppressive working environments as will be reviewed in the section which follows.

3.2.2 The Condition Of Teachers

Teaching as a career is attractive to females on two main grounds. It offers some job security to women more than many other professions. By its very nature it facilitates greater opportunities for further studies and for job mobility both horizontally and vertically. Although the backgrounds of highly placed women in the various sectors of the economy is not documented, there are many women I know who have high profile jobs, who were ex-teachers. The Hon. Getrude Mongella for instance, who has risen to the post of Deputy Secretary General of the UN, as the President of the Beijing Conference, was a teacher/tutor. The Hon. Thabita Siwale (MP), who was the first woman Minister of Education was also a teacher. The Honourable Kate Kamba (MP) who once was a Deputy Minister of Industries was also a teacher. The late UWT chairperson, Mrs. Sophia Kawawa, was also a school teacher. It is also probable that quite a number of women holding middle level managerial positions in government and parastatal and private enterprises were former teachers.

The profession of teaching however, is one of the least paid professions in this country. And yet, teachers and particularly primary school teachers have been overburdened with extra curriculum national activities such as literacy campaigns, national census, election monitors and poll watchers and so forth. Official statistics indicate an increasing trend of primary school teachers from 92,586 in 1985 to 1,155,540 in 1994 which is an overall increase of 16,601. Four out of 10 primary school teachers are however, females. There is however, regional disparities. In places like rural Zanzibar, many schools do not have female teachers while in other places like Dar es Salaam city, most of the primary school teachers are female. (Tadreg: 1991).

Low salaries, heavy work loads particularly in the extra curriculum assignments, low morale and archaic teaching methodologies are some of the issues which affect the teaching and the learning environment in the schooling system. This scenario is also prevalent at secondary school levels.

Secondary school teachers are either diploma holders or graduates from universities. A diploma level is attained after completion of form six plus two years doing a teaching courses in one of the teachers colleges offering teaching course at this level. From 1988 to 1992, there has been a fluctuation in

enrolment for the Diploma Teaching course for females with a discernible pattern. This has been: 40.1% (1988), 2.9% (1989), 112.9% (1990), 8.2% (1991) and 36.6% (1992). During the same period, the trends for the enrolment of male diploma holders has been as follows: 27.51%, 4.6%, 34%, 13.1%, 45.4% respectively. Female graduate degree holders represent a skewed number. From 1989 to 1990, the percentage of female teachers in the mentioned field was as follows: BA. Ed. 27% (1986); 25.% (1987); 29% (1988); 26% (1989), and 26% (1990) In the field of science the percentage is even smaller. During the same period percentage of female science teachers was: 13%, 13.6%, 14.3%, 18.5%. 18.6% respectively.

The smaller proportion of females in the teaching career at the secondary school level does affect their impact as role-models to female students, and also reduces their bargaining power on gender specific constraints in the profession. Their access to the positions of influence and power is also limited by their numerical representation. It is no wonder that after three decades of independence, Tanzania has had only one female Minister of Education. In educational administration, the highest post held by women has been at directors level.

Both the horizontal and vertical mobility of the government and parastatal workers is gender blind. Promotion of men and particularly where such promotion entails physical mobility treats women however qualified as appendages of their spouses. My own personal experience is illustrative. I graduated from the University of Dar es Salaam in 1971 with a strong upper second division. I was immediately recruited by the Department of Political Science as the first Tanzanian woman member of the teaching staff. As I was already married, my husband requested the Ministry of Education to transfer him from Kibaha to the Institute of Adult Education which was affiliated to the University. As a response to this request the Ministry transferred him to Marangu Teachers College which was hundreds of kilometres from the University.¹² In the subsequent transfers, the Ministry totally ignored the fact that I was a highly trained person. Each time he was transferred, I had to request the Ministry to also transfer me. Fortunately, the job market in teaching is not easily saturated, and therefore my husband's transfers did not throw me out of the labour market. But it definitely affected my life career. It was not until nine years later that I was able to pursue a second degree.

Because of irrational transfers of spouses, some schools are over-staffed, and yet others are extremely under-staffed. The teacher/pupil ratio in secondary schools which reflect an under-utilisation of human resource capacity does not however, give us a total true picture of the distribution of these teacher per region and urban or rural area. It also does not provide a picture of the student/teacher ratio per certain subjects.¹³

The official teacher/pupil ratio does portray an under capacity utilisation of the human resource. The official statistics for instance illustrate that from 1988 to 1992, the ratio for both public and private schools was as follows: 1:18 (1988); 1:19 (1989); 1:22 (1990); 1:19 (1991); 1:19(1992). For public schools, that ratio was: 1:14, 1:15, 1:15, 1:17, 1:16, and 1:16 respectively. For private schools, the ratio was: 1:23, 1:25, 1:28, 1:24, and 1:24 during the same period. The average ratio can however mislead, because these statistics do not reveal how teachers are distributed across subjects and in regions. Overstaffing and understaffing results from lack of capacity to plan for rational utilisation of the human resource. This is particularly so when it comes to planning for the utilisation of female-qualified human labour which is considered as an appendage of the spouse.

But despite the seemingly reasonable workload for secondary school teachers, these teachers work under very hostile working environment. For the past three decades, the Tanzania government has been going through a socio-economic crisis which has also created a resource supply crisis. Scarcity of text books, teaching aids, journals, laboratory equipment and so forth, makes the teaching career a very boring and frustrating job. Teachers are the only reliable source of knowledge due to lack of reference materials. Reliance on lecture methods tires both students and teachers.

But while teachers are expected to be the major source of knowledge at this level, they are incapacitated by the fact that they do not have facilities to increase their own knowledge base. This factor has gender differential impact. Female teachers can be particularly constrained by domestic workload in their attempt to search for extra material to supplement their knowledge base. Worse still, when training opportunities arise, they have less chances for further advancement due to marital obligations or due to gender-biased nature of the post graduate programmes. The existing post graduate programmes inside the country and outside need to be analysed from a gendered perspective. Some of the gender specific constraints have to be identified in order to ensure equal participation of both sexes in these programmes.

3.2.3. Gender Imbalances in Education:

Gender, is a social definition of womanhood and manhood. A distinction is hereby made between biological differences and sex. Whereas, sex is what one is born as, that is the biological difference, gender is a social attribute which varies with time, place and culture (Meena:1992) . As a social construct, therefore, gender can be deconstructed. The schooling system can therefore contribute towards reinforcing gender stereotyped roles or alternatively, it can contribute towards transformation of the gender roles through facilitating gender sensitive educational processes.

Gender bias in education would therefore refer to an educational process which is insensitive to the gender constructed roles as well as the biological difference. It treats women and men as gender neutral objects with similar educational needs. It further assumes that the learning process is a gender neutral process which is not affected by the existing oppressive gender relations, and which in turn does not affect the gender relations. Although the Tanzanian government has condemned sexual discrimination in its constitution and while it is a signatory to various human rights instruments including the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education,¹⁴ there seems to be little progress in rectifying the gender imbalances in the development process generally and particularly in the educational process. This section posits that girls/women in Tanzania have had less access to education, their completion rates is lower in all levels, while their transition to higher levels of learning is extremely marginal. Their performance is lower and hence they are less motivated in aspiring for higher levels of learning. This, in turn tends to affect their general participation in other socio-economic and political aspects of the Tanzanian society.

The section which follows, will examine the gender imbalances in the different levels of formal learning in Tanzania. We start by examining the primary level.

1. Gender Imbalance in Primary Education

Primary education in Tanzania, was declared universal and compulsory. This had made it possible for the government to realise gender equity in terms of access at this level. Statistics on enrolment are not reliable. The Ministry of Education statistics for instance indicate that by 1985, Tanzania had acquired the highest primary school enrolment in Sub-Sahara Africa that is 96% of the age 7-13 age groups. By 1988, female enrolment at primary school had reached 49.4% of total enrolment and by 1989 that percentage had reached 50%. Thereafter, that percentage gradually declined from 49.2% in 1990, to 48.5% in 1991 and 48.6% in 1992 (BEST:1988-92). In absolute figures female total enrolment in primary school declined from 1,585,140 in 1980 to 1,580,130 in 1985 which was a decline of 0.3%. By 1992, enrolment of females at this level is recorded to have reached 1,769,580 which was an increase of 12%. It was hence speculated that, if the declining trends continued, the government plan of attaining 100% enrolment by year 2000 would not have been achieved.¹⁵ Table 1 illustrates this scenario.

A statistical analysis carried out by the Tanzania Development Research Group (TADREG, 1991) however, illustrated that whereas primary one enrolment increased by 60% between 1977 and 1978, reaching a peak in 1983, the rates of enrolment were not sustained as a downward trend was observed

between 1979 to 1980. The study further noted that Primary 7 enrolment fell by 12% between 1981-1990.¹⁶ This is contrary to the statistical information in Table 1.

Table 1: Women Enrolment as a Percentage of total Enrolment 1988-94 (Primary Schools)

Educational Level	1988	1989	1990	1991	1994
Primary Education					
STD 1	49.4	50.0	49.2	48.5	49.2
STD VII	51.1	49.5	50.3	50.7	49.4
STD 1-VII	49.7	49.6	49.5	49.4	49.4

Source: BEST: 1988-92)

The same study further observed higher gross enrolment figures for girls than boys for the ages between 7 and 13 years old. Citing census data, the study revealed that net enrolment rates for 7-13 old was 49% for girls and 45% for boys. But boys however, were a majority in the age group of 14 and above which is suggestive of higher drop-out rates for girls in this age category.

In the case of Zanzibar, while the school age population (6-13) has been increasing from 149,971 in 1989 to 168,732, in 1993, the government was only able to enrol 68% of the school age population due to lack of space. This tended to discourage girls from participating or completing their primary schooling due to the parents fear over the girl child's security after puberty.¹⁷ In Zanzibar illiteracy rates has tended to increase and the majority of illiterates are women.¹⁸

The drop-out rate for girls has tended to be lower than that of boys for reasons which are yet to be explored. The major reasons for drop-out for girls at primary school level is pregnancy. In 1991 for instance, it was estimated that roughly 45,487 children dropped out of primary schools. Forty eight per cent of them were girls: 2,946 dropped out because of pregnancy, 2,917 died,¹⁹ while 2,653 dropped out for other reasons.

While Universal Primary Education (UPE) has facilitated realisation of gender equality at this level, budgetary problems and the ongoing socio-economic crisis, have undermined the government's capacity to sustain UPE and to sustain gender equality. In order to sustain UPE and improve the quality of primary schools, for instance, it is estimated that there is a need for an additional budget of Tsh. 91.4 billion or 176% increase of the 1993/94 budget. Given the budgetary constraints and the pressure to commoditise education, it is not possible for the government to realise this amount. We therefore speculate that whatever achievements have been made in realising

gender equality at this level, the ongoing socio-economic crisis and the corresponding World Bank/IMF SAPs are undermining these achievements.

High drop-out rates and decreased enrolment rates for girls and boys can further be explained by the deterioration in the physical infrastructural facilities and the declining quality of education which makes the learning environment extremely child unfriendly. Due to budgetary constraints, a significant number of primary schools do not have the basic facilities for learning.

There are quite a number of schools which do not have desks or benches. School children are forced to sit on the floor to write or read. This can traumatise girls particularly those who have gone through puberty. The situation is exacerbated by acute shortage of textbooks, audio visual aids and lack of motivated teachers.

Related to the above is the aspect of relevancy of the learning package at this level. The primary school learning package is far from fully realising and meeting differential gender expectations. While the primary school curricula are those related to socio-reproductive tasks which men and women do. And yet, this is the package which is more or less terminal to the majority of Tanzanian women and men. As illustrated in the Table 2, the transition rates from primary school to secondary schools is very low. Tanzania has the second lowest transition rates in Sub-Saharan Africa, (second to Burundi).

Table 2: Primary Education School Transition Rates: 1989-94

Transition Rates		1989/90	1990/91	1991/92	1991/93	1991/94
I-II	PR	86.5	88.7	91.3	89.8	91.1
	RR	4.1	4.2	3.6	3.9	3.7
	DR	9.4	7.1	5.1	6.3	5.2
I-III	PR	93.8	93.1	94.4	94.1	93.5
	RR	3.0	3.1	2.5	2.5	2.1
	DR	3.2	3.8	3.1	3.4	4.4
III-IV	PR	92.3	93.2	94.1	94.1	95.1
	RR	2.3	2.2	1.7	1.6	1.3
	DR	5.4	4.6	4.2	3.8	3.6
IV-V	PR	76.1	80.6	80.9	84.9	80.2
	RR	17.1	14.0	12.3	11.6	11.4
	DR	6.6	5.4	6.8	3.5	8.4
V-VI	PR	95.7	95.9	95.7	95.3	94.7
	RR	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
	DR	4.3	4.1	4.3	4.6	5.2
VI-VII	PR	91.9	96.2	91.5	96.8	98.0
	RR	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	DR	8.1	3.8	4.9	3.2	7.0

Source: BEST:1990-1994:10

Key: PR = Promotion Rate; RR = Repetition Rate; DR = Drop-out Rate

The efforts to bridge the gender gap at primary school level was not however supported by similar efforts to sustain enrolment levels after primary one. Hence, there has been a steady rise of the drop-out rate, and one continues to witness a low transition rate for both sexes as shown in Table 2. The percentage increase of female enrolment in Standards I-VII from 1990-1994 was: 3.7% (1990) 3.6% (1991), 2.1% (1991) 3.8% (1993) and 2.01% (1994) enrolment for male students during the same years was: 3.7%, 4.3%, 3.6%, and 1.30% consecutively.

Primary education and indeed the basic educational package for any country determines and impacts the quality, of education at all other levels. This level also lays the foundation of the socialisation of girls and boys into gender roles. It does on the one hand, complement and reinforce gender stereo-typing which starts at home, while on the other hand, it has transformative potential of deconstructing gender type roles. It is in this light that we analyse other levels of education.

Expansion of primary education had lead to school-leavers problem. In responding to this problem, Vocational Training Centres (VTCs) were established with the aim of providing basic life skills which were to lead beneficiaries of the program to be formally employed or informally employed. The VTCs established 18 training Centres with 31 trades. The gender imbalances inherent in these institutions will be reviewed in the following section.

2. Gender Imbalances in Vocational Training Centres

Women, have not been able to fully benefit from this facility because of the following reasons. In addition to the existing socio-cultural and attitudes towards technical knowledge, the VTCs do not provide equal opportunity for female participation. In all the VTCs with boarding facility for instance, boarding capacity for females is less than that of boys as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Boarding Capacity In the Vocational Training Centres

	F	M	TOTAL	%
Moshi NVNTC	64	256	320	20
Dodoma	22	40	62	34
Tanga	50	100	150	33 15
Arusha	0	60	60	0
Singida	20	40	60	33
Mpanda	40	100	140	25.5
Ulyunhlu	40	100	140	21.5
Mwanza	50	100	150	33.5

Source: Ministry of Labour, Youth and Vocational Training: 1992/93

Most of the existing training centres have been operating at full capacity as illustrated in the Table 4.

Table 4: VTC Capacity

No.	Centre	Day Students		Boarding Students		Total
		M	F	M	F	
1.	DSM	400	200	-	-	600
2.	Dakawa	-	-	45	30	75
3.	Kihonda	40	24	-	-	60
4.	Arusha	-	-	60	-	60
5.	Moshi	-	-	256	64	320
6.	Tanga	50	20	100	50	220
7.	Kagera	55	25	-	-	80
8.	Shinyanga	15	10	-	-	25
9.	Mwanza	50	20	100	50	220
11.	Dodoma	65	30	40	23	158
12.	Singida	50	20	40	20	130
13.	Lindi	55	25	-	-	80
14.	Kigoma	15	5	-	-	20
15.	Mpanda	40	20	100	40	200
16.	Ulyankulu	40	20	100	40	200
17.	Iringa	40	20	-	-	60
18.	Songea	40	20	-	-	60
	TOTAL	1010	484	841	317	2648

Source: VTC Annual Reports respective years

It should be noted here that all the training centres are fully utilised and some do take more than the available capacity. In 1992/93 for instance, the VTCs had a total intake of 2994 against the capacity of 2648. But what is of interest to note is that there is a defined gender difference in terms of capacity intake of day VTCs. This did not make a lot of sense to us.

But, like primary schools, the VTCs also face the problem of drop-out. Out of the total enrolment of 2994 for the mentioned period, that is 1992/93, there were 147 trainees who dropped out. Reasons for drop-out are not however documented. There were more girls dropping out than boys, that is out of the 147 drop-outs, 78 were females and the remaining 69 were males.

Female participants, faced another problem of practical training due to biases of employers who discriminate against female trainees. The VTC program entails two components of training requirement, that is 'off the job' and 'on the job' training. This means that the trainee has to spend part of her

time in the centre and the other half in a plant. Employers have been reluctant to accept female students. Hence in 1990-1993 the total number of applicants for placement were 400 females against 700 males. Of the total applicants, only 121 female applicants were placed or 30% of applicants against 653 males or 93% of the male applicants. This means that employers are denying female applicants an equal opportunity for training and this discourages female participation in the programme. An attempt has been made by the VTCs to conduct gender sensitisation campaigns to the employers but this is not successful because employers are not legally prohibited from sexual discrimination. There are no ways of penalising employers on this ground.

Participation of females in the VTC program is extremely marginal. While the Ministry responsible has to do something to increase the capacity intake of females through expanding both day and boarding facilities, there is a need to sensitise employers on the need for equal opportunity in placement. This has to be supported with a clear mechanism of enforcing the law or penalty for discrimination on the basis of sex and other forms of discrimination. Alternatively, incentive schemes could be provided to employers as a positive way of encouraging them to hire female graduates of these centres as well as providing them with equal opportunity for practical training.

The Ministry's 20% target for female participation is just too low and there is no reason why equal opportunity should not be made a target. The capacity differential in day schools should be abolished and replaced with an equal opportunity drive.

Given the low female staff ratio in these institutions, there seems to be a need to establish counselling services in the VTCs and other support programs directed at enhancing the confidence of female participants.

Performance and achievement should be gender desegregated. This will make it possible to demonstrate how the females are fairing in various trades and specifically those which were traditionally male dominated.

The VTCs should aggressively start dialoguing with the employers and those employers who have offered females placement should be given space to dialogue with fellow employers as a way of sensitising them. But the VTCs should also explore the possibility of placing students in the informal sector through giving them support to establish their own activities which will be monitored by the VTCs as part of the implant training. This is in recognition of the fact that the majority of these participants will be self-employed in the informal sector. A rotating fund or a loan scheme should be established to encourage, and support graduates and particularly women graduates into self-employment. The entrepreneur course which has been introduced should also build this aspect in its package.

VTCs have the potential of creating self employment to the majority of the children who are unable to participate in secondary schools in this country. But they also offer opportunity to the secondary school leavers who fail to make it for further education. Possibilities of expanding them and supporting them should be explored.

3. Gender Imbalances in Secondary Education

Women enrolment as a percentage of total enrolment in Form One to Four was 36.9 (1985), 38.4 (1986), 39.6 (1987), 41.1 (1988), 42.6 (1989), 44.1 (1990), 43.24 (1991), 43.4 (1992), (VEST: respective years). Table 5 further illustrates female enrolment trends at this level.

**Table 5: Percentage of Female Enrolment
in Public and Private Secondary Schools**

Educational Level	1981	1986	1991	1994
<i>Secondary Education:</i>				
Form I	35.7	41.2	48.2	45.8
Public	33.6	37.2	43.1	45.3
Private	38.3	44.6	46.7	46.2
Form IV	33.7	37.9	42.6	43.4
Public	31.3	32.6	39.1	41.1
Private	36.6	42.4	45.3	45.3
Form V	22.4	22.0	25.5	31.6,
Public	23.1	21.5	27.5	31.8
Private	19.1	23.7	21.6	31.4
Form I-VI	22.3	20.3	24.3	27.1
Public	22.9	20.3	24.3	27.1
Private	14.3	21.0	25.7	24.1
Form I-VI	34.0	38.4	43.2	43.9
Public	31.0	33.3	40.2	-42-3
Private	37.3	43.1	45.6	45.1
Teacher Education	42.4	39.8	44.8	50.8

Source: BEST, 1990-1994.

The low participation of females in secondary and tertiary sector does affect their overall participation in the economy and determine their social status in the society in general. Although there seem to have been some improvement in increasing the number of female participation in secondary schools, the increase has resulted from expansion of private secondary schools. As will be highlighted in the subsequent sections, the number of private secondary schools has been increasing at a higher rate than the public secondary schools.

Although the government redressed this problem through encouraging communities to build days schools, the participation of girls in the day schools is still lower than that of boys.

By 1989, there were 195 private secondary schools, compared to 131 public ones. Between 1981 and 1988, Form 4 private school places have doubled, from some 700 to 14,350 in 1988, compared to the much slower increase in the public school sector from 8500 to 9200 places. Table 6 best illustrates this scenario.

**Table 6: Number Of Form Four Level Secondary Schools
Classified According to School Type and Gender 1977, 1988, 1992.**

Type of School	1977		1988		1992	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Government (Total)	77	56.2	83	33.2	114	33
Boys only	40	30.8	40	15.9	38	11
Girls only	18	13.8	18	7.4	21	6.1
Co-education	19	14.6	25	9.9	55	15.9
Private (Total)	38	29.2	145	57.6	207	60.0
Boys only	2	1.5	3	1.2	2	0.6
Girls only	4	3.1	8	3.2	12	3.5
Co education	32	24.6	134	53.2	193	55.9
Seminaries	15	11.5	123	9.1	24	7.0
Grand total	130	100	1252	100	345	100

Source: BEST & Various

Thus more secondary school students now study in private schools, especially girls. In 1984 for instance, 5,106 of all secondary school girls were in private schools, compared to 42% of the boys. By 1988, the proportions had risen for both girls and boys to 62% and 54% respectively. Expansion for girls has also been greater in the private sector. During the period from 1981 to 1988, the female ratio in Form 4 places rose from 37% to 42% in private schools, compared to an increase from 31 to 34% in public schools. The female ratio in the non-governmental school sector has grown from 31% in 1968 to 45% in 1988, and in the public schools from 25% to 36% during the same period.

This expansion of female participation in private schools is suggestive of parents, willingness to invest in girls education contrary to perceptions which hold that parents are not interested in investing in female education. The de-investment in female education results from factors other than mere parents

attitudes. This is an area which needs refocusing. Greater participation of girls in private schools indicate that parents' attitudes towards girls education has proven to have changed faster than that of the government. Policies of introducing schools fees and attempts to support local initiatives should take cognisance of this factor. But participation in private and non-governmental secondary schools has not guaranteed girls/women of equal opportunities in what would be considered as high quality schools.

4. Equal Opportunities or Equal Quality of Opportunities?

There seems to be an unequal allocation of resources at this level. It has been revealed in 1994 that the top ten ranking schools in the national Form Four exams in 1992 for instance were seminaries, the majority of which were single sex boys boarding schools. Further, it has been observed that from the top ten school, there was a total of 112 Division One passes. Out of these, there was only one girl. The total Form Four enrolment in the top thirty schools was 1992 boys and 398 girls. Out of these thirty schools there were 382 Division One passes for boys and 48 for girls. However, 38 of those girls in Division One passes were from government schools. This means that there were only 10 Division One passes for girls from the religious affiliated schools. This is an interesting phenomenon because the private sector which seems to provide greater equal opportunities for females has not been able, or willing to invest the same amount of resources in female private education as it has been for male private education.

It has been revealed that performance in the top ranking schools resulted from better facilities which included a quality infrastructure and a very low teacher/pupil ratio. In a survey of nine seminaries for instance, the teacher/student ratio was: 1:14 in 1988, 1:13 in 1989, and 1:13 in 1990. In the years cited, 60% of the top thirty schools were boys seminaries. The examination results are not gender desegregated. Its difficult to get a general picture of female performance. But in a study conducted in 1992 the results were as illustrated in Table 7.

**Table 7: Examination Results for 1992 of Boys and Girls
Secondary Schools as a Percentage.**

Type	Div. I	Div. II	Div. III	Div. IV	Fa. II
Boys	11%	13%	34%	38%	4 %
Girls	2%	4 %	22%	59%	12%

Source: Various.

Another study however, has revealed that single sex secondary schools perform better than co-education schools, government single sex schools perform better than private single sex schools²⁰ and that two private girls secondary schools are consistently within the bottom 25%. This same study further reveals that boys' schools perform better than girls schools in both government and private secondary schools. From 1988 to 1992, for instance, the top 25% schools are exclusively government boys' boarding schools and seminaries. The bottom 25% are private co-educational schools. For instance, 95.4% of the bottom 25% were private co-educational schools. This is illustrated in Table 8.

Table 8: The Number of Schools within the Top 25% Between 1988-1992 Classified by Type, Gender and Frequency of Recurrence (N=77).

Type Of School Appearing Consistently	Appearing At Least Once			Boys	Girls	Co-ed	Total
	Boys	Girls	Co-ed				
Seminaries	15	-	-	4	-	-	19
Government	20	2	5	9	2	11	49
Private	0	1	0	0	1	7	9
Total	35	3	5	13	3	18	77

Source: Various

Table 8 suggests that women in Tanzania are getting not only less opportunities at secondary school level but are also getting less of the quality²¹ of this educational package. This is further illustrated in the Tables 9 below which covers the period from 1988 to 1992.

Table 9: Performance Ranking (1988-1992)

Type of School	Seminary	Govt.	Private	Total	Remarks	
(a) CSEE Performance Ranking for 1988 Top 25% (N=260)						
Boys	21	30	0	51	5	
Girls	-	3	1	4	1	
Co-ed	-	10	0	10	2	
Total	21	43	1	65	8	
(b) CSEE Performance Ranking for 1988 Bottom 25% (N=260)						
					(Recent) ^a	Old ^b
Boys	-	0	1	1	1	
Girls	-	0	2	2	2	-
Co-ed	-	0	62	62	55	-
Total	-	0	65	65	58	7

(c) CSEE Performance Ranking for Top 25% 1989 (N=275)						
Boys	22	33	0	55	(Recent) ^c	
Girls	-	4	2	6	0	
Co-ed	-	8	0	8	2	
Total	22	45	2	69	0	
(d) Bottom 25% 1989 (N=275)						
Boys	0	0	0	0	Recent ^d	Old ^e
Girls	0	0	2	2	0	0
Co-ed	0	2	65	67	2	0
Total	0	2	67	69	59	5
(e) Performance Ranking for 1990 Top 25% (W=305)						
Boys	21	30	0	51	Recent ^f	
Girls	0	6	1	7	3	
Co-ed	0	18	0	18	1	
Total	21	54	1	76	3	
(f) Bottom 25% 1990						
Boys	0	0	0	0	Recent ^g	Old ^h
Girls	0	1	2	3	0	-
Co-ed	0	2	74	73	3	-
Total	0	2	76	76	67	6
(g) Performance Ranking Top 25% 1991 (N=343)						
Boys	24	17	0	61	Recent ⁱ	
Girls	0	6	2	8	7	
Co-ed	0	13	4	17	2	
Total	24	56	6	86	9	
(h) Bottom 25% 1991 (N=343)						
Boys	0	0	0	0	Recent	Old ^j
Girls	0	0	3	3	0	0
Co-ed	0	0	83	83	3	0
Total	0	0	86	86	74	10
(i) Performance Ranking for Top 25% in 1992 (N=356)						
Boys	22	26	2	53	Recent ^k	
Girls	0	6	2	8	4	
Co-ed	0	20	8	28	2	
Total	22	55	12	89	15	

<i>(j) Bottom 25% 1992 (N=356)</i>						
					Recent ^l	Old ^m
Boys	0	0	0	0	0	0
Girls	0	0	2	2	2	0
Co-ed	0	3	84	87	80	7
Total	0	3	86	89	82	7

Source: Various

Notes:

- ^a These include 2 boys schools, 2 girls schools, the rest are private and co-ed schools.
- ^b These are all private and co-education schools.
- ^c These are all private girls schools.
- ^d These include two private girls and the rest are all private co-ed schools.
- ^e These are all co-ed. schools with only one govt. school.
- ^f These schools include 3 seminaries, 1 private girls school and 2 government schools all boarding.
- ^g These include 1 government co-ed and 2 private girls schools.
- ^h These are all private schools co-ed schools.
- ⁱ These include 7 seminaries (Boys) 2 private girls schools and 9 co-ed schools of which 3 are private and 6 are government.
- ^j These are all private schools.
- ^k These include 1 boys, private school, 3 seminaries, 2 private girls schools an 15 co-ed school of which 4 are government day schools.
- ^l These include 3 co-ed government schools.
- ^m These are all private co-ed. schools.

Table 9 (a) – (j) illustrate that females not only have less equal chances to secondary schools but also have less access to quality schools. Of the top 25% of schools consistently ranked among top in the CSEE, from 1988-92 for instance, the top ten were boys only schools. Of the top ten, only two were government schools while the rest were seminaries. The highest ranking girls schools was the 15th in the ranking. Out of the 43 top 25% ranking schools only three were girls, six co-education and the rest were boys only schools. It is of interest to note here that the top most girls school was a day government school, the second top most girls school was a private boarding and the third was a government boarding school. This challenges the earlier assumptions that girls do better in boarding schools than in day schools.

Table 10 suggest that girls are not performing better in both government and private schools. There are numerous hypotheses which are attributed to gender differences in terms of performance. Most of them are yet to be tested in Tanzania. There is for instance the issue of differential treatment of girls and boys at home and in schools. This includes different allocation of workload.

**Table 10: The Number of Schools Consistently
Ranked Among the Top 25% in the CSEE, 1988-92**

Rank	Status	Type of School	Level	Day/Boarding
1	Seminary		A	BD
2	Seminary		A	BD
3	Seminary		A	BD
4	Seminary		A	BD
5	Seminary		A	BD
6	Seminary		A	BD
7	Seminary		0	BD
8	Seminary		A	BD
9	Government	Boys	A	BD
10	Government	Boys	A	BD
11	Seminary	Seminary	A	BD
12	Government	Boys	A	DAY
13	Government	Boys	0	BD
14	Government	Boys	0	BD
15	Government	Girls	A	BD
16	Government	Boys	A	BD
17	Government	Boys	A	BD
18	Government	Seminary	0	BD
19	Seminary	Seminary	0	BD
20	Seminary	Seminary	0	BD
21	Government	Boys	0	BD
22	Seminary	Seminary	A	BD
23	Government	Boys	A	BD
24	Government	Boys	A	BD
25	Seminary	Seminary	0	BD
26	Private	Girls	0	BD
27	Government	Boys	0	BD
28	Government	Co-ed	0	DAY
29	Government	Co-ed	0	DAY
30	Government	Co-ed	0	DAY
31	Government	Boys	0	BD
32	Government	Co-ed	0	DAY
33	Government	Boys	A	BD
34	Government	Boys	A	BD
35	Government	Co-ed	0	DAY
36	Government	Girls	A	BD
37	Government	Boys	0	BD
38	Government	Boys	A	BD
39	Seminary	Seminary	A	BD
40	Government	Boys	0	BD
41	Government	Boys	A	BD
42	Government	Co-ed	0	DAY
43	Government	Boys	0	BD

Source: Various

There is also the question of attitudes of the society towards girls and boys which shape the perceptions of both genders with regards to certain subjects and career choices. There is also low expectation of society on girls which result in low self esteem and less motivation (Eshiwani: undated).

Low achievement does affects women's access to the job market and to the higher levels of education. This aspect makes females less competitive in the labour market especially in the position of power and influence as well as in the technical and scientific fields. This perpetuates their low social status in the labour market.

Low achievement rate affects women participation in the labour market as they are located in low paying and unskilled jobs. This can be a disincentive to the other female students who do not feel the necessity of competing in the schools. The condition is worsened by a stereotyped curriculum which further locate female students in stereotyped roles.

5. User Charges and the Gender Gap

The debate on fees or user charges in schools and indeed in the social sector, is located in the general debate on the role of the state in the management of the economy on the one hand and the obligation of the citizens in this domain on the other hand. In a popularly elected state, the decision on what ought to be public or private, and the question of who should bear what costs at what level, is a result of the bargaining process between the government and the civil society.

It should be noted here that communities have and will continue to support education. The pros and cons of user charges should take a note of this fact. While we do not want to engage in this debate, we do not consider the market as an efficient allocator of this resource. We are not therefore questioning the rationality of introducing school fees or user charges. This has been done throughout the history of formal education in this country. Parents, communities, church, the cooperative and various NGOs have been contributing in financing education at all levels. We are however, questioning the theoretical and ideological underpinning which informed the introduction of fees and user changes. We question the role of the market in allocating resources in this sector. We also predict negative impact on gender imbalances resulting from commoditisation of the educational process.

There are no ethical or moral obligation for the market to deliver this good to the public free of charge. Commoditisation of education will definitely have certain gendered implications.

There is no specific motivation for the market to redress gender imbalances

in the higher levels of learning. As a matter of fact gender imbalances facilitate super exploitation of labour through the use of unpaid women's labour in the social reproductive tasks. Women on the other hand, constitute the huge labour reserve, a factor which reduces the bargaining power of the semi-skilled and unskilled labourers. While individual citizens continue to support education, the state should ensure mechanisms of financing education so that individuals who are not able to compete in the market are able to benefit from this service. These would include, scholarship grants, loans, as well as encouraging the private sector to invest in education through scholarship grants. Efforts to redress the gender imbalances in the educational sector should be the responsibility of the state and not the market.

While user charges and school fees are not an issue of dispute, we challenge the commoditisation of the schooling system. We have argued that the market cannot be an efficient allocator of resources at this level, because the market is not gender neutral. The market has no obligation of bringing equity, as it is built upon a doctrine of inequality. Education should continue to be considered as a public good, and a human right aspect. With the state shouldering a large part of the costs involved. Fees and user charges should not be directed to the individual per se, the communities and particularly the private sector should be made to contribute towards the cost of education since it is a potential consumer of education particularly the higher level education. In this respect, the international community should stop misleading our governments. Even in the market economies, in the developed world, governments have continued to subsidise education at all levels. Education foundations are supported by individuals and government in both the U.K. and the USA. In Scandinavian countries, government loans enable students to pursue studies beyond primary level. In some of these countries, secondary education is free. It is unrealistic to expect poor parents to shoulder the cost of education of their children single-handed. It is in this context that we recommend for government greater participation and contribution in the costs of education generally while it devises innovative means of realising funds for the running of the schools.

In addition to the above factors, educational stereotyping has had a differential gender impact generally and particularly in the secondary education sector through the diversified curriculum.

6. Diversification of the Secondary Curriculum and Gender Stereotyping

In 1973, the Ministry of Education in Tanzania started implementing a diversified syllabus. There were four main streams: agriculture, home economics, technical and commercial, and the general academic stream.

One of the outcomes of a diversified curriculum is that it denied secondary school students an opportunity to have a choice of what they wanted, and also narrowed down their knowledge base at a very early age of their schooling. This in turn affected their life career and particularly affected female students' career opportunities because of the gendered nature of the biases.

First, the selection of a certain school with a certain bias is not done by the individual student. The packages which schools offered do not give an individual much option to choose from. This is, despite the fact that, the package one takes at this level does impact on the individual's future career choices. This has had a differential gender impact.

In the agricultural bias for instance there are only 4 schools which were offering agriculture that is Ruvu, Ifakara, and Kilosa Secondary Schools. Although these three schools are co-educational, the fourth is only a single sex boys school offering agriculture at Advanced Level that is Kibaha Secondary School. This means that girls who are forced into an agricultural bias, are also forced to terminate their studies at Ordinary level as there is no advanced level school for girls.

The only opportunity for girls is one Teachers College that is Monduli Teachers College which offers a diploma course in teaching and combines it with an advance level course. This college is co-educational and girls have to compete on an equal basis with boys for admission.

As for the Home Economic bias, there are 122 secondary schools offering this bias. Out of these, 99 are co-educational while 23 are single sex girls secondary schools. Home Economics is meant for girls only. This is why there are no single sex boys schools taking this option, and in the co-educational schools, home economics is considered to be a girls option. Despite this, boys do compete and are allowed to take some post secondary programmes which would have otherwise required home economists backgrounds. It is no wonder that the Home Economics at degree level has more male students than female students as will be illustrated in the subsequent sections of this paper.

Most of the girls who take the domestic science option are not properly counselled on their life career needs.²² And in many instances, the stream is allocated to those girls who do not perform well in the sciences without prior counselling with regard to their future career needs. Even for the non degree programmes such as Hotel Management and Tourism, girls who have had Home Economics at Ordinary Level do not seem to have any noticeable advantage as will be illustrated later in this paper.

The domestic science option does not make girls more competitive in the very field requiring this knowledge. In the hotel management course, one would have expected girls to outnumber boys. in courses such as Food

Production and Food and Beverages, instead, they only outnumbered males in the courses which require manual labour such as housekeeping and front desk.

The technical bias has also been problematic generally and particularly frustrating to ambitious young women who wanted to pursue studies to University level. When the technical bias was introduced, schools were given the privilege of selecting the best students at Form One and Form Five levels. Girls were particularly encouraged and also forced against their will into technical schools. This was considered by the Ministry as the only way to promote gender participation in technical schools as a way of grooming them for the technical related fields in the labour market.

It has been argued that vocationalisation tends to consistently lead women to their further entrenchment in reproductive or secondary roles (Mbughuni, 1993). At the level of employment oriented vocational training, the author further argues that, there is a danger of streaming women out of the higher levels of skilled training which is tailored to modern industry as it gives them low level skills which are less marketable.

Female students in the technical schools do also suffer from lack of good role models for purposes of motivation and inspiration. There are very few teachers in the technical colleges and these are concentrated in certain disciplines such as electricity and telecommunications field. This factor acts as a disincentive to female students.

Streaming has therefore perpetuated the gender gap and reinforced the existing sexual division of labour. It also limits women's access to higher skills training jobs as well as affects female attitudes towards their career and job expectation. In one study, for instance, it was revealed that there was a higher percentage of boys than girls who planned to choose farming as a career. The study further revealed that a comparatively higher percentage of boys than girls choose professional jobs related to a university education. This partially explains why the percentage of females has been so low at the University level compared to that of male students. Some of the professional jobs mentioned by boys only included: economist, computer scientist, minister, professor, engineer or car mechanic. There were a few jobs within the service sector mentioned by girls only, these included: nurse, medical assistant and women in development. Some girls also mentioned tourism.

In a self-rating exercise conducted in the study mentioned earlier, girls tended to rate themselves lower than their actual abilities while the reverse applied to boys. This is reflective of the socialisation process which is being reinforced by the schooling system reflected in the diversified curriculum which allocate women to subjects which in turn allocate them to a low social status in the society relative to that of men.

The inability to translate scientific knowledge into every day language use and practice also seems to discourage young girls from joining the science related streams. Most of scientific innovations for instance have yet to touch the African woman's traditional tasks. The hand-hoe, the cooking stove, and all baby care facilities are yet to benefit from scientific advances. In as long as scientific knowledge is not being directed at liberating women from domestic slavery, few women will be attracted to the scientific disciplines. It can thus be said that science will only be attractive if it is directed towards the transformation of life and particularly the life which the majority of the people are living. That is the life of the African rural women who remain untouched by technological changes.

Given the trends analysed, one can convincingly argue that the existing values and attitudes towards female education and specifically attitudes which consider women as subordinates in the society have largely contributed in the diversification of the educational system through allocating bases which locate women in positions which are socially acceptable. Domestic science is for instance essentially offered to women to make them better mothers as it is not tailored towards preparing them for further studies or for a marketable career. Curriculum diversification at secondary school level does indeed affect the transition and nature of participation of girls and women in the tertiary and other levels of higher learning as will now be summarised.

7. Gender Imbalances in Tertiary Sector and Technical Education

Tertiary institutions constitute post secondary schooling which is tailored into providing scientific knowledge and applied practical skills. These institutions are not administered by one single Ministry. In the majority of cases they are administered by a parent ministry or parastatal organisation. They are thus tailored into realising the institutional interests of the major stake holders.

Such institutions include: Rwegalulila Water Resources Institute, National Institute of Transport and Technical College. It has not been possible to get gender aggregated data for all the tertiary institutions. We do however, speculate that women and girls constitute a minority in such institutions. The case of the Institute of Hotel Management illustrates this (see Table 11).

Table 11: Enrolment at the Institute of Hotel Management and Tourism by Sex and Programmes. 1980-90

	Front Office	Food & Beverages	House Keeping	Food Production
Female	192	194	218	176
Male	147	1 292	1 134	213
%F	56.6	1 40	1 63.7	45.2

Source: Institute of Management and Tourism, Dar es Salaam

It is of interest to note that while girls are the majority in the domestic science options, and while cooking is traditionally a female dominated role, they still constitute a minority in the hotel industry. Hence, when cooking or other chores are given monetary value, males tend to dominate them.

7.1 Technical Education

Participation of girls in technical schools leaves much to be desired. From 1986 to 1990 the percentage of female students in all the three colleges was as follows: 10% (1986), 7.4% (1987), 5.1% (1988), 6.9% (1989), 6.6% (1990) 7% (1990/91), 6% (1991/92), 6% (1992/93), 7% (1993/94) and 6% (1994/95). (BEST respective years). The majority of females were concentrated in electrical and telecommunications fields. Between 1988 and 1990 for instance, statistics show that there was only one female taking mechanical engineering at full technician level in all the technical colleges, that is Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Mbeya-Technical Colleges. The total number of students taking this same course in all the three colleges was 358 during this same period.

The Full Technician Certificate holders have been experiencing some problems in pursuing further studies. This certificate is considered by the University as inferior to the Form Six certificate. This is despite the fact that students selection of the technical college was based on better performance criteria than the Form Five selection and also despite the fact that these students spend three years while ordinary Advanced Level spend just two years. Students with the technical background have greater advantage in combining practice and theory, but this is not taken seriously during selection of University entrants. Whereas the Faculty of Engineering would take a Form Six student with a D grade in Maths, it requires a grade B and above for the FTC holders. There has been no studies which have traced the performance achievement rates of these students as compared to those who are from normal academic streams. While the Faculty of Engineering at University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) has been selecting very few FTC graduates, all of them have been male students. Taking into account the fact that the best female science students were absorbed into the technical bias without their choice, it also means that these best students were being streamed out of a higher skill level profession as well as being denied of their right to choose a career.²³

The main constraints to female participation in technical education are the existing social, cultural norms and attitudes which are instrumental in the engenderisation of knowledge. Technical fields are considered as traditional male oriented fields while women are assigned non technical subjects which will construct them into the social services sector.

A combination of factors discussed in the preceding section are suggestive

of the causal factors which contribute to the existing gender gap in the tertiary and technical sector. This partly results from fewer females competing for higher education, the lower achievement rates for females relative to the males, the subject combinations which stream females out of technical education and higher drop-out rates for females at all levels of learning. The low participation of females at this level of education is suggestive of the low social status and the subordinate position of women in the society at large. Technical education hence further reinforces gender-stereotyped roles. The condition is further perpetuated at University levels.

7.2 University Education

At university level, the percentage of female enrolment was 16.0%; (1985), 15.5% (1986), 15.2% (1987), 16.9% (1988) 17.1% (1989) 18.47,% (1992/93) 21% (1993/94) and 23% (1994/95) (BEST: respective years).

Gender imbalances at this level of education is a reflection of and a result of the imbalance in the other levels of education discussed in this paper. This condition is worsened by the fact that the majority of the academic staff in all faculties and in all disciplines are men. In the academic year 1994/95 for instance, the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences had only one female full professor against 11 male professors, 4 female associate professors against 15 male associate professors, 2 female senior lecturers against 53 male senior lecturers, 5 female lecturers against 45 male lecturers, 4 female assistant lecturers against 33 male assistants lecturers. In total the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences had only 16 female members of staff against 164 male members of staff. The Faculty of Commerce just had 6 female members of staff against 35 male members of staff. Law had 3 female members of staff against 34 male members of staff, while Engineering had 1 female member of staff against 109 male members of staff. General Sciences had 9 female members of staff against 94 male members of staff. The Computer Centre did not have any female academic member of staff. For the entire University of Dar es Salaam, out of the total 639 members of academic staff, only 66 were females; and 573 are male.

What is even more interesting is the fact that males dominate even those disciplines which would have us believe would be female dominated due to subject biases in the secondary school levels. From 1990/91 to 1994/95, female enrolment in Food Science and Technology at the University of Sokoine University of Agriculture was as follows: 8 females out of 42 total which is equivalent to 19% of the total (1990/91), 14 females out of 64 total or 22% (1991/92), 23 females out of 73 total or 32% (1992/93). The female percentage during the three consecutive years in Sokoine University was 15%, 18% and

19% consecutively, and yet, the majority of women in this country are agricultural producers and are essentially responsible for the production, preservation and processing of food which is consumed by the majority of the people. Poor participation of women in agricultural and related sciences implies that scientific knowledge is not sufficiently being directed at improving the living condition of the majority of the people in this country.

Some of the problems discussed above notwithstanding, the Tanzanian government has attempted to take certain measures to redress the gender imbalances in the educational process. Some of these strategies have already been discussed in the preceding section. We shall only identify some of the major ones not yet covered indirectly in the preceding section.

8. Government Strategies to Redress Gender Imbalances: Issues of Access, Enrolment, Completion and Non-attendance

The Ministry of Education and Culture, in collaboration with NGOs and other government agencies are currently identifying, impediments to access and equality in various community schools in view of taking appropriate measures to address them.

8.1 The Quota System

The quota system has been one of the strategies which the Tanzanian government has pursued to redress gender and regional imbalances at secondary schools. The immediate focus was the regional imbalances which resulted from the colonial uneven allocation of educational resources. While girls were admitted with lower cut off points in the selection process, the less disadvantaged regions were also given a lower cut off point and were allocated more places in secondary schools as a way of redressing the regional imbalances. This in a way resolved the numerical imbalances in terms of transition to secondary schools at ordinary level. The government was able to resolve the problem of quantitative representation through the regional and gender quota system.

Malekela (1983) maintained that despite the many problems associated with the quota system, there would have been greater regional disparity without it. This is also applicable to the quota system pertaining to gender. Some of the regions, would not have been able to get women to secondary schools without the quota system.

But while the quota system was able to bring about some reasonable balance in terms of numbers, there were no similar effort's to address the actual causes which had created either gender or regional imbalances. There were no

remedial courses given to the disadvantaged children who benefited from the quota system. As a result, the quota system did not make the disadvantaged children competitive when they reached Form Four. This is what continued to disadvantage women in terms of access to Form Five and Six. Studies have revealed that women have not been able to utilise all the places allocated for them in Form Five and Six especially in science streams. Statistics indicate declining trends for female participation in science subjects at University level (see BEST for various years).

The quota system might have solved the issue of unequal participation in secondary schools at the ordinary level, but did not address qualitative issues which resulted in unequal performance, it failed to bring about fundamental changes in the gender gap. In addition to the above, the Ministry of Education and Culture, in collaboration with NGOs and various donor agencies, e.g., DANIDA, are currently supporting efforts to improve the school learning environment. The DANIDA Primary Education Program is one of such initiatives aimed at:

- enforcing non-attendance laws.
- enhancing efforts to realise 100% enrolment with gender balance by the year 2000.
- facilitating increased enrolment and sustain completion rates for boys and girls, the government is encouraging private institutions to open more schools within the context of the existing legal framework.

8.2 Redressing Gender Stereotyping

The Ministry is studying the recommendations made by the Gender Expert Groups on how to engender formal education in view of taking appropriate measures. A few experimental and pilot cases are being undertaken, e.g., Gender sensitisation seminars for heads of school, and engendering mathematics seminar for Maths teachers.

8.3 Improving the Quality of the Learning Environment

The Ministry of Education and particularly the Inspectorate section, is working out minimum required standards in order to improve the quality of the learning environment. This will include setting of standards for the physical infrastructure facilities, equipment, environment and teaching material as well as quality of teachers.

In collaboration with the Danish Development Corporation, the Ministry of Education and Culture, is working out programs to provide meals and health services to schools.

8.4 Curriculum Reform

Curriculum reform is an ongoing process which has to correspond with various developments in the other spheres of the economy in totality. A reform can be piecemeal as a response to a particular need or holistic as it responds to drastic shifts or reforms in the economy and in the society. In Tanzania for instance, implementation of the Arusha Declaration had demanded total transformation of the curriculum to correspond with the demanded transformation in the building of the Socialist and Self Reliant Economy. Prior to the Arusha Declaration, there were piecemeal curriculum changes such as a racially integrated curriculum, and secularisation of education. Curriculum changes which were effected in responding to the Arusha Declaration did not however address gender relations as already pointed out.

The few changes which have been addressing gender stereotyping have been on piecemeal basis and at most they have ended up as pilot cases. Family life education for instance, is yet to take off from its pilot study to cover all the schools.

The Ministry has also introduced a few gender sensitisation seminars to a few teachers. There is an ongoing programme for mathematics teachers on how to engender mathematics teaching for primary school teaching. A study of the post literacy materials from a women's perspective resulted in the re-writing of the post literacy materials from a gender perspective. There is also an ongoing DANIDA/ Ministry project which is also exploring on the practicability of sensitising the primary school teachers. This is also supposed to be a pilot project.

9. Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 Conclusions

From the preceding analysis we have been able to make the following observations. First, there is gender discrimination in terms of access to education generally and particularly secondary and higher levels of learning. Women have less opportunities in secondary and higher levels of education. In addition to equal access, women also get less of the quality education than men as revealed by the examination results.

The curriculum is gender stereotyped and particularly the biases which groom females out of higher levels of education and therefore determine their future position and participation in the labour market.

These factors are essentially a result of socio-cultural and political values which have prevailed in our society and which are legitimised by the patriarchal

ideology. Measures which have been undertaken to redress gender imbalances are mainly cosmetic and none have attacked the power relationship between the two genders and particularly the subordinate position of women in the society. It is, in the context of the above analysis that the following recommendations are being made.

9.2 Recommendations

There is need to transform cultural values and attitudes and particularly those which assign women a subordinate position in the society in order to effect sustainable transformation in the total education process. This cannot be done over night, but the process has to be initiated. Tanzania has a living historical advantage in using animation and mobilisation in successful mass campaigns such as literacy and Universal Primary Education Campaigns. The government can therefore utilise the same tools and improve upon them in the cultural campaign to deconstruct the gender biases in the educational process. The campaign should focus on the language we use, symbols, the mass media, both radio and newspapers as a starting point. Seminars and workshops can also support such efforts.

Without sensitising the general public, curriculum and pedagogic changes will not be sustained. Curriculum and pedagogic changes will thus be supplementing the changes in the wider society. In bringing about curriculum and pedagogic changes, there is need for a holistic approach. That is the total educational process has to be reviewed in terms of content, text books, teaching methods and all audio visual materials. Piecemeal approaches and pilot studies are wasting resources. This is one of the strategies which the government has undertaken for the past three decades to postpone the issue of gender balance and gender bias in the educational process.

In revising the curriculum the possibility of incorporating the teaching of human rights and social justice should be explored so that they are reflected in all the teaching at all levels. In this respect, women's rights should be part of the human rights study. Issues of rape, and sexual assaults should be built into the curriculum as part of the human rights study.

Children should learn from a very early age what constitutes their rights as children, and what constitutes their citizenship obligations. The Ministry of Education and Culture has an advantage in this area because of the previous experience in the teaching of political education at all levels. From pre-schools, children were made to sing Ujamaa, Liberation of Africa and so forth. In the same spirit, children should be made to sing, dance, and perform issues related to their rights and obligations.

In revising and developing the curriculum from a gendered perspective,

Tanzania has an advantage in the sense that some of the key problems are already mapped out.²⁴ Some of the areas which need further research include a study of positive aspects in traditional cultures particularly those related to the role of women in the production, distribution and consumption of knowledge.

Furthermore, tracer studies are needed of children of different backgrounds particularly focusing on gender violence and its impact on the learning process on the boys and girls. This will enable us to establish how power relationships affect differentially the two genders in the learning process.

There is also a need to study the differential treatment of boys and girls in terms of rules and regulations in both boarding and day schools in order to discard all discriminatory practices and establish positive strategies of educating both girls and boys of their sexuality and sex.

There is also a need for classroom studies which focus on teacher/pupil interaction with a gendered perspective. The actual causes of gender differences in performance are yet to be explored. Issues such as differential allocation of resources including human and material resources, classroom interactions and gender specific learning needs and motivations are yet to be mapped out.

Sports, games, and social activities have been totally ignored in most of the institutions of formal learning. Hence, the energies of the young are not being directed towards positive activities which will contribute in building of their mental, physical and spiritual health. These activities have to be reactivated. Girls and women should particularly be encouraged to participate in sports, games, and social activities including debates, drama and dances and other related cultural activities. Communities and particularly parents should be encouraged to participate and support some of these activities. In the long run, such activities should be used as fund raising activities which will facilitate sustainability of such endeavours.

Specific programmes are needed to build and enhance women's and girls confidence. This can be done with minimum cost. Encouraging women and girls to speak out in small groups and in the public, to air their concerns in the media²⁵ and to be encouraged to influence the agenda of the emerging political parties.

Improvement of the quality of education should be a primary concern of the government. Schools ought to have textbooks, laboratory equipment, and qualified teachers who are well motivated. Schools without these are a disincentive to both girls and boys in the learning process. The emerging private schools should be monitored so that they adhere to minimum acceptable standards. In public schools, the effort should be towards improvement of quality through rehabilitating the physical infrastructure, provision of school materials and equipment and retraining of teachers as well as revision of the curriculum from a gendered perspective.

In order to attract the best brains in the teaching career, the whole incentive scheme for teachers has to be re-examined. While teaching is considered by many Tanzanians as a noble profession, it has been totally neglected by allowing improper recruitment in low levels which affects the quality of students at higher levels. Investment in this area should be considered in terms of the long term effect of quality teaching to the future generation.

In allocation of jobs, in transfers and promotions, the Ministry and the government has been wasting a lot of human labour and particularly that of married women. This is reflected in the unequal distribution of workload as most of the qualified women are in the urban centres because of their spouses.

Seminars, and post graduate studies within the country and outside should take into account the gender specific constraints which limit women from equal participation in these programmes as a way of making such programmes more gender sensitive.

To ensure equality of opportunities and equality *in* access to quality education, the government should abolish the single sex educational institutions and encourage all the NGOs and private schools to introduce co-educational facilities. In this respect, government and parents should learn to accept that girls need education on sex and sexuality and not protection against sex and sexuality as it is being practised. Re-examination of the present regulation which victimises pregnant girls should be done. The individual initiatives such as those introduced by the Honourable National MP Ms. Kamm in one of her schools should be studied for possible nation wide implementation.²⁶

There is a need for the government to give more serious thought in the financing of the educational process. Participation of the communities in financing education should not be mixed up with the commoditisation of education. Educational foundations, trusts and various mechanisms should be creatively encouraged in order to expand sources of government revenue without necessarily overtaxing the individual consumer and their immediate family.

There is need to translate scientific knowledge into every day language use and practice as a way of encouraging young girls and women in joining the science related streams. Most of the scientific innovations for instance have yet to touch the African women's traditional tasks. The hand-hoe, the cooking stove, and all baby care facilities are yet to benefit from scientific advances. In as long as scientific knowledge is not being directed at liberating women from domestic slavery, few women will be attracted to the scientific disciplines. This means that science will partly be attractive to women if it is directed towards the transformation of life and particularly the life which the majority of the people are living. This includes the life of the African rural women who remain untouched by technological changes.

We are not therefore questioning relativity of introducing school fees or user charges. However we do not believe that commoditization of the education and adherence to market principles will efficiently allocate resources. Education is a human right and should be shouldered primarily by the state taking into consideration the inability of most of parents to carry the major share of educational costs. Education should continue to be considered as a public good, and a human right aspect, with the state shouldering a large part of the costs involved. Fees and user charges should not be directed to the individual per se, the communities and particularly the private sector should be made to contribute towards the cost of education since it is a potential consumer of education particularly the high level education. In this respect, the international community should stop misleading our governments. Even in the market economies, in the developed world, governments have continued to subsidise education at all levels. Education foundations are supported by individuals and governments in both U.K and the USA. In Scandinavian countries, government loans enable students to pursue studies beyond primary level. In some of these countries, secondary education is free. It is unrealistic to expect poor parents to shoulder the cost of education of their children single-handed.

Finally but not least, the initiative to reform the curriculum and particularly the struggle to change peoples attitudes and values should constitute part of women's struggle for liberation.

In the final analysis women as victims of oppression have no alternative but to spearhead the struggle for their own liberation. It is in this context that women educationalists should focus their research interests in the engendering of the educational process in its totality.

Notes

1. The statistics were extracted from a draft paper by Teresa Hartnett and Ward Heveneld prepared for the World Bank.
2. This included in the Arusha Declaration which spelt out socialism and self-reliance as principle ideological pillars guiding the development policy after independence. Subsequently, Education for Self-Reliance which spelt out educational principles for the implementation of the Arusha Declaration stated categorically that education and particularly basic education was going to be a human right aspect. For details See: J.K. Nyerere. 1968. *The Arusha Declaration*. Government Printer.

3. These are spelt out in the "Higher Education Policy Document, Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education." April 25 1h 1994, DSM. (Draft Copy).
4. See statistics for enrolment of students in the Muhimbili Medical school since it was founded. The percentage of females is very low. Interestingly, when nursing was introduced as a degree course, it attracted more males than females as it acquired a higher status.
5. Reference is hereby made of Nchanda the spirit medium in Zimbabwe who lead the Ndebele in their resistance against colonial occupation, and later one of her spirit mediums provided both moral and actual military guidance to the freedom fighters. Individuals like Joshua Nkomo and other leaders of the liberation movement did consult Nchanda in cases of military strategy and tactics during crisis phases. I had a chance to personally interview one of the spirit mediums in 1992.
6. This is a generalisation which has to be taken with some amount of caution especially if we are generalising on trends in Africa. My daughter for instance, attended a co-education secondary school in Zimbabwe which allocated most of the duties to girls which forced them to wake up earlier than the boys, so that they clean the dining hall, the school environment, and the younger girls were even forced to do laundry for boys who were in various sports clubs. We might need to study the allocation of activities in co-educational or even in single sex schools to compare the type of activities girls are expected to do in comparison to what boys do in both single sex and co-educational schools.
7. It is for instance estimated that more than 15 million girls' aged 15 and 19 give birth each year. See the Global Platform of Action (A/Conf.177/L.1 pages 25).
8. The Women's Research and Documentation Project (WRDP) undertook a research project which focused on different aspects of teenage pregnancy. Among aspects which were explored in this study included: school girls knowledge about and attitudes towards modern contraceptives, legal aspects of teenage girls reproductive health in Tanzania, factors contributing to school girls pregnancy in Tanzania, to mention but few. See WRDP reports on this field for further details.
9. This survey was conducted by *Walio Katika Harakati za Kupambana Na UKIMWI (Those who are struggling to fight)*. The survey just covered a few schools in Dar es Salaam and a very small sample of the school population.
10. There might be an exception to this rule. Some girls graduating from schools with very assertive heads of schools like Weruweru, for instance, are exceptionally assertive and have self-confidence. I observed a remarkable difference of girls from such schools and other schools in one of the high schools I taught.
11. The UDSM wall literature, popularly referred to as *Punch* for instance, has constantly carried very abusive sexist literature sometimes attacking individual girls and at times directed to all the female population. Ten commandments are given

each academic year, and female students have never seriously challenged the sexism in the wall literature nor have they collectively challenged the University administration for the silence and indifference to sexual abuses. This is despite the fact that the wall literature once led to a suicidal case which was also treated mildly by the administration.

12. The transfer was one way of reminding my husband of the patriarchal rules. As a motivation of this transfer, he was also promised that he would in time get promoted to a position of principal. And indeed, this is what happened after a year. I either had to abandon my university career or abandon matrimony. I chose the former.
13. I was once teaching in a girls boarding school in Korogwe. I had 33 hours per week as there were no teachers in History and Political Education. I was thus forced to teach from Form One to Form Six, both History and Political Education. Later, I was posted in an urban school, that is Forodhani co-educational school. I was allocated 12 hours per week, I thought this was an incredibly low load, only to find out that I was carrying a relatively heavier load than my colleagues in other disciplines. There were teachers who just had four hours per week and the average was 8 hours per week. Surprisingly, the school was not performing better than the one in which we shared a heavy load.
14. Tanzania has for instance ratified both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination and on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The UNESCO convention against discrimination in Education, the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights and so forth.
15. This was an observation made by the Tanzanian Task Force Report of July 1992. Ministry of Education, 1st Draft.
16. This figure was based on the assumption that if the school age population during this period increased by 30%, which is, considered to be a rather conservative estimate, then the enrolment ratio would have naturally been expected to have fallen by a similar proportion if there was no expansion of the schooling institutions.
17. This information was given to me during a visit to Zanzibar schools during an evaluation of the Danida Primary School Project. I was informed that most girls tended to drop out of school after puberty because they start school at an older age due to lack of space, and due to long distances they have to cover from and to school, they are forced to drop out immediately after puberty for security reasons.
18. This is an observation made in the Beijing Country Report which was prepared for the Fourth Women Global Conference which took place in Beijing, China, August/September 1995.
19. The reasons for deaths are not however documented, and gender aggregated data for causes of morbidity is not available. One can however make some speculative

suggestions. It is possible that some girls die due to attempts of committing 'illegal' abortion. It is also possible that poor nutritional status makes girls vulnerable to other diseases including malaria. Alternatively, some might be dying due to AIDS and other sexually related diseases. This is again a grey area which needs careful research and documentation.

20. This does not include the seminaries.
21. Poor performance of girls needs a more careful study. There is a need to examine the resource allocation of boys and girls schools to determine whether or not there is a gender bias in the allocation of resources which, includes both human and material resources.
22. My own daughter for instance who had been allocated to do the science stream was discouraged from doing domestic science because this was a subject combination assigned to most of the girls who could not do the science stream. Although she forced herself into the domestic, science which she combined with the sciences, she realised later that she could not do it at advanced level because there were no high schools offering this combination.
23. One ex-participant in technical secondary school was very bitter with what came out of her career. She was an intelligent girl who had a first class division in her Ordinary Level exams. She completed her Ordinary Level when the Ministry had introduced a system of forcing girls to join technical schools as a method of responding to the critique of gender discrimination. This girl had an ambition of becoming an engineer and not a technician. She reluctantly joined a technical college and pursued a certificate course and later rejoined to pursue a diploma course. She is concerned that the number of years she has spent in training could have earned her a post graduate degree course, and that she would have been holding a higher skilled job by now. In addition to the frustrations of having taken such a long route before achieving an appreciable professional level, the government further frustrated the diploma holders by not categorising the qualification as had been indicated in government circulars. To add salt to a fresh wound, she has been working on temporary basis because of some technicalities of hiring in the Post and Telecommunications Corporation for the past 12 years! This is against established rules and regulations.
24. We are making a reference of such studies as the Review of Educational Materials from a Gender perspective. (See Mbilinyi and Mbughuni (eds.), 1992).
25. This was once tried when the Women's Research and Documentation Project initiated a radio programme in which girls spoke out their views on school girls pregnancy. Unfortunately when it just took off, the project was cancelled by Radio Tanzania for what sounded as political reasons. Exploiting the more open environment in the media, more programmes should be encouraged to enable women to voice, their concerns in areas which specifically affect their schooling and career prospects.

26. Before she became member of parliament, Ms. Kamm was headmistress in Weru Weru one of the best girls schools during that time. She did not believe in expelling pregnant girls. But since the Ministry had this regulation, she decided to run a parallel school for the girls who had failed to complete their schooling because of pregnancy. This combined child care and schooling. There have been no studies to analyse its success and constraints, but some individuals who have benefited from this programme have been able to pursue further studies and other professional training.

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