

# **(E)QUALITY**

## ***GIRLS' AND BOYS' BASIC EDUCATION IN MASASI AND KISARAWA DISTRICTS***



**Research Report by a Joint Team  
from**

**Ministry of Education and Culture  
kuleana centre for children's rights  
UNICEF Tanzania**

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This is a research report by a joint team from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) Tanzania, kuleana centre for children's rights in Mwanza, and UNICEF Tanzania. We owe sincere gratitude to the Research Unit and gender experts within MOEC, the Research & Training Department, and Management of kuleana, and to the Education Unit, BELSA and gender experts within UNICEF, for great support and comments on the draft report. Special thanks go to CIDA and NORAD for financing the study. Hopefully the report can contribute to a deeper understanding of qualitative aspects of girls' and boys' basic education and be useful in the work towards quality education for all girls and boys in Tanzania. This is highly relevant not least now when Tanzania is at the point of implementing the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) which aims at revitalising the primary education system and enrolling all children between 7 and 10 years old by 2004.

Dar es Salaam, July 2001

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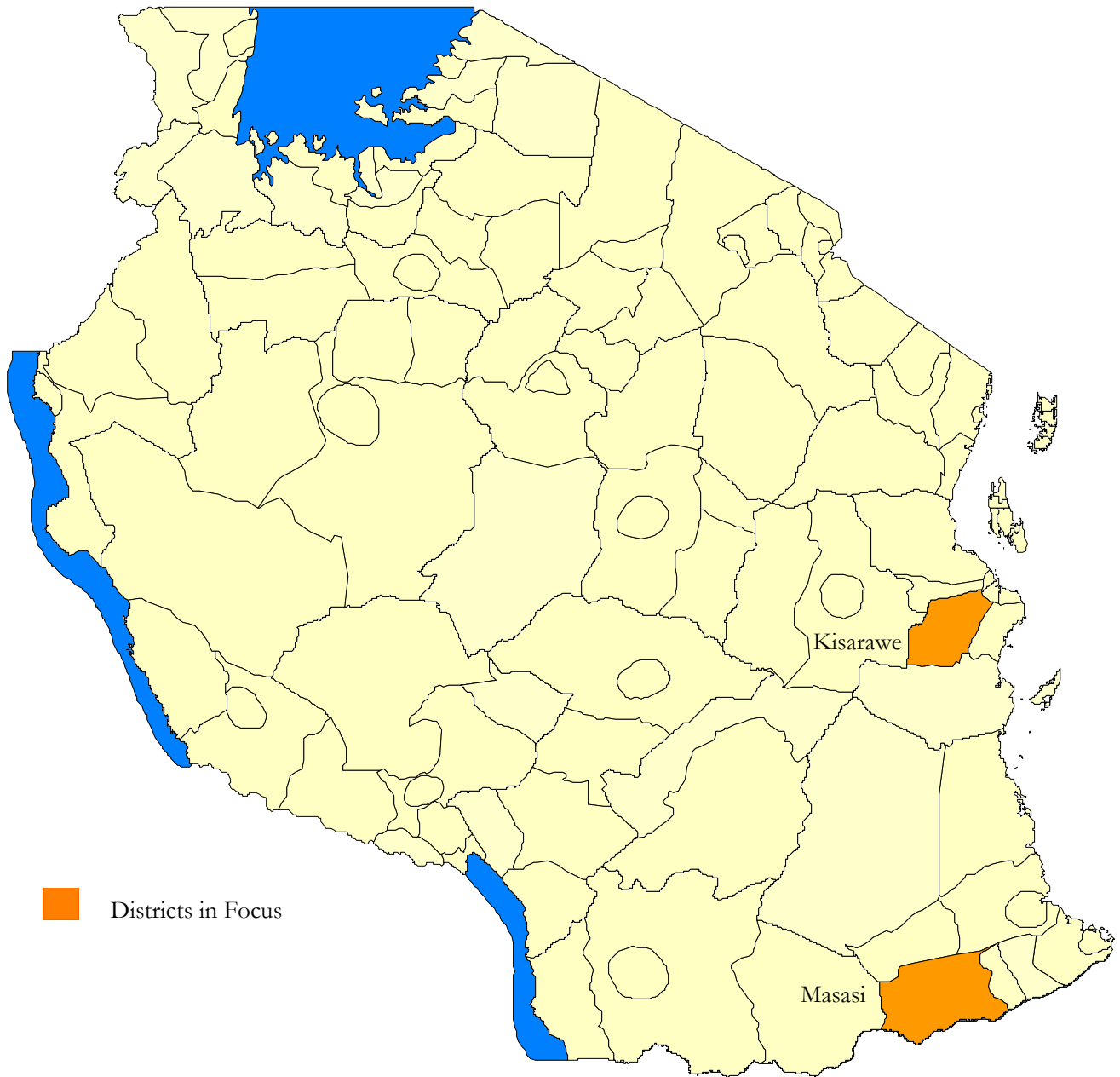
## Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CFS	Child Friendly School
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COBET	Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania
DBSPE	District Based Support to Primary Education
DED	District Executive Director
DEO	District Education Officer
DPLO	District Planning Officer
ESARO	Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IGA	Income Generating Activity Group
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
ND	No Data
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examinations
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
TADREG	Tanzania Development Research Group
Tsh	Tanzanian Shillings
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UMATI	Tanzania Family Planning Association
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USD	US Dollars
WABEM	Ward Based Education Management
WEC	Ward Education Co-ordinator

## Glossary

<i>bangi</i>	marijuana
<i>jando</i>	initiation ceremony for boys
<i>khanga</i>	piece of material used by women to wrap around the waist
<i>kijweni</i>	jobless corner or hangout for children/youth
<i>kweli</i>	really
<i>madrassa</i>	Islamic education
<i>maalim</i>	Islamic teacher
<i>malaya</i>	prostitute, commercial sex worker
<i>Mama Lishe</i>	female food vendor
<i>mjomba</i>	maternal uncle
<i>ngoma</i>	festivity with drumming and dancing
<i>shamba</i>	farm
<i>uji</i>	porridge
<i>unyago</i>	initiation ceremony for girls

# MAP SHOWING THE DISTRICTS IN FOCUS



## **ABSTRACT**

The focus in this study is girls' and boys' access to, performance and participation in primary education and complementary basic education (COBET) in Masasi and Kisarawe Districts, Tanzania. Primary education and complementary basic education are also seen in relation to each other and put into the context of the daily life of girls and boys, and other forms of education provided in the community. Qualitative methods were used to capture perceptions and views from girls, boys, teachers, parents/guardians and other community members. A common opinion was that it is a more secure investment to educate boys than girls, especially due to the risk that a girl might get pregnant. Concerning the selection of children out-of school for COBET, it was clear that boys were more prioritised. While boys are regarded to be in need of education because they are seen hanging around without anything to do, girls are at home, occupied with household chores. Another finding was that girls' generally perform less than boys in both primary education and in COBET. Girls tend to be less confident, which is a disadvantage for them in the classroom where the teachers tend to communicate most with the active pupils.

**Key words:** Basic Education, COBET, Boys, Gender, Girls, Kisarawe, Masasi, Primary Education, Quality, Tanzania

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Tanzania is striving towards Education for All. This is a major challenge, due to the fact that about three million children between 7 and 13 years old are out-of school, or almost half the school-aged population. COBET (Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania) was initiated by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), with support from UNICEF, as one way of providing basic education to children who have dropped out of school or who have never entered primary education. COBET aims at providing basic education to girls in particular, a goal that was not realised in Masasi and Kisarawe, the first two districts where COBET was introduced. In these two districts, about one third of the pupils in COBET are girls.

This study is a collaboration between MOEC Tanzania, kuleana centre for children's rights and UNICEF Tanzania. The need for the study emerged when trying to understand why few girls had been registered in COBET, despite the deliberate aim to enrol girls. A hypothesis was that the low enrolment of girls in COBET was a symptom of a cultural norm in society, where girls' education is given lower priority than boys' education. COBET could therefore not be studied in isolation, but had to be put in relation to primary education and the daily life led by girls and boys in the community.

The main objective of this study was to increase the understanding of girls' and boys' basic education in the areas in Masasi and Kisarawe Districts where COBET has been established. Of particular interest was girls' and boys' access to basic education, the performance and the participation of girls and boys in primary education and in COBET, and the reasons behind these indicators. Part of the aim was to look into the relationship between primary education and COBET and the linkage between Basic Education and other forms of education, such as initiation ceremonies, religious education and secondary education.

Qualitative methods were used to reflect opinions about the educational situation of girls and boys and to gather suggestions on how to improve girls' and boys' basic education. A total of 60 focus group discussions were held with girls and boys in and out-of-school, parents/guardians, teachers, peer educators, artists and influential persons, such as political, religious and traditional leaders in the community. Around 20 individual interviews were conducted, with focus on girls and boys in primary school and in COBET. Each focus group met once or twice in each research area and the number of participants in each group was limited to seven. The views, observations and suggestions from the respondents constitute the data in this study.

A combination of reasons for girls' lower enrolment in COBET were found:

- **Fewer girls than boys were found to be out of school during the needs assessment – tracer study.** This study was done prior to the introduction of COBET.<sup>1</sup> It is stated in the report that girls out of school were more difficult to find than boys out of school, but it is not suggested that there actually are fewer girls out of school.

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<sup>1</sup> MOEC & UNICEF (1998): *A Report on COBET Initiatives in Tanzania: A Needs Assessment - Tracer Study of Out of School Children in Maneromango Division, Kisarawe District and Lisekese Division in Masasi District*. Compiled and written by Dr N. B. Katunzi, Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam. Reviewed by Dr A.O. Agu and S. Manda, Education UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

- **Girls were not as prioritised as boys among the out-of-school children during the COBET enrolment process.** Boys, who are visibly out of school, are considered to be in need of education, if only to keep them from loitering around and engaging in bad behaviour. Girls, on the other hand, are regarded as easier to control and less visibly out of school because they are at home or in somebody else's house, working. Community members were not aware that COBET aimed at giving priority to girls, which means that those 'obviously' out of school were enrolled, i.e. boys.
- **Girls have a more central role in the household than boys.** This means that the opportunity cost for sending a girl to school is higher than for a boy.
- **A symptom of a common opinion that it is a more secure investment to educate boys than girls.** The main reason for this was that girls might get pregnant, which would mean expulsion from school and that the educational investment is wasted.
- **Many girls out-of-school are regarded to be too old to go to school.** They approach an appropriate age of getting married and some of them already have children. The time in their life where basic education could have formed part is therefore already regarded to be long gone.

One of the major concerns raised was the high cost of primary education. An important aspect of the cost of education is that girls from poor families often are forced to engage in sexual relationships in order to obtain necessary items for school such as exercise books, soap and a little bit of money. The need for such items is in fact a major cause of pregnancy among schoolgirls. This should also be seen within the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic where girls in the age group 15-19 years old are up to six times more likely to be infected with the virus.<sup>2</sup> Sexual exploitation of girls was found to be a serious issue not only within a financial context. Respondent girls expressed that men who approach them asking for a sexual relationship expect a yes and generally do not accept a no. The girls are therefore running the risk of being raped.

Girls' tend to have a lower performance both in primary school and in COBET. Explanations given to this were that girls have a greater responsibility for tasks both at home and in school. They therefore have less time to do homework, are more tired than boys in school. As a result, they perform less than boys and are less active in the classroom. Another explanation found was that while boys are encouraged to play, visit neighbours and to socialise, girls are told to do their household chores and to stay around the house. Boys have therefore acquired a greater confidence, which is to their advantage in the classroom. When girls have gone through the initiation ceremony, they often become self-conscious and preoccupied with thoughts about boyfriends and marriage and it was said that this could have a negative effect on their performance in school and lead to drop out.

COBET was looked at in relation to primary school and it was clear that COBET was seen mainly as an alternative for children from families who cannot afford primary education for all children and for children who have dropped out of school. COBET was commonly not regarded as a 'real' school and this was manifested in a demand for greater recognition of COBET and to make COBET more similar to primary school. Although many respondents would prefer primary education, there were several aspects in COBET

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<sup>2</sup>United Nations Tanzania (2001): *United Nations Development Assistance Framework Tanzania 2002-2006*. United Nations Tanzania, Dar es Salaam.

which were regarded as positive. Respondents appreciated that there are no school fees and uniforms in COBET and that the teachers do not beat the children. They stated that the relationship between the learners and the teachers is good and that the children in COBET learn fast. The curriculum was commended for including vocational subjects and for being relevant for the life led in the community. Perceived as positive was also that there are no extra curricula activities such as to work on the *shamba*.

Many respondents doubted the quality of the primary education provided to the children and the motivation for sending children to school is therefore low. One of the results of poor quality of education is the fact that few children are selected to continue to secondary school. There were schools in the research areas from which no pupil has ever been selected for secondary education.

Issues of concern regarding primary school were high cost of education, poor state of the school buildings, insufficient availability of teaching and learning material and the substantial amount of manual labour that the children do in school, at expense of the actual time spent in the classroom. Parents and pupils felt that they have limited influence over how the school is run, how the money earned by the pupils is spent and parents said that they do not know how their children perform in school. Practically all respondents regarded corporal punishment as negative.

The respondents made the following recommendations in order to improve girls' and boys' basic education:

- make primary education cheaper or free
- improve the buildings and provide safe latrines
- abolish or decrease corporal punishment
- decrease manual labour in school and give equal chores to girls and boys
- have more vocational skills, English and information about HIV/AIDS in the curriculum
- offer regular training for teachers
- improve the contact between the school and the community
- provide school meals
- let girls who become mothers go back to school
- expand COBET to other wards where the access to primary education is low
- increase recognition of COBET
- increase vocational skills in COBET
- provide school meals more often in COBET

In relation to the daily life of girls and boys and other forms of education, it was suggested that:

- equal chores should be given to girls and boys at home
- the options for vocational and secondary education should be expanded
- children should be older when they go through the initiation ceremony

The researchers recommend the following recommendations:

*Policy development*

- minimise the cost of primary education
- let children continue with their education despite pregnancy
- use alternative forms of punishments

*Equality and quality of education*

- promote gender equality in school
- take actions against the frequent sexual exploitation of girls
- regular training for teachers
- give girls and boys an opportunity to guidance and counselling
- strive for an equal enrolment in COBET
- provide school meals
- include mothers in the school committees

*Increased access to basic education and the potential of traditional and religious education*

- strengthen the link between the formal system and COBET
- expand COBET for older children
- look into the possibilities of using satellite schools
- work with facilitators for initiation ceremonies and religious education so that these forms of education also can be used to provide elements of basic education, such as life skills

## *Education is the key to life in this world*

*I begin by thanking the leaders of the country  
Because you are alert in thinking about education  
Children are at a loss, not knowing what to do  
Education is the key to life in this world*

*Children should go to school, do not take this lightly  
They should not play around doing nothing in the streets  
Should you ever go to Mbezi to work on the shamba,  
Education is the key to life in this world*

*We also call upon the parents in this country  
They should be alert to the issues pertaining to education  
So that they are the flag bearers to education issues  
Education is the key to life in this world*

*And we should not discriminate between boys and girls  
Not "Juma, you should go to school because you will be of help to me in the future!"  
And "Zainabu, stay at home to do the housework!"  
Education is the key to life in this world*

*And the parents should make sure they understand well the value of education  
Because education is like an endless ocean  
It will sweep away your ignorance, should you value it  
Education is the key to life in this world*

*Let me end here so as to have a good rest  
I have explained everything without hesitation  
I am now happy that I have been able to give the message  
Education is the key to life in this world*

Poem written by Mahamudu Abdalah  
Artist in Msanga ward, Kisarawe

## 1.1 Background

Tanzania has a proud past and a challenging future concerning basic education. Through the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme, launched in the 1970s, impressive results were accomplished. The number of children enrolled in primary school increased substantially and the gender differences that existed in primary education enrolment were almost eliminated. However, since the middle of the 1980s the educational standard has declined dramatically. Many schools do not have enough teachers and classrooms, there is a shortage of teaching and learning materials and the school buildings are badly maintained. About three million of the seven million school-aged children are out of school and in many communities, there is a dissatisfaction concerning the education provided. The Tanzanian Government is well aware of the problems and is currently developing strategies to reform the basic education system in the country, for example through a new Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006) which will be implemented from 2002 within the framework of the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). The objective is to enrol all children aged between 7 and 10 years old in primary school by 2004 and the vision is to provide quality basic education for all children.

No significant gender differences can be seen in Tanzanian educational statistics at primary school level. Girls enrol in primary school at par with boys, boys drop out of school as frequently as girls do and as many girls as boys complete primary school, although there are regional disparities. Also in secondary school, girls enrol almost at par with boys. However, when looking into statistics of performance, gender disparities are revealed. Girls' generally perform worse than boys, both in primary school and in secondary school. This is shown for example in the Primary School Leaving Exam (PSLE), where girls consistently get lower grades than their male peers, especially in subjects such as science and mathematics. The near parity between the sexes as related to the enrolment in secondary school is due to a deliberate effort by the government to increase the ratio of girls entering secondary education. This is achieved by lowering the cut-off point for girls and girls can therefore enter secondary school with lower grades. At an upper secondary level, Form V and VI, where there is no quota system, only 25 percent of the students are girls.<sup>3</sup>

COBET (Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania) was introduced by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) in selected wards in five districts<sup>4</sup> between 1999 and 2000 as one way to provide basic education to out-of-school children, with particular emphasis on girls. However, in the first two districts, Masasi and Kisarawe, this second goal was not accomplished. In Masasi District, the share of girls in COBET is 29 percent and in Kisarawe District, girls constitute 38 percent of the pupils.

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<sup>3</sup> For educational statistics, see e.g. MOEC (2000): *Basic Statistics in Education. 1999 Regional Data, and Basic Statistics in Education. 1995-1999. National Data*. MOEC, Dar es Salaam. For an analysis of PSLE results, see MOEC (1999): *An analysis of Primary School Leaving Examination Results 1993-1997. Pupil Performance in Language, General Knowledge and Mathematics*. A report of a study initiated by MOEC and sponsored by UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

<sup>4</sup> The districts are Masasi, Kisarawe, Songea Rural, Musoma Rural and Ngara.

## 1.2 Rationale

The need for this study emerged when trying to investigate why few girls were enrolled in COBET in Masasi and Kisarawe Districts, despite the deliberate aim to reach girls in particular. A hypothesis was that the low enrolment in COBET was a symptom of a common view in the community that boys' education is of higher priority than girls' education. It was therefore important to put COBET in relation to primary education, but also to the daily life of girls and boys and other forms of education provided in the community. In order to understand education priorities and the situation of girls and boys in school, it was seen as central that the main sources of information would be various actors on a community level, where the actual education of children takes place.<sup>5</sup> These actors are girls and boys in and out-of-school, parents/guardians of children in and out-of-school, teachers, COBET teachers (facilitators), young people in and out-of-school, ward officials and influential men and women such as village leaders, political leaders, religious leaders and men and women who teach during initiation ceremonies.

Many vital studies on gender and education have been done in Tanzania.<sup>6</sup> However, few of these studies have had the intention to capture the voices and opinions of the various actors on the village educational arena and no research has so far been conducted where primary education is looked into in relation to COBET. The added value of this study is that it tries to reflect girls' and boys' basic educational situation from the respondents' points of view and that it puts primary education in relation to COBET. In addition, basic education is seen within the context of other forms of education. The opinions and ideas of respondents are the main source of data and their recommendations on how to improve the educational situation of girls and boys in their community are presented.

## 1.3 Objective

The main objective in this study is to increase our understanding of girls' and boys' access to, performance and participation in basic education and the reasons behind them from the point of views of various community members in the COBET wards in Masasi and Kisarawe Districts.

More specifically, the aims of the study are to:

- Identify and understand factors that facilitate and/or inhibit girls' and boys' access to, performance and participation in basic education from the perspective of different actors in the society.
- Capture views and perceptions of these actors about primary education, COBET and other forms of education provided in society, such as secondary education, vocational training, initiation rites and religious education.
- Look into the current and future roles of girls and boys in the community.
- Bring forward recommendations from the different groups in the community concerning potential solutions and the way forward to improve girls' and boys' access to, performance and participation in basic education.

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<sup>5</sup> The need for qualitative and quantitative sub-national data, preferably down to the village level, is recognised e.g. by UNICEF ESARO (1999): *Indicators III on Primary Education in Eastern and Southern Africa. With a Special Reference to the Education of Girls*. UNICEF ESARO, Nairobi.

<sup>6</sup> For reference to these studies, see chapter 3, Literature Review.

## 1.4 Research Questions

The following questions are of relevance in this study:

- What are the motives for sending girls and boys to primary school and COBET?
- What are the reasons for non-enrolment and drop out?
- How do girls and boys participate and perform in primary school and COBET? Are there differences in their levels of participation and between primary school and COBET?
- What are different community members' perceptions of primary education, COBET and other forms of education, such as secondary education, vocational training, initiation rites and religious education?
- How can the various forms of education be improved?
- Which daily activities do girls' and boys' have and what do they do during their leisure time?
- How do girls and boys see their future?

## 1.5 A presentation of the research areas

Masasi District is one of the five districts in Mtwara Region in Southern Tanzania and COBET is located in Masasi and Lisekese Wards<sup>7</sup>. Masasi Ward is the ward closest to the town centre and therefore has many urban characteristics such as a bus-station, bars, guesthouses and markets. Lisekese is situated further away from town and is more dominated by agriculture and livestock as main sources of socio-economic activities. The major crops are maize, cassava, sorghum, paddy rice, peas, cashewnuts and groundnuts and many people keep livestock such as cattle, goats, pigs and poultry. The main source of income in the district is cashewnuts and those who grow and maintain such farms constitute about 30 percent of the population. The prevalent tribes in Masasi District are Makua, Makonde and Yao and although the tribes to some extent have different traditions, intermarriages and modernisation have meant that traditions nowadays are merged. The matrilineal tradition in Masasi, where the maternal uncle (the oldest brother in the family) has the responsibility for his sister's children, is dissolving. Today, the father usually has the main responsibility for the children. There is a blend of religions in Masasi. Many people are Roman Catholics, Muslims or Anglicans, but Lutheranism, animism and other religious belief are present as well.

Increased production of cashewnuts has during the last few years made Masasi a relatively wealthy district. However, the majority of the population is poor and lacks access to basic services such as education, safe water and health. Around the bus stand in Masasi, many school-aged children, boys in particular, spend the days far away from school, trying to make a living out of selling maize, *uji* (porridge), cashewnuts and fruit.

In Kisarawe District, Pwani (Coast) Region, COBET is located in Maneromango, Msanga and Marumbo Wards. Among these three wards, Maneromango is the centre and buses to Dar es Salaam go through Maneromango several times a day, a journey which takes about 4-5 hours. Most people make their living out of agriculture and the most important crops are cassava, maize, coconuts, fruits such as oranges, pineapples and

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<sup>7</sup> A ward is an administrative unit under the district level. Each ward is administering a number of villages.

jackfruit. Some farmers also have cashewnut farms, but it is not as prevalent as in Masasi District. The close location to Dar es Salaam means that many people go to Dar es Salaam to sell their crops, to look for employment or other sources of income. It is therefore common that children stay with their grandparents while their parents are working in Dar es Salaam and due to parents' migration to town, there are also child-headed households. The land is fertile, but the area is very poor in terms of cash, the farming is done at household level and there are no industries in the area. Drinking water is a problem because there are no nearby rivers and therefore people depend on wells, which often are located far away from the household. To fetch water is therefore a time consuming activity, mainly done by women. The people in the research area are originally from the Zaramo tribe and like in Masasi, there is a mixture of religious believes such as Islam, Roman Catholicism and Anglican, although the majority is Muslim.

### ***A statistical overview of basic education in the research areas***

In 1997, a school mapping exercise was conducted in Kisarawe District, the first school mapping which was done in Tanzania. Masasi District was school mapped in 1999.<sup>8</sup> Data from these school mappings show that very few children enrol at the age of seven. For example in Maneromango Ward, only 20 percent of the children aged seven are enrolled in school and the average for the district is 30 percent. In Masasi District, the average is higher, 42 percent. The reasons for the low age-seven enrolment given in the Kisarawe school mapping report is that parents are unable to pay school fees, the communities do not value education and fear that something would happen to the young children on the way to school if the school is far away.

Table 1.1 Gross- and Net enrolment rates, Drop-out and Transition from primary school to Secondary school in Masasi and Kisarawe Districts, and national level.<sup>9</sup>

District/ Ward	GER (%)			NER (%)			Drop-out (%)			TR to Sec. school (%)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<b>Masasi District</b>	91	95	93	67	65	66	10	9	10	7	5	6
Masasi ward	89	85	87	30	33	32	6	7	7	19	20	20
Lisekese ward	123	70	97	75	76	76	10	10	10	10	10	10
<b>Kisarawe District</b>	ND	ND	88	ND	ND	66	10	11	10	5	5	5
M'mango ward	ND	ND	75	ND	ND	60	4	4	4	6.3	5	5.7
Msanga ward	ND	ND	111	ND	ND	90	17	18	18	4.5	4.4	4.5
Marumbo ward	ND	ND	115	ND	ND	71	0.4	0.9	0.7	1.9	1.6	1.8
<b>National data</b>	77	76	76	56	57	57	5.4	4.4	5	15	13	14

Source: MOEC & UNICEF (1997), MOEC and UNICEF (2000) and MOEC (2000)

<sup>8</sup> MOEC & UNICEF (1997): *School Mapping in Kisarawe District*. MOEC and UNICEF, Dar es Salaam and MOEC & UNICEF (2000): *School Mapping for Masasi District*. Final Version, MOEC and UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

<sup>9</sup> Education statistics from the wards and districts was difficult to obtain and the statistics in table 1.1 is therefore derived from the school mapping reports which were done different years. The data for Kisarawe is based on data from 1997, the statistics from Masasi is from 1999 and the national data is from 1998.

The school mapping in Masasi states that there is a trend for a lower Net Enrolment Ratio (NER)<sup>10</sup> for females in the majority of the wards as compared to that of the males and that more girls than boys are out-of-school. As can be seen in table 1.1, the NER is lower for girls in the district as a whole in Masasi, but higher in Masasi and Lisekese Wards, which means that there are regional differences between the wards. The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)<sup>11</sup> in Masasi District is higher for females than for males. The data in the school mapping in Kisarawe is not disaggregated by gender and it is therefore not possible to tell what the trend is. As also can be seen in table 1.1, drop out is high in both Masasi and Kisarawe Districts, but there are no large gender disparities.<sup>12</sup> Regarding transition to secondary school, an equal share of girls and boys are selected to secondary school in Kisarawe District, while fewer girls than boys are selected in Masasi District. This is despite the fact that the cut-off point for girls to be selected to secondary school is lower for girls than for boys in order to achieve parity enrolment.

The situation of basic education is improving in both Masasi and Kisarawe Districts, both in terms of enrolment and performance, although basic education is far from being provided to all children who have reached school-going age. In both Masasi and Kisarawe, 10 COBET centres were established in 1999, as one way to provide basic education to children out-of-school. As already mentioned, a particular aim was to reach girls, a goal which was not realised. The out-of-school children whom COBET caters for are children who have never entered primary education and children who have dropped out of school. After COBET, the children will have a chance to continue with their education in the formal education system.

Characteristic for COBET is that there are no direct costs involved, the children do not wear uniform and the school days are shorter, leaving time for other activities such as household chores and income generating activities. In COBET, interactive teaching and learning methods are used and corporal punishment is not allowed. The COBET curriculum is designed to cover the essential content of primary education and to suit the life and needs of the learners. It contains five main subjects: *Language* (Swahili and English), *Mathematics*, *General Knowledge*, *Vocational Skills* and *Personality Development*. The curriculum covers a three-year cycle and the children are divided into two age cohorts. In cohort I, the children are aged between 8 and 13 when they enrol and in cohort II, the children are between 14 and 18 years old. After the three-year cycle, the cohort learners will do a placement test to enrol in primary school at a suitable level and the cohort II learners will have the opportunity to sit for the primary school leaving exam in order to be selected for secondary school. Each COBET centre has a COBET committee where parents/guardians are central members. Community members were consulted when the COBET curricula and time-table were developed, the community provided the school buildings and community members played an important part in the identification and selection of the out-of-school children who would get a chance to enrol in COBET.

In each COBET centre, there are about 30 children and three facilitators. One facilitator is a trained teacher, paid by the National Government and two are para-professionals, Form IV secondary school leavers recruited from the area and paid by the District

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<sup>10</sup> Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) is the share of 7 to 13 year old children enrolled in school in relation to the total age 7 to 13 population.

<sup>11</sup> Gross enrolment Ratio (GER) is the number of children enrolled in school in relation to the total age 7 to 13 year old population.

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the drop-out rates are the officially reported rates, but it is estimated that the true drop-out rates often are higher.

Council. All COBET facilitators undergo continuous training. Table 1.2 and 1.3 show the number of learners and facilitators in COBET in Kisarawe and Masasi Districts. About 30 children were enrolled in each COBET centre in Kisarawe District, while the number of learners enrolled in Masasi District was slightly higher. There are fewer girls in COBET in both Masasi and Kisarawe. Female facilitators in Kisarawe are the minority, while there is an equal share of female and male facilitators in Masasi.

Table 1.2 Number of learners and facilitators in COBET in Kisarawe District, as of November, 2000

COBET Centre	Age cohort	Number of learners			Facilitators	
		M	F	Total	M	F
M'Sokoni	II	19	12	31	2	1
Boga	I	14	16	30	3	0
Mengwa	I	18	13	31	1	2
Ngongele	I	18	9	27	2	1
Msanga Sokoni	II	21	9	30	2	1
Mianzi	II	20	10	30	1	2
Bembeza	II	20	10	30	1	2
Marumbo	I	18	13	31	3	0
Mfuru	I	18	12	30	1	2
Chang'ombe	I	20	10	30	2	1
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>187</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>

Source: Kisarawe District Education Office, 2001

Table 1.3 Number of learners and facilitators in COBET in Masasi District, as of December, 2000

COBET Centre	Age cohort	Number of learners			Facilitators	
		M	F	Total	M	F
Mkomaindo	I	29	11	40	2	1
Migongo	I	26	12	38	0	3
Temeke	I	23	17	40	1	2
Mkuti	II	25	11	36	1	2
Nangose	II	26	4	30	1	2
Mbonde	II	35	4	39	2	1
Namkungwi	II	23	15	38	2	1
Mwenge Mtapika	II	21	5	26	2	1
Mkarakate	I	19	16	35	2	1
Mpekoso	I	26	9	35	2	1
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>253</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>

Source: Masasi District Education Office, 2001

In a needs assessment - tracer study, done prior to the introduction of COBET, a total of about 500 children out-of-school children were identified in respective areas, among whom 300 enrolled in COBET. A majority of the out-of-school children found were boys and it is explained in the report that girls were difficult to trace and to interview because they were kept indoors and because some of them were undergoing the initiation ceremony.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that not all out-of-school children in the area were traced and no estimations on how many girls and boys actually were out of school are presented.

<sup>13</sup> MOEC & UNICEF (1998): *A Report on COBET Initiatives in Tanzania: A Needs Assessment - Tracer Study of Out of School Children in Maneromango Division, Kisarawe District and Lisekese Division in Masasi District.*

2.1 The methods

Different qualitative methods of data collection were used during the research so that what was not captured in one method could be obtained through another technique. The methods used were *focus group discussion*, *individual interview*, *role-play*, *venn-diagram*, *timeline*, *classroom observation* and *transect walk*.

Figure 2.1 Explanation of the research methods used in the study

Method	Description
<i>Focus group discussion</i>	The various actors identified discussed separately in a group limited to seven respondents, for instance seven girls in COBET. The researchers followed an interview guide with semi-structured questions (see appendix B). As far as possible, female researchers held focus group discussions with female respondents and vice versa since it was anticipated that it would be easier for the respondents to discuss sensitive issues with researchers of the same sex. The focus group discussion started with a self-introduction of the researchers and the respondents, the aim of the research was explained and the respondents were guaranteed confidentiality. In the focus group discussions with children, games were used as ice-breakers and energisers.
<i>Individual interview</i>	The individual interviews started with an introduction of the researcher and respondent, the aim of the research and a guarantee of confidentiality. The researcher made sure that the questions in the interview guide were covered, but tried as much as possible to focus on the respondent's experiences and life history.
<i>Role-play</i>	Role-play was used in a few of the respondent groups. The topic 'issues concerning girls' and boys' education' was given to the group and then it was up to the group to compose and present a role-play on this theme. The focus group discussion then started with a discussion about the role-play. The method was also used when the findings of the research were presented at the information sharing seminars in the research areas. The artists and peer educators who were part of the research team composed and presented the findings through a role-play and then one of them facilitated a discussion among the seminar participants around the play.
<i>Venn-diagram</i>	One of the questions in the interview guide was about the social relationship between the girl child or the boy child and the rest of the family and community. This relationship was drawn on a piece of paper or illustrated by the focus group participants by acting different family members and standing close or far away from one another.
<i>Time-line</i>	Another question in the interview guide was how girls and boys in the community spend their day, like when they wake up, which chores they have in school, if they have time for homework and what they do when they come home from school. The researchers asked about activities which take place on a daily basis, starting from when the girl or boy gets up in the morning until she or he goes to bed.
<i>Classroom observation</i>	This method was used in order to see examples of how the girls and boys behave in the classroom, who and how the pupils answer questions, attendance and how teachers interact with the pupils. This method was to complement the other methods and when classroom observations are referred in the presentation of the findings, it is important to note that they were few and can therefore not be regarded as systematic observations. <sup>14</sup>
<i>Transect walk</i>	Transect walk is a method which was used to collect information informally by walking around in the research area. Observations were made and the researchers had informal conversations with various community members, such as children who were not in school and old women sitting in front of their house. Through transect walks, additional information about the life in the community was gathered.

<sup>14</sup> For more systematic classroom observations, see e.g. Osaki, K.M. & Agu, A. (1999): *Classroom Interaction with Gender and Rights Perspective. A Case Study of Selected Primary Schools in Tanzania*. Report of a Study commissioned by UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

## 2.2 Selection of research areas and sampling

The research areas chosen were Masasi and Lisekese Wards in Masasi District and Maneromango, Msanga and Marumbo Wards in Kisarawe District. They are the wards in which COBET was first introduced and where the enrolment of girls in COBET was low.

Two weeks were spent in each research area. Focus group discussions were held with the different groups once or twice in each research area and individual interviews were conducted with a few respondents from some of the groups in each research area, but with focus on girls and boys in and out of school. A total of 60 focus group discussions and 20 individual interviews were conducted. The researchers followed an interview guide with semi-structured questions (see appendix B) and the discussions were limited to 1,5 hour.

The focus group discussions were held in Swahili and with girls/women and boys/men separately in order to make the respondents feel more comfortable and the number of respondents in each group was limited to seven respondents in order to give everybody a chance to speak. The respondents were guaranteed confidentiality. The sample included the following groups:

- Primary school girls and boys
- Girls and boys in COBET
- Secondary school girls and boys
- Out-of-school girls and boys
- Parents/guardians of primary school pupils
- Parents/guardians of COBET-learners
- Parents/guardians of children out-of-school
- Primary and secondary school teachers
- COBET facilitators
- Traditional, political and religious leaders
- Representatives from the wards
- Representatives from community based organisations (CBOs)
- Women and men who teach during initiation ceremonies
- Young mothers and fathers
- Young peer educators and artists

Around 10 classroom observations were done in primary school and 10 in COBET. Venn-diagrams and time-lines were used in almost all focus group-discussions and individual interviews. Transect walks were done continuously during the research and role-play was used in a few of the respondent groups, mainly with young artists, peer educators and pupils.

The Ward Education Co-ordinators, assisted by resource persons who had participated in the training/orientation, had the responsibility of inviting respondents to the focus group discussions and individual interviews. They had been instructed to aim for diversity regarding age, sex and background so that not particularly top-pupils of a school, only girls, exclusively Standard VII pupils or only children who live with both parents would be selected. The research team was divided into groups of two or three and while some

researchers were facilitating focal group discussions, others were doing individual interviews, classroom observations or transect walks.

## **2.3 Limitations**

This is a qualitative study, which means that the sample is limited and that the data constitutes mainly of information from and the views of the respondents. Each focus group and individual respondent was met once or twice and although a variety of respondents were sought for, they cannot be said to represent the whole community. In addition, sometimes diversity of respondents was not obtained. During a focus group discussion with primary school pupils, it was found out that despite the instructions to the Ward Education Co-ordinators to make sure that there is diversity among the respondents, only orphaned children had been selected to take part in the discussion.<sup>15</sup> When the Ward Education Co-ordinator was questioned about this, he said that the headteachers had done the selection and that he had not been able to make a follow up before the focus group discussion took place.

The data presented cannot be validated in a quantitative analysis. However, this does not mean that the data is not authentic. Although the data cannot be said to be statistically representative for a population, a wide range of respondent groups participated in the study and what is presented may therefore indicate phenomena that could be more broadly valid.

## **2.4 A joint research**

This was a collaborative study between MOEC, kuleana centre for children's rights and UNICEF Tanzania. Each organisation supported the preparation for the research, contributed one researcher and was involved in the analysis of the data and the production of the research report. Masasi and Kisarawe Districts also played instrumental roles in the research by facilitating the research process and contributing with research assistants. A research team was composed of the three national researchers, a teacher, a COBET facilitator, an artist, a peer educator, and a district education officer.

It was anticipated that the study would get more accurate results if key people in the districts, wards and communities would facilitate the research process and this would also increase the chances of making the research into a process that would continue even after the actual research period. Therefore, the research involved training and orientation in the districts before the study and the use of local professionals in the research team. Immediately after the research period, the findings were presented and discussed with various community members (see section 2.6).

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<sup>15</sup> This also raises questions about community members' expectations about the outcome of the research. The headteachers might have thought that if they show that many children have been orphaned, the schools, or the orphaned children, would get assistance in the future.

## **2.5 Training/Orientation**

The fieldwork was conducted in Kisarawe district from 16 January to 1 February, 2001 and in Masasi district from 9 to 24 February, 2001. In each district, the research started with a three-day training/orientation for people in the districts and wards who had been identified as resource people for the research. The District Executive Director (DED), the District Education Officer (DEO), the district COBET Co-ordinator, the District Planning Officer (DPLO) and the primary school teachers, COBET facilitators, Ward Education Co-ordinators (WECs), peer educators and artists<sup>16</sup> participated.

During the training, child rights, gender awareness in education, the methodologies and techniques that were going to be used were discussed as well as attitudes, ethics, behaviour and confidentiality. A guide to the researchers (see appendix A) was provided to all participants.

## **2.6 Information sharing in the research areas**

An information-sharing seminar was held in the respective research areas on the last day of the research in each area. It was organised by the the research facilitators and was held in Maneromango Ward, Kisarawe District and in Masasi Ward, Masasi District. Representatives from the different respondent groups participated, including primary and secondary school pupils, COBET learners, out-of-school children, teachers, parents/guardians and influential persons in the villages. The research findings were presented both as a report and as a role-play and they were actively commented on and discussed by the participants.

## **2.7 Data analysis**

After each session, the research team met to share information, to make clarifications and plan for the next day. These gatherings were also occasions to discuss the findings of the research and the process of analysing the data therefore began during the research itself.

The rest of the data analysis was made when the material from both research areas had been gathered. The data was organised into categories that to some extent followed the research questions. The aim was to let the findings, as much as possible, speak for themselves, and the discussion chapter is therefore separated from the findings. The results from the two research areas were analysed together, but when issues varied according to area or respondent group, this can be seen in the presentation of the findings.

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<sup>16</sup> Out-of-school youths who are peer educators and artists in Masasi and Kisarawe Districts have played an increasingly important role in the communities through informing about HIV/AIDS through community theatre. To use their capacity in the research process was seen as an advantage because they have already been trained in participatory research and they are recognised by the community. In addition, it was believed that through them, children out-of-school could more easily be reached because their identity is not connected with the school in the same way as teachers' identity is.

## **2.8 Report writing**

A brief summary of the findings was composed by the research assistants and was presented at the information-sharing seminar in the respective research area. One of the national researchers compiled the final report, with input from the other members of the research team and experts from MOEC, kuleana and UNICEF.

A number of reports on gender and qualitative aspects of education in Tanzania have been issued, although some of them focus more exclusively on girls' education. A good overview of the situation of constraints to girls' education in Tanzania is given in one of the chapters in *The State of Education in Tanzania* where findings from various research and reports are presented and discussed.<sup>17</sup> Lower performance of girls is brought up as well as a heavy workload for girls, sexual harassment in school and a gender stereotype division of labour in school. Concerning the expulsion of pregnant schoolgirls it is stated that there is no law that supports the expulsion of pupils due to pregnancy, but that this is the common belief among educators and others. On the other hand, no directives that explicitly states the right of girls to continue with their education has been issued, although it has been on the MOEC agenda since 1996.

One research report often referred to regarding the situation of girls in Tanzania is *The Girl Child in Tanzania – Today's Girl Tomorrow's Woman*.<sup>18</sup> This study covers the different stages in girls' life and education is a central theme within the context of childhood and adolescence. Discussions with parents and members of the community showed that fathers felt that they are not responsible for educating their daughters beyond Standard VII. There was a tendency to enrol girls later than boys due to housework and it was found that late of enrolment has serious implications for girls in particular because they often feel too old to go to school when they have reached puberty. It was also found that the labour in school was very much divided according to gender, which reinforces the traditional division of labour and a heavy workload for girls.

According to parents in *The Girl Child in Tanzania*<sup>19</sup> the striving towards achieving UPE caused a decline in the quality of education. School performance for both boys and girls was very poor in all the villages studied and it was rare that children were selected for secondary school, which has contributed to a lost faith in education among parents and children. According to teachers, girls often do better than boys in the early grades, but at the onset of puberty, they turn their attention to other issues, such as to get married. In some areas the illiteracy for girls among Standard VII leavers was substantially higher than among boys and far fewer girls than boys completed primary school. However, in some districts girls performed better and more girls than boys went to secondary school. The opportunities after primary school were not many for girls in the districts studied. In most cases they would continue with the household tasks which they had been doing all their lives and they were expected to stay at home and work with their mothers until they got married. This sometimes made girls migrate to towns in search for a better life. Many of the girls who migrated to town found jobs as domestic workers, barmaids and commercial sex workers.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Rajani, R. & Robinson, G. (1999): *The State of Education in Tanzania: Crisis and Opportunity*. kuleana centre for children's rights, Mwanza.

<sup>18</sup> Mabala, R. & Kamazima, S.R. (1995): *The Girl Child in Tanzania – Today's Girl Tomorrow's Woman*. UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

In the research report *Gender and Primary Schooling in Tanzania* causes for girls' low participation and performance in primary schools compared to boys were investigated from a gender perspective.<sup>21</sup> High cost of schooling was found to be the main reason for *non-enrolment*. Factors causing *absence from school* for both girls and boys were to avoid punishments, self-reliance activities, illness among the pupils, lack of provision of school equipment, poverty and long distance from school. Reasons specifically related to the absence of girls were menstruation and initiation ceremonies<sup>22</sup> and for boys, particular reasons were youth gangs and town attractions. Causes of *drop out* were in many ways similar to those influencing absenteeism, although some critical events caused drop out such as pregnancy. When the performance of girls and boys was discussed, factors which were identified as contributing to girls lower performance were shyness and that teachers were of the opinion that girls are less intelligent than boys.

In a report by FAWE Tanzania and DBSPE<sup>23</sup>, similar findings as in Peasgood & Bendera (1996) are presented. This study also refers to classroom interaction and it was found that boys were more active than girls, but that girls had lower frequency of incorrect answers, which is an interesting result since girls generally perform worse than boys. However, the study does not discuss that if girls are shy and less active than the boys, they may only volunteer to answer the question if they are absolutely sure which may mean that they answer more seldom, but with a high frequency of correct answers. Like in the study by Peasgood & Bendera (1996), teachers interviewed said that girls were less bright than boys. When household activities were discussed, girls said that while they were doing various tasks, the boys were either studying or playing with friends.

That primary education is difficult to afford for poor families is a common conclusion in most of the studies that were reviewed. The average cost per child per year given in Peasgood & Bendera (1996) is 42,500 Tsh (53 USD), a figure which is supported also in other research.<sup>24</sup> In the study *Parents' Attitudes towards Education in rural Tanzania*, the relevance of education is discussed in relation to the educational costs.<sup>25</sup> Some of the respondents in the study said that they would rather let the sons and daughters work on the *shamba* than wasting time and money on education with poor standards. However, they were willing to pay more for the education if the quality was improved.

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<sup>21</sup> Peasgood, T., Bendera, S. et al. (1996): *Gender and Primary Schooling in Tanzania. Volume 1: Main Report*. Report of a Joint Team from the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, and the Ministry of Education and Culture, Dar es Salaam. Sponsored by The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE). Also referred to in Bendera, S.J. (1998): "Knowledge Formulation on Gender and Education and Its Impact on Girls' Education" In *Gender and Education in Tanzanian Schools*. Bendera, S.J. & Mboya, M.W. (eds). Women Education Development (WED) & Dar es Salaam University Press (DUP) LTD, Dar es Salaam.

<sup>22</sup> The initiation ceremony is a rite of passage towards adulthood which both girls and boys go through in many areas in Tanzania. It is common especially among the coastal tribes. During the initiation ceremony, the girls and boys learn about topics such as respect to their parents, hygiene and what is expected of you as an adult.

<sup>23</sup> That the initiation ceremony can have a negative effect on girls participation in primary education is also stated in Ntukula, M (1994): "The initiation rite" in *Chelewa, Chelewa - The Dilemma of Teenage Girls*. Tumbo-Masabo & Liljeström (eds). Nordiska Afrika Institutet, Uppsala and Shuma, M (1994): "The case of the matrilineal Mwera of Lindi" in *Chelewa, Chelewa - The Dilemma of Teenage Girls*.

<sup>24</sup> For additional sources of the high costs of primary education, see e.g. a recent study on cost sharing in the Kilimanjaro region where it is estimated that to send one child to school costs about 48,000 Tsh (Maarifa Ni Ufunguo (2001): *Cost Sharing: A Case Study of Education in Kilimanjaro*. Maarifa Ni Ufunguo, Arusha). This is also the figure used in MOEC (2001): *Education Sector Country Status Report (Tanzania)*. Final Report. MOEC, Dar es Salaam.

<sup>25</sup> Cooksey, Malekela & Lugalla (1993): *Parents' Attitudes towards Education in Rural Tanzania*. TADREG Research Report No. 5, Dar es Salaam.

In a study by Osaki & Agu (1999) where classroom interaction was studied, it was found that the teachers select the ones who raise their hands or whom they know will be able to answer the question. Boys raised their hands more than girls did and therefore were chosen to answer more questions. However, it is stated in the report that the teachers were not aware of this gender imbalance. Also in this study it was found that the labour responsibilities in school were distributed according to gender and that a lot of the work which the pupils do benefit the teachers and not the school itself. It was also discovered that girls devote more time to these labour tasks because the typical 'girls' tasks were done when the other pupils were in the classroom, studying. The attendance of girls in Standards VI and VII was low and it was said by girls that one of the reasons why they drop out of school is to escape being used as cheap labour and to be sexually abused by teachers.<sup>26</sup>

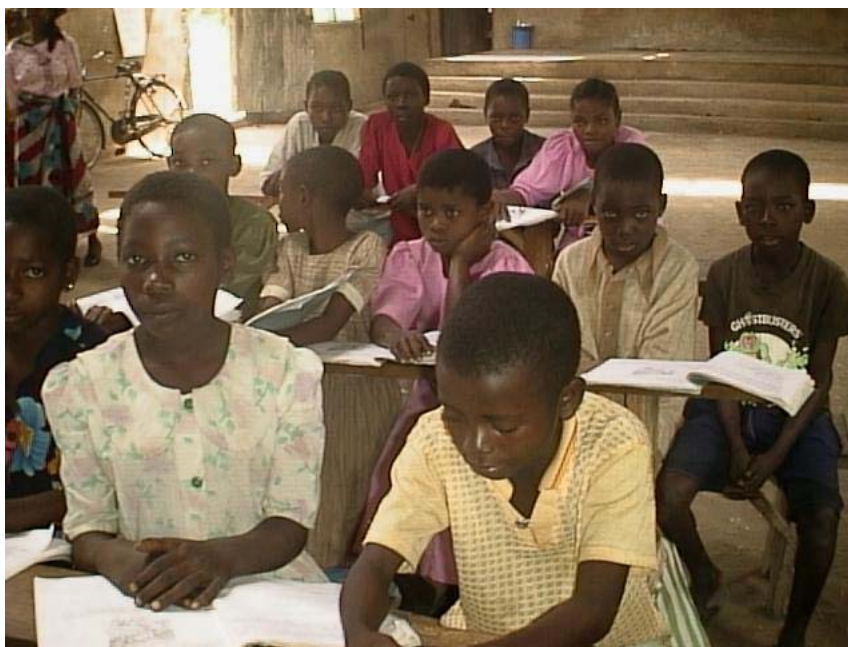
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<sup>26</sup> Osaki, K.M. & Agu, A. (1999): *Classroom Interaction with Gender and Rights Perspective. A Case Study of Selected Primary Schools in Tanzania*. Report of a Study commissioned by UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

In order to get a deeper understanding of the educational situation of girls and boys, it was important that the findings as much as possible reflect the views of the respondents. In the report, several life stories are told. These stories are real, but the names are fictive and names of villages have been omitted.

#### 4.1 An introduction to the situation of Basic Education

According to the District Education Officers (DEO's) in Kisarawe and Masasi, parents are now more concerned with education than they used to be due to seminars for teachers and school committees. The DEO in Masasi refers to the commitment of community members in his district which last year (year 2000) contributed to a more conducive learning environment. On communities' own initiatives, 100 classrooms, 60 teachers' houses and a number of pit latrines were built. Both the DEO in Kisarawe and in Masasi refer to the introduction of COBET as an initiative which has contributed to an increased provision of education, but also a raised demand for education.



Picture 1. Girls and boys in COBET (Photo: UNICEF/Miyazawa)

Many of the schools visited in the research areas in Kisarawe and Masasi were run down. They lacked teaching and learning material and the classrooms were too few. In the more urban areas, it was not unusual to find classes with 70 pupils or more, while in the more rural areas, the size of the classes was much smaller, ranging from 30-40 pupils.

However, a pattern that seemed to be valid in both the urban and rural areas was that the number of pupils enrolled in the lower grades were substantially larger than those in the higher grades. This was explained by the fact that pupils drop out every year, especially in the higher grades, but part of the reason given was that more children have been registered in Standard I during the past few years. An example of the number of children enrolled in each grade within a ward is given in table 4.2, with data from Marumbo Ward, a rural ward in Kisarawe District. The table shows that gender disparities and enrolment vary between the grades and the schools. In Marumbo primary school, there are 21 boys but only eight girls in Standard VII and 36 boys and 29 girls in Standard I. In Mfuru primary school, there is no difference between the enrolment of girls and boys in Standard I and girls outnumber the boys in standard VII.

Table 4.1 Marumbo Ward, Kisarawe District: An example of primary education enrolment statistics, year 2000

School	Std I		Std II		Std III		Std IV		Std V		Std VI		Std VII	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Marumbo	36	29	17	23	13	23	17	10	18	11	16	16	21	8
Palaka	20	15	20	22	13	12	13	13	12	11	12	28	10	7
Kitonga	23	11	16	21	21	11	7	12	11	14	16	12	11	7
Kikwete	18	19	27	35	24	25	14	12	20	15	10	17	17	24
Mfuru	18	17	26	15	14	14	12	17	13	20	20	15	9	20
Chang'ombe	33	25	45	25	37	37	19	27	30	17	19	19	13	18
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>84</b>

Source: The Ward Education Office (WEO), Marumbo Ward, Kisarawe District, 2001

Table 4.2 Marumbo Ward, Kisarawe District: Number of teachers and number of pupils by gender who passed the PSLE in year 2000 (The aim is not to show the correlation between the number of teachers and the pupils who passed the PSLE).

School	Teachers		Pupils passed PSLE	
	M	F	M	F
Marumbo	4	1	4	3
Palaka	4	2	0	0
Kitonga	4	2	1	1
Kikwete	3	2	3	6
Mfuru	5	2	2	5
Chang'ombe	4	2	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>16</b>

Source: The WEO, Marumbo Ward, Kisarawe District, 2001

In table 4.2, the number of teachers working in Marumbo Ward is shown, as well as the number of pupils who passed the PSLE in year 2000. As can be seen, there are many more male than female teachers. However, usually the trend is that there are few female teachers working in rural areas and that the number of female teachers increases in the more urban areas. A general pattern in the research areas is that few pupils pass the Primary School Leaving Exam (PSLE). As can be seen in table 4.2, there is one school in Marumbo Ward where not a single girl or boy passed the PSLE in year 2000 and one

school where one pupil passed the exam. In this particular ward, more girls than boys passed the exam, which is unusual. The general trend in the two districts is that fewer girls pass the exam and are selected<sup>27</sup> for secondary education, despite the fact that the pass mark cut off point for girls generally is lower in order to promote the enrolment of girls on a secondary level.

## 4.2 “Education will help me later in life”

Respondents were asked what the motives for going to school are, be it primary school or COBET, and a common reason given was that in school, the children learn how to read, write and do arithmetic, which will be of use to them in the future. “*Elimu itanisaidia katika maisha yangu ya baadaye*” (“*Education will help me later in life*”), as one of the girls in primary school said. Some of the children and parents specified the purpose of learning to read and write, such as to be able to write letters and to read signs which indicate danger. One of the boys in COBET, who is nine years old, said that he goes to school because he has the right to education. Many of the children say that they go to school to learn skills such as agriculture and carpentry, but also to get a good life, to be able to solve their own problems and to be able to get different kinds of employment.

Mothers and fathers of children in primary school, COBET and out-of-school, and influential women and men in the villages expressed that in school, apart from learning to read and write, the children gain knowledge of agriculture and they are taught mathematics and business so that they can employ themselves. A religious leader in one of the villages linked the knowledge gained in school with competence in farming and said that without any education, the farming would fail because of lack of knowledge of which types of fertilisers to use and how to decide the spacing between the crops. A common view was that primary education and COBET prepares youth for a better future and “*inakupu mvanga zaidi*” (“*it broadens their minds*”), said by one of the female village leaders.

For some parents, the main reason for providing their sons and daughters with primary education was so that they would have the opportunity to go on with their studies in order to get formal or informal employment. Technological changes and internationalisation were other reasons mentioned in relation to why it is meaningful for children to go to school. Teachers, ward officials and a father with children in primary school said that it is important that children learn to communicate internationally through English. As an example, the father said that if you are in an aeroplane and the person beside you does not speak Kiswahili, you would not be able to communicate.

Fathers of children in primary school said that there is a need for encouraging families to send their children to school and one way which they suggested was through the kind of information which is given about HIV/AIDS. This was said in Kisarawe District where youth groups have been using community theatre to raise the awareness about HIV/AIDS. The father meant that the way community theatre has been used to inform about HIV/AIDS could be used to raise the awareness about primary education.

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<sup>27</sup> There is a difference between *pass* of the exam and *selection* for secondary school. That a pupil has passed the exam does not necessarily mean that he or she is selected for secondary school. The mark for selection varies between the regions depending on the number of secondary places available and the performance of the pupils. Also the pass mark can vary depending on the performance of the pupils in the region and a region with high performance can therefore have a higher pass mark.

## 4.3 Why girls and boys are not in primary school

### *"Poor families cannot afford education"*

In both Kisarawe and Masasi, many children, both girls and boys, do not go to school. The major reason for this, as explained by all respondent groups, is that education is too expensive. As mothers with children in both COBET and primary school said: *"Poor families cannot afford education!"* One of the boys in primary school explained the economic hardships of many of his peers: *"Wengine wazazi wao hawana uwezo wa kuwalipia ada. Hiyo, wakijua wanakaa moja kwa moja"* (*"Some of their parents are unable to pay school fees. Because they know this, they stay at home for good"*). In a group of girls in COBET, aged between 11 to 14, nobody had been to school before and the explanations why were all related to economic difficulties. Some of the girls stayed with parents who had not had enough money to send them to school while others had been orphaned and the relatives or family members they were staying with were unable to pay for their education.

According to various respondents, the school fees and other contributions to the school ranged from 3,500 Tsh up to 10,000 Tsh per year. Teachers in the research area in Masasi District gave an example of a breakdown of the direct costs for primary education (table 4.3).

Other costs mentioned by different respondent groups were those of exercise books, pens, desks, school uniforms and shoes. Each child needs to have at least two uniforms to alter between since they need to be washed, and the pupil also needs a minimum of one pair of shoes. Teachers estimated that the cost for exercise books alone can be 4,000 Tsh per year. One exercise book costs 100 Tsh and the pupil needs four for each subject per year. Even the cost of a second hand uniform and shoes is substantial (see table 4.4). In addition, the pupil often needs to bring a broom, a hoe and a bucket to school. Although this cost does not need to be covered for every year, the next year the family may have to pay for something else that is additional, such as exam fees.

Table 4.3 Estimated Direct Costs of Primary Education per child (in Tsh)

Direct costs	Amount
UPE Fee	2,000/-
Administration	500/-
Infrastructure	2,000/-
Sports contribution	500/-
Ward Examination	200/-
District Examination	400/-
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,700/- (7 USD)</b>

*Source: Teachers' estimations, Masasi District*

In table 4.3 and 4.4, the minimum school costs per child are listed and in addition, other contributions are frequently requested. If one puts the cost of one child in relation to an average farming family with at least four children in school at the same time, the cost is substantial. The family might have enough food-crops for use for most part of the year, but to be able to also sell crops in order to obtain a significant amount of cash every year is an impossible challenge for many families.

Table 4.4 Estimated Indirect Costs of Primary Education per child (in Tsh)

Direct costs	Amount
Exercise books	4,000/-
Pens	1,000/-
2 pairs of second hand uniforms	10,000/-
1 pair of second hand shoes	3,000/-
Hoe, broom and bucket	3,000/-
Desk contribution	1,000/-
<b>Total</b>	<b>22,000/- (27 USD)</b>

Source: Teachers' estimations, Masasi District

An old influential woman in a village made a comparison between the present educational situation with that of the old days. She said that education used to be free and with only a little bit of money, you could cover the costs for books, pens and notebooks. However, nowadays, there is so much to pay for in school that parents who have more than one child are often unable to pay all the costs for all their children. Linked to escalating costs for primary education was an issue raised by some of the teachers who said that economic difficulties have made people unable and therefore unwilling to help their extended family. As an example, one of the teachers said that if your nephew stays with you and you do not have enough money, you would prioritise your own child first and your nephew may not be able to go to school. This kind of prioritisation has become increasingly common also because there are now more families than before who are in need of support from the extended family.

### Box 1

#### Jumana has never been to school

Jumana is 14 years old and lives with her paternal grandmother. She does not know her mother because she got divorced from Jumana's father and left the family many years ago. Jumana says that she is longing for her mother, but she does not know where she is and how she would be able to find her. Jumana's grandmother is a farmer, but the harvest from the *shamba* is only just enough to feed the family and they don't have any other source of income. *"Na sisi bibi yetu hana uwezo, hatupati mahitaji yetu kama nguo au chakula kama watoto wengine."* ("But our grandmother does not have the means and therefore we cannot get what we need, such as clothes and food like other children do"). Jumana's father lives in town with another woman. He doesn't have a job, but Jumana says that he sometimes does petty business at the market. Jumana doesn't see her father very often. He comes and goes and sometimes when he gets a little bit of money, he comes to visit. Jumana has five siblings. One brother is in South Africa where he went a couple of years ago to look for work. Sometimes he sends them letters and in the letters he says that he has a job, Jumana does not know what kind of job he has found.

Jumana has never gone to school. She says that she would like to go to school, but more important for her is to get a job in order to get a little bit of income. She would like to work as a house-girl and is willing to work anywhere. The money given to her by the employer will help her to meet life expenses. In Jumana's village, there is a COBET centre, but she never enrolled because when they did the registration, she was in town and when she came back, it was too late. Jumana says that she would like to get married now because she does not have anything else to do. Therefore, if a suitor comes along, she would accept and marry him.

There was a high demand for education among the respondents and they wanted both girls and boys to get education. However, if they had to make a choice between sending a

girl or a boy to school due to economic constraints, most respondents said that they would give priority to the boy. The most common explanation for this was the risk that the girl might get pregnant and therefore be unable to continue with her education, which would mean a waste of educational investment.

### ***Leaving school for income generating activities***

Girls in primary school and female ward officers said that some girls drop out of school in order to become domestic workers. As payment they get shelter, food and clothes and sometimes they get a small salary of about 3,000 Tsh (4 USD) per month. Often, the case is that nobody in the family has a cash income and therefore, even a little bit of income makes a difference. Children in and out-of-school said that some boys leave school to become domestic workers, but it is more common that they become street vendors or animal herders. Their income is small and it is usually not their own business. Boys out-of-school who sold *uji* (porridge) around the bus stand in Masasi said that they earn 3,000-3,500 Tsh per month and, like the house-girls and house-boys, they get food and accommodation because they stay in their employers' houses.

Some children, mainly boys, also worked in order to go to school. One of the boys, who is now working as a house-boy, said that he managed to complete Standard VII because he paid the costs for his school himself. After school, he carried bricks and on Saturdays and Sundays he did petty business to get some extra money. After completing primary school he got a job as a house-boy and now he is dreaming of continuing to secondary school. One girl in secondary school was running a snack cooking business together with a friend, but the money she earned, she gave to her mother who sometimes also was taking the orders. It seemed more common that boys could keep money from their business for themselves. It was less common that girls were working because they were already occupied with household chores at home.

### ***Stigma due to economic hardship***

Another way of looking at the financial issue was also presented by the respondents. One of the young female artists said that some children despair and leave school because when they ask their parents for school fees or school equipment they are told to wait until the family has managed to accumulate enough money. In the meantime, the children do not like to go to school because they are badly treated or chased away from school by the teachers. Fathers of children who have dropped out of school said that girls and boys who do not wear uniforms are segregated from the other pupils in the classroom and when they line up for the parade or announcements, those without uniforms have to stand in another line. Teachers said that the other pupils bully the children who do not wear uniforms or who cannot pay the school fees, and that because of the bullying, they decide to leave school. Children without school uniforms are therefore stigmatised both by the teachers and the peer pupils, at the same time as they are pressurised by their families to stay in school.

### ***An unsatisfactory situation in school***

Corporal punishment in school was mentioned as a large cause for drop-out for both girls and boys. “*Wanaacha kwa sababu walimu wanapiga sana*” (“*they drop-out because the teachers beat them a lot*”), as one girl in primary school expressed. One of the out-of-school boys explained how it happened that he dropped out of school. One day he came to school too late and was simultaneously called by the teacher on duty and the class teacher. When he arrived in the staff room, both teachers were standing in front of the office, together with the headteacher and all three were holding a stick. The boy thought that all of them would beat him at the same time and he ran away from the school as fast as he could. From that day on, he has never dared to go back to school.

Fathers of children out-of-school stated that poor performance of the pupils who complete Standard VII makes the parents despair. They said that some children do not even know how to read and write, and if the children do not learn anything in school, they may as well help with the farming so that they at least learn this properly. If the children leave school without knowing how to read and write, and if they do not have any farming skills, the fathers said that they are at risk of becoming thieves in order to make a living. One of the fathers, with children both in primary school and out-of-school, questioned how much the children actually learn during the lessons. As an example, he said that from January to December, one exercise book is often not even half filled with subject notes.

A general pattern in the research areas in both Masasi and Kisarawe Districts, especially in the rural areas, is that few children are selected to go to secondary school, which is another reason why various respondents doubt the quality of the primary education provided. In one village, the school was built in the beginning of the 1970s and since then, not a single child has ever been selected for secondary education. Many families think that education is a waste of time and money and do not see the use of the education provided if the children will not have the option to continue to secondary school or vocational training. This was said for example in a focus group discussion with fathers of children out-of-school and in a group of female ward representatives.

### ***Truancy which eventually leads to dropping out of school***

A common reason for truancy is lack of motivation. It is difficult to get a job even for those who have completed secondary education and many young people therefore question the reason for going to school if one cannot get a job after finishing school anyway. Several respondents described the onset of truancy as a vicious circle that for both girls and boys, after a while, leads to dropping out of school. The school drop-out problem is put in relation to the ‘*kijivani*’ which is referred to as a place where people spend their time when they do not have a job or anything else to do. Some girls, but especially boys, join the *kijivani* and they are persuaded by their peers to smoke *bangi* (marijuana), drink alcohol and to engage in illegal businesses. Girls are told by their friends that it is easy to earn money if you sleep with Mr X or Mr Y. After some time, these girls are referred to as *malaya* (prostitutes) and the thought of going back to school slowly fades away. Boys in COBET said that when other boys and girls see that those who have not been to school or dropped out of school earn enough money to lead ‘a good life’, they do not see the use of staying in school.

Some parents said that they do not know how their children are doing in school and they may not even know that they are absent from school. They said that if there is no close

relationship between the teachers and the parents, the mutual follow-up of the child is lacking. When the child finally drops out of school, it is too late for the teachers or the parents/guardians to do anything about it.

That girls leave school can, in some cases, be linked to puberty and *unyago* (the initiation ceremony for girls). Various respondents, such as girls in primary school and mothers of children in primary school and COBET, said that when some girls reach puberty, and after they have gone through the initiation ceremony, they do not take their education seriously anymore. Some of the girls are also taken out of school by their parents after *unyago* in order to get married.

### ***Pregnancy - reason for drop-out for girls***

A major reason why girls leave school, given by all respondent groups, is pregnancy, particularly common in Standard V, VI and VII. One of the main reasons given to why girls become pregnant is because they need necessary items such as soap and exercise books and a little bit of money, and, in exchange for sexual favours, they can manage to get these items. It is often a man or an older boy who makes the girl pregnant, but it can also be a boy in school, or a teacher. In secondary school, this is especially common if a girl lives far away from school and has to rent a room. Her family may have had just enough money to pay for the school fees, and not have given her money to buy for example cooking oil and hygiene articles.

Some respondents regarded the girl to be responsible for the pregnancy. For example male teachers said that “*she falls for temptations*” and are referring to gifts such as the soap and a little bit of money. However, some respondents were of a different opinion. Some of the boys in primary school said that “*girls are persuaded by boys*” and girls in primary school said that the girls usually do not have sexual relationships with men out of their own liking. They are forced into the situation because they do not have any money and, therefore, when men approach them, they accept to have sex with them.

One of the female artists said that sometimes the teachers have sex with the female pupils and the reasons why the girls agree is because they are afraid of being beaten or because they want to improve their subject marks. If the girl becomes pregnant, the teacher gives the girl money so that she will not mention his name. Sexual harassment, and even rape, are big problems for schoolgirls. A group of girls in primary school said that men and boys sometimes try to persuade girls to have sex with them and that even if the girls refuse them, they would persist. To illustrate this, the girls improvised the following dialogue between a schoolgirl and a man or boy in or out-of-school:

”Hey girl, I need to have a talk with you!  
What about?  
Come here and hide with me and I will tell you.  
I do not want to!  
You are such a backward girl, these are very small issues. Why do you make such a fuss?  
Leave me alone!  
You silly girl, I will get you one of these days!!”

One of the adolescent girls explained that when a man approaches a girl, he expects that she will agree to have sex with him and if she does not, she falls into trouble with the

man. The respondent said that she has quarrelled with twelve men in her village because she has refused to sleep with them. Nowadays, they refuse to greet her and they terrorise her by showing up by the well or the *shamba*. She does not dare to go to the *ngomas* (traditional dances) anymore because a girl who has refused a man might be taken against her will to a hut where the man whom she has formerly refused to have sex with will be waiting.

## Box 2

### Tatu had to leave school due to pregnancy

Tatu is 19 years old and she got pregnant last year when she was in Standard VI. An older boy used to wait for her by the school and Tatu liked him because he was nice to her and he gave her gifts such as soap, pens, exercise books and money. After their relationship had been going on for some time, the teacher did the usual procedure of taking the girls who he suspects might be pregnant to the dispensary for a check up [that teachers takes girls to do a pregnancy test seem to be standard]. Tatu was one out of ten girls who had a pregnancy test and she was found to be five months pregnant. Soon after this, she had to leave school and a couple of months later she gave birth to a baby boy. She moved to the father of the child and his parents and now she is working with her fiancée on his *shamba*. Tatu thinks that her fiancée takes good care of their baby. For example when she cooks, does the dishes, sweeps or washes clothes, he takes care of the baby. He also buys soap, oil and clothes for the baby and when the baby is sick, they go together to the dispensary. Tatu did not want to get pregnant and leave school. Her fiancée says that her getting pregnant was unfortunate because Tatu was the best pupil in her class.

Mothers of out-of-school children said that boys who make girls pregnant are often able to stay in school. They deny having been involved and sometimes their parents bribe the teacher. One of the girls interviewed became pregnant while in Standard IV and the father of the child was in the same class as her. He refused to admit that he was the father and therefore, the girls' parents went to the district police station for help. However, the police recommended that they should solve the case between the families, out of court. The girls' parents called the boy and his parents for a meeting, but the boy still rejected that he had been with the girl and he was allowed to continue with his studies.

However, some boys are expelled from school because they have made girls pregnant. One young father was expelled from school when he was in Standard VII and he now lives with the girl and has paid a bride price of 10,000 Tsh (13 USD) to her family. However, he has decided not to marry the girl because he wants to go on with his education.

### ***Stay in school despite having a baby?***

There were different opinions among the respondents regarding whether or not a schoolgirl who becomes pregnant should be given the opportunity to go back to school after delivery. The majority was in favour of her being allowed to go back to school if she wanted to and if there was somebody who could take care of the baby while she attended classes. One of the fathers, whose daughter got pregnant in Standard VI said that he would be ready to stay at home with his grandchild if his daughter would be allowed to

go back to school. Mothers with children out of school did not see a problem in girls going back to school after giving birth, and said that schoolgirls could lactate during break, just like office mothers do. One of the adolescent mothers in COBET said that for her, having a baby is not a problem and that she goes to school anyway. Sometimes, she brings her child to the COBET centre and sometimes her mother takes care of the baby while she is in school. A male ward representative said that since a girl can go to school in COBET, why should she not be able to go back to primary school?

A boy in primary school said that the girl should be allowed to go back to school when the baby is born *“because she could pass the exam and continue to secondary school”*. Three out of five girls in a group of primary school girls said that they would be willing to study with a girl who has become a mother *“kwa sababu ni mwenzetu”* (*“because she is one of us”*). One of the girls in the group said that some students probably would tease them in the beginning but that after a while, they would leave it and things would go back to normal. In a group of female and male artists, all but one were positive towards girls going back to school after delivery.

Some respondents were however negative towards letting girls go back to school. One male ward official said that girls who get pregnant should not be allowed to go back to school because other pupils might copy that behaviour *“Wataiga ile tabia”* (*“They will copy that behaviour”*). One of the male teachers suggested that adolescent mothers should be get a second chance to continue with their education but that they should study in special centres with strict rules and regulations which show that this is their last chance.

Most respondents were of the opinion that the boy should not be expelled from school if he makes a girl pregnant, but, as for example female and male peer educators said, he should take his responsibility as a father and get married to the girl.

### **Box 3**

#### **Sara continued to secondary school despite becoming a mother**

Sara, a young woman who became pregnant in Standard VII, managed to continue with her education despite becoming a mother. At that time, her father was in Dar es Salaam and without telling anybody in her school or in her village that she was pregnant, she went to stay with him. She managed to finish her primary education in a school for young mothers. While she was staying in Dar es Salaam, her mother took care of her baby. When Sara came back to the village, she was selected for secondary school and that she had a child was kept a secret during all the time she was in secondary school.

#### ***Long distance, migration and separation from parents***

Some villages in the research areas do not have a primary school and the next village with a school can be far away. One of the girls out-of-school who said that she had never enrolled for school because it was too far to walk to the nearest school. By the time her family moved to a village with a school, she was already too old. Mothers of children out-of-school said that children also drop out of school because children who stay far away from school stay hungry and thirsty the whole day.

In the research area in Kisarawe District, many children live either on their own or with their grandparents. The main reasons given for this is because their parents have temporarily or permanently moved to Dar es Salaam, where they earn their living through petty business or other income generating activities, or because they have become orphaned. Although the children often stay with their grandparents and they sometimes are sent money from town, they often have to support themselves, making it difficult to pay for school fees and leaving little time for primary education. Since the children's mother is not around, this also implies that the children will have to do the household chores by themselves, which means that girls in particular have a great responsibility.

Another aspect of migration in relation to drop out is if a child moves to another village. A child is not allowed to join a school in another village without a proper school transfer, i.e. a letter authorised by a ward official, saying that this child is moving from village X to village Y due to Z reason. This means that if a child becomes orphaned or the parents separate and the child has to move from one village to another, somebody in the family needs to go through this transfer process in order for the child to continue going to school in the new village. Especially in Masasi, there seemed to be a frequent problem that children drop out due to lack of proper transfer procedures. District officials said that it was also relatively common that children dropped out of school because their families moved to Mozambique. In one of the COBET centres, ten children left at the same time with their families to go to Mozambique. A few of the out-of-school children in Masasi started school in Mozambique and when the family moved across the border to Tanzania, they did not get registered in school again. It seems to be relatively common that families move back to their area of origin or to new areas where the land is more fertile. In these areas, there may not even be a school to be transferred to.

#### **Box 4**

##### **Jafari moved across the border - never went to school again**

Jafari started school in a village in northern Mozambique where he studied for two years. In 1999, his parents got separated and he moved with his mother and four younger siblings to Masasi, Tanzania. Jafari never registered in school again and now he is 12 years old and feels too old to go to school. Jafari sells *uji* (porridge) in town in the mornings and in the evenings. He is paid 3,000 Tsh per month [about 4 USD], but he has now completed one month of work and has not yet received his salary. Whenever he asks for his payment, his boss says that he will pay him soon. Jafari depends on his employer for shelter and food, so he is patiently waiting for his salary. Apart from selling *uji*, Jafari does other petty business such as carrying water and luggage for people who arrive at or leave from the bus stop. From this money, he buys his own clothes and he just bought two pieces of soap, a padlock and *dagaa* (dry small fish) for his mother. He says that when he gets his salary, he will buy a dress for her because she has promised to come to town soon and that she will bring him some maize.

A similar situation that can be compared to the case where children are separated from their parents by migration is if the mother and the father get divorced or if one of them dies. If the children continue to stay with the mother, she might not be economically able to pay for the children's education and will depend on the capacity of the extended family, since it is frequently the father who takes the economic responsibility for the children. In the scenario where the mother or the father moves with the children to

another partner, the new spouse might not always find that the children from the previous marriage are welcome in the new family constellation. Their education may therefore become a lesser priority than the education of the children from the new marriage. One of the girls interviewed is 13 years old. When her parents got divorced, she and her sisters and brothers dropped out of school because the father did no longer want to pay for their education.

#### **4.4 Views and suggestions concerning Primary Education**

It was clear that there is a high demand for primary education in both research areas. However, there were several areas of discontent, among which some have already been ventilated in relation to causes of non-enrolment and drop-out from school. The respondents suggested numerous ways on how to improve the primary education provided in their villages.



Picture 2. Primary school boys share their views (Photo: UNICEF/Helgesson)

#### ***Make Primary Education cheaper or free***

As already shown in section 4.1, one of the major problems raised concerning primary education was the high cost of education. Primary school girls said that it is not fair that some children do not go to school because they cannot pay. In order to improve the access to education, the major suggestion from the respondents was to make primary education cheaper or free.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> When the fieldwork was conducted (Jan-Feb, 2001), the new policy from the Government of Tanzania to remove schoolfees and compulsory levies had not yet been made official.

## ***A demand for an improved school environment***

During the field study in the two areas, it was pointed out by respondents over and over again that the primary education that was formerly offered, used to be better. They were now concerned about the school environment and said that the school buildings are falling apart and that there is a shortage of classrooms, teachers and teaching and learning material such as textbooks. It was not uncommon to find classes where only the teacher had a textbook.

The lack of teachers' houses was an issue that they stressed in particular. They explained that since there are not enough teachers' houses, the teachers have to rent rooms far away from school. Therefore, they often come late to school and some teachers despair and ask for transfers. Teachers in Masasi said that teachers who get posted to southern Tanzania do not report because they have heard that the working conditions are poor and because it is far away.

The physical environment of the schools was found to be in a worse state in the research areas in Kisarawe District than in Masasi District. Desks were lacking and there seemed to be a more acute demand for classrooms. In some villages in Kisarawe, the village leaders said that they would like to improve the school buildings and build new classrooms and teachers' houses, but because the area is dry, it is difficult to get water for making cement bricks.

Another concern among the respondents was lack of latrines, and more so, the lack of latrines which allow privacy. One of the male artists said that he would like the girls and boys toilets to be separated and he argued that as it is now, the latrines are in one building and there is no privacy.

Apart from the sufficient school buildings and materials, respondents also wished that the school area would look more attractive. One of the girls in primary school said that she would like to plant flowers in the gardens to make the school environment more beautiful.

### **Box 5**

#### **Amina gives suggestions on how to improve her primary school**

Amina is 12 years old and goes to school in a small village. She likes school very much because there she learns mathematics, English and science, and she plays netball. But she does not like her mathematics teacher because he usually comes very late, is always in a hurry and he punishes everybody who makes a mistake. One stroke for each mistake. Amina does not like the social science teacher either. She punishes the pupils, she rarely gives assignments and when she does, she never corrects them.

Amina has suggestions on how to improve her school. She thinks that they should get lunch in school and have more textbooks. There are about 50 pupils in her class, but, for example for the Swahili lessons, they have only two textbooks - one for the teacher and one for the pupils.

### ***"Beating should be abolished because it hurts the children!"***

Corporal punishment in school was a serious issue of concern brought up by all respondent groups. Both children and adults strongly recommended that corporal punishment should be abolished or reduced. One of the out-of-school boys had dropped out of school because he was beaten a lot in school and he recommended that: "*viboko viondolewe vinaumiza watoto*" ("*beating should be abolished because it hurts the children*"). One of the girls in primary school expressed that she hates corporal punishment. She said that the teachers punish them whenever they come to school late, wear a dirty uniform or have not paid the school fees. They usually get four strokes of the cane. An alternative form of punishment that she suggested was that a pupil who makes a mistake should promise the teacher to not repeat it.

A girl in COBET said that she knows of a teacher who broke the arm of a girl in a nearby primary school. The teacher had asked the girl to do some chores but she could not do them because she was sick and because of this, he punished her so much that he broke her arm.

### ***More practical skills among the suggested changes in the curricula***

A girl in primary school said she would like to learn needlework in school because she wants to become a tailor and a recommendation from most respondent groups was that there should be more vocational skills, such as carpentry, needlework, tailoring and cookery, in primary school. Male representatives from the wards and villages said that children used to have vocational training in school, such as pottery and carpentry, but that this no longer is the case. Various respondents in Masasi referred to two primary schools that used to be vocational primary schools but they do not have tools and other facilities for teaching and learning anymore and therefore, they are now only vocational primary schools by name.

Artists suggested that there should be traditional *ngoma* (drumming and dancing), a choir and drama in schools to make school life more attractive. Fathers wished that the children could learn different games in school.

Girls in primary school said that they would like to learn about HIV/AIDS in school and girls in secondary school suggest that a subject about HIV/AIDS and family life education should be introduced in Standard III. When asked why in Standard III they first became embarrassed and kept quiet, but then they explained that this is when girls start their sexual activity. Also adults, such as female ward representatives and members of the village council, suggested that elements of reproductive health should be taught from Standard III. They said that this is especially important because of the spread of HIV/AIDS and stressed that these issues should be taught well and talked about openly.

Fathers of children in primary school suggested that English should be taught more effectively in primary school so that the children will be able to communicate internationally. To emphasis on English in primary school was also advised by girls in secondary school. They said that it was very difficult to understand the subjects when they started secondary school because everything was taught in English, a language they had not learned to master at primary school level. Ward officials suggested that the

subject “*Personality Development*” in the COBET curriculum should be included also in the primary school curriculum because it helps the children to improve their behaviours.

### ***Closer follow up and a stronger link between school and community***

In order to improve the quality of education, it was suggested that there should be more communication between the parents/guardians, the teachers and the members of the School Committees. Mothers of pupils in primary school suggested that the School Committees should be responsible of making close follow-ups of the pupils in school. They should also report to the parents about their children’s performance because as it is now, many parents do not know how their children are performing and, as said in the section on drop-out, it may be too late to intervene once the child has dropped-out of school. Respondents also demanded monitoring from ward, district and national officials. One of the fathers of children in primary school said that inspections of the school in his village are never conducted and therefore, the inspectors do not know what the situation is like. Teachers said that if national officials were aware of how bad the real situation is, they would be willing to increase the budget for education.

One of the female ward officials working with community development in Masasi said that they are planning to have a meeting with all headteachers to share experiences about strengths and weaknesses. They will also include members of School Committees in the meeting, in particular from the schools that perform poorly in the PSLE, to discuss with them how they can work towards improving the results.

### ***More motivated teachers would bring change***

Many respondents were unhappy because children do not learn much in primary school although they spend a lot of time there, from early morning to late afternoon. Female ward officers were of the opinion that seven years of primary education should be enough to acquire basic knowledge, but that the problem is that the teachers do not teach well. Their explanation was that the teachers are not motivated and that they have chosen the teaching profession as a last resort. “*Walimu havana wito, bila wanafuata mshabara*” (“*Teachers have no calling, they just do it for the salary*”). During one of the classroom observations in a class of about 70 pupils, the pupils did an exercise and then the teacher collected the exercise books and went through all of them during the session. Meanwhile, the whole class was sitting in the classroom, waiting. This may indicate that some teachers use lesson time to correct exercises, which raises a question about learning efficiency, especially if there are many pupils in the class.

According to various respondents, such as village leaders and fathers with children in primary school and out-of-school, some teachers are not doing their job properly. Sometimes they do not teach all the lessons which they are supposed to teach and they come to school late. Mothers of pupils said that from time to time, the male teachers leave the school during office hours to look for “*pombe*” (alcohol) and every so often, the male teachers are not properly dressed. While bad behaviour was referred to as an issue, especially among the male teachers, poor teaching seemed to be a problem both among male and female teachers. Mothers of children in primary school said that in some

schools there have been changes for the better because some of the teachers have been replaced with more competent teachers.

Teachers said that their workload is too heavy. According to primary schoolteachers in Masasi, they work between 23-33 hours per week and in addition, they spend about 2-3 hours every day to do lesson preparations and correcting exercise books. In many of the schools there is also tuition after school hours and during the weekends. Whether the pupils had to pay for the tuition or not seemed to vary between the areas and the geographical setting. The impression given was that in the rural schools, tuition was more frequently free than in the urban areas. Teachers in rural areas were asked why they are willing to give extra tuition on top of their workload if they are not paid for it. They explained that it is a prestige and gives them satisfaction if 'their' pupils pass the exams and are selected for secondary education.

Teachers were frustrated because they hardly have any teaching materials and they felt that the work they do is not valued, although they are working hard. They also said that they are blamed if they fail to teach according to the syllabus, although it changes ad hoc, comes without guidelines, and the books that go with the syllabus seldom arrive. A young primary school teacher said that when a new syllabus is introduced, the teachers who are the ones who are teaching the subjects should receive in-service training, not only be provided to those who work in education offices. Teachers also said that the headteacher goes to many seminars organised by the district, while the classteachers get few such chances. They advised that classteachers also should be called from time to time to attend such seminars because the motivation and the allowances that they would get would mean a lot to them.

### ***Too much extra curricular activities***

Most of the primary schools in Masasi and Kisarawe had a *shamba* where the pupils grow beans, millet, maize rice and cashewnuts. One of the girls in primary school said that her class goes to the school *shamba* on Tuesdays and Wednesday after lunch. In many respondent groups, especially in Kisarawe, it was expressed that the children spend too much time on the school *shamba* at expense of the time spent in the classroom. A father with children out of school linked the frequent *shamba* work to the poor quality of education because the children spend two days working on the *shamba*, leaving only three days for schoolwork. The father and several other respondents said that they would be more interested in sending their children to school if the *shamba* work was decreased and the actual lesson time was be increased.

Shortage of classrooms seemed to intensify the *shamba* work in school. Teachers said that due to the lack of classrooms, the classes are divided into shifts and while one class has lessons, another class does outside activities. Some of the respondent groups, such as village leaders, pointed out that it is good that the children learn agricultural skills which they can use in life, but as the situation is now, the children are working far too much in school. Since the reality is that many families have scarce economic resources, the family may prioritise their own *shamba* if they see that the children do not learn much in school and spend most of the time on the school *shamba* anyway.

In several of the schools, both in Kisarawe and Masasi, the pupils said that they sell crops from the school *shamba* during school hours or during weekends. Girls and boys in

primary school said that sometimes the prefects are involved in monitoring the money, but usually it is only the teacher who knows how much money is earned and how it is spent. This has made the pupils doubtful about the use of the money and they said that they would prefer to take the crops home, eat them in school or that somebody from outside sold the products.



Picture 3. Extra curricular activities in primary school (Photo: UNICEF/Helgesson)

Apart from the *shamba* work, there are primary school teachers who engage pupils in other income generating activities and the children sometimes miss their classes for days because they are carrying bricks for a bridge or a house. A primary school girl said that in her school they have a firewood project and each pupil has to bring five logs twice a week to school.

If one does not bring any firewood to school, one has to pay 20 Tsh. Otherwise, she or he will be punished with the stick. The children also do a lot of work for the teachers. Girls grind maize or cassava, fetch water, cook, clean and fetch firewood. Boys slash grass, fetch grass for thatching roofs, collect firewood and assist in constructions and improvements of buildings. These tasks are often done during class hours when the children are supposed to be in school. The tasks done by girls are more of day-to-day activities, which implies that they spend more time working for the teachers.

## 4.5 Respondents' opinions and recommendations for COBET

### *Explanations of COBET*

In the wards where the research was conducted, COBET was well known by many respondents. Girls in primary school explained that COBET is for children from poor families who cannot afford primary education and for children who have dropped out of school. Boys in COBET said that the community supports COBET because those who have missed primary education now learn how to read and write in a simple way. Ward leaders said that young mothers can go to school in COBET and fathers of children out-of-school said that COBET advocates for education of good quality for orphans and other children who are economically not capable. Various respondents said that significant for COBET is that the pupils in COBET are given free exercise books, pens and balls to play with. Fathers of children out-of-school and in COBET said that COBET is what education in Tanzania used to be – free, and that the families are only asked to contribute food, such as maize, vegetables and a little bit of money to grind the maize.

In respondent groups of girls and boys in secondary school, secondary school teachers and parents to secondary school students, the knowledge about COBET was limited. One respondent thought that COBET is a pre-school and was referring to a COBET

centre which shares building with a nursery school. Another respondent believed that COBET is for mentally handicapped children.

### ***Why in COBET and not in primary school?***



In one of the COBET centres visited, the learners were between 16 and 20 years old. They are now in the second year of their studies and have one more year to go before they have completed the three-year period and can sit for the primary school leaving examination. The majority is boys and most of the learners had previously been enrolled in primary school, but dropped out for various reasons. Some of the children explained why they had left primary school. One of the girls said that her father had been sick and could not pay the school fees. Another girl said that she got pregnant and was expelled from school. Her son is now two years old and is with her in the classroom. Two of the boys said that they left school because their families could not afford the school fees and one boy said that he was too ashamed to go to school without a school uniform.

Picture 4. Adolescent mother in COBET (Photo: UNICEF/Helgesson)

Most respondent parents who have children in COBET, also have children in primary school. One mother, a Standard VII leaver who farms together with her husband, explained that they have six sons and three daughters and that they have not been able keep all of them in primary school. Two daughters have completed Standard VII and are now married. One girl and two boys are in primary school. Two sons dropped out of primary school because they did not have money for the school fees and the uniforms. When a COBET centre opened in their village, they enrolled them here. Two boys have not yet reached school going age and them being enrolled in school will depend on their economic situation.

#### **Box 6**

#### **Different educational opportunities in the same family**

The family situation of a father of three daughters and six sons can illustrate the complexity of the rationale for why some of the children are in primary school, some children in COBET and some children have never been to school. The father is 45 years old and completed Form IV long ago. He is married to two wives, one who has completed Standard VII and one who was expelled in Standard VI because of pregnancy. Among the children there are both those who are out-of-school and those who have made it to secondary school. One daughter has already completed Standard VII, one girl is in Standard IV and one daughter was expelled in Standard VI due to pregnancy. The first born, a boy, began secondary school but the father had to struggle to find the money for the school fees and was late paying. Meanwhile, the boy began to be absent from school and then he dropped out. For the younger children, it has been difficult to pay the school fees. One boy never enrolled in primary school, but enrolled in COBET cohort I when he was 8 years old. At that time, another son was in primary school, but he had to leave school because the father could not meet the costs for keeping him in school.

## ***Positive aspects of COBET***

When the various respondent groups discussed about COBET, many aspects brought up were positive. Girls and boys in COBET said that what they like most in COBET is that there are enough exercise books and pens and they eat lunch. A boy in COBET said that what he likes in particular is that his best friends are in COBET and that he can talk to the teachers “*bila wasivas?*” (“*without problem?*”). Girls in primary school said that they like COBET “*because in COBET, the children are not beaten, there are no uniforms, no shoes, no school fees and even if you come late, you are not punished?*”. The absence of school fees and corporal punishment were frequently mentioned, as well as that the children in COBET quickly learn how to read, write and speak English. In addition, it was emphasised that the children and youth in COBET improve their behaviours because what they learn helps them in life. However, some of the learners said that they are beaten on their hands if they are absent without informing the teachers, which means that corporal punishment is sometimes used in some of the COBET centres although the facilitators are supposed to use other forms of discipline.

Fathers with children in COBET and ward representatives expressed that it is positive that a married/engaged girl or boy still can go to school and several respondent groups said that it is good that the children learn practical skills such as cooking, carpentry, masonry and tailoring.

## ***Issues of concern and suggestions for COBET***

Although most respondents and respondent groups seemed to be in favour of COBET, there were also issues of concern and suggestions regarding COBET.

The substantial access to teaching and learning material in COBET was regarded as positive. However, like in primary school, lack of material was still mentioned as a problem in COBET. Representatives from the ward stated that exercise books were provided when the children enrolled in COBET but that they got filled up a long time ago. Parents of children in COBET said that there is lack of carpentry and tailoring materials for the vocational skills and boys in COBET said that they do not have a first aid kit in their centre [the children learn about first aid during the first year in COBET].

Primary and secondary school teachers were of the opinion that the COBET centres are not strict enough and one of the mothers of children in COBET was concerned because some of the children in COBET still have bad manners.

Another issue that was brought up, as expressed by COBET centre facilitators and representatives from the wards in both Kisarawe and Masasi, was that sometimes, the para-professionals are not paid their honoraria from the District Council on time. This was a problem especially in Kisarawe where the para-professionals had not been paid for several months and some of the para-professionals said that they therefore have started to lose their motivation.

One of the recommendations from various respondent groups was that COBET should continue and be expanded to other areas. Boys in COBET suggested that there should be more COBET centres, and representatives from the wards in Masasi said that COBET

should cover the whole district. They emphasised that COBET is particularly needed in villages far away where the education is poor, and not only, as now, in the wards which are close to town. “*The peasants are there in the villages and they are the ones who need help. They wonder!*” Mothers of children out of school said that many more children out-of-school would have liked to go to school in COBET, but that there was not enough space when the enrolment was done. Instead, these children are now engaged in petty business or herding animals for payment.

Several children in COBET expressed an urge for recognition of COBET by the community. Boys in COBET said that they would like to play more football so that the community knows about them. Girls in COBET wished that they could have uniforms and said that “*Shule sio nzuri bila sare za shule?*” (“*School is not good without uniforms?*”). They also wanted to have more subjects in COBET, and longer school hours. “*Tunataka taratibu kama ya shule ya msingi, sio kama shule ya chekeched*” (“*We want a time-table like that for primary school, not like nursery school?*”). Possibly, these girls wanted COBET to be more like primary school in order to raise the status of COBET, while other girls in COBET appreciated that they have shorter schooldays than in primary school and that they do not have to buy school uniforms.

#### **Box 7**

#### **Jafari, 17 years old has learnt a lot in COBET**

Jafari has his own little plot where he grows bananas. Before he enrolled in COBET, age cohort II, he was working all day long on his *shamba*, but now he goes to school in the morning and to the *shamba* in the afternoons. Jafari dropped out of school when in Standard II because his parents failed to cover the school costs and he was too ashamed to go to school. His sister is in school, but his father does not have enough money and therefore Jafari does not know whether or not she will continue with school.

Jafari likes school and he says that he has learnt a lot in COBET. When he dropped out of primary school he only knew a little bit of reading and writing, but now he knows how to read and write very well. Jafari says that there are some differences between COBET and primary school. In COBET, there is no corporal punishment and the pupils do not have to fetch water for the teacher. Jafari has suggestions on how to improve COBET and primary school. He says that the number of subjects in COBET should be increased to include the primary school subjects 'History' and 'Science'. He would also like them to have more exercise books because they get full very quickly. In primary school, they should have the COBET subject 'Personality Development' and 'Vocational-skills', and learn more English, like they do in COBET.

Jafari would like to become a car mechanic because he has been told that it is easy to learn. Jafari would like to work in Morogoro. He has never been there, but he has heard that there are plenty of jobs for car mechanics in Morogoro. Jafari would like to marry a girl who has gone to school because then they can help one another. His future daughters and sons will be equally educated “*because you can't leave one!*”. They could finish primary school and if they want to, they can continue to secondary school and even go on up to university.

Girls in COBET recommended that carpentry should be taught more intensively in COBET. They said that people get a lot of money from carpentry and if they became more proficient in this, it would be easier for them to earn money. They also said that

they should not depend only on agriculture, because there are a lot of trees around from which to get wood. The source of trees as a potential industry was also emphasised by fathers with children out-of-school. The recommendation to increased vocational skills also in COBET, where it already constitutes a vital part of the curriculum, says something about the huge demand for vocational skills in the communities.

Like for primary school, provision of food in COBET was brought up. Various respondents suggested that food should be provided to the children more often because this would encourage them to come to school. In one of the COBET centres visited there were only a few learners present and when asked why the attendance was low, the facilitators explained that there was a funeral in the village and the children had gone there because of the food served. The provision of meals in COBET in Masasi was different from Kisarawe. In the COBET centres in Kisarawe, it was rare that the children got food, while in Masasi, there was usually lunch three times a week, prepared either by mothers of COBET learners or by the children themselves. During the harvest season, the families contribute flour and vegetables and the rest of the year, the District Council finances the cost of the food.

## 4.6 COBET in relation to primary school

COBET learners, with experience from primary school, listed the main differences between COBET and primary education as follows:

- Primary school is expensive while COBET is free.
- In primary school there is a lot of corporal punishment while in COBET the teachers rarely beat the pupils.
- In COBET they learn much more and faster than in primary school
- In COBET the teacher deals with fewer pupils than in primary school.
- It is easier to talk to the COBET teachers than the teachers in primary school. One of the boys in COBET explained that “*Kule tulikuwa tunaongea nao kwa woga*” (“*There we spoke to them with fear*”).

If given the opportunity to choose between primary school and COBET, most respondents expressed that they would prefer primary school. It was expressed that primary school is the ‘real’ school while COBET is an alternative if a family does not have enough money to pay for primary school or if a child has dropped out of school. One girl in primary school said that she would not like to go to school in COBET because “*the children in COBET are the impossible ones*” and was referring to COBET learners as trouble-makers in the community who have dropped out of primary school. However, one of the COBET facilitators said that some parents/guardians first come to the COBET centre to ask whether they can enrol their child and if the answer is no, they go to the primary school. Also female and male ward officers said that they think that some parents would opt for COBET because it is free of charge and they feared that some families might delay enrolling their children in order for them to be eligible for COBET. Other representatives from the wards said that the problem of families wanting to enrol their children in COBET instead of in primary school would not be there if COBET were only for older children.



Picture 5. Young women discussing education (Photo: UNICEF/Helgesson)

Young fathers in a village where there is a COBET centre but no primary school said that their community feels the need for a primary school. Community members built the COBET centre and they have prepared bricks to build more classrooms so that the facility in the future can be used as a primary school while COBET could continue in a nearby building. They said that at present, the primary school pupils in the village who walk far everyday to the primary school in the next village wish to enrol in COBET because it is closer to home.

### Box 8

#### Grace compares primary school with COBET

Grace is 14 years old and goes to school in COBET, age cohort I. When her parents separated, she went to stay with her maternal uncle, grandmother and grandfather. Now, her mother is working as *Mama Lishe* (she sells food) in Dar es Salaam and her father is a shopkeeper. Both Grace's parents have completed primary school but Grace dropped out in Standard II because her family could not afford the school costs. Two years ago, Grace enrolled in COBET.

When Grace compares primary school with COBET, she says that in primary school, there is corporal punishment, *shamba* work, the children wear uniforms and they have more subjects. She says that she likes COBET, but what is better in primary school is that they have a nice garden and a playground.

After COBET Grace wants to become a secondary school teacher in Dar es Salaam. She says that Dar es Salaam is good because there are many jobs and she would not like to live in her village because of all the farming. Later, Grace would like to get married and have three children, two girls because she will receive money when they get married, and one boy. All her children will go to school and if they pass the PSLE exam, they will continue to secondary school.

Primary Education and COBET are in some ways inter-linked on a community level. Many of the COBET facilitators also teach in the primary schools around if they have a shortage of teachers and they also lend materials from COBET to the school. The para-professionals said that if COBET is a temporary programme, they would like to be employed as teachers in primary school. They stated that even though they are not formally trained as teachers, they have gained a lot of experience by working in COBET and they would therefore be capable of working as primary school teachers.

A gap between COBET and primary school could be sensed both in Masasi and Kisarawe, especially among the teachers. Primary school teachers envied the working conditions of the COBET facilitators because the COBET facilitators often go to seminars and training sessions where they get allowance and gain motivation, and because the COBET facilitators have plenty of teaching and learning materials and shorter working hours. One of the primary school teachers said that he would change to COBET tomorrow if he could.

## **4.7 Girls' and boys' participation and performance in primary school and in COBET**

### ***Enrolment and attendance***

In the *primary schools* in the research areas, no general gender disparities regarding indicators such as enrolment, attendance and drop-out could be seen. In some schools, girls were fewer in numbers, more girls were absent and tended to drop-out more than boys, while in other schools, the situation was reverse.

In *COBET*, much fewer girls than boys were enrolled. When respondents were asked about the low enrolment of girls in COBET, it became clear that, apart from the fact that girls out-of-school had been more difficult to find, boys out-of-school had been more prioritised than out-of-school girls in the selection process. Few community members, apart from the COBET facilitators, knew that the aim was to enrol girls in particular. While girls out-of-school were at home, boys out-of-school were more obviously out of school because they were seen in the street or in the village. Out-of-school boys were also regarded as in greater need of education because this would detach them from bad behaviours such as to smoke *bangi*, drink alcohol and hang around in the street without anything to do.

According to the COBET facilitators and COBET learners, the attendance of girls in COBET was generally lower and girls' drop-out higher. Boys in one of the COBET cohort II centres demonstrated girls' lower attendance by referring to today's attendance. Only one girl was present, while there were about 14 boys. However, because there were fewer girls to start with, it could be argued that the attendance of girls seemed to be lower than it actually was. In this particular COBET centre, only four girls had been registered, while 35 boys had been enrolled. One could therefore say that the attendance was higher for girls because only three girls were absent and 21 boys. In Kisarawe, COBET facilitators said that girls attend COBET lessons more frequently than boys do because the boys sometimes have to travel to Dar es Salaam for petty business such as to sell fruits.

The girls in COBET appeared to be closely monitored and encouraged by their families. To enrol a girl had meant an active choice, both by the family and the girl herself. Several mothers of girls in COBET said that they strongly support their daughters' education and they are proud of their progress. Various respondent girls in COBET were determined to stay in COBET and to continue to study after completing COBET.

### ***Participation and performance***

Regarding participation and performance, most respondent groups were of the opinion that the pattern is similar in primary school and COBET. Girls and boys in primary school and COBET said that in their classes, boys are eager to answer questions, while girls are often shy. However, the mechanisms behind this pattern appeared to be different in COBET than in primary school.

Girls in COBET cohort I explained that *“wavulana wana akili zaidi kwa sababu walisoma shule ya msingi?”* (“boys are smarter because they have studied in primary school”). This is an important statement because while many of the girls in COBET have never been to school before, many of the boys had dropped out of primary school and then enrolled in COBET. They therefore had an advantage compared to the girls because when they began COBET, they already knew a little bit how to read and write, while the girls had to start learning everything from the beginning. Both in Masasi and Kisarawe, COBET facilitators said that boys in COBET generally outshine the girls in COBET, although it was said by COBET facilitators in Kisarawe that the girls do better than boys in the subject ‘Vocational skills’.

Male and female peer educators and artists said that the girls and boys are treated the same by the teacher in primary school, but that boys perform better. According to them, the explanation for this is that the boys sometimes laugh at the girls when they fail to answer questions and therefore, the girls become embarrassed and lose self-confidence. Sometimes, the older girls are daydreaming and are thinking about other things than education, such as boyfriends and getting married. However, some of the female artists argued that many girls have self-confidence and do well in school. One of the girls narrated that when she was in Standard VII, there were 24 boys and 12 girls and she was the only one who passed the PSLE and who was selected for secondary school.

A group of female teachers said that in the early years of primary school, girls are more willing to answer questions, but that they become shyer and are less interested in school in the later grades, especially after they have gone through the initiation ceremony. They also were of the opinion that boys do better than girls do. They do their homework and they answer and listen better than the girls do. Some of the primary school teachers in the research area in Kisarawe District gave examples of how to promote girls' performance. They said that in some schools, there is a system to reward girls when they perform well and they also try to discourage segregation of girls and boys in the classroom by putting girls and boys together during group work.

Regarding participation and performance in primary school, it was stated in several respondent groups, such as fathers with children out-of-school, that primary school girls have more responsibilities at home than primary school boys and therefore less time for homework, and they are more tired.

### ***Hunger affects children's performance***

One of the petty businesswomen in one of the villages has five children in school. She said that lack of food at home and in school affects the learning ability of the children negatively because children who are hungry are unable to concentrate. She explained that during the seasons when there is a shortage of food, many of the children go to school hungry and they fall asleep in class.

Children who stay too far away from school cannot go home for lunch and stay hungry and thirsty all day at school. In one school visited, a few girls remained during lunchtime and played a game with stones. One of the researchers asked them if they were not going home for lunch, but they said that they are not because their house is too far away. They had nothing with them to eat and they had not had anything for breakfast either. Several respondent groups strongly recommended that porridge and/or lunch should be provided in school both in order to improve attendance and stimulate performance.

### ***Observations in the classroom***

When the researchers did classroom observations in primary schools it was clear that both boys and girls raise their hands, but that it was more difficult to see the girls' hands because they did not raise their hands as high as the boys. It was also found that the teachers usually communicate most with the active and vocal pupils in the classroom, who often are boys.

During one of the classroom observations, one of the male teachers in a primary school lesson for Standard V pupils embarrassed a girl by saying "*are you sleeping?*" when she did not manage to answer the question properly. Then he made the whole class say "*she is sleeping?*" in chorus. On another occasion in a primary school classroom observation, a female teacher treated both the female and male pupils badly, calling them "*stupid*" when they made mistakes and pinching their cheeks. Male youths referred to demoralising teaching methods such as jeering and laughing at those who fail to answer questions, which according to them discourages especially girls to learn because they often are less confident.

During the classroom observations in COBET centres, it was found that also there, the teachers communicated more with the active pupils, who were mainly boys, although it was easier for the teachers in COBET to pay attention to more pupils due to the smaller classes. The atmosphere felt more relaxed in the COBET centres visited than in the primary schools. In COBET, there was more space for laughter and the children were speaking and answering questions more freely.

## **4.8 Girls have more responsibilities at home - "*kweli!*"**

Girls' and boys' basic education was put into relation to their daily activities. Girls in the different respondent groups said that they do not have much time to rest as boys and that they do more chores at home. One of the girls said that the boys are chatting with their friends most of the time and that her brother would not fetch water unless he can use a bicycle. Another girl said that her brother helps to fetch water and to do the

dishes, only if he wants to. At home, the girls activities were to cook, fetch water, fetch fire wood and to work on the *shamba*, while the boys' main activities were to clean the outside environment, work on the *shamba* and assist the father in constructing buildings.

### Box 9

#### Fatu cooks for her brothers but has a suggestion for change!

Fatu dropped out of primary school in Standard II because she became pregnant. When her daughter was 7 months and she was 16 years old, she enrolled in COBET. Fatu is determined to continue to secondary school and to later become a doctor. Her father, who sells coconuts, has promised her that he will pay for her secondary education.

Fatu declares that the boys in her family do not help in the household and when they come home for lunch, she is the one who cooks for them. She says that some boys in her village do help with household chores, but that her brothers do not because they think it is a woman's job. However, Fatu has a solution to this problem: "*We shouldn't reserve any food for them so that they would have to cook for themselves!*"

After the interview with Fatu, the COBET facilitator told the researcher that there had been a big debate in the family about whether or not she should enrol in COBET. The opinions were so diverse that Fatu's mother and father almost separated. Her father wanted her to continue to study, while her mother thought it was about time she got married. In the end, the mother agreed, the divorce never materialised and Fatu enrolled in COBET.

Male ward and village representatives discussed girls and boys daily tasks and said that girls have more responsibilities at home, "*kweli!*" ("*really!*") According to them, one reason why girls have more tasks than boys is because it is easier to control girls than boys. Boys do what they want to do and if the situation does not suit them, they leave. "*You may punish them ten times and then they just move somewhere else!*" To make boys share the workload, they suggested that the boys should learn tasks such as fetching water and cleaning in school. As an example they said that if there is an activity to fetch water, the teacher should choose boys to do this as well. They also recommended that parents should try to have a close social relationship with their children, regardless of their sex and try to talk more to the boys. That both girls and boys should do the same chores in school was suggested by girls in primary school and COBET as well. But in addition to a change in school, they advised that girls and boys should do the same chores also at home.

Female and male teachers said that culture dictates a division of labour where girls have more tasks at home and therefore less time to study. They suggested that one way of eliminating traditions and cultures which are outdated and do not cater for children's well being, is to promote equal chores for girls and boys at home, but gave no reference to the division of labour in school.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>
5-6	Wakes up, greets the parents/guardians, cleans the house and the compound and washes the dishes.
6.45	Goes to school
7.00	Inspections and announcements. Then she does the "mchakamchaka" (jogging) and cleans the school compound.
8.00	Lessons start
10.00	Short break
10.20	Lessons
12.30	Goes home for lunch (if she does not live too far away). Prepares lunch, eats and washes the dishes.
2.00	Lessons start again
3.20	End of lesson, then extra curricula activities.
4.00	Dismissed from school, goes home
4.30	Reaches home. Fetches water, pounds cassava, washes dishes, takes care of younger siblings and helps the mother to prepare the dinner.
6.00	Rests or studies until dinner is ready
7.00	Dinner. Then sometimes "moto wa jion" (stay around the fireplace) when the family sits together and talks.
8-9	▼Goes to bed

Figure 4.1 Timeline – A girl in primary school (Source: Girls in primary school and other respondents)

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>
6.00	Wakes up, greets the parents/guardians, cleans the house and the compound.
6.45	Goes to school
7.00	Inspections and announcements. Then he does the "mchakamchaka" (jogging) and cleans the school compound.
8.00	Lessons start
10.00	Short break
12.30	Goes home for lunch (if he does not live too far away). Waits for lunch, eats and go back to school.
2.00	Lessons start again
3.20	End of lesson, then extra curricula activities.
4.00	Dismissed from school, goes home
4.30	Reaches home. Washes dishes
5.00	Plays football and studies until dinner is ready
7.00	Dinner, then sometimes "moto wa jion" (stay around the fireplace) when the family sits together and talks.
8-9	▼Goes to bed

Figure 4.2 Timeline – A boy in primary school (Source: Boys in primary school and other respondents)

Most respondents said that the differences between the time-line of a primary school/COBET girl and a primary school/COBET boy (figures 4.1-4.4) are that the girl usually wakes up earlier than the boy and she starts doing household chores while the boy is still asleep. As can be seen, the boy usually does not prepare lunch during the lunch break – this is done by his sister and the boy also has fewer chores to do in the evening. While the girl fetches water, pounds flour and prepares dinner, the boy plays

football or does his homework. The girl usually stays around the house in the afternoon, while the boy is allowed to walk around in the village.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>
6.00	Wakes up, greets the parents/guardians, cleans the house and the compound, prepares tea and washes the dishes.
6.45	Goes to school
7.30	Arrives at the COBET centre, the COBET facilitator counts the learners and after this, they clean the COBET centre compound.
8.00	Lessons start
10.00	Break for games and sports, 30 minutes. She usually plays handball
10.30	Lessons start again
12.00	End of lessons
12.20	Eats lunch in the COBET centre or goes home
1.00	Prepares lunch for the rest of the family, while the other family members are still working on the <i>shamba</i>
1.30	Eats lunch and washes dishes
2.00	<i>Madrassa</i> (2-4 pm), fetch water and then go to the <i>shamba</i> . If she does not attend <i>madrassa</i> , she goes straight to the <i>shamba</i>
6.00	Returns from the <i>shamba</i> , fetches water, pounds cassava, helps to prepare the dinner, baths younger siblings and herself.
7.00	Dinner, then the family is together and talks, tell tales etc
8-9	▼Goes to bed

Figure 4.3 Timeline – A girl in COBET (Source: *Girls in COBET and other respondents*)

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>
6.00	Wakes up, cleans the house and the compound.
6.45	Goes to school
7.30	Arrives at the COBET centre, the COBET facilitator counts the learners and after this, they clean the COBET centre compound.
8.00	Lessons start
10.00	Break for games and sports, 30 minutes. He usually plays football
10.31	Lessons start again
12.00	End of lessons
12.20	Eats lunch in the COBET centre or goes home
1.00	Rests and studies
2.00	Goes to the <i>shamba</i>
6.00	Returns from the <i>shamba</i> , Then he walks around in the village, visits neighbours and plays football or prepares dinner for him and his brothers.
7.00	Dinner
8-9	▼Goes to bed

Figure 4.4 Timeline – A boy in COBET (Source: *Girls in COBET and other respondents*)

The differences between the time-line of girls/boys in primary school and girls/boys in COBET is that the primary school children arrive earlier in school, stay longer and they do more extra curricula activities in school, while the children in COBET do more

*shamba* work on the family *shamba*. The time-line for boys in COBET varied a lot among the respondents. Some boys stay alone with their older brothers and they therefore share all the housework and cooking. Some boys in COBET do *shamba* work all afternoon, while others do business and yet other boys have a lot of time to play and rest. However, generally, the boys in COBET appeared to have more responsibilities in the household and for themselves than boys in primary school. A difference between Kisarawe and Masasi was that the bedtime seemed to be earlier in Kisarawe. The explanation to this could be that because people seemed to have a little bit more money in Masasi and they may therefore have been able to afford to buy paraffin for the “*vibatali*” (a small locally made tin lamp). Which effect this had on the possibilities for girls and boys to do homework in the evening was however not looked into during the research.

### ***Girls' and boys' activities besides school***

Few of the respondent girls and boys in primary school in Kisarawe and Masasi were engaged in income generating activities. However, quite a few boys in COBET did business with charcoal, cashewnuts, coconuts and fruit, activities that contribute either to the household economy or benefited themselves personally. Not many girls were doing petty business, but some girls were helping their mothers to sell dry fish, snacks or food. If girls were working outside their household, they were working mainly as house-girls.

Girls and boys in COBET clearly did more household chores than girls and boys in primary school, which may be obvious since they spend less time in school. However, in addition, many of the children in COBET stayed with grandparents, relatives or child headed households, which often meant that they had more responsibilities at home. It was also found that girls in urban areas had less household chores and more time to study than girls in rural areas had.

### ***Spare time rare***

Especially for the older girls in the research areas, spare time seemed to be rare. They said that in the weekends, they wash their school uniform, go to the *shamba*, fetch water, pound cassava. It appeared to be almost taboo to play, while the older boys in COBET and primary school said without hesitation that they often play football.

Although spare time was rare, girls in primary school and COBET said that during recreation time, they enjoy walking around the village, go to *ngoma* and eat nice food like *pilau* (rice dish with meat and spices). Once in a while, they go to town to watch TV or video, which costs 50-100 Tsh per person. Boys in COBET and in primary school play football, study, watch traditional dances, listen to the radio, play cards or join a group at the market place where they sit and talk. The younger girls in COBET and primary school said that they sometimes play ‘*ready*’ and ‘*mdako*’ (games with stones or balls).

## 4.9 What to do after school?

The respondent children were asked what they would like to do and where they would like to live after finishing their primary/COBET education. The spectrum of plans and wishes was wide, both for the girls and the boys.

Quite a few girls and boys in primary school and COBET said that they would like to become farmers in the village where they currently live. Doctor and nurse were attractive professions. Doctors both among girls and boys, but nurse only among the girls. The main reason given for becoming a doctor or a nurse was to “*kuwasaidia wagonjwa*” (“to help the sick”). Another popular future profession among the girls and boys was to become a teacher to teach others like teachers have been teaching them. One girl in COBET said that she wants to become a teacher “*kwa sababu mwalimu anajua mambo mengi sana*” (“because the teacher knows very many things”). A girl in primary school wants to become a teacher so that she can earn two incomes, one from teaching at school and the other through tuition.

### Box 10

#### Ali in COBET talks about his future plans

Ali is 20 years old and studies in COBET, age cohort II. Ali talks about the future and says that after he has finished COBET and has enough money, he wants to go to Dar es Salaam and stay with his mother. In Dar es Salaam, he would like to work and says that he is willing to do any kind of work but that he would prefer to work in a restaurant. After some time, he wants to come back to his village where he will do farming. On his *shamba*, he will grow maize, cassava and cow peas. He will wait with getting married until he returns to the village, but he does not yet know to whom: “*Bado sijapanga*” (“I haven’t arranged that yet”). Ali would like to have one wife and three children, one girl and two boys. He would like all his future children to study at least until Standard VII and if possible, he wants them to continue to secondary school.

To have a vocational career was also popular. Boys in COBET and in primary school said that they want to become carpenters, mechanics and drivers, and quite a few girls in COBET wanted to become tailors. The main reason for choosing a vocational profession was to earn money and to serve the community. Several boys in primary school want to become policemen to guard their nation and to get a good salary and some of the girls in primary school and COBET said that they would like to work as prison police officers. Some of the boys also want to become soldiers and one of the boys said that he wants to become a high-ranking army official because he has heard that they get many benefits. To become a pilot was also popular, both among the girls and boys. One girl in primary school gave as a reason that as a pilot, you get to visit many countries and a boy in primary school said that he has heard that they get paid their salary as soon as they finish a flight.

Some of the children, both in COBET and primary school wanted to continue to study. In one of the age cohort II COBET centres, everybody expressed that they would like to continue to secondary school. One of the boys said that he wants to become a professor

in economics in order to help his area to develop economically and one of the girls in COBET wanted to become the president of Tanzania.

The children interviewed also had plans for the future concerning family and children. One of the girls in primary school said that later, she wants to get married and have two children, one daughter and one son. She said that she would like her daughter to become a nurse so that she can earn money to send to her, while the boy will be a farmer and help her on the *shamba*. She wants to live in the village where she lives now because it is easy to go to the *shamba*.

## 4.10 Education besides primary school and COBET

### *To continue with secondary education*

In the research area in Kisarawe District, there is one secondary school; *Maneromango Secondary School* which is a day secondary school for both girls and boys. In the research area in Masasi District, there are two secondary schools; *Masasi Day* and *Masasi Girls'*. However, while *Masasi Day* is a day secondary school for girls and boys mainly from the area, *Masasi Girls'* is a boarding school for girls who are selected from all over the country.

#### Box 11

#### Anna does not know if she can continue to Form II

Anna completed Form I last year, but it is uncertain whether or not she will be able to continue to Form II. The new year starts in a couple of weeks and Anna has no idea where she would get the 40,000 Tsh (50 USD) for the school fees. Anna stays with her mother who is a farmer and there is no way that she would be able to pay for Anna's school fees. In fact, the family did not have money for school fees for Anna in primary school either, but from Standard I-VII she was the best pupil and the headteacher allowed her to stay in school. When Anna was selected for secondary school the local government gave her a scholarship to continue with her education, but now, for the second year, the local government says that the funding was only for one year. Anna is no longer the best student, far from it. Last year, she missed the first four months because the scholarship for the school fees was late coming to her.

To earn some extra money to the family, Anna runs a petty business with a friend. They make potato samosa and sell them outside her house for 20 Tsh a piece. Her friend dropped out of school when she was in Standard VI two years ago because her father died. Life then became hard for her mother and she could not afford to pay the school costs. Right now, her friend is not allowed to go out because she is waiting for the initiation ceremony and for a suitor to come along. Anna says that her friend has been 'inside' for a long time because her friend's mother is afraid that if she was allowed to go out she might end up getting pregnant which would be a disgrace for the family. Many men know that she is waiting for a suitor but nobody has come to choose her yet.

Anna has not yet gone through the initiation ceremony and when she will depends on her studies. "*Kama nikifanikiwa kumaliza shule, basi ndio nitachezwa. Na kama nitaendelea kusoma, basi nitakaa mpaka mwisho wa masomo.*" ("Should I complete school successfully, well yes, then I will go through the initiation ceremony and if I continue to study, well, then I will wait until the end of my studies"). Anna says that if she manages to complete secondary school, she would like to become a nurse. "*I would like to become a nurse in order to help the parents and neighbours in my village. In the hospitals, the nurses come from different areas, so they don't help the villages whole heartily*"

Many of the students who are selected fail to pay the school fees and in order to fill the spaces, the schools usually make a second enrolment. According to the respondents, that few children go on to secondary school is linked to economic constraints of the families and an unsatisfactory situation in primary school, in terms of quality. Girls in COBET said that only children whose fathers can pay school fees can continue to secondary school. Male representatives from the wards and villages said that the society is in favour of secondary education but that it is too expensive. For a day secondary school the fee is 40,000 Tsh (50 USD). In addition, the students need uniforms, books and other school materials and they estimated that the cost of secondary education per year is about 70,000 to 80,000 Tsh.

The number of girls enrolled in Form I in both Masasi and Kisarawe is smaller than the number of boys. This despite the quota system that means that girls can be selected to secondary school with lower PSLE marks. In the later grades the number of girls gets substantially lower.<sup>29</sup> Some parents would not like to send their daughters to secondary school and, similarly to primary school, the main argument is the risk that she could become pregnant. One of the female peer educators spoke of her own experience: “*Yes it's true because I myself faced this problem. My father didn't like that I had been selected for secondary education so my paternal uncle took the responsibility of taking me to secondary school*”.

One of the COBET facilitators talked about her experiences from secondary school. She rented a house together with a girl friend and for her it was good because she got food, oil, sugar, exercise books, soap and other necessities from her parents. But other girls in her class who rented rooms had to get these things from ‘boyfriends’ who paid them for sex with for example a kilo of sugar or a bar of soap. Due to this, some of her classfriends got pregnant and had to leave school. She advocated that the girls should have somewhere to stay in school, such as a hostel for girls, which provides lunch and dinner. Another alternative would be to make the school into a boarding school.

Various respondents associated the continuation to secondary school with devoted studies and support from the family and the teacher. Secondary school girls and boys said that what had helped them to go on to secondary school was that they had studied hard, their parents and teachers had supported them and that their parents or relatives had paid for all the necessary requirements and extra tuition during primary school.

Influential village leaders in the research area in Masasi listed reasons contributing to children not being selected for secondary school as follows:

- The primary school teachers do not teach well and some of them are drunk during school hours
- In some primary schools there are no extra tuition sessions
- Lack of pre-schooling. Therefore, the children are not well prepared when they begin primary school, which affects their performance in primary school and hereby the selection for secondary school

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<sup>29</sup> Maneromango Secondary School (2001): *School Statistics for year 2000*. Maneromango Secondary school, Kisarawe District and Masasi Day Secondary School (2001): *School Statistics for year 2000*. Masasi Day Secondary School, Masasi District.

- Corruption during the selection process. The chance to secondary education is given to urban children from well-to-do families. In order to give the children from rural areas an equal chance of going on to secondary education, they suggested the introduction of a quota system.

Since COBET is a new programme, no COBET learners have yet been selected for secondary school. However, it was clear that, if selected, many of the learners would like to continue to study and COBET facilitators are certain that many of them will do well in the primary school leaving exam. However, many of the COBET learners come from families who would be unable to pay the secondary school costs. Whether any specific financial possibilities will be given to COBET leavers to continue to secondary school is still to be decided by MOEC on district and national level.

Respondents, such as COBET learners and mothers and fathers of children in primary school, suggested that the number of secondary schools should be increased. They recommended that each ward should have a secondary school and if this is not possible, then every second ward should have a secondary school. It was also suggested that they should take in more students in the already existing secondary schools. In Masasi, various respondents suggested that the school for blind pupils, which at present is extremely under-utilised with only a few pupils enrolled, should be used as a secondary school.

### ***Vocational Education for self-employment and information technology***

The demand for vocational education was high in both Kisarawe and Masasi and the main argument was to facilitate self-employment and income generating activities.

Young mothers in a rural village said that they would like to learn tailoring and pot-making so that they can sell the products to make money. Artists suggested that each ward should have a vocational training centre where carpentry, masonry and tailoring are taught. One girl said that she would like to learn how to use a computer because if she could learn this in Masasi, she would not have to leave for Dar es Salaam, like many other young people do.

In Masasi there is a Folk Development College, but according to respondents, such as ward officials and fathers of pupils, it is not functioning very well and nowadays is too expensive to take the children there (they estimated the cost to be about 50,000 to 55,000 Tsh). In addition, it was said that the parents need to buy the equipment for the field which the child is studying. In the research area in Kisarawe District, there is no vocational training centre, although there is a functioning Folk Development College in Kisarawe town, at a distance from the research area of about 70 kilometres, or two hours by bus.

### ***The Initiation Rite - an important form of education***

In both Kisarawe and Masasi Districts, girls and boys go through an initiation ceremony, a traditional form of education where the girls and boys get prepared for adulthood. The ceremony comes to an end with a *ngoma*, a festivity that lasts for several days and which is a big celebration in the village.

The initiation rite is called *unyago* for girls and *jando* for boys. The ceremonies are separated for girls and boys and they vary between tribes and areas and the initiation rite for the Zaramo tribe in Kisarawe is therefore different from the initiation ceremony for the Makua, Makonde and Yao in Masasi. However it was said that although there are different tribes living in Masasi, the tribes are nowadays so mixed through intermarriage, that the practices during the initiation rites are similar. FGM (female genital mutilation) is not part of the tradition in any of the research areas, but circumcision of the boy is an important element in the initiation ceremony for boys.

### *Unyago - Initiation for girls*

Almost all girls in the research areas in Kisarawe district and Masasi district go through the initiation rite and before a girl has passed through this rite of passage, she will not gain recognition as a woman. Many girls are looking forward to the initiation ceremony. It is one of the few occasions in life when she is the centre of attention, she gains a position in the society and she is rewarded with presents. If the traditional ceremony is followed, the initiation rite takes place when she gets her first menstrual period and she is then kept inside until a suitor comes along and chooses her as his wife. However, nowadays when many girls are still in primary school when they menstruate for the first time, some families decide that the girl will remain in school and wait with the initiation rite until after she has finished school. Other families take the girl out of school, let her go through the initiation rite and then marry her off, which means the end of her primary education. Respondents stated that some girls lose their interest in school soon after they have gone through the initiation ceremony. They have been introduced to another kind of life than they are used to and thoughts about boyfriends, beauty and marriage have become more important than to study.

Different practices seemed to be used in the research areas even if the family decides that she will stay in school. In Kisarawe, respondents said that the girl usually is kept inside for seven days when she gets her first menstruation period, as the first step of the initiation and then she will go back to school. The rest of the initiation ceremony is done later, at a time that suits her and/or the family. Some families wait until the harvest season, some until the school holidays and others until she has finished Standard VII.

In Masasi, most girls seemed to go through the initiation rite earlier than in Kisarawe, even before they get their first menstrual period. Respondents said that some girls are as young as six years old, but that common ages are when the girls are between eight and ten years old. Also in Masasi, many families wait until the harvest season in June when they can afford the ceremony and when it is school holiday.

An old woman in a village in the research area in Masasi, whose profession is to teach girls during the initiation rite, explained what is taught to the girl during *unyago*. The curriculum seemed to be valid also for Kisarawe. The girl is educated for a period of time that can last between a few days and several weeks. She learns about taboos, customs and to respect her parents, her husband and her in-laws. The girl also learns about personal hygiene, to look good and about marital obligations, including how to behave during the sexual act so that she knows beforehand what the husband will expect her to do.

Respondent girls in primary school in Masasi had all gone through the *unyago* at ages between 7 and 10 years old. They thought that *unyago* was good because there they learnt a lot and afterwards, they were not treated as small children anymore. What they did not like were harsh punishments, such as to dig up trees with bare hands. According to out-of-school youth in Kisarawe, both male and female, it is negative that the girl has to stay indoors for seven days when she gets her first menstrual period. They said that she misses school for some time and she is also affected psychologically while she is indoors because she is told that she is an adult. When she starts to feel like a grown-up, she is often not interested in school anymore. They recommended that *unyago* should be done after the girl has finished primary school and if she happens to be selected for secondary school, the initiation ceremony should wait until she has finished Form IV or Form VI.

Some respondents said that the initiation rite is too much centred around sex and that girls are encouraged to have sexual relationships as soon as possible after the *unyago*. Adolescent girls in Kisarawe said that when a girl goes through *unyago*, it is as if she has been given the ticket to go around with men because the initiation teacher tells the girl that she should not be stupid and depend on only one man. She should have at least three stoves “so that she does not have to have beans everyday”. This was also said in Masasi by female artists and they expressed that they do not like that the girls are taught “*mambo ya malaya*” (prostitution behaviours).

The most common view about *unyago* both in Kisarawe and Masasi was that it is a good tradition where the girls learn many useful things, but that the girls nowadays are too young when they go through the initiation ceremony. A problem with being too young is that the girls are too young to remember what they have learnt and also that many of them start to practice sex shortly after the *unyago*. Female ward officers in Masasi said that on the one hand, it is good that the girls are taught about reproductive issues during initiation, because this is not taught anywhere else. But, on the other, the children start to practice sex after the initiation, although they are very young. The girls are taught that sex can lead to pregnancy, but no discussions with the respondents indicated that the girl learns about how to avoid pregnancy during the initiation rite.

### ***Jando - Initiation for boys***

Like for girls, the initiation ceremony for boys is a rite after which the boy is regarded as mature. Traditionally, the boys are circumcised and stay in the forest for three months, but nowadays, it seemed to be more common that boys stay in the forest for a shorter period of time or are circumcised in the dispensary and receive their education at home. It seemed to be more common in Masasi than in Kisarawe that boys are circumcised and receive their education in the forest. During the initiation ceremony, the boy learns about taboos and customs, to have respect for his parents and elderly people, to behave well and to be hardworking. Like the girl, the boy also learns about personal hygiene and how to behave towards his future wife.

In regards to primary education, respondents said that it does not matter if the initiation rite for boys takes place when they are in school. A boy cannot get married until he has the economic capacity, which will be after school and, unlike many of the girls, the boys are still eager to go to school after the completion of initiation. Male teachers in Masasi were positive towards the initiation ceremony. They said that the boys are taught determination, which is good for their studies, and when the boys come out from the

ceremony, they are confident, clean, they know how to wash and to help at home. In addition, they often have a new school uniform and attend school even more than before.

In the research area in Kisarawe, the boys seemed to be younger than girls are when they go through the initiation rite. Ages between three and seven years seemed to be common, while in Masasi, the initiation ceremony for boys takes place when they are between six and ten years old, which is the same age as for the girls in Masasi.

According to men in the village council and adolescent fathers in Kisarawe, the boys are taken too early to the *jando* and are therefore too young to grasp the messages. They also said that nowadays, the boys spend too short time in the forest to learn everything they are supposed to learn, such as discipline, and they do not become strong and brave enough. Fathers of COBET learners said that some young people misbehave because they have not been properly initiated.

In many of the respondent groups in both Kisarawe and Masasi, the use of unsafe instruments during circumcision was raised as a problem. Sometimes the same knife is used for 20 boys, without sterilising in between. Respondents said that this is a serious issue because of the spread of diseases, such as HIV/AIDS. They recommended that the *ngariba* (the man who circumcises the boy) should be oriented on these issues so that he uses safe equipment and is assisted by people with medical skills.

### *Common issues raised concerning Unyago and Jando*

Some female teachers said that in the old days, when there were few schools, there was a greater need for initiating girls and boys than now because good behaviour and family life education is taught in schools. Other female teachers said that the education given in *unyago* and *jando* is still worthwhile, but that the curriculum should be different for young and old children so that the younger children do not start with sex prematurely.

Some respondents said that the fact that girls and boys go through the initiation ceremony before they are mature enough and earlier than before partly is linked to economic constraints and partly to political decisions. A female initiator in Masasi said that she prefers to initiate girls who are about 12 years old and above, but that the parents bring children ranging from 7-10 years old. She explained that this is because if the harvest has been good this year, the family wants to be on the safe side and sent the child to the *unyago* or *jando*. There is no guarantee that the harvest will be good next year and if it is not, they will not be able to afford it. Fathers of children out-of-school in Masasi said that the reason why children nowadays are sent to the initiation ceremony at a younger age than before originated from one of the previous District Commissioners. He announced that if there is *unyago* or *jando* this year, the next initiation ceremony would not follow until three years later in order to reduce food wastage.

It was stated in both Kisarawe and Masasi that the cost of the initiation ceremony is substantial in terms of food and alcohol for the family of the girl or the boy who has been initiated. A large amount of food and drinks should be available for the guests at a proper *ngoma* and many families therefore wait until the harvest season. Teachers said that too much food is eaten during the *ngoma*. Food that could have lasted for several months is consumed within a few days.

When the cost of the initiation ceremony was put in relation to the cost of education, various respondents said that it is difficult to compare these costs. This was because the cost of the *ngoma* is mainly for the food and drinks and is not paid in cash, as is the case for education. It was also said that it is an old tradition that the extended family contributes to the *ngoma*, but that there is no such tradition regarding contributions to formal education. In addition, while the initiation occurs once in the child's life, the school fees and contributions need to be paid year after year. Therefore, there are families who can afford the initiation ceremony for their children but not their primary education.

An issue raised concerning the initiation ceremony was that the *ngoma* after the initiation rite is an event for casual sex and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Respondents, such as female COBET facilitators, said that it is common that a man has sex with 3-4 women during one night of the *ngoma*. They said that heavy drinking is a contributing factor to casual and unsafe sex.

### ***Religious education***

In many of the respondent groups, it was said that religious education complements formal education. While religious education prepares the child spiritually, formal education provides basic knowledge such as to read, to write and do arithmetic.

In the research areas both in Kisarawe and Masasi Districts, there was a religious mixture of Islam and different branches of Christianity such as Catholicism, Lutheranism and Anglicanism. Many of the young Muslim children go to *madrassa* almost everyday, while respondents in primary school and COBET in Kisarawe and Masasi said that they go to *madrassa* a few days a week after school. Primary school children said that while the Christian children get religious education in school, the Muslim children either have to get it after school hours or leave school earlier, such as on Fridays when they go to the Mosque.

There was a concern that religious education sometimes coincides with the primary school education. One Lutheran pastor referred to confirmation, which sometimes takes place when the children are in Standard VII. This is a time when the children have intensive studies and the religious studies on top of the other studies might therefore disturb them. He recommended that the children if possible should go through the confirmation earlier. Young artists and peer educators in Kisarawe were also concerned with the time conflict that the religious and secular education may have. They advised that the religious groups should meet with the government in order to set up specific times for religious instructions so that they do not collide with primary school. They also said that it is important to make different groups such as parents, *Maalims* (Islamic teachers), Sheikhs, pastors and evangelists aware of the importance of *both* formal education and religious studies.

Similar to primary education, the religious education is paid for by the families. A child who goes to the *madrassa* pays around 200 Tsh per month in allowance for the *Maalim* (the Islamic teacher). In Kisarawe, respondents said that if a child cannot pay for the *madrassa*, the pupil stops until the father can pay again, but in Masasi, it was said that if the family is unable to pay the *madrassa* fee, she or he can continue anyway. For Christian education,

such as Sunday school and confirmation, there is no specific fee, but at the beginning of the year, each family or person estimates how much they can contribute to the church during the year, in money, in kind or in labour. The church then collects these contributions regularly during the year.

The cost of religious education was not raised as a problem among the respondents, as was the case with primary education. That some children attend religious education and not primary education is also an issue of the relevance of the education provided. If religious education is regarded as a good way of preparing the child for life and the primary education provided is regarded as poor, the family may decide to use the resources and time for religious education.

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The question which raised the need of this study, *Why are there few girls in COBET in Kisarawe and Masasi?* has been looked into within the context of Basic Education from a gender perspective, the daily life of girls and boys and other kinds of education provided to children by the community.

Despite the fact that girls enrol almost at par with boys in primary school, it was found that girls out-of-school were not as prioritised as boys out-of-school for enrolment in COBET. Boys were seen in greater need of education because they were more obviously out-of-school, visible to the community, many of them without anything to do but to hang around the *kijivani*. Girls out-of-school, on the other hand, were not seen loitering around the street in need of education because they were occupied with household chores. In addition, it was clear that the girls were important for the running of the household and to send a girl to school therefore would mean a sacrifice in terms of labour. In cases where out-of-school girls were older or already had children, it was often regarded as being too late to send them to school because they approach the time for marriage or were regarded as adults. The enrolment in COBET was made with a high community involvement, but discussions with community members revealed that few knew that girls were supposed to be given priority when the enrolment was made. Therefore, part of the low enrolment of girls in COBET could have been due to administrative shortcomings and lack of information and preparation in the communities about the aims and priorities of COBET.

One of the findings in the needs assessment and tracer study, done prior to the introduction of COBET<sup>30</sup>, was that fewer girls than boys were found to be out of school. It was stated in the report that the girls were more difficult to find because they were kept inside and that fewer girls than boys could come out to be interviewed. That it is easier to find boys out-of-school than girls-out-of-school became clear in this study, but if being eligible for COBET depended on the child's own participation through interview, it raises questions about how the tracer study was conducted and how big an effort was made to find girls. Part of the explanation to why fewer girls were found might also have been because some of the girls were simply not there. They may have been working as house-girls in another village or in town, as was found to be common in this study.

Especially in the research area in Kisarawe, it was said that many households are headed by children or by grandparents. If the children are to rely on themselves, this often means a large responsibility for the girl in the household. When asked why the parents were not there, it was explained that parents were either dead or had been separated from their children due to migration to Dar es Salaam, temporarily or permanently, to earn a living. Although it was not explicitly mentioned that many parents have died in AIDS related illnesses, it was said that more and more children are becoming orphaned and that

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<sup>30</sup> MOEC & UNICEF (1998): *A Report on COBET Initiatives in Tanzania: A Needs Assessment - Tracer Study of Out of School Children in Maneromango Division, Kisarawe District and Lisekese Division in Masasi District.*

relatives nowadays try to keep distance from children because of the economic responsibility that may mean if they are orphaned.

The major concern raised concerning primary education was that the financial burden is too heavy to carry for many households.<sup>31</sup> Another angle of the high economic cost of primary education is exposed when looking into the psychological price that the children pay. Both children and teachers said that children who do not wear a uniform and who are unable to pay the school costs are often beaten or sent home from school. If allowed to remain in school, they are frequently treated differently from the other children by being segregated in the classroom or when lining up for announcements. This stigmatisation causes a feeling of exclusion and dislike of school and in order to escape the humiliation, children stay away from school. From the perspective of children's human rights, high cost of education is a contradiction for children from families who are unable to meet all costs. Children and families may know that all children have the right to be in school, but when trying to claim their right, they are punished by being sent home, beaten or segregated from the other children.

The recent decision from the Tanzanian Government to abolish school fees and other direct costs and to have a more relaxed school uniform policy will therefore mean a relief for many children and their families. However, it involves a responsibility to make sure that children, parents/guardians and other community members know about the policy so that even if they are demanded to pay, they can claim that they do not have to. It is also a challenge to make sure children without uniforms are not treated differently from the other children.

That community members or individual families do not have the cash or other economic resources to pay for primary education does not mean that their capacity is weak. Capacity is built through *authority*, *responsibility* and *resources*, and resources can be other than economical. In COBET, the community has taken a large responsibility for the school and released resources. The community donated a building and on their own initiative, they contributed with labour force and material to improve the COBET buildings. In Masasi, mothers have taken initiative to provide school meals to the children. This shows that if the ownership of the school is strong, community members are willing to use their capacity and contribute to the education of their children.

Economic constraints affect girls more severely because it was clear that if a family cannot afford to send all children to school, girls are disadvantaged. The main reason for this is because it was seen as a less secure investment to send a girl to school due to the risk that she will become pregnant and therefore will be expelled from school, which means that the educational investment somehow is lost. Another example of how high cost of education have a worse effect on girls is that girls may be forced to seek basic needs such as exercise books, soap and a little bit of money through sexual relationships with older men, male peers or teachers.

An issue that was raised as a serious concern especially by young women, was the frequent sexual harassment of girls by boys and teachers in school, and by boys and men outside of school. Girls' space for negotiation of sex seemed to be very limited and as one of the adolescent girls explained, a man who approaches a girl asking for sex, expects

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<sup>31</sup> The recent study *Cost Sharing: A Case Study of Education in Kilimanjaro* concludes that high cost of primary education is a major constraint for many families also in the Kilimanjaro area, which is regarded as a relatively well off region due to e.g. the production of coffee (Maarifa Ni Ufunguo, 2001, Arusha).

that she will agree. If she refuses, he will harass her by following her around and she may also run the risk of being raped.<sup>32</sup>

Limited space for negotiation and that schoolgirls are forced to agree to have sex due to a need for basic items, including commodities for school, means that young girls are at risk of becoming pregnant. It also implies that they are in a vulnerable position regarding the risk of being infected with sexually transmitted infections, including HIV. Girls in the age-group 15-19 years old are up to six times more at risk to be infected than boys in the same age-group.<sup>33</sup> Part of the explanation of this is biological, but important reasons are also sexual exploitation of girls, that they are expected to agree to sex and because older men, who are more likely to have contracted the virus, have sex with younger girls. High cost of education, limited economic resources, the power relationship between younger girls and older men, and between girls and boys, are therefore highly relevant factors regarding the HIV/AIDS pandemic which is increasingly affecting the Tanzanian population.

In the research areas in Kisarawe and Masasi Districts, a girl who becomes pregnant is expelled from school.<sup>34</sup> When asked if a girl should be allowed to come back to school after delivery, most respondents were of the opinion that she should be given a second chance if she wants to and if somebody can take care of the baby while she attends classes. It is therefore anticipated that the directives that have been in the process of preparation by MOEC since 1996, explicitly stating the right of girls to continue with their education, will be welcomed.

A central aspect of girls' and boys' basic education is the school environment. Respondents expressed discontent with the *physical environment* in primary school, such as classrooms, latrines and material. The ambitious Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP), which will begin to be implemented in 2002, within the framework of the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP), has potential to contribute to an improvement of the physical environment in primary schools through classroom construction and provision of teaching and learning material.<sup>35</sup>

Respondents were also dissatisfied with the condition of the *mental environment* in primary school. Primary school pupils, COBET learners and children out-of-school disliked corporal punishment and also parents and other village members were negative towards the frequent beating of pupils. Due to fear of corporal punishment, children stay away from school and it was said that it happens that girls agree to have sex with teachers

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<sup>32</sup> That girls agree to have sex due to need of basic items and because she is afraid to refuse a man is also found in other research. See e.g. kuleana (1996/97): *Key research findings from a study conducted by kuleana on Expulsion of Pregnant School Girls*. kuleana centre for children's rights, Mwanza.

<sup>33</sup> United Nations Tanzania (2001): *United Nations Development Assistance Framework Tanzania 2002-2006*. United Nations Tanzania, Dar es Salaam

<sup>34</sup> There is no national legislation that clearly states that schoolgirls in Tanzania who become pregnant are expelled from school. The National Regulations regarding expulsion and exclusion of pupils from schools do not mention pregnancy as a reason for expulsion: "consistent misbehaviour in a manner that may 'endanger general discipline or the good name of the school', crime, poor physical or mental health, or inexcusable delay in reporting to school." (Rajani, R. & Robinson, G. (1999): *The State of Education in Tanzania. Crisis and Opportunity*, p. 59. kuleana centre for children's rights, Mwanza). In 1996, MOEC started the process of issuing directives that explicitly state the right of girls to continue with their education. However, these directives are still not in place (ibid).

<sup>35</sup> MOEC (2001): *Education Sector Development Programme. Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006)*. MOEC, July 2001, Dar es Salaam.

because they are afraid of being beaten.<sup>36</sup> Several respondents referred to the absence of corporal punishment in COBET as positive and despite this, the children have improved their behaviours. If children can develop good manners without being beaten, if children who are not beaten like school better and if community members are positive towards alternative forms of discipline, abolishing corporal punishment could be considered by the Government on a policy level. Within this context, it was also interesting that COBET learners pointed out that there is a friendly relationship between the teachers and the pupils in COBET. As one of the boys in COBET said: you can talk to the teachers in COBET “*without fear*”.

An initiative to introduce a concept of child-friendly schools has recently been taken by MOEC, supported by UNICEF and it is up to the school itself to define what the concept of their child-friendly school will be. If alternative forms of discipline and a friendly relationship between the teachers and the pupils are priorities of the school, such aspects could be part of a child-friendly school environment. To enable teachers to be child-friendly is one of the goals in the PEDP in order to improve the quality of primary education.<sup>37</sup> It is however a challenge to make sure that attention will be paid also to more qualitative aspects of the school environment, apart from the focus on construction of buildings, teaching and learning material and upgrading of teachers.

That the learners in COBET learn fast was stressed a number of times by various respondents. It was said that the teachers in COBET are competent and the learners like their teachers, which partly should be seen in the light of teachers’ training and motivation and partly be explained by small classes and enough teaching and learning material. Teachers in the formal system envied the COBET facilitators because they continuously undergo training and have favourable working conditions.

Part of the mental environment is the actual classroom situation, important not least from a gender point of view. Various respondents stated that girls, especially in the higher grades of primary school and COBET are less confident than boys regarding answering questions. Part of the explanation could be that boys are encouraged to be more active and social than girls. While girls are supposed to be at home and quietly do the household chores, boys are allowed to visit neighbours, to chat and to play. It was also found that teachers tend to communicate mostly with the active and visible pupils in the classroom in primary school classes. In a class of about 70 pupils, it is a challenge for the teacher to give priority to the more quiet pupils and it may even be difficult to notice the hands that are not raised as high as the others. If those active and vocal are mainly boys, this is clearly a gender issue.

The humiliation by the teachers that was witnessed during classroom observations in primary schools could be analysed from a gender perspective. Both boys and girls may be objects of degradation during classes if they cannot answer a question correctly.

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<sup>36</sup> That children frequently are beaten in school and that girls sometimes agree to have sex with teachers due to fear of corporal punishment, was also found in a study by kuleana in 1997/1997. In the report, it is stated that MOEC’s National Regulations on Corporal Punishment from 1979 is not followed. According to the National Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulations 1979, corporal punishment should e.g. be used as a last resort, the teacher who deliver the punishments must have a written permission by the headteacher of the school and female pupils are not supposed to be punished by male teachers (*kuleana* (1996/97): *Research on Modes of Discipline in Schools 1996/97 – Key Findings*. kuleana centre for children’s rights, Mwanza). See also Rajani, R. & Robinson, G. (1999): *The State of Education in Tanzania: Crisis and Opportunity*.

<sup>37</sup> MOEC (2001): *Education Sector Development Programme. Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006)*.

However, if girls have less time to study than boys and are too exhausted to be able to concentrate during the lessons, they may more frequently be victims of this kind of humiliation.<sup>38</sup> In addition, if girls tend to be less confident than boys, the shame may have a more serious effect on them.

That children spend too much time doing extra curricula activities in primary school was the opinion of various respondents, not least primary school children themselves. Girls and boys are working hard doing various chores, but it should be noted that the tasks which especially the girls are assigned to do, such as to fetch water, cook, pound maize or cassava for the teacher and clean the teachers' houses, are done on a daily basis. This means that girls spend even more time in school doing chores and they are even asked to do these chores while the other children are attending lessons. Since the chores which the girls do are typical 'girl activities', the division of labour in school reinforces the traditional division of labour which often is present at home.

The respondent girls and boys often suggested constructive solutions. While various community members suggested that the school should promote equal chores for girls and boys, teachers said that this is the responsibility of the family. Girls themselves did not pinpoint one or the other, but were of the opinion that boys should do more chores both at home *and* in school.

Although there was dissatisfaction concerning primary education in the research areas and to large extent contentment with COBET, most respondents preferred the formal primary school over COBET. COBET was seen as an alternative form of education mainly when the family has no money to pay the costs of primary school or when a child has dropped out of school, while primary school was regarded as the 'real school'. This is a challenge because many of the elements in COBET were perceived as positive and if these elements could be used to revitalise the formal school system, much would be achieved to increase gender equality and improve the quality of education. Such aspects are:

- Teachers who receive continuous training and who use alternative forms of punishments instead of corporal.
- A close involvement of the community and the school-committee in the running of the school and monitoring the teachers and the children.
- Minimised extra-curricula activities in school, such as *shamba* work.
- Allowing girls who become pregnant and adolescent mothers to go back to school.
- Shorter school days, with a curriculum which is intensive and relevant for the life of the children through the emphasis on vocational skills and life skills.

COBET is a new programme and no learners have yet been mainstreamed into the formal system. If it turns out that the COBET learners will do well in the tests and the primary school leaving exams at the end of the three-year COBET cycle, it is important to find out why they have done well. It is simple to say that any school with three teachers, 30 pupils and sufficient teaching and learning environment can do well. But it is

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<sup>38</sup> A negative effect on the performance of girls due to the fact that they often have less time for homework and are more tired than boys during class, is also stated e.g. in a research report on classroom interaction in selected primary schools in Tanzania in 1999. See Osaki, K.M. & Agu, A. (1999): *Classroom Interaction with Gender and Rights Perspective. A Case Study of Selected Primary Schools in Tanzania*. Report of a Study commissioned by UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

important to investigate how absence of corporal punishment and child labour in school, child friendly methods, enthusiastic teachers, a more practical curriculum and a strong involvement of the community have contributed to their performance.

Lastly, it is important to note that other kinds of education than primary education and COBET, such as the initiation rite, religious education and secondary education are essential in the community and that these forms of education should not be ignored when girls' and boys' education is discussed. Not only are they regarded as important, but they are also influencing and complementing basic education. As stated by various respondents, some girls who have gone through the initiation ceremony lose interest in school.<sup>39</sup> To work with the initiation teachers to improve the educational opportunities for girls and to improve their position in society, should therefore be explored as an opportunity.

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<sup>39</sup> That girls lose interest in school after the initiation ceremony has also been found in other research in Tanzania. See for example Ntukula, M (1994): "The initiation rite" in *Chelewa, Chelewa - The Dilemma of Teenage Girls*. Tumbo-Masabo & Liljeström (eds). Nordiska Afrika Institutet, Uppsala and Shuma, M.(1994): "The case of the matrilineal Mwera of Lindi" in *Chelewa, Chelewa – The Dilemma of Teenage Girls*. Tumbo-Masabo & Liljeström (eds). Nordiska Afrika Institutet, Uppsala.

## **6.1 Suggestions by the respondents**

### ***Primary school***

- Reduce the cost of primary education or make primary education free of all financial costs.
- Improve the school environment through better buildings, more desks, classrooms, teachers' houses and teaching and learning material. Community members are willing to contribute labour force to the construction of buildings.
- Encourage families to send their children to school through community theatre.
- Increase the number of safe latrines that allow privacy.
- Minimise or abolish corporal punishment.
- Decrease child labour in school and give equal chores to girls and boys.
- Include more vocational skills, English and information about HIV/AIDS in the curriculum, starting from Standard III.
- Make the link between the school and the community stronger through the School Committee so that the parents/guardians know about the performance of their children and so that they can intervene before it is too late.
- Offer regular training for teachers so that they become competent and motivated. The headteachers go to many seminars organised by the district, but the class teachers should also be called from time to time because this would further increase their motivation.
- Provide porridge and/or lunch in school because this would increase attendance and performance of children, especially if they live far away from school and cannot go home for lunch.

### ***COBET***

- Expand COBET, especially to more rural areas where the access to education is poor.
- Recognise and value COBET more in the community.
- Increase vocational skills in the curriculum.
- Provide learning material such as exercise books and materials for vocational skills when they are finished.
- Provide school meals to the learners more often because it would increase attendance.

## ***The daily life of girls and boys and other forms of education***

- Let the boys help more with domestic chores such as cooking.
- Increase the number of secondary schools or the streams in the existing secondary schools so that more children get the chance to secondary education.
- Provide hostels for girls in secondary school.
- Increase the options for vocational training.
- Increase the age of going through the initiation rite for girls and boys.
- Distinguish between what can be taught to the younger children and the older children in the education given during the initiation rite so that they do not start to practice sex too early.
- Use sterile equipment when boys are circumcised and the man who does the circumcision should have basic medical skills or be assisted by medical professionals.
- Make sure that the time for religious instructions and initiation rites does not collide with the time spent in school.

## **6.2 Recommendations by the researchers**

### ***Policy development***

**Minimise the cost of education.** One of the research findings was that more girls and boys would be able to begin primary school and stay in school if the costs of schooling were removed or minimised. High costs of schooling causes a vicious circle where children are either directly denied their right to be in school by being sent home by the teacher, or indirectly through punishments such as beating and segregation from the other pupils. The new policy from the Tanzanian Government to abolish school fees and levies and to introduce a more relaxed school uniform policy from 2002, is therefore positive and in line with the respondents' arguments. However, although a heavy economic burden will be lifted from the shoulders of many families, there are costs that they still will have to pay for, such as uniforms, shoes, exercise books, pens and hoes. It is therefore important to be aware that with the new policy, primary education will not be completely free. It is common that families in the rural areas farm for household consumption and the crops are not enough to sell, which means that they have limited or no access to cash.

To minimise the cost of primary education is positive also from a gender perspective because families will have a greater economic opportunity to send all the children in the family to school. In addition, primary schoolgirls will possibly be less pressurised to get basic needs such as exercise books and a little bit of money through sexual relationships and hereby reduce the risk of becoming pregnant and being infected with sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS.

The new policy involves a responsibility to inform children, parents/guardians and other community members about the policy so that they can claim their right to not having to pay these costs even if demanded to do so. In regards to the relaxed school uniform policy, it is a challenge to make sure that children who come to school without uniform are not turned away or segregated from the other children.

**Allow continuation of primary and secondary education despite pregnancy.** In the research areas, girls who become pregnant are expelled from primary and secondary school and if it is found out that the father of the child is a schoolboy, he is sometimes also forced to leave school. The expulsion of pregnant schoolgirls is a major cause of drop-out and which affects girls in particular. However, there was a strong support among the respondents to allow girls and boys who become parents to continue with their education. In 1996, MOEC started to review laws in order to prepare directives that explicitly state the right of girls to continue with their education after delivery.<sup>40</sup> It is recommended that priority should be given to finalise these directives. Due to the strong support by the respondents in the research areas, it is believed that these directives will be welcomed.

**Use alternative forms of punishments.** Many respondents were of the opinion that teachers beat children too frequently. Several of the respondent children had left school due to harsh punishments by the teachers and it was said that it happens that girls agree to have sex with teachers because they are afraid that if they refuse, they will be beaten. The absence of corporal punishment in COBET was regarded as positive and it was stated that the COBET learners have improved their behaviour, despite the fact that the teachers in COBET do not use corporal punishment. The appreciation of the absence of corporal punishment in COBET implies that alternative forms of discipline are supported. Frequent use of corporal punishment in primary school signifies that MOEC's National Guidelines on Corporal Punishment is not followed.<sup>41</sup> It is recommended that corporal punishment should be abolished. The fact that corporal punishment appears to have permitted a flexible interpretation of the regulations. As a result, children are beaten everyday in school, not as a last resort, as stated in the regulations.

### ***Equality and quality***

*Quality* of education and *equality* in education go hand in hand. In order to obtain gender equality and equality between advantaged and disadvantaged children in school, qualitative aspects need to be recognised.

**Promote gender equality.** An unequal situation in the classroom is created because the teachers tend to communicate with the vocal and active pupils, who often are boys. Furthermore, the division of labour in school and at home is largely divided according to gender. Traditional gender roles are therefore promoted and reproduced in school and in addition, girls, who do the day-to-day tasks such as fetching water, cleaning teachers' houses and cleaning the latrines, spend a lot of time doing chores during school hours. Therefore, teachers should be trained and encouraged to actively promote equality between girls and boys, *inside* and *outside* the classroom.

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<sup>40</sup> Rajani, R. & Robinson, G. (1999): *The State of Education in Tanzania: Crisis and Opportunity*, p. 59. kuleana, centre for children's rights, Mwanza).

<sup>41</sup> According to the National Regulations of corporal punishment, corporal punishment should be used as a last resort, the teacher who deliver the punishments must have a written permission by the headteacher of the school and girls are not supposed to be punished by male teachers (*kuleana (1996/97): Research on Modes of Discipline in Schools 1996/97 – Key Findings*. kuleana centre for children's rights, Mwanza. See also Rajani, R. & Robinson, G. (1999): *The State of Education in Tanzania: Crisis and Opportunity*.

**Take actions against the frequent sexual exploitation and sexual harassment of girls.** Older men and boys in and out-of school take sexual advantage of schoolgirls who need to cover direct and indirect costs of schooling. In school, it happens that teachers take advantage of girls, who due to fear of corporal punishment or in order to increase their marks in the exams, agree to have sex with teachers. Girls are often expected to say yes to sex if they are asked, which means that if they say no, they sometimes are at risk of being raped. In order to promote equality between girls and boys in society, not least in regards to education, it is crucial that the sexual exploitation of girls is recognised and fought at all levels.

**Provide regular training for teachers.** What the children learn in school largely depends on the skills and motivation of the teachers. The primary school teachers envied the COBET teachers because they receive frequent training and it is recommended that primary school teachers, like the COBET teachers, undergo training at least once a year. The training would not only mean professional development, but also motivation and recognition that their role is important and valued.

**Offer Guidance and Counselling.** Guidance and counselling should be an option for girls and boys in every school and be provided by both female and male teachers. Guidance and counselling could be one way of dealing with issues such as menstruation, child labour, family matters and sexual harassment in school and in the community. It could also be used to empower girls and to encourage boys to share power in order to come to terms with an unequal power relationship between girls and boys in school and in the community.

**Strive for equal enrolment in COBET.** That girls' attendance in COBET is regarded to be lower than for boys and that girls tend to be less active, can partly be linked to the fact that few girls were enrolled. It is believed that if a more girls had been registered, they would feel more comfortable and gain moral support from each other. It is therefore recommended that if more COBET centres are established in the future, effort should be made to enrol an equal share of girls and boys. It is also important that the aim of equal enrolment between girls and boys has found a basis in the community, prior to the registration of the children. In addition, when tracer studies of out-of-school children are done in the future, effort should be made to trace *all* out-of-school children in the community and not only those who are easily seen and who can be interviewed.

**Provide school meals.** Respondents stated that if the children would eat in school, this would increase attendance and stimulate performance. It is therefore strongly recommended that school meals should be provided in school. A first step towards providing meals in primary school could be to consume the products from the *shamba* in school instead of selling the crops. This would make children and community members more confident that the work which they do on the *shamba* benefits the children and not only the teachers.

Provision of school meals would benefit children who either live too far away from school to go home for lunch or who do not have the opportunity to eat at home. To have the opportunity to eat in school is important from a gender perspective as well since it was stated that one of the reasons why girls generally do not perform as well as boys is because they have less energy due to a heavy workload at home. In addition, when the children go home for lunch, the girls are the ones who cook while the boys are resting.

***Linkage between the formal system and COBET***

**Use COBET as a source of inspiration.** It was stated that the children in COBET learn faster than in the formal system and that they are not afraid of their teachers. A similar effect could be achieved in the formal system if the teachers had access to sufficient teaching and learning material, if the curriculum emphasised more on practical skills, if there were fewer pupils in each class, if other forms of discipline than corporal punishment was used and if the teachers regularly were trained in how to use interactive methods.

**Promote gender balance and parents/guardians to be part of the school committees.** Respondent parents said that they do not know how their children in primary school are doing, which indicates that the link between the school committee and the parents is weak. Each COBET centre has a COBET committee where mothers and fathers of COBET learners constitute some of the members and although the composition of the COBET committee is not fully gender balanced, at least a few women are members. The primary school committees, which often are dominated by men, could function as a stronger link between the school and the parents/guardians if more mothers and women were members.

### ***Possibilities of increasing the access to basic education***

Every child has the right to basic education, which means that this right is violated for about three million children in Tanzania. According to the Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006), the strategy is to prioritise the children who are between 7 and 10 years old when enrolment will be expanded. Non-formal education approaches will be used to address the backlog of the remaining children out-of-school.<sup>42</sup>

**Expand COBET for older children.** COBET could be a feasible alternative for out-of-school children who are above 10 years old in 2002 since they will not be part of the prioritised group in the primary school enrolment. In 2006 when full enrolment is supposed to have been achieved, those who were older than the prioritised age group in 2002, will have reached the age of 15 and above. To use COBET for older out-of-school children has several advantages:

- The curriculum is compressed to three years and it is expected that after the three-year cycle, the learners will be able to sit for the primary school leaving exam. The education that they have acquired in COBET can therefore be regarded as equivalent to the seven-year cycle in primary school and the COBET learners will have caught up with the children in their age cohort, who have gone to school in the formal system.
- Since the curriculum in COBET emphasises on vocational skills and life skills, the children will, apart from obtaining basic education, also gain skills which will increase their opportunities to make a living.
- Because the school days in COBET are short, girls and boys who have other chores such as domestic duties and petty business will have a greater chance to have the time to study and work at the same time.

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<sup>42</sup> MOEC (2001): *Education Sector Development Programme. Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006)*. MOEC, July 2001, Dar es Salaam.

- There are elements in primary school, such as corporal punishment, which have made some children leave school. It is not likely that they would like to enrol in primary school again if this means that they will be beaten again. A school without corporal punishment may therefore lessen their fear of going back to school.

**Satellite schools.** In villages where there is no primary school or COBET centre, satellite schools could be an alternative way of increasing the availability of basic education, especially for the younger children who cannot or are not allowed to walk long distances to school. Instead of the young children going to school, the school can be coming to them in form of a teacher.

### ***The potential of traditional and religious education***

**Changes through the initiation ceremony.** In both research areas, the initiation ceremony is an important event in many girls' and boys' lives and the initiation facilitators are influential people in the community. Some elements of the initiation rites are harmful for the girl child and the boy child, but there are also parts that are useful. Instead of arguing that the initiation ceremony is a bad custom that should be abolished, working with the initiation facilitators can be an opportunity to strengthen positive aspects of initiation, remove harmful practices and include new aspects. Collaboration with the initiation teachers has potential to transform the initiation ceremony into an occasion where girls' and boys' education is promoted, basic life skills are provided, girls are empowered and boys learn to share power.

**Religious education as resource.** Many children in the research areas attend religious education such as the Muslim education *madrassa*. However, it is not evident that a child who attends religious education also goes to primary school. Religious education, like the initiation rite, has potential to include elements of basic education such as life skills. It is also possible that religious teachers could serve as resource persons in satellite schools.

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**UTAFITI KUHUSU ELIMU YA WASICHANA KATIKA  
TARAFI 2 ZA WILAYA ZA MASASI NA KISARAWA**

**MUONGOZO WA MAFUNZO YA UTAFFITI KWA KUTUMIA NJIA  
ZA USHIRIKISHWAJI**

**Januari - February 2001**

**Wizara Ya Elimu na Utamaduni  
kituo Cha kuleana na  
Ushirikiano Kati ya UNICEF-Tanzania**

## UTANGULIZI KWA AJILI YA WATAFITI WAKUU

### BRIEF FOR THE TRAINING OF RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

1. It is important to give the research assistants a background of the work of the organisations initiating the research in order to understand;
  - How the organisations work and function
  - The rationale behind the research
  - How the findings of the research could be useful for the work of the organisations involved and all stakeholders
2. The research assistants must have a basic understanding of child rights concepts as stated in the UN-CRC and also in relation to the normal life of people who live in Tanzania.
3. The research objectives (inputs) and the expected outcomes (outputs) must be very clear to the research assistants.
4. The research focus must be explicit and clear so that the interviews carried out do not venture completely out of topic.
5. The contextual background of the research exercise must be clear to the research assistants so that they can also clarify any queries on the field. e.g. It must be clarified why it was concluded that girls are disadvantaged in that area.

## NJIA ZA USHIRIKISHWAJI

### 1. Matumizi Ya Taaarifa Iliyopo (Secondary Data)

Kuna haja ya kusoma na kutathmini kwa undani taarifa za utafiti zilizopo tayari kuhusu eneo mtakalolitumia. Hii itasaidia haswa katika hatua za awali za utafiti, kwa maana mtajua ni wapi kunafaa zaidi kutafiti, mapungufu yaliyopo na mambo yanayoleta utatata.

### 2. Wataalamu (Experts)

Tumia ujuzi wa wale wataalamu wa masuala maalum katika eneo uliopo. Sharti hili ni muhimu lakini mara nyingi watu huwa wanasahau kulifanyia kazi. Watafiti huwa wanafikiria kuwa wenyeji hawana utaalumu wowote. Mfano: Kuna njia ngani za kuzuia migogoro hapa kijijini?

### 3. Mjadala Ya Vikundi Maalumu (Focus Group Discussion)

Mjadala katika vikundi huwa ni njia nzuri ya kuhamasisha watu na kupata ufanisi wa majibu lakini huwa inadharaulika. Njia hii inadharaulika kwa sababau watu huwa wanathamini zaidi

fomu za maswali na kuhoji mtu mmoja mmoja. Njia hii huleta majibu ya ukweli na mengi kwa mara moja kwa sababu huvutia wanakikundi.

#### **4. Usaili – Nusu Wazi (Semi-Structured Interviews SSI)**

Njia hii inatumia mazungumzo yanayotokana na mada/maswali yaliyotayarishwa tu. Maswali au mguso utokane na maswali ya msingi. SSI ni mazungumzo/majadiliano yasiyo rasmi na yamepangiliwa vizuri kwa mwongozo na malengo. SSI inatilia maanani na kufuatilia maswali na mazingira ambayo usaili unafanyika.

#### **5. Kujifunza Kutoka Kwa Wenyeji (Do-it-yourself)**

Mtindo huu unamlazimu mtafiti kutambua kuwa yeye hana utaalumu au uzoefu zaidi ya wenyeji, hivyo inabidi awe mwanafunzi na wenyeji wanakuwa wakufunzi. Wenyeji wanaweza kuwafundisha watafiti shughuli ndogo ambayo ni kawaida ya eneo hilo. Hii itasaidia watafiti kuelewa hali halisi iliyopo katika jamii ile na mahitaji yao muhimu. Mfano: Jinsi ya kupiga lipu kwenye nyumba ya tope na kuezeka nyasi. Pia inasaidia kuhamasisha watafiti kuelewa ugumu wa shughuli wanazofanya wenyeji na hivyo kuwaheshimu kiukweli.

#### **6. Matembezi Katikati Ya Kijiji/Eneo (Transect Walk)**

Mtafiti anatembea na mwenyeji mmoja anayelifahamu eneo vizuri au historia yake. Mtafiti anapotembea huwa anatakiwa kuangalia eneo kwa makini, kusikiliza, kujadili, kujifunza na kuuliza maswali kuhusu mazingira, teknolojia za jadi au zilizopo katika eneo, teknolojia ya kigeni, matatizo yaliyopo, suluhisho za matatizo, uwezekano uliyopo mahala pale, rasilimali iliyopo, au kutumia njia za “ramani” na “michoro” zinazotajwa kwenye mwongozo huu. Kumbuka kuwa mambo utakayozungumza lazima yawiane na utafiti unaofanya.

#### **7. Mstari kuhusu matumizi ya muda (Timeline)**

Njia hii itasaidia mtafiti kujua matumizi ya muda na kuchambua maswala muhimu ya utafiti katika jinsia, maeneo au nyakati mbalimbali. Vile vile njia hii inaweza kukusiadia kujua historia ya mahali fulani na kuweza kuchambua mabadiliko yametokea katika wakati gani na kwa nini yametokea.

#### **8. Ufafanuzi wa matumizi ya muda Kila Siku (Daily Time Use Analysis)**

Njia hii inamadhuni yaliyofanana na “Time Line”. Mtafiti anaweza kusikiliza, kujadili, kujifunza na kuuliza maswali kuhusu shughuli zinazofanyika kila siku katika eneo/sehemu fulani maalumu. Njia hii itamwezesha mtafiti kufahamu matumizi ya muda katika siku moja moja. Mtafiti huweza kutumia njia za “majedwali”, “ramani” na “michoro” zinazotajwa kwenye mwongozo huu ili kuchokoza majadiliano. Mfano, mama na baba hufanya nini anapoamka asubuhi hadi usiku?

#### **9. Picha Ya Mahusiano (Venn/Chapati Diagram)**

Njia hii itasaidia mtafiti kutambua watu muhimu katika jamii, kikundi au shirika na kufahamu mahusiano yao.

#### **10. Igizo fupi (Drama or Role Play)**

Kutungua mchezo wa kuigiza mfupi ambao unaendana na mada iliyopo ili kuibua mambo fulani pamoja na kuchokoza majadiliano. Njia hii pia itasaidia mtafiti kutambua matatizo yaliyopo na kuyatathmini na kutafuta suluhisho.

## 11. Picha, na michoro (Diagrams, Pictures and Visuals)

Watu wengi ambao hawajasoma wanauwezo mkubwa wa kuelewa na kuchambua elimu inayotumia picha au michoro inayosaidia kutoa mifano hai. Matokeo ya kutumia njia hizi ni kuwa mawasiliano yanafanyika na kuna uchambuzi wa kina. Hata wale watu ambao hawajaenda shule wanaweza kushiriki kwa usawa na kuchangia kwa pamoja mawazo yenye umuhimu sana.

Michoro na picha ni mifano yenye ishara inayowakilisha taarifa za maneno.

## 12. Michezo na nyimbo (Songs, games, ice-breakers and energizers)

Mara nyingi utafiti ni mrefu na mgumu na watu wanachoka, wanasinzia na kukereka kirahisi, hivyo ni muhimu kuwachangamsha. Mtafiti ana wajibu wa kuingiza michezo au nyimbo katika mjadala ili kuchangamsha watu. Michezo hiyo au nyimbo hazitakiwi kuzidi dakika tano, lengo ni kuamsha upya ari ya watu kushiriki katika utafiti. Michezo na nyimbo ni muhimu zaidi kwa watoto ambao wanayaona masuala haya ni mageni au mazito, na huenda wakaona aibu au kupatwa na uogoa wa kujibu maswali. Pia njia hii inasaidia kuwashawishi wanawake kuchangia mawazo maana huwa wanakuwa na woga na aibu vinavyochangiwa na mila. Kama unaweza kuhusisha michezo na nyimbo pamoja na mada ya utafiti ni vyema zaidi. Michezo na nyimbo hizo huweza kufanywa na watafiti au wale wanaohojiwa.

### Maelezo Zaidi

Kuna umuhimu sana wa kujadili na kutafakari juu ya zile taarifa zilizoibuka katika mazungumzo yaliyotokana na matumizi ya picha/michoro. Wakati mwingine mtafiti inabidi uwakatishe washiriki wanapotengeneza michoro au picha zao ili mpate muda wa kujadili na kutafakari kwa undani taarifa zilizoibuka. Taarifa hizi ni muhimu kuliko michoro/picha, maana hizi ni zana za uchokozaji tu. Washiriki watalalamika sana wakikatishwa kazi yao, lakini mtafiti inabidi atumie ujanja ili asikatishe ghalifa sana kazi hiyo na isionekana kuwa hajaridhika nayo. Mfano: Hapo tulipofika kuna mengi ambayo tumegusia, kwa kuwa mimi siyo mwenyeji ninaomba ufafanuzi zaidi. *Ukitumia njia hii muda wenyewe utaisha na watalazimika kuacha mchoro ambao haujakamilika.*

Tanbihi: Mtafiti mmoja anakili taarifa kwenye daftari/karatasi ili kama washiriki wanataka kubakia na kumbukumbu iliyopo kwenye karatasi kubwa (flip chart) unaweza kuwaachia.

## VIPENGELE VYA KUONGOZA MAHOJIANO

1. Andaa vizuri kikundi cha watafiti na pia andaa mkataba na kikundi hicho (team contract).
2. Tumia mwongozo wa majadiliano au orodha ya kuhakiki (check list).
3. Ni muhimu sana kufika katika muda uliopangwa katika ratiba yenu, kwani usipowahi wanajamii watawadharau na pia huenda wakachukia.
4. Kuwa msafi wakati wote, vaa nguo za heshima na zinazoendana na yale mazingira.
5. Jenga uhusiaono mzuri kati yako na unaowahoji ili wakuamini na kukuona kama rafiki yao. Jitambulisha vizuri kwa wanaohojiwa na pia waombe na wao wajitambulisha.
6. Uliza kama watu wote wanauwezo wa kujadili vizuri kwa Kiswahili au kama kuna lugha nyingine itafaa zaidi.
7. Omba ruhusa ya kuwahoji na pia kunakili katika karatasi au kanda, pia ni muhimu kuomba ruhusa kabla ya kuchukua picha au video.
8. Usiwe na haraka ya kufanya utafiti, hivyo tumia lugha nzuri amabayo haitaudhi au kumkatisha tamaa anayehojiwa.
9. Jiamini unapotafiti, na ujieleze kwa ufasaha ili wanaohojiwa wasiwe na utata au wasiwasi. Usirudierudie maelezo na usitazame karatasi kila wakati!
10. Kama mtafiti lazima uwe na uwezo wa kubadilika kutokana na hali iliyopo au unaowahoji. Kuwa makini kuona jinsi hali inavyobadilika katika mjadala.
11. Elezea madhumuni ya utafiti kwa ufasaha na lugha rahisi.
12. Waheshimu watu unawawahoji, usidharau maoni yao.
13. Tumia picha na michoro ili kuweza kuwashirikisha wanaohojiwa na kuwaelevesha zaidi kwa vitendo.
14. Sikiliza na jifunze!
15. Uliza maswali ambayo majibu yake hayatakuwa “ndiyo” au “hapana”, kwa kutumia vianzio kama Nani? Nini? Kwa nini? Wapi? Lini? Kwa namna gani?
16. Uliza maswali kwa uangalifu!
17. Chambua majibu unayopata ili kuelewa kama taarifa ulizopata ni za ukweli au siyo za kuaminika.
18. Hakikisha usahihi wa taarifa ulizopata kwa kuuliza watu wengine (triangulation/cross-checking).
19. Andika kwa ukamilifu kumbukumbu ya taarifa ulizopata na yale uliyoyaona.

## **MADHUMUNI YA KUFANYA UTAFITI WA ELIMU YA MSINGI KWA WASICHANA NA WAVULANA - MASASI NA KISARAWA**

**Dhumuni kuu la utafiti ni kuchunguza upatikanaji wa elimu, utendaji katika masomo na ushirikishwaji wa wasichana katika tarafa za Liseke (Masasi) na Maneromango (Kisarawe).**

1. Utafiti utatumia njia za ushirikishwaji ili wale wanaohojiwa waeleze vizuri hali halisi iliyopo katika eneo lao.
2. Vituo vya MEMKWA vitatumika kama njia ya kuingilia jamii na mada hii ya utafiti.
3. Pamoja na kwamba utafiti unalenga katika elimu ya wasichana, ni muhimu pia kuchunguza hali ya kimasomo ya wavulana. Hii ina maana kuwa uhusiano kati ya elimu ya mvulana na elimu ya msichana utachunguzwa pia ili kupata mtazamo wa kijinsia.
4. Suala muhimu pia kuchunguza ni kuhusu wanafunzi wanaomaliza shule ya msingi, na kujua kama waliendelea na elimu ya sekondari au la?
5. Ni muhimu pia kuoanisha suala la elimu ya wasichana na maisha wanayoishi vijana kwa wakati huu. Masuala nyeti ni kama vile jinsi ya kujipatia kipato cha kumudu maisha na afya ya uzazi.
6. Ni muhimu kuchunguza hali ya nyumbani na ya kifamilia kwa vijana na watoto; suala nzima la kusomesha watoto (wazazi na walezi); suala la kurudia madarasa na vidato au kutoendelea na shule kabisa; hali iliyopo katika mazingira ya shule; hali ya kimaishi kwa wavulana na wasichana hapo kijijini; Je wavulana na wasichana inabidi wafundishwe masuala gani ya kimila?; Wavulana na wasichana wanamatarajio gani katika maisha?

### **Malengo Mahususi**

- Kuhusisha elimu na mazingira yaliyopo kijijini ili kuweza kugundua kwa upande wa msichana mambo yanayoathiri au kurahisisha kwake upatikanaji wa elimu ya msingi na utendaji katika masomo.
- Kutumia njia za ushirikishwaji ili kuwapa sauti wasichana wenyewe, wavulana, wazazi, wanajamii ili watoe mawazo yao kutoka moyoni kuhusu elimu rasmi na isiyo rasmi. Utafiti huu una nia ya kuibua masuala muhimu kwa undani, uwingi wa taarifa hautiliwi maanani kuliko ubora wa taarifa chache.
- Kuchunguza mtazamo wa wasichana na wavulana kuhusu nafasi yao kaitka jamii sasa hivi na baadaye mf. Nafasi yao katika shughuli za uzalishaji mali na nafasi katika familia.
- Kujadiliana na jamii na kupata ufumbuzi wa pamoja ili kuboresha kwa wasichana na wavulana upatikanaji wa elimu, utendaji katika masomo na ushirikishwaji katika elimu ya msingi.

- Kujua wavulana na wasichana wanaishi wapi? Wanaishi na nani? Je ni yatima au anaishi na mzazi mmoja au mlezi? Kujua ndugu wengine katika familia wanaishi wapi?
- Kujua asilimia ya wasichana waliopata mimba mashuleni. Je wanaishi na baba wa mtoto? Wameoana au la? Wamelazimishwa kuoana au wamependa hivyo? Je wamepeana talaka? Wasichana waliopata mimba wanapokuwa katika masomo ya MEMKWA , nani anamwangallizia mtoto/watoto?
- Kujua wazazi na jamii kwa ujumla wanachukuliaje suala la kusomesha watoto. Je nani ana jukumu la kulipia michango na michango ipi ina gharama zaidi? Je watoto wenyewe inabidi wafanye shughuli za kuzalisha mali ili wachangie katika elimu yao?
- Ni vyema kujua kwa undani sababu zilizofanya watoto/vijana wasiendeele na shule, k.m. adhabu ya viboko, umasikini, kazi nyingi nyumbani, jando na unyago, kuoreshwa, mimba, mwalimu au mwanafunzi mwingine kulazimisha kufanya mapenzi n.k.
- Kuchunguza wavulana na wasichana wanalelewa namna gani. Je kimila wanalelewa na kufundishwa maadili tofauti? Je mvulana au msichana wanapoingia katika ndoa wanamadhuni yaleyale? Vijana/watoto na jamii wameridhika na hali hiyo au wangependa hali ibadilike.
- Ni vizuri kujua pia kuwa vijana/watoto na jamii wanamalengo gani ya baadaye, kimasomo, kikazi au kimaendeleo? Je jamii hiyo nzima wanaelewa mabadiliko yanayotokana na dunia kuingia katika millenia ya 3 (Karne ya 21!)?

## MASWALI MAKUU YA KUZINGATIA WAKATI WA UTAFITI WILAYANI MASASI NA KISARAWE

1. Kuchunguza madhumuni ya wasichana na wavulana kwenda shule katika tarafa mbili za Wilaya za Masasi na Kisarawe.
2. Kuchunguza ni sababu gani ambazo zinafanya wasichana na wavulana wasiende shule au kuacha shule kabisa?
3. Je wasichana wanashirikishwa kama wavulana katika elimu ya msingi? Je utendaji wa wasichana na wavulana katika masomo unawiana? Hali hiyo inasababishwa na nini?
4. Je wasichana na wavulana wangependa kujifunza nini? Je wangependa kuona mabadiliko gani katika elimu rasmi.
5. Wasichana na wavulana wanashughuli gani kila siku (shuleni na nyumbani)?
6. Wasichana na wavulana wangependa kujishughulisha na kazi gani baadaye, haswa katika kuzalisha mali na katika maisha ya familia?
7. Wasichana na wavulana wanafanya nini wakati wa mapumziko au starehe?
8. Vijana wanapatwa na matatizo gani katika tarafa hizo mbili katika wilaya za Masasi na Kisarawe.
9. Kwa zile familia ambazo kuna watoto walioko sekondari ni muhimu kujua kuwa ni mambo gani yaliwasaidia au kuwarahisishia kuingia sekondari.
10. Je watu mbalimbali katika jamii wana mtazamo gani kuhusu elimu ya msingi, MEMKWA, elimu ya sekondari, elimu ya kiufundi, jando na unyago na elimu ya dini. Je umuhimu wa elimu katika maisha yao?
11. Je kuna shughuli za uzalishaji mali katika mazingira ya nyumbani na shule? Je shughuli hizi zinamsaidia mtoto kupata elimu bora?
12. Wanajamii katika tarafa hizo mbili wana maoni gani kuhusu mbinu bora na matarajio ya baadaye katika kuboresha kwa wasichana na wavulana upatikanaji wa elimu, utendaji katika masomo na ushirikishwaji katika elimu ya msingi.
13. Mchoro unaonesha mahosiano kati ya mtoto ya kike/kiume na familia na jumuiya inayomzunguka.

## **MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- 1) What are the motives of girls and boys going to school in the area?
- 2) Why do girls and boys not go to school and why do girls and boys drop out of school?
- 3) How do girls participate and perform in comparison to boys in school and in the classroom? How can this be explained?
- 4) What would girls and boys like to learn? Which changes could be done to improve primary education?
- 5) What are girls' and boys' daily activities?
- 6) What would girls and boys like to do in the future? (such as make a living, where to live and family)
- 7) What do girls and boys do during leisure time and rest?
- 8) Which problems face young people in the area?
- 9) For families with children in secondary school, what facilitated them to continue with secondary education?
- 10) What are various community members' perceptions of primary education, COBET, secondary education, vocational education, jando/unyago and religious education?
- 11) Are there self-reliance activities at home and in school? Are these activities of benefit for the child's education?
- 12) Which recommendations do community members have in order to improve girls' and boys' access, performance and participation in primary school?
- 13) What does the social relationship between the girl child/boy child, the family and other community members, look like?

## **MAMBO MENGINE YA KUZINGATIA KATIKA UTAFITI WA MASASI NA KISARAWE (YA KIUCHUMI, KIJAMII, NA KIUTAMADUNI)**

### **A. Maswala yanayoathiri mabadiliko katika jamii**

- Kudhoofika kwa familia za kiundugu
- Kuenea kwa maisha ya kimji (Urbanisation)
- Wamishionari
- Utawala wa kikoloni
- Kudunisha, “Dunia kujumuika kuwa kama kijiji” (Globalisation)
- Elimu
- UKIMWI
- Muundo wa soko la kazi
- Kuharibika kwa mazingira
- Ongezeko la watu
- Utajiri na umasikini

### **B. Mila na Utamaduni**

- Uhusiano wa kindugu (kinship)
- Uhusiano wa kiukoo (lineage)
- Haki za Jamii na familia zina umuhimu zaidi kuliko haki za mtu mmoja mmoja
- Kuisistizwa na imani za kidini
- Sheria za Mila
- Kulindwa (Provision and protection)

### **C. Athari kwa Watoto**

- Kutofautiana
- Kugongana
- Yaliyo mazuri kwao
- Yaliyo mabaya kwao

### **D. Utamaduni wa Kigeni**

- Haki za mtu mmoja mmoja
- Kudai huduma kutoka serikalini
- Mabadiliko ya imani za dini
- Sheria zilizotungwa na Bunge na majaji zinazofuata muundo wa Uingereza (common law)

## **Mijadala Ya Vikundi Maalumu (Focus Group Discussion)**

### **Dondoo za kuingia vizuri katika mijadala**

1. Wajibu wa mzazi kwa watoto.
2. Wajibu wa watoto kwa wazazi.
3. Kuoanisha haki zilizopo tayari katika jamii kama vile za kimila mf. Mvulana kurithi ardhi, na “haki” za watoto.
4. Kuoanisha mkataba wa kimataifa wa watoto na “haki” na “mahitaji” ya watoto.

**Training/Orientation Kisarawe District – List of participants**  
**Kisarawe, 16-18 January, 2001**

NAME	INSTITUTION
1. Mahamudu Abdala	Msanga Ward
2. John Akaro	Boga COBET centre
3. Juma Ali	Kisarawe District
4. Sadiki Cleopa	Msanga Ward
5. Linda Helgesson	UNICEF
6. Khabija Jumanne	Marumbo Ward
7. Mwafeli Kasimu	Maneromango Ward
8. Catherine Kivanda	MOEC
9. Nicholas H. Lema	Maneromango Ward
10. Delfina Lusuva	Msanga COBET centre
11. Josehp Makyao	Marumbo COBET centre
12. Steven Massawe	Kisarawe District
13. Manase L. Matembo	Msanga Primary School
14. Robert S. Matimo	Chang'ombe COBET centre
15. Salum R. Mfaume	Ngongele COBET centre
16. Henry W. Mfunu	Maneromango Primary School
17. Rafikiel Mdoe	kuleana, centre for children's rights
18. Seifu Mkali	Bembeza Primary School
19. Mohamedi Mkwengwe	Maneromango Ward
20. Debora Mlowezi	Maneromango COBET centre
21. Haika Mmbaga	Bembeza COBET centre
22. Involaviti A. Munisi	Boga Primary School
23. Judith Mwamakula	Mianzi COBET centre
24. Hamisi A. Mwanamkuta	Mfuru Kivukoni COBET centre
25. Zamzam Nyandara	Mengwa COBET centre
26. Fikiri Paga	Marumbo Ward
27. Amina Saidi	Msanga Ward
28. Harrison Ukway	Kitonga Primary School

**Training/Orientation Masasi District – List of participants**  
**Masasi, 9-12 February, 2001**

NAME	INSTITUTION
1. Gregory Buriani	Masasi Ward
2. Raymond Bushiri	Mpekeso COBET centre
3. Hussein Bwanali	Masasi Primary School
4. A.A. Chigogolo	Masasi District
5. Upendo Chilambo	Namkungwi COBET centre
6. Edith Chitukuro	Mtapika COBET centre
7. Rashid Chuachua	Mbonde COBET centre
8. Delaide Daniel	Nangose COBET centre
9. Linda Helgesson	UNICEF
10. Catherine Kivanda	MOEC
11. Tereza Mageka	Temeke COBET centre
12. Paulina Matindikio	Lisekese Ward
13. Majid Mchopa Jr	Nyasa Ward
14. Rose Mhina	Mkarakate COBET centre
15. Charles Millanzi	Masasi District
16. Reinalda Mkwango	Nyasa Primary School
17. Issaya M. Mlaponi	Masasi District
18. Kasiba Mwasyoge	Lisekese Ward
19. Gloria Nakajuno	Migongo COBET centre
20. Saidi Nanjayo	Masasi District
21. Dadi Ngaharo	Mkomaindo COBET centre
22. Leonardo Ngaharo	Masasi District
23. Oscar Seif	Mpindimbi Primary School
24. Mmoneka Swedd	Mumbaka Primary School
25. Ahmad Tabia	Lisekese Ward
26. Melania d. Thamba	Mkuti Ward
27. Sharifa Yakubo	Mkuti COBET centre