



Western Norway
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MASTER'S THESIS

Teaching Gender in a Tanzanian Secondary school

A qualitative study of the curriculum of civics and experiences by Tanzanian teachers and students.



Undervisning om kjønn ved en Tanzaniansk ungdomsskole

Et kvalitativt studium av pensum i samfunnsfag og erfaringene til tanzanianske lærere og studenter

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I confirm that the work is self-prepared and that references/source references to all sources used in the work are provided, cf. Regulation relating to academic studies and examinations at the Western Norway University of Applied Sciences (HVL), § 10.

Abstract (English)

The theme of this study is gender in Civics Education in Tanzania. Tanzania is a country located in East-Africa, and has a population which varies greatly in ethnic background. The country has been criticized by the global community for having laws and regulations which hinder equal participation of both genders in education. My master thesis, seeks to address the current education about gender in one Tanzanian Secondary school. The content of secondary education is closely connected with the aims and regulations set by the Tanzanian Government. The research questions for this thesis evolve around the students and teachers perception gender, and how this aspect is taught in one Tanzanian Secondary School.

The fieldwork of this study was conducted in Tanzania, September to October 2018. I spent approximately six weeks in total at the given school where the data was collected by the use of qualitative methods. Observation and field conversations gave an overall insight in the practices of the school and the society. Individual interviews with teachers resulted in an insight in the teachers perception of gender and how they experienced teaching it. Group interviews which was conducted with students of Form II and V presented the students views on being male or female and their perception of education they are given about gender. Illustrations and revision exercises conducted with the students of Form IV gives an implication of the expectations of male and female in the society, as well as the students' knowledge in the subject. Goodlad's Curriculum Theory is the framework used to structure the analysis as it contribute in visualizing the connection between the various levels of which education in civics is enforced. The findings of this study is in general that the school and the government seeks to implement gender equal practices in the schools. At the same time, cultural practices and the existing gender roles in the society are challenging to change. However, civics is a subject with the ability to make changes and thereby create a more gender equal society.

Abstract (Norwegian)

Temaet for denne oppgaven er kjønn i samfunnsfagundervisningen i Tanzania. Tanzania er et land som ligger i Øst-Afrika, og som har en befolkning med mange ulike etniske bakgrunner. Landet har blitt kritisert globalt på grunnlag av lover og regler som hindrer like muligheter til deltagelse av begge kjønn i utdanning. Min masteroppgave vil ta for seg den nåværende utdanningen vedrørende kjønn i ved en Tanzaniansk Ungdomsskole. Det faglige innholdet i Tanzaniansk Ungdomsskole er tett tilknyttet mål og reglement satt av den Tanzanianske regjeringen. Forskningsspørsmålene i denne oppgaven omhandler å skape en oppfatning av studenter og læreres erfaringer av kjønn i utdanning og i samfunnet.

Feltarbeidet for dette studiet ble gjennomført i Tanzania, september-oktober 2018. Jeg tilbragte om lag seks uker totalt ved skolen hvorav data ble samlet inn ved bruk av kvalitativ metode. Observasjon og feltsamtaler gav en overordnet innsikt i skolens og samfunnets praksiser. Individuelle intervjuer med lærere resulterte i en forståelse av lærerens oppfatning av kjønn og hvordan de opplevde å undervise det. Gruppeintervjuer som ble gjennomført med studenter fra Form II og V presenterer studentenes oppfatninger av å være mann eller kvinne, samt deres oppfatningen av utdanningen de er gitt om kjønn. Tegninger og repetisjonsoppgaver som ble gjennomført av studenter ved Form IV fremmer en oppfatning av forventningene som foreligger for menn og kvinner i samfunnet. På samme tid viser disse til studentenes kunnskap i faget. Goodlads Curriculum Theory er rammeverket som har blitt brukt for å strukturere analysen ettersom den bidrar til å visualisere sammenhengen mellom de ulike nivåene hvor utdanning er sammenfattet. Funnene i dette studiet er i hovedsak at skolen og regjeringen ønsker å skape likestilte praksiser i skolen. På samme tid er kulturelle praksiser og de eksisterende kjønnsrollene i samfunnet utfordrende å endre på. Civics et fag som har egenskapene til å kunne skape forandringer, og dermed forme et mer likestilt samfunn.

Abstract (KiSwahili)

Mada kuu katika huu utafiti ni kuhusu elimu ya kiraia Tanzania. Tanzania ni nchi iliyopo mashariki mwa Afrika, pia ni nchi yenye idadi kubwa ya watu wanaotofautiana katika makabila. Nchi imekuwa ikishutumiwa na jumuiya ya kimataifa kwa kuwa na sheria na kanuni zinazozuia ushiriki sawa baina ya jinsia zote katika elimu.

Katika thesis hii nimejikita katika kuchunguza elimu inayotolewa kuhusu jinsia kwenye shule ya Sekondari Tanzania. Maudhui ya elimu ya sekondari yanahusiana sana na malengo na kanuni zilizowekwa na Serikali ya Tanzania. Hivyo basi maswali ya utafiti wangu yamejikita katika kutaka kuelewa yafuatayo, mtazamo wa wanafunzi na walimu kuhusu jinsia na jinsi gani hiki kipengele kinafundishwa kwenye shule moja ya sekondari nchini Tanzania.

Kazi ya somo la utafiti huu ulifanyika Tanzania, kuanzia mwezi septemba hadi oktoba 2018. Mda huo niliutumia katika ukusanyaji ya data kutumia mbinu ya ubora. Pia nilitumia mbinu ya uchunguzi kwa kuangalia na majadiliano, namna hii imeniwezesha kupata ufahamu wa juu ya mazingira ya shule na jamii kwa ujumla. Mahojiano ya kibinafsi na walimu yamenipa ufahamu kuhusu mtazamo wa walimu juu ya elimu ya jinsia, pia na uzoefu wao wa kufundisha hiki kipengele. Zaidi ya hayo, nilifanya mahojiano ya kikundi cha wanafunzi wa Fomu ya II na V na kupata maoni ya kuhusu kuwa mvulana na msichana, pia na mtazamo wao wa elimu ya jinsia. Wanafunzi wa fomu IV walichora michoro na kufanya mzoezi darasani, ambayo yalilenga kutaka kujua mtazamo wao kuhusu matarajio baina ya masichana na wavulana katika jamii, na pia ujuzi wao kuhusu elimu ya jinsia. Nadharia kuu ya kitaala iliyotumika ni ya Goodlad ni mfumo unaotumiwa kuunda uchambuzi katika kutazama uhusiano kati ya viwango mbalimbali kuhusu utimizaji elimu ya kiraia.

Kwa ujumla, matokeo ya utafiti huu unashiria kwamba shule pamoja na serikali zinatafuta njia mbadala za utekelezaji ili kuboresha usawa wa kijinsia. Wakati huo huo, vitendo vya kitamaduni na majukumu ya kijinsia yaliyopo katika jamii ni vigumu kubadili. Hata hivyo, elimu ya uraia ni somo ambalo lina uwezo wa kuelimisha jamii juu ya ubaguzi ya kijinsia.

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Abbreviations

NECTA: National Examination Council of Tanzania

MoEVT: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

GII: Gender Inequality Index

O' level: Ordinary level of Secondary Education (Form II-IV)

A' level: Advanced level of Secondary Education (Form V-VI)

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1. Introduction

Education has been in focus throughout the Global Development Agenda since the early 1990s (Tarabini, 2010, p.204). The concept of education is complex as it includes a larger aspect beyond what concerns individual benefit. Education is understood as essential in creating social and economic benefits, in other words national development (Tarabini, 2010, p.204). International cooperation and agreements, such as The Education for All movement has together with the former Millennium Development Goals resulted in an increased number of children with access to Primary Education. Positive results of these movements and policies are to be seen several places in Asia, and in various African countries (Wedgwood, 2007, p.383). However by today, the discourse has changed from providing all children with Primary Education in to a broader focus on providing a good quality education for all (The United Nations, 2019a). Sustainable Development Goal nr.4, emphasizes this focus, where the aim is to create an inclusive and quality based education as well as providing lifelong learning for all (United Nations, 2019b). The Sustainable Development goals are set to be reached by 2030 (The United Nations, 2019a).

Gender and education are aspects focused on globally and which is adressed by many organizations. The United Nations emphasizes main challenges concerning gender and education and the empowerment of women, which is occurring all around the world (The United Nations, 2019a). This is elaborated through Sustainable Development Goal 5 which seeks to achieve gender equality and increase the empowerment of women in sectors such as, education, health care, decent work and others (The United Nations, 2019c).

However throughout my study I have decided to see challenges connected with gender and education from a different angle. I choose to emphasize gender related issues and study these at a local /microscale and a national scale focusing on the United Republic of Tanzania. I base the study on one governmental secondary school in a particular area of Tanzania, where I wish to seek deeper into what is being taught about gender and how challenges are addressed . The reason for doing so, is that gender is explicitly addressed by the global community and nationally in many countries. However, what seems to be taught, and how gender is expressed throughout the curriculum in Tanzanian Secondary Schools is something I see lack of research coverage. Therefore, I wanted to write about this aspect in my thesis. Former

research is not elaborated in this thesis due to the lack of research coverage for the given theme I wish to emphasize throughout this study.

1.1 Theme and Objectives

Teaching Gender in a Tanzanian Secondary School is written with the purpose of creating awareness about the aspect of gender and how it is taught in Tanzanian Secondary Schools. Existing gender roles and how they are perceived and interpreted among teachers and students will be discussed throughout this thesis.

The main focus is gender and the way it's presented in the curriculum. At the same time I will look closer into how it is taught and how it is perceived and interpreted among teachers and students of Form IV and II (14-17 years old). More specifically, I seek to explore the student's perception and understandings of gender-based expectations from home and from the society. Furthermore, I will try to achieve an implication of the content concerning gender, and whether there are differences and challenges in teaching.

Two chapters from the textbooks of Civics will be made use of. The reason for choosing the subject of Civics is based on its content as it emphasizes objectives related to the society both regionally, locally and globally. Within this subject, the gender aspect is taken into account in various ways. I have chosen to focus on the chapter of Culture in Form IV, and the chapter of Gender in Form II. Gender is widely discussed throughout the curriculum, and therefore a crucial part of this study. Statistics of enrolment and dropouts will be included as they provide an implication of the representation of each gender at the given Tanzanian Secondary School, and nationally in all Secondary Schools in Tanzania.

1.2 Research Questions

In order to operationalise the topic I have formulated three research questions. These have been the foundation for the collection of data. I start by studying the way the curriculum and the textbooks of civics present gender and the positions of men and women in the society.

Therefore the first research question is :

- 1) *In what way does the curriculum and textbooks of Civics present gender and the positions of men and women in society?*

In order to provide an answer to this question I study the textual content, in addition to this I look closer into the illustrations in order to provide an implication of the way gender is presented.

The next research question seeks to go deeper into the actual teaching. The focus is to elaborate the teachers understanding of gender, and how they present it throughout their classes.

II) How do the teachers understand gender and how do they present the topic throughout their classes?

Regarding research question II, I look closer into teachers' education for civics, their teaching methods, and what kind of requirements they have to follow.

Furthermore, I explore receivers of the teaching, the students. I elaborate on their understanding of gender. The third research question is

III) How are male and female students different when it comes to expectations to future life and what characteristics, attributes and norms are displayed in their expectations

In order to answer research question three, this study examines expectations as presented by male and female students. Further, their reported expectations from their families and the society in general, are also elaborated on.

1.3 Importance of the study

Gender and education is a topic which is widely discussed nationally, regionally and globally. Providing good quality education for both genders is focused on at a global scale. As far as I have detected there are no other study that specifically focuses on the Civic-subject, in one secondary school. This study seeks to emphasize gender and how this theme is presented through the subject of civics in a Tanzanian secondary school. This thesis highlights at the same time the teachers and students perceptions and understandings of gender and their role in the society.

1.4 Restrictions of the study

It is crucial for the reader to be aware that this thesis have certain restrictions and limitations. The data material is of importance and necessary to support my research . However, its necessary to be aware that these data are collected from one given school in a particular geographic area of Tanzania. This makes the data material not valid in terms of generalizing its findings. Due to challenges in recruiting informants of both genders, there are more female than male who participated in the study.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis starts by elaborating Tanzania's and its history of education as well as the background for conducting this study. Furthermore relevant theories will be explained. The following part will elaborate on the methods which was used when collecting the data material. The analysis is the next part of the thesis, here, the findings of the study is connected with relevant theoretical framework and terms. In the end the study will be concluded.

2. Tanzania and Education

The United Republic of Tanzania has a history where school and its education has been important as a part of building a peaceful and cohesive nation (Vågenes & Haugen, 2018, p.100). Let us first look into the history and geography of Tanzania.

2.1 The United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania is a country located in East Africa, and it consists of a great part of the mainland as well as the islands of Zanzibar, Unguja, Pemba and Mafia. Tanzania is located on a vast geographical area covering approximately 0,9 million square kilometers (Wedgwood, 2007, p. 841). It was estimated by July 2018, that the population of Tanzania was 55,451,343. The backgrounds and religious views of the Tanzanians differ. In 2010 it was measured that a great part of the population were Christians, some identified with Islam, Folk religions, and or did not identify with one religion in particular (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). However, the majority of Zanzibaris are Muslims (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). In Tanzania there are many ethnic minorities. According to statistics approximately 99% are counted as Africans whereas the majority identify with Bantu. The Bantu people in Tanzania may be divided into 130 tribes which originates from central parts of Africa (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). Nyamwezi, Nyakusa, Kurya and Chagga are examples of ethnic groups within the Bantu people. The mentioned groups speak a language that all originated from the Bantu language group. The other category of language groups originates from places further north in the continent of Africa. This language group is called Nilotic, and is spoken for instance by the Maasai, Arusha and Barabaig (Mashaza & Majani, 2018a, p. 107). But, it is essential to know that the official statistics and population censuses does not ask about ethnicity religion or other attributes that may differentiate the people, everyone is identified as Tanzanians (Mashaza & Majani, 2018a, p.103). This originates from the politics by the first president of Tanzania, and will be further elaborated in the next part of the thesis.

2.2 The History of Tanzania and its education system

In the period prior to the colonialization there was a few schools in Tanganyika, mostly koranic or missionaries schools. The education system of today's Tanzania originates from its time of colonialism. In the period before World War I, the mainland, at that time called Tanganyika (German East Africa) was colonized by Germany. The Germans provided a number of schools in order to increase skilled workforce for their administration, however it

did not lead to a significant change in the education system. These schools were however effected by the relapse of World War I.

Due to the outcome of World War I, Tanganyika was incorporated into the British Thrust Territory which is similar to a colony. In 1925, the British colonial administration introduced a quite clear education policy . This system was focusing on providing an education adaptable to the Tanzanian society. At this time governmental schools became institutionalized, mainly primary schools. The possibilities of getting a formal education increased under the British Thrust territory. At the same time when Tanzania gained its independence the proportion of the total population in primary or secondary school was not very high (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.11).

Tanzania gained independence in 1961, and the union of Tanzania was founded in 1964 (Christophersen, 2018, p. 50). The country was founded on the ideology of uniting all Tanzanians where ethnicity, religion and other factors which might divide the people were not of importance. Kiswahili was set to be the national language for all Tanzanians (Christophersen, 2018, p. 51). Julius Nyerere was Tanzania's first president, he was formerly educated as a teacher. The politics of Nyerere and his political party , TANU, based upon establishing a united people of Tanzania. The aim was to create an egalitarian society where everyone were seen as equal, where societal position and background were not of significant (Christophersen, 2018, p. 57). The strategy by Nyerere and TANU, was to build upon the African Society. This development strategy was called Ujamaa, which in Kiswahili means the unity of the family. Ujamaa was representing self-reliance where the people should create and provide for themselves in the village and in Tanzania in general. The reason for doing this was for the country to be economically independent from western countries and their influence (Christophersen, 2018, p. 57- 60)

Nyerere's goal was for the Nation of Tanzania to increase its development and by this, three main challenges facing the development of a nation were in focus. These were, poverty, diseases and illiteracy. Nyerere stressed the importance of education by focusing on its power to increase. One of the goals was to increase the access to education for all, and one of the measures taken was to abolish all racially segregated schools that established during the time of colonialism. The solution was to create a primary school which all children had access to (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 128 and 129). Throughout this period Tanzania practiced the Ujamaa Politics with the of purpose establishing nationalized schools in order to increase the feeling of being a part of the nation without focusing on ethnicity or background (Mashaza &

Majani, 2018a, p. 109). The system of creating a school for all was based on the perception that all children age 14-15 years would after completing primary school have the ability and knowledge to contribute in their own communities. This strategy was called Education for Self-Reliance and was built upon the principle of learning throughout practical work (Mashaza & Majani, 2018a, p. 109). The aim of education was to prepare the students for life outside the classrooms. It was based on the principles of the Ujamaa politics such as socialism and with focus increasing the country's Independence (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 129). As a result of Ujamaa, the enrolment in primary schools increased significantly up to 100% by 1978. However, the number of students who continued in Secondary Level was relatively low. Following the 1980s the school system became gradually liberalized due to change in politics, the result of this was an increase in the number of private schools. However the Government also expanded their educational system throughout international, and national strategies, politics and reforms (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 129). Today the Government of Tanzania aims towards providing quality education for all. This aim is closely connected with socio-economic development of the country as education increase the number of the population with skilled labour force. By this the country's production will develop and be beneficial for the Nation (United Republic of Tanzania, referred to in Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 126). In the following part of the thesis the education system of today's Tanzania is elaborated.

2.2.1 The school system of Tanzanian Governmental Schools

Table 2.1 Educational system of mainland Tanzania (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 127).

| Level of education | Age | Time period | Language of instruction | Number of subjects |
|---|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Pre primary school | 4-6 | 2 | Kiswahili | 3 |
| Primary School | 7-13 | 7 | Kiswahili or English (rare) | 9 |
| Secondary School 0-level | 14-17 | 4 | English | 9 |
| Secondary School A-level | 18-19 | 2 | English | 6 |
| Higher education at college or university | 20 years or more | 3 years or more | English | Open |

In today's Tanzania there are a mix between private and governmental school, the table 2.1 however illustrates the system of governmental schools of the Tanzanian mainland, the islands of Zanzibar however has a slightly different system which is not of relevance for this thesis. The system in table 2.1 illustrates that the students start in pre-primary school when they are 4-6 years, where the language of instruction is mainly Swahili . When they complete pre-primary, they continue in primary school which is 7 years, the language of instruction is Swahili, however, some schools have English as a medium in primary school. If the students complete the national exam by the end of primary school, they continue in Secondary School, here the language of instruction is English. Secondary school lasts for four years in ordinary level(o-level) and advanced level (a-level) for two years. However, in order to continue from ordinary to advanced level the students need to pass the exam of ordinary level. Furthermore if they continue in advanced level, they have to pass an exam in order to complete their studies and continue at either college or university (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 126-127).

The subject in focus in this thesis is as formerly mentioned, Civics. Civics became a subject in Tanzanian schools in 1992. Since then, there has been some adjustments, and today it is a mandatory subject at Primary and Secondary School. However the authorities are currently implementing a primary school that will be 6 years based on the plan that Secondary Education also will be provided for the overall majority in the future (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2016). As a result of the implementation of the new curriculum, the subject of Civics in primary schools will be called Civics and Moral Education. This subject will have a more moral based curriculum, built upon the idea of raising responsible students who act according to moral principles (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2016).

However, prior to 2017 the students were not graded in Civics, they just had to pass or fail. Today it is changed so the students are graded in their final exam. In Tanzania, there is no specific education for teachers who wish to teach Civics. This leads to a situation where the staff of teachers does not have training to teach the subject, nor may not have been taught this subject throughout their basic primary education (Vågenes & Haugen, 2018, p 100-101). The aspect of lack of Civics education and training, which will be further discussed throughout the analysis of this thesis

2.3 Background, inspiration & Sokoni Secondary School

In this part of the thesis, the background and inspiration for writing this thesis. Following, the school which was in focus throughout my study will be in focus.

2.3.1 Background and inspiration

This thesis is based on fieldwork which was conducted in Tanzania in the period of September-November 2018. However, the inspiration for writing this thesis is based on my prior visit to Tanzania. In 2016, I conducted three weeks of teachers practice at a Secondary School in Tanzania. At this time, I was also collecting data material for my bachelor thesis. My bachelor study was built up on a unilateral focus on gender equality, with emphasis on the situation of the given school. Findings from this study led to a further interest both of the school and Tanzania in general.

I therefore decided that I wanted to write my master thesis with emphasis on education in Tanzania. Fortunately I was able to collect data for my master thesis at the same school where the teaching practice was conducted in 2016. I decided to continue studying gender in Tanzanian Schools throughout my master, however this time I wished to explore it in a wider

context. In this study there will be a broader focus on the curriculum, textbooks, ways of teaching, and perceptions based on gendered expectations from the society.

2.3.2 Sokoni Secondary School

When travelling to Tanzania 2018, I was accompanied by three other students which was also conducting their fieldwork in Tanzania. I was familiar with the School where the fieldwork would be conducted, and also aware of who the Headmaster and some of the teachers were, some of them remembered me as well. This gave advantages in terms of establishing a status as teacher student, and also to gain trust from the informants of the study. I do believe the situation would have been more challenging if study was conducted at another school.

The given secondary school is located in a city. I have chosen to call it Sokoni Secondary School, due to confidentiality of the school and the informants. Sokoni Secondary School is governmental, and the cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds of the students varies greatly. This school is an English medium school, where there are signs around the schools area which points out that English is the only language to be spoken.

The statistics provided by the school shows the number of students enrolled in the period of 2015-2018. The highest number of students enrolled was in 2016. In 2015, the number of female in all forms exceeded the number of male. According to the schools statistics of enrolment one can see that there was 1577 students in total enrolled in 2018, 780 male and 797 female students. The number of each gender at the school differs, and will be further discussed throughout the analysis.

The Headmaster informed me that the number of employees at the school was 93, and approximately 50 of these teachers were female. Sokoni Secondary School is very busy and the teachers have full timetables. This particular school is, and have been cooperating with the Western Norway University of Applied Sciences for many years. Each year, Norwegian bachelor students come to Tanzania to do their teaching practice here, the school is therefore used to be visited by teacher students from other countries.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis will be elaborated throughout this chapter. The theoretical concept of gender will be emphasized. Relevant terms of gender, and gender roles will be in focus and explained further. The connection of gender and development will be elaborated and following will Goodlad's Curriculum theory be in focus as this is the main framework used to structure the analysis.

3.1 Gender

According to the World Health Organization the term Gender is defined as the social construction of characteristics connected with being either male or female. These characteristics are norms, rules and roles in the society which one is described to as a member of a certain society (World Health Organization, 2019).

The term Gender refers to the social construct of male and female, whereas the term sex refers to the biological understanding of male and female. The biological sex seeks to explain social behaviour and by this argue that the differences between male are natural (Benjaminsen & Svarstad, 2002, p. 275). In this thesis, the social construction, gender will be in focus

In 1990, Judith Butler gave out the book Gender Trouble, and since then she has been a widely discussed gender theorist. Butler describes gender in a way which distinguishes from the general division of male and female. According to Butler, gender is something you do, not something you are. She refers to gender as something which is a result of practices and actions. The way gender is discussed is also a part of her understanding of gender (Mortensen, 2008, p. 74 & 76). Gender and the perception of the term are constructed in different ways in various societies. The understanding of gender may also change in time due to political implementation and development in the society (Stock, 2013, p. 98).

3.2 Gender Equality

Gender Equality is a complex term and may be defined in different ways. I have chosen to make use of the definition by United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNGE) . The movement was founded in 2010 by the UNs General Assembly. This is the UNs entity which focuses on gender based equality and the empowerment of women. UNGE has a vision to seek to address the need of today's women in different areas (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2019a) . They make use of the following definition;

“Equality between women and men (gender equality): refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys” (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2019b).

Equality has to do with both genders and their equal rights, responsibility, and opportunities. However it does not mean that male and female should be the same, but rather have the same rights independently (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2019b).

3.3 Gender Parity

”Gender Parity, that is the measure of the numbers of girls and boys in school has long been used as a proxy to understand gender equality” (Defined by UNESCO, 2004 in Unterhalter, Heslop, & Mamedu, 2013, 567).

Gender Parity may be used as a way of defining equality based on the number of each gender in schools. However, this term has been criticised as equality in education includes several aspects, not just a number of boys and girls in schools (Unterhalter, Heslop, & Mamedu, 2013, 567).

3.4 Reproductive and productive roles

Jobs and work may be defined and valued in different ways. Some jobs are not leading to an economic income, these are often reproductive work such as maintenance of the home, caring for children, and child bearing. Furthermore productive jobs are creating, or contributing in developing items to sell, in order to retrieve an economic income. In many societies, the female is performing the reproductive roles whereas the man is in charge of the productive roles (Eriksen & Feldberg, 2013, p.140-141). I have chosen to make use of this distinction between roles in the society as these are the ones presented in the students textbooks. In the chapter of gender in the Form II textbook, reproductive roles are defined as: “Reproductive roles are the activities that include child-bearing and other domestic- related tasks. Some Societies do not value reproductive roles because they have no economic return. However, these roles are very important for social and family stability” (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.74) . Productive roles are explained as activities both genders are engaging in to earn a living, reproductive roles does not necessarily lead to an economic return. The textbooks points out that productive activities are valued as they directly contributing to an increased economic income (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.74).

3.5 Gender and Development

In the 1970s the Danish economist Ester Boserup highlighted the role of woman in the process of development. Boserup emphasized productive activities in the society and connected this with the females status. When traditional agricultural societies are industrialized and mechanized the women's status in the society may be effected negatively. The former traditional way of agriculture made it possible for the female to combine their work with domestic activities. However, industrializing leads to a change in the labour market whereas job opportunities now are offered at large scale agriculture or at fabrics. This type of work is difficult to combine with reproduction according to Boserup (Smukkestad, 2013, p. 157). In order to increase the status of the female in the process of modernizing a set of projects was developed during the 1970s. Women in Development (WID) focused on the individual, aiming towards increasing the women's access to the labour market. WID highlighted the female with focus on their work and status. However, in the 1980s Women in Development was criticized as it did not take all factors into account when addressing the females role in the process of development. WID did not pay attention to social and political constructions as well as the role of the man. There was a need to widen the term also including the male. Gender and Development/Gender Analysis in Development was developed in order to address issues WID did not take into account. GAD focused on gender roles, and the existing relations between male and female in a given society. The background for doing so was mainly that differences in power between male and female may hinder equal development for both genders (Smukkestad, 2013, 157).

3.6 Empowerment

WID, Women in development was based on a belief that the Western part of the world and their development programs were implemented to help the passive receivers of the south. Amartya Sen is well known for his critique of this perception. His argument is that there will be no human development if there is a general belief that one should help the helpless of the south. Every human is responsible and should be seen as able to be actively engaging in their own development. In order to increase the ability to actively in their own development, empowerment is necessary (Eriksen & Feldberg, 2013, p 151).

There are many approaches to the term empowerment, however , I will focus on describing its general understanding. Empowerment is explained as a way for the people to gain or increase the power in their lives. Empowerment is based on the idea that access to paid work will increase power of the individual. This strategy is meant to change the power relations in

general and thereby increase the mobility of the oppressed and underprivileged and is therefore used in the process of achieving equality for both genders, especially for women (Smukkestad, 2013, p. 2012).

3.7 The Global Inequality Index

The global inequality index evaluates inequality from three major factors of human development. As one can see in figure 3.1, the following major factors are: reproductive health, empowerment, and participation in the labour market (United Nations Development Programme, 2019a). The number of countries measured in the GII are 160, and Tanzania is number 130 according to statistics from 2017, with an inequality rate of 0,537 (United Nations Development Programme, 2019b).

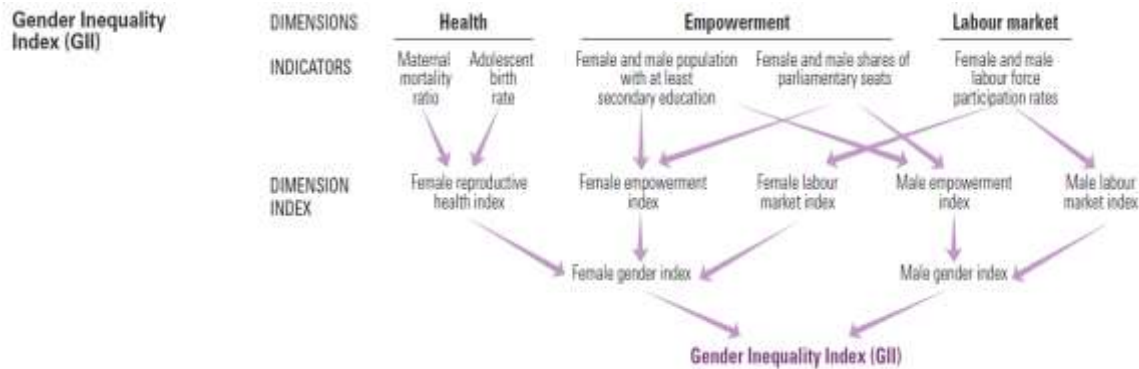


Figure 3.1 : Gender Inequality Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2019a)

In the category of health the statistics show that per 2015, Tanzania had a maternal mortality rate of 398, measured out of number of deaths per 100,000 live births (United Nations Development Programme, 2019b). The estimated adolescent birth rate in the period of 2015-2020 is measured to be 115.1 out of 1000 births by women age 15-19 (United Nations Development Programme, 2019b).

The part concerning empowerment in figure 3.1, shows that in the period of 2015-2017, 11,9 % female and 16,9 % male with the age of 25 and above of the population has at least secondary education. Number of male and female shares of parliamentary seats are measured in 2017 to have 37,2 % of the seats held by women. Labour force participation is measured out of the population age 15 or older, and per 2017, 79,5% women and 87,4% were contributing in labour force (United Nations Development Programme, 2019b).

Education in Civics and especially concerning gender is important as this may create awareness and knowledge which may in the long term lead Tanzania to have a change in their inequality rate.

3.8 Curriculum Theory

The curriculum and its connection with teaching and perception of the content among the students is a great part of my thesis. In Tanzanian schools, the content which is taught is highly directed by the authorities. The teachers are instructed to follow the syllabus and textbook in their teaching. Goodlad's curriculum theory will be used as a framework to highlight the content of the textbooks and syllabus. There relation between the various levels of Goodlad's model is expected to be strong which makes it relevant in to make use of in this study. According to the curriculum theory, curriculum is to be understood throughout five domains.

3.8.1 Ideological Curricula

The Ideological Curricula is described as the idea and the planning process of the curricula. The idea often contains ideas and implications on how and what to be taught . At the same time, the Ideal curricula has to be processed according to policies and instructions (Goodlad, 1979, p. 60-61). Hence this is the domain where the mandate of the school and content of the subject is directed by the authorities.

3.8.2 Formal Curricula

Formal curricula are approved by the government and implemented in schools or by teachers. The book called syllabus, provided for Form I-IV students as well as their textbooks are the formal curricula relevant for this thesis. The syllabus of ordinary level of secondary education in Tanzania has a content which is defined and states specifically what the students are supposed to learn, and be tested in (Goodlad, 1979, p.61).

3.8.3 Perceived Curricula

“Perceived curricula is the curricula of the mind” (Goodlad, 1979, p.61). The content of the formal curricula is the same for all, however, how it is perceived and understood differs from person to person according to interests. However, its stated that the most important preceptors of the formal curricula are the teachers. Challenges may occur as the parents could have another perception of the curricula than what teachers who are educating the students have. (Goodlad, 1979,p.61-62). Hence I am interested in the teachers understanding of gender concepts.

3.8.4 Operational Curricula

The way the teachers perceive the curricula may differ from the way they operationalize their teaching. Goodlad(1979) describes the operational curriculum to “what goes on hour after hour, day after day in school and classroom”(p. 63). The actual teaching is what defines the operational curricula.

3.8.5 Experiential Curricula

The way certain topics are being taught in class may be experienced in a different way by the recipients, students. However it may be difficult to measure the students experiences from teaching (Goodlad, 1979, p.63). According to Goodlad (1979 p.63) asking the students may lead to questions concerning validity.

3.8.6 Summarizing Goodlads theory.

The Curriculum theory will not be examined in itself throughout this thesis. I will not elaborate all domains explained above. However the theory will be used as an overall framework, made use of to highlight the connections between the various levels of teaching civics.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction to methods

When collecting data for this study a set of mixed methods were used. The most common methods made use of were qualitative such as, interviews, observation, field conversations, drawings and classroom activities. At the same time an aspect of quantitative data is included as I was able to retrieve statistics concerning enrolment rates from Sokoni Secondary School. However, the quantitative data will just be acknowledged in the introduction and not as a great part of the analysis. Challenges and changes made while conducting the study will also be acknowledged in this chapter .

Prior to my visit and study in Tanzania, autumn 2018 I had planned specifically which methods to use. However, the plan was open for change as I was not aware of the situation and possibilities to perform all my methods at the given school. My plan was to conduct semi-structured interviews, observation, possibly get access to statistics, as well as student centred activities was taken into consideration.

4.2 Informed Consent

In order to conduct an ethical study based on voluntary participation I specifically focused on giving all the informants the letter of informed consent as well as explaining its content. They were asked to read the letter from my school signed by my supervisor. Furthermore the aspect of participatory and voluntary consent was specified in all the interviews. The informants were also informed that if they wished to leave or delete some of the information given they were free to do so. Prior to recording the conversations, information and permission were given. Throughout the interview with Form II the content was explained this in Kiswahili by the use of a translator, with the purpose to make sure everyone understood its content.

The informed consent was also in focus when conducting the classroom activities. The students was informed of the purpose of these activities prior to it was conducted. When completing the assignments I reminded them that they could choose not to let me hand in their assignment, nor use it.

4.3 Recruiting Informants

In order to recruit informants for interviews, I decided to start by introducing myself to what, in Tanzania is normally referred to as *The Head of School*, the Headmaster. As I had been at the same school in 2016 for my teachers practice, he was aware of my background.

Furthermore I introduced him to my project, and asked politely for his permission to collect data for my study at his school with the help from him and his fellow teachers and their students. He gave me the permission so we arranged a day for me to come back in two weeks as the students had two weeks of holiday.

When I returned to the school after two weeks, what may be referred to as a light version of the snowball method led me to other informants. The snowball method is described by Noy (2008) as “A sampling procedure may be defined as snowball sampling when the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants” (p. 330). This happened as the Headmaster advised me to speak to head of the Civics Department. This woman seemed to be very helpful and nice, and she introduced me to teachers of Form II and IV. Furthermore these teachers introduced me to the students I could include in the study. The time schedule of the teachers is very busy and this proved to be a challenge when it came to arranging interviews and other planned activities. At the same time I was welcomed to the school by most of the teachers, in general all of them were very helpful.

4.4 About the Informants

I have chosen to interview a set of actors varying in age and societal position as I believe that this will provide me with a broader picture. Based on the theme of my study, I decided to have a conversation with the Headmaster, a teacher educator of Civics, The Head of the Civics Department, teachers of Form IV and II, students working in the Student Government, and Form II students, as I saw them as relevant for the study. The hierarchal structure of the informants are to be seen in Appendix 7: Hierarchical structure of Sokoni Secondary School. The presentation of the informants is to be seen in table 4.1 presented in the following part of the thesis.

Table 4.1 Presentation of informants (self-produced)

| Profession | Age | Subjects of teaching | Gender | Fictive Name |
|---------------------------|-------------|---|--------|--------------|
| Teacher Educator | 40-50 years | Civics | Male | John |
| Teacher of Form IV | 30-40 years | History, Civics | Female | Halima |
| Teacher of Form II | 30-40 years | Civics (education in political science) | Female | Rosa |
| Headmaster | 40-50 years | Mathematics and others | Male | Joseph |
| Head of Civics Department | 50-60 years | Civics, History, Kiswahili | Female | Amina |
| History teacher of Form V | 30-40 years | History | Female | Neema |

Students

| Focus group | Number of students | Age | Fictive names |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------|--|
| Form II students | 7-10 | 13-14 | Anonymized |
| Student Government | 2 | 17-18 | President: Hamisi General Secretary: Ruby |

The first interview was conducted with a teacher educator called John (fictive name) who is working in an institution with collaboration agreement with Western Norway University of Applied Sciences. This interview was made possible with help from another student from the educational institution I study at. The interview was conducted in a quiet office at the given University, and with consent from the informant, the one who introduced me to the informant was also present in the situation of the interview. In the beginning of the interview I asked if I may use the recorder, and if the informant read the sheet of informed consent, as well as the

paper which indicates which university I study at. This paper is also signed by my supervisor. The conversation lasted for an hour, and there was no difficulties in relation to language.

Travelling back to the city where I conducted the study, I started by talking with the Headmaster who introduced me to teachers that I could interview. In the beginning of the period at the school had a conversation with each teacher, including the Headmaster if and when I may interview them. In order not to impose and interrupt the teachers schedule I decided for them to inform me about the time and place to have the interview.

According to schedules and time, I started with interviewing the Civics teacher of Form II. Due to confidentiality I have decided to call her Rosa. She was introduced to me by both the Head of Civics and the teacher of Form IV. She was very helpful. However she was not present at the school during a period as she was transferred to another school. We decided to do it in her office at a given time. However, the first arrangement we had was cancelled due to difficulties with sudden changes in her timetable. We arranged another day, the interview was conducted. The conversation was held in an office at the second floor of a building consisting of classrooms. The classrooms were quite open, and there were many students in each room which resulted in a lot of noise outside the office where the conversation was held. The female teacher was very informative, and allowed me to record the conversation. Due to the noise outside the recordings was a bit difficult to understand. At the same time, I realized this at the time of the interview so I took notes to support the recordings.

The third interview was held in another office, with Halima (fictive name) the teacher of Form IV. She was introduced to me by the Head of the Civics Department who was very helpful and interested in my study. Halima introduced me to her fellow teachers and always took her time to inform and include me. She provided me with a desk at their staff room, which gave me the opportunity to engage with other teachers and thereby retrieve information throughout field conversations. Halima arranged for the opportunity to carry out the classroom exercises that is a part of my material. I had field conversations with her many times, but these were not recorded. However we arranged one day that I could have a proper interview where I used the recorder. This conversation was conducted by her desk in a staff room where other teachers were going in and out at all times. At the time of the interview the number of additional people in the staff room were not so many.

The fourth interview was conducted with the Headmaster of the school, called Joseph in my study. Even though he had a tight schedule, he took his time an interview, as well as always

being open for questions. I arranged and organized to interview him in the beginning of my time at the school. In the middle of my time at the school we found a day to have a conversation. However I decided to make the interview short and concise, so that I would avoid occupying a lot of his time.

The fifth interview was conducted with the Head of Civics. I have decided to call her Amina. She was very helpful, and always making sure I got the information I was looking for. She wanted me to feel welcome at all times, so she sometimes shared her food with me so I could taste Tanzanian food. One day I organized a conversation with her, and the interview was conducted in her office. The situation was similar to the other interviews, it was disturbing, and many people were going in and out of the office at all times. However, it was challenging to have this conversation because I had formulated the questions in a complicated way. This led to a situation where a lot of misunderstandings and repetition was present.

The sixth interview was conducted with a focus group consisting of students in Form II. Throughout this interview I was accompanied by a translator. He is a young Tanzanian male, who is my friend. I chose to use him as an interpreter as he was available and present in Tanzania at the time and also speak both Norwegian, Kiswahili and English which is of advantage due to translating. The situation of the interview changed from the original plan (elaborated further in the thesis), so these students were picked randomly based on voluntary participation. Neither the translator nor me knew these students prior to the interview. However conversation was in the end conducted outside the classroom during lunchtime. We observed that the students opened up, and spoke about gender related topics outside the classroom. The use of translator was crucial, this gave the opportunity for those students who were not comfortable expressing themselves in English to do so in Kiswahili.

The seventh and last interview was conducted with two students participating of the Student Government. There was Ruby, female student in Form V and the General Secretary of the Student Government. The President of the Student Government was Hamisi, also a student of Form V. These students were introduced to me by the Neema, the teacher of Form V. She arranged for them to take the time to do the interview. They were very inspiring and reflected students, and their level of English was good. During this interview I experienced that the students disagreed on some topics regarding gender which I value as interesting. Ho

During my research, I spent a lot of time in the staff room of Halima, the teacher of Form IV. At this staff room I met the female history teacher, Neema, who was teaching Form V. I have

chosen to include her in the list of informants as she provided me with interesting information throughout various field conversations. She also gave me the opportunity to join her class, which was useful in many ways. Even though the theme was history, I was able to observe the participation of male and female students, at the same time as she introduced me to the two students, Ruby and Hamisi who is a part of the Student Government.

4.5 Qualitative Methods

Thagaard (2009, p.11) refers to qualitative methods as a way of understanding social phenomenon. Qualitative methods provides the researcher with tools to seek deeper into these social phenomenon, in my case the aspect of gender within teaching. I saw qualitative methods as the best way of researching my theme as it is a method which makes it possible to dig deeper into a theme, and have few, but relevant informants. I have chosen to make use of the following qualitative methods; semi structured interviews, focus group interviews, participatory observation, activities, and field conversations.

4.5.1 Semi- Structured Interviews

Semi-Structured Interviews are based on a guide of interviews containing a set of questions. However, this method makes room for expanding the interview with additional questions. It is flexible and provides me with the opportunity to ask various questions based on the statements of my informants. According to Mears (referred to in Arthur, 2012, p.170) the specific interview that was conducted is referred to as an In-depth interview. These interviews are explained by as a conversation whereas the researcher seeks to retrieve data from an informant regarding a given topic. Furthermore, these interviews include the subjective aspect whereas the informant elaborate on his/her own feelings, opinions and meaning regarding the given topic of research (Mears referred to in Arthur, 2012, p.170). In order to make the informant feel comfortable and safe around the researcher, as well as for the situation of the interview Mears focus on the importance of a clear and consist introduction of the study, and awareness regarding informed consent. How participants receive the researcher depends both on the status of the researcher is acquiring and the status that is ascribed to her/him. (Mears referred to in Arthur, 2012, p.172). Throughout my research I conducted seven semi-structured interviews, five of them which were in-depth individual interviews and two which were focus group interviews.

Four of the semi structured were conducted at the given school of research and the one with the teacher educator of civics, John was conducted in another city in Tanzania. Prior to the interviews I asked the informants if I could use the recorder, all agreed. I also asked if they

had a place they wanted to do the interview. In most cases it was conducted at their desk as it was challenging to find a place quiet and available. This resulted in good, but quite disturbed interviews as there, most of the time was noise in the background. However, the recorder of use is of good quality, so it is possible to hear almost everything said during the interview. At the same time, some of the interview is made short in order to not disturb the informants timetable too much.

During the interviews I focused on the conversation, not the questions. I tried to follow the order of the questions to some extent, however, I opened up for other questions as I wanted the informant to get the experience of the interview as a conversation. However, during transcription I can criticize the method as I asked many off-topic questions. I can also see that I sometimes should have formulated the questions differently, as some of them may have been difficult and hard to understand.

4.5.2 Focus group Interviews

Interview of focus groups is the situation whereas one interview several participants at once. The reason for doing so is based on a set of reasons, one of these are that it is assumed that the interview is experienced as less scary or unpleasant if they are a part of a group consisting of fellow students. Also, focus groups can provide the researcher with valuable information such as issues, ideas and concerns from a multiple set of participants at once (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 164).

I started by asking relevant teachers for permission to interview some of their students. In most cases consent was given from the teachers. Then I continued by asking the students if I may interview them, and explained my purpose. This method was used when interviewing form II students and the Student Government. As for the students of form II I also had a translator, in order for the students to understand the questions and be able to express themselves properly. The interview with two students participating in the Student Government did not require the use of a translator as their level of English was quite good.

The group interview of the Form II students was conducted at the schools area. When conducting this interview I as mentioned brought a translator in order to make sure the students understood, and so that they could express themselves in KiSwahili if they saw the need to. However, during this interview some challenges occurred the day we were going to conduct the interviews. The interview was pre-arranged in collaboration with their teacher who had agreed to “lend” me some students from her class. The main plan was to arrive into

the given class and choose 6 voluntary students of form II. However, the plan of the teacher had been changed and substitute teacher did not agree for me to use his time interviewing the given students as it was disturbing his timetable. The translator and I had to come up with another solution so that we could conduct the interview. We decided therefore to go and ask the Head of the Civics Department for help. She suggested that we could conduct the interview during the students break time, however, she pointed out that if we were to do so, we had to bring something for them to eat. We therefore went and bought biscuits and chocolate for them. Furthermore we went into the classroom of form II students and asked for voluntary students to join. It seemed not to be very easy. I had not been present in the given classroom before, nor had the translator, so the students seemed a bit confused. However when the purpose of the conversation was explained in KiSwahili and English, we got three female and three male students to join. We had to tell them that they would get biscuits and chocolate if they participated so that they knew they were going to get something to eat. In the end we got among 8-10 students joining the table outside the library. Some of them joined just for a limited time, and some came, went and returned.

As I got in touch with Neema who was teaching Form V in history, I was able to establish contact with these two informants. I got to interview the President, Hamisi, and the General Secretary, Ruby of the Student Government . The interview was conducted in the computer laboratory of the school with the approval of the one in charge of the room. It was somehow quiet , and it was only me and two informants in the room. There was no language barriers present throughout this interview as both Ruby and Hamisi spoke quite well English.

4.5.3 Observation

“Observation is a research method that enables researchers to systematically observe and record people’s behaviour, actions and interactions”(Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p.170). On a general basis observation can be described as a method whereas one observe people’s behaviour, actions and interactions in order to provide oneself with a broader picture of the situation. When using the method of observation, the researcher may obtain a rather “thick description” of the area of research. “Thick description” is a term used to describe the situation whereas the researcher by observing make use of local frameworks in order to understand the situations, actions and interactions fully (Geertz ,1973, referred to in Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p.170). During my study I observed the students and the teachers in their daily life at the school. However, I tried to participate both in terms of joining classes and ask questions regarding things that caught my curiosity.

Participatory observation is a method where the researcher is present to see, listen and participate while the informants are engaging with each other. In order to be able to go through with this method one needs to be present at the particular place where the agents are communicating and engaging with each other. (Grønmo, 2016, p.155). In my case the location was Sokoni Secondary School, with education and the theme of gender in focus. I taught and observed during my time at the school. I decided that participatory observation was a valuable method as this gave me an opportunity to take part in what Goffmann (1959) referred to in (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 18) explains as backstage. Goffmann (1959) views the society as a play whereas people have different roles in different positions and contexts. Backstage is the place where the real actions and communication takes place, when frontstage is the area where people have a role they need to play out.

At the particular school, I tried to engage with the school's staff in order to participate in both front and backstage. Frontstage, when I saw how the teachers take on their societal position as a teacher, and backstage, when they were engaging in the staff room, and outside the classroom (Goffmann, 1959, referred to in Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 18). This distinction was interesting, as I could observe that the teachers, when in the classroom were strict and was respected by the students. However, at the staff room, the teachers were talking about other topics concerning their daily life. At the same time, these conversations were in Kiswahili, as they backstage in general did not speak English. This school is however an English medium school, where there are signs around the schools area which points out that English is the only language to be spoken, this is not always the case, especially not backstage.

As for observation I did non-participatory and participatory. Participatory when I was joining classes as a teaching assistant and when I was teaching, and or conducting other research activities. For non-participatory, I observed classes in terms of number of male and female in the given classroom, and whether there was a difference in student participation between male and female. I also focused on the way of teaching and methods of use.

4.5.4 Field Conversations

The method of using field conversations provides the researcher with information in which has not particularly been asked for, but is being provided through everyday conversations (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p. 31-32). This method combines both observation and participatory observation in particular I would see it as quite useful for my research. Throughout my study I had many interesting field conversations, both concerning the topic of research but also other things regarding the informants daily life. Every day when I entered the school I sat in the office

of Amina or Halima. While sitting there I engaged in many interesting conversations which included information concerning the various teachers lives, wishes, teaching methods and other things. During break time I was often invited to join the teachers to eat lunch with them. Throughout these I engaged with other teachers as well than those in the offices. Information retrieved throughout field conversations will be further discussed in the analysis.

4.5.5 Data Collected from the classrooms of Form IV

In order to conduct a varied research I decided to implement other methods of collecting data. One of the first teachers I was introduced to was the teacher of Form IV, Halima. I told her about my project and asked her politely if she could help me. She was positive and told me to tell her more about my plan of research. I pointed out that I did not wish to interrupt her lessons, and made her set the terms for this activity. Prior to entering the school I was aware that the students of Form IV was currently preparing for their national exam in November, therefore, I discussed with their teacher and agreed on ways to collect data without distracting them from preparing for their exams. The best ways to do so was to conduct activities during their lessons so that they could help me with my data as well as preparing for their exams. Activity one was for the students to illustrate the responsibility of male and female in daily life, and the other was for them to answer curriculum-related questions in groups.

Both lessons started with an introduction of me and my study where I asked for their participation. I pointed out that their illustrations would be collected when completing the class. Based on this the teacher constantly reminded the students that they had to answer properly and refer to examples.

Classroom activity 1: Illustrate the responsibility of male and female in daily life and or what kind of job would you like to have, specify if you are male or female

This activity was carried out in two streams (classes) of Form IV. In the first class they were given an assignment to illustrate the responsibility of male and female. However, in the second class I decided to add the question, illustrate what kind of job you would like to have, specify if you are male or female. The reason for doing so was that I figured that the student may be more creative if they was given the opportunity to choose which one they wanted to do. To be able to make use of this activity, I was helped by the Halima. Prior to giving them this assignment the teacher and I had discussed which way was the best to conduct the activity. We agreed that we would enter the class together, and I was set to introduce it for the students. At the same time I would buy paper and colours for the activity, when appearing in the classroom the Halima would join me. Together we introduced the assignment for the

students and divided them into groups of two or three students in each group due to classroom space and the number of paper and pencils available. I informed them of the use of these drawings, and specified that if they did not wish for their drawing to be a part of the research, they could withdraw it. At the end, I thanked the students and the teacher for their help. When carrying out this activity some challenges were present. Due to the high number of students in the classroom it was practically hard to arrange for them to sit together in pairs without being disturbed by other students. The pencils I had bought were not enough, and some of them were broken, so I they had to share and the teacher and I had to constantly sharpen the colour pencils. This is an activity the teacher informed me that the students were not familiar with, so they were a bit noisy and seemed a bit unfocused. However they seemed to enjoy it a lot something their teacher agreed with.

In the second class I made some changes based on the former experience, I created the second option they could draw, as well as buying more colour pencils. If the activity were to be conducted one more time, the students should have the access to better drawing material, as well as having more space to do so. The actual assignment should have been better explained, and the instruction clearer. The results of the drawings were positive. They have been categorised and presentation of the data will be further elaborated in chapter 5, analysis.

Classroom activity 2: Revision exercises answered by Form IV

In the first conversation with the teacher of Form IV, Halima we started by discussing which kind of activities that would be comprehensible according to time. I discussed with her the topic of gender, and she informed me that this was mostly present in the topic of culture. She informed me that form IV were preparing for their national exam in November, so they were doing revision of the topics in the textbooks. She told me that I could join her for the revision of the culture topic. We discussed the best way to do this, and together we decided to give the students revision questions related to what they have been taught about culture. We prepared some questions each, and she informed me to make it simple, the day after I met her and we went through the questions, she thought my questions were too simple, so we decided to make use of five of the ones she had prepared. Probably the students would understand these questions better than the ones I had written down ,and as the way of written English differs greatly. We did this with two different classes of Civics Form IV. The teacher helped me to divide the students in to 10 groups of 5-8 students in each groups. They were given a question to discuss within the group, and then write it down on a given sheet that were to be collected

and then marked afterwards. Class number two, were divided in to 9 groups. These were the given questions:

1. Cultural change is inevitable. Discuss with relevant examples
 - Group 4, 10
2. Outline any four (4) problems facing the promotion of our cultural values and suggest any three (3) solution to those problems
 - Group 3,7
3. Name and explain five sociocultural practices which hinder the equal participation for men and women in the society.
 - Group 1,5
4. Discuss sociocultural practices and beliefs that encourage early marriage
 - Group 8,2.
5. With examples from the African culture. Analyse the impact of negative aspects of cultural values
 - Group 9, 6.

When the students were writing down in groups, the teacher and I walked around and helped them if they struggled with understanding the questions. In the end I thanked the students and asked for their permission to use their papers in my study. I told them several times if they did not wish for me to use their papers I would just hand it back to them. I informed them that their papers would not be used for any other purposes than my this study and will be deleted afterwards. The result of this activity was positive and the students answered the questions properly. However, some of the research questions were unclear, so some of the students asked for an elaboration so they could understand them properly. The practical situation was similar to the one were the illustrations were conducted. In this activity the students worked in groups, but they were many students in each, so not all participated. If the activity were to conducted again the number of students should be less in each group.

4.6 Civics

During the period of teachers practice and bachelor study in 2016 I became aware of Civics and content of the subject. Prior to my visit to Tanzania in 2018 I knew that gender was a part of Form II curriculum, based on knowledge retrieved throughout the bachelor thesis. I decided to continue studying gender in my masters and therefore saw Civics as the subject of interest. However when arriving in 2018 I was not aware of other forms which presented gender. I

therefore spoke to the teachers of Civics, and they went through the Civics textbooks together with me. By doing so, I realized that gender was indirectly a part of many parts of the civics subject. However, Form II and Form IV presented gender explicitly. I therefore decided to focus on these two levels of secondary education, and deselected the other two forms.

4.6.1 Textbooks and Syllabus

In the beginning I made use of the textbooks in civics in various ways. Prior to the fieldwork period I started by using the syllabus and the book of Form II as these were the only documents available at that time. When preparing questions for the interviews I saw made use of information retrieved by reading the syllabus and textbooks. When choosing forms to include in my study, I read throughout the syllabus and the textbooks and thereby decided which chapters that included gender. The textbooks were also made use of when preparing the classroom activities which was used for collecting data. I based the illustration activity on what the students had learned from Civics Form IV. Furthermore the Form IV teacher and I based the research questions on content from the textbook.

4.7 My role and position in the field

I am a young woman from Europe and this has most certainly affected how the staff and the students perceived me and my role at the school. Awareness, respect and knowledge are important aspects as I conducted the study in another country, where cultural aspects, customs, language and norms differs from mine.

“Being cultural outsiders meant that any knowledge constructed about another group of people reflected the researchers background and understanding of what it meant to be civilized, backwards, normal, different, etc” (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 8).

Bhattacharya (2017) points out an interesting aspect. Anthropologists and Sociologists from the West have made use of qualitative methods throughout times. In the early beginning many of the studies was conducted by visiting other cultures in different parts of the world, these places were seen as fascinating and cultural. Furthermore this created an understanding of culture as something which only people from foreign cultures had, not something that both the western researcher and the informant was affected by (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 8). When doing the study I was aware of the fact that I am, and will always be a cultural outsider when I study people in another country. At the same time, my own cultural background affects the way I am being perceived and welcomed by the informants. I was working specifically to approach everyone I met with respect, and reduce the gap in terms of listening to advices, not using the

computer, and adjusting to the informants schedule. My visual appearance might have created a different perception of me as a researcher as my biological heritage is Indian. In Tanzania there are many citizens and inhabitants with an Indian Heritage, which gives me the advantage of my visual appearance. At the same time, I believe that my informants was aware that I am originally neither from Tanzania nor India, as I for instance don't speak anything but English and I am not aware of the implicit cultural norms. According Wadel (1991), "The researcher are recommended to establish him, herself in local statuses as a colleague, neighbour, friend» (Wadel referred to in Aase & Fossåskaret, 2014, p.201). In order to follow the message of this excerpt, I worked specifically to engage with the given school's staff in order to achieve a status as a teacher student. The desired status was achieved to some extent. At the same time it is worth to mention that the Headmaster introduced me in front of the teachers and the students as a teacher student who is doing research. This may have affected how my appearance was experienced by the schools staff and students. I experienced that it was challenging for all the teachers to see me as a fellow teacher as the schools area was big, and the number of students and staff, high . However, I believe that the teachers I worked the most with, as well as Joseph the Headmaster, Amina, The Head of the Civics Department and also some of the students perceived me as a teacher student. The rest of the staff referred to me as *Mgeni*, which in Swahili means a visitor or guest. Furthermore, some of the reason why I was referred to as a visitor and not a teacher student might be the time I spent at the school. I came every day, around 09.00, possibly later depending on at what time I had classes I was going to attend, interviews to be conducted or observations. Moreover, I spent time at the school until around 13.00, possibly longer according to what I was supposed to do the given day. If I had stayed longer both in amount of time and at the school, and taught more classes I might have extended my status as a teacher student.

4.8 Challenges and Ethical Issues

For every research I believe that challenges will be present. Language barriers might lead to misunderstandings and misinterpretations, which may be an issue especially when it comes to informed consent. In my case, Informed consent was emphasized and concertized greatly as language might challenge the understanding of my research and why these students, teachers and school leaders should participate (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 102). I tried to conduct a research based on mutual understanding between the researcher and the informant. I believe that I managed to do so, especially in the interview of form II as I had a translator in order to avoid misunderstandings. However, as for challenges my perspective as a western researcher

may affect the selection and interpretation of the content of the civics books. It may also be a challenge whereas I am not in possession of a wide range of understanding of the in which its written, and to the target group whom these books have been provided for (Grønmo, 2016, p.176). I experienced challenges in many ways, in terms of field conversations, interviews and more. Throughout the field conversations it was complicated to divide information that may be included in the analysis and what information is not. This especially when the teachers gave me examples from their own daily life.

As for the interview with the Form II ethical issues occurred. As described there was changes in timetable which resulted in the teacher I had arranged with was not present. This resulted in a situation whereas the translator and I, with approval from the Head of Civics, Amina, had to recruit informants ourselves during their breaktime. As they were supposed to eat during this break, the Head of Civics advised us to bring some food for them as they probably would be hungry at this time. However, it is necessary to mention that we specifically pointed out that it was voluntary and that if they wanted to leave they could do so at any time.

4.9 Validity and Reliability

Validity and Reliability are two different aspects of examining at the content of a study. Validity question whether the instruments you make use of measure the phenomenon they are entitled to. Reliability on the other hand question if the same instrument of measure is being repeated on the same population in another time period, will the results than remain the same (Hesse-Biber, 2010, p. 85).

4.9.1 Reliability

Reliability refers to the reliability of the data collected in a given research (Grønmo, 2016, p. 242). Furthermore, reliability question whether if two researchers making use of the same methods will be provided with the same results. However, Seale (1999) states in the book “The Quality of Qualitative Research” that there is a differentiation between what he refers to as external and internal reliability. External reliability question replacement whereas the same results provided by one researcher can be similar made by another researcher results when making use of the same methods. Furthermore, Seale concludes that complete replacement is difficult to achieve in qualitative research methods (Seale, 1999, referred to in Thagaard, 2009, 198-199). I believe what Seale states regarding complete extern reliability, that this will be difficult to achieve as my study is a qualitative. My study is based on subjective meanings and interpretations, which may not be possible to replace by another researcher, even though the

methods are the same. Moreover, Seale states that internal reliability refers to the extent of compliance among results presented by various researchers with the same area of focus and project (Thagaard, 2009, p.198-199). Internal reliability in my study may have compliance if another researcher studies the same, however, to what extent this is possible is questionable. Seale, referred to in Thagaard (2009) when explaining internal reliability also touch upon a term called “low-interference descriptors”. By this, Seale refers to data material which is greatly concretized and therefore differs from the researcher’s interpretations. For my study, this is being enforced as I will make use of recorders when interviewing. Recording may contribute with differentiating between my subjective thoughts and the actual data (Seale (1999) referred to in Thagaard, 2009, p. 199).

4.9.2 Validity

Validity as mentioned question the validity of the material and whether these take into account the questions of research (Grønmo, 2016, p. 251). Thagaard (2009) distinguish between internal and external validity. Internal validity is the validity of the researcher’s interpretations of the data of one particular study (Thagaard, 2009, p. 201). Furthermore, external validity is referred to the interpretation of one study and whether this is valuable and possible to make of in another study. For my research I believe that the study will have an external validity as I will make use of various methods, both qualitative and quantitative.

4.10 Summarizing the methods

The methods I made use of throughout my study is varied and has contributed in retrieving valuable information. Some of them were planned prior to my visit, others were constructed in collaboration with the teachers included in the study. However, where I believe I gained insight to Tanzania and the daily life of many was throughout observation and field conversations. The use of translator provided me with valuable information which I believe I would not have retrieved if he was not present. The methods would not have been possible to implement if I did not have the help from Sokoni Secondary School and the teachers who worked there. Further in my thesis I will analyse the findings with use of relevant theory.

5. Introduction to Analysis

In the following chapters, 5-9, I will highlight the data collection. I will look closer into the content of the data which was collected, and how these can be understood and interpreted. I have divided the analysis in subsections according to theme and content. I will start by elaborating the subject and content of Civics. Goodlad's Curriculum theory will serve as the analytical framework for my analysis, although the material does not relate to all the levels in Goodlad's model. Within the analysis, the teachers, students and other informants statements combined with observation and additional data material will be discussed.

5.1 Civics

Civics is a subject taught in Tanzanian Secondary Schools at the first four years of Secondary Education, which is called ordinary level and consist of Form I-IV. The subject contains themes such as, government, culture, gender, democracy and other aspects connected with the society. According to the revision book of Form II, Civics is explained as "the study of rights and duties of citizens" (Ezra & Maduhu, 2017, p. 157).

The main purpose of education in Tanzania is elaborated in the syllabus throughout the categories called aims and objectives of education in Tanzania. The general subject competences and objectives however focuses on competences and aims for the subject of Civics in particular (MoEVT , 2005, p.iv). This is going to be further elaborated through the following part of the thesis, explaining the syllabus (6.1). When studying the syllabus, I perceive Civics is a subject which is closely connected with the Tanzanian society, with an aim of creating responsible citizens who is aware of their rights and duties and what it means to be a citizen of Tanzania. In addition to this, the content of the syllabus focuses on globalization and Tanzanians position in the global society. However, the content of Civics is complex and contains elements from other subjects. While talking with the John the content of the subject was explained to me as follows:

But if you get into the subjects within civics syllabus, you find that there are multiple topics some of them are from natural science, social science [...]. Meanwhile you know within civics syllabus there are issues to do with environment, law health, taxation and also political system so it is not all about history. (John, teacher educator of Civics).

The subject is complex as it contains elements from natural science, history and social science. However the part I will emphasis in this thesis is the part which concerns gender.

This is presented in the civics textbooks and curriculum of Form II, and IV. Vavrus and Bartlett (2013, p.136) explains the presentation of gender within Form II as follows:

The Civics syllabus for O-level, for example, includes “Gender” as a lesson topic in Form 2, where it is given a considerable portion of the year’s lessons: nearly 25 percent of the lessons are devoted to the issue of gender. During this topic, the students are supposed to discuss relevant terms, such as “gender analysis,” “gender equity,” and “gender discrimination and oppression,” and teachers are to “guide students in groups to discuss effects of negative/socio-cultural practices to individuals and society. (MOEVT 2010b, p. 52 referred to in Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.136).

Vavrus and Bartlett refers to information from the Ministry of Education in Tanzania where it is pointed out that 25% of the lessons of Form II is devoted to the topic of Gender (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.136). Furthermore, Gender is also in focus in the topic of culture in Form IV. This is explained in the following way:

Gender is considered again in Form 4 during a topic on “Culture,” when students are to examine “customs which lead to gender discrimination” (73), and, as illustrated in Chapter 6, terms like gender inequality appeared on the 2010 CSEE Civics exam. (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.136).

Based on what Vavrus and Bartlett (2013) points out, gender is a vital part of the curriculum and textbooks of Civics, therefore relevant for my project. It is a theme which is repeated in both form II and form IV and its specifically connected with practices and the reality of many Tanzanians. Gender and its representation within the textbooks and the syllabus will be further elaborated throughout the analysis. In the following chapter the Formal Curricula will be highlighted.

6. The Formal Curricula

The formal curricula refers to content which the government has stated that the students should learn. The syllabus is based on the idea of everything the students are supposed to learn throughout their secondary school education. The formal curricula is approved by the government authorities and furthermore implemented by the teachers. In this context the formal curricula will be the syllabus and the textbooks of civics.

6.1 The Syllabus

The syllabus I have made use of in this thesis is called Civics Syllabus for Ordinary Secondary Education Form I-IV. This is a revised version of the document, which was made to substitute the former syllabus of 1996. Prior to the modification of the document, traditional ways of teaching and learning were in focus. These teaching methods were based on behaviouristic pedagogical ways of thinking which resulted in lessons where teaching consisted mainly of lectures where the teacher spoke, and wrote on the blackboard and the students answered and took notes in their books (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 135).

The modification of the syllabus was made as there was a shift in the teaching and learning strategies stated by the Government. The focus went from content based to competence based curriculum. The critique of the former syllabus was that it did not emphasize the current cultural and social practices and technological inventions. The revised version which is made use of in this study was introduced and implemented by January 2005 (MoEVT , 2005, p.iv). The modification of 2005 introduced a new way of teaching where there was a focus on implementing a various set of student centred activities such as discussions and debates. The aim for this was to engage the students more actively in the lessons. The teachers were supposed to change their position in the classroom from being experts in the subject until becoming the students guides to their own learning process (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p. 135).

The content of the syllabus is complex, and I will not elaborate everything stated here. In this part of the thesis, the most common subject objectives will be emphasized. When the students have completed Civics, they should have knowledge concerning: cultural heritage, globalization, rights and responsibilities, development, be able to work hard and be aware of democratic values. The general subject objectives is illustrated here in figure 6.1. These aims are stated in the syllabus and is one of the parts which explains the purpose of the Civics subject

5.0 General Subject Objectives

The teaching of Civics is intended to enable students to:

- a) Promote an understanding and appreciation for our nation, its culture and better management of our resources.
- b) Develop an understanding and appreciation of the current international understanding and cooperation and be able to evaluate its impact on our society.
- c) Develop civic responsibility and active civic participation.
- d) Develop the ability of collecting and analyzing information about current events which shape the social, cultural, political, economical and technological development of the Tanzania society.
- e) Enable students develop into full human personalities who are able to accept the challenges of working hard for their own development and the development of the nation.
- f) Develop an understanding of what democracy is, an appreciation of its values and participation in its development.
- g) Promote an understanding of the concept of government, its purpose and importance, its organization so as to prepare them for participation in its establishment and running.
- h) Promote an understanding of cross-cutting issues, their impact upon the society and intervention steps to be taken for our own national interests.

Figure 6.1. General Subject Competences, Civics (MoEvt, 2005, p. vi)

The students are to be trained into become a citizen of Tanzania with knowledge concerning good governance, issues in the society, technology and globalization. Civics is built upon education people to be actively engaging in the country of Tanzania. This is a subject creating awareness about the society, its dynamics and social life. The chapters which are in focus in this thesis will be further elaborated in part 6.3, and 6.4 of the analysis.

6.2 Structure of the syllabus

| TOPIC / SUB-TOPICS | SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES | TEACHING AND LEARNING STRATEGIES | TEACHING AND LEARNING MATERIALS | ASSESSMENT | NUMBER OF PERIODS |
|--|--|--|---|--|-------------------|
| 1.0 CULTURE 1.1 Aspects and Elements of Culture | The student should be able to: a) explain the meaning and aspects of culture. | The teacher to guide students to: i) Brainstorm on the meaning of culture. ii) Read written texts in groups discuss and identify various aspects of culture. iii) Present its findings for class discussion. | i) Written texts on culture ii) Written texts on culture in Braille | Is the student able to explain the meaning and aspects of culture? | 20 |
| | b) analyse the elements of culture | The teacher to guide students to: i) Identify the elements of culture. ii) Read written texts in groups and discuss various elements of culture. iii) Present its findings for class discussion. | i) Written texts on elements of culture ii) Written texts on culture in Braille iii) VIPP cards | Is the student able to analyse the elements of culture? | |
| | c) illustrate the importance of each element of culture | The teacher to guide students to: i) Divide up the in small groups and to issue each group a VIPP card containing one element of culture. ii) Hold a group discussion and write down the importance of their assigned element to society. iii) Present its findings for class discussion and clarification. | VIPP cards | Is the student able to illustrate the importance of each element of culture? | |

Figure 6.2 : Example of structure of the syllabus (MoEvt, 2005,p.82)

The syllabus is divided into chapters of the four Forms of O- Level. Figure 6.2 is an example of a page in the syllabus of Form IV(MoEvt, 2005,p. 82). As one can see, each chapter the content is divided into the topics and subtopics of in each form. In order to systemize the various chapters and themes it is further divided into categories such as, specific objectives, teaching and learning strategies, teaching and learning materials, assessment and number of periods (MoEvt, 2005). Form I-IV have different topics that are in focus, however, I have chosen to emphasis topic 4.0 of Form II about gender, and topic 1.0 concerning culture of form IV.

6.3 The Syllabus of Form II

When explaining the syllabus of Form II, the chapter of gender will be elaborated. According to the syllabus this chapter, is meant to be taught throughout 26 periods out of a total number of 118 periods devoted to the content of Form II (MoEVT, 2005, P. 28-58). The topic is divided into subtopics which is elaborated. The main areas in focus are as follows:

- a) the concept of gender
- b) identify different gender concepts
- c) gender issues in the society
- d) sociocultural practices which hinder equal participation of both genders in the society and
- e) suggest corrective measures against negative socio cultural practices.

(MoEVT, 2005, P. 54-57).

These main categories are further explained in the textbooks. In order for the students to comprehend these themes the teachers are supposed to make use of a varied set of teaching and learning strategies. It is interesting that there is a great emphasis on student centred ways of learning, in terms of group work and collaboration. In almost all themes, the ways for the students to learn is to discuss in groups and write down on sheets. There should be room for discussion and student presentations. In the syllabus of Form II, these are the teaching and learning strategies mentioned (MoEVT, 2005, P. 54-58).

- I) Provide the students with gender concepts written on a VIPP card and to guide them in groups to discuss and write down what each concept mean
- II) Guide each group to paste up its answer for class discussion and clarification
- III) Summarize the different concepts of gender
- IV) The teachers should guide the students to be able to identify gender issues in the society
- V) The teachers should guide the students to investigate socio cultural practices which hinder equal participation between men and women in our society.
- VI) Make room for discussion in groups on observations and present the findings of their group for class discussion
- VII) Summarize responses and clarify negative socio cultural practices
- VIII) Discussion of effects of negative/socio-cultural practices and dramatize them
- IX) Come up with solutions to curb negative socio-cultural practices

Materials used by the teachers to teach this theme should be pictures and charts depicting gender, gender issues and different socio cultural practices, tactile pictures, VIPP CARDS , and written texts. Assessment is based on the students ability to describe/show competence in the following:

1. the meaning of gender
2. the ability to identify different gender concepts,
3. gender issues in the society
4. sociocultural practices that hinder equal participation between men and women in our society
5. the students should be able to suggest corrective measures against bad socio cultural practices

(MoEVT, 2005, P. 54-58)

The topic of gender is complex and contains detailed information concerning gender concepts and socio-cultural practices. The teaching methods and strategies are based on engaging the students by the use of student centred activities. The assessment is based on evaluating the students abilities to show competence in gender and the elements shown above.

6.4 The Syllabus of Form IV

Culture is a quite big topic presented throughout form IV. The topic is divided into subtopics, which is further elaborated. I have chosen specifically to point out the is the parts of the chapter which directly focuses on gender.

Subtopic 1.1 is called Aspects and Elements of Culture, and is supposed to be taught through 20 periods. The content of subtopic 1.1 consists in general of providing knowledge of culture and the elements of it. When completing this subtopic the students should have the following knowledge (MoEVT, 2005,p. 82-85) .

- a) the students ability to explain the meaning and aspects of culture
- b) the ability to analyse the elements of culture
- c) illustrate its importance.

(MoEVT, 2005,p. 82-85)

The next subtopic is relevant for the thesis as it focuses on Cultural values, and a great part of its content seems to be equivalent to what is presented in Form II. This Subtopic is called 1.2 and focuses on Positive and Negative Aspects of our Cultural Values. The number of periods for this subtopic is 40 (MoEVT, 2005,p. 82-85) .When completing this theme the students are supposed to be able to:

- a) identify positive and negative aspects of our cultural values.

- b) be able to analyse customs which leads to gender discrimination,
- c) point out customs and practices that lead to the spread of HIV/AIDS and STIs,
- d) analyse the impact of the negative aspects of our customs, and
- e) propose ways and actions to be taken against negative aspects of our socio-cultural values.

(MoEVT, 2005,p. 82-85)

In order for the students to learn this, the teachers are supposed to make use of teaching methods such as brainstorming, texts, discussion, presentation and group work. In the syllabus, these teaching and learning strategies are the following (MoEVT, 2005,p. 82-85) :

- I) Brainstorm on the meaning of culture
- II) Identify the elements of culture
- III) Read texts and discuss various elements of culture and present them
- IV) Divide the students in small groups and issue each group a card containing one element of culture. Have a group discussion, and the students should write down the importance of their assigned element to society. Present the findings
- V) Discuss and identify positive and negative aspects of our cultural values.
- VI) Brainstorm and explain the meaning of gender discrimination. Read in groups written texts and discuss. Present.
- VII) Written documents on gender, culture, HIV/AIDS and STIs to guide students in groups to identify and discuss customs and practices which lead to the spread of HIV/AIDS and STIs.
- VIII) Lead the students to present their findings in groups in front of the class
- IX) Guide the students in small groups and issue each group with a card containing one negative aspect of our customs. Furthermore lead the student to hold a discussion on the impact of that aspect on our society, guide each group to present in front of the class
- X) Brainstorm ways and actions that can be taken against negative aspects of our sociocultural values and present in front of the class for discussion and clarification.

When the students are being tested in the topic, the assessment will be based on the students ability to:

1. Explain the meaning of and aspects of culture

2. Analyse the elements of culture
3. Illustrate the importance of each element of culture
4. Identify positive and negative aspects of our cultural values
5. Analyse customs which lead to gender discrimination
6. point out customs and practices that lead to the spread of HIV/AIDS and STIs
7. Analyse the impact of negative aspects of our customs
8. Propose ways and actions of dealing with the negative aspects of our cultural values

(MoEVT, 2005,p. 82-85)

Similar to the chapter of gender in Form II, culture in Form IV is complex and contains many elements which the students should learn. The set of learning materials and strategies involves the students throughout brainstorming, discussions and other student centred activities. The assessment is built upon the students ability to explain culture and negative and positive aspect connected with the topic (MoEVT, 2005,p. 82-85)

6.5 About the textbooks of Form II & IV

The textbooks of Civics are based on the content of the syllabus. These are the material the teachers use to operationalize their teaching . The textbooks contains text supported with a limited number of illustrations. The content of the books is closely related to the syllabus. Furthermore, in Form II the content is about government, life skills, democracy and gender. However, in this thesis the chapter about gender will be in focus. Gender is a vital part of the Form II textbook, even the front page of the civics book of form II is illustrated with a model of the various gender concepts. In the textbooks of Form IV gender is presented in light of culture. These books will be further elaborated in the following part of this thesis.

6.6 Textbook of Form II

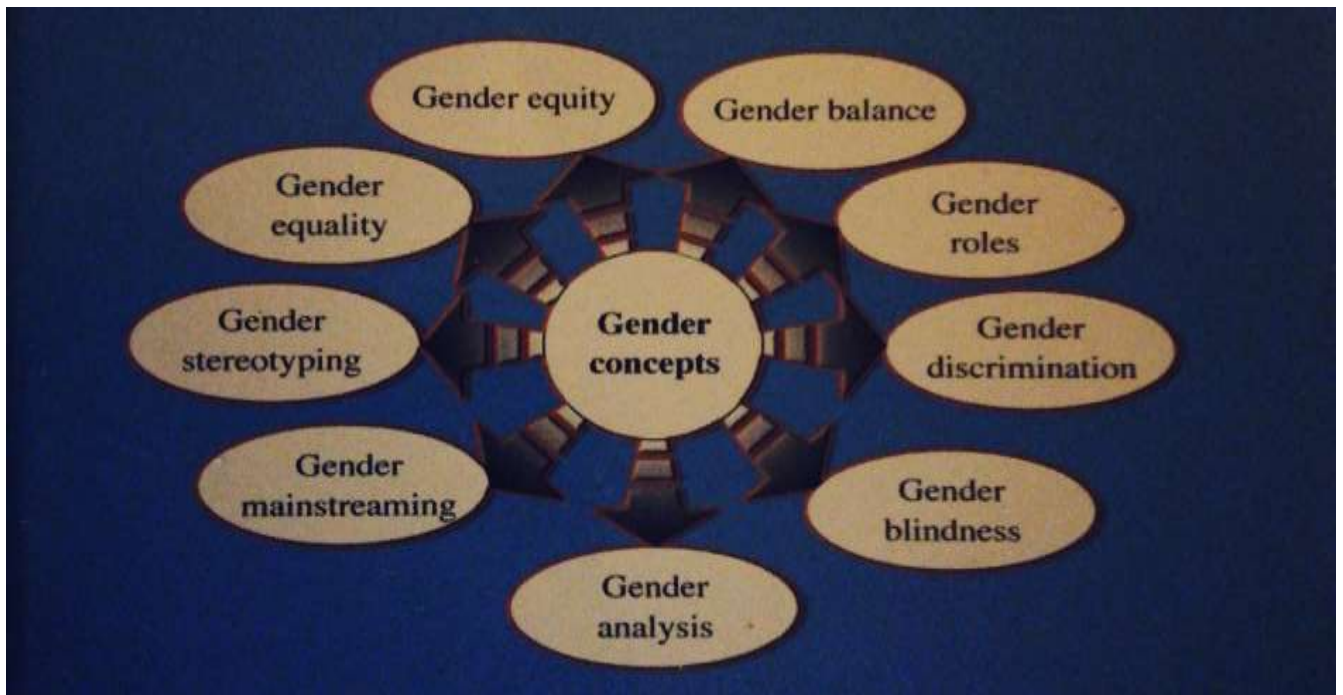


Figure 6.3. Gender Concepts (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, front page and p.73)

The Civics book of Form II provided by Oxford Press presents gender in a quite detailed way. The chapter starts in a logical matter by presenting the “meaning of gender”. The following content presents various gender concepts. This model is found at the cover of the book, which indicates the importance of the theme. Within this chapter, issues concerning gender in the society are emphasized, for instance negative and positive socio-cultural practices. This chapter is supported by illustrations that represent the negative socio cultural practices which are explained in the textbooks. Examples of illustrations are, oppression of women, and discrimination in terms of education. Following is a sub-theme about corrective measures against negative socio-cultural practices. Among these corrective measures, empowerment of women, mass education, enhancing the existing laws on women’s rights and others are in focus. The chapter also has a various set of tasks connected to them for the students to test themselves (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.73-81).

In chapter three concerning local government, the participation of students is elaborated. This part is relevant for the thesis as Sokoni Secondary School has a great focus on student participation within the Student Government (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.27).

6.6.1 Pictures and illustrations

The meaning of gender in terms of the gender concepts are illustrated with a model which is to be seen inside the book and at the front page. The model figure 6.3, connects all the approaches and terms of gender the students should learn throughout this chapter (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.73). Furthermore, the concept of gender discrimination is explained and illustrated. The picture shows a family which are waving goodbye to their son as he is going to school, and the girl in the family are to stay at home. Illustration I (Figure 9.1) is called: Gender discrimination should not be allowed in the society (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.74). This illustration explicitly points out that both genders should be entitled to education (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.74). Furthermore, there is another model that shows negative socio-cultural practices in Tanzania, this model is further elaborated in the textbook (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.76). Following up on the negative socio- cultural practices there is an illustration which is describing the situation of cruelty, violence of women. Illustration II (Figure 9.2) shows a man who is about to hit his wife while the children are watching his actions, the text supporting the illustration is, Some men oppress women (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.77). These given illustrations will be presented in the part of the analysis called students views on illustrations in their textbooks.

Following the headline corrective measures against negative socio-cultural practices there is an illustration of women celebrating Women's Day. This illustration is called: Educating the society about negative socio-cultural practices (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.78). I interpret the picture as the female educating the females in the hall is informing about negative socio-cultural practices in order to increase awareness I asked the Halima, the about this illustration and she told me that issues which is in focus at such assemblies throughout for instance Women's Day are similar to those focused on in Civics. Challenges such as early marriages, educational opportunities for both genders were common topics discussed at these events.

The summary of the chapter focuses on the two main topics which are the gender concepts and negative socio-cultural practices . The models of both gender concepts and negative-sociocultural practices are repeated in the summary as these are seen as crucial for the students to know (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.79).

6.7 Textbook of Form IV

The book of Form IV focuses on the presentation of gender in light of culture. This chapter starts by defining culture as follows:

Culture refers to the sum total way of peoples life in a given are at a given time. It encompasses all aspects of human life such as customs, traditions, beliefs, arts, science, technology, marriage, economic system, burial ceremonies, wedding, dressing style and language. (Nchimbi, Mafiga, Abeid & Olotu, 2012, p 1).

Gender is in focus in the following part which elaborate on positive and negative aspects of our cultural values and customs. One of the subtopics mentioned as a positive aspect is the youths awareness concerning their duties and responsibilities. This is illustrated in Fig.7 in the textbook, where a girl is washing the floor while a boy is doing the dishes (Nchimbi et.al , 2012, p. 8). Furthermore the negative aspects of the cultural values are in focus. These aspects are, FGM (female genital mutilation), early marriages, food taboos, widow inheritance, discrimination of women and children, and forced marriages are considered. Following this topic the textbook states the following fact, “Some aspects of our cultural values are bad and discriminative. Hence, it’s the duty to everyone to fight against all the discriminative cultural aspects in his/her society” (Nchimbi et.al, 2012, p. 9)

Below this fact, there is an activity for the students to do. They should conduct a study in their own community or society about the negative aspects of their cultural values. Furthermore the students are to suggest possible solutions to alleviate these negative aspects (Nchimbi et.al, p.9). Customs that lead to gender discrimination is discussed throughout the next session in the book. For instance, gender related discrimination is defined as: “Gender discrimination refers to unequal treatment between males and females, where by one gender is given more priority in different opportunities” (Nchimbi et.al, 2012, p. 11). Moreover, the actions that generates gender discrimination are discussed. These are such as food taboos, decision making, marriages, property inheritance, and wife beating according to civics book.

Following, customs leading to the spread of HIV, AIDS and STIs are elaborated. This section is illustrated by fig.1.9 in the textbook, showing a person who is helping a victim of HIV and AIDS (Nchimbi et.al, 2012, p. 11-12).

The impact of the negative aspects are summarized throughout points, however, the main impression is that all of the negative aspects are connected in some way. Following the emphasis is on measures to be taken in order to control the negative aspects of our

sociocultural values. Education, introducing new laws, proper child upbringing , counselling are among those measures focused on in the textbook.

The curriculum challenges the perceptions of male and female responsibility in the society. The existing gender bias will in the long term possibly change as a result of this education. By this the jobs and responsibilities of men and women might change. Culture and its related practices contribute in shaping the given responsibilities of male and female. Civics education seeks to honour cultural practices which are positive while those seen as negative and leading gender inequality are discussed.

6.7.1 Pictures and illustrations

In this chapter there are illustrations which present the various cultural practices. The one connected with the positive aspects of our cultural values shows two children performing domestic chores such as washing and cleaning at home (Nchimbi et.al, 2012, p. 8). The pictures presenting the negative aspects shows an albino who has gotten his hands shoved of due to superstitious beliefs (Nchimbi et.al, 2012, p. 9). The part of the chapter which is explaining the customs which leads to the spread of illness is illustrated as a person who is helping a HIV and Aids victim. There are no more illustrations for the theme of culture and gender in Form IV (Nchimbi et.al, 2012, p. 12)

6.8 Summarizing the Formal Curricula

The formal curricula which in this case is represented throughout the syllabus and the textbooks are the materials made by the teacher to conduct their teaching. The syllabus has changed its content significantly in 2005 when there was a change in pedagogies. However, the textbooks are primarily the material of instruction the teachers make use of. Due to lack of time and other materials, the teachers included in the study express a set of challenges which occurs when they actively engage the students in the classrooms. These difficulties are also expressed by Mashaza & Majani (2018b, p 136-137). The detailed content of each textbook seems to directly build upon what is stated in the syllabus and gender seems to be directly presented. The illustrations creates an image of the various socio-cultural practices which takes place in Tanzania. Based on statements and readings of content and requirements of the modified syllabus it seems to be challenging to implement in the teachers practices. The operational curricula which will be explained is focusing on the way the teachers implement their teaching.

The content of both forms are presenting gender. Based on my analysis of the textbooks I see that the presentation of the content in Form II is quite basic, and focus mostly on defining and explaining definitions concerning gender. However the content of Form IV is far more elaborated and specified towards the topic of culture. In order to highlight this connection of the content in the Form II and IV textbook I have chosen to make use of the model of the various negative socio cultural practices which is presented in the Form II textbook and connect them with explanation of these terms of Form IV (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.76).

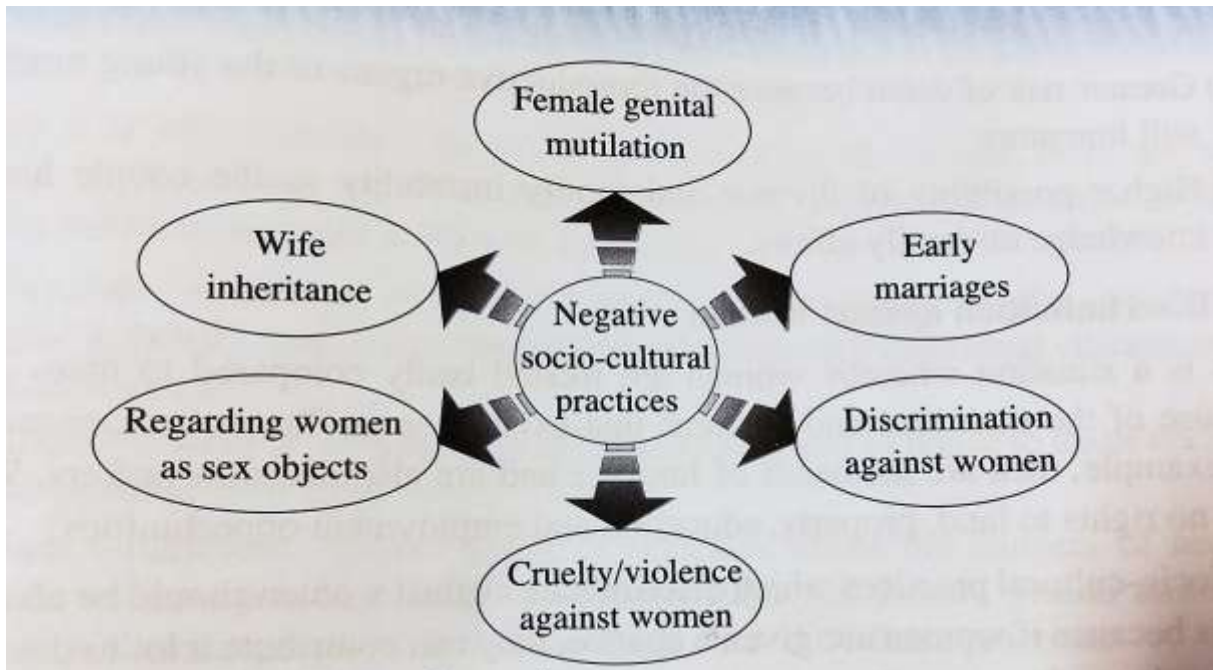


Figure 6.4. The model of negative socio-cultural practices in Form II textbook (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.76).

The aspects considered in this model are elaborated throughout Form II, however, they are more deeply described in Form IV. For instance early marriages are presented in Form II and supported by three negative effects of early marriages, however culture is not presented as a vital part here. In the Form IV book, early marriages are presented under the category called negative aspects of our cultural values. It is also mentioned as a factor contributing to the spread of HIV and AIDS and STIs, and a problem leading to illiteracy in the community. The last mentioned aspect is also a part of the form II textbooks (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.76-77). The content of both Form II and IV are presenting customs and actions in the society and bringing them up to discussion. Practices like those mentioned are still happening in Tanzania. However education will contribute in creating awareness and knowledge that these practices are violating a person's rights. This comes back to the purpose of the civics subject,

which is to educate citizens to be aware of rights and duties in Tanzania. The formal curricula is created by the government, which leads me to think that the purpose of educating about gender is the wish to create a more gender equal society.

7. The Perceived Curricula

The perceived curricula is explained as the way the teachers understand the curriculum. I will throughout this chapter look at some of the aspect which is connected with the teachers perception of the curriculum.

7.1. Language

The official languages of Tanzania are Kiswahili and English. In Governmental Primary schools, the language of instruction are in most cases, Kiswahili. However in Secondary Schools of Tanzania the medium is set to be English. The transition from being taught in Kiswahili to start in Form I with English as language of instruction may be hard for many students. Many of them already have Kiswahili, and an additional language to comprehend. The Head of Civics, Amina points out “you know these exams are not very hard for the students but the big problem is language”. Knowledge in the subject is not necessarily the problem, language is. This may lead to challenges such as with writing essays. She refers to a situation where the students have many ideas for writing essays, but it is hard for them to be able to explain. She also explains to me the situation of teachers who are in contact with the students’ parents. If they have meetings with the parents she tells me that “in those meetings, no English at all”. Even though the school has a quite strict policy for the use of English at the school, she points out that in order for all parents to contribute with their ideas, Kiswahili is the language mostly used in meetings.

I have chosen to specifically point out language as it is a vital part of everyday life at the school. All over the schools area its pointed out that they should only speak English, not Kiswahili. However based on observations, teachers tend to use Kiswahili when explaining something the students struggle to comprehend. Based on former experiences from conducting interviews with Form II students, English seemed to be hard for the students. This was the reason for making use of a translator. When the students was given the ability to express them in KiSwahili the answers was more elaborated than what they were in English. The chapter of culture and gender may be hard for the students to comprehend, especially in Form II, if they have difficulties with understanding the content.

7.2 Civics and teacher education in Tanzania

The situation of Civics and education for teachers who wish to teach the subject is complex, this will be further elaborated throughout this part of the thesis.

7.2.1 Teacher education

The teachers educational background varies. However I experience that many of the teachers have education in other subjects and not Civics due to its lack of Civics education for teachers.

7.2.3 Lack of Civics Education for teachers

In Tanzania, there are today no specific education for teachers who wish to teach civics as a subject. The teacher educator, John points out that Civics education for teachers are not a priority like other subjects. He seems to be impressed that we have this in the curriculum in Norway. Tanzanian teachers are trained for teaching other subjects, John believes that the reason might be that subjects of social science are being placed in to a basket of social science. At the same time he tells me that in Civics there are multiple topics from subjects such as natural science and social science which leads to history teachers being inappropriate to teach civics. John sees the lack of civics education as a negative factor for teachers.

So there must be some sort of training as a professional field. People should be appropriated with the topics which are within the syllabus. So that when they teach they teach with confidence but in meantime people are not teaching with confidence.
(John, teacher educator)

He points out that knowledge in the subject leads to confidence in teaching. When there is no education for Civics teachers, the way of teaching will be done with the lack of confidence. When people are teaching without the confidence to do so, it may lead to a situation which is pointed out by the female teacher of Form II, Rosa. "I think it's challenging because we supposed to teach something we are not trained to teach " (Rosa, teacher of Form II). Rosa sees it as challenging to teach Civics as this is something they are not trained to do. However, by today she is positive to teach the subject even though she said it took time for her to be confident teaching it. She says that when you are doing something you don't know how to, you learn it. Even though she does not have the education for it, she still enjoys teaching Civics.

Joseph points out that Civics is learned through every level in school and universities. He believes the lack of Civics education for teachers is a result of this, and that the government believes there is no need for a specific education for civics teachers as they are trained in this subject throughout all levels of education

My interpretation based on the informants statements is that the practices in teaching Civics and especially the topic of gender, differs. The teachers do not have a specific education to teach this subject, and therefore may be affected by their own perceptions and understandings of the various topics. It is questionable however to what extent this happens, and the informants seems to have various perceptions of this matter. Amina express that the teachers are not effected by their own perceptions and understandings as they are set to strictly teach according to the syllabus.

However, Rosa seems to have a different opinion. She expressed that the topic of gender seems to awake the emotions of the given teacher. Because of this, she says that a male teachers may seek to protect his superiority when the discussion of gender comes up, and this will affect his teaching.

7.3 Gender equality at the school

At Sokoni Secondary School, there are many practices which are based upon, or is implemented in order to achieve gender equality. These practices are present both for teachers and the students, and will be further elaborated through this part of the thesis.

7.3.1 The school administration

I interpret it as Sokoni Secondary School seeks to achieve gender equality towards the staff and the students. Joseph the Headmaster points out “All in all when you even look the number of school staff you will find more female teachers than male. 93 total teachers where more than 50 female teachers”

The schools administration has succeeded in achieving gender parity, which refers to a somehow equal number of male and female. The school administration is led by both male and female, and Joseph emphasize that he has two assistants and both of them are female. He argue that women perform better than men because when they are asked to do something, they go and do it better than men.

The staff set to teach Civics are in total 6 teachers, where 2 are male and 4 are female. The number of female exceeds the number of male in the staff, this led to some challenges for my

data collection. Based on the accessibility and number of female teachers, my data collection is mainly based on female statements. I was not able to interview any of the male teachers, however, I observed a class of a male teacher of Form V, this will be elaborated further in the thesis.

7.3.2 The students

Sokoni Secondary School seeks to create gender parity in enrolment. According to the schools statistics there was 1577 students in total enrolled in 2018, with 780 male and 797 female students. Statistics show that there are more girls enrolled in total in 2018. The statistics show however that the number of male and female which are enrolled differs a bit from year to year. In 2016-2017 the number of boys exceeded the number of girls. In 2015 however the situation was similar to 2018 where the number of female exceeds the number of boys.

| YEAR | CLASS | MC | FC | TOTAL |
|-------|-------|-----|-----|-------|
| 2015 | I | 128 | 100 | 228 |
| | II | 130 | 100 | 230 |
| | III | 120 | 90 | 210 |
| | IV | 120 | 90 | 210 |
| | V | 120 | 90 | 210 |
| | VI | 120 | 90 | 210 |
| JUMLA | | 720 | 540 | 1260 |
| 2016 | I | 140 | 110 | 250 |
| | II | 140 | 110 | 250 |
| | III | 140 | 110 | 250 |
| | IV | 140 | 110 | 250 |
| | V | 140 | 110 | 250 |
| | VI | 140 | 110 | 250 |
| JUMLA | | 840 | 660 | 1500 |
| 2017 | I | 174 | 122 | 296 |
| | II | 201 | 210 | 411 |
| | III | 128 | 153 | 281 |
| | IV | 127 | 121 | 248 |
| | V | 68 | 84 | 152 |
| | VI | 77 | 72 | 149 |
| JUMLA | | 785 | 762 | 1547 |
| 2018 | I | 166 | 187 | 353 |
| | II | 185 | 129 | 314 |
| | III | 183 | 194 | 377 |
| | IV | 135 | 149 | 284 |
| | V | 39 | 53 | 92 |
| | VI | 72 | 85 | 157 |
| JUMLA | | 780 | 797 | 1577 |

Figure 7.1 Statistics showing the number of students at Sokoni Secondary School)

National statistics of enrolment lack the number of pupils enrolled in 2015, and since these statistics are from 2017, statistics from 2018 are not yet included. However in 2016, there was 1 469 589 students enrolled in Form I-VI, among these 727,986 were female. The national statistics shows that 49,54% of the students enrolled in 2016 were female(MoEVT, 2017). This is equivalent to Sokoni Secondary statistics were 49,3% enrolled in 2016 were female.

In 2017 50,09% of the total number enrolled were female according to national statistics. At Sokoni Secondary School, the number of female enrolled in 2017 were 49,2% (MoEVT, 2017).

Table 7.1 Enrolment of Pupils in Government and Non-Government Schools by Sex and Grade(MoEVT, 2017)

| Ownership and Level | 2013 | | 2014 | | 2015 | | 2016 | | 2017 | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| | F | T | F | T | F | T | F | T | F | T |
| at Form 1-6 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Grand Total | 864,885 | 1,884,096 | 948,716 | 1,947,348 | 953,394 | 1,774,383 | 901,039 | 1,886,900 | 861,438 | 1,908,897 |
| Government | 707,816 | 1,594,711 | 758,113 | 1,588,810 | | 1,438,873 | 727,000 | 1,488,389 | 764,124 | 1,583,281 |
| Non-Government | 157,069 | 289,385 | 190,603 | 358,538 | | 335,510 | 173,039 | 398,511 | 97,314 | 325,616 |

Enrolment rates show that national and international attention to increase the number of students in basic primary education is working. In Form I-IV the enrolment rates of male and female are somehow equivalent with a few differentiations. The statistics of the school compared with the national statistics shows that there are little, or no differentiation in percentage of male and female. The school seems to successfully have achieved almost complete gender parity at the school.

7.4 Teachers dilemmas

The teachers of the school may experience facing a dilemma as what they are teaching concerning gender may be in conflict with what they are facing in their own lives. I had an interesting conversation with Neema. We discussed whether the teachers who teach gender in Civics are experiencing some gender related challenges at home. She informed me that there may be situations where a teacher of civics is for instance teaching about gender related discrimination and how one should take action to abandon these practices in the society. However, in reality this is happening in this given Civics teachers life. Furthermore during a conversation, I asked her about the situations where both parents are working, and if this somehow changes who is in charge of the domestic work. She informed me that this was the case in her family and that they had a house girl in charge of the domestic work at home. The house girl, is normally a girl who is coming from a village or other places, working in a family where she makes food, wash the clothes and take care of the children when the parents are not around. In this way she can earn money to provide for herself. At the same time she points out that if the given family is not able to afford having a house girl, the female, who is also working is in charge of domestic works at home. She gave me an example the situation

of this given female. She has to wake up early in the morning, make food for the husband, prepare the children for school, and then dress herself and go to work. The workload for women in this situation are double, they have to work outside their homes, and at the same time take care of household chores. As for bringing the children to school picking them up varies, both male and female can do these things.

Throughout another conversation with Amina I became aware that many of the students experience gender related challenges which is taught in school at home, and can relate to these issues. For instance, a student who was Maasai informed me that in her ethnic group, it is not common for girls to get higher education, and that many people living in the village does not understand the concept whereas female get education. This situation will be further discussed further in the analysis.

8. The Operational curricula

The operationalized curricula is described as the way the teachers operationalize their teaching. The teachers teach in different ways however, it depends on their access to materials, time and number of students in the classrooms. As stated in the Formal Curricula, the syllabus require that the teachers implement student centred methods in their teaching. This seems to be challenging as they at the same time are set to follow the content of the syllabus with the aim of preparing their students for national exams.

8.1 The role of the textbooks

The textbooks main purpose is to be a material for the students and the teachers in order to work through the content of the syllabus. The textbook relates closely to the syllabus and follows its structure. However, who has the access to these books is something I see the need to discuss further.

This is a governmental school, so the economical background of the students differ. In general only a limited number of students are in possession of these books, as they are expensive. The teachers are aware of this matter and therefore see the need to write the content from the textbooks on the blackboard, and the students copy it in their notebooks. However, the Head of Civics, Amina informed me that if the students are not able to buy the book, they might borrow it at the school's library. The teacher will then inform the student which topic is going to be in focus the following lesson, so that the students will be able to prepare themselves. Some of the teachers do not have textbooks available in their daily work. However, I was informed that donations of these books had made them available at the school's library, so if the teachers or students needed it they could borrow it.

8.2 Challenges

The teachers are operationalizing their teaching in various ways. As mentioned above, the syllabus frequently dictate the use of student-centred teaching methods. The teachers experiences from teaching and completing the syllabus are relevant for their way of operationalizing the curricula. Many of the teachers experience challenges related to completing the syllabus as a there is a lack of time and materials: "like we don't have enough time to discuss, if someone is going to give out points" (Amina, Head of Civics). Amina expressed that the syllabus with all its listed themes, is hard to complete so they normally shorten their time for discussion. The teachers wish for their students to perform well in the

national exams, and therefore they have to complete all the themes of the syllabus so that the every part is included in their teaching. By “give out points” she refers to the teachers grading the students assignments and tests, and this take time. “We are running so that we can complete the syllabus so that they will be able to answer when they are coming across the exam all topics are present in the exam” (Amina, The Head of Civics)

The teachers are instructed to train the students to perform well at the National Exams. Therefore they have to work through all the content throughout their classes. The Form IV teacher informed me that the students ability to learn differs greatly. When the teachers have a lot of students in the classrooms they have to face the issue of bringing these students together, and this requires time. They have to consider the syllabus and the timetable as well as adapt their teaching to meet the needs of the students.

8.3 Teaching methods

Lesson planning is very important at Sokoni Secondary School. Prior to each class the teachers have to provide a specific plan. Within this plan the subject, way of teaching and assessment has to be included. Furthermore the lesson plan needs to be evaluated by the Joseph or his assistants in order for her to proceed with her teaching. I observed that all of the teachers had a book containing all their lesson plans. I believe that this is an effort set by the government in order to provide quality education for their students. If the lesson plans are evaluated prior to the lesson, the school will make sure that the operational curricula follows the formal curricula, with its content stated in the textbooks and syllabus.

Vavrus and Bartlett (2013, p.4) points out that there is a global focus on policies which seeks to implement Learner Centered Pedagogy. In Sub-Saharan Africa this way of teaching became an increasing part of education policies following the Education for All conference of 1990 (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.7). At the same time there are differences whether, and how these policies are implemented in schools. This type of pedagogy focus on the students and if they are actively engaging in how and what they are being taught (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.5). This is pedagogy are explained as follows:

“Learner-centered pedagogy is an approach to teaching based on the assumption that people learn best when they are actively engaged in the curriculum and when their interests form the foundation for the building of the curriculum” (Paris and Combs 2006 referred to in Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.5)

This approach is focusing on the learner which in this case are the students, and that they should be active in their own learning process. This pedagogy is implemented in the syllabus as many of the teaching and learning strategies are focusing on the students being active. For instance one of the teaching and learning strategy of the concept of gender is. “Guide the students to present their group findings for class discussion and further clarification” (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p. 66). The teachers are supposed to lead the students into presentations and class discussions. However the learning itself is to be done by the students.

Today the most common teaching method seems to still be the behaviouristic way which was the instruction prior to the modification of the syllabus in 2005. Even though there has been a shift in the instructions of the syllabus after 2005, writing on the blackboard and furthermore ask the student questions to be answered during class is common. The students answer these questions and then they proceed to the next topic. Arguments stated by the Head of Civics gives and explanation to why this way of teaching still seems to be common. Even though the syllabus states that discussion is a vital part of the teaching methods, the teachers see the need to shorten the time for discussion as there is not enough time to do so. The head of civics expresses that she would have spent more time for discussion if it was possible. This is an issue faced by several of the teachers at the school.

During observation of a class of form II the teacher did however implement student presentations and discussions in her class. The theme of the lesson was gender, and the students presented the various gender concepts and made sure their fellow students understood it. This method of teaching seems to be equivalent to what is stated in the syllabus at the same time at it seems to be built up on learning centred pedagogy. This class seemed to succeed with actively engaging the students. However as I was observing there was a large number of students in the classroom which made a lot of noise. My impression is that the teachers try their best to implement these pedagogies in their classrooms. If they had the material and time, they would probably expand their ways of teaching at the same time as they are following the syllabus step by step. A study conducted by Mashaza (2013) evaluated the use of learning centred activities in the classroom. The result was that there was a set of challenges when implementing such methods (Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p.136-137) Practically it seemed as the students were skeptical to this way of learning as well as the number of students in the classrooms are many. Student centered activities requires time, materials and a limited number of students in the classrooms. The teachers of my study express these challenges with emphasis in their lack of time to complete the syllabus. A

rapport by the NGO, Haki Elimu (2014) shows that even though there was a shift in the syllabus the teaching and learning strategies remain from the period prior to 2005. This model shows that the general methods of teaching were lecturing and questions & answers. Only 9 % of the students conducted group work and approximately 11% of the teachers seemed to answer the students questions in class (Haki Elimu, 2014, referred to in Mashaza & Majani, 2018b, p.137).

8.4 Examinations

I have chosen to include a brief explanation of examinations in Secondary Schools in Tanzania. I see it as necessary to include as the examination is the assessment of what the students have learned throughout their education. The content and ways of assessment of these examinations may affect the ways of teaching.

Throughout Secondary Education there are three examinations which the students need to complete. There is one exam which needs to be done by the end of Form II, this is called Form II National Assessment (NECTA, 2014) the next exam is conducted at the end of ordinary level Form IV, this exam is called CSEE, Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (NECTA, 2008). Following is the excerpt describing what is expected of the students who are examined at the end of Ordinary level.

The objectives of this examination are to assess students' skills and knowledge achieved in different subjects at secondary school. Also to weigh the extent to which the student can use the skills gained to meet the social, political, economic and technological challenges for the individual and the national development at large; to identify students with the capacity to continue learning to the advanced secondary school level and other learning institutions. The holder of the CSEE qualification is expected to be able to apply skills of knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation in a broad range of activities. (NECTA, 2008).

In the end of ordinary level the students are supposed to be tested in all the subjects they have been taught in Secondary School. The assessment values the students' skills they have developed in order to meet the challenges faced by individuals and the society of Tanzania. These are skills such as comprehension, evaluation, analysis and the other which are mentioned in this excerpt.

The last one is to be held at the end of advanced level, Form IV (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.96-97). This exam is called Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination

ACSEE. In order for the students to take this exam they need to have passed the two years of Form V & VI, as well as have three credits from CSEE (NECTA).

In order to proceed with their education the students have to pass these exams. According to Vavrus and Bartlett the content of these exams may shape the teachers way of teaching.

Learner Centred Pedagogy focuses on learning through a process which includes aspects of reflection and active participation. The Tanzanian Government seeks to implement this type of pedagogy in Tanzanian Schools with encouragement from international donor agencies (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.62). The syllabus and textbooks are closely connected with the Governments national exams, and are supposed to be the material to be used to lead the students to perform well in their exams. The syllabus points out learning centred pedagogies as one of the main ways of teaching subjects.

What seems to be contradictory is the fact that the national exams tests the students' knowledge based on their ability to show competence in form of reproducing facts. Even though there is a broad focus on learning centred pedagogies these are not implemented in the students exams, and may therefore not be prioritized by the teachers as they normally lack time to comprehend the content of the syllabus (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2013, p.109-110). In wish to refer to some examples from the book called Form II, Civics review contains questions and answers to all the themes of Civics Form II in the period of 1999-2016. However, I will just focus on the questions and answers from 2016, as this is the latest year included here. This is a book which the students and the teachers may use to prepare themselves for their national exams. The revision is divided into section A, and section B. Section A contains multiple choice questions, matching words and true or false, whereas section B is based upon reflection and focusing on making the students use their own words (Ezra & Maduhu, 2017, p. 99-104,).

Section A starts with is a set of mixed multiple choice questions. An example of a question related to the topic of gender (Ezra & Maduhu, 2017, p. 101)

(xiv) One of the negative effects of wife inheritance is

- A. Unwanted pregnancies
- B. Increased risks of HIV/AIDS infections
- C. Early pregnancies
- D. Increase early marriage

The correct answer is B) according to the correct answers in the back of the book. The next two parts of section A is a matching words and true or false, however, these will not be elaborated in this thesis as they do not contain anything related to the topic of gender.

Section B starts with a short elaboration on gender and gender roles with questions related and the second involves words the students should define. However the second part will not be elaborated as it does not focus on gender. The first part of section B contains a passage which the students are supposed to read and then answer the following questions.

- i. Suggest a suitable title for this passage....
- ii. According to the passage, what is gender discrimination?....
- iii. How do people learn gender roles?
- iv. From the passage, list down two customs that lead to gender discrimination
- v. How are food taboos carried out in a society?

The answer of section B in the revision book) is: “According to the passage, gender discrimination refers to unequal treatment between males and females whereby one gender is given more priority in different opportunities” (Ezra & Maduhu, 2017, p. 157). This is answer is reproducing what seems to be stated in the topic of gender in the textbooks of Form II. In the textbooks, gender discrimination is defined as follows: “Gender discrimination is a situation where one sex (male or female) is treated either better or worse than the other (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.74) .

Gender discrimination is one of the gender concepts presented in Form II. According to the syllabus the students are supposed to be able to identify the different gender concepts as well as identify gender issues in the society. The revision book is based on questions that might occur in their national examinations. It is evident that the questions they are being tested in is closely connected with the syllabus and the content of the textbooks.

What seems to be interesting here is that for instance the CSEE exams require a certain amount of skills in order for the students to perform well. The syllabus are focusing on a great amount of teaching and learning strategies to prepare their students to perform well on their exams. At the same time the revision book shows an example of what kind of questions the students might be tested in. It seems to me that there is a limited amount of questions which requires reflection and skills such as ability to analyse and perform synthesis.

8.5 Creating awareness and the importance of Civics

Education about gender in Civics may contribute in reducing the gender gap in Tanzania. In order to retrieve an implication of the informants view on this matter I asked them a question based on my own experiences .

During my stay I visited a village located in rural areas. The family lived outside a big city in Tanzania, however, the contrast of rural and urban Tanzania was outstanding. In this village, they did not have electricity nor access to water, so they had to collect water from elsewhere and live without electricity . At the same time, they were living ecologically responsible supporting themselves with vegetables, milk and meat from their own surroundings. In this village and the particular family the division of labour was clearly based on reproductive and productive roles. The men seemed to be responsible for the economic income, and female responsible for everything at the home, such as the animals, laundry, children and cooking. What I observed as interesting is that the male in the family did not help out much with domestic tasks when they were at home and not working.

I am aware that my representation of this situation may have been affected by the fact that I am a female from Norway. This village is located not too far from the city were Sokoni Secondary is. So therefore decided to ask the informants, based on my observations from this village whether education in Civics may challenge the way of living which was present in the village. Many of the informants was aware of the location and way of living in village I had visited. The female teacher of Form II, Rosa replied the following when I asked her this question:

yes, the gender knowledge we are providing to the student will challenge the way we are living. Even in my home while encountering my husband he always argue that it is because I am educated and having a job and therefore having the power to challenge him. The knowledge of gender to the students would bring some changes in our societies. (Rosa, Teacher of Form II).

The concept of empowerment is explained as a way for a human to increase their power (Eriksen & Feldberg, 2013, p. 151). In the situation described by Rosa, she refers indirectly to a situation whereas she has been empowered throughout her education. Working as a teacher she is earning her own money. In this way she is not economically dependent on her husband and claim her rights in decision-making. A relevant support to this statement was expressed by a female student of Form II. She points out that lack of education may lead to a situation

where the wife is economically dependent on the husband and therefore she may be oppressed. The situation described by the student refers to a wife who is oppressed as she does not have an education nor a job. This makes her dependent on the man as he is the one who earns the money and thereby provides for the family. If she was empowered through education or other projects seeking to give the female more power, she would probably be able to stand up for herself.

I continued by asking Rosa if these changes in the society were seen as positive. She replied that women may be perceived as a weak group in the society and therefore girls and women are not treated fairly. She also stated that education in Civics for both genders may lead to a less unfair treatment of women. As I understood it, education leads to empowerment, and the ability to provide for your own income, this leads to increased confidence. The female will not be threatened unfair if they are provided with education as this may increase knowledge and provide an economic income.

The Form II teacher also points out that today's generation in Tanzania are prepared to engage in the society and able to practice new cultural practices. She says it's the perfect time for these students to learn how to perceive gender issues. In Tanzania there are a tendency of denying some rights to women, therefore learning about gender issues is very important for the students when they engage in the communities. In this way, being educated in Civics may lead them to go into the society and she hopes that they will make some changes.

8.6 Cultural practices and awareness, the example of Maasai.

Ruby, the female General Secretary of the Student Government points out education of gender as something which has a positive effect especially in terms of cultural practices. I will start by explaining some of the practices done by the Maasai. These are one of the cultural groups which is widely used as examples in the textbooks of both forms (Nchimbi et.al. , 2012, & Abeid., & Olotu, 2009.). The cultural practices of Maasai is discussed within the chapter of both gender in Form II , and culture in Form IV.

Maasai is a well-known ethnic group in Tanzania. They are pastoralists which means that they are caring for cattle and travel beyond large areas to provide their cattle with water and food. The Maasai community is patrilinear. This means that kinship is evolved from the males family. The Maasais live in clans that consists of several generations of people who are related based on kinship from the fathers side (Mashaza & Majani, 2018a, p. 117-118).

Ruby is of Maasai heritage, and refers to her father as educated, who has knowledge leads to an equal treatment of both his children (male and female). They are seen as the equal with the same opportunities. However she states the following;

But when I go back to the village its way too difficult for them to get the awareness it's very difficult for them to understand that boys and girls are all the same. Me I believe in when some is educated gives awareness. (Ruby, General Secretary of the Student Government).

The Maasai often practice polygyny which means that they are allowed to have more than one wife. Traditionally, the girl is going to be married most certainly to another clan and in return the family of the girls receive a bride price in terms of cattle (Mashaza & Majani, 2018a, p. 117-118) . Hamisi says that this bride price in terms of cattle shows the value of girls in Maasai culture, “like for example you can find that a certain man and a girl who is Maasai there is an exchange a cow for a girl. The value of a girl”(Hamisi, President of the Student Government). This statement is supported by Ruby, who express the following: “When it comes to marriage the girl may be exchanged with a certain amount of cattle. This may be seen as an implication of the value of girls in Maasai Culture” (Ruby, General Secretary of the Student Government). However, today research implies that formal education is changing the culture of the Maasai. Girls are being married off when they are older, and the female is getting more authority than before (Mashaza & Majani, 2018a, p. 119) .

In the Maasai village in which she is referring to, I interpret it as there the consisting traditional cultural practices which makes it challenging for the Maasai to understand that girls and boys are the same and should be treated equally. The lifestyle of the Maasai is nomadic, and is hard to combine with formal education. They need to move around in order to provide the cattle with food and water. Their economic activities involve the children as they need to help out with caring for the cattle and collecting water. Formal education is questionable for the Maasais as many are sceptical to which extent this education will be suitable for their children (Mashaza & Majani, 2018a, p. 119). Hamisi express that if one were to tell the Maasai that girls have a right to education, it is seen as something negative. He points out that many of Maasai may question education for girls because of their domestic responsibility in terms of taking care of children and elders. The Maasai may question themselves with, who will do it if the girls are provided with education? This leads back to the division of labour that was explained in the content of the Form II textbook, whereas there are

some roles which are productive, while some are reproductive. The Ruby express that most of the Maasai men believes that the female is supposed to be at home performing their reproductive role and domestic tasks. She states the following:

Most of the Maasai men believe that the woman have to stay at home that the men are the one who should hustle for their families and find the food and education for the boys but the men, but the woman shouldn't be doing anything accept production they are just to stay at home. (Ruby, General Secretary of the Student Government)

Background and experience of the students at Sokoni Secondary School are varied, and for some students, like the Maasai girl, what they learn from the formal curriculum may contrast life at home, in the family . The content of the textbooks and the students realities seems to be contradicting each other as stated by Rosa, the teacher of Form II. She refers to an example where according to the syllabus and the textbooks the students are supposed to learn that male and female should be equal. However this may differ from what they learn from home. At home they may learn what she refers to as a general perception in African Culture, that male are superior to women. Many of the students grew up in patrilinear societies such as the Maasai whereas the male is the one in charge and the head of the family.

The teacher points out that they have a mandate to teach the students that men and women are dependent on each other and that there should be equality in terms of access to education, jobs and or in the daily life.

8.7 Changing the mindset

Based on the statements of the informants, education leads to awareness and knowledge concerning gender. However, I was curious to know what kind of perceptions concerning gender the students express throughout their classes. I asked the Amina, the Head of Civics how she taught the students interpreted the roles of male and female.

Very few are thinking about changing their minds but the others are still saying no no no, it's the role of women to make some food, to wash clothes, take care of the young kids in the family, bring those young kids to clean, take care of the sick. These activities belong to women. In African families it is very rare to find male cooking for the family. (Head of Civics)

Few of the students seem to be thinking about changing their minds when it comes to the existing gender roles in the society. The perceptions of the students as described by the Head of Civics seems to be that the female is connected with the reproductive roles in the society. The female should prepare food, take care of laundry and the sick. It is however rare to find a male which is cooking for his family as this is mainly a task for the female to perform.

She points out that changes in the society when it comes to gender will take time, and it's a process. This is a process in a certain level of understanding that will lead to a change in people's minds. The way I understand Amina, is that some couples are sharing these activities as the male contributes in performing domestic activity. However, some are persistent to keep living what Amina refers to as a previous way of life, whereas the male is not participating in reproductive activities as these belong to women.

The syllabus and the textbooks clearly points out a normative understanding of gender. The curriculum consists of a perception on how things should be like, but this may not have compliance with reality. Civics may have the ability in a long-term perspective to change the society to be more equal, this will be further elaborated in the following part of the thesis.

8.9 Summarizing the Operational Curriculum

The curriculum and the textbooks presents a society where both genders are equal. I interpret it as the Government of Tanzania wish to create a more gender equal society, and therefore implement gender related issues in the curriculum of Civics. The informants point out that the reality of many Tanzanians differs from what is presented in the curriculum. The general secretary emphasize the reality of the Maasai and how education especially for girls is not always desired by the elders of the Maasai community. Formal education presents a division of labour which does not comply with the Maasai traditional way of living. Many of the informants emphasize that education creates awareness which may lead to a change of what is expected of male and female in the society.

The Civics subject and its content may have the power to change the society with its existing gender roles. Judith Butler refers to gender as something you do (Mortensen, 2008, p. 74 & 76). The power of Civics is that it may contribute in changing the existing perception many of the informants express. These are the perceptions built up on female being connected with reproductive whereas male is connected with productive activities in the society. Civics have the ability to create awareness and by this express that female might also perform reproductive and male reproductive activities. If it for instance becomes more common for

male to cook for the family and for female to work outside the home, the expectations and actions of male and female in the society will change. The situation of Ruby is an example of changing cultural practices and existing gender roles of Maasai traditional. She is empowered through her education, and thereby seeks other opportunities beyond getting married at an early age. She seems to have knowledge and awareness concerning her rights and opportunities for future life. The perceptions of the expectations of male and female responsibility in the society changes when both genders have education. Education leads to knowledge of rights, abilities and the possibility to get a paid job, and thereby be able to provide for oneself. By this the person will not be economically dependent on their partner. Discussing this aspect in the light of Butler, being a male or female will be defined out of what they do, so if their actions changes, the understanding of gender roles in the society will change and become more gender equal.

9. The Experiential curriculum

The experiential curriculum describes the students experiences and perceptions from what they are being taught about gender. However, I do not have data material available to measure what the students actually have learned from the curriculum, in other words test results. The focus here is mainly on material from focus group interviews, students drawings and answers from revision activities.

9.1 Students view on gender equality

The students perception of gender and gender related expectations were expressed in many ways throughout the data collection. Form II students and the students of the Student Government expressed this throughout the group interviews, whereas Form IV conducted activities. Throughout the conversations with the students I mostly made use of the term gender equality. This is a term they are familiar with as it is explained in their textbooks. Hamisi explained gender equality as following “maybe gender equality should be what male gets and what, I mean there should be coproportions for male and the woman, what the woman gets, i mean there thus should be coproportions” (Hamisi, President of the Student Government). The General Secretary points out that both genders should get priorities in terms of education and socializing. According to the given definition of gender equality, the explanation by these students seems to be equivalent. Male and female should both get priorities and be given the opportunity to do the same things. These matters are enforced in the student democracy at the school.

9.2 Student government

Gender equality is reflected in the schools practices within the Student Government. I will therefore start with an orientation girls and boys participating in school democracy.

In addition to the chapter of gender in Form II, another topic which indirectly emphasizes gender is called Local Government (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.27). This is a topic which concerns the students and their participation in decision making at the school. According to the textbook of Form II, the students can participate and engage in the school functions in the following ways:

- I) work hard in school in order to achieve the school's academic goals as well as their oral academic goals
- II) debating matters relating to their schools development and coming up with new ideas
- III) electing their students council or government
- IV) enforcing laws enacted by the school authority to bring peace and harmony in the school
- V) participating in the schools development projects, e.g agriculture, fishing, artworks and other economic projects
- VI) taking part in activities to protect the school environment, for example planting, trees and cleaning the compound
- VII) visiting people with special needs in the community, like children's homes and old people's homes

(Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.27)

During the interview with Ruby and Hamisi, I gained insight in the purpose of the Student Government as well as its gender dynamics. The Student Government and its members have been elected democratically by other students at the school. Throughout the conversation with Ruby and Hamisi, I asked if they could elaborate on the election process and whether there was differences in terms of gender. Hamisi explained the purpose of the Student Government as the President and her/his elected companions will take care of the students problems, elect them out of importance and thereby take them to the Headmaster. Ruby followed up by explaining the election process:

“like it was announced that there will be a student selection then the one who feels like she or he has the potential of being a leader is taking a phone then you are called for the interview then after you are called from the interview then the choosens one the choosen one are like having campaigns” (Ruby, General Secretary of the Student Government).

Her statement is based equal participation of male and female in the Student Government, both genders can engage in the democracy of the school. However, throughout our conversation the former female president was discussed. I was told that many of the students didn't wish for her to be the president. So I asked why, and Hamisi replied the following:

“the first fact that she was a woman also for example also woman cannot solve the problems

directly because sometimes she is afraid of go to the Headmaster just like that, they believe that”(Hamisi, President of the Student Government). He explains that many students believe that the fact that she was a woman she had problems with solving problems directly, and a lot of students didn’t like that. However, this was not really the case, he pointed out that it was just a general perception. Perceptions like this leads to a situation as described by the General Secretary:

like it was not easy for the girl who was contesting with the one who is now president. It was not for her to influence people to go vote for, like it was they were having these perceptions like maybe she can’t do it or she is not perfect or whatever. (Ruby, General Secretary of the Student Government).

The girl who contested with today’s president of the Student Government had experienced difficulties in influencing people to vote for her as the other students had these perceptions that because she was female she would not have the courage to go directly to the Headmaster with problems faced by the students. According to Hamisi, the former female president did not believe that she could make changes throughout the year she was president, she thereby supported Hamisi by the time he was to be elected. Ruby saw it as a big disappointment that a fellow girl did not believe that she could make changes at the school.

The Student Government is built upon democratic elections where both genders can participate. Formerly the president of the Student Government was female, today it’s a man who is president. However, it seems as if the perceptions of male and female and their ability to perform well in leading positions is a part that may be challenging at Sokoni Secondary School. The participation of both genders in the Student Government somehow reflects the gender division in the Tanzanian Government where 37,2 % of the seats of the Parliament of Tanzania are held by women (United Nations Development Programme, 2019b). Gender equality is practiced both in the Student Government at Sokoni Secondary, and in The Tanzanian Government.

9.2 The students and experiences from teaching

The students’ experiences from teaching is a part I lack material to elaborate properly. However, I do have some material which may lead to an impression on what the students have learned from Civics classes. The following arguments are based on the totality of my methods.

It was mentioned in the methodology chapter that this material is the result of cooperation with the teacher in Form IV, who actually made the questions the students discussed and answered. The answers of the revision exercises that were given shows a variation in competence. Some groups had produced well explained answers which seems to be almost exactly repeating the content of the civics books, some had provided short definitions but many examples of tribes. Here is one example of one of the groups answers to the following assignment:

To discuss sociocultural practices and belief that encourage early marriage

The group starts by defining early marriage as:

“Early marriage is the marriage that is premature or is any marriage of a person who is under 18 years old. The legal age for marriage in Tanzania is 18 years”(Group of Form IV students).

In the textbook of Form IV, the explanation of early marriage focuses in general on the effects of early marriage, and there was no explicit definition to the concept. However, the definition stated in the book of Form II seems to be rather equivalent to the one the students wrote. In the Form II textbook early marriage is defined as

“Early marriage is the marriage of people who have not yet reached the legal age for such a union. In Tanzania this age is 18 years” (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.76) .

As one can see the students are almost reproducing what is stated in their textbook or as it is in this case, reproducing facts they have previously learned. Following this, the students elaborates on the sociocultural practices that encourage early marriage. They start with the payment of bride price, gender discrimination in education, traditional initiations, inheritance, lack of education, early sex. They describe properly all the practices they have mentioned. These are practices mentioned in both of the relevant textbooks Lastly, the students summarize their definitions.

To sum up early marriage can lead to negative effects such as death during complication during birth giving dropout of school illiteracy due that many girls leave school due to pregnancy. So the government should create laws against early marriage and strict measures should be taken among those who practice early marriage also the government should provide education or knowledge to the parents who marry of their daughter about the negative effects of early marriage. (Group of Form IV students)

The students show broad knowledge, and this is not always just reproduction of textbook fact. In the part where the students summarize their definitions they are explaining measures to take to abolish negative socio-cultural practices, these measures are stated in their textbook. These students come up with specific solutions which is not stated in their textbooks. Solutions such as educating the parents are not specified in their textbooks.

9.3 Students views on illustrations in their textbooks.

The textbooks of Form II and IV contains illustrations to support its content. Some of these pictures are expressing issues which occurs in Tanzania. In order to retrieve an understanding on how the students perceive these illustrations, I decided to make use of some of them in the interview of Form II. During this conversation I had a translator. The reason for doing so was that Form II students have most certainly just had English as a medium in school for one year and some of them might struggle with expressing themselves in English. Prior to the interview the translator and I had agreed to have the interview mainly in English, but if the students did not understand, they could explain or be explained in Kiswahili. I started to pose a question in English, and the students who understood answered in English. If we observed that they did not understand the question it was explained in Kiswahili as well. The students who wanted to answer in Kiswahili could do so. After the session the interpreter translated the conversation into English. We started the interview by showing them illustration I.

9.3.1 Illustration I

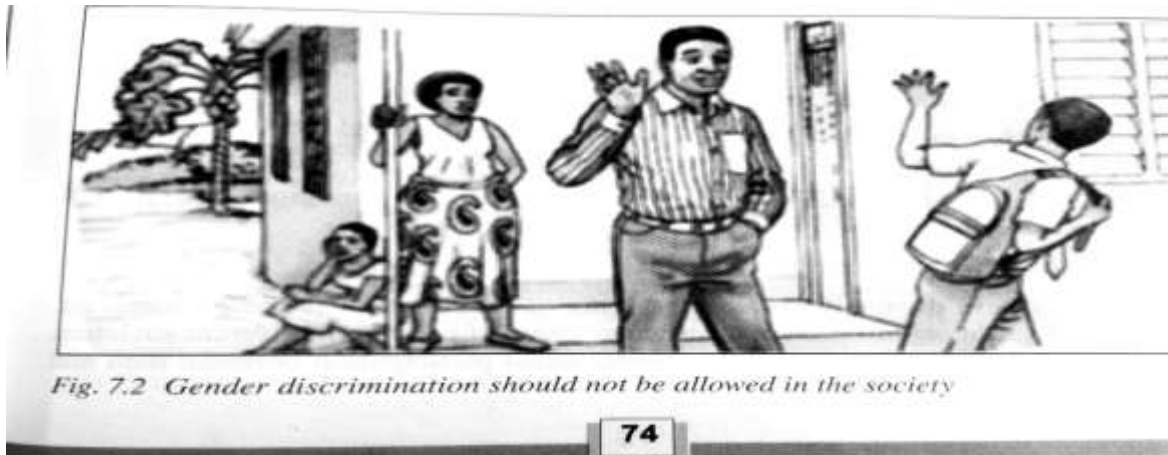


Figure 9.1: Gender Discrimination should not be allowed in the society (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.74)

The translator and I asked the students if they could describe this given picture which is in their textbook. One of the male students pointed out the following, “There is discrimination in this family whereas the boy got to go to school while the girl must remain home and do domestic work” (Form II male student).

He sees the aspect of discrimination as a factor which hinder girls participation in the society, as the girl in the picture is not prioritized in terms of education. Furthermore the girls who expressed their opinions regarding this picture points out that there is a differentiation in how the daughter and the son are treated. One of the female students express that she sees a father who values the son more than the girl as the boy gets the opportunity to go to school.

To summarize the discussion concerning Illustration I we asked them a question regarding if this picture is presenting the reality in their life, and whether this is something they can associate the image with their life. The majority of the focus group got quiet, however one female student replied

“ Yes, many countries in Africa favours boys more than girls. Often boys gets the more opportunities than girls, for example to go to school. While girls are regarded as domestic workers get married” (Form II, Female student)”.

Opportunities to go to school unfortunately varies, and as this student pointed out, girls may be regarded as domestic workers and therefore get married instead of getting an education.

9.3.2 Illustration II



Fig. 7.4 Some men oppress women

Figure 9.2: Some men oppress women (Abeid & Olotu, 2009, p.74)

We followed up by asking the students to explain what is happening in the photo of Fig.7.4. A male student described the picture like this, “I see a man punishing his wife it looks like a husband and wife. Maybe the man has been out drinking. Or may be for a little mistake” (Form II male student).

This student did not only provide us with what was happening in the illustration, he gave us a possible reason why this was done. This student may base his statement on certain situations which may occur in Tanzania, where the male go out drinking, and therefore is affected by alcohol which leads to violence. Wife beating has a high prevalence in Tanzania according to statistics. In Tanzania, 30% of the women report to be victims of violence at least one the last 12 months. 42% report the same at least once during lifetime. The offender in these cases is their intimate partner, such as husband (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 2019c). However, another statement I value as interesting was expressed by a female student which seemed to be quite reflected, and her level of English was good.

As we saw from previous picture, male was the one who are normally given the opportunity to go to school while girls has to stay home. When a educated man marry a uneducated woman she becomes dependent to him. He thus regard her as nothing and makes it easier to oppress her. (Female Student, Form II)

The previous illustration shows a family where the male child is prioritized in terms of education. The female student connected the two illustrations. Lack of education for women creates a unequal relationship between male and female, this, as the male is the caretaker and economically responsible for the income of the family. This creates dependency as the female is uneducated and therefore in need of the man for economic reasons. The male is aware of these matters, and therefore its easier for him to oppress her. Another statement made by a male student shows another interesting aspect of this: “In some societies if a man does not beat his wife it can be see like he does not love he. So shortly I see a man punish his wife because he loves her ” (Form II, male student). The perception of some may be that this action is done purely out of love, and if it wasn’t done, they may not love each other.

Following up the translator and I gave the students a scenario. This was explained in Kiswahili as well. I have chosen to include the question as it was given in Kiswahili so that the questions are presented in the exact way they were given throughout the interview.

English

Imagine this scenario, after a long day at work you get home and you find your wife have yet prepared dinner. My question is, what kind of action would you take?

KiSwahili

“Tafakari mfano huu. Umerudi nyumbani baada ya siku ndefu kazini, umekuta mke wako hajapika chakula. Ni hatua gani utachukua?” (Translator)

Following this, we elaborated the questions by asking whether the male students saw it as fair to punish their wife if she didn’t prepare food for them when they arrive home from work.

One of the male students replied the following: “NO. First of all I’m an educated man and I would love my wife thus I won’t do something to make her feel sad ” (Form II, male student).

The male student who made this statement points out the aspect of education as a factor creating awareness which may hinder the use of physical punishment towards their spouse.

Another male students pointed out that he would not beat his wife if he was in this situation.

Another male student which is also going to be educated points out the opposite, he said, “I will regard her as a bad wife and of cause beat her” (Form II, male student). The female did not perform her domestic activity properly, therefore she is seen as a bad wife, and should be beaten. Another male student also pointed out that in such way he would beat her.

Throughout this conversation the boys were expressing themselves more than the girls. So, in order to include both male and female in this discussion we gave a similar follow up question to the female students.

English

Girls, would you say that you deserve punishment in case you have forgotten to prepare food for your husband, after coming home from a long day at work?

Kiswahili

Wasichana, unaweza kwamba mme ana haki ya kukuadhibu mkewe kama asipo kituka chakula kimendaliwa, baada ya mwaume huyo kurudi nyumbani toka kazini?- Translator

Some of the female students supported the statements of the males which expressed that the women should be beaten if there was a lack of food when he arrived from work. “A woman’s responsibility is to prepare for her husband, if he comes home to empty plates I think it is fairly to be punished”(Form II, Female student). She points out that reproductive activities is a woman’s responsibility. If she does not perform her responsibility properly she should be punished. However, another female student reflects around this issue and she says it depends on the situation.

It depends actually, if the man left money for food before going to work and the woman does not cook I think it’s fair to punish the woman. But if he does not left the money for food I think it’s unfair to punish her. (Female student Form II)

We see the students pointing out that it is the husbands responsibility to leave money for food, and that he has no right to punish his wife if he failed to do so. On the other hand, she is expected to cook dinner if he has provided money for shopping.

9.3.3 Summarizing the students views on the illustrations in their books

The result of the interview was positive and the students seemed to show broad competence of the theme of gender. The interview was conducted outside their classroom. This opened up for the students to discuss the theme without thinking about providing us with a “correct answer”. The focus group design clearly opened up for diverging points of view, and students disagreed on the questions they were given. Some of the students expressed their own views and opinions of the matter of gender. At the same time, the fact that I am female, and the translator male, resulted in all the students participating also those who was not comfortable with English. I believe that some of the male and the female students would not have express

themselves so freely if it wasn't for the fact that we were both male and female who conducted the interview. The first illustration builds upon the discrimination of women in terms of education. The students of Form II are aware of the effect of education, and that this will lead to empowerment. The female student of Form II points out this as she refers to the economic dependency between an educated man and an uneducated woman. She says that if the woman does not have education she will easier be oppressed. Education leads to an opportunity to become economically independent, and thereby able to provide for oneself. When both genders have a paid job, the assigned gender roles will most certainly change, and none of them are dependent on each other.

Even though some of the male students expressed that they would beat their wife if she did not perform her activities at home, all of the students agreed in the end that these negative socio-cultural practices such as domestic violence and discrimination should be abolished in the society. This complies with what they have in their curriculum of Form II.

9.4 Observation

Throughout this study I observed different classes in order to get an impression of various classroom practices.

I observed non participatory in one class of Form II where the theme was gender. This classroom consisted of a singular teacher and among 60 students and a limited number of teaching materials. The teacher had one textbook, chalk and the blackboard, the students had their textbooks. What seemed to be interesting is that the teacher explicitly made use of Learner Centred Pedagogy as the students were actively engaging in what they were being taught. This is also equivalent to what is stated in the syllabus concerning teaching and learning strategies. According to the syllabus the classroom practice should make room for discussions and student presentations which is the case with this observation.

The reason why I saw this particular lesson as interesting is that compared to other classes I observed, active engagement from the student did not seemed to be very common.

Information from interviews and field conversations explained that the reason for it being this way was that there is a lack of time for them to complete the content of the syllabus.

Throughout the observation of the Form II class the topic was the different gender concepts. The students were divided into groups and after a discussion the groups presented and defined the terms for the rest of the class. One of the group members explained the terms and another one wrote it on the blackboard. Furthermore, the teacher told the students to write it down in

their notebooks. The group presenting explicitly asked the class to express if they did not understand the terms. Many of the students wished for a further elaboration the terms which they did not understand. In order to make sure the class paid attention to the presentations, the groups presenting asked the class controlling questions for them to answer. The teacher told me she valued the engagement of the students as important and therefore wished for it to be implanted in her classes.

During my time at the school I was present in the class of Form IV in many times. Due to limited time for preparation for their national exams the teacher made use of traditional teaching methods whereas she wrote on the blackboard and the students in their notebooks. The students answer questions given by the teacher. However, as an effort to make sure the students followed the teaching some of its content was explained in KiSwahili.

My presence at the school gave me also access to, and opportunity to observe classes of Advanced Level, form V. I was present in a class led by a female, and another of a male teacher. The classes had an equal number of male and female. At the same time, these are the best students who passed form IV, equals, the number of students in these classrooms were significantly less than the number of students in the classes of ordinary level.

Throughout and observation of a history class taught by Neema, I decided to make a sociogram where I noted if there was male or female who was given the opportunity to answer questions in the classroom. The lesson lasted for an hour, and it was registered that 20 boys, and 26 girls got to answer questions. The total number of students in the class was approximately 30.

Throughout the observation of the Civics class of Form V, led by the male teacher, I had planned to make a sociogram as well. However the teaching method was very different from the one in the history class. The theme was life skills. So the male teacher actively told a story of life skills which required for the student reflection. He imagined a situation whereas a lion entered the classroom and asked the students what they should do. The answers of the students were interesting and funny, however it was clear which students who had the indigenous knowledge to cope with such a situation. One student expressed that one should not run from a lions as they would see you as an animal to kill. Furthermore the teacher explained the importance of life skills and engaged the students by asking them to elaborate on stories where such knowledge is necessary.

To summarize, observations do not show any particular gender bias in the classroom teaching. Whether this is because I was present or it is typical, is hard to say.

9.5 After School Activities

In order to get an implication of the students daily life activities I decided to ask if they could elaborate on what they normally do after school. One of the male students replied following : “I get home to my very stable family and wash my clothes and help to clean the dishes. I normally go to study after that until dinner and continue to study after until bed time” (male student, Form II). After school this male students help out with domestic activities such as cleaning dishes and washing clothes. Studies seems to be important as he studies after dinner. Furthermore another male student replied that he did similar activities however he played football after helping out with domestic activities. The third male student expressed that he also helped out with domestic activities, plays football, and then when he arrives home he starts studying.

One of the female students replied following to the same question regarding after school activities: “wash my clothes helping mum with domestic work then do some homework. I then help my mother to prepare dinner and sleep” (Female student, Form II). This and another female student helps out at home with domestic activities, does her homework and then sleep.

The students seems to be doing similar activities when returning home from school. Most of these activities are domestic tasks or homework. However, to what extent they help out at home depends on which expectations they have. To summarize , the students have similar activities at home, something which I did not imply before I started the fieldwork. Both genders perform domestic activities after school, such as cleaning, washing clothes. These actions seems to reflect the content of the books of Civics and the desire to create a society with equal opportunities. The reality they express are based on gender equality, where there are no differences in the responsibility of girls and boys at home.

9.6 Music

Music in Tanzania varies. However, the Tanzanian hip hop version called Bongo Flava is very popular. Great stars such as Diamond Platnumz, Aslay, Alikiba, Nandy are well known among the majority of Tanzanians. However the presentation of male and female in many of these videos might be up for discussion when it comes to the presentation of gender. In the interview with Form II students we decided to ask them a question regarding which type of music they normally enjoyed listening to. Almost all of them replied that Bongo Flava was

what they listened the most to. Furthermore we focused on the presentation of gender in these videos. “both male and female are not presented according to African values, but music is business and for bongo flava artist to follow this path is imperative in order to stay relevant on international market” (Male student of Form II). This male student most certainly implies that the international market of music requires another way of action than what may be seen as approved according to African values. A female student points out that there has been a change in the Bongo Flava industry. She, points out that some of the songs are good, and one can learn from it, and listen to it, also in front of parents. However, many songs is not that good as they are promoting sexual behaviour which is not equivalent to what is seen as proper based on a cultural perspective. Music is a part of the society, and it might contribute in creating a picture of male and female. The representation of gender in Bongo Flava are contributing in a division between gender, as the female seems to be presented as subordinate to men. However, the students expresses a reflected view on the matter. On one side, Tanzanian music is competing globally, and therefore requires another way of representation than what seems to be valid according to African values. The chapter of globalization in the Form II textbook address the matter of music and the global community. “Technology has broken the wall that separates the cultures of the regions of the world. Dressing styles, foods, religions and music are now common for people all over the world” (Nchimbi et.al, 2012, p .44). African values however are explained as our values in the textbooks of Civics. These values are built up on practices in the Tanzanian Society and categorized positive or negative.

9.7 Jobs and future prospects

The students of Form IV, express their desired jobs and future prospects throughout the illustrations and revision exercises. This will be elaborated in the following part of the thesis.

9.7.1 Illustrations

In order to investigate how girls and boys in Sokoni Secondary School imagine gender responsibilities and their expectations to the future. I handed out the following assignments in class A and B of Form IV. I have divided the assignments in assignment I and II and the classes in A and B. For this activity, the students worked in groups of two or three students.

In class A they were given only assignment I : *Illustrate the responsibility of male and female in daily life.*

In stream B, they were given both assignment I : *Illustrate the responsibility of male and female in daily life* and assignment II: *Illustrate what kind of job you would like to have,*

specify if you are male or female. The students in class B, could choose between assignment I or II.

In Assignment I: *Illustrate the responsibility of male and female in daily life,* the drawings were mostly built upon what they have learned from the curriculum.

Many of the drawings presents female who are mostly performing domestic responsibilities such as cooking, washing dishes, breastfeeding, carrying a buckets of water. The drawings of the male responsibility shows a man performing productive roles, such as working in the farm, watching the herd, is a conductor, building a house. During the drawing session, I asked students their reason for choosing the particular image and they answered, this is the way we live here.

One of the groups supported their drawing (Figure 9.3) by writing a page about the responsibility of the female (Figure 9.4) in Tanzania.

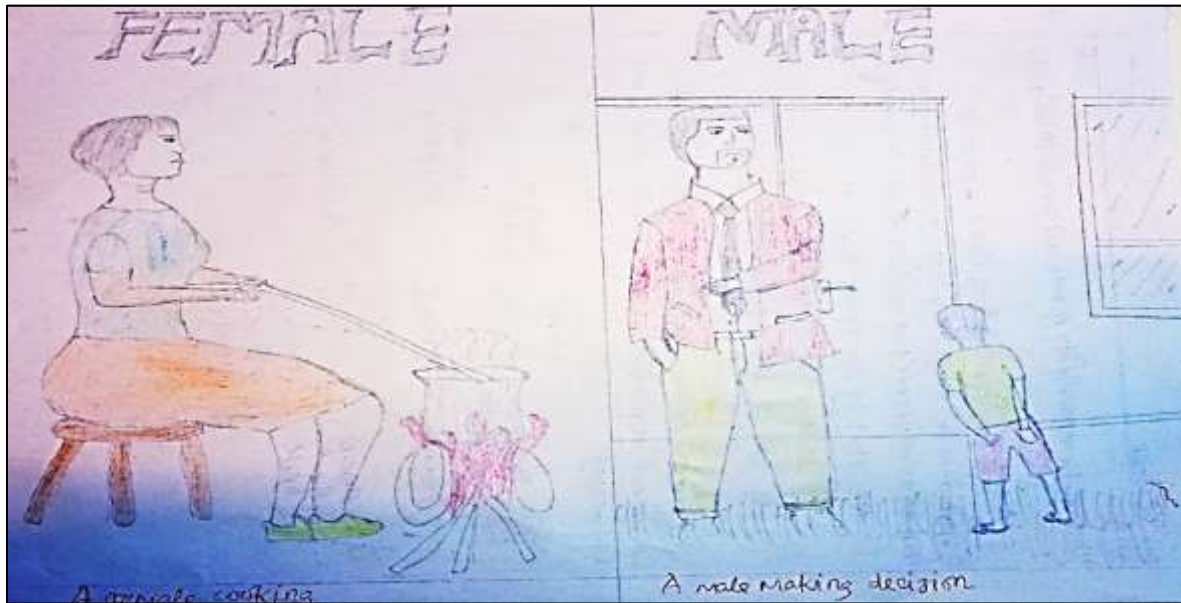


Figure 9.3: A female cooking and a male making a decision (Form IV student drawing)

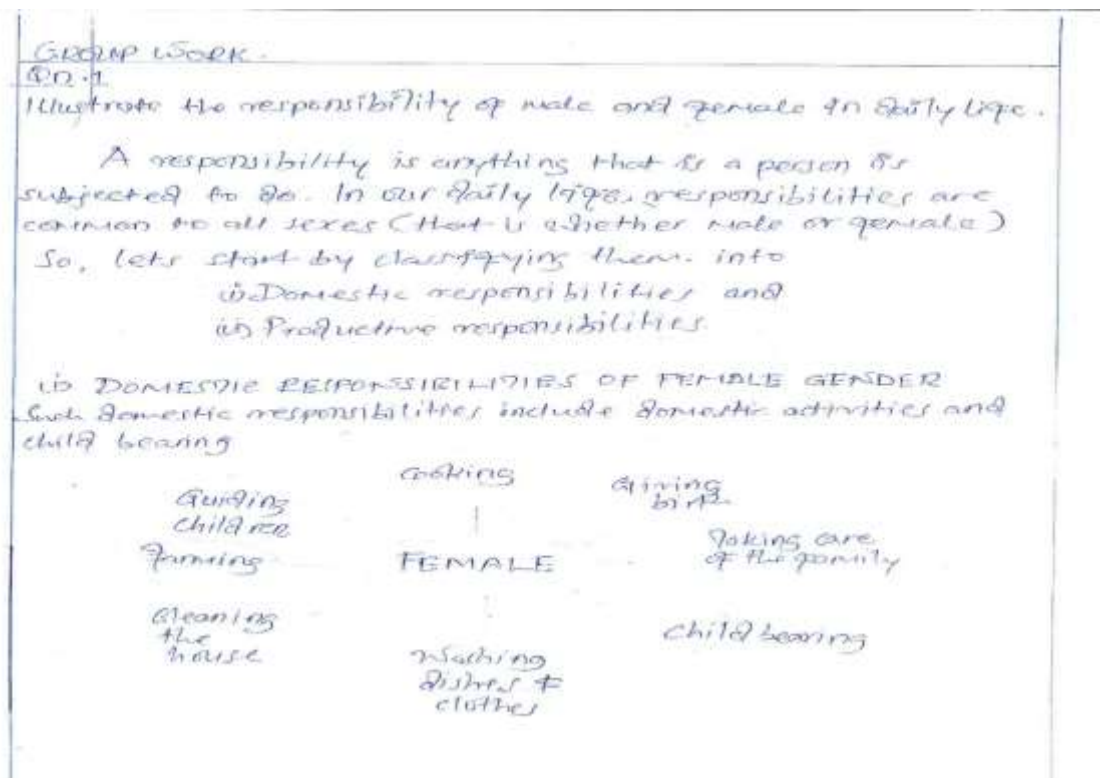


Figure 9.4: Female responsibility (Form IV Student Drawing)

The drawing in figure 9.3 represents a woman who is cooking and man who is making a decision. This represent the man as the caretaker and decision maker in the family, in other

words, with responsible of the productive sphere, and female who is performing reproductive activity by cooking. The reproductive activities, which is most commonly assigned the female is summarized in figure 9.4, drawn by the students on the back of their drawing, figure 9.3. I interpret it the drawing and illustrations as expressions of a generalized image of their realities, and the daily life of many Tanzanians. I see this as a descriptive presentation.

However, one group of students drew a male farmer, and a woman who is directing this man in his work. This illustration is called *A man working as a farmer while the woman is an agricultural officer directing the man.*



Figure 9.5: A man working as a farmer while the woman is an agricultural officer directing the man (Form IV student drawing).

The illustration shows a male farmer who is directed by a women who is an agricultural officer. This shows different perspective of the division of labour in Tanzania, where the woman is an officer and the man is to be directed by the female.

Assignment II: Illustrate the responsibility of male and female in daily life or Illustrate what kind of job you would like to have, specify if you are male or female.

The illustrations of what kind of job they would like to have seems to be connected with productive and reproductive roles in the society. In general, male students wish to be doctors, soldiers, footballers, lawyers or pilots while the female students wish to be teachers or nurses.

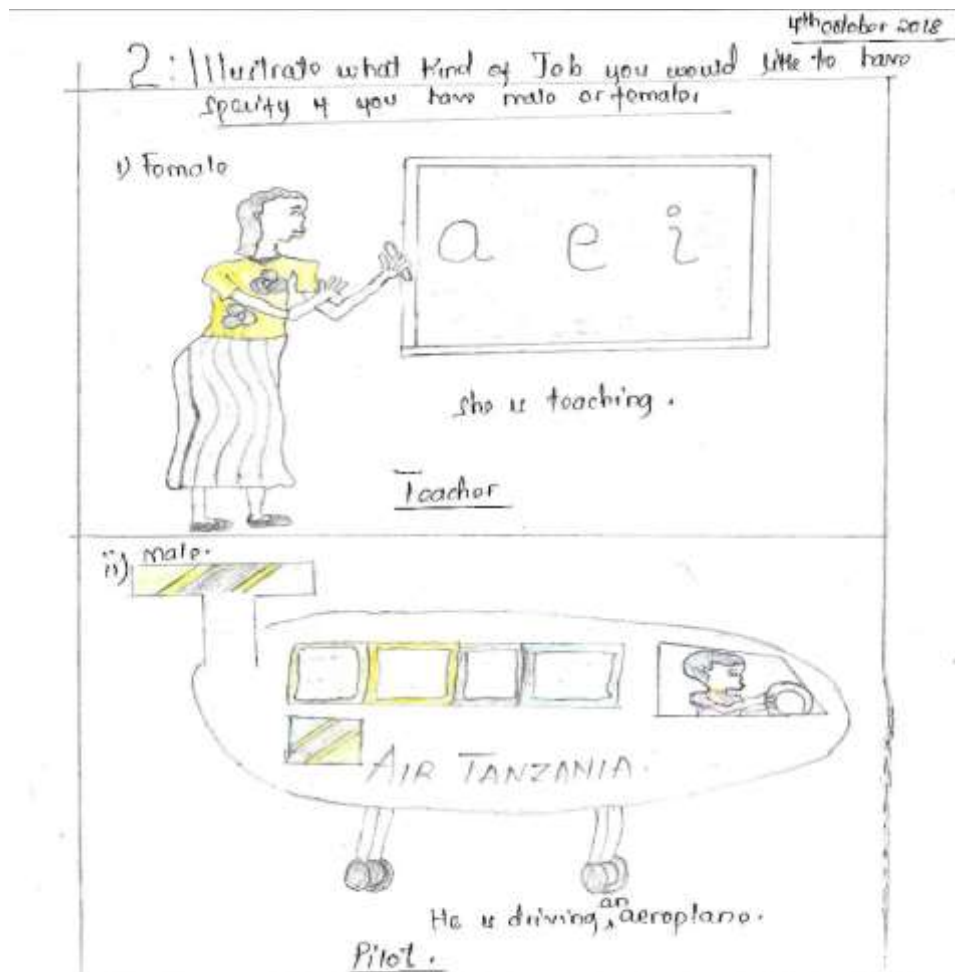


Figure 9.6: Jobs for male and female (Form IV student drawing)

Figure 9.6 shows that the female is teaching and the male is driving an aeroplane. When the students drew this picture, I asked them what they wanted to be when they grew up. One of the girls in the group replied that she wanted to be a pilot. I asked her why she did not draw a female pilot in her picture, and she stated that it was very hard for women to become pilots in Tanzania. The matters of desired jobs for male and female were also discussed throughout the interview with the Form II students. We asked them if there are certain jobs which are for women and for men. Some of the students reply that there were, others disagreed. However one female student expressed: “I think it is just stereotypies, people have labelled certain jobs for men and women and its known that way. But if a woman try what’s so called “men’s job” she might like and enjoying it” (Female student of Form II).

The desired jobs for males are productive roles which leads directly to an economic income. However, the females desired jobs are closer to the reproductive jobs, as taking care of children or elders seems to be common. At the same time it is interesting that none of the females wish to stay at home. They desire a job which leads to economic income at the same time as it is a job which requires caretaking.

According to the Gender Inequality Index, Tanzania has a labour force participation of 79,5% female and 87,4% male per 2017 (United Nations Development Programme, 2019b). These numbers indicate that a great part of Tanzania's women are also participating in the labour market, which differs from my perception of the illustrations where it seems as the women are mostly staying at and performing reproductive activities. According to statistics one can see that a great number of women and men are participating in the labour market, however, which jobs they in fact have, may differ.

9.7.2 Revision exercises

The process of the revision exercises is further explained in the part of methods. This activity consisted of assignments which the students had to answer in groups of 5-8 persons. Some of the groups elaborated greatly with good and relevant examples. Others answered directly from what is presented in the textbooks. What seems to be interesting is that the examples given by the students may be events they have experienced from their own lives and experiences. Their teacher told me that some of the negative cultural values presented are something that the students is familiar with from their families and life.

Findings from this activity leads me to see that there is a close connection with the reality of the students and what is presented in the curriculum. The ideological curricula is based on needs and experiences from the Tanzanian Society. The operational curricula however seems to be a combination of what is stated in the textbooks and what the given teacher have of experiences and knowledge to be able to elaborate on examples from the society. These are the examples provided for the students throughout their classes, and might have been reproduced throughout this activity.

9.8 Challenges faced by the students

Dropouts may lead to lack of a certain gender at the school. There is much focus on drop-outs in Tanzania from media and organizations . The international society has to a certain degree eyes on Tanzanian drop- out practices. Due to challenges throughout my study I was not able to retrieve dropout rates from the given school. However, national statistics from Tanzania in

2016 shows dropout rates. The reasons for dropout mentioned by the government are: death, pregnancy, truancy and indiscipline. Truancy are the dropouts which does not have a particular or unknown reason stated for it, and indiscipline are those who drop out because of not behaving well in school. In this table, I will enlighten the drop-out statistics from governmental schools as the school I have been studying is governmental. I will not cover all the reasons, but rather focus on the total number of dropouts, and the dropouts concerning pregnancy.

Table 9.1 Number of Dropouts in Government and Non-Government Schools by reason and Sex, 2016 (MoEVT, 2017).

Secondary Education
Table 3.12: Number of Dropouts in Government and Non-Government Schools by Reason and Sex, 2016

| Ownership | Death | | Pregnancy | | Truancy | | Indiscipline | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|------|-----------|-------|---------|--------|--------------|-------|--------|--------|
| | F | T | F | T | F | T | F | T | F | T |
| Government | 276 | 682 | 4,299 | 4,299 | 23,878 | 54,749 | 406 | 1,102 | 28,859 | 60,832 |
| Non-Government | 42 | 107 | 143 | 143 | 1,006 | 2,094 | 218 | 727 | 1,409 | 3,071 |
| Grand Total | 318 | 789 | 4,442 | 4,442 | 24,884 | 56,843 | 624 | 1,829 | 30,268 | 63,903 |
| % of Total Dropout | 0.50 | 1.23 | 6.95 | 6.95 | 38.94 | 88.95 | 0.98 | 2.86 | 47.37 | 100 |

The statics shows that there are a higher number of males than female that experience death throughout their secondary education. The reasons for death may be many, and will not be discussed throughout this paper. Furthermore, the number of dropouts because of pregnancy are 4299 in governmental schools. This is a relatively high number of students. However these issues will be discussed further in this thesis. Truancy has a total number of 54749 students and 23878 of these are female. The reasons for truancy are not stated, but these are most likely to be such as family issues, illness, economic challenges, or others. Indiscipline accounts for approximately 1 102 of the students whereas 406 of these are female. Joseph pointed out there are 50/50 of male and female which drops out in Sokoni School. These statistics support his statement as there seems to be approximately equal number of students, male and females that drops out in total (MoEVT, 2017).

9.8.1 Pregnancy and dropouts

The issues and problems following pregnancy and dropouts in Tanzania has been discussed nationally and globally. John Pombe Magufuli is the president of Tanzania, since 2015. His government has been, according to BBC news known for taking action and making decisions very fast. Under the presidency of Magufuli many actions have been taken, and former practices have been abolished (Mtulya, 2019).

In an article written by The Guardian in 2017, the issues of banning school girls was discussed by Members of the Parliament. According to this paper there is a law from 1960s in Tanzania which legitimize to expel pregnant girls from school. However under the presidency of Magufuli this law has been enforced and became even more strict (Ratcliffe, 2017).

The members of the parliament of Tanzania are debating whether or not abolish this law and thereby change it to allow pregnant girls to return to school. The members of the parliament has different opinions on this matter. An article written by The Citizen in 2017 addresses some of these points of view. However, I have chosen to enlighten the main arguments of this discussion.

Salma Kikwete, the former First Lady has engaged in this debate. She supports Magufuli's enforcement of this law. Mrs. Kikwete argues that culture and tradition does not allow early pregnancies, and therefore this law should contribute in establishing an ethical society. However, these arguments are challenged by another member of the parliament Mr. Cecil Mwambe who refers to an example of the situation of pregnant girls in the region which Mrs. Kikwete originates from. This is one of the regions where adolescent pregnancies are most prevalent. He question whether Mrs. Kikwete wish to remove their opportunity to go to school or if she has any other approaches to ensure the welfare of these girls. She replies that these girls should get help, however giving them the opportunity to go back to school is not seen as an option. However she argues that the men who makes these schoolgirls pregnant should be according to the law be facing a 30 year jail sentence (Mtulya, 2017). This law in which she refers to is a governmental law which says that whoever makes a girl pregnant should be punished with 30 years of prison.

In 2018 CNN addresses the global community's engagement towards this law. The World Bank had planned to provide Tanzania with a loan of \$300 million in order for the Ministry of Education to improve the access to quality based Secondary School Education. However, this loan was withdrawn. The reason for this action was among other factors the abandonment of girls who get pregnant during their Secondary Education(Kottasová, 2018). Teen pregnancy are also addressed throughout the "I had a dream to finish school" by Human Rights Watch 2017, barriers to Secondary Education is in focus. The article discusses challenges which leads to students not completing secondary education. Among these the issue of early pregnancy is discussed (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

“Many, and perhaps most, schools force girls to undergo pregnancy testing in school and expel girls when they find out they are pregnant. Girls who are married are also expelled according to the government’s expulsion guidelines” (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

The Tanzanian NGO, Haki Elimu also addresses the challenges faced by pregnant adolescents who gets expelled. In 2017 at the Day of the African Child, they launched their campaign called *Ondoa Vikwazo Asome*. This campaign aims towards an abolishment of the pregnancy law and the implementation of new rules which makes it possible for girls to return to school. Haki Elimus campaign was distributed in social media, TV and radio in order for all the citizens to receive the message. The effect of this campaign is that it has created awareness of the ongoing barriers of girls’ education. At the same time, despite the presidents perspective many young mothers stand up and discuss these issues in the public (Haki Elimu, 2017).

9.8.2 Pregnancy at Sokoni Secondary

Pregnancy is one of the reasons girls drop out of school. Based on conversations with various informants the governmental rule which says that girls who get pregnant during their Secondary Schooling were mentioned many times. The teachers and the school administration needs to follow these regulations set by the government. I had a conversation with Joseph concerning this matter where I asked him about dropout and gender. I asked if he could elaborate on who faced dropouts and what connection this had with pregnancy. He expressed the following:

I would say it is 50/50, there are boys who drop out school and there are girls who do not want to come to school. Some dropout because of their economic situation at home and other especially girls cannot handle the puberty well them getting pregnancy and so on. (Joseph, Headmaster).

There is approximately equal numbers of boys and girls who dropout from Sokoni Secondary according to the Joseph. Boys dropout as well as the girls. He mentions the economic situation as a factor whereas lack of economic capital may hinder families from sending their children to school. Situations such as early pregnancy lead to dropout of girls from Secondary School. However Sokoni is a school who work hard to keep their students in school, so they try their best to fight dropouts as far as they can. At the same time, the pregnancy law is governmental, and it is not possible for the teachers to do anything about it. Joseph points out that the school are focusing on eliminate the number of dropouts as far as they are able to. He expresses this in the following way: “And if you miss school even a month, two month, still

we can accept them coming back to school if you know the reason with the exception of pregnancy. Pregnancy even one day we can't accept it" (Joseph, Headmaster). The reasons for not attending school are many, if there are reasons beyond getting pregnant, absence from school may be accepted as long as it is not a result of pregnancy. I asked the Halima whether these issues normally occurred at Sokoni Secondary School. She replied that it does for sure. Joseph, the Headmaster pointed out the following when I asked him about pregnancy at Sokoni School: "Like last year we tested pregnancy we found that 6 girls were pregnant and they were expelled from school" (Joseph, Headmaster).

Testing of pregnancy is done at Sokoni Secondary School. Joseph points out that the school tested pregnancy among the female students last year. The result was that six girls seemed to be pregnant and were therefore expelled from school. Of the total 806 students enrolled at the school in 2017, there was 6 girls who were tested with pregnancy. The percentage of females at Sokoni Secondary School who got pregnant in 2017 are 7,4 % of the total number of students. In the table of the gender inequality index from the Human Development Report, one of the issues that are measured are the birth rate for adolescents. According to this index 115,1 of 1000 females in the age of 15-20 get pregnant in the period of 2015-2019 (United Nations Development Programme, 2019b). The percentage of females who get pregnant nationally accounts for 11,5 % of the total population measured. The adolescent birth rate at the school seems to be lower than what is seen throughout national statistics. However, my data used to measure the number of pregnant girls at the school is quite limited as I only have the statistics from one year. At the same time it gives an implication of the given school's effort to avoid adolescent pregnancies. John expresses the Government's reason for the implementation of the pregnancy rule. He says that the law was made in order to prevent early pregnancy and scare the girls to engage in sexual activities. However, he does not agree with this rule as he believes it is not fair towards the girls. His argument is that these girls may have been forced into these sexual activities and then ended up being pregnant. The study in which the John refers to is a study done in 2013 whereas they had measured pregnancy and its correlation with rape. He expresses the following.

We did a study in 2013 about pregnant at school and found that rape was common detour for these girls. So I really don't think expelling girls from school is the best measure to control that other girls do not get pregnant while studying. (John, teacher educator).

According to this study done by this institution rape seemed to be a common denominator for girls who drop out due to pregnancy. Therefore he argues that it is not fair for the girls to be expelled as they might not have chosen to be pregnant. Rosa supports the statement of John. She points out that the government should see this issue in another way as girls may not be pregnant willingly. Economic situation at home, or rape may lead to the situation where they need a man to provide for them. She agrees with the teacher educator that expelling girls because of pregnancy is not fair.

9.8.3 The aspect of freedom

An aspect I saw as interesting was stated by the Ruby, the General Secretary of the Student Government. She said the following during our conversation.

“and to know like it’s an example of here in Tanzania we are very different in terms when it comes to freedom, like at home maybe. The boys have much freedom than the girls” (Ruby, General Secretary of the Student Government).

She points out that boys have more freedom than the girls in terms of access to the society outside home or school. The girls are sometimes set to stay at home in order to prevent them from early pregnancy or other practices which may affect their schooling. The girls are therefore to stay at home and perform their domestic activities so that they will be removed from a situation where they can end up being pregnant. The boys however are in another situation. The General Secretary sees the male as able to hustle themselves from a young age. By this she expresses that males are able to protect themselves in the society in a different way than the girls. Human Rights watch argues that expelling girls leads to a quite difficult situation for these girls. They will most certainly struggle to get back to school due to stigmatization of adolescent mothers, and financial difficulties.

9.8.4 Measures taken by the school

However, there are measures to be taken by the school and parents to prevent, or to solve issues concerning pregnancy. During a conversation with Rosa, the teacher of Form II, I asked what kind of measures the teachers take in order to help these girls as they are not able to change the law of pregnancy. She replied: “we talk to them, we create a room that they feel free to come and talk to us. We advise them about early sexual relationship”(Form II teacher).

Rosa expressed as mentioned earlier in this paper that she sees it as unfair for the girls to be expelled when pregnant. Following up in this conversation I asked her which measures the

school take to prevent such situations. She told me that she keeps an open mind and are present to help these girls if they need it by talking to them.

Another measure the school provides in order to prevent dropouts are hostels for girls. The Headmaster, Joseph points out that statistics shows that day scholar girls have a higher rate of dropouts than those who don't. He therefore argues that these measures taken actually helps to minimize dropouts. The hostels are offered for female students at advanced level. Ruby lives at these hostels, so I asked her if she could elaborate on how it actually is to live there, and if she experience that it helps to prevent dropouts. The concept of the hostels or dormitories are explained as a place for the girls of advanced level to stay when the day scholars go home. However, the girls living at these dormitories are responsible for cleaning amenities and surroundings. When explaining whether the hostels are preventing dropouts, she express the following:

yeah. At least the fact that we stay in hostels helps a lot. For example like the day scholar girls are supposed to do many things, much more technology outside there they spend most of the times maybe in towns or whatever but here we just, we have limits. We have the prep times. The only time we get to relax is maybe in the weekends watch television so we are like having a lot of time to review our studies we have a lot of time to discuss, we have a lot of time to do things that mostly concern us in academic ways. (Ruby, General Secretary of the Student Government)

Outside the schools area the girls may not be as protected as they are at the hostels. At the same time they could have other responsibilities and expectations which effects their education. At the hostels the girls have limited responsibilities which is connected to school and basic domestic activities. This provides the girls with a safe and comfortable area to study and prepare for exams. It is also a measure taken to prevent the girls form getting married early or get involved in sexual activities at a young age.

9.8.5 Educational Options for pregnant girls

If the girls are in a position where they are or gets pregnant during their secondary education, and end up being expelled from school. There are as stated by the Head of Civics no possibility for them to go back to school. The policy of governmental schools is very strict so, they can under no circumstances be given the opportunity to continue studying after giving birth. However, she points out that there are other solutions for them to be educated.

yes qualified test , its known as QET. so students of form 1 or two she is going to be chased out of the school after getting her baby, she can join that program after getting her baby when she is going to join that kind of program she is going to register herself in the period of one year that student is going to sit for qualified test. after sitting exam she is able to register herself for form four exam. (Amina, Head of the Civics Department)

Amina refers to a situation whereas there was a student of either form I or II who is going to be expelled after giving birth to her baby. An opportunity for her, if she does have the economic resources to do so is to perform a qualified test, if she passes this exam she will be able to register for the exam of Form IV. The reasons for dropouts are many, lack of economic capital, early pregnancy or other cultural practices may hinder the access to education. Another option of education outside the Governmental Schools can be a solution for those who drop out due to issues such as pregnancy. However, this type of education requires a certain amount of money. Joseph pointed out that Sokoni Secondary is especially open for letting students return to school if the reason for drop out is anything but pregnancy. Females often fall out of secondary education due to their families priority, and or pregnancy. However, this Secondary school provides hostels for girls who are in advanced level, as they believe this will hinder them to be exposed to negative cultural practices and early pregnancy.

9.8.6 Poverty and the access to education

There is a great part of the population in Tanzania which experience living in poverty. Statistics from the World Bank, shows that in 2011, the national poverty ratio indicates that approximately 28,2% of the total population was characterized as poor. The international poverty line measures poverty as the number of population that lives on less than 1.90 USD per day. In 2011, the percentage of the population living in poverty according to the national poverty line was measured to be 49,1 % (World Bank Group, 2018).

This is something which is occurring among students at Sokoni Secondary School. During my stay I sometimes forgot to lock in my things when leaving the teachers Staff room. My companion and informant, the teacher of Form IV, Halima always made sure my bag and valuables were locked inside a cupboard. She informed me that I had to be careful as the students might steal and thereby sell them in order to be able to buy things.

Food at the school is not for free, neither is the uniform or materials. Some of the students which lack necessities might steal to be able to cover their basic needs. The General Secretary explains that students with limited economical resources might steal even the lights in the classroom and sell them. Hamisi points out: “mhmm, the background, poor they steal those things in order to sell to get money to go to the canteen” (Hamisi, President of the Student Government).

I asked them why these students do so, Hamisi blames the background of these students are the reason for them doing so. If the students come from poor backgrounds which lack economic capital they might not have money to buy food to bring to school.

Another aspect I experienced at the school is the absence of students in some classes of Form IV. One day the Halima told me she was going to teach another class of Form IV which I had not yet participated in. She told me prior to the class that she did not enjoy teaching Civics in this particular class ,so I asked her why. I was given the permission to join this class and see for myself, so we went together. When we entered the class I expected to see approximately 50/60 students in the classroom, however this was not the case. Only 15 students was present when we arrived. She taught the class in a different way due to the capability of learning among the students. She informed me that it was a majority of the student which struggled with learning or had other difficulties who were present in this class. She pointed out that poverty and lack of school material and time to study might be the case for some of these students.

9.8.7 Who is prioritized in terms of education?

When the families lack economic capital, there may be a dispute whether to educate a girl or a boy. These matters were expressed by many of my informants. One of the female students of Form II expressed the following: “Yes, many countries in Africa favours boys more than girls. Often boys gets the more opportunities than girls, for example to go to school. While girls are regarded as domestic workers get married” (Female Student of Form II). Boys often get priorities in terms of education as they are supposed to engage in productive activities. Girls however are according to this student set to perform reproductive roles, and therefore ends up getting married. The investment in education may be expensive for some families. Its therefore challenging to make a choice which one that will be able to get an education. Amina tells me the following.

Sometimes you will find students.. ah, what am I going to do if I am going to be a father? and you have boys and girls, are you going to educate all of them? are you

going to give them the same chance for education you might find that others are saying yes, why, some people are saying that all of them are human being, they needed their rights, others are saying no no no, please i cannot waste my money educating a girl. (Head of Civics).

When someone are in a situation where they have to choose, many aspects are present, many of them, economical.

Furthermore, in patrilocal societies not just offspring, but also parents are more likely to benefit from investing in sons' over daughters economic success, because the benefits of daughters' education are perceived to accrue to her husband's family (Grogan, 2007 referred to in Hedges, Borgerhoff Mulder, James, & Lawson, 2016, p. 144). In sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, gender bias in education is evident, with girls being less likely to be enrolled in school than boys, particularly for secondary education (United Nations, 2013 referred to in Hedges, Borgerhoff Mulder, James, & Lawson, 2016, p. 144)

Education is an investment, however in some situation it will negatively affect the economy of poor families. When paying for a girls education, the family are facing a situation whereas they are investing in a girl which may not benefit her own family with her skills. If she is married off to another family her abilities will become an advantage for this other family, and not her own. During our conversation, The Head of Civics points out an example of this exact situation.

it is presented because sometimes you might find that women are not getting there rights in one way or another because you might find that in some societies that parents tend to educate more boys than girls, girls are going to get married and are going to benefit other families, but those boys are going to be educated because they will continue the lineage of the family. (Head of Civics)

The girls will be in some societies married of to another family. She will then benefit the lineage of this family. However the boys of the family will continue the lineage of their own family, and are therefore prioritized. There are other reasons for the parents to invest in their children's education.

“In many societies, the demands of costly parental investment are to some extent offset by the labor contributions of children, which subsidize their parents’ continued reproduction” (Kramer, 2011; Lee & Kramer, 2002; Turke, 1988 referred to in: Hedges, Borgerhoff Mulder, James, & Lawson, 2016, p. 142). The children are in some families seen as a valuable labour force which contribute in providing for the family so that all the members will be taken care of. These aspects may effect both male and female.

9.8.8 Summarizing the experiential curriculum

The students seems to be aware about gender and responsibilities. Many of them expresses them as critical to certain socio cultural practices in the society. Issues such as domestic violence, discrimination are examples of practices that are mentioned.

When the students are describing their responsibility at home I do not see a clear distinction where male are responsible for productive activity and female the reproductive activities. The students seems to engage in somehow similar activities at home, like washing clothes, preparing food and so on. This seems to reflect what the students learn in school where traditional gender roles should be challenged. However as Ruby, the General Secretary points out there are differences between genders in terms of freedom , especially at home.

10. Conclusion

My study seeks to develop an understanding of education and gender at Tanzanian Secondary schools. Taking the national curriculum, subject syllabus and textbooks as expressions of the ideology of the national education authorities, it seems clear that increasing gender equality is crucial in educational policies, as well as in textbooks and teaching in the school. Laws and regulations in education has a common aim to create equal opportunities for male and female. For instance the law concerning pregnancy is meant to have a positive effect in terms of hindering teen pregnancy and sexual activity at an early age. However, not all girls get pregnant by choice, and end up being abolished from the opportunity to access further education. The Government has therefore implemented juridical regulations that punish the male with up to 30 years in prison for making an under-aged girl pregnant. The formal curriculum such as the textbooks and the syllabus present gender as an aspect which should be discussed, in terms of social and cultural practices. The content stated in the textbooks and the syllabus is very detailed and present many aspects, which is connected with being male or female in Tanzania. The content of the Civics subject challenges existing practices and beliefs in Tanzania, which hinder an equal treatment of male and female.

The teachers seem to perceive the curriculum as challenging to realize throughout their classes. One of the reasons is that there is no civics education for teachers, which results in lack of confidence in teaching among some of my informants. Another reason is that they seek to implement the teaching and learning strategies that are stated in the curriculum. However, these learning strategies often require a certain set of materials and time, both of which the teachers do not necessarily have. Language barriers are a matter which occurs as the students may seem to struggle with expressing themselves in English, especially in Form I & II. Most students have been taught in Swahili in Primary School. Parts of the content of the syllabus and the textbooks which contradict certain socio-cultural practices in Tanzania, may also be in conflict with what happens in the given teachers life. Some practices that, according to the syllabus, should be abolished, such as discrimination of women, may be taking place in the teachers' personal lives. They seek to present gender in their classes through student centred ways of teaching and by the use of examples from Tanzania. They are however obligated to operationalize their teaching according to the syllabus.

The students and how they experience the curriculum is, as mentioned, a part that my data material cannot cover. However, the students display extensive knowledge concerning gender.

The illustrations and revision exercises made by the students of Form IV show competence in the topic. They are both able to answer properly and provide examples. However, my perception is that the majority of the answers the students have written are descriptive, they explain the exact content similar to what is stated in the textbooks. At the same time, throughout the interview with the Form II students I perceived it as the students have knowledge which exceeds the content of the syllabus. The students spoke out concerning gender without referring directly to what is stated in the textbooks, and they referred to examples. Some of the students expressed that they would use domestic violence if they saw it as correct to do in a certain situation. At the same time, they all agreed that negative socio-cultural practices in the society, such as domestic violence and discrimination, should be abolished in the society. Their after school activities were almost the same between girls and boys, both gender performed mostly domestic chores at home.

Furthermore, the student drawings imply that the common perception of male and female in the society complies with the division of reproductive and productive roles in the society. The majority of the student illustrations are showing a man who is doing mainly productive activities such as driving a car, caring for cattle, and farming. The female is presented with the responsibility for child bearing, fetching water and preparing food. However, the students seem to be aware of the measures to abolish the negative cultural values and thereby challenge the division between male and female in the society. Culture and cultural practices seem to be a common denominator which leads to the existing gendered division of roles. Some of the informants refer to the Maasai culture, where education for the female is not prioritized, and therefore in conflict with national strategies of providing all students with Secondary Education. However, today, these practices are in a process of changing. Male and female students all wish to get a future job which is productive, which will increase their economic capital. None of the students express that they wish for a job which is solely reproductive.

Tanzania has a clear aim to increase equality in the society. The informants of my study both students and teachers see this as positive. Sokoni Secondary School has a gender equal practice with a clear aim of providing both genders with equal opportunities. Nevertheless, the content of the curriculum, and the social and cultural practices students engage in at home, may appear conflicting. Civics and education about gender contribute in creating awareness in the society about practices which should be abolished. This awareness will according to many of the informants of the study lead to a change in the existing gender roles in the society.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter of informed consent

Dear participants.

My name is Sangeeta Vister Hessen, I am 26 years old and I am a teacher from Norway. Currently I am a master student at Western Norway University of Applied Sciences. For my master study would like to explore Civics in Tanzanian Secondary Schools. My area of focus will be to see how gender is presented in the syllabus, textbooks and teaching. In order to do so I am interested in talking with teachers and students concerning how gender is presented in the textbooks, syllabus, and how it is being taught. When talking with you I assure you that all participation is voluntary it will be anonymized and can be stopped at any time. If you agree for the interview to be recorded, I would like to inform that it will also be anonymized and can also be stopped at any time. All information given through the conversation will not be used for any other purposes than the master study. I give my thanks for your participation as it is greatly appreciated.

*Asante Sana,
Sangeeta*

Further information

About me: *My name is Sangeeta, I am 26 years old, and I am educated as a teacher in Norway. I am currently in my second year of the Master of Social Science Education at the Faculty of Education, Western Norway University of Applied Sciences. If you wish to contact me regarding the research my email is as follows: email*

Collection of personal data: *Dear participants, I ask you kindly to participate in this research as I view your educational background and opinions as interesting for this research. However all information given by you throughout the interview will be anonymized and not to be seen by any other than me, the researcher. If you wish to see what kind of data that has been retrieved throughout the research, or wish to delete some of the information given you are most welcome to contact me through my email (above). The project will according to the plan end at June 2019, and by this point all of the information collected throughout the study will be deleted.*

Appendix 2 Interview guide for teachers

Part 1: Personal.

1.1 Good evening, how are you, thank you very much for your participation, it is appreciated

1.2 For how long have you been a teacher? Do you enjoy being a teacher?

1.3 Which subjects do you teach?

1.4 For how long have you been a teacher at this school?

1.5 Please, tell me a bit about this school?

number of students

number of teachers , male and female?

Part 2: about civics

2.1 How long have you taught civics? What is your educational background? Do you believe it is challenging teaching civics as there is no given education particularly given for civics teachers?

2.2 How do you normally teach civics (which teaching methods do you normally use in the classrooms)

2.3 Do you use activities and student centered ways of teaching, if so, how?

2.4 Within civics there are many themes (show the syllabus), which one do you think is the most important and why?

2.5 In your opinion, what is the most important knowledge and qualities a young person can learn from civics?

2.6 There are a number of periods that are given for each theme (show in the syllabus), do you think that some themes should have been given more/less time of focus? If so, why?

Part 3: Gender and the classroom

3.1 As my area of focus is about gender in Civics, I am curious to know, how would you define or understand gender?

3.2 Gender is represented in the syllabus many places, such as in relation to families, cultural values and others (show the syllabus), why/why not do you think this is important for the students to learn

3.4 Do you think the school has a special responsibility to create more gender equality in Tanzania? (eller noe lignende) – why?

Is gender roles just something they learn from their parents / caretakers?

3.5 Is there sometimes some conflicting understandings of gender presented in the civics textbook, and the way it is practiced in the homes of your students?

3.6 When you teach, do you focus on giving both genders equal opportunity to participate in the classroom? Do you strive to make sure girls and boys are equally active in your classes / periods?

If they are not equally active, how can we understand the reasons for that?

3.7 In general, the students, if they are male or female do they have equal opportunities to answer in the classroom? Why why not ?

3.8 Would you say that the schools facilities such as the s classroom, toilets good enough for both girls and boys?

3.9 Recently there was a school election for student government, are both genders presented here? How can the students participate, and how are they elected?

3.10 In your opinion, why do your Tanzanians need civics education?

3.11 In your opinion, why do they need to learn about gender issues in school?

Additional question

By visiting a village here in (name of place), I observed that there is a clear division between men and women. Women are at home taking care of children, cooking, cleaning and taking care of the animals at the farm, and male are in charge of the economic income. However while the men are not earning money, they are outside watching the women taking care of the household. Do you believe that learning about gender through civics will challenge these ways of living, and maybe contribute to empower women? If so, do you think it somehow can contribute with disturbing the ways of living of people living in villages?

Appendix 3 : Interview guide Headmaster

Shikamoo, Asante

1. So please tell me a bit about this school
2. How many students do you have, male or female
3. How many teachers, male or female
4. How many civics teachers do you have, and are they male or female ?
5. How about dropout rates?
6. Reasons for dropout rates?
7. Number of drop outs male and female, form 2 – form 4 (do you have a paper which shows the dropout rates?)
8. how about school government, how does the students get selected, and what do they do?
9. Number of male and female in the school government?
10. What kind of positions do they have, and what do they do?
11. How does the school aim to achieve gender equality at this school?
 - School facilities
 - Classroom practice
12. How about civics education, what is your opinion on the fact that there are no specific civics education for Tanzanian Secondary School teachers?
13. Do you believe civics education is of importance to for instance create awareness and achieve gender equality in Tanzania? If so, how?

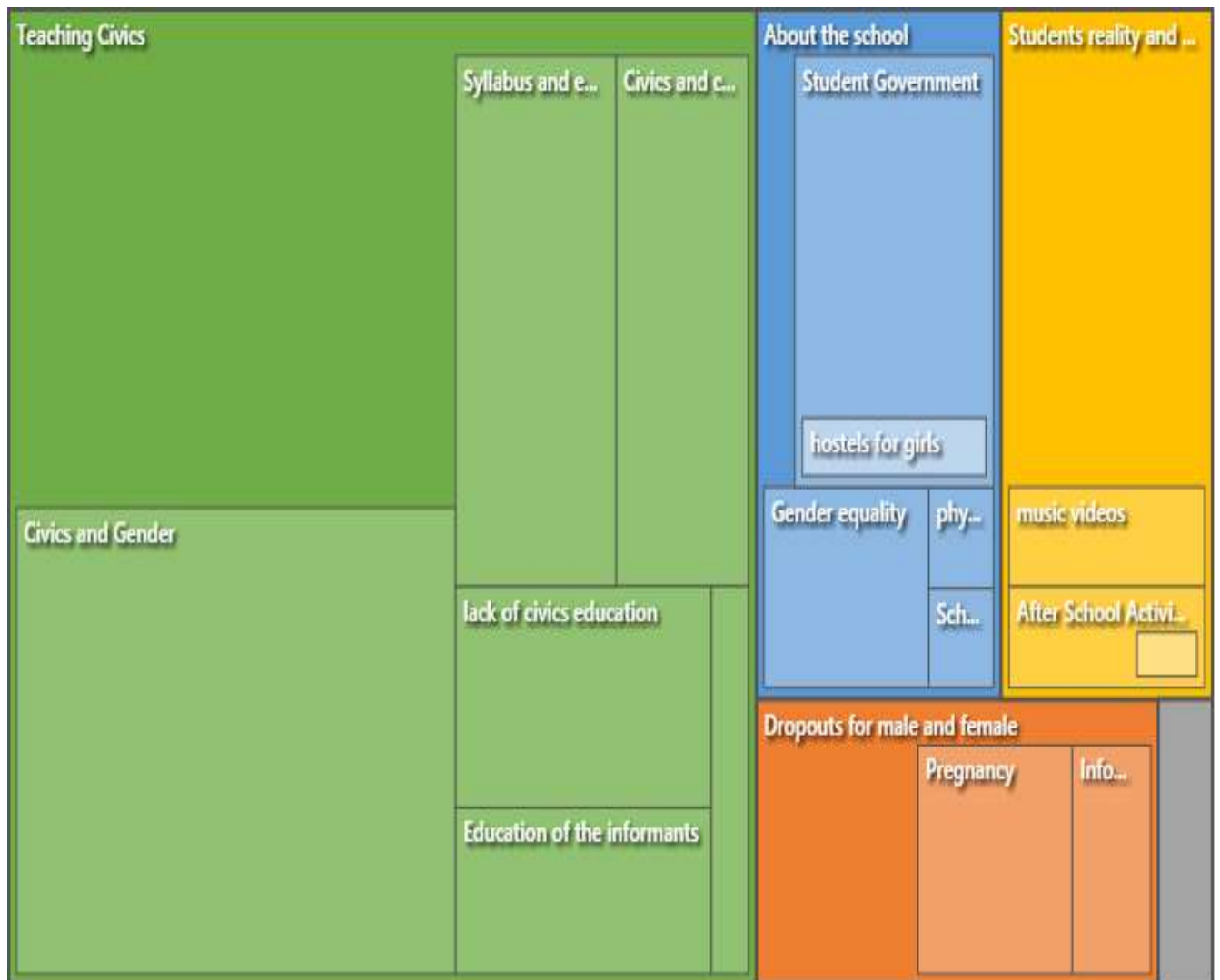
Appendix 4: Interview guide Form II students

1. thank you
2. how would you explain the concept of gender to someone who does not understand what it means
3. Do you believe that learning about gender is important and why?
4. Please describe these pictures p.74- 77.
5. For male: Let's say that you come home from a long day at work , and your wife had not been cooking for you, do believe that you should punish her?
6. For female: if you as a wife did something, like not cooking for your husband, do you believe that he should punish you, or that you deserve to be punished?
7. What kind of activities do you normally do after school? à difference male and female.
8. Do you listen to music? What is your favourite music?-à suggestions from the students
9. What do you think of bongo flava music videos? à show them kokoro,
10. Can you describe how male and female are presented in these videos
11. Do you believe that there are certain jobs for male and female?
12. What kind of job would you like to have when you grow up?

Appendix 5 : Interview guide Student Government

1. I think it's very interesting that you have this student government. But I don't know a lot about it so I wanted to know if you can tell me a little bit about what it is and what you do?
2. How does the elections of the Student Government work?
3. How about gender, how many female and how many male are in this student government now?
4. I'm thinking more about the school facilities things like that like the toilets the way with treating boys and girls. Are these things that you are discussing in student government?
5. Can you please tell me a bit about the hostels this school provides for female students in A level?
6. Can you tell me anything about dropout from the transition from form 4 to form 5-6. If you know anything about it if there is a difference?
7. What would you say gender equality is? How would you define this term? Making an example for this school maybe?
8. Can you tell me a bit about the opinion in Maasai culture when girls get an education. Like something positive or something negative? Towards the culture I mean
9. Do you have these books? (Civics Form I-IV). What about the pictures here?
10. What do you think about the way they are presenting gender? How would you describe gender discrimination if you are telling a person who does not know what it is, how would you explain it?
11. How would you describe the way Bongo Flava music videos present both gender throughout their videos?
12. I went to (name of village and city) and visited a family there and stayed there for some nights, it was really nice. And there I could see that the female they were cooking, taking care of the children and the animals while the male was working and earning money and this is way they make their life go around, but the, when people get awareness about gender do you think that awareness about gender somehow can destroy this way of living?

Appendix 6: Main topics talked about through the interviews



Appendix 7: Hierarchical structure of Sokoni Secondary School

The Government
Ministry of Education



The Ward
Sent by the Government to inspect the schools practices



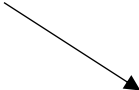
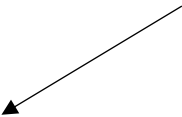
The Head of School
The Headmaster, Joseph



The Head of the Civics Department
Amina



The Teachers of Civics



The Civics teacher of Form II
Rosa

Teacher Educator of Civics
John

The Civics teacher of Form IV
Halima

Students Form II

Students Form IV