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Transforming Education for Girls in Tanzania:

Baseline research summary report

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Contents

The 'Transforming Education for Girls Project' is run by Maarifa ni Ufunguo in Tanzania and Community Action for Popular Participation in Nigeria, supported by ActionAid and funded by Comic Relief and the Tubney Charitable Trust

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Foreword

This report is the culmination of much work by the Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) project partnership, in particular the work of the national implementing partner in Northern Tanzania, Maarifa ni Ufunguo, and national research partners who undertook work for this Baseline Study, specifically the Bureau for Educational Research and Evaluation at the University of Dar es Salaam. This summary report was coordinated and compiled by the Institute of Education, University of London in August 2011.

The TEGINT project, which began in January 2008, aims to achieve a transformation in the education of girls in Nigeria and Tanzania, enabling them to enrol and succeed in school by addressing key challenges and obstacles that hinder their participation in education and increase their vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. Research is an integral part of the project, contributing to understanding and recognition of key issues for girls' education in Tanzania and Nigeria and internationally, and advancing the project's implementation and advocacy work.

The issues that emerge from this summary report of baseline research findings in Tanzania, including the critical obstacles for girls' education of early pregnancy and poverty; the insufficient support for female teachers deployed in rural areas and for women's leadership in school committees; and the fees and levies that continue to be charged for basic education, are pertinent to education and development internationally and require all of us to take action to transform education and enable girls to achieve their aspirations.

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Acting Head of Education
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September 2011

1. Introduction

This report on the Baseline Study for the TEGINT (Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania) project analyses data collected in Tanzania between 2007 and 2009 as part of the first phase of the project's work. TEGINT is a Special Initiative begun in 2007 as a partnership between ActionAid, Maarifa ni Ufunguo (Maarifa) in Tanzania, and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) in Nigeria, funded by Comic Relief and the Tubney Charitable Trust. The overall goal of the project is to achieve a transformation in the education of girls in Nigeria and Tanzania, enabling them to enrol and succeed in school by addressing key challenges and obstacles that hinder their participation in education and increase their vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. The TEGINT project is working in 57 schools (47 primary and 10 secondary) in six districts in Northern Tanzania: Arusha Municipal, Monduli, Moshi Rural, Hai, Babati and Mbulu.

Three volumes of the Baseline Study are available (Volume 1: Overview and Comparative cross-country report; Volume 2: Nigeria report; Volume 3: Tanzania report). This document is a summary of Volume 3, reporting on a multi-faceted investigation undertaken in the schools in which TEGINT works in Tanzania (TEGINT, 2011). It is the outcome of discussions within the project partnership over the design, analysis, and assessment of the findings from a number of inter-linked research projects concerned with collecting baseline data. It is in itself an effort to rigorously monitor the project as part of a contribution to better understanding of policy and practice for girls' education.

The baseline study investigated seven areas relating to the goal of TEGINT in the schools in which it is working:

1. What girls attending these schools say about their schooling, what obstacles they anticipate encountering and how they feel these can be overcome;

2. What the gender profiles in enrolment, attendance and progression in the schools in which the project is working are and how these may be similar or different to other schools in the district;

3. What insight these indicators suggest on girls' views relating to the support they receive with schooling;

4. Teacher conditions, notably class sizes, teacher qualifications, gender and teacher deployment, forms of training on gender and HIV and the extent to which teachers consider the schools in which they work support girls' education;

5. What payments schools' receive and how these relate to the school gender profiles and girls' views on their schooling;

6. The work of school committees, the training they have provided for their members and to parents, their approaches to addressing gender-based violence at school and how gender mainstreaming in management may or may not relate to gender profiles regarding girls' progression and attainment and girls' views on their schooling;

7. How gender, generation and processes for community connection bear on views about the obstacles girls confront in progressing their education and the forms of mobilisation that should be used to address this.

Data for the baseline study report was collected in three sweeps:

- A pilot collection of quantitative and qualitative data in November 2007;
- The main baseline survey in May 2008;
- Additional collection of qualitative data in September-October 2009.

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The pilot phase was used to trial research instruments and approaches to data collection, which led to a decision to focus data collection for the main phase of the study on a survey. Respondents to the survey comprised: teachers, girls in the last year of primary school (Grade 7, normally aged 12-13 years), Principals, School Management Committee members (SMCs) and Village Executive Officers (VEOs). In total 1053 respondents were surveyed. This was supplemented by a collection of administrative records and observations in the 57 schools in which TEGINT works.

A review of the analysis of the baseline data in March 2009 thereafter led to a decision to collect some additional qualitative data to gain greater insights into issues of poverty, violence in schools and aspects of school management that had emerged as particularly pertinent in the survey. For this qualitative phase focus group discussions were organised in 14 selected schools and a 'poverty tree' participatory methodology was facilitated to better grasp how violence is understood and handled and what are the structures of school governance.

2. Context

TEGINT in Tanzania is set in a national context of significant recent investment in education yielding impressive results in expanding educational access, with girls' net enrolment in primary education at 97% in 2009. However, this is not uniform and there are lower enrolments for girls in some districts and particularly among the poorest Tanzanians (MoEVT, 2009). The expansion of education, compulsory and free since 2002, has not been accompanied by increased gender equity. Boys outperform girls in almost all subjects, and gender inequalities tend to increase further up the education system. Gender and inequality in education are much addressed in policy frameworks but in practical terms only some progress has been made. There is evidence of the portrayal of gendered stereotypes in textbooks (Mkuchu, 2009). Some women in Tanzania do have opportunities to succeed and have influence, but many face discrimination and disadvantage.

Health research indicates that girls have less knowledge on HIV and AIDS than boys in the TEGINT project regions (Vavrus, 2006). Tanzania has a mature, generalised HIV epidemic, with an overall prevalence of 5.7%. However, this hides significant gender, age and geographical differences (Table 1). Women are more vulnerable from an earlier age than men, partly suggesting that intergenerational sex is common, a risk factor for HIV. Whilst HIV rates are lower in the project areas than the national rates, in Kilimanjaro and Manyara regions women are much more likely to be infected than men. Overall, HIV vulnerability is higher in urban areas.

Table 1: HIV Prevalence by region

Region	Women	Men	Total
Arusha (Arusha Municipal, Monduli)	0.8	2.7	1.6
Kilimanjaro (Moshi, Hai)	2.5	1.2	1.9
Manyara (Babati, Mbulu)	2.3	0.7	1.5
Residence			
Urban	10.6	6.4	8.7
Rural	5.3	4.0	4.7
Education			
None	6.0	5.5	5.9
Primary incomplete	6.0	4.1	5.0
Primary complete	7.3	4.9	6.2
Secondary+	4.9	3.4	4.0
Age			
15-19	1.3	0.7	1.0
20-24	6.3	1.7	4.3
25-29	7.9	5.0	6.7
30-34	10.4	7.4	9.1
35-39	9.5	10.6	10.0
40-44	7.6	6.7	7.2
45-49	6.8	6.1	6.4
Total aged 15-49	6.6	4.6	5.7

Source: Tanzania AIDS Commission et al, 2008.

It is important to set the results of the Baseline Study in the varied socio-economic, political and historic contexts of the six districts in northern Tanzania in which the project is working. The two districts in Arusha region in which the project is working are Arusha Municipal and Monduli. **Arusha Municipal** includes a large urban centre (the regional centre) where tourism and commercial trading dominate, whilst rural parts are dominated by pastoral and agricultural activities. There is good infrastructure, women have active leadership roles in churches and the TEGINT partner, Maarifa, have undertaken significant work here and seen changes resulting. **Monduli** contrasts as a largely Maasai pastoralist area with some farming activity. This dry district suffered a severe drought in 2009 which affected project schools and initiated a feeding programme by the government and World Food Programme. The effects of this drought are ongoing. The area is scarcely populated, with poor services and infrastructure and high levels of poverty. There has been concern at high dropout rates linked to the pastoral way of life, particularly girl child marriage and cattle herding responsibilities for boys. 70% of children are engaged in labour (National Bureau of Statistics, 2002). Socio-economic census data indicate generally low levels of literacy (Government of Tanzania, 2005). Maarifa have previously worked in one ward (district sub-division) in Monduli, where there are some project schools.

Kilimanjaro region includes Moshi Rural and Hai districts in which the project is working. **Moshi Rural** is characterised by agriculture in the north and agro-pastoralist work in the south. The majority ethnic group are the Chagga, who have a long historical interest in education, including of girls (Vavrus, 2005). Pare speakers also have significant presence in Moshi Rural. Schools have been established by churches, parent organisations and the state, and there is a university and good infrastructure. The district is historically prosperous, largely from coffee production, although a decline in recent years has increased poverty. Many people also work in Moshi town, the regional centre, doing clerical, teaching and carpentry work. Maarifa had not worked in this district prior to the TEGINT project. The higher northern areas of Hai district are home to many Chagga, but there is a north-south division with the north more prosperous, largely due to coffee production, while the more ethnically diverse south is agro-pastoralist and has poorer infrastructure. Maarifa has previously worked in some of the wards covered by the project and there is strong community ownership of work on gender and education. Strong cooperation between Hai district council and civil society is noted.

In Manyara region the project operates in Babati and Mbulu districts. **Mbulu** is mostly pastoralist with some agricultural areas (especially pig farming, which was negatively affected by the swine flu epidemic in 2009) as well as areas which share features of urban lifestyles. The schools are spread over these different locations. The Iraqw ethnic group make up 90% of the population and there has been little mixing between this and other groups (Chachage et al, 2001). Poverty levels are high. **Babati** shares many characteristics with Mbulu, dominated by Iraqw and Maasai groups, with a heavier influence on agriculture. There is a shortage of farming land, and Babati was also hit by swine flu in 2009. In pastoralist communities women and children hold responsibility for herding cattle. There are long distances to school and few women in leadership positions, but women are increasingly organising themselves into community groups. Maarifa has not worked in either Mbulu or Babati before the start of the TEGINT project.

3. Research findings

Research findings and recommendations are organised under the seven areas of investigation (Section 1) that guided the study. The project partners worked together during a workshop in January 2011 to collaboratively finalise and articulate the key findings and recommendations. The recommendations are intended primarily for the project partners but also for the wider community of national stakeholders in girls' education.

3.1 Obstacles to girls' education

Girls surveyed have high aspirations for their education, with 87% saying they wish to go to university or obtain a tertiary qualification. They were also generally very positive about their schools, with 62% saying their school supports girls' education well or very well and only 4% saying poorly. The reasons given are mostly economic but also tied to increasing their relative status in society (86% mentioned employment).

Poverty, pregnancy and early marriage were highlighted by the majority of girls as the major obstacles they anticipate will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education (Table 2). Early marriage is cited most commonly in Monduli, which may reflect the large pastoralist population, and Arusha, which is more surprising considering its urban characteristics. In fact, all barriers except "lack of facilities" were described by a higher proportion of girls in urban than rural areas. This may reflect challenges more specific to urban contexts (such as poverty associated with lack of land and HIV and AIDS), or may represent urban girls' higher levels of awareness or capacity to articulate their constraints, or higher aspirations. In the qualitative research girls talked widely about domestic chores affecting their concentration and study time, whereas boys would be absent from school in order to contribute to family income. Pregnancy, forced marriage and violence, including being punished or excluded from school for engaging in sexual activity, over which they had little control, were discussed by girls in rural areas.

Table 2: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education, by district

	% mentioned by district						
	Arusha	Monduli	Moshi	Hai	Babati	Mbulu	All
Early marriage	60	65	36	26	24	20	35
Poverty	88	50	80	62	81	40	61
Parents withdraw from school	26	18	34	18	19	17	20
Old for class	12	1	7	0	7	1	4
Lack of facilities	29	8	41	63	45	16	31
Distance from school	25	4	6	4	7	6	7
Ill health	31	17	38	29	27	43	28
Pregnancy	55	85	59	37	51	58	54

In focus group discussions children and parents were more likely to blame particular attributes of people (laziness, drunkenness and ignorance) for being poor rather than attributing poverty to external or more political and economic factors, such as drought, lack of land or employment opportunities. Girls were nearly three times more likely to mention sponsorship as a way to overcome obstacles to education than abolishing fees or levies (Table 3). This suggests that it might be useful to have more detailed discussions with girls and their families on education rights and links to socio-economic inequalities. Girls' suggestions for transformation are partly economic, partly focused on enhancing provision within the school (improving the curriculum and facilities), and partly concerned with challenging gender relations within their families and communities. However, SMCs have only partially taken on the concerns of girls in organising their community mobilisation. There is thus a challenge to enhance the levels of communication between girls, teachers, school management committees and community organisations in order to open the space for more substantive gender equality (also Section 3.7).

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Table 3: Girls' views on how to overcome obstacles to attaining their desired level of education, by district

	% mentioned by district						
	Arusha	Monduli	Moshi	Hai	Babati	Mbulu	All
Sponsorship	84	45	81	58	83	26	56
Provision of facilities	35	22	60	68	46	24	38
Stop early marriage	58	62	37	23	31	15	34
Abolish fees and levies	56	4	46	18	11	4	20
Family Life Education	65	60	52	18	22	50	40
Enlightenment of parents	58	74	51	38	19	38	42

Key Finding 1

Girls have high aspirations for their education despite concerns with poverty, gender based violence, the consequences of early pregnancy and marriage and lack of facilities. Girls' views about overcoming obstacles tend to focus on short-term and less sustainable interventions, like sponsorship to pay school fees.

Recommendations:

i) Girls should be supported to develop a better understanding of their rights to and in education.
ii) Government education policy should be further developed to address girls' concerns with poverty, gender based violence, early pregnancy and marriage and lack of facilities. These policies should be widely disseminated, understood and implemented.

3.2 Is TEGINT working in the most gender inequitable schools?

There has been enormous expansion of education provision in Tanzania but this has not been uniform throughout the country - there are many challenges, particularly related to poverty, rurality and a range of inequalities. The baseline data indicate TEGINT is not uniformly working in the most gender inequitable schools in each district (those with large gender gaps in enrolment, attendance or progression) and is in fact sometimes located in schools with better indicators than district or regional averages. However, there are differences between urban and rural locations and between different districts.

There is almost gender parity in enrolment in almost all the schools in which TEGINT is working, except in Monduli and Babati where fairly large gender gaps are evident in schools. Enrolment and attendance are slightly higher in urban areas. Attendance is somewhat higher for girls, and markedly lower for boys in Mbulu and Hai districts. Whilst girls' attendance has increased overall in recent years, it has decreased in Babati, and it is here that girls talked about unsafe conditions, for example being far from the school, staying in rented 'ghetto' hostels and associated gender-based violence including teachers seducing school girls.

Higher numbers of girls (89%) than boys (77%) progress from primary Grade 1 to 7 in the schools in which TEGINT is working in all districts except Moshi Rural, where there is however the lowest progression rate. Progression rates are higher in schools in which TEGINT is working than regional and national government data. However there is much variation between districts and both girls and boys are vulnerable to dropping out of school. Obstacles to education for boys may be linked to livelihood strategies and expectations on boys to bring income in to the family. Progression was lower for boys and girls in rural areas, where time related demands on boys and girls for agricultural and domestic work are higher.

Girls are less likely to complete primary education than boys, when passing examinations are taken into account, in all districts except Moshi Rural (which also has the lowest overall completion rates, at 34%). Primary completion rates are significantly higher in urban areas. Girls are more likely to be entered for exams but less likely to pass them, although there are high levels of district variation (for example, in Arusha fewer girls are entered and fewer pass whilst in Moshi Rural and Hai more are entered and proportionally more pass). These findings show that the usual way of calculating pass rates in the presentation of education statistics (number passing as a proportion of number sitting) hide the fact that the same proportion of girls and boys who are enrolled in P7 pass their exams, but in some schools a smaller proportion of girls are entered for exams.

In girls' examination performance at secondary school level, the picture looks to be reversed from that presented for primary school. Girls are markedly less likely than boys to be entered for exams (ratio 0.81) but more likely to pass (1.20). The GPI in primary completion results in the schools in which TEGINT is working are worse than the regional average in Arusha and Monduli, but better than the regional average in all other districts, except Babati where they are roughly the same.

Table 4: Schools in which TEGINT is working: Primary 7 examination performance, 2007, by district

District	Proportion of enrolled entered for exam			Proportion of those entered passing			Proportion of those enrolled passing		
	Girls	Boys	GPI	Girls	Boys	GPI	Girls	Boys	GPI
Arusha	86	93	.93	71	83	.86	62	77	.80
Monduli	109	91	1.19	55	71	.78	60	65	.93
Moshi	102	95	1.07	38	32	1.19	38	30	1.28
Hai	105	93	1.14	56	46	1.21	58	43	1.38
Babati	77	73	1.05	70	85	.82	53	62	.87
Mbulu	98	89	1.10	74	82	.91	73	73	.99
All	96	89	1.08	61	67	.91	59	59	.99

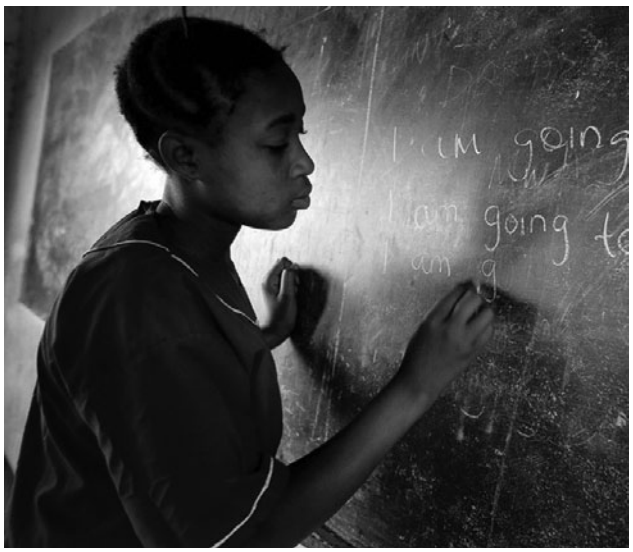
Note: GPI is gender parity index, girls expressed as a proportion of boys. If the GPI is less than 1 there are more boys than girls. If it is higher than 1 there are more girls than boys.

A 'gender profile' was constructed based on the data described above to gain a summary measure of outcomes that would capture the extent to which each school was succeeding in supporting girls' education. A series of key variables (including enrolment, attendance, progression, repetition, completion and attainment, weighted in favour of attainment and completion) was grouped and transformed into an overarching school 'score' on gender and education (the 'gender profile'). Fifty-one schools were ranked and grouped equally into three bands: 1) below average performance (17 schools); 2) average performance (17 schools); and 3) above average performance (17 schools).

Distribution of gender profile scores by district (Table 5) shows that Arusha Municipal, Monduli and Babati are the districts in which TEGINT schools have overall poorer performance on girls' education. The schools in Moshi Rural and Hai have stronger overall performance on outcomes for girls. It should be borne in mind, that gender parity rather than the promotion of girls' education per se is being measured. 'Success' in particular districts on girls' education may mean there are concerns around enrolment, attendance or progression for boys (i.e. both girls and boys could have poor outcomes, but there would be gender parity which would give a high gender profile score). The absence of any schools in Arusha with above average gender profiles is puzzling given the high literacy levels and higher incomes in the district, but this may indicate that in Arusha the project is working in schools in the poorest catchment areas.

Table 5: School gender profiles, by district and urban-rural character

District	Below average %	Average %	Above average %
Arusha Municipal	57	43	0
Monduli	43	43	14
Moshi Rural	30	10	60
Hai	13	38	50
Babati	44	33	22
Mbulu	20	40	40
Urban	30	35	35
Rural	37	33	30
All schools	33	33	33



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There is a slightly greater proportion of below average gender profile scores in rural schools, and for schools in districts where there are low levels of women's literacy and where a large proportion of the population live below the poverty line.

On the basis of the gender profile scores, it is evident that TEGINT is working in a wide range of schools and communities. While this makes it difficult for the project to have a uniform direction and approach, it does allow variation between different kinds of schools to be noted and acted upon in planning interventions and activities. The variation between schools on the gender profile also raise questions regarding the extent to which improvements in gender profile are

associated only with in-school processes, like teacher knowledge and understanding, support to children for learning, or whether a range of other processes outside the school, associated with socio-economic and cultural conditions and substantial opportunities for teachers, learners and school management committees, are implicated.

3.3 Gender profiles and girls' perspectives on schooling

When girls' views about their schooling are matched with schools' actual performance supporting educational progression and achievement there are notable gaps (Table 6). Almost four in ten girls who described their school as supporting girls' education 'very well' were attending schools where the gender profile score was below average. Similarly four in ten of those girls who described their school as performing 'well' were attending schools in the below average gender profile category. This suggests that girls surveyed have high aspirations for their schooling but do not have an accurate perspective on their potential for progression or attainment according to the actual performance of their schools or whether problems rest with individual girls, their families, communities or practices and policies within school. This may be unsurprising as, with the exception of highly politicised student mobilisations against aspects of schooling for example in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s (Unterhalter et al, 1991; Nkomo, 1990), both of which involved mainly secondary school students, critical views by young people on their schooling are not much reported. However, the gender profile may be too blunt a summary variable to express fully the diverse ways in which girls feel their school supports them.

Table 6: Girls' views on school support for girls' education compared with actual school gender profile performance

	By school gender profile		
	Below	Average	Above
Very well	39	26	35
Well	38	25	38
Average	25	45	30

In schools that appear to do more on the areas measured by the gender profile (enrolment, attendance and exam pass) to support girls to progress and achieve well, girls were more articulate about the obstacles they face (Table 7). However, we do not know whether it is school processes that elicit girls' articulacy or whether, in schools with higher gender profiles, girls might be more confident on entry or more and better supported by out-of-school processes. It is evident from Table 2 that in areas with high levels of deprivation, for example long distances to school in Monduli, this hardship is not mentioned as a major obstacle to education. Similarly, in districts with high numbers living below the poverty line, poverty is less frequently mentioned as an obstacle than in districts where the level of poverty is lower. This suggests that relative, rather than absolute, levels of poverty might be particularly significant in whether or not girls articulate demands to improve school conditions.

Table 7: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education, by school gender profile performance

Gender profile of school % who mentioned			
	Below	Average	Above
Early marriage	65	93	69
Poverty	82	100	88
Parents withdraw from school	24	29	19
Old for class	29	0	6
Lack of facilities	12	36	31
Distance from school	29	36	19
Ill health	47	29	38
Pregnancy	41	93	69

In some contexts girls are highly aspirational about what their schools can achieve for them, despite schools not being able to support this (i.e. having low gender profile scores). In addition, girls may complain or identify problems less if they attend schools with low gender profiles. The reasons for this merit further investigation but the challenge appears to be to work with schools on enhancing learning and teaching and with girls in helping them use that learning to articulate their obstacles to schooling.

Key Finding 2:

Girls identify poverty, lack of school facilities, and distance from school as major obstacles to schooling in places where they can easily see other girls who do not experience such obstacles. Girls tend to be silent on these obstacles in places where poverty levels are higher and there are greater distances to walk to school. In addition, there is considerable silence on gender based violence.

Recommendations:

i) Girls' clubs should work to develop girls' understanding about school conditions in other areas of Tanzania;
ii) Girls and their families should be supported to voice demands for better school conditions;
iii) Government should provide sufficient schools within a short walking distance for all children, including nomadic pastoralist communities.

3.4 Teacher conditions and support to girls' schooling

Pupil-teacher ratios (PTR) have risen significantly in the past six years from 30:1 to 42:1 in the schools in which TEGINT works. The largest increase is in rural areas (Table 8). In TEGINT districts, class sizes are largest in Babati and smallest in Moshi Rural. The majority of teachers are female, especially in urban areas and in Arusha Municipal, where there are over two females to every one male teacher. This contrasts with a national picture of gender parity (i.e. equal numbers of males and females) among teaching staff. However, women are under-represented as staff in Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs).

Table 8: Pupil-teacher ratios, 2002 and 2008, by urban-rural character, in schools in which TEGINT is working

By school gender profile		
	2002	2008
Ratio of teachers: pupils	30:1	42:1
Urban schools	35:1	37:1
Rural schools	27:1	45:1

Findings show that the majority of teachers (60%) were not qualified up to Certificate Grade A, the standard for all primary school teachers according to the 1995 national Education and Training Policy, at the time of the baseline study. This contrasts with national data that shows less than 10% of teachers to be unqualified. An upgrade programme for existing teachers has been ongoing and it is expected that the proportion of teachers qualified to minimum standard will increase over time. However, in 2008 schools had experienced increasing enrolments without an increase in teachers' qualifications.

The Baseline Study was also interested in the extent to which gender and HIV and AIDS were integrated into teacher training curricula. There has been a big push for HIV and AIDS education, with all the TTCs (100%) reporting provision of training to teachers within the previous year. Only one in five (20%) of TTCs provided training on gender. This correlates with the policy context of a strong push for HIV education in schools, and less attention to gender. One third of schools in which TEGINT works had provided in-service training on HIV and AIDS and one in six had covered sex education. There is considerable inter-district variation, with two-thirds of schools in Moshi Rural delivering HIV and AIDS in-service teacher training compared to 4% of schools in Arusha Municipal, despite evidence suggesting that the prevalence of HIV is much higher in Arusha town than surrounding areas.

In schools where there are more qualified teachers and more female teachers, girls were more able to articulate barriers to their education, and more likely to articulate economic and political solutions, suggesting that teacher qualifications may contribute to wider social understanding amongst girls (Table 9). However, it appears that the proportion of adequately qualified female and male teachers is higher in schools with lower gender profiles than in higher performing schools (Table 10). The reasons for this need closer investigation.

Table 9: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education, by teacher qualification profile

	Teacher qualifications within school % who mentioned		
	Below average	Average	Above average
Early marriage	58	63	77
Poverty	19	17	31
Parents withdraw from school	3	3	9
Old for class	34	30	34
Lack of facilities	5	1	17
Distance from school	22	30	41
Ill health	56	52	69
Pregnancy	58	63	77

There seems to be no clear relationship between pupil-teacher ratio and gender profile score, although schools with the highest gender profile scores seem to have slightly fewer teachers than schools with low and average gender profile scores (Table 10). However, there does seem to be a clear relationship between the proportion of female teachers and gender profile score: those with below average scores have approximately equal numbers of men and women; those with average or above average performance have almost three times as many female teachers as male in the school. This suggests that although women are not better qualified than men they seem to have a positive impact on girls' educational outcomes. One factor may be that female teachers in some districts have wider community leadership roles (informal or formal) so may have a wider influence on girls than male teachers.

Table 10: Key teaching indicators and school gender profiles

Gender profile score	% adequately qualified women (Cert IIIA & above)	% adequately qualified men (Cert IIIA & above)	Pupil: teacher ratio 2008	GPI teachers 2008
Low	44	52	54:1	1.04
Average	36	39	53:1	2.68
High	24	20	46:1	2.85
Total	34	36	51:1	2.20

The implications are to work with teacher unions and District Education Officials (DEOs) to look at the deployment of female teachers, and to conduct more in-depth investigation as to why improved levels of teacher qualification, while translating into improved attendance, do not seem to be associated with better school gender profiles.

Teachers were asked how well they thought their school supported girls' education. Whilst many girls were very over-optimistic about their schools, teachers were more critical, with their views in closer alignment with girls' real opportunities and outcomes (Table 11).

Table 11: Teachers' views on how well the school is supporting girls' education, by school gender profile score

	School gender profile			
Teachers' views	Below average	Average	Above average	Total
Above average	35	39	26	100
Average	29	24	47	100
Below average	33	33	33	100

Whilst teachers held more critical (or realistic) views of their schools' performance on gender, head teachers' perceptions on the barriers girls face to their education are fairly closely aligned with the views of girls. They acknowledge poverty, early marriage and pregnancy as key obstacles for girls attending school or completing their education (Table 12).

Table 12: Head teacher views on the obstacles girls' face to their education

Reasons	Girls (%)	Boys (%)
Family not able to pay fees/levy	30	25
Not sufficient teachers	20	20
Poor school facilities	23	27
Not achieving well	38	34
No opportunities for future study (secondary school or higher)	20	21
Fighting/bullying/violence in school	11	9
Fighting/bullying/violence out of school	11	11
HIV and AIDS	14	13
Issues around sexual development	25	20
Teenage pregnancy	36	23
Required to work at home	23	13
Early marriage	43	27
Required to work outside home	45	32
Distance to school/road safety	21	20
Peer pressure	30	29
Parents' attitudes	27	29

Key Finding 3:

Where teachers have higher levels of qualifications, girls are more able to articulate a wider range of demands for their schooling. Where there are larger numbers of female teachers there is more gender parity in attendance, progression and attainment. Teacher training colleges have given more attention to HIV and AIDS training than gender.

Recommendations:

i) Support teachers currently in post to improve their qualifications;
ii) Support the posting of female teachers to challenging areas through incentives, housing, transport allowance etc;
iii) Support TTCs to develop PRESET & INSET gender training for teachers, linked with HIV training, as appropriate.

3.5 School funding

Although education is nominally free, the data confirm a very wide range of charges made by the schools in which TEGINT is working. There is a very wide variation across districts in the level of funding for the primary schools (Table 15). The schools in Arusha Municipal have the highest income, nearly three times that in Monduli and Mbulu, and nearly five times that available to schools in Moshi Rural, Hai and Babati.

Funding is partially allocated on a per pupil basis. Looking at the average school income per pupil in different districts we see a significant variation, with Arusha and Hai receiving twice as much as Babati and Moshi Rural districts. This may be because of differences in capacity and accountability in financial management, corroborating findings from the Public Expenditure Tracking Survey (PETS) that schools in poorer areas are less likely to fully utilise funds due to lower capacity and therefore receive lower levels of funding (Claussen and Assad, 2010). The national Capitation Grant to schools is associated with teacher qualifications (Table 14). In schools where teachers have the lowest qualifications, generally the more rural schools, the Capitation Grant is the least, while the higher the level of teachers' qualification the higher the Capitation Grant. The funding formula thus seems not to be working to support the poorest.

Table 13 presents school incomes and levies charged in schools in which TEGINT works. Even when calculated on a per pupil basis the levies charged in Hai are exceptionally high across all types of levy but especially food. In addition, historically, debating clubs and competitions are strong in Hai and parents are expected to contribute to exchange visits and travel costs for holding inter-school debating competitions (TEGINT, 2010, p89). In some other districts that charge less, for example Monduli, there has been widespread drought and consequent feeding programmes are underway by the World Food Programme, which reduces parental contributions for food.

Table 13: Primary schools in which TEGINT is working: Average income per school by district (Tanzanian shillings)

District	Total School Income	Capitation Grant	Development Grant	Other Sources	Enrolment	Total Income per pupil	Total levies charged	Levies per pupil
Arusha	11,595,634	7,402,087	4,316,667	1,069,000	1,358	8,539	1,145,400	843
Monduli	4,496,754	2,759,155	13,400,000	-	584	7,700	30,555	52
Moshi	2,288,559	1,819,982	12,852	621,000	526	4,351	6,450	12
Hai	2,897,295	1,309,795	4,033,333	600,000	340	8,521	5,834,444	17,160
Babati	2,013,095	2,363,158	-	600,000	483	4,168	11,321	23
Mbulu	4,296,832	6,241,027	5,766,667	2,768,875	653	6,580	5,750	9
Total	4,172,293	3,587,048	5,069,350	1,264,719	657	6,347	1,383,123	2,104

Table 14: Mean capitation grant per pupil (Tsh), by teacher qualification profile band

	Mean capitation grant per pupil
Below average	5024
Average	6626
Above average	11500
Total	7447

Table 15 looks at the average amount of income schools have, the average amount they charge in fees and levies, and the average number of pupils enrolled for schools in each of the three gender profile bands. Schools with higher gender profiles, that is those which ensure better progression and achievement for girls, are also schools that receive the least income from government grants, but charge the most in levies. This suggests that government funding is focusing on the lowest performing schools, but, firstly, increased funding does not seem to be translating into better results and, secondly, the better performing schools may be underfunded and are managing this by charging levies to parents, suggesting that families have to pay more for a better education for their daughters. This presents some significant challenges in terms of understanding the dynamics of school funding and engaging with discriminatory levies.

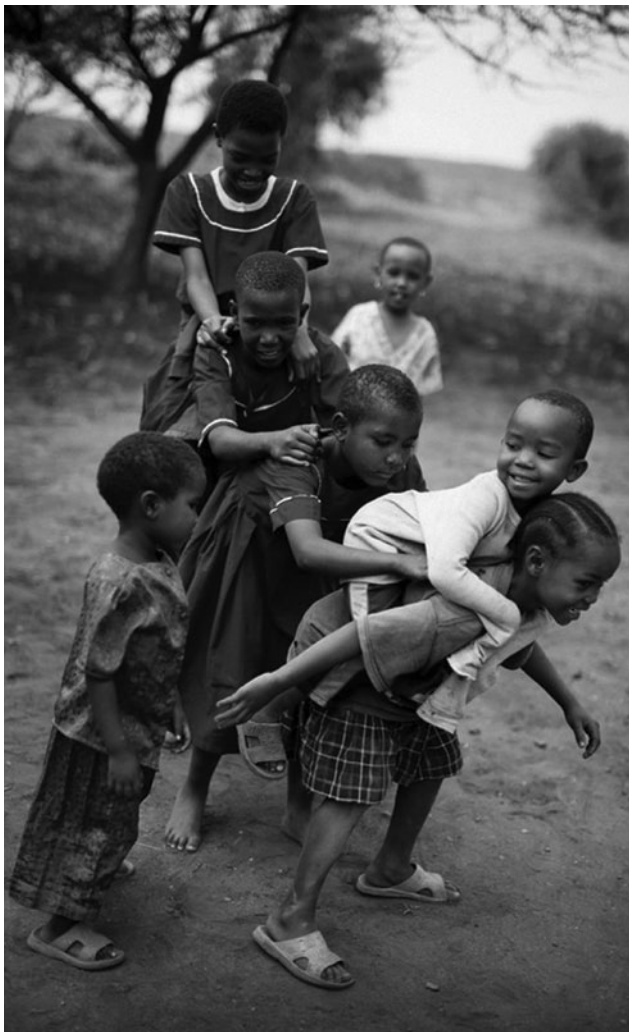

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Table 15: Average school income and levies charged by gender band

School gender profile score band 2008	Total school income	Total levies charged	Mean number of pupils per school
Low	4,903,934	390,523	646
Medium	5,206,548	502,112	788
High	2,726,116	598,397	508
Total	4,175,160	501,963	644

Key Finding 4:

Government funding for schooling is not sufficient. Many schools where gender parity in attendance, progression and attainment is not a problem are supplementing government funding with very high levies from parents and communities.

Recommendations:

i) Increase government funding to schools to decrease the reliance on parents' contributions, which discriminates against the poorest
ii) Work with SMCs and district officials to build their capacity in financial management, budget tracking and their ability to maximise their entitlement to government funding.

3.6 School Management Committees and gender management profiles

Gender mainstreaming has not been carried out systematically with school management committees (SMCs) who carry a great deal of responsibility for school finances and monitoring school provision. Women make up a minority of members of SMCs (Table 16). There is a government mandate for women to be represented on SMCs, but there is little incentive for them to do this. In some cases women are nominally represented, but may participate little in meetings and decision making. To serve on committees women need support from their families to share household tasks and in some communities husbands may withhold permission for women to participate in public affairs. The smallest proportion of women serving on SMCs is in Babati. However, increased proportion of women on SMCs is clearly related to better gender profile scores.

Table 16: Gender composition of SMCs, by district and school gender profile

District	Female: Male ratio (GPI)
Arusha Municipal	0.87
Monduli	0.55
Moshi Rural	0.59
Hai	0.9
Babati	0.38
Mbulu	0.71
School gender profile	
Below average	0.55
Average	0.64
Above average	0.83

Incidents of violence correlate with drops in girls' attendance, and data was gathered on concerning incidence of gender-based violence, across regions and particularly in Hai and Babati. These include rapes by male pupils and teachers seducing girls, threatening them with poor grades if they do not comply. These incidents are often linked to gendered roles, where girls are particularly vulnerable when collecting water and carrying out domestic chores in male teachers' houses. Sexual violence is clearly related to girls' drop out from school:

> *The Head narrated a case where a girl was gang raped by a number of boys from the community. As to what happened thereafter, the Head intimated that through demonstrations by women in the community, some of the culprits were apprehended while others have since left the village. However, traditional methods of reparation – which involve some payment of material things to the community that has been shamed, were applied to the perpetrators. The girl was allowed to continue with her studies but she has since left the school and she now lives in X a town which is far away from the community.* (Field notes, school in Babati district).

Despite this, SMCs and head teachers do not seem well supported or informed in dealing with this. The most common actions taken when violence occurred were verbal warnings, physical punishment of the perpetrator and reporting to the SMC, whilst those that are more in accordance with official policy (expulsion, suspension, improve security or provide counselling) were least reported. Girls talked about cases of sexual violence being dealt with through informal traditional systems which include inter-family negotiations and payments of fines, but may not be in the best interests of the girl. Head teachers seem to be aware that actions taken are inadequate (whilst community leaders are less aware). The TEGINT project is well placed to facilitate dialogue between school and community leadership to develop appropriate strategies to challenge violence.

There seems to be little relationship between SMC training and school gender profiles, suggesting the training may not be very effective for enrolment, attendance, progression and exam performance measured by the gender profile. However, outcomes (in terms of gender profile) were better for girls in schools where SMCs conducted outreach activities to a wide variety of vulnerable groups.

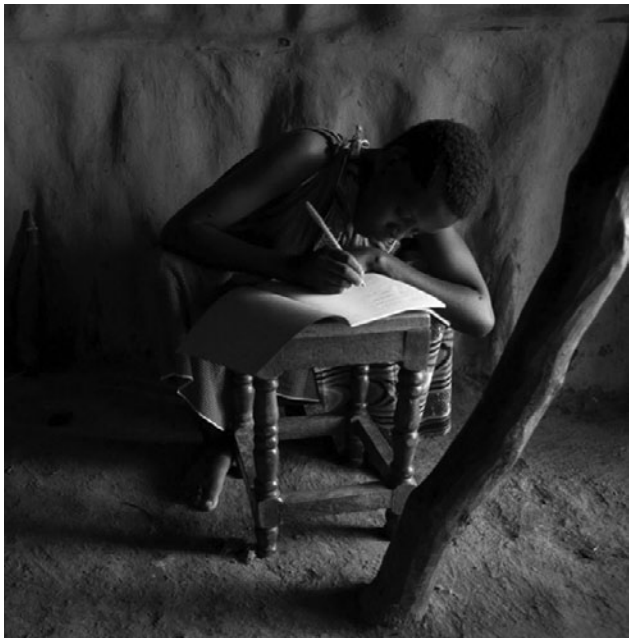
Data collected from numerous sources were brought together in order to create a summary variable for school management performance on girls' education. Management performance on girls' education is conceptualised as comprising elements including: provision of training and information for teachers, parents and pupils on issues such as gender, HIV and AIDS, reproductive health and educational management; involvement with political campaigning

organisations; outreach activities to help the most disadvantaged and socially excluded families; and the mobilisation of pupils and staff in order to promote community development. Schools were ranked and grouped into three bands of equal size in the same way as school gender profile scores, namely: 1) below average performance; 2) average performance; and 3) above average performance.

From the distribution of school management profiles by district (Table 17) it is notable that Arusha Municipal, Moshi Rural and Hai in particular have greater proactivity in terms of school management. In Arusha, this does not seem to have made a great deal of difference to its low performance on school gender profiles. However in Hai and Moshi Rural, both of which also have high levels of women's literacy, there seems to be an association between stronger performance on school management and schools having above average performance on girls' education. From the gender management profile score, schools in Babati mostly had below average proactivity in terms of school management, corresponding with below average gender profile performance. This opens up the question as to how to translate women's activism on social issues noted in Babati district into proactive school management strategies.

Table17: School management profiles, by district and urban-rural characteristic

District	Below average (%)	Average (%)	Above average (%)
Arusha Municipal	13	38	50
Monduli	30	40	30
Moshi Rural	20	30	50
Hai	11	22	67
Babati	70	20	10
Mbulu	50	50	0
Urban	19	38	43
Rural	37	30	33
All schools	27	35	37



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This data raises some questions about causation and correlation. It seems that improving the overall quality of learning and teaching for girls (improving gender profiles) correlates with more active SMCs, who give more attention to the problems of levies, which bear on girls' concerns with poverty as an obstacle to their education. Table 18 shows some association between the activities of school committees and improved gender profile, but the nature of the relationship is not clear. As this is a key component of one of the TEGINT learning questions, this too merits further investigation.

Table 18: School gender profile score, by gender management profile

	Banded school gender profile score			
Gender management profile score	Below average	Average	Above average	All schools
Low	35	35	12	27
Average	41	18	47	35
High	24	47	41	37
Total	100	100	100	100

Key Finding 5:

Better levels of gender parity in attendance, progression and attainment are found in schools where SMCs have more women members and are highly proactive. However, SMCs have limited capacity to respond to gender based violence.

Recommendations:

i) Work with SMCs and communities to increase the numbers of active women serving on SMCs.
ii) Work with SMCs to develop their capacity for outreach on gender and EFA, and to play their role effectively.
iii) Work with SMCs, parents, teachers and community organisations to develop their capacity to respond to gender based violence taking account of girls' rights.

3.7 Gender and generation

When girls' views on the obstacles they envisage in their education and how to overcome these are set side by side with the views of adults (including teachers and village officials who hold some responsibility for their schooling at community level), there are significant differences (Table 19). Girls and head teachers shared some similar views, notably on the negative effect of early marriage. However, SMC members and VEOs do not mention pregnancy and early marriage at all and are more likely to attribute non-attendance to household work and family responsibilities, focusing on issues where the 'problem' may be seen to be one of private family arrangements, rather than public policy. The greatest generation gaps are therefore between the school and community.

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Table 19: Most commonly cited reasons that girls do not attend school

Girls	Head teachers	SMCs	VEO
1. Poverty	1. Required to work outside home	1. Work in the home	1. Family reasons
2. Pregnancy	2. Early marriage	2. Care for siblings	2. Work on family farm
3. Early marriage	3. Not achieving well	3. Income earning/ill health	3. Household chores

This suggests that work is needed to improve a shared understanding of obstacles and solutions between girls and those with some influence to address them. Perceptions between head teachers and girls are closest in schools with better outcomes for girls, indicating that additional work in this area may have a positive impact on girls' ability to remain and succeed in school.

In schools that are more successful in ensuring girls' progression and achievement, and where there are better qualified teachers, there is a strong connection with the views of girls on the kinds of actions that should be taken to support change. Actions to increase teacher qualifications and enhance the core business of learning and teaching may well facilitate bridging the views of the older generation. In schools where SMCs report more and wider ranging actions to support girls, especially fees and levies support, they are also more likely to monitor girls' enrolment, attendance and performance as well as teaching quality, indicating the positive impact of these activities on bridging the generation gap. A key area of work links with enhancing learning and teaching for girls, as this seems to support improved communication with adults about obstacles and how to overcome them to improve girls' education.

4. Conclusion

The data from the Baseline Study indicates that TEGINT is working in complex local environments in which educational and socio-economic contexts vary considerably. However, girls have generally high aspirations, identify a number of common obstacles to education and the support given by the school to learning and teaching, progression and exam performance is an important aspect of helping girls to be more aware and articulate about these obstacles and how to overcome them.

The generation gap between girls, SMC members and VEOs regarding views on girls' education seems to be an important area for further discussion and work. The relationship between girls' aspiration and understanding of change and a number of processes associated with school organisation is a key area for further research and action. There are important links between girls' attainment and capacity to reflect and teachers' qualifications, outlook, and their work in classroom. There also appears to be an association with the outreach work by SMCs and the presence of women in those organisations. Both areas merit further investigation, as do the form of levies charged, and the effects of how schools have worked on aspects of HIV and AIDS. The findings suggest that working to improve teaching and learning in school is as important as working to support extra-curricular structures like girls' clubs and the activities that they undertake.

In summary, the TEGINT Baseline Study in Tanzania confirms the importance of further investigation into the form of working in a sustained and strategic way at *multiple levels* with teachers, parents, VEOs, school management committees, communities and girls themselves to transform the education of girls. It highlights the importance of looking at both in-school and out-of-school factors to bring about significant change for gender equality.

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