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# Obstacles to Women's Participation in Post-colonial Education in Tanzania: What is to be Done?

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A Thesis

in

the Humanities Doctoral Program

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### **ABSTRACT**

# Obstacles to Women's Participation in Post-colonial Education in Tanzania: What is to be Done?

Mary D. Mulugu, Ph.D. Concordia University, 1999

The issue of insufficient schooling for women in Tanzania is major and complex. Its magnitude has largely been disguised by an ideological rhetoric on social equality through which women's differing experiences across geographical, ethnic, class, gender, and religious boundaries are falsely homogenized. This problem requires a critical examination, in which multiple obstacles women face during their schooling process in Tanzania can emerge. Crucial to this kind of analysis is the identification of landmarks, or locations, on which conventional and unconventional institutions discursively construct women's identities and formulate their subjectivity (Smith, in Mohanty et al 1991). Such an identification is important, given the current structure of Tanzania's society in which dominant socio-economic classes, political groups, and men can easily exploit and oppress subordinate groups of people, and deny women any meaningful academic participation and achievement (Kelly & Elliott, 1982; Grabb 1990).

The critical nature of this analysis stems from a recognition of the interrelationships which exists between the notion of "politics of location" and discursive practices in the process of the construction of identities and formation of subjectivity. Questions surrounding the concept of identity in relation to the formation of subjectivity are, therefore, central to the examination of women's access to resources and their right to opportunity, whether socio-economic, cultural or political. In turn, the differing degrees and right to their access indicate the diversity of the problems and magnitude each woman faces during her schooling process.

This analysis borrows from dialectical and critical models developed by such classical sociological theorists as Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim, and along with ideas from other contemporary perspectives, feminist theorists, colonial and post-colonial discourses. Ideas developed by these scholars to analyze the problem of social inequality provide the critical means to look at and understand this problem. They are, therefore, central to the development of a theoretical design for the examination of obstacles to women's participation in education in Tanzania

Post-colonial Tanzania has recognized formal education as the main tool for developing various talents and converting them into conventional specialties; but the socio-economic, cultural and political obstacles examined in this research have been perennial obstacles to women's meaningful academic achievement in Tanzania.

This dissertation has been designed to help a critical thinker, and diligent woman penetrate falsely smoothened surfaces of unconventional and conventional institutions, in order to understand what each of them contribute to both enable and minimize women's participation in post-colonial education in Tanzania.

Despite all the challenges that have been directed against the educational system in Tanzania, it is important to understand that efforts by the government to eradicate discriminatory educational policies introduced during colonialism, especially Mwl. Nyerere's contribution to women's liberation in Tanzania, are strongly recognized and saluted. They reflect great minds of our political leaders on crucial issues confronting human development.

This work, while basically meant for women in Tanzania, might be valuable for anyone because it offers a suggested guide for a meaningful struggle towards many types of achievement including education. It is also significant for those whose academic life was prematurely ended

because it provides a means for reviving academic desire, energy, and hope for academic success. It can also be used as a guide for policy decision-makers, especially around issues concerning women's liberation because it reveals some of the critical problems preventing women from succeeding academically, and in their lives in general.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE		
INTRODUCTION	1	<b>7</b>
1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	8	9
1.2 PROBLEM IDENTIFICAT	ION	
	9	-14
1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLO	OGY	
	14	-18
1.4 THEORETICAL DESIGN	18	-29
1.5 UNDERSTANDING THE	CONCEPT OF IDENTITY IN RELATION TO N	OTIONS
OF "POLITICS OF LOCAT	TION" AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICES	
	30	43
1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE	TEXT	
	43	44
CHAPTER TWO		
LITERATURE REVIEW		
INTRODUCTION	45	47
2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW	48	50
2.2 UNDERSTANDING THE C	COMPLEXITY SURROUNDING THE PROBLE	MOF
SOCIAL INEQUALITY	51	57

2.3 UNDERSTANDING TH	E NOTION OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY
	5762
2.4 IDEOLOGIES WHICH I	NFLUENCE THEORIES ON SOCIAL INEQUALITY
	6267
2.5 CLASSICAL THEORIE	S ON SOCIAL INEQUALITY
	6780
2.6 CLASSICAL IDEAS IN	RELATION TO GENDER INEQUALITY
	8086
2.7 FEMINIST VIEW ON G	ENDER INEQUALITY: THEORETICAL INFLUENCES
ON ITS DEVELOPMEN	Τ 8699
2.8 COLONIAL AND POST	-COLONIAL DISCOURSE
	99106
2.9 CONCLUDING ANALY	SIS
	106113
CHAPTER THREE	
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: TH	IIRD WORLD AND COLONIALISM
INTRODUCTION	114116
3.1 UNDERSTANDING TH	E CONCEPTS OF COLONIALISM, RELIGION AND
IMPACT	116119
3.2 GENERAL OVERVIEW	OF COLONIALISM: FOCUS AFRICA, TANZANIAN
EXPERIENCE	119122
3.2.1 ARAB RULE	122123
3.2.2 EUROPEAN C	ONTACTS: GERMAN RULE
	124127

3.2.3 BRITISH RULE	127	130
3.3 TRADITIONAL SOCIETY	OF TANZANIA	
	130	134
3.4 THE IMPACT OF COLON	IALISM ON TANZANIAN SOCIETY AND ITS	PEOPLE
	134	136
3.5 DIFFERING LOCAL CON	CEPTIONS ABOUT COLONIALISM AND FOR	EIGN
RELIGION	137	142
CHAPTER FOUR		
EDUCATION BACKGROUND IN TA	NZANIA	
INTRODUCTION	143	145
4.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF	FEDUCATION BACKGROUND IN TANZANIA	A
	145	·1 <i>5</i> 3
4.2 POST INDEPENDENCE E	DUCATION POLICIES: WOMEN'S PARTICIPA	ATION
AND THE QUALITY OF E	DUCATION	
	154	-170
4.3 OBSTACLES TO WOMEN	'S PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION OUTSID	ETHE
SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT	170	175
4.4 UNDERSTANDING GEND	DER INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION AT A MAC	RO-
LEVEL	175	185
4.5 CONCLUDING ANALYSIS	S 185	193

# **CHAPTER FIVE**

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES REFLE	CTING PROBLEM	<b>IS THEY</b>	<b>ENCOUNTER</b>	DURING
THEIR SCHOOLING PROCESS				
INTRODUCTION	194			195
5.1 CASE STUDIES	195			225
5.2 CONCLUDING ANALYS	S 225			228
CHAPTER SIX				
CONCLUDING ANALYSIS	229			240
6.1 SUGGESTED MODELTO	WARDS ACADEMI	IC ACHIEV	EMENT	
	240			247
BIBLIOGRAPHY	248			255

#### CHAPTER ONE

#### INTRODUCTION

Many studies on women in the Third World have focused on issues related to women and development. By the 1970s many Third World scholars were already challenging the fundamental assumptions of international development. These challenges emanated from the realization that the "trickle-down" development theory would not effectively eradicate poverty for a majority of the poor, many of whom are women (Harrison, 1990; Ostergaard, 1992). Access to resources and opportunities, the right to property ownership, and the problems of distribution and equality of benefits to various segments of the population became a topic of major important development theory (Miliband, 1983; Human Development Report, 1992 and 1997).

The issue of women and development, especially in the Third World, attracted the attention of many scholars, including Janet H. Momsen (1991), who investigated the influences of economic crises and the legacy of imperialism on patriarchal attitudes, and its impact on women's development. Irene Tinker focused her observations on a global concern with equity. Ester Boserup's (1970) economic views of women's development trace historical conditions which profoundly affected women's economic development.

Most scholars interested in women and development, including Boserup, Miranda Greenstreet (1988), Marilyn Waring (1988), Lise Ostergaard (1992), Noleen Heyzer (1988), Georgina Waylen (1996), Gail P. Kelly and Carolyn M. Elliott (1982) as well as subsequent reports on Human Development, have demonstrated that women's problems, including poverty due to low income, poor health, lack of knowledge, inability to communicate or exercise political rights along with the absence of dignity, confidence and self-respect, are closely related to their insufficient schooling. Education opens doors to women's future expectations. Educated women can cope with socio-economic, cultural and political changes that affect their access to development (UNESCO, 1979; United Nations, 1995). Development, "from a human development perspective", (United Nations, 1995; Human Development Report, 1997:5) is much more than the

possession of economic or material wealth; it includes having access to resources and opportunities, and being able to make choices which are basic for human development (ibid.) including education. Education is the main tool for acquiring advanced knowledge and skills crucial for "healthy, creative life, a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-esteem", (ibid.) and confidence. It thus occupies a central position in human development.

Tanzania, like most societies in the world, has realized the importance of formal schooling for the transmission of knowledge and culture from one generation to another, and for the development "of human traits that contribute to economic output, social stability, and the production of new knowledge". (Carnoy, 1974:1; H. Hinzen, in UNESCO 1979:5; Nyerere, in UNESCO, 1979:17; Nyerere, 1968:1-4) The government promises to improve women's living conditions through education. As Nyerere (1973) argued, a country can not fully develop if women, who constitute more than half the total population, are left uneducated (The World Guide 1991/92; Bendera, 1994).

As in many societies, women in Tanzania play an active role in social reproduction and economic production. In many ex-colonies such as Tanzania, Msumbiji (Mozambique), Zambia and Kenya, women also participated actively in pre-independence nationalist movements (Waylen 1996:62-68), with roles ranging from social mobilization, hiding men from repressive colonial power-systems, and taking care of war-fighters. In countries such as Msumbiji they were fighters on the front-line (ibid.). Generally, women are an integral part of any society. For that alone socioeconomic, cultural and political conditions should be made conducive to such developmental projects as their education.

As with many other social studies, this study, in examining women's development in Tanzania, identifies education as the main mediating variable in all types of developmental projects. Education is understood to be a fundamental factor in the process of integrating women into development dynamics. For the purposes of this research, insufficient schooling of women is recognized as the main causal factor of their subordination in Tanzania. For this reason, the

problems women face in obtaining education in Tanzania must be discussed to develop a theory adequate for the prescription of alternative solutions. Education is viewed as central for the creation of a path towards women's development. "To ensure that women are adequately represented" (Evans in Ostergaard, 1992:11) in all levels of education, and to promote greater equality for them in the schooling process, it is essential that women's conditions in "social and economic terms" are improved; (ibid.) as well, their position in cultural and political dynamics must be established and maintained.

Conditions related to women's problem of subordination in Tanzania can be traced back to the pre-colonial era, where traditions and customs determined women's access to development (Burns, 1965). Many studies indicate that in Tanzania, as in many African ex-colonies, gender inequality in formal education, as in other sectors, was created or intensified during the period of colonial rule (UNESCO, 1979; Nyerere, 1973; M.L. Swantz, 1985; Boserup, 1970; Mbilinyi, 1983).

In the post-colonial era this problem can, therefore, be perceived as an "after-effect" of local traditions, the colonial legacy and the post-colonial crises which an independent state faces emanating from both within and without its geographical boundaries, and crossing socio-economic, cultural and political lines. Causal factors for gender inequality in education are multiple and hybridized. It is a combination of strands from local traditions and customs twisted with colonial ideas which have continued within the web of new political relations, albeit in displaced positionality (Hall, 1996). Certain elements of life which have always oppressed, exploited, suppressed and subordinated women have continued as key players in determining the rate and direction of social change, and assumptions made about women's "growth and development"; (Burns, 1965:1) about the expectations of them as women; about assumptions about the kind and level of education they prefer. As a result, many women in Tanzania, as in other parts of the world, continue to be strategically excluded from the public, the mainstream, or high level politics,

essentially as it was during colonialism. In many ways women's roles as a mother, wife, daughter, and woman continue to be extended, encouraged, trivialized and privatized.

Gender inequality in education unfolds in wide-ranging factors which contribute to its persistence. Its analysis crosses multiple intersections of class, race, and/ or ethnic boundaries, historical moments, and accommodates both micro and macro levels of evaluation. In turn, this complexity blurs gender lines, resulting in gender inequality in education becoming more comprehensive if analyzed as an issue of identity, rather than of sexual difference (Waylen, 1996:18). Issues surrounding the concept of identity are, as Waylen (1996) and Hall & Gay (1996) argue, multiple and complex. Identity accommodates elements such as race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, and gender, so that each individual has multiple identities with those elements behind identities also changing in time and location.

Such complexity surrounding the problem of gender inequality in education has required an extensive literature review, incorporating classical and contemporary theories of social inequality, modernization theories, and dependency and underdevelopment theories, to provide an understanding of socio-economic and political tendencies in ex-colonies or the Third World in general. Also, feminist theory and certain perspectives within colonial and post-colonial discourse have been very useful in the analysis of gender subjectivity in the schooling process in Tanzania. The notion of "politics of location" by Mohanty, "after effects" by Hall, "double-inscription" by Derrida, and "power relations within conventional discourse" by Foucault have made it "impossible to talk of a unitary category woman and women's interests", (Waylen, 1996:18) or gender inequality as a sole category of analysis. Their analyses help to unfold other axes on which gender subjectivity in education can be explained.

Joanna De Groot and Mary Maynard have argued that women's status is not a unidimensional concept. "It is no longer...(described) in the homogenous way...Even where women's lives appear to take similar forms...their experiences... vary". (1993:149-151) As well, changes of their conditions occur unevenly because of the different combinations of cultural, socio-

economic, political and historical factors, existing social, psychological and structural barriers (ibid:151).

In this sense the diversity existing between and within sexes also demands the use of Chandra T. Mohanty's notion of "politics of location". Using this perspective, an individual's experiences become central to the analysis. It is an evaluation which taps into one's political, socio-economic and cultural experiences, and type of thinking, to define each person's relations to power systems and discursive practices in the process of subjectivity formation and its perpetuation.

Furthermore, the notion of "politics of location" requires that "cultural times are seen to pace differently according to one's location in relation to systems of domination". (Frankenberg and Mani, 1993:300; Hall and Gay, 1996:4)

In this case, while gender inequality in education is experienced differently between male and female students, the degree of its magnitude varies across the students' culture, class, and geographical boundaries, and changes in different periods of time and place.

The notion of "politics of location" demands specificity and creates certain limitations in the analysis of gender inequality in education. It also marks the importance of an historical overview of this problem in Tanzania which may help to unfold political, economic, cultural and even religious crucial moments, as axes on which gender inequality in education can be explained.

The association of gender experiences with issues such as race/ethnicity, class, and historical moments moves the problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania into a global framework, where the problem is defined as severe or mild, in accordance with the position Tanzania occupies within the global socio-economic and political hierarchies; depending on how the "local" affects the "core", and vice versa (Hall & Gay, 1996).

The purpose of this research is to present education as a significant tool in the struggle for women's emancipation. It will examine the influences that socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics have in the process of creating exclusionary/inclusionary boundaries based on gender, class, ethnicity/nationality, and how such boundaries contribute in limiting and excluding women

from academic participation in Tanzania. It will critique the educational policies which appear to have a generalized view of gender access to education, and a rhetorical goal of promoting women's participation in post-colonial education in the country. Fundamentally, the goal is to provide women with a suggested theoretical approach on which they can develop strategies to help them use their personal experiences, and such resources as language, culture, religion, material assets and political powers, to negotiate and adjust their relationships with power systems to their advantage.

Generally, women's participation in post-colonial education in Tanzania is inadequate and insufficient. It is also reasonable to assert that many obstacles to women's participation in post-colonial education in the country are the result of socio-economic, cultural and political conditions. What is required to improve women's participation in education is a re-articulation and reconceptualization of the problem of gender inequality in education. This problem must be re-evaluated in all of its multidimensional directions, interfaced features, complex forms, and converging points through which theoretical ideals can emerge. Such ideals may help to restate the problem's questions, and displace it within an adjusted paradigm which is flexible enough for a reconceptualization of obstacles that limit women's participation in education. Re-articulation and reconceptualization of gender inequality in education in Tanzania are meant to provide women with modified tools which they can use in their struggles for liberation.

Gender inequality in education is one of many social inequalities with explanations ranging from natural/biological and static (by viewing biological characteristics such as sexual difference as the only reason), social and monolithic (such as classic Marxists who view class difference as the only social factor in addition to biological explanation), to multifaceted and complex explanations as brought forward by many postmodern scholars, and those from within colonial and post-colonial discourse, and cultural studies. Many of these explanations include factors from both within and without the school environment. For the purposes of this study an emphasis will be placed on examining some of the factors emanating from outside the school environment - socio-

economic, political and cultural, with their intersecting notions of discursive practices and "politics of location" in the process of constructing identities. Examining such conditions may help in understanding Tanzanian society's expectation of women; the type and level of education a woman in this society is expected to obtain; why such expectations implicitly differ from what this society expects of its men; and the impact of such differences. It may also help to explain how such expectations affect women's attitudes towards education, their performance, their desire to stay in or drop out of school, and their attendance. When such factors are included in the analysis they may reveal the level to which women have managed to challenge gender inequality in education; points where such challenges have succeeded, and where they have failed. They may also clarify strategies that post-colonial women in Tanzania must use in their struggle to strive for a quality education.

The main task of this study is to find ways to help Tanzanian women claim education as their right and to project its progressive impact on their lives; and help to determine what kinds of skills a Tanzanian woman should develop to take charge of her schooling process as a woman and as a citizen.

The aim of this research, therefore, is to provide a critical evaluation of gender inequality in education in Tanzania. The goal is to raise women's consciousness about existing discursive practices which hinder their academic advancement and to strengthen women's autonomy as an alternative source for their liberation (Newland in Duley & Edward, 1986:69). This process should begin within their families, communities, and ethnic groups which serve as bases for women's struggles towards emancipation. Then women role models, mentors and icons can be identified. Girls have to grow out of these traditional sites strong and courageous enough to fight for education.

A combination of awareness, autonomy and assertiveness will be a significant alternative source of not only "women's status, income, security and emotional satisfaction", (ibid.) but also of women's ultimate access to education, a quality education, and success in their lives.

#### 1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To reach a meaningful achievement in life requires that women in Tanzania apprehend and confront conditions within both traditional and formal settings which interfere with their participation in education. Questions which can stimulate their intellectual creativity and guide them to academic goals they aspire to include;

- -Why has full access to formal education not been achieved, especially for women, in post-colonial Tanzania? Or why, despite the value which is usually placed on education in post-colonial Tanzania, is the number of women participants in formal education still so small?
- If the government has recognized education as a strand to create a link between women's private and men's public spheres-between high, or macro, and low, or micro, politics why is formal education still gendered in Tanzania?
- -Why is formal education, which is supposed to serve as a tool for women to identify different power systems which control their sexuality, reproductivity and productivity and lives in general, offered unevenly, and why is it sometimes used to perpetuate women's subservience?
- -Why is formal education, which is supposed to help women cope with on-going changes within socio-economic, cultural and political relations, implicitly available to them with limitations?

Formal education, which is supposed to liberate post-colonial women, has often been used by the power systems within both conventional and unconventional discourses to reproduce, maintain, and perpetuate discursive practices which relegate women to inferior positions (Foucault, 1970).

As a step towards challenging factors which perpetuate women's subjectivity in education, assumptions which disparage women's humanity, any opportunity which appears to conceal

gender discrimination, and policies which mask women's wide ranging diversity (Stone, 1994) must be revealed and rejected. They are factors which Maxine Greene calls

"deformations", which should be surfaced in the hope that they can be repaired to release individual women's capacities now suppressed, for the development of free and autonomous personalities. (in Stone 1994:17)

Women should enter the schooling process knowing that they are claiming education as their birth right rather than receiving it as a favour. Education is their right in every sense of the word. Women, while they are to a large extent victims of unconventional and conventional discourses they did not design, must to learn to use certain limitations to their advantage, and be able to escape from contributing to their own subjectivity.

In summary, this discussion is about a reconceptualization of woman's selfhood to effect changes within herself which may enable her to link to the public world and to forge alliances with other women and institutions which visibly influence politics and policies from both without and within the school environment. Alliances are significant in keeping woman informed about discursive processes which exclude or limit her participation to the margins of crucial areas including the socio-economic and political sectors. Alliances may also encourage a woman's struggle for alternative solutions to problems she faces in the process of obtaining education.

The focus will, therefore, be directed towards understanding both the forms of power and the production of knowledge about women in relation to the formation of their subordinated status in society, and the strands which connect woman's personal experiences to theoretical questions in the conventional world, and the role of the state.

#### 1.2 PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Gender equality in education is an important step towards achieving women's development in Tanzania. However, many women in Tanzania still face a variety of obstacles to obtaining education. Since independence (1961) observations indicate that gender inequality in education is still a major problem in post-colonial Tanzania. Such inequality has had a negative impact on

female students' schooling. Various documents and reports from such sources as UNESCO (1981), the 1991 World Bank report, and UDSM-2000 Facts and Figures (1997) indicate that, generally, there has been low participation by women in formal education since independence; that female students' school attendance has been poorer than that of male students; that female students' school-performance has been lower relatively than that of male students; that female students' school drop-out rate has been higher than that of male students.

In 1986 the rate for girls' enrollment at the elementary school level reached 90 percent, the same level as the boys', but their performance continued to be lower than the boys'. Girls' school drop-out rates have tended to be higher than that of male students. At the secondary school level, while boys' enrollment dropped to 40 percent, only 4 percent of girls were still enrolled. In 1988 girls' enrollment dropped to 49.7 percent at the elementary school level, and rose to 22.8 percent at the secondary school level, 18.8 percent at high school level, and only 16.9 percent at the university undergraduate level schools. (Mbilinyi, Particia Mbughuni, 1991) In 1992 female students' enrollment at the University level rose to 19.1 percent (Bendera in Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania-BEST 1994:4).

By 1994 girls' enrollment at the elementary level dropped to 49.4 percent. At the secondary school level, while still lower than boys', girls' enrollment increased to 42.3 percent in public schools and 45.1 percent in private schools. (BEST, 1995) It is disturbing when these percentages are converted into real numbers. When the total number (from first to fourth academic year, and all 12 fields are combined) of male students in every academic year is compared to that of female students, an increasingly wide gap between the two sexes is revealed. In the 1993/94 academic year there were 2294 male undergraduate students and only 379 female students. In the 1994/95 academic year, while the number for male students dropped to 1333, female students, although showing some improvement, numbered 524 only. In 1995/96, while the number for male students rose to 2875, the number of female students remained almost the same with only 5 new students. In the 1996/97 academic year the number for male students increased to 3163, while

there were only 606 female students (UDSM-2000, Institutional Transformation Program: Facts and Figures, Nov. 1997:46).

Overall, since independence the number of women who participate in formal education has always been smaller than that of men. Only a few women have managed to reach advanced levels of education, but many of them graduate with a poor quality of education relative to men. Also, "significant advances in women's educational achievements do not necessarily open the same employment options to women as men's". (Burkhardt, S.J., 1977:2)

Consequently, a majority of women in Tanzania live in pathetic and underdeveloped conditions often below the poverty line, mainly because of the lack of sufficient schooling. Women without adequate schooling cannot develop to their full potential. It is difficult for them to recognize those discursive practices which often deny them access to equal opportunities and resources, to equal property rights, and protection against exploitation and abuse by the society at large. It is difficult for them to challenge ideologies which refuse to recognize, or subsume, women's productive contributions to families and the nation as part of their responsibilities as mothers, wives, daughters, or simply as women. In addition, inadequate education among women is reflected in the minimal roles they play in decision-making at all levels from the family unit to national arena, even about matters of direct concern to their own lives.

Furthermore, the low numbers of women with advanced levels of education, coupled with their low quality of education, has negatively affected their participation in the public sector. Even after independence in Tanzania, as in many other African countries, women's participation in conventional politics or crucial "areas such as economic policy, defense and political affairs" (Waylen, 1996:11) have continued to be low. Also, as Waylen observes in Tanzania often, the very small number of women (who become integrated into the public sphere) are appointed to posts which reflect the role that women so often play in the private sphere... (that is) health, education, welfare and women affairs. (1996:11)

Even those women who are self-employed often operate their businesses

unregistered, on a very small-scale and low level of organization. They usually have little or no access to organized markets and credit institutions, to formal training, or to many public services and benefits. They are hardly recognized or supported by the government and are often compelled by circumstances to operate outside the framework of the law. (World Labour Report, 1995:21)

For a majority of women, insufficient schooling has relegated them to situations which usually manifest in a vicious cycle of poverty, poor health and ignorance. It is time that practical measures are taken to rectify the situation. Education is every individual's right, regardless of race, class, gender, sexual orientation or religion. For many years inequality in education has been a controversial subject in many societies. Often, differences have coalesced into identities and been allowed to play a crucial role in determining who gets education, the type of education, and to what level. Until recently in the United States race has been a strong determinant of how education was distributed (Milner, 1975,1983; Coard, 1971; Stone, 1985; H.S.Mirza, 1992 & Heidi Safia Mirza, all in Blair, Holland & Sheldon, 1995). Also, as Waylen (1996:10) has argued, in many European colonies in Africa including Nigeria, West Africa, and Tanganyika (now Tanzania), gender was one of the factors which determined the type and level of education a person could receive. During colonial rule, while formal education was imposed on a few women and "focused around the domestic" (Hunt, 1990, & Johnson, 1986: 240 in Waylen 1996:62) in the private sphere, for boys education was focused on "the skills necessary for employment in European enterprises" (ibid.) in the public sphere. In the British colonial project, apart from race and class, "gender has been used implicitly as a crucial part of the organization of equality or inequality". (ibid.) Consequently, for many ex-colonies including Tanzania, gender inequality in education has been one of many other problems facing their post-colonial governments (Mbilinyi, 1983; The World Bank Report, 1991; Waylen 1996).

The persistence of gender inequality in education in post-independent Tanzania is a practical example which supports Waylen's assertion that "politics does not have the same impact on women as it does on men". (1996:1) In many African ex-colonies the shift in colonial political relations during independence created many possibilities for men in the public sector, setting them free of many domestic responsibilities, while not altering their dominant status in the private sector as heads of the household. For women, independence did not bring similar opportunities. Many women in Tanzania are still confined within the domestic boundaries as mothers, wives, daughters

and women (Mbilinyi, 1983; The World Bank Report, 1991). The kind of education a woman is expected to receive, and the level she is expected to attain continue implicitly to differ and be subordinate to what is expected for a man. Such a differential gender expectation reflects itself in gender relations within the family, interactions within school environment, and affects social policies (The World Bank, 1991).

After independence Tanzania chose Socialism as its political and economic ideology. The country would be guided by the objectives of a socialist policy, Knud Erik Svendsen defines them as

better living conditions for the people; social control and ownership in production; equality among all members of society; broad participation in the life of the nation; and solidarity and social welfare. (UNESCO, 1979:85)

The socialist path was designed so that Tanzanians, regardless of their race, class, religion or gender would be "free to determine for themselves in substance, rather than simply in form"; (UNESCO,1979:3) have equal access to resources and opportunities; have freedom of speech and expression of their feelings, and have their widened dignity respected. Freedom, independent thought and confidence are elements of an individual's life which were recognized as necessary ingredients for the development of all Tanzanians. Education was identified as a significant variable in producing skills conducive to such development.

In an attempt to assess the major constraints many women face in Tanzania during their schooling process, the following hypotheses will be examined;

- (1) Post-independence educational policies are not adequate to enable women's full access to education in Tanzania.
- (2) Socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics contribute to the implicit exclusion of women from formal education in Tanzania.
- (3) (A) Gender subjectivity in education must be re-conceptualized and re-articulated to incorporate questions which surround the concept of identity in relation to power systems in Tanzania. (B) The

re-conceptualization and re-articulation of gender subjectivity in education may provide alternative solutions to gender inequality in education, as well as for women's development in Tanzania.

Education is an investment in human capital and an important variable in human development. It helps individuals to better understand and master their environment, and to cope with changes which may occur in socio-economic, cultural and political structures. Well educated individuals participate more productively, occupy higher positions in public sectors, and better manage their day-to-day lives within their families and communities. Generally, education is about knowledge; and as Foucault (1979) has argued, knowledge is power. It plays a significant role in producing skills needed for development. Education empowers, liberates, determines an individual's life choices, and illuminates their paths towards advancement.

For many women, proper education would also improve self-esteem and confidence, and enable them to challenge those retrogressive assumptions which continue to determine the tasks allocated to women and the value placed on female labour. With education they can revive and improve the expertise found in traditional practices and accommodate them into their current lives. Women in Tanzania, therefore, need a high quality of education to sensitize themselves for the process of searching for alternatives to their problems.

Education opens many doors for women's future and is an invaluable tool for emancipation. It stands at the junction of women's supposedly private and men's public worlds, mediating between unpaid household work and paid employment; between the particular, or day-to-day, aspects of life and the general; and between unconventional and conventional political activities.

## 1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The principal methods used to collect the data required for the understanding of problems women face in obtaining education in Tanzania are documentary and interview research methodologies. The data collected using documentary methodology is partly derived from a critical

review of classical theories and contemporary perspectives on social inequality, a variety of literature and research on women, and through interviews with a number of women from different backgrounds. As well, an understanding of these problems comes about through my personal experience as a Tanzanian woman.

The interdisciplinary nature of this study and the complex nature of problems women face in obtaining an education in Tanzania demand more than one research method to collect data. While the documentary research method has been very useful in this study, interviews were conducted when possible and convenient. Multiple research methods are crucial because gender inequality in education in Tanzania has become a very complex problem. Its contradictions come about as a result of multidimensional converging forces from socio-economic, cultural, and political arenas which continue to operate across societies and different historical moments. Contingencies and conjunctions which surface as the outcome of certain continuations, discontinuations, and reconfigurations of various aspects within these phenomena make the use of a single research method inadequate to cross-examine, analyze and identify valid alternative solutions. With a combination of the research methods mentioned above, this study aims to provide an insightful analysis of the problems women face in the schooling process in Tanzania.

It should be understood that women's educational experiences are the core of this research. The work included collecting, categorizing, and examining a multitude of women's voices as one way of recognizing specific and diverse women's schooling experiences. It is also a process towards revealing constraints and challenges women face during their schooling process.

As with many studies on gender issues, this inquiry includes feminist research bases such as Mohanty's notion of "politics of location", (Mohanty at el, 1991) which insists on subjectivity, personal experience and diversity. This knowledge is useful, especially when an interview-research method is used, to identify interviewee's voices as fatalistic, imitative, authentic, unsilenced, and multiple. Such an identification is helpful in specifying respondents' experiences,

as well as categorizing their similarities through which women's voices can be strengthened into an effective achievement.

Since it is difficult to synthesize all of women's schooling experiences, an organizing framework similar to Waylen's (1996) has been designed in the following manner; firstly, ways in which a differentiation of identities is based on gender differences, with the intersecting economic, cultural and political conditions appears to have influenced both colonial and post-colonial educational policy formulation have been examined. The impact of these policies on men's and women's attitudes about education has been discussed. Secondly, the ways in which differences in attitudes about education between men and women have contributed to shifting male/female relationships in both private and public sectors have been examined. Thirdly, how this situation has affected the integration of women into such developmental projects as education in Tanzania has been analyzed. The focus of this research is, therefore, directed more towards factors outside the school environment (external) on both micro and macro levels.

Waylen's (1996) formula is preferred in this study to, firstly, help identify what has been, and still are, constraints in most women's schooling process. Secondly, it helps to raise women's awareness of the conditions which have and continue to limit and exclude them from education. Thirdly, and most importantly, it helps women focus on those power systems which may encourage them to challenge discursive practices that continue to exclude them from high level politics, and which are strong enough to ensure that women are no longer denied access to high-level positions in any social institution including education.

In addition, this type of research, as in many other social studies, requires the use of an inductive research method, which, according to Shulamit Reinharz (1992:9) "obliges a researcher to continue incorporating new material as she/he writes". This research method allows for "communicating the thoughts, memories, and experiences" (ibid.) of women's schooling process. It is an open-ended research method which "produce a non-standardized information, but a valuable reflection of reality", (ibid:18 & 19) as learned from women interviewees, rather than

from the researcher. Research methods which seek a full participation of targeted groups of women serve as what Reinharz calls "an antidote" to those researchers who "ignore women's ideas, or having men speak for (them)". (ibid:19)

Talking directly to women encourages detailed information, helps to reveal actual conditions they face in their lives, and indicates how those conditions might influence the way women express themselves; it may also facilitate the process of data interpretation, leading to clearer information. It also helps to uncover previously neglected or misunderstood experiences and create new meanings and an understanding which may contribute to modifying certain concepts inherent in the notion of social and gender inequality, letting both an interviewer and interviewee learn something during the process, thus, "leaving neither of them unchanged". (ibid:37)

Generally, interviewing "documents the lives and activities of women from their own point of view". (ibid:52) It corrects androcentricly biased observations which often trivialize females' activities and thoughts, (ibid.) and enables women to act as key informants. It is "one way of understanding women's experiences and behavior as shaped by social context..., through which commonalities which exist among women beneath their polarized ideologies can be identified". (ibid:53) In this research documentation and interview research methods are considered useful for the rearticulation and reconceptualization of gender inequality in education in Tanzania.

The identification of materials which provide basic information is central to any kind of research. This research, for instance, includes information about the socio-economic, political and cultural historical background out of which women's lives and positions in society can be identified, evaluated and improved. However, financial constraints during the period of this research have been a major and constant obstruction, contributing to difficulties for many things to be accomplished within a proposed time-frame. Financial problems made it difficult to make use of advanced technologies, or to travel in search of current materials in their far-flung establishments.

Also, it was almost impossible to contact other researchers and agencies by long distance calls, by traveling and attending workshops, or seminars on women and development.

Despite financial problems and the fact that much information about women in Tanzania has been trivialized so that little data about their gender inequality in education is available, this research was accomplished by using the information available, and has managed to present details about the post-colonial obstacles women face in obtaining education in Tanzania, opening many doors for further challenges, analyses, and research in the future.

### 1.4 THEORETICAL DESIGN

A theoretical approach currently adequate for the analysis of gender inequality in education in Tanzania is one which combines questions of identity, "politics of location" and discursive practices, in describing this problem, explaining its causal factors and prescribing alternative solutions (Foucault, 1970; Hall, 1996: Mohanty et al, 1991: Moghadam, 1994).

Problems surrounding women's participation in education in Tanzania are many and complex. These problems can not be understood unless the process of decision-making on "who governs? Who gets what? When, and how..., or the sociology of power in society" (Spragens, Jr., 1976: 2) is precisely grasped. They are problems which are created and recreated through dialectical contradictions which exist between women's identities (between their sense of "selfhood"), way of thinking, their desire, and or drive and institutions through which power systems often make use of discursive meanings imposed on individuals (questions of "politics of location") to determine their access and rights to resources and opportunities; as well, through which women's subjectivity is produced, reproduced and maintained. There are practices in which women's general position in society have falsely been defined as subordinate to men, their needs considered as secondary and trivial; their ideas and actions viewed as irrational and their reactions as emotional; and through which their access to resources and rights to opportunity are often limited.

The combination of identity, "politics of location" and discursive practices is required for a more comprehensive analysis of obstacles to women's participation in education in Tanzania because it can identify important unconventional and conventional actors, forces, and structures", (Spragens, Jr, 1976:4) which can be both part of the problem and alternatives to women's question of schooling in Tanzania. It is a recipe significant for its examination of the various ways identities are constructed in its explanation of interconnected relationships existing between unconventional and conventional variables. It is an evaluation which connects different forces at all levels, and which identifies converging points and contingencies where these forces interface with various power systems. It is an approach which grasps "an ideological discursive level", (Mohanty at el, 1991:21) or expressive component of identity, at both micro and macro levels in relation to questions of representation of womanhood in society. It is also an approach which addresses identity's formative element, a material, practical and day-to-day life, focusing on "the micropolitics of work, home, family, sexuality etc." (ibid.) and macro-dynamics, which lead to the globalization of culture, capital and labour market, and influence international voluntary and forced immigration, feminization of labour, and commodification of women's bodies, all of which may affect women's participation in education. This type of evaluation can enable a researcher to identify various kinds of women's exploitation and suppression, along with their ability to resist certain demands and influences they encounter in life. An expressive component and formative element of identity, therefore combines factors central to the development of a theory adequate to describe the nature of problems to women's participation in post-colonial education in Tanzania, explains their causal factors, and prescribes alternative solutions. It is a theory which can capture the diversity, depth and limits of women's activity, and depict moments when they experience order and chaos, triumph and tragedy, achievement and failure, progress and disentgration in their lives.

This section will examine some socio-economic, political and cultural situations, how they interconnect with discursive practices, and their implications for the process of the construction of

women's identity, and the formation of their subjectivity. Importantly, it is how the same process, through which identities and subjectivity are constructed, serves to stimulate women's ability to effectively deal with their problems. An example to illustrate this point follows.

It was a lunch break, and four students: Miss Desire, Mr. Culture, Mr. Economy, and Mr. Political, sitting on the bench, under the mango tree, got themselves into a very interesting conversation. Directing his question to Miss Desire, Mr. Culture begins;

Desire, how come you did not attend to school last week?

Miss Desire: I had to stay home and take care of my baby sister because my mother was sick.

Mr. Culture: Oh! I am sorry about your mother, how is she doing now?

Miss Desire: She is fine. I wish she keeps well for a long time. I am so tired of the household endless work. Sometimes coming to school feels like taking a break to me.

Mr. Culture: Do not be lazy, helping your mother is not just a good thing, but it prepares you for becoming a good wife and mother in the future. By the way, who would you like to become when you grow up?

Miss Desire: I do not know,....a teacher, a doctor, a minister,....somebody, you know!....a big shot somewhere. I would also like to live in a big house, and have a family.

Mr. Culture: But you know that you are supposed to get married at fifteen years of age, how are you going to achieve such professional goals?

Miss Desire: Oh! brother, this is the 90s, that primitive culture does not work any more. I do not have to get married at that age. I will stay in school until I obtain a well recognized profession.

Mr. Economy: I did not know you are such a day-dreamer! One thing you should know, becoming somebody does not happen automatically, you need to get a required level of education. By the way, who is going to pay for your education since your family is poor?

Supporting Mr. Economy's point, Mr. Culture said: Desire, do not forget that you are not the only child in your family, and if your father had to incur expenses for his children's education your brothers would be his priority. After all, a dowry rate is high when you get married at the proper age, meaning that you could even become economically very helpful to your family.

Miss Desire: You do not know my father! Why would you think he could choose my brothers over me?

Mr. Culture, and Mr. Economy answered: Look, it is not about your father, it is about how every body in the village would think of him if he chooses you over your brothers, it is about protecting his image in the community.

Miss Desire: I do not know about that, anyway, I believe if such a thing happens to me, there will be some other ways to help me.

There was a pause then Mr. Economy continued: It is strange how things can change so fast. I remember a few years ago life, for many people, was easier than it is today. Many things on the market were affordable. Services such as health and education were rendered free of charge. Then, something happened, my father did not get the same amount of money as the previous year when he sold cotton. He was told that there had been a deterioration of the prices of Tanzania's major export commodities. Economic situation in my family became so bad that my father could not even afford to by a new school uniform for me. In a long run the government too could not keep up with the pace. Remember, in 1992 the "cost-sharing slogan" was introduced, and from that year every family has been obliged to pay for their children's education and health services?. What a setback! Today, the media is pre-occupied with issues concerning the decline of the national income, inflation, the devaluation of Tanzania's currency, the fluctuation of cash-crops' prices in the world market, the debt servicing burden, and mismanagement of public funds.

Adding on economic issues, Mr. Political said: Mr. Economy, you are forgetting other contributing factors such as the economic setback caused by the breakup of the East African Community (EAC) in 1977; the 1978-79 financial burden of the Uganda war with Tanzania; repeated droughts and floods; the disruptive effects of the Ujamaa villagisation; and the costs involved during the 1991-92 political transitions, from one party-system to multiparty system of ruling, and the currently soaring problem of corruption (Economic Intelligence Unit, Country Profile, Tanzania, 1989-1998). All of these intensify economic problem, leaving many families in pathetic conditions of poverty, poor health, and limited access to resources and opportunities.

Miss Desire: You see, if my father chooses to educate my brothers only, he will be punishing me for something I did not do. It would be like dumping all the economic burden on my shoulders, I would not let him do such a thing to me. You know what! I will raise this issue in the class room and hear what other students have to say about it....It is time to go back for another class, let us go.

In this dialogue the most revealing contributing factor to Miss Desire's problems in her schooling process is what appears to be a rigid and unequal gender division of labour, one of cultural mechanisms to limit and exclude women from full participation in education. One cultural weapon used to establish and reproduce knowledge about womanhood, wifehood and motherhood, and which contribute in unifying and sustaining such knowledge. Despite the fact that Miss Desire is not the only child in her family, and may be not the oldest, the cultural institution has discursively imposed a certain meaning on female sex roles whereby Miss Desire is commanded to take charge of her mother's responsibilities in the family. Just like her mother she did all the household work to try to meet the needs of family members.

Rigid gender division of labour is one way which many cultural institutions in Africa maintain and perpetuate their discursively constructed knowledge about women, who are mainly defined as caretakers and homemakers. During the post-colonial period, it has been used to fix

what is thought to have been damaged by colonialism; of purifying what was "contaminated" by foreign influences; of reclaiming traditional, supposedly original, integrated and unified identities (Hall, 1996:1).

It appears that before the conversation Miss Desire did not realize that gender inequality was a major problem within her family and culture. The conversation was a wake-up call to her. It challenged her unrestrained thoughts towards progress. Her loyalty to her father was shaken. Her act of kindness to her family was twisted and was viewed as an obligation, a preparatory lesson for her future motherhood. Her need for education was displaced and positioned as a secondary priority. Her sexuality was/is discursively viewed as one of the family's main income generating sources which could help Miss Desire's family to pay for school expenses required for male siblings. Her desire for academic success was strongly challenged. Her fantasy for the most advanced level of academic achievement was left to swing between the possibilities and limitations, established by socio-economic, cultural and political conditions. The conversation had a discursive design. It left Miss Desire's identities in a negotiating process with socio-economic and cultural relations.

While not willing to give in easily, or to comply with factors which might cause her to terminate her schooling process, what Foucalt calls discursive practices, whereby systems of limitations and exclusion formulate identities and subjectivity, Miss Desire did not know what to do about all she heard from these male students. It was overwhelming while it stimulated her curiosity. She wanted to ask other students in the classroom their opinions about the problem of gender inequality in their families and ethnic groups. Miss Desire's curiosity led her to want to know more about cultural practices and their implications on her life as a woman. She wants to know more about cultural discursive practices and their unconscious processes of female subjectivity formation. Miss Desire's shaken self, or identities continued to perform across "the discursively constructed boundaries" of womanhood recognized by her ethnic group (Hall, 1996:1). This would be the case for many anti-essentialists, she wanted to know more about her

socio-economic, cultural, and political position in relation to how she is defined as a woman in society. She became curious about why she was treated differently from her brothers. Why were her efforts towards education not recognized in the same way, or given a similar degree of significance as that of her brothers. She wanted to know why her gender appeared to have fallen within the category of the most affected people by socio-economic and political changes which occur at both national and international levels? This is what discursive practices can do, they can limit, exclude, prohibit and sanction, and also stimulate person's curiosity. Foucault defines discursive practices as "a conceptual terrain in which knowledge is formed and produced". (1970:48) In many societies women have been made to believe that their work place is in the kitchen and household as mothers, wives, daughters and women. In discursive terms,

what is analyzed is not simply what was thought or said, but all the discursive rules and categories that were a priori, assumed as a constituent part of discourse and therefore knowledge, and so fundamental that they remain unvoiced and unthought. (ibid.)

Overall, objects, places, and phenomena are selected, defined to distinguish them from one another, then the definitions are legitimized, reproduced and maintained through norms, the regulations and procedures which are established to monitor and protect the appropriation of such knowledge and their hierarchically distinguished categories (ibid.).

Miss Desire's appeal for more ideas can be viewed as a new axis which emerged between the two conflicting forces of unlimited desire and institutional limitations. It was mind juggling, which left her between the "dislodged and dislodging" conception of her womanhood, enabling her to think across her cultural, class and gender boundaries. She was left to think about the limitations to, and possibilities of continuing with schooling. This kind of thinking enabled her to see the intensity of the problem and made an appeal for further analysis which would help her mark, and further challenge and suppress the falsely established knowledge about womanhood. It was an appeal aimed at marking "the emergence of a new conception" (Hall, 1996:1-2) of womanhood which would be useful to pull and graft practical, strong ideological strands from those who stand for the unlimited desired nature of womanhood, and those who stand for

institutional limitations imposed on women. Such a grafting point, suture, or intersection may make insignificant certain characteristics which were previously associated with womanhood, and those previously ignored become viewed as important in relation to the same. It also allows for the emergence of new and altered conceptions of womanhood. Such new conceptions become irreducible, they can no longer be explained within the previous paradigm, nor can they be understood without making use of key concepts from within the previous conceptual boundaries (ibid.).

The question of irreducibility emerges because, by seeking more ideas about gender inequality, Miss Desire pulled some conceptual strands from old, personal, private, or particular boundaries and managed to situate this problem across them towards a broad field of an evaluation. Her experiences will now be shared, compared and contrasted with the different experiences of other female students. When such experiences are compared and contrasted some commonalities and differences are revealed. Experiences may indicate similarities and differences in the way the problem of gender inequality is conceived, and in its intensity among female students across cultural, class, and political boundaries, and as it changes over time and place. At this level gender inequality interfaces issues of "agency and politics of location". (Hall, 1996:2) It is another intersection whereby competing loyalties over identities such as race, nationality, citizenship, ethnicity culture, class, and gender contradict the discursive meanings associated with them by which individuals and places are usually identified, and hierarchically categorized. These are meanings which, while socially constructed, are often manipulated to appear as natural, as "some origin or shared common characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with a natural closure of solidarity..."; (ibid.) meanings which are established to legitimize and justify discursive processes of subjectivity formation; of limiting and excluding certain categories of individuals in society (Waylen, 1996:49). The questions of agency and "politics of location" thus become central to the issues of representation and identification in relation to the formation of subjectivity. Subjectivity is constructed through what individuals are identified with, which again determines how they are represented, how they represent themselves, and their degree of access to resources and rights to opportunity in time and place (Hall, 1996:2).

At this level of evaluation Miss Desire's sense of "agency", in its decentring positionality, is intersected by such factors as class, race, gender and ethnicity ("politics of location"), making the reconceptualization of her identities, and the rearticulation of her relationship with discursive practices crucial for her liberation (Hall, 1996:2).

As indicated earlier, factors which define the notion of "politics of location" influence how individuals are defined and represented, and how they represent themselves. However, the continuous shifts in socio-economic, political and cultural systems have largely altered the effect of "politics of location" on representation, the construction of identification, and identities in general. Characteristics which were previously used discursively to mark individuals' identities encounter difficulties, and have become unstable in the process of formulating identities (ibid.) They can no longer be located, concretized and absolutized in isolation from other characteristics.

Heterosexuality has recently been interfaced with such competing sexual identities as homosexuality and bisexuality. Gender roles which in the past, especially in Western societies, contributed to separate private/public spheres have been challenged by the entrance of women in the public sector, and by men's participation in some household work, as husbands and/or single parents. The terms "Third World" "Least Developed Countries" (LDCs) and "North/South", which create a binary between the rich, industrialized, developed and civilized countries and the poor, unindustrialized, uncivilized and developing countries are gradually changing their initial definitions. They have been intersected by, on one hand, "lines of power" (Mohanty, Russo and Torres, 1991:2) which have created destructive divisions among races, color of skin, class, and nationality, and resistance on the other, which stems from "sociohistorical conjunctures", (ibid.) incorporating people through both voluntary and forced migration; "internationalizing economies and labour forces", (Moghadam, 1994:7) through multinationalism; "globalizing culture and politics", (ibid.) through interracial and cultural marriages; such universal declarations as

International Law; political discourses such as democratization, and parliamentalism; and the homogenization of culture such as the popularizing of drinking Coca Cola, wearing blue jeans and embracing American TV programs (ibid.).

Such sociohistorical conjunctures have influenced the inescapable interdependence between different groups of people, and the interconnectedness of socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics, changing in time and place. The hybridized, fluidized, multiplied, and temporized, and therefore modified, conceptions of factors individuals are discursively identified with, and identities are the result.

In Miss Desire's case, what might emerge after a discussion in the classroom is a modified conception of womanhood, which she can use as a tool for guidance in the process of rearticulating and re-conceptualizing her relations to power systems and her identities. Through this process she may realize that the issues which were raised in her situation have influenced changes in her identification with particular individuals, groups of people, with socio-economic, cultural and political positions, and ideologies established by various institutions. Miss Desire will never have the same perceptions she had before about certain individuals, phenomena and ideologies, because her loyalties have been provoked by changing circumstances.

However, such a transformation is not all bad; it "may also be embraced with enthusiasm" (Papanek in Moghadam, 1994:44) since it might have a positive impact on the development of her identities. She will also come to realize how, while her sense of identity is shaped and reshaped by external forces, she can resist such influences, cross boundaries and rebuild her "self", and thus experience a process of growth (ibid.44-45).

The discussion compelled Miss Desire to re-examine her thoughts about gender and sexuality in relation to her access to education, to rethink her family's economic situation and its impact on her schooling process, and to reconfigure her cognitive, sociological and religious patterns which have previously influenced her consciousness, beliefs and commitments. She was also forced to reevaluate her actions, inaction and behavior in general, to effectively negotiate with

power systems threatening her survival in the schooling process. It became clear to her that what shaped her identity (including sexuality, gender, class, nationality, ethnicity and citizenship) reflected a close relationship between the economic condition of her family, cultural demands, economic and political dynamics in the country, which again reflected the frustration Tanzania was facing, "with the intractability of the world economic (and political) systems and of national systems of accumulation and distribution...", (Moghadam, 1994:9) and the impact that they would have on Miss Desire's schooling process as a woman.

Miss Desire's case, as one among many, confirms that Mohanty's analysis on Third World women's lives is relevant for a better understanding of obstacles to women's participation in post-colonial education in Tanzania. According to her, it requires that the space of locations from which knowledge about womanhood is produced be identified, that the politics of discursive practices through which that particular knowledge is produced, maintained and perpetuated be revealed and challenged, and that the methods used to locate and chart women's identities and agency and the disciplinary parameters surrounding the knowledge produced about womanhood be understood. The interrelationships between histories of colonialism in relation to racial, class and gender hierarchical categorizations should be recognized.

This type of observation, through which a woman redefines her identities and recontextualizes her situation in relation to the prevailing environment leads to the inevitable "shifts in conceptual cartographies" (Mohanty, Russo and Torres, 1991:3) or maps, and "points toward necessary reconceptualization of ideas of (women's subordination), resistance, community, and agency", (ibid.:4) and an intersecting sense of citizenship in relation to women's participation in education in the country. Notably, it tests every woman's commitment to working on her situation. In addition, this kind of observation questions a woman's willingness and ability to identify and collaborate with other women "across divisive boundaries, communities, and...hierarchies", (ibid.) in the struggle for academic achievement and life in general.

The problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania, as with many other social problems can, therefore, be explained as "after effects" which are based in women's unlimited thought, or determined desire to become educated, and limitations established by existing socio-economic, cultural, political and religious institutions (Foucault, 1970: 51). It is what may be viewed as a conflict or friction between an individual's drive and wish, what Freud (1991) calls "Id", "to escape regulations and procedures" (ibid.) and an institutions' ("Ego" and "Super-ego") ability to control and suppress the desire for unlimited thought and "circles of attention...(and) ritualized forms on (regulations and procedures) as if to make them more easily recognizable from a distance". (ibid.) These institutions, both conventional, as recognized by Foucault, (1970) and unconventional, are interconnected and interdependent. A significant amount of their difference exists to discursively control through their systems of selection, and exclusion, to rationalize knowledge, monitor its appropiation, and prohibit and sanction any opposing trend.

The knowledge about how objects and phenomena are conceived is established and maintained, and its appropriation, production and reproduction is controlled through the interior procedures of rarefaction including commentary (ibid.). The function of these systems of control "is to make it virtually impossible to think outside them", (Foucault, 1970:48) otherwise a person is labeled irrational, naive, mad, and incomprehensible (ibid.). "In this way discursive rules are linked to the exercise of power", (ibid.) and they can always be traced from within the family, through to national and international processes.

However, what women need to know is the fact that institutions by establishing rules, regulations and procedures, and by demanding that every person understands, and operates his/her activities in accordance to such establishments and institutions, makes such tools of control visible. A knowledge of these institutional tools makes them subject to challenges, modifications and replacement over time and place. Such a positionality can be enabling rather than disabling for women, as a subjected category of the population in society. Women need to know that institutions "are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it". (Foucault,

1970:50-51) They are not static and concrete, but phenomenal, fluid, complex and unstable. Borrowing from Foucault's suggestion, what women are advised to do in such a developmental project as education in Tanzania is to take advantage of the complexity and instability of the processes within the systems of control. They can identify when a certain discourse becomes both

an instrument and effect of power, a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance, a starting point for an opposing strategy, when such processes transmits and produces power; when do they reinforce it, undermine it and expose it, making it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (ibid.)

Such understanding is critical to women's achievement, not only academically, but in all walks of life. They are required to challenge questions of "identity", "politics of location", and "discursive practices" in relation to the formation of knowledge about themselves as women who are, in the process of obtaining education in post-colonial Tanzania.

Questions surrounding women's insufficient participation in post-colonial education in Tanzania are entrenched between women's desire for an unrestricted schooling process, a wish to reach unlimited academic achievement, and socio-economic, cultural, or political institutional constraints and control. The conflict created by unlimited desire and institutional systems of control causes changes in women's way of thinking and observing different aspects of life, a process which, in turn, provokes a shift in their identities in terms of their relationships with different power systems. The process of identifying themselves with various aspects of life becomes fluid and temporary, and their identities continue to multiply. Such a transformation brings individual women to the point where negotiating with various systemic networks of class, race/ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and nationality becomes necessary to achieve goals. It is a process whereby identities continue to reconfigure and intersect with endless converging strands from all aspects of life, forming new axes on which the problem of women's participation in post-colonial education can further be examined.

# 1.5 UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY IN RELATION TO NOTIONS OF "POLITICS OF LOCATION" AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

The preceding discussion confirms that issues surrounding the concept of identity, the notion of "politics of location", and discursive practices are closely interrelated. Identity is generally viewed as a product of such characteristics as race, ethnicity, class, sexuality and gender; it includes other aspects related to groups and individuals such as experiences, belief-systems and religions, value-patterns, world views, ideologies, and knowledge about entities, phenomena, and theories in the context of their time and place (Brown, 1979; Papanek in Moghadam, 1994: 42). These constructs of social life are what Mohanty (1991) perceived as landmarks, indicators, and locations upon which discursive meanings are imposed, or through which knowledge about objects, individuals, places, and phenomena are constructed.

Significant to the notion of "politics of location" in this case is what is understood as its ability to express particular and specific women's schooling experiences in their wide ranging diversity. The specific historical and material reality, as well as existing contradictions and complexities, of the lives of women of different geographical locations, classes, races and ethnic groups are revealed. It challenges homogenizing and universalizing views and their inherent tendency to oversimplify women's interests and needs, and problematizes alternative solutions to their problems (Mohanty et al 1991:76; Frankenberg & Mani, 1993:292).

The notion of "politics of location" identifies basic constructs of identity including biological or "natural" and social, of both expressive and formative (ideological and material) kinds. Biological aspects of life include "sex, height, weight, eye or skin color, shoe size and age". (Grabb 1990:4) Socially constructed aspects of life include definitions imposed by individuals on geographical location or nationality, race/ethnicity, gender, class, social status, and religion. Common, normal and familiar as all of these aspects appear to be, the acceptance of their differences in daily life can become problematic. As Max Weber indicated, the subjective meanings that people attach to some of these differences and the implications behind them is where the

problem about differences lies. As indicated earlier, differences become a problem when they adversely affect an individual's access to resources and right to opportunities in society (ibid.).

It is largely through subjective meanings imposed on such differences that, according to Foucault (1970), the order of discourse is formulated, valorized, legitimized, justified and protected. It is through subjective meanings that race/ethnicity, class and gender are defined and categorized, and through which processes of subjectivity occur and recur. At the same time such characteristics (race, class, gender etc.) influence what individuals (ibid.) desire or wish for in life. They are tied up with what is recognized by Freudians as Id, with individuals' choices in life and a level of the freedom of action they have within a larger society (Freud, 1991: 105-125.). Crosscutting individual's desire, choices, freedom and actions are both conventional and unconventional institutions which establish the order of discourse, produce and reproduce knowledge, mark its cognitive dimension, comprehend its symbolic order, and reflect the nature of knowledge and boundaries within which it should be thought and appropriated. In this way the emergence of other knowledge is closely monitored, or even prevented (Callaway 1987:57 in Mohanty at el, 1991:15). Institutions are what Dorothy Smith calls "relations of ruling", organized practices (Smith, 1987:3 in Mohanty at el, 1991:14), through which specific relationships between people and different forces are established, consolidated and objectified. They can, therefore, effectively limit (and cancel an individual's) desire, freedom, choices and actions by enforcing conformity to knowledge, norms, regulations, rules or ideals (ibid.), which are established to distinguish, restrict, forbid, exclude, sanction, and hierarchically categorize individuals, places, and phenomena in time and place.

When issues surrounding the concept of identity ("politics of location" and discursive practices) are analyzed they encourage questioning the "truism and naturalism" of traditional ideas, such as Rousseau's theory of sexual asymmetry which views males as naturally rational and intelligent, qualities which for him, are less developed in females. They also challenge male/female, racial, and class differences which are accepted as natural and true, but which are, in

fact, the product of social conditioning. They explain how gender, racial and class hierarchies have been socially and historically formed and naturalized. Certain nations, races, classes and men have ideologically been placed at the apex while other categories including women are at the bottom of the hierarchies. This arrangement has thus been defined by the dominant powers as natural, or scientific without any, or with little acknowledgement of social, economic, political and environmental contributions. As the anarchist theorist would say, what is sometimes given "out as scientific truth is only the product of" (Freud, 1991: 212) theorists' own needs.

Furthermore, the analysis which identifies the interrelationship of the notion of "politics of location", discursive practices and identity questions supports such perspectives as Carol P. Christ's, Margot I. Duley's and Gregory Baum's which challenge the significance of any analysis which makes moral virtue the basis by which people are arranged into a social class hierarchy, by placing men in a superior position to women (Christ in Farnham, 1987: 53-74; Duley in Margot I. Duley & Mary I. Edwards, 1986:109-112; Baum, 1993).

In a religion such as Christianity, until recently women's subordination was claimed to have been ordained since the beginning of time. In religious teachings women are often described as men's subordinates, and created after men. "Eve was created out of Adam's ribs". Scholars such as Melissa A. Buttler and Sir Robert Filmer, explain this presupposition as "the divine grant of paternal, monarchical power to Adam". (in Stanley & Pateman ed. 1991:76) How can it be proved that women were created out of Adam's rib and, therefore, after Adam?

These ideas, since they have been associated with the highest power (God), are enough to convince both men and women of the naturalness of women's subordination. God's name and power have invoked to make women accept the subordination imposed on them. By using a combination of identity, "politics of location" and discursive practices in the analysis, the human logic behind such assumptions can be revealed and challenged. Such a combination will expose contradictions or opposing ideals, probe and appeal for further explanation of all assumptions about entities and phenomena, and reveal what influences their changes in time and space. With

this model of analysis the terms men and women are put at the centre of the discussion. These terms, since they portray cultural constructs, are defined in relation to the type of socio-economic, ideological and political system, under which day to day lives of men and women are determined. This will indicate different conditions of women across national, class, cultural, and even ethnic groups and families. Moreover, questions which arise in the process may reveal circumstances under which women's intellectual capacities are suppressed. It may indicate various levels of such suppression in different societies and ethnic groups, during different periods of time.

Nevertheless, attempts to alter circumstances under which women's intellectual capacities are suppressed may be contradictory to alternative conditions under which women and men would live as equals. Again, the definition of the term equality will depend on how it is understood by individuals, or in a given society, and time.

This analysis, by underlining the interrelationship which exists among the notion of "politics of locations", discursive practices, and identities also challenges those disconstructive theories which focus on aspects of social authenticity, and the construction of identities based on original, integrative, unified, absolutized, and uncontaminated features. This analysis places its emphasis on the view that identities are socially constructed, they multiply, viewed differently from one society to another, and change over time. It is an ongoing process, in which the concrete, static, and unified forms of identity are defied, a process in which identity is liquefied, multiplied, and in constant flux. The temporality state of identity challenges its traditional conception as a state of being which is replaced by the conception of identity as becoming. An identity's state of being is not erased, but is altered to complement a sense of identity as becoming, or an endless process. The concept of identity as becoming requires the use of social, economic, cultural, religious, and political references in addition to other aspects of life to comprehend questions of identification and representation, which are crucial in the articulation of one's relations to power systems. Things that people are identified with and how they are represented, are important in the process of

reconceptualizing their position in society, a position which in the long term determines person's access to resources and rights to opportunity.

This model of analysis is, therefore, useful in understanding women's previously unseen realities and problems to participating in postcolonial education in Tanzania. It can provide a framework upon which the assumptions about women in the country can be used to explore causal relationships to women's insufficient schooling in Tanzania. As far as geographical location is concerned, insufficient schooling of women in rural areas can be examined in relation to long hours of working in the field, their household workload and poverty women experience in their daily lives. In this way sources of inequality, exploitation and oppression between sexes, across geographical, and economic boundaries can be defined, and alternative solutions to improve women's access to education and the quality of education given to them can be identified.

The outcome of the complex interrelationships of identity, "politics of location", and discursive practices includes different forms of knowledge about objects, places and phenomena, the established, organized practices, or what Foucault recognizes as the order of discourses or institutions and individual's consciousness, sense of agency, compliance, and resistance (Mohanty at el., 1991:14). All of these constructs are always in the process of changing in time and place.

It is a process whereby identities are mingled between ever changing features and dynamics of the cultural, economic, political and religious institutions (Moghadam, 1994:5), changes which compel modifications to both identities and institutions. Through such processes institutional rules, regulations and procedures, as well as individuals' thoughts, behavior, actions and reactions are modified. Before colonialism many traditional African societies worked collectively, earning their living through hunting, and slash and burn agriculture. They generally led moderate lives, producing food and other necessities to meet their needs, and substantiate the purpose of their existence. They exchanged surplus products in a barter-system economy. In these societies life was informal, individuals and groups were interconnected. They "interacted with one another in regular, patterned, and more or less predictable ways". (Grabb, 1990) People were held together in

what Durkheim called "a mechanical or automatic solidarity, a union based on the likeness or similarity of people... and essential to this interaction is morality". (ibid.)

With the introduction of the colonial system the boundaries, norms and value-patterns which served to maintain "mechanical solidarity" in the local communities were challenged. Subsistence economy was superseded by capitalist economy, converting "barter trade to one of hard cash". (Swantz, 1985:1) The development of infrastructure and administrative centres (railway, telecommunication, transport and towns) became necessary for the accumulation of capital, causing what is called dual development by Dependency and Underdevelopment scholars between rural and urban areas. Labour became based "on cash wages and imported goods paid for in cash", (ibid.) shifting from the division of labour previously based on collective production, and from a barter system of exchange, to the systems of production and exchange which "represented modernizing innovations from the industrial West. These changes began to alter the loyalties of parts of the local communities' interests other than the maintenance of their social group". (ibid.)

The shifting nature of division of labour during colonialism, in response to the changes in political and economic systems was an indication of a crucial development in the evolution of individuals' thoughts, behavior, actions, and reactions (generally, the changing process of their identities). As a result, such an evolution influenced changes to the previously imposed definitions of regions of the country, gender, religions, race and ethnicity in local communities. In Tanzania, as in many ex-colonies, colonizers viewed themselves as superior to the colonized; local people from labour reserved zones perceived themselves as different from those in "productive zones" and their social status was subordinate to their fellow locals in productive zones. The nature of relationships between the colonized and power systems of the colonizers, therefore became dependent on the meanings which had discursively been imposed on their geographical locations, gender, religion and race. Same characteristics became identified as the main determinants of individuals' access to health, formal education, housing, legal and business services, and of their rights to opportunities as formal employment and private property. During European colonial rule

in Tanzania the meanings imposed on geographical areas, race, class, gender, and religion-characteristics used by Mohanty to define "politics of location" became categories used by the colonizers to freeze the colonized people's traditional and internal divisions: social status, class, sexuality, religions, history and ideological differences, day to day activities, their "historical, and dynamic nature of their lives". (Mohanty at el 1991:6) These superficially, prematurely, and falsely perceived characteristics became axes on which the superior, civilized self and dominant culture of the colonizers explained, legitimized and justified anything they thought was peculiar, excessive, and lacking in the culture of the inferior, uncivilized, the other, subordinate, and the colonized (Waylen, 1996; Mohanty at el, 1991). They became axes on which discriminatory regimes against race, class, traditional religions, and gender were set, and upon which attempts to maintain imposed distinctive and hierarchical features of such categories were made.

However, many observations by colonial and post-colonial scholars, including Frankenberg and Mani (1993), and Hall (1996), have indicated that attempts to maintain falsely and superficially formulated closures such as those established by colonialism have failed because questions of race, class, sexuality, and gender, or rather questions of identities, cannot be reduced to an automatic, natural, original, unified and uncontaminated self. In Tanzania, for instance, the way people think, behave, act or react, overall the ways in which their identities are constructed-are partly a product of "historical contacts with different colonizers", (Mohanty at el, 1991:36) different traditional and foreign religions, and traditional cultures, which have continuously been interfacing across space and time boundaries. The construction of identities is, as scholars such as Hall (1996) maintain, a complex, continuous, and "conditional (process), lodged in contingency", on the "borderlands", (Gloria Anzaldua, 1987 in Mohanty at el, 1991:36-37) allowing a subject "to be on both shores at once", (ibid.) and enabling changes of his/her thoughts to take place. It is the development of thinking which Anzaldua has called "consciousness of the borderlands", which breaks down any subject/object duality, setting an individual on a new level of a continuous struggle. It uproots and decenter falsely objectified, stigmatized, naturalized, and universalized

knowledge about people, places and phenomena. It is what Derrida has called "thinking at the limit", (Hall, 1996:1) which enables one to see beyond the obvious, to recognize ambiguities and contradictions towards a more comprehensive course of action.

After independence the question of the irreducible nature of identities resurfaced again to counteract many post-colonial ideologies, especially in Africa, which directed efforts towards tracing back to the original, uncontaminated, unified, and integrated cultural identities (Waylen, 1996:70) "the national identity", to return to their roots. For Tanzania, there has been significant evidence that reclaiming national roots was a short-lived fantasy (Quarterly Report, Country Profile, Tanzania, 1989-1998). It was a fantasy that could not be realized in an already displaced society. It was extremely difficult to re-establish "national identity" in the face of a constantly changing hybridized culture of colonial/Western civilization, Christianity, and Islamic influences during a period when Tanzania's economic and political processes are a part of a global structure. On the other hand, for many African countries efforts to unify "national identity" are often shortcircuited by factors such as economic and political instability, "natural" disasters, soaring levels of corruption and mismanagement of public funds (Swantz, 1985; Country Profile, Tanzania, 1998), which can be viewed as the effects of competing loyalties and social forces struggling to represent multiple identities of race, nation, ethnicity, gender, class and religion in time and place (Moghadam, 1994:5). Identities are therefore multiple, fluid, and "historically and discursively constructed, not primordial". (ibid.) They shape and are shaped by all kinds of knowledge, and by both visible and invisible processes in time and place.

Many questions currently surrounding the concept of identity in relation to the "politics of location" and discursive practices are, therefore, those which challenge the naturalistic, monolithic and static conception of identity. In philosophy it is incomprehensible to think of identity as self-sustaining because its constructs are social and interdependent. In psychoanalysis the inquiry is based on how the knowledge of true/false, right/wrong, rational/irrational, normal/abnormal is established in time and space, and its relation to the unconscious processes through which

subjectivity is formed. Psychoanalysis evaluates the impact of discursive practices on an individual's mind, behavior, and his/her ability and capacity to understand, comply and resist. It questions how socio-economic, cultural, political and religious mechanisms, regulations, rules, and procedures function to establish, legitimize and justify their processes of restricting and excluding certain categories of people from resources and opportunity, and whether they succeed or fail to win the compliance. Questions include how does a person become subject to a given circumstance, how does such a process recur, and how is subjectivity maintained or challenged. Within the discourse of postmodernism, identity is viewed as fragmented, impossible to confine within given paradigms, belonging "everywhere and nowhere...", (Moghadam, 1994:409) and having both "expressive (and) formative place in the construction of social and political life". (ibid.) Postmodern analysis examines identity beyond easily recognizable limitations, towards "the endless performative self across discursively constructed boundaries" (Hall, 1996:1) or location, and towards both practical and strategic alternatives that make it possible to push, bend or alter institutional boundaries and think outside and across institutional paradigms without being labeled as irrational, mad, or incomprehensible (Foucault, 1970). Some alternative solutions to given problems are obtained by crossing institutional parameters since "everything is out there". (ibid.) Anti-essentialist questions are most often directed to global phenomena and their impact on "racial, ethnic and national conception of cultural identity and politics of location". (Hall, 1996:1) It is about how racial, ethnic and national identities are differently formed and hierarchically categorized by international power systems, and the influence of such differences and categories on micro-phenomena. How can, for instance, a position that Tanzania's socio-economic, cultural and political structures occupy in global hierarchies (which influence its identity as a society), be related to obstacles women face in obtaining education in Tanzania?

Identities are socially and historically constructed and "subject to the continuous play of history, culture, and power". (Petty, 1991:9) They manifest in multiple and complex forms, constantly changing in time and place. The concept of identity cannot, therefore, be adequately

explained by using ontological conceptions, including Medieval divinely associated or Cartesian naturalistic and self-sustaining understanding. Such a perception evolves through static explanations and is aimed at solidifying and unifying identity, and thus maintaining existing dichotomous boundaries drawn around different and falsely defined identities (Hall, 1996:1,3: Cuypers, 1998:349-50).

Nor can identity be adequately explained by use of conventionalist empiricism (scientific theory of modern time), based on causal connections logic, by which experiences are generalized into a unified bundle for a unidimensional continuity. It is probable that by using this model other aspects of life significant in the construction of identity are left unrecognized (Cuypers, 1998:349).

Furthermore, the concept of identity cannot be fully explained by using a "dualistic metaphysicians' perspective (Ego theory)", or by using an essentialistic conception, aimed at fixing the damaged features of identity. Identity can not be fully explained by using those perspectives aiming at returning to the uncontaminated origin, wishing for an integrated identity with a natural and absolute closure, which appeared to be the case with many post-colonial ideologies in Africa, including Tanzania. Within such a conception identities are viewed as "constructed on the recognized common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal or with the natural closure of solidarity". (Hall, 1996:2)

The question of identity cannot be fully understood by erasing its key concepts without replacing them with newly formulated meanings. It cannot be explained by what is sometimes called a partial criticism, by replacing the old concepts with new ones, or by subsuming or transcending the concept of identity because it "is not an essentialist but a strategic and positional one". (Hall, 1996:3)

In addition, the construction of identity can never be completed, difference cannot be eliminated or fitted into given parameters which have previously been projected or fantasized as ideal. Some elements will always be missing or overrepresented. There will never be ideal, or adequate conditions to complete its construction. Individuals will always be identified with what

makes them different, peculiar to other people, with what "binds (them) to an abandoned object-choice". (ibid.) At a general level, women are identified with femininity because they lack what binds men with masculinity and vice versa. White people are identified with what black people do not have and vice versa. Identity "requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside to consolidate the process...It is through the relation to the other, the relation to what any identity is not, to what it lacks, to its constitutive outside that it can be constructed". (Hall, 1996:3, 4)

The question of identity is adequately explained when both its particular expressive, ontological and formative (ideological and material or practical contexts) constructs are recognized and liquified. This occurs when they are put into motion and allowed to accommodate different dimensions of analysis which cross different boundaries and advance in various levels, to the point where they become interconnected with different dynamics at the international level. At this point ideological and material constructs of given identities, as recognized by the core or metropolis, are examined in relation to their influence on, and to how they are influenced by, identity constructs as recognized by the local, the periphery, and vice versa. It is at the point where, for example, such definitions as the "Third World", the South, developing and underdeveloped, as imposed by the industrialized countries on most of non-Western and unindustrialized countries influence the way organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) formulate lending policies including interest rates and Structural Adjustment Policies for non-Western countries. To fulfill requirements for borrowing money from these organizations a recipient is required to meet lending conditions (George, 1989). By complying with such conditions and policies the borrowing country is compelled to make changes to its internal policies. These changes often affect the redistribution of scarce resources and opportunities usually to the disadvantage of a majority of the population, including women. In the process of coping with such changes disadvantaged groups of people formulate survival strategies, sometimes outside conventional boundaries. Such eruptions oblige changes to certain national policies, which may, again, provoke changes in lending conditions and policies at the international level.

As far as the construction of identity in relation to the "politics of location" and discursive practices is concerned, an analysis at the global level is necessary to position both problems and alternative solutions within Anzaldua's consciousness of the borderlands, Derrida's sense of thinking at the limit, as well as where both problems and alternatives can be restaged and read differently. It is a position where the finger-pointing of developing countries blaming external forces for their problems, and the industrialized countries blaming internal forces of the former can eventually come to an end. As well, everyone may realize that she/he is a part of both problems and alternative solutions. Such a realization may be the catalyst for change in retrograde attitudes individuals and countries hold towards one another, resulting in valid ideas and learning from others. Springing from such an exchange of ideas there can be a cross-fertilization of ideas about a more comprehensive analysis, and a prescription of alternative solutions for problems being discussed.

This research is about re-evaluating women's schooling experiences in relation to socioeconomic, cultural, religious and political conditions, especially in the post independence period, at
both local and international levels. The emphasis is placed on three main subjects firstly, on
systems or politics of selection and closure and their inherent procedures and practices of
prohibiting and punishing counteractions. Secondly, on how different aspects of life, including
social status, class, race or ethnicity and gender, influence the way individuals are sanctioned
(rewarded and punished) in the society. Thirdly, the impact of selecting procedures and
sanctioning practices on women's schooling process in Tanzania. Such a comprehensive
observation is required to help Tanzanian women understand the circumstances surrounding their
schooling process and its impact on their lives in general. It will also help them to understand how
their relationships to different aspects of life, and not just gender difference, over time and place
have influenced their political awareness and position in society, what they stand for, what they
have become and can become in the future.

Gender inequality in education in Tanzania cannot, therefore, be viewed as a simple, polemical or dichotomous phenomenon. It is complex, contradictory, and changing over time, requiring analysis which crosses gender, national/racial/ethnic and class boundaries. It requires policy decisions which will identify factors other than gender difference which deny women unrestricted access to education- factors such as the impact of socio-economic, cultural and political inequalities, within the family, in communities, and between the country and the global community. The interconnectedness, fluidity and temporarity which exists within these relations must also be understood for a better analysis of their influence on gender inequality in education in Tanzania to develop.

To adequately re-articulate and re-conceptualize gender inequality in education in Tanzania, questions of identity, the notion of "politics of location", and discursive practices should be applied to situate women in society. Women should inform themselves about the existence and persistence of the many discursive practices. Women should know what is actually happening within and without conventional institutions, as opposed to the superficial and the obvious, and understand how such practices affect their schooling process. Each woman in this struggle should know what adjustments she needs to make to cope with the hybridized, multiple, irreducible and changing features the country experiences to succeed academically and to autonomously achieve her life goals, without being either co-opted or losing significant influence in her society.

The problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania needs, therefore, to be rearticulated and re-conceptualized. The process which

foregrounds the production of contexts, the ongoing effort by which particular practices are removed from and inserted into different structures of relationships, the construction of one set of relationships out of another, the continuous struggle to reposition practices, (which, in turn, influences changes in meanings and subjects) within a shifting field of forces. (Frankenberg & Mani, 1993:306)

The analysis of this problem includes, therefore, an examination of issues central to the formation of identities which are, in turn, used to systematically restrict, or limit and exclude women from participating fully in education. To better understand gender inequality in education in Tanzania

questions of identity, "politics of location" and "discursive practices" must be included in the analysis, to "provide the ground for political definition and self-definition"... (ibid.: 305) These three notions are central for a theoretical development of an acceptable alternative solution to the problem of insufficient schooling for Tanzania's women. The process of developing a viable theoretical tool to help describe and explain this problem requires an intensive and extensive literature review, which follows in the next chapter.

## 1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

This research covers six chapters. Chapter One is the introduction. The following chapter is a Literature Review, which includes theories of social inequality by Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim; as well as contemporary perspectives by Miliband, C. Wright, Poulantzas and Giddenns, feminist perspectives, and some ideas from colonial and post-colonial discourse. These theories raise issues of power, class, status, domination, the role of the state, questions of identity, discursive practices and the notion of "politics of location", which are significant in analysing gender inequality in education in Tanzania. Chapter Three is a historical background focusing on colonialism and its discursive practices in the formation of knowledge about the Third world, placing an emphasis on the Tanzanian experience. An evaluation of the colonial experience in Tanzania provides a background to certain elements in relation to gender inequality in postcolonial education. Chapter Four begins with a brief review of the colonial system of education in Tanzania and is followed by a detailed discussion of post-colonial education, including its policies since independence until 1998, and their contributing factors both in promoting women's access to education and in concealing problems they face in their schooling process. Chapter Five focuses on obstacles to women's participation in post-colonial education in Tanzania. A case study of five interviews is evaluated. These interviews reflect not only obstacles women's experience in the process of obtaining education, but also their academic struggles and achievement. Various data indicate that political independence in Tanzania in 1961 has had a differential impact on educational participation between women and men. This differential impact has contributed to altering gender relations within the private and public spheres, and has changed women's participation in the public sphere, with the result that full access to formal education has not been achieved, especially for women in post-colonial Tanzania. Despite a significant value which is usually placed on education in post-colonial Tanzania, the number of women participants in formal education is still very small; despite the government's recognition of education as a strand to create a link between women's efforts and resources and opportunities in the public spheres, at both micro and macro levels, formal education is still gendered. Chapter Six is the concluding analysis which contains suggested alternative solutions. This chapter is followed by a bibliography.

#### CHAPTER TWO

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

### INTRODUCTION

The discussion in the previous chapter indicates that problems that women encounter during their schooling process are major, complex, and persistent. In order to comprehend and explain the nature, context and diversity of these problems, and develop their alternative solutions a review of literature should take an interdisciplinary approach.

Therefore, In this chapter a review of literature is preceded by the identification of the disciplines of study. The identification of such disciplines is perceived as significant in comprehending the context under which gender inequality in education in Tanzania can be explained more precisely, and alternative solutions be found. Obstacles to women's participation in post-colonial education are multiple including socio-economic, cultural and political, and exist on many levels at both micro and macro levels, and from without and within the school environment. What appears to be gender inequality incorporates other elements related to class, culture and racial issues. These additional elements unfold women's diversity which crosses class, cultural, ethnicity, linguistic, geographic, and religious boundaries, and their growing social differentiation based on location, income, occupation, education and life style. In this manner, women face different experiences from each other, and from men in the process of obtaining education. Gender inequality in education is a multi-dimensional problem, encompassing causal factors which may multiply, become fluid and temporary, liable to a continuous changing process, and overlap across different periods of time and place. Such complexity makes an interdisciplinary approach a priority in the development of further arguments about women's problems obtaining an education in Tanzania.

This study incorporates three interrelated disciplines: Women's Studies in Developing Countries as a major field, with Sociology/Anthropology of Development and Political Development as minor fields. The rationale for incorporating these fields is based on the

assumption that an interdisciplinary approach is essential to an understanding of the constraints which women face within the context of society at large (Klein, 1990).

"Analyzing the causes and consequences of (a certain situation) or social change requires crossing the conventional boundaries of (disciplines within) social sciences. Each of (them) has unique insights to contribute". (D.Jaffee, 1990:1) As well, both social situations and social change influence and are influenced, shape and are shaped by a combination of an "individual's perceptions and beliefs, cultural patterns, economic organization, methods of production and distribution, socio-political arrangements, and international" (Ibid.; Brown, 1979) dynamics.

In order to grasp the nature, extent, and diversity of women's problems in obtaining education, it is objectively necessary to draw some lessons and skills from other disciplines including Political science, Sociology, Anthropology, and Women's Studies. Such an interdisciplinary approach provides for a cross-fertilization of ideas and experiences which may help to capture some of the important intervening variables that might counterbalance what may otherwise appear to be normal, or acceptable, causal relationships.

A proposed solution based on a synthesis of a multiplicity of schools of thought may lead to a more coherent understanding of all of the issues involved because the disciplines of the social sciences, in their varied attempts to describe human behavior in relation to the environment, complement one another. While there might be tendencies of overlapping, there are also inclinations to restrict within the boundaries of the discipline concerned. Thus, each discipline may shed light on only parts of the whole. None of these products of academic compartmentalization can individually fully explain human behavior in society.

A few examples explain this point. Political science is concerned with the distribution and allocation of power and scarce resources at various levels in society, and with ideological strategies for the transformation of human and physical environments in order to increase production, and ensure social justice (Coleman in So, 1990). Sociology complements what other social sciences cannot fully explain about forces which influence human behavior in society and goes further with

social behavior involving multiple dimensions, seeking knowledge about the relationships between individuals, and their relations to the means of production, to productive relations (power systems), and the appropriation of the end products of labor power. The nature and level of relationships to these elements influence, on one hand, each individual's social status, class, and behavior in society, and on the other, individuals' access to resources and opportunity, and their right to property ownership (Papanek, 1990; Smelser in So, 1990).

An anthropology of development provides a survey of development problems. As far as developing countries are concerned, it focuses mainly on the nature and distribution of poverty, and explains its causal factors and possible alternative solutions. It provides knowledge about everyday lives of the poor and subjected groups of people, their experiences, ideas, skills, creativity, commitments, values, and their personal and collective efforts to improve their living conditions.

Development anthropology also looks into the impact of forces such as world markets, development agencies, political oppression, famines and wars on the poor. It is more concerned with how ordinary people, if properly aided, can be innovative and effective in dealing with their problems (Henshall 1991).

An interdisciplinary approach is therefore, essential to an understanding of the issues in their specific and complex regional locations, because what may be the case in one setting may not necessarily be in another. Since the main problems affecting women's process of schooling in Tanzania can be related to cultural, socio-economic and political aspects, an interdisciplinary approach is crucial to identifying areas where the problems in question originate, are ignored, and perpetuated. It is also an essential approach in developing proposals for courses of action against different types of social inequality, a problem which has attracted many social scientists.

#### 2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender inequality in education is one form of social inequality. Social inequality, as Edward Grabb pointed out, is a common notion within social relationships (1990:1). It is a problem common in both private and public spheres, or in informal and formal sectors, experienced within social, economic and political institutions, at both micro and macro levels. It is a problem which accommodates issues of power and control, domination, exploitation, oppression, suppression and subordination, within different social categories including class, race, and gender. Social inequality is a complex problem which manifests itself in multiple forms, and has been persistent throughout human history.

Theories dealing with the notion of social inequality are multiple, having both some differences and similarities in the way they describe social inequality, explain its causal factors, and prescribe alternative solutions to the problem of social inequality in time and place. Theories of social inequality have been developed within traditional disciplines of social sciences, many of which deal with "traditional subject matter high politics". (Georgina Waylen, 1996:2) They are generally grand theories, which, as Michele Barrett and Anne Phillips (1992) have observed, while appearing to have universal claims and gender-neutrality, speak from masculinist perspective, the mainstream. Until recently, within many traditional disciplines of social sciences, gender inequality was viewed as natural, normal, and legitimate. Therefore, although traditional theories of social inequality might have raised issues of inequality similar to those discussed within feminism, with the exception of some contemporary perspectives, none of them has used gender as an analytical category.

Ideas on social inequality can be traced back to Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, who appeared to believe that the problem of social inequality is divinely ordained, or natural, and that nothing could be done about it (Selsam, 1939). However, the conception of social inequality as "natural" has been challenged by many scholars in different disciplines of social sciences. They have used various alternative variables to search for the reality of the problem of

social inequality, which are a challenge to the natural conception of the same. Karl Marx has described and explained social inequality with an economic factor, a social-oriented causal factor, which to him created social inequality within different modes of production. During the slavery mode, Marx identified unequal relations between master and slave; during the feudal mode, between feudal lord and serf; and during the capitalist mode, between capitalist and proletariat (Grabb, 1990).

The subject of social inequality has attracted many social scientists many of whom challenge the Western metaphysical, naturalistic (fixed with natural closure) or tautologistic conceptions of different kinds of social inequality (Hall & Gay, 1996:1-3). Many theorists of social inequality direct their deconstructional or decentralizational processes towards issues related to social classification and power relations/distribution. They also attempt to examine the role of the state in alleviating or perpetuating social inequality in society. These social theorists include Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, and contemporary theorists such as Nicos Poulantzas, Ralph Miliband, C. Wright Mills, Ralf Dahrendolf, Frank Parkin, Gerhard Lenski, Erik Olin Wright and Antony Giddens.

Marx and Weber are generally accepted as classical sociologists and great thinkers. Emile Durkheim's ideas are understood to be bridge builders between classical and contemporary thinkers. He also provides a departure from classical ideas, and a link between the left, or socialist conception of social inequality and the right, or structural functionalist conception of social inequality. Dahrendorf's and Lenski's works are perceived as having moved significantly away from structural functionalism. Poulantzas and Wright are generally categorized as neo-Marxist thinkers, and Parkin and Giddens generally as neo-Weberian thinkers (Grabb, 1990:1-6, 126-127). In addition, feminist scholars, in their attempt to describe gender inequality, are among the many contemporary thinkers debating the definition and causal factors of social inequality and how to eliminate it.

In this chapter, ideas from evolutionary theory in relation to social inequality initiate the discussion. Then, classical and contemporary sociological ideas about social inequality, such as those developed by Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Poulantzas and Giddens, will interchangeably be used to, firstly, evaluate the problem of social inequality, and secondly, to indicate their influence on feminist analyses. A summary on theories of social inequality by Grabb (1990), will be heavily used. Its simplicity, precision and chronological arrangement make it easy to understand. Rosemarie Tong's 1989 discussion on Western feminist theories will also be useful in identifying those issues raised in both classical and contemporary sociological theories of inequality and feminism.

For the purpose of this discussion an overview on feminist theory will focus on an identification of ideas from theories of social inequality that have been firmly adopted by feminists, such as Marxist, socialist and liberal, in their analyses of gender inequality. The emphasis in this discussion is on the influences of classical ideas of social inequality on feminism, which is in turn, central to the analysis of gender inequality. There will also be a brief examination of feminist perspectives with different dimensions about understanding gender inequality such as psychoanalytic, existentialist, postmodern and Third World feminist perspectives. Third World feminism challenges Western feminist single-focused (gender/difference/unequal) paradigm by including class and racial issues in gender analyses, making the Third World feminist paradigm multi-focused, a paradigm suitable for an evaluation of the problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania. In this discussion an attempt to provide further elaboration on the complexity around the concept of social inequality in relation to gender inequality in post-colonial education in the country will be made. At that level, some post-colonial ideas will be useful.

# 2.2 UNDERSTANDING THE COMPLEXITY SURROUNDING THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Social inequality remains one of the major problems in the world, despite historical changes in socio-economic conditions and political relations in human history (Human Development Report, 1992). Such changes, as indicated by evolutionary theory, were supposed to have differentiated the human race from primitive or traditional social relationships into modern and civilized ones. Traditional socio-economic and political relationships are associated with an underdeveloped economy, and thus a scarcity of resources and opportunities. They are also associated with authoritarian political regimes, rigid or conservative value-patterns, and a high level of social inequality. According to evolutionary theory, socio-economic and political development go hand in hand with individual physical, intellectual, and economic prosperity, and may direct political systems towards democratic relations (So 1990:19-20).

Socio-economic and political developments have, however, affected people in different ways. Many historical narratives have indicated that such changes have always benefited certain categories of individuals, families, communities and nations; usually at the expense of other categories. As indicated by the 1992 Human Development report, individuals and nations have different access to resources and opportunity, differ in their rights to the ownership of valued materials or wealth, to the protection of the law, and to freedom of speech and public participation. Differences in access, and the right to opportunity are manifestations of the impact of such developments on individuals' lives. While certain categories of individuals, some families, communities and nations have become rich, powerful and dominant, others have become poor and subordinate largely because of the meanings that have come to be associated with their geographical locations, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and age. Privileged categories usually become the main players in the socio-economic and political arena. The dominant positions they occupy in society often enable them to have almost total access to resources and to invaluable opportunities in society. For many people, prestigious social status and class become a warrant to

despise, exploit, suppress and oppress other categories of people (Marx, Weber, Giddens in Grabb 1990; Miliband 1990 and C. Wright 1990). These "other" categories of people do not always comply, or stay docile under such mistreatment from the dominant. They often react against them in different ways, alone, and or collectively, disorganized, or organized, and viciously or progressively.

The media often release information about workers' strikes over labor disputes in different locations. Women's movements around the world, which take different forms and contexts, nationalist movements, political coups, religious fundamentalism, suicide bombers, and civil wars have occurred in different times and places, and killed many thousands of people. These incidents, which can be viewed as some form of resistance against problems created by social inequality, also indicate that problems of social inequality are enormous, complex, and manifest over different dimensions and levels. They provide a significant challenge to evolutionary theory on issues associated with social development.

In addition, the existence of organizations such as Amnesty International and The Human Right's Commission, along with other conventions for the protection of rights, including Immigration and Employment Acts in many countries, and the Youth Protection Act in Canada, are a further testament to the fact that the problem of social inequality is critical (Human Development Report 1992).

The very notion of social inequality has become complex and difficult to explain. There have been many evaluations of the meanings associated with the concept inequality. Usually, as with many social concepts, the meanings associated with inequality overlap cultural and ethical boundaries, periods of time, and levels of individual awareness. The meanings of equality and inequality are usually relative to person, time and place. Relativism of these concepts creates what Max Weber would call a complex nature of social inequality and its multiple causal-factors; "A probability nature of (its) explanation...". (Grabb, 1990:32-33) Relativism, in this case, can also support the existence of what Weber calls "an interplay between ideas and material reality, and

between objective and subjective aspects of life" (ibid.) in day-to-day dynamics. The following analysis is an example of the complexity surrounding the concept of social inequality.

As one of Western feminism's deconstructive strategies to male/female inequality, and or private/public dichotomy, Western feminism identifies sex/gender roles as a mode of social control, a form which separates the roles males and females play in society. Generally, male roles have come to be viewed as superior to, and more prestigious than female roles, leading to a popular conception of women as subservient to men. Western feminism has made an appeal for women's participation in the public sphere (Farnham 1987:4; Tong, 1989:1). Women's participation in the public, formal sector as waged workers becomes a linking bridge between the private or particular world and the public or general world. Today many western women have managed to cross the boundaries from the private sphere to actively participate in socio-economic and political sectors (Farnham, 1987:53-54).

Early in the feminist movement, due to gender inequality in the workplace, many women felt they "had exchanged the kitchen sink for a typewriter". (Farnham 1987:4) Today many women work in the public sphere as both employers and employees, as business partners, or as owners of their own companies. Like many men, some women have, in Marxian analysis, become controllers of the mean's of production, and occupy high positions in bureaucracies. Many Western women have obtained a social status which, for Weberians, provides them with access to the same resources and opportunities as men. Although it is a tremendous success, it has not been achieved without challenge.

There are some issues that need clarification. If feminism's appeal for women's public participation has resulted in the alteration of the private/public dichotomy, what aspects have been changed within, or erased from the old relations? What aspects have emerged in the new relations? What aspects from the old private/public relation, as Stuart Hall and Jacques Derrida would ask, still function in their displaced forms, within the new positionality, or paradigm? Who are subjects of the new relations? Who takes care of women workers' households? Who has replaced

them as homemakers? whether they are married or single, have children or not. Do employees in these households get fair wages for the work they do? If not, how can Western feminism be of help? Furthermore, can working in another home also be seen as participating in the public sphere? Do the women hired in households, by moving from their own homes, which qualify as the private sphere, then become participants in public sector too?

Domestication of other women, many of whom Mohanty et al (1991) observes to be immigrants, creates many questions. Is the private sphere private only when it is one's own home? Or is public participation a question of wages and not necessarily about the nature of work? How much has the same feminist appeal for women's equal access to public participation contributed to the confinement of women immigrants to household work, or the private sphere? At what level has such a replacement helped to improve women immigrants' lives? And at what level has this contributed to perpetuating "consequential differences" vis-à-vis women immigrants as "the Other"?

An immigration trend into Western countries "includes a considerable number of middle-class professionals, petty bourgeois, individuals of working class" category (Ahmed in S. Joshi, 1991:331-332), illiterates, semi-illiterate and educated people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. However, in Western countries immigrants are usually considered, as Edward Said states, "a great different but inferior". (Said, in Fincham 1995 & Frankenberg and Mani, 1993) Like Marx's economic class, they are all placed in the same category: immigrants. This category makes it hard for many of them to get jobs in their own profession within Western societies. The reasons for that is another question which may need a text of its own. Some immigrants end up on welfare, while others manage to get unskilled and semi-skilled jobs with little job security, and resulting unemployment.

As a result of such scarcity as in Marx's proletariat class, working conditions, especially for household jobs, becomes undefined, working hours may be longer than what was initially agreed, a wage may be reduced, working days may be added for the same wage, and an employee

is expected to work more than she/he bargained for. A baby-sitter may be asked to do housekeeping and cooking, and be paid for baby-sitting only.

Furthermore, the diversity which exists among immigrants sometimes makes things worse. In this case Weber's subjective and objective aspects of life, and Durkheim's, Weber's, and Gramsci's legitimate and illegitimate compliance come into play. There are those who comply with such conditions because they are not aware that they are being exploited, some want to keep their jobs because they have been manipulated into believing that no other workplace is as good, and given their immigrant status, they may think it is impossible to get another job, others even conspire against their fellow immigrants to stay employed. As Mani states, "the Other" may despise or discriminate against their fellow "Other" because "Other is not a homogenous entity". (Frankenberg and Mani 1993:297) You may hear an immigrant telling her boss, "do not hire people from this and that countries, they are thieves, dirty, lazy, or they smell bad".

Conditions in work places (households) also create many questions. How do baby-sitters make a distinction between child-discipline and child-abuse practices, given their cultural differences in defining these concepts. How do they take care of children at their workplace, similarly or differently from their own? How does this change the mother-child relationship, for the baby-sitter with her children, as well as for a working Western-mother? How does it affect the physical and psychological development of the children in both cases?

An immigration trend unfolds another axis on which subjectivity can be explained. For household jobs, this trend also reveals new power relations, not only between husbands and working wives, but also between the working wives and women immigrants, both within same gender category, but of different race and social status, between women of one private sphere and those in another, between women immigrants and children of Western families. In this situation the power hierarchy within Western families adds cultural, class and racial relations to gender and parent-children relations.

By working in the public sector, Western women are liberated from the confinement of the household at the expense of non-citizens women, the "Other", and inevitably introduce their children to the new power relations. Their children become a strand which links Westerners to outsiders, non-Westerns, and/or the "Other". The effects of such an inescapable linkage are multiple and vary from one situation to another. In this case, it is difficult to determine who becomes a victim within the new power relations unless the experiences of the parties involved in the situation are evaluated. This introduces the importance of the notion of "Politics of location" in the process of the identification of what aspects are changed, modified, or remain unchanged, in relation to discursive processes on the formation of subjectivity (Frankenberg & Mani 1993:300).

In one way, hiring women immigrants for household jobs can be perceived as another axis, through which new victims of the confinement to household work are initiated. It may seem then that women's right to public participation helps to liberate the exploited labor of Western housewives, and uses immigrant women as an alternative, and also creates a new power dynamic. It may also be conceived that by alleviating gender inequality for Western women, Western feminism has enhanced racial inequality. Also, this exchange of housewives' free labor for paid labor may alter the wife husband relationship within the family. Before the situation was different but now, many couples now go out to work, and at home both husband and wife may expect to be served by a hired house maid. A house maid is a force or variable which may displace husbandwife, and parent-children power relations, for the better or worse. A house-maid also changes the division of labor within the Western nuclear family, and between sexes. Women immigrants, as baby-sitters and home makers, are temporarily in charge of the household, and in the absence of the parents they have voice or power over Western children.

Women's right to public participation, therefore, decentres or dislodges the original meaning of the concept private sphere, and blurs boundaries between public and private spheres. It also creates new contingencies and convergencies or intersections by unfolding multiple power relations and forms of subjectivity. As can be observed, house work job analysis includes power

relations which involve Marx's economic force theory, Weber's social status, feminisms' gender category, cultural, and racial relations. The latter aspects are further elaborated by theorists in post-colonial discourse such as Chandra Mohanty (politics of location), Stuart Hall (after effects), Edward Said (orientalism) and Jacques Derrida (Double inscription).

Questions surrounding the notion of social inequality are thus complex. They include attempts to explore meanings associated with different types of social inequality and its complexity, to understand why differences may affect human lives in ways not initially expected, to explain why the recognition of the multiplicity of social inequalities require an observation beyond the obvious, to grasp their origin(s) and persistence and to identify the negative impact that social inequalities can cause (Grabb, 1990:4). For that, a thorough understanding of the problem of social inequality becomes crucial.

### 2.3 UNDERSTANDING THE NOTION OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

As indicated earlier, there are many forms of social inequality. According to Grabb, social inequality "refers to any of the differences between people or the socially defined positions they occupy". (1990:4) For him, inequality is about differences, both biological or "natural" and socially constructed, which exist between individuals. Biological differences include "sex, height, weight, eye or skin color, shoe size, age". (Grabb 1990:4) Socially constructed differences include gender, race/ethnicity, class, religion and status.

Using Grabb's conception of inequalities, differences or inequality appear to be something common, normal and familiar in social life. But, as Grabb and Weber note, problems with differences are imbedded within subjective meanings that people attach to some of these differences. Most importantly, the implications behind them is where the problem about differences lies. Inequalities become a problem when they affect individuals' "rights, opportunities, rewards and privileges", (Grabb, 1990:4) and their lives in general.

Writings within post-colonial discourse, in a similar vein as Grabb, indicate that through discursive practices "these consequential differences become structured", (Grabb, 1990:4)) or patterned, and, as Dorothy Smith observes, they become formalized, objectified and naturalized (in Mohanty et al 1991), and "built into the way people interact with one another", (Grabb, 1990:4) in the way they relate to the means of production and power systems "on a recurring basis...and are more or less sustained over time and place". (ibid.)

Smith argues that, consequential differences define individuals, events and places. They discursively become the main indicators, landmarks, and determinants of their location in cultural, socio-economic and political-societal positions. Individuals become differentiated by their access to resources and opportunity, and by their rights within society. Some gain access to various kinds of resources and opportunities, and on different levels than others (in Mohanty et al, 1991; Mills, 1959:I; Miliband 1983). While certain categories of people obtain wealth by inheritance and by virtue of their social status and enjoy an unlimited access to resources and opportunities, other categories of people must work hard to provide for their basic needs of food, clothing and shelter. Of note is that the differences which exist in the possession of valued materials and in access to resources have made certain categories of people powerful and more influential than others in society. Their voices or their silence, "actions or inactions", may have a major impact on ordinary people's lives (Mills 1990:1).

Social inequality is about consequential differences which create, according to Marx, binaries between "the haves and have nots", create privilege and power hierarchies in society (Weber and Gerhard Lenski), or structured locations and relations (Nicos Poulantzas) (Grabb, 1990:137,144). These are differences which, according to Erik Olin Wright, enable a bourgeoisie class qualify to occupy high positions in economic, political and ideological sectors. This class has both "mediate (wealth, social status, power) and proximate (skills or educational qualifications) factors" (Giddens) required for obtaining "high level of skill and credentials". (ibid:173-174:158) Consequential differences, or what Mohanty would call "locations", are used to create social

restrictions which prevent certain categories of individuals from acquiring resources and opportunities, They are a form of "social closure" by which subordinates are excluded from dominant factions (Frank Parkin in Grabb, 1990:165). While they empower some individuals, consequential differences deprive others of power in certain categories.

Historical thought about social inequality can be traced to early Greek philosophers. Since then there has been a wide variation in thought about social inequality from socialist and capitalist perspectives, or a mixture of both, and attention from different dimensions from psychoanalysts, and existentialists.

Theories about the problem of social inequality have developed through different, but overlapping assumptions about the nature of the problem. The writings of premodern Greek philosophers including Plato and Aristotle indicate that these philosophers believed in naturalized, normalized views about social inequality (Selsam 1939). Moving to modern theorists, the perception of social inequality has become dominated by structured, formalized and objectified views (So 1990). Furthermore, if one turns to its conception in the era which is generally defined as post-modern, one would find most ideas further displaced into different, but shifting and overlapping paradigms. Poststructuralist conceptualization is situated between modern (structured, formalized and objectified forms) and post-modern (deconstructed and detotalized forms) boundaries.

The shifting and overlapping character of most of post-modern paradigms, according to Stuart Hall, creates a productive tension between epistemological and chronological categories, "the tension which faces after-effects". (Hall in Chamber & Curti 1996:244) It is a challenge which does not bring an epistemology to an end, but which analyzes what Gramsci calls "a movement of deconstruction-reconstruction", or, what Derrida would term, "double-inscription". (in Hall 1996:1; in Frankenberg & Mani, 1993)

This post-modern positionality, which sounds like "sitting on the fence", resists reduction to either description. Social inequality can, therefore, be explained neither within earlier or modern

paradigms alone, nor can it currently be adequately explained if issues are divorced from the modern framework. Derrida has called such irreducible displacement "thinking in the limit", "double-writing" or double-inscription, Frankenberg and Mani call it "crosscurrents". (Hall and Gay, 1996:1; Frankenberg & Mani 1993)

Within this "crosscurrents" trend of thinking about social inequality Foucault provides some suggestive ideas about theorizing the problem of social inequality. Foucault believes that the knowledge needed in the current process of theorizing is "not a theory of the knowing subject (the victim, the oppressed), but rather a theory of discursive practice". (Foucault, 1970:p.xiv, in Hall and Gay 1996:2) This is a knowledge about circumstances which relegate certain individuals, groups, communities and races to an unequal share of resources and opportunities in society during a given period of time. Generally, discursive practices encourage subjective meanings or knowledge, which dominant ideologies and institutions associate with objects, places, and events, to suit, protect and perpetuate their interests, and monitor the production and appropriation of such knowledge. According to Foucault, by using a theory of discursive practices, therefore, an effective challenging, deconstructing, detotalizing, decentering, and rearticulating requires "not an abandonment or abolition of the subject, but a reconceptualization, thinking of the subject in its new, displaced or decentered position within the paradigm" (Hall & Gay 1996:2) in relation to power systems.

On another level of evaluation theories of inequality, from classical to contemporary, have been developed in a way that can be related to Derrida's notion of "grafting". (Donaldson, 1992:56) Derrida relates horticultural grafting to textual grafting as "in plants as climbing ivies" sap is made to "pass from one ivy to another across a union of stems and then circulates within the second stem" (ibid.) to enable plants to grow quickly. Similarly, textual grafting is visible in how classical ideas have, in one way or another, been carried forward to current times. Marx's class analysis, despite massive criticism from both socialist and capitalist ideologies, "continues to be the

principal explanatory variable to consider when trying to understand the workings of society". (Giddens, 1973:19; Wright, 1979:3 in Grabb, 1990:9)

What appears to make Derrida's notion of textual-grafting, even more important is its concern with the exploration of the "contextual ability to function in new contexts with new forces, and make visible the points of juncture and stress" (Donaldson, 1992:56-57) where one idea or argument has been interwoven with another. In theories of inequality, despite much theoretical change which takes place in different periods of time and by different theorists, concepts such as class, power, and the state in various degrees have managed to function in subsequent contexts and forces within both classical and contemporary theories. Textual grating creates what in normal-science is identified as theory-ladenness.

In normal science the process of developing a theory begins from within the already accepted paradigm. This prevents an emerging theory from a complete detachment from the previous perspective. The new theory branches-off or develops from, rather than cutting itself off from the previous theory. It emerges within a displaced form, different circumstances and positionality. Ideas in a newly displaced paradigm arise as a result of an infiltration during "grafting". So, while certain concepts from the previous theory are included, there will also be some changes, including the abandonment of some concepts, a modification of others, and the emergence of new concepts (Brown 1979).

A point of departure, as part of the process of developing another theory, can also be related to Hall's notion of "suture", meeting point, and intersection, or "temporary attachment to the subject positions...", (Hall & Gay 1996:5) in this case, to the old conceptions of inequality, which are the result of a successful articulations. The new theory springs out of suturing or grafting, "the effecting of the join of the subject in structures of meanings". (Ibid. 1996:5-6)

It appears that, as in a horticultural grafting or in Harold Brown's notion of "theory-ladenness" versus "concept change", (1979) the solidness of a foundation, and the speed of growth and degree of popularity of a succeeding theory largely depends on its ability to articulate

both the text and "material rootedness of signification", (Donaldson, 1992:57) or its ability to utilize its socio-historical references. This point of references brings in Foucault's ideas about author/writer power relations, whereby an author's status and power in conventional writing is primary to that of a writer (1977:115). A successful articulation of ideas in conventional discourse requires an indication of the background of the ideas used in one's writing and an acknowledgment of an author. The author or reference carries more power than a writer in her/his own text. (ibid.)

A similar trend can be observed in the development of theories of inequality. The basis of departure from one theorist to another as observed in theories of inequality can be related to grafting practices, double-inscription notions as defined by Derrida, and to deconstruction-reconstruction as identified by Anthony Gramsci. What happens is that grafting ideas from the previous theory becomes displaced into another positionality, overflowing their original boundaries. Grafting becomes a new force which develops to make the rigid and concrete wall flexible. And just as in the transmission of sap from one ivy to another, it also provides fluid to liquify and give life to drying and dying ideas, which may then spring up into multiple branches. As in many social theories, new branches within the theory of social inequality usually assume different dimensions as a reflection of ideologies and theories of their influence and commitment.

## 2.4 IDEOLOGIES WHICH INFLUENCE THEORIES ON SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Theorizing on social inequality is about questioning, about philosophizing issues surrounding social differences. Questions surrounding social inequality can be traced back to the sixth century B.C. in Greece (Selsam, 1939:16). Since that time social inequality has been a continuous subject for many scholars of different periods of time and places. "Diverse and opposed ideas (among scholars have often been developed) not because they have had pure reasons or plain facts, but also because of conflicting social forces" (ibid:16) such as differing experiences, value patterns, gender, conflicting ideologies and economic position of the philosopher (ibid:21) in a given period of time and society.

Overall, all the philosophies we accept today are based on two major ideologies: Liberalism/Idealism and Socialism/ Materialism, and/or the mixture of the two. These ideologies support two distinct supposed principles of "human nature". Liberalism views individuals as rational beings who can distinguish right from wrong, and who also know their interests, and recognize that to maximize their interests they need resources and opportunity. With such a conception, individuals tend to compete to achieve desired ends. However, to be able to compete requires freedom. For liberalism, the combination of being rational and free engenders prosperity, success, and/or emancipation. Basically, freedom is a liberal principle to be used to create "a just and compassionate society in which freedom flourishes". (Tong, 1989:12; Dickerson, Flanagan, Nevitte, 1991:73-78)

Much of the liberal conception of human nature has been adopted by structural fucntionalists, whose views about social inequality have been positioned on the extreme right. For most extreme functionalists, social inequality

is the result of consensus interaction between individuals competing with one another according to agreed-upon rules of conduct. They believe that social inequality flows from an extreme plurality of factors...and they stress the positive effects of inequality, especially for societal stability and integration. (Grabb, 1990:127)

Functionalists, like traditional liberals, tend to be individualistic and naturalistic, focusing on individuals' "natural" abilities, motivation, willingness, and differences in choices individuals make, as the main bases for inequality (Selsam, 1939; Grabb, 1990).

In contrast with the concept of freedom as central to liberation, the socialist tradition perceives each human's ability to produce his/her means of survival as the key principle of human nature. This ability, within this tradition, distinguishes human beings from animals. Unlike animals, "individuals are governed by their consciousness in the process of production... Through production, they collectively create a society which in turn shapes them". (Tong, 1989:39; Dickerson, Flanagan, Nevitte 1991) Socialists believe that the way people think about liberty, equality and freedom is related to the modes of production existing at that time and in that society. The notion of space and time introduces the emphasis this ideology places on the use of history to

understand the nature of the modes of production. The mode of production is considered to be the main determinant of how individuals relate to one another and to the means of production and appropriation in society. It also defines an individual's position in society. Materialism and socialism maintain that in a class society freedom, liberty and equality can never be attained, that production and reproduction of social life are the main sources of change in human history, and that a classless society is the main solution to all forms of inequality (Tong, 1989:40; Dickerson et al, 1991:102-124).

Socialism aims to reconstruct human nature in a way which eradicates all negative dichotomies, which have made some individuals slaves and others masters. It promises total freedom, through a collective work involving both males and females, to construct social structures and social roles for the development of human potential. (Tong, 1989:40)

More or less like liberalism, materialism/socialism has been adopted by many theorists of social inequality. In contrast with individualistic and naturalistic perceptions, scholars of extreme left ideology use a discursive approach, and see inequality as based on

differential treatment people are accorded because of socially defined characteristics, such as economic, class, race, age, ethnicity, gender and religion"...They "see social inequality arising purely out of conflict or struggle between antagonistic groups; trace the root of inequality to the single factor of class location or control of economic power; and stress the major social problems that inequality engenders, problems that can be alleviated only through radical social change. (Grabb, 1990:4, 127)

Social inequality has been perceived differently because its study has been conducted in different periods of time and society, and by individuals who differ in their experiences, beliefs, and theories they are committed to (Harold, 1979). Such a diversity helps to make any philosophy meaningful because, as observed by Selsam, "all philosophies represent attitudes towards the world derived from particular social and historical influences". (1939:22)

It can also be observed that, as a result of differing perceptions, some thinkers tend to provide a theory which would justify social inequalities as they have existed in the social order over many periods of time, and some tend to attack existing social institutions and traditions, which appear to create and perpetuate social inequality (ibid.).

A thinker, in this sense, can be understood as "the product of his (her) position in...the particular complex of social forces that impinge upon him (her)". (Selsam, 1939:30). For example, Plato, a Greek philosopher,

who came from a well-to-do land-owning family,... in seeking to uphold the moral and political values of his class, thus to preserve the status quo...used philosophy to justify the life of leisure of the Greek land-owning aristocracy and to uphold the ideal of an oligarchic state ruled over by an elite to whom alone affairs of state can be safely entrusted. (Selsam, 1939:23,28,29)

Plato perceived "knowledge as the main purpose of life, and those who have no access to knowledge should labor for those who are knowledgeable". (ibid.) This statement does not provide social reasons as to why some individuals become knowledgeable and others do not. It is a solid and static conception of how knowledge is acquired. For Plato the order of things was solely connected with nature, a heavenly ordained model, "rooted in the eternal structure of the universe", (ibid:29) with no questions asked.

Similar to Plato's ideology was Aristotle's conception of the universe. Aristotle came from the middle class of that time. He contended that "it is an ethic for the rich man, denying in fact that the poor man can ever be virtuous". (ibid.) As with Plato, he believed that "the purpose of all human society is that a few might live lives of leisure and wealth, supposedly then to engage in the highest of all activities". (ibid:30) Plato and Aristotle's philosophies were for the few and the rich in society. Their ideologies served the interests of those at the apex of the society's pyramid. Furthermore, they expected the majority, the poor of the society, to understand and accept that such an extreme rich/poor, knowledgeable/ignorant binary, a socially constructed inequality, was natural, with nothing to be done about it.

Thinkers of the eighteenth-century differed from Plato and Aristotle. In France they attempted to develop ideas "against the impeding conditions imposed upon them by monarchical, priest-ridden France". (ibid:32) Sounding more like materialists, these thinkers presupposed that "men (human beings) are primarily the product of their environment". (ibid:32) They argued that "for men to develop there must be better social institutions and an environment conducive to their

happiness", (ibid.) and they require knowledge of themselves and nature. These thinkers believed that "the corrupting force of religion was the greatest hindrance to change". (ibid.) The Church was an extremely powerful institution, above political and economic institutions and secular society. For the philosophers in question, the church was the main cause of social inequality. They wanted liberty, equality and fraternity (ibid:33). However, as observed by Selsam, this philosophy, materialistic as it may seem, was not strong enough to defend the mass of people against the powerful institution of the Church.

In Germany, Hegel was considered the greatest philosopher. He "sought to combine a revolutionary theory of change with the glorification of Protestant Christianity and the Prussian state" (ibid:34). His philosophy combines both dialectics and idealism. On one hand Hegel "offers a dynamic universe, developing in time, phase succeeding phase in a widening spiral" (ibid.), and with the other he surrenders the universe to "an Absolute" or God's mighty plan. It is a fixed and timeless universe. While one side reinforces man's creativity for the mastery of his environment, the other side seem to imply that "everything that happens is part of a divine plan..., really, rational and for the best". (ibid:40) Idealistic aspect of Hegel's philosophy appears to indicate that such socially constructed inequalities as child labor, sexual, gender, cultural or racial injustice, discrimination, exploitation, suppression and oppression should all be tolerated because they are part of divine plan, in which God knows when and how to fix everything. However, the dialectical aspect of his philosophy brings the problem of social inequality to the material reality of its construction.

After the death of Hegel, Karl Marx, a German-Jewish philosopher, "developed a particular optimistic philosophy about the nature of humanity and the potential of civilization to progress". Grabb, 1990:11) His analysis departs from the idealistic aspects of Hegel's philosophy, which, for him, seems to embrace Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy, the monarchy, the wealthy, and dominant small segment of the population. However, from Hegel's theory of change, in combination with "the materialist teachings of the eighteenth-century French philosophers, Marx

developed a revolutionary philosophy called dialectical materialism". (Selsam 1939:35) This philosophy was helpful to him,

first in the struggles of German commercial and industrial classes against Feudal aristocracy which hindered their development, and later in the struggles of the working class of all countries for liberation from the forces that oppressed them. Thus, for the first time in history, a philosophy was developed for those nameless masses who, hitherto, had no body of theory which they can call their own. (Selsam 1939:11)

Marx is recognized for his belief in equality. His advocacy was usually directed towards the poor and exploited (ibid:35), who were the majority of the population in all of the modes of production he discussed: slaves in slavery, serfs in feudal, and proletariat workers in capitalism.

According to Marx, social inequality exists in all class societies including slavery, feudal and capitalism. During the slavery mode of production the gap between a slave and master was extremely wide. While a slave owned nothing, a master owned everything including slaves. In the feudal mode of production social inequality existed between feudal lords and serfs, and in capitalism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. For Marx, a classless society with a communist mode of production, was the highest level of development, within which the highest level of social equality and democracy could be achieved. Marx's theory of social inequality leads this discussion towards classical ideas on social inequality, within which this problem is believed to be socially and historically constructed.

## 2.5 CLASSICAL THEORIES ON SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Classical ideas on social inequality have placed greater emphasis on issues concerning social structure in society, the notion of power relations/distribution, the role of the state, and the future of social inequality (Grabb 1990). For all classical theorists Marx, Weber and Durkheim, concepts such as class, status, power, domination, authority, bureaucracy and the state play a significant role in any inquiry about social inequality (Grabb, 1990). They are significant tools used by both conventional and unconventional institutions to produce, reproduce and maintain knowledge about individuals, places and events. They are invaluable concepts through which

different categories of individuals are often distinguished from one another, restricted and excluded from crucial sections of society, and sanctioned. It is usually under the influence of such variables that the knowledge about what is viewed as true or false, wrong or right, eligible or ineligible, and sinful or pure is produced and protected in time and place.

In many ways these classical conceptual tools, or variables, interrelate and complement each other. Social stratification, by using the economic factor of class structure, as perceived by scholars including Marx, Weber, and Miliband, helps to explain how economic power works to distinguish the rich (haves) from the poor (have nots) in society, and how economic factor serves as one of the bases for status, power and domination in society, and also for restrictions which are often imposed on individuals from various categories.

Marx defines the concept of class in its relationship to the means of production. His analysis also indicates that the inequality is created within social interactions based on a class relationship. Marx indicates how a bourgeoisie class is strategically able to influence the propertyless class and control them, using economic and ideological power (Almond, 1966:184; Grabb, 1990). Class analysis is, therefore, very useful for understanding conditions related to exploitation, and also for the identification of economic force as one of the bases of power and domination in society. It is one of the forces used by conventional institutions to exclude the poor, including women, from academic world, from significant opportunities, and generally from the public and formal sectors.

The concept of class has survived many challenges, especially from Western scholars, and maintains its position as "the central theoretical concept". (ibid:175-177) It is usually associated with the work of Marx, whose formulation defines class as an "aggregate of individuals who hold similar positions with regard to the possession of values such as power, wealth, authority, or prestige" (ibid:178) and status. Thus, the concept of class interrelates with social status, which in turn is intersected by notions of access to resources and the right to opportunity.

Elaborating more on the notion of social status, Max Weber stated that social class and social status are very close and interrelated notions. He identified social honour as the only factor which distinguishes the two notions. For him, while social status enjoys social honour and recognition, social class may not. As defined by A. Coser (1963), social status is "a position within the social structure and expectations concerning the behaviour of persons who occupy such positions". Social status appears to depend on public recognition, while members of a high social class may enjoy its wealth and other privileges with or without public awareness or approval. For Weber, the accumulation of wealth is not a primary factor in social status category but wealth is a major determinant of an individual's social status.

Social status can also be associated with power or control and domination. It is a common tendency for people "when they know the status of a person, to adjust their behaviour toward him/her". (Coser 1963:103) Coser also has observed that in bureaucracies, status symbols are highly elaborated and emphasized. Bureaucrats are expected to live up to the standard of their positions. (ibid.) They become obligated, answerable and responsible for certain issues in accordance to their position within the bureaucratic power hierarchy. Social status creates hierarchies of power and domination which become channels through which individuals' access to resources, and right to opportunities, are opened and closed. Social status is another force which can discursively be used by both conventional and unconventional systems of power to distinguish individuals, groups, communities, nations and regions from one another, and also by individuals in their struggle to reach their goals in life.

The notion of power can be related to the ability or capability to control and enforce conformity, even against another person's will. Power is obtained or successfully articulated "when one actor within social relationship is able to carry out his own will despite resistance". (Weber, 1922:53 in Grabb 1990:37) Degrees of power articulation range from mild to extreme such as what sometimes occurs in a dictatorship or fascist political regime. Power can be legitimate or illegitimate, obvious or sophisticated, at both micro and macro levels and in both capitalist and

socialist ideologies (Schumpeter 1987:236-238). An awareness of such manifestations of power practices could help women develop suitable strategies in their struggles towards academic achievement.

Marx, by using economic force as what Georgina Waylen would call, a "catch-all" variable (1996:6), a monolithic variable, identifies power as relational, as something tangible, which a person obtains in accordance to his/her relation to the means of production. Marx's single-focused analysis of social inequality has received massive criticism for what has been viewed as a reduction of other causal factors to class analysis. For Weber power is distributive. It is distributed in different hierarchies in society. Weber's analysis of power hierarchies also indicates the notion of multiple bases of power.

Furthermore, Weber explains power relations in its advanced, patterned and formalized form, which he defines as domination which exists "when power relations become regular patterns of inequality. They become established, subordinate groups accept that position in a sustained arrangement, obeying the commands of the dominant group". (Grabb, 1990:37)

The concept of obeying the commands of the dominant group led Weber to a further analysis of how subjective and objective aspects of life are associated with the reasons for compliance to domination. He argues that an individual's interaction is usually based on "rational action" or "a calculated pursuit of interests" or subjective meaning. Based on this subjective aspect of reasoning, Weber identifies two kinds of compliance a legitimate and illegitimate types. Illegitimate compliance, which Durkheim would call forced, unjust or immoral, is the result of fear and repression. Weber categorizes legitimate compliance into three types of domination or authority: formal or legal (used in formal organizations), charismatic, and traditional authority.

Weber places more emphasis on the question of the power struggle in relation to "rationalized bureaucracies" which "are the principal structures of domination in modern society". (Grabb: 1990: 74) He also focuses on how the means of administration can serve to either enhance or alleviate the problem of social inequality (Grabb 1990: 40-42). Weber defines bureaucracy as

the existence of specialized occupations or offices, with designated duties to perform, arranged in a hierarchy of authority or decision-making power, written documents or files, and rules or administrative regulations by which to operate. (Weber, 1922:956-58 in Grabb, 1990:41)

While bureaucracies are strongly recommended for the management of organizations in a complex society, their advantages, according to Weber, largely depend on the means of administration used to govern social action on a regular basis. In this context bureaucracies "provide means by which social action in governed" (ibid:42) and, at the same time, "through bureaucracy a system of social inequality is established and sustained". (ibid.) Thus, it does not matter whether they are located in a socialist or capitalist system, depending on the means of administration, bureaucracies may work to enhance or impede democracy, and to perpetuate or alleviate social inequality (ibid.).

Bureaucracies, as identified by scholars, including Weber, Poulantzas and Miliband among others, are interwoven within the apparatus of the state. The most sophisticated, well articulated analysis of the state appears to be Poulantzas', who has combined ideas from Marx and Weber. For Poulantzas, "the executive and parliament, the army, the judiciary, various ministries, regional, municipal and central apparatuses, and the ideological apparatuses", (Poulantzas, 1978:133) what Smith calls organized practices or "relations of ruling", (in Mohanty et al, 1991) are what creates and defines the state's institutional structure. Using Marx's analysis which relates this structure "to the capitalist relation of production and social division of labor", (ibid:123) Poulantzas situates the state within social classes and the class struggle (ibid.). He juxtaposes institutional regulations, rules and procedures with individuals' desires, wishes and choices for a dialectical struggle over resources and opportunity in society.

Marx and neo-Marxists such as Miliband conceive the state as a concrete form, externally related to social classes, a monolithic bloc playing a passive role to the bourgeois power bloc or hegemonic class. Different from this perception, Poulantzas' defines the state as "the condensation of a relationship... which operates not in a mechanical fashion, but through a relationship of forces that makes the state a condensed expression of ongoing class struggle". (1978:130) He considers "changes in the relations of production" to be what puts the state, as well as social classes and class

struggle, into a fluid, or dynamic state, never static or concrete. While it influences changes in the relations between production, class interests and class struggles, Poulantzas sees the state as influenced by them as well. This is a crucial point, as far as the adjusting process of identities with power relations is concerned.

With Poulantzas' definition the state becomes anonymous, separated from the relations of production, classes and class struggle, and relatively autonomous over competing forces. For Poulantzas the distribution of power in capitalist society depends on how legitimate interest groups are able to organize and articulate their interests, and on how they maintain their balance and ability to continue. He believes that power relations spring from the bottom of the hierarchy and can be shifted from one power bloc to another.

His analysis changes the state's concrete form into motion, forces, condensed relationships and internal contradictions through which it functions. Its role becomes that of

organizing the long-term political interests of a hegemonic power bloc. Also with its relative autonomy the state unifies the power block which is composed of several bourgeois class fractions. (ibid: 127)

Poulantzas, while disagreeing with Marx's argument that the state exists to serve the interests of the dominant class, or "as a mere appendage of bourgeois domination", (ibid:126) recognizes the state's "organic role in political domination and struggle, which is to establish the bourgeoisie as the politically dominant class". (ibid:123-126)

The interrelated meanings, as indicated by these definitions, encompass the complexity surrounding the notion of social inequality. This suggests that in every situation where inequality is claimed to exist, judgments should not be passed without a close evaluation. The outcome of state intervention in a labor dispute, for instance, cannot be easily predetermined. While the intervention may help to enforce changes in working conditions in favor of the working class, some alternative solutions may cost certain individuals of their jobs, creating unemployment and more work for those who stay employed. In such a situation, whether a capitalist benefits from laying-off some workers or not depends on many things including the level of production, supply and demand in

the market after such changes, and whether workers who stay can cope with the increased workload or not.

Concepts such as class, social status, power, domination, bureaucracy and the state are significant in the discussion of social inequality. In Marx's analysis of social inequality, the main theme is the class struggle between the bourgeois and proletarian classes in the productive sphere. He also investigated the role of class struggle "in the emergence, maturation and anticipated demise of capitalism". (Grabb: 1990:74) Marx believed that the working class will eventually seize power from the capitalists, which will bring capitalism to its end.

Marx's challenge to a naturalist or idealist conception of social inequality is radical. His philosophy begins with a total rejection of the primacy of ideas over matter as it is generally conceived of within liberalism. He provides an alternative, displacing these two concepts and repositioning each of them: matter becomes primary over ideas, while ideas becomes secondary (Selsam 1939; Grabb 1990; Dickerson, Flanagan, Nevitte, 1991). For Marx, it is through the process of production that ideas are created. It is through this process that human mental creativity can be stimulated and be realized, not otherwise. His contention is that the brain (matter) will function and ideas be produced and reproduced only if a person engages himself/herself in some type of process. So, for Marx, this matter/brain must exist first for ideas to exist.

With such a conception in mind, Marx denounced Hegel's idealistic conception of philosophy. He then grafted Hegel's notion of dialectical change with what he learned from the French socialists to create a theory of "Dialectical Materialism" a theory he then used to study 19th century capitalist society. Marx divided capitalist society into two basic and opposing classes, a class of those who own and control the means of production (bourgeoisie or capitalists) and those who must sell their labor for wages (proletariat or propertyless).

Marx, using economic variables, identified private property ownership (the ownership of means of production land, machines and other valuables in the market) and division of labor as the basic causes of inequality in capitalist society. He recognized that private property places the

capitalist class in position to accumulate surplus value. The division of labor, to Marx, distinguishes those who own and control the means of production from those who own nothing, only their labor-power, which is also controlled (Grabb: 1990).

Marx contended that the bourgeoisie class, through the accumulation of surplus value and control of the means of production and labor, becomes very rich and powerful. They "expropriate" or concentrate most of resources and opportunities to themselves. As a result, all the prestigious and important positions within economic, political and ideological systems are occupied by members of bourgeoisie class because of their access to resources, which provides them with the opportunity to develop their potential and talents, and eventually become eligible for the right to private property ownership (Miliband 1983; C.Wright 1959; Giddens in Grabb, 1990).

To Marx ownership of material wealth becomes a basic factor in distinguishing classes in society, it also becomes a source of power enabling capitalists to control labor, the processes of production and the end products. Furthermore, the ownership and control of the means of production places a capitalist class in a position to occupy influential positions in socio-economic, political and ideological hierarchies, and to control them. Thus economic, political and ideological communities become a triumvirate all working interdependently to serve interests of the capitalist class. It is in this sense that Marx defines the state's role as managerial, and as a mere appendage of bourgeois domination (Poulantzas, 1978:126). For him, the state is there to perpetuate and reproduce capitalist interests.

Marx also believed that the state, through its ideological institutions, helps to keep the proletariat or working class in a subordinate position and unorganized. The propertyless or proletariat class, while working, sometimes in hard and unsafe conditions, receive a very small portion of capitalist's surplus value as wages. Despite such exploitation, they are made to believe that it is just and fair. Through religious teachings, education and the media, capitalist ideas and interests become those of the masses (Miliband 1983, Mills 1959). In turn, what Marx, Miliband and Mills would call manipulation, or compliance as defined by Antony Gramsci, or brainwashing

by a layman, becomes consent. But how can it be a just or fair consent between the two distinct classes between capitalists who, by virtue of their economic class, have better knowledge, more information and experience, and the proletariat, many of whom have little or none. Through the ideological institutions of the family, Church, education and the media, the working class is incorporated into a discursive formation of their own subjectivity (ibid.).

Marx's analysis includes Max Weber's social status and membership (party) classification within an economic class. For him, economic factors precede all others. All individuals who have certain status in society or significant membership thus accumulate economic wealth first (Miliband, 1983:28-39).

Marx's conception of social structure can be related to what Waylen calls a "catch-all category", (1996:6) while other categories, including gender, sexual orientation, age, race, ethnicity, status groups, are classified together in either of the two basic classes: bourgeois or proletarian. Other categories are also associated with economic force. Problems which individuals in these other categories may face are linked to differences between the bourgeoisie and proletariat and to conflicting interests they hold within the process of production. For Marx, the elimination of the economic gap and opposing interests between capitalists and the working class are important reasons for his preference for a classless society.

Max Weber, whose critique of Marx's theory of social inequality is identified by Grabb as positive, introduced a more complex analysis and multi-dimensional vision of the problem of social inequality. His analysis develops around issues of class structure, the distribution of power, and domination in society. He viewed society as consisting of "numerous contests among social actors attempting to obtain and exert power". (Grabb:1990:69-70) Weber also discusses the important role bureaucratic structures play in power struggles and domination. Unlike Marx, Weber is more pessimistic about the future of social inequality and democracy.

Like Marx, Weber identifies the importance of economic force in the formation of classes in society. However, he recognized economic force as one among many forces, including social

status and party, by which individuals can be stratified. Weber classifies society into three basic categories: economic class (like Marx), status groups and party. These categories also become bases, or points through which power is distributed. So, while for Marx power is relational (how individuals relate to the means of production) to Weber power becomes distributive.

Weber identifies social inequality as a complex issue because of what he recognizes as its "causal pluralism, and because of probability nature of social explanation, due to the interplay between ideas and material reality, or between objective and subjective aspects of life". (Grabb:32-33) This demonstrates how Hegel's idealistic theory, initially abandoned by Marx, became useful in Weber's analysis. The usefulness of religious ideas was acknowledged by Weber's observation of "the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, through which he recognized the possibility for people to put subjective meanings... ahead of material conditions when choosing a course of action". (Grabb, 1990:34-35) For example, a person who decides to quit a job (the source of income) because he/she thinks he/she has been dehumanized, or despised, is putting individual subjective meanings and beliefs ahead of material things. By including an idealistic view, Weber is able to position status groups on the same level with Marx's economic class, which enables "ideas to become effective force in history". (ibid.)

Durkheim's analysis is centred on the notion of social solidarity, especially on how it is made possible in society. He perceives social inequality in relation to the division of labor. Like Marx and Weber, Durkheim conceives the division of labor as "a crucial force in the historical evolution of social structures, and a normal aspect of modern life". (Grabb, 1990:81-82)

For Durkheim, class struggle and power relations can be better explained by looking at values, sets of rules or norms, as guides and/ or codes of ethics on which power and the class struggle operate. His analysis focuses on social cohesiveness, or solidarity, in modern society which he identifies as "organic solidarity" as opposed to "mechanical solidarity", brought about by a just division of labor and morality. It differs from "mechanical solidarity", which in primitive society was based on "self-sufficiency" and "collective consciousness". Organic solidarity is based

on a just and normal division of labor, as well as obligatory and interdependent social services and functions it is a significant force towards alleviating social inequality. Social inequality, for him, is usually created by a forced division of labor and immorality which may result in pathological social conditions such as "anomie" and crime (Grabb, 1990:74-90).

Like Weber, Durkheim identified the state as "the central organ, expanding and differentiating, taking on a wide range of duties and a multitude of functions" and as "the key structure for ensuring justice, morality and exact compliance". (1893:361-62,227; 222-23, in Grabb, 1990:87) Unlike Weber, and like Marx, Durkheim's perception of the future of social inequality is optimistic.

Basically, classical ideas on social inequality were developed using class, status and party as categories of analysis interchangeably. Such ideas are often used to analyze mainstream social issues and have, in some ways, become very significant in understanding gender inequality.

However, until recently many mainstream social theories have perceived gender inequality as natural. These include the traditional philosophies of Plato and Aristotle (Selsam, 1939), as well as the social sciences including Rousseau's sex asymmetry and Freud's pre-Oedipal stage and Oedipal complex, which have presumed gender inequality to be biological or natural. These theorists believed that naturally significant cognitive sex differences exist and may be attributed to biological sex differences in the development, structure, and functioning of the brain (Tong 1989:139-143). This line of logic ignores the complexity of human development, which involves both biological and environmental aspects of life. It appears to turn a blind eye to differing experiences between sexes. Gender inequality is generalized, objectified, and naturalized on the basis of a particular set of gender assumptions, which are discursive or social constructs.

A significant number of "equality and difference" approaches have attempted to challenge natural criteria of reasoning about gender inequalities. Traditional theories are increasingly being challenged for their single-focused assumptions, and monolithic, static and closed theorization. These challenges come from multiple disciplines with deconstruction in different dimensions.

Sociological classical theories on social inequality as developed by Marx, Weber and Durkheim, for instance, deconstruct the metaphysical conception of social inequality based on origins, causal factors, and future predictions imposed by natural perspectives on social inequality (Grabb, 1990).

Theories about social inequality within mainstream disciplines have been criticized as gender blind. Christine Kulke argues that "the gender hierarchy has not been fundamentally altered by the equality discourse of modern times", (Groot and Maynard 1993:132) Kate Millet perceives that the equality discourse of modern times has showed a certain inadequacy in making visible the features of patriarchal domination such as "its ability to masquerade as the "natural" and inevitable form of social organization". (Eisenstein in Johnson, 1991:12) With this form of social organization, according to Millet, many women continue to be excluded from rationality and knowledge.

Many scholars such as Berktay, Groot and Maynard contend that the modern discourse is rooted in the French Revolution and the Enlightenment's conception and "legitimization of natural differences between sexes". (in Groot and Maynard, 1993: 111, 132) With this conception, women are seen as naturally irrational, passive, emotional and subordinate, and men are naturally rational, active, and dominant (ibid: 135). Women are expected to be sensitive, gentle and followers while men are expected to be cold or insensitive, aggressive and leaders. The perception is that the male thinks and rules, and his sphere is public. Females feel, nurture, and their sphere is private. Male/female binarism has contributed to segregating males' and females' preferences, including public knowledge, formal employment, and what is conventionally recognized as rationally calculated activity designed for men, and private knowledge, care-taking and home-making for women. In many societies such dichotomous conceptions have been deeply internalized by both males and females, they have contributed to perpetuating gender hierarchy and inequality in all aspects of life. For the most part such a dichotomous conception of gender may discourage women, and create a fatalistic state of mind, low self-esteem, confusion and a pathology of mental-health.

Classical and modern discourses have contributed several ideas which help in the understanding of women's subordination. While Karl Marx and Frederick Engels did not develop a specific theory for women's subordination, their views about a proletarian class in a capitalist economic structure can be associated with the status of women, many of whom fall into a propertyless class in society. Marxists believe that

women's oppressive status results from the development of private property and the concomitant need to protect lines of inheritance. This in turn leads to the establishment of the monogamous nuclear family with women economically dependent upon men. (Margot I. Duley, 1986:79)

Economic structure as analyzed by Marxists plays a significant role in shaping culture and personality to the disadvantage of women. By including women within the proletarian class, Marx and Engels add another causal factor to women's inferior status which differs from the biological/natural factors as conceived by early philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, and social scientists as Rousseau and Freud.

Max Weber's multidimensional analysis of power distribution, which adds status, class, and party membership to Marx's economic dimension of social structure has increasingly been adopted by many feminist scholars. Ortner, White-Head and Margaret Mead view gender as one of many prestige systems which a society may construct and use to legitimize hierarchies and differences between sexes. These scholars propose

cross-sexual relations analysis including the sexual division of labor, marriage, consanguinity through which women are relationally defined as wife, mother, sister, and are valued more or less highly according to how they add or subtract to male prestige as males compete with other men. (ibid:85)

The private sphere has been another focus of debate on the "relationship between the household and women's subordination". (ibid:81) Like Marx's and Engel's conception of women's subordination, this line of evaluation first calls for an understanding of unequal gender relations in the domestic sphere and, second, "to focus on the interaction between reproduction and production". (ibid.) Within the private and public spheres many explanations by radical feminists indicate that motherhood can be women's major obstacle towards "equal access with men

to the sources of economic, political and cultural power in the public domain". (Rosaldo in Duley & Edwards, ed.1986:89)

However, many critiques, especially from Third World perspectives, contend that the private and public sphere theory does not explain women's situation in societies such as "African societies where the distinction between public and private is not well recognized", (ibid:89) and where many mothers are family breadwinners. Even when the analysis of gender inequality includes cross sexual relational aspects it is still be single focused and inadequate to explain gender inequality in the Third World. According to these perspectives the analysis of gender inequality should include class and racial issues through which women's experiences become central aspects of the investigation.

## 2.6 CLASSICAL IDEAS IN RELATION TO GENDER INEQUALITY

Firstly, as it can be observed from the above discussion, classical theorists identified individuals using classes or other categories of social stratification. Ideas about social inequality do not raise the notion of gender inequality as an analytical category. For Marx, both females and males are seen through the lens of the bourgeois or proletarian class. The possession of something of material value can give either of the two sexes access to power and control over individuals and socio-economic and political systems, at both micro and macro levels, and in different dimensions. As well, an individual's relations to the state will be determined by his or her class position in society.

Weber, despite his multifaceted conceptions of class structure and bases of power, does not develop a paradigm of gender as a distinct category. Weber's analysis, like Marx's, includes males and females equally within economic classes, social groups/status, and party membership. Men, as well as women, attain access to power systems through these three categories when they rationally calculate their goals. For Weber power and success are related to how a person articulates means, rather than his/her gender.

Even Durkheim's notion of social solidarity (mechanical or organic), a normal or just division of labor, and social pathological states (anomie and crime) do not discriminate for or against gender. The state, for him, is a central organ which exists to ensure social equality regardless of gender, in modern society through its laws and judicial system (Durkheim, 1893:221-22 & 1896:43; Weber, 1922:655, 905, 908-9 in Grabb 1990:87).

"The gender hierarchy has not been fundamentally altered by the equality discourse of modern times". (Kulke, in Groot & Maynard, 1993:132) Classical theories on social inequality which have raised issues around a variety of inequalities, have turned a blind eye on gender inequality. In modern discourse "women have been excluded from rationality and knowledge, and also from substantially equal opportunity". (ibid.)

Kulke traces the concepts of equality and gender differences to the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, when patriarchal rationality changed its parameters of legitimization. During that time, Kulke argues, what were previously viewed as "God-given manifestations were changed to "natural" criteria of reason". (Groot & Maynard, 1993:132) Criteria for legitimization was, therefore, changed "from religious belief to arguments based on rationality... as well as are arguments for a rational legitimization of "natural" and differences between the sexes". (ibid.) While male was identified with rationality, activity and intellect, and dominant, female was identified with irrationality, passivity and nature, and subordinate to male (ibid:135). As a result of such a binary, women's contributions in society, successes and problems were trivialized, or dismissed. This dichotomous gender binary can also be observed in some education theories.

Many traditional education theories are based on patriarchal perspectives, which sometimes use biological sex differences to justify their gender based theories. For example, Rousseau's theory of sexual asymmetry associates sex differences with intellectual capacity. Males are born with qualities necessary for intellectual thought and responsibility, while females are born with qualities for household management and child-rearing. Men's qualities promote power and control, usually tied to selfishness, aggressiveness, cruelty, rigidity, parochial thought processes and cold-

hearted behaviour. Imposed female qualities not only suppress their talents and potential but also make them feel socially different from, and subordinate to males, and responsible for other people's welfare. They even tolerate being blamed for the mistakes of others, for instance being blamed for having been raped, and for their children's failure in life.

The impact of dichotomizing qualities between males and females has also been observed in subject streaming in many education systems. In Tanzania gender based subject streaming has affected the low participation of women in education, and the poor quality of education they have access to. Given these circumstances, it also appears that ill-paid and insecure jobs are designated for women.

Rousseau's and other theories such as Freud's theory of the pre-Oedipal stage and Oedipal complex, do not differentiate between male and female biological or natural characteristics and those traits which are the product of socialization, or culture constructs (Tong 1990:5 & Nadler 1994:12).

Freud's psychological theories of pre-Oedipal stage and Oedipal complex, based partly on cognitive developmental differences between males and females, claim that the root of woman's subordination is embedded deep in her psyche. He associates male domination with the early separation of boys from their mothers. This separation, which to him is natural, enables males to fully integrate into culture via their fathers. Girls delay separation from their mothers which to Freud, delays their integration into culture. They end up being placed at "the periphery of culture as the one who does not rule but is ruled". But what Freud's theory indicates is socialization. He presents pre-Oedipal stage and Oedipal complex in a way that fuses socialization into biological nature. He blames mothers for being ambivalent in their relationships with their infants. He sees unequal socialization between sexes as a result of a "mother-infant ambivalent relationship". However, these are the same women who for Freud, should not rule but be ruled. Women, as subordinates in a male-defined society, rear their children in accordance with orders from those who rule (males). Why then, should they be responsible for inequalities between sexes?

Mary Wollstonecraft challenges the ideas of naturalistic ideologies about sex differences by distinguishing biological from socially created ones. However, she falls back into male-oriented ideology about women when she proposes that women's education should equal men's. She proposes education that would enable women to fit into the male world of rational creatures and free citizens, to adapt to assimilate into male culture. She appeared to view women as irrational and inferior creatures, and the only alternative for her, is to become men-like women. The quickest way to become a rational and good mother and wife is to assimilate into male culture (in Tong, 1989).

Probably, female students who try to follow Wollstonecraft's like-men proposition despite the fact that it does not adequately challenge the existing ideologies central to male/female binary, face many problems. They are often labeled as hard to handle, amazons, unfeminine and bad students, as a way of discouraging them from continuing with their struggle to prepare themselves for more opportunities in the male-defined world.

John Stuart Mill attempted to be more critical in his examination of women's subordination. He perceived women as active beings who, as any living organisms, respond to stimulus. On that basis he considers that what Rousseau sees as natural manipulative traits of women is their reaction to social conditioning within a given environment. He also holds patriarchal attitudes as responsible for women's conditions. Mill also believes that the persistence of inequalities elsewhere exists to maintain the status quo and women's subordination in life because patriarchal systems would not allow women to be seen as men's equals (Mill 1970:266). It is largely true, and as Gramsci's theory of common sense indicates, the dominant class, who might believe in the prevailing system which has treated them fairly and enabled them to succeed, would never want any changes within the system even when making changes is within their capacity. When it comes to gender issues it becomes even more difficult to let women succeed.

The same is likely to happen with women's struggles to eliminate barriers which prevent them from obtaining appropriate, good quality education. As with similar efforts made to improve overall conditions of women in many societies, women's struggles in education have been complicated by many factors including patriarchal power relations which operate from the top down. Males usually occupy upper levels and have authority and power to administer and make decisions, while the many women who occupy positions at the bottom of the hierarchy take orders from the top (Nadler 1994:36).

The top-down or vertical organization of power relations places males at the top and "the generality of the male sex cannot yet tolerate the idea of living with female as an equal". (John Stuart Mill 1970:266) With such an organization, individual consciousness is shaped according to the dominant groups (usually male), whose ideologies are transformed in socio-economic, political and religious institutions. The family, school and Church become the main institutions of socialization. The purpose of socialization across all institutions is to transmit dominant ideologies from the top.

Already established ideological patterns and generalized skills and knowledge are passed from one generation to another. Politically, students will be taught about citizenship, patriotism, social order, public civility, and the conformity to laws, usually in gender-based terms as defined by the status quo, which favors and values males more than females. Under similar paradigms, students are prepared for the future labor force. Here gender issues become very sensitive, since future work roles are also gender-based. Often opportunities designated for males are highly valued and well-paid, while those for women are less valued and usually ill-paid. Students also learn about their responsibilities as men and women in society, and about the institutions whose functions include helping individuals to become what the society expects of them as men and women (Mark Bray, Peter B. Clarke and David Stephens, 1986).

Efforts to equalize women's access to education and improve its quality touch upon a very sensitive domain of patriarchy, which is strongly concerned with the cherished male-defined values in society. Women's struggles can create deep-rooted patriarchal opposition, or the situation may be manipulated, making it appear that women have won the battle for equal educational

opportunities with men. This may even happen in developed countries where many women have reached more advanced levels of education than those in developing countries. Patriarchal power is also able to oblige women, directly or indirectly to participate in perpetuating ideologies that deny them access to education instead of challenging them (Byme 1978:15; UNESCO 1975:103). In many ethnic groups in African countries the idea of getting married early and having a large family often keeps girls home after their first menstruation and increases the girls school drop-out rate. Political slogans are another example, they are usually meant to the population to support the designated direction by the government. Slogans may be used to change the focus of women's struggles and make women participate in their own victimization. The 1974 Musoma Resolution in Tanzania, and the 1977 Universal Primary Education policy confronted many barriers towards women's equal access to education. Such barriers are embedded in socio-economic and political structures. The Universal Primary Education policy was declared to support the government's recognition of the importance of women's contribution in development. However, the policy has obscured certain gender inequalities reproduced by inequitable power relations through the family, and institutions including schools, and religious institutions.

Within the family, gender suppression continues to be practiced more or less like before. When a mother falls sick, girls often either think they have to, or are forced to stay home to take care of the youngsters. Sometimes, even when they attend school, they do not have enough time to do their homework because they help their mothers with the household chores. By taking part in the household responsibilities as women, female students miss many classes, a trend which leads to their lower performance as compared to boys.

An expansion of education to reach women without altering gender relations at the family level has had little effect on the quality of education offered to women in Tanzania, because of the patriarchal traditions which continue to exist in socio-economic, political and religious systems, including education. The traditional world view and its inherent practices in all walks of life have

increasingly been challenged by many contemporary perspectives. Feminist theory has emerged to question many traditional assumptions about women.

## 2.7 FEMINIST VIEW ON GENDER INEQUALITY: THEORETICAL INFLUENCES ON ITS DEVELOPMENT

Feminist theory identifies the problem of gender inequality as one among many social problems which, until recently, has been considered as natural and normal. Often, the seriousness of its impact has been trivialized or even dismissed. This blindness to gender inequality has, according to feminist perspectives, contributed in the subjection of women into conditions which are related to oppression, exploitation and repression (Tong 1990:1). Many feminists believe that women have been excluded from public activities because they have been denied access to resources and opportunity. Many women fall victim to violence and poverty, and frequently they are denied rights to the ownership of property, and access to the Rule of Law (Human Development Report 1992:14-15).

Such an identification of gender inequality by feminists has challenged many traditional theories with their tendency to generalize, homogenize, and overlook gender issues, subsuming them into grand, but very limited paradigms. However, despite a feminist critique against gender blindness, which has been observed to exist within many traditional social theories, there has also been a recognition of their influence on feminist theory. Many concepts used by classical theorists such as power, domination, subordination, and division of labor, social justice, and the role of the state, with certain degrees of difference in their utilization, have been adopted by feminist theorists. Both classical theories and feminist perspectives appear to deal with "consequential social inequality", (Grabb, 1990) and to focus on similar issues, but they differ greatly in the variables used to support their arguments about the problem of social inequality.

Differences between the two are based on the different times when these theories were developed, on various conditions under which these theories where developed; and on varied

personality and gender among theorists. While classical theories of social inequality were developed under the conditions mostly brought about by capitalism, all of the theorists are males, gender inequality theories were developed under conditions believed to have been brought about by male domination, and most of the scholars are women. Their differences are apparent in the assumptions they make about origins of, causal-factors for, and alternatives solutions to the problems of social inequality.

However, feminism, being one among many contemporary theories about inequality, has made use of certain classical sociological concepts to analyze the problem of gender inequality. Women's problems in many societies are mainly associated with the lack of the right to ownership of private property, and lack of control over the means of production, like the proletariat class in Marx's analysis, and with an unequal or unjust division of labor, as in Durkheim's analysis. Women's problems are often associated with their secondary or subordinate status in society, like Weber's conception of social stratification. All of these factors can then be examined in terms of their influences on the way women relate to power systems in different sectors, and to the way the state intervenes on issues of gender inequality in society. In these ways many classical concepts provide feminist theorists with a significant tool to "describe origins of gender inequality, explain their causes, and to prescribe alternative solutions". (Tong 1989:1)

Feminist theory can be understood as women's tool for destabilizing traditional assumptions and universal claims and theories about women. According to feminist observations, including that by Michele Barrett, traditional assumptions and modern theories, while "appearing to be universal have frequently turned out to be very particular, false, and deceptive". (1992:1,7) Many assumptions about women developed by grand theories disadvantage women.

It has also been observed by many feminists that "scientific discourses which claim gender neutrality, usually speaks from a masculinist perspective". (ibid:1) Furthermore, feminism has challenged over ambitious models, including certain perspectives from within feminism such as "liberalism, humanism and Marxism". (ibid.) These models to Barrett, appear to have a "theoretical

grounding and paradigmatic conventions of modernism". (ibid.) Many modern social theories tend to ignore gender inequality and most micro issues, those issues of day to day activities which have attracted many feminist scholars. A critique directed towards modern feminism "highlights the gap between feminist theory of the 1970s (modernism) and the 1990s (postmodernism)". (ibid: 2) Most modern feminist perspectives were developed to effect the integration of women into the public sphere, to fit them into the already existing institutions of the mainstream, which are dominated by men. Unlike modern feminist perspectives, most of the contemporary ideas present a wide ranging attempt by feminists to deconstruct, challenge, subvert, reverse and overturn some of the hierarchically structured gender-binaries (ibid:1), which subject women to oppressive and inferior conditions.

Feminist theory is composed of perspectives from both Western and Third World countries. For the purpose of this discussion some Western feminist perspectives will be briefly evaluated as an illustration of how feminist theory has been influenced by classical and contemporary theories on social inequality.

Like classical and contemporary theories within the mainstream, feminism is influenced by both liberal and socialist ideologies. The liberal feminist perspective follows the principles of rationality and freedom as perceived in classical liberalism or functionalism. It is an appeal for equal access for women to resources and opportunities, and equal rights for women (ibid:11-28). Marxist and socialist feminist perspectives follow the principle that human beings have ability to provide and produce for their own subsistence. Using this assumption, women's liberation is tied to their work (ibid:39-47).

These basic principles influence the type of questions feminists ask and their analysis focus. Liberal feminist inquiry, borrowing from a functionalist notion of individual's freedom, generally asks questions related to gender equal access to equal education and economic opportunities, and civil liberties (Tong, 1989). These are similar to questions asked within classical

Marxism, and by neo-marxists such as Miliband, Giddens and Poulantzas for the proletarian class, and not confined to classical and reformist liberal theorists.

For liberal feminists, gender unequal access to resources and right to opportunities are the principal causes of women's problems of oppression, suppression and exploitation. Liberal feminism makes use of Weber's notion of the distribution of power in accordance to individual's status in society to explain gender oppression and suppression. Access to resources, opportunities, and civil liberties are, to liberal feminists, the main sources of power where liberal feminism would appeal for state intervention. Liberal feminists recognize that the state is male dominated, something which may prevent it from acting to reduce gender inequality.

Liberal feminism has been criticized by other feminists for not challenging the social, economic and political systems which for many feminists are central to the causes of women's problems. For example, women social scientists from Germany and Austria view the liberal feminist conception of gender equality as formal, not substantive and therefore inadequate to eliminate gender discrimination and domination. For them liberal feminism cannot guarantee women's emancipation. These social scientists make use of women's experiences of employment and labor market policy to support their arguments, arguing that due to differences of professional biographies between sexes, "equal qualifications have not been sufficient to provide equal opportunities for women in the labor market or in the competition for professional positions". (Groot & Maynard, 1993:133) They also have a reasonable argument, maintaining that formal equality "functions to deny diverse needs and interests, to compel women's adaptation to male norms, or to advance only a formal egalitarianism", (ibid.) and not substantive or real egalitarianism. A substantive equality can only be achieved if women's desires, wishes, talents and choices are recognized, nurtured and accommodated accordingly, regardless of gender, class, race/ethnicity, nationality or sexual orientation differences.

Much like Marx's single focused approach, the liberal feminist approach to gender inequality, by focusing on sexual and/or gender differences, limits itself to a single causal factor. It

scratches the surface or periphery of the problem, leaving the core causal factors unchallenged. The liberal approach appears to diverge from questions related to individuals' day to day activities questions about historically crucial moments which have negatively implicated the lives of certain categories of women and questions of politics of location and discursive processes in the construction of women's identities which shape and are shaped by both conventional and unconventional discourses.

Focusing on sexual/gender difference alone is pointing an accusing finger at the effects produced by dialectics existing between an individual's infinite desires and institutional regulations, procedures and restrictions. It is through institutions that subjective meanings behind sexual difference are imposed. The questions to be asked by liberal feminists, must not focus on why, but on how. How a male member of the family: son, brother, husband and/or father becomes daughters, sisters, dominant, more powerful and successful than the female members, wife/wives, and mother, when they live in the same family? In what ways do both female and male members of the family contribute to raise a male child differently from a female child? The question goes directly to basic aspects of life and questions of distribution of resources and opportunities and power relations within the family. The family (nuclear, extended, compound, or single parent headed family) can be viewed as the basic unit of all institutions through which family members' unlimited desires, wishes and choices clash or come into conflict with socioeconomic, cultural, religious and political conditions surrounding the family. Answers to such conflict, or to the question how men generally succeed more in life than women requires an evaluation which must begin at the family level and combine issues of identity, "politics of location" and discursive practices involving both conventional and unconventional institutions in time and space.

Unlike liberal feminists, Marxist feminists, using Marx's conception of social inequality, believe that women's oppression, suppression and exploitation are embedded within the material conditions of production. They use Marx's class analysis to situate women's position in the

process of production to determine how much women are exploited, suppressed and oppressed. Marxist feminists believe that equal access to resources and opportunities can never be achieved "in a class society such as capitalism". (Bryson, 1992:3; Tong, 1989:2) A classless society, socialist or communist, seems to be their preference, within which women will have equal access to the paid labor market and full participation in public sector (Tong, 1989:54). Just as with Grabb's categorization of theories on social inequality, Marxist feminist's assumptions can be placed close to the extreme left, radical and focused on a single factor (economic force), and is therefore a simplistic form of feminist theorizing. The main solution to women's problems according to this perspective is a classless society which would put all aspects of power on an equal level and enable the state to exact justice for every individual in society.

Single-focused and simplistic as it appears, Marxist feminist theorists challenge the ideological and material conditions of production and appropriation through which they believe different types of social inequalities, including gender inequality, are constructed, reconstructed, established and maintained (Tong, 1989).

Radical feminism views gender inequality differently from both the liberal and Marxist feminist perspectives. It focuses directly on women's bodies, and holds the patriarchal power structure responsible for women's problem of subordination. Radical feminism identifies different types of women's oppression- through art, ecology, social reproductional process, mothering, gender, sexuality, and spiritually. For them patriarchal power, or male power, predates other types of power and domination. They consider patriarchal power to be the first one that oppressed women in human history and subsequent theories of both liberal and socialist origins are instruments of male-domination that justify male power and conceal its bases in private life or relationships between the sexes (Tong, 1989:3-5, 71-137; Bryson, 1992:3; Barrett. 1992:3).

According to radical feminists, liberal feminism's equal access, and Marx's classless society are not adequate to abolish oppression in its various forms. They believe that unless all

patriarchal institutions, including the family, are changed or eliminated women's problems of oppression, suppression and exploitation will always exist.

However, their radical propositions for alternative solutions to gender inequality are divided. There are radicals who view women's subordination as a force to mobilize women's power in upward direction (Grabb, 1990:169). Like Frank Parkin's arguments on usurpation power, this branch of radical feminism believes that liberation power resides within women's femininity, for example, its reproduction role which can be used to overthrow patriarchal power. This strategy can be related to how Marx conceived of the force behind proletarian revolution, and Weber's conviction about the importance of a rational calculation of means if a person wants to succeed in any process and be able to balance the interplay between her/his subjective and objective meanings and limitations within social interactions.

Another branch of radical feminism views biological differences as the main source of women's subordination. They appeal for a technological revolution that would replace the traditional roles of males and females-reproduction, mothering and sexuality (Tong, 1989:3).

Radical feminism, by focusing

on ways in which men attempt to control women's bodies such as restrictive contraceptive law, sterilization, abortion law, and violence against women has gone further than liberals and Marxist feminist's conceptions of gender-inequality. (Tong, 1989:3-5)

Like Weber's social structure, it has added two axes (biological differences as a source of both women's subordination and liberation) on which gender inequality can be analyzed.

The Socialist feminist perspective synthesizes all of the feminist perspectives. Like Giddens's perception of theories on inequality, socialist feminists understand all feminist ideas to be important. While they agree with radical feminists' argument about the woman's body and reproductive role, they would like to trace the roots of patriarchal power to understand how it is related to other forms of domination. By using Marx's analysis of class oppression they ask questions about how class and gender/sex oppression interact in a capitalist mode of production.

Unlike liberals and orthodox Marxist feminists, socialist feminists view gender inequality as a temporary issue, and they appeal for the integration and unification of feminist ideas to strengthen feminist theory (Tong, 1989; Waylen 1996). Such an appeal places feminism in a conflicted state, appealing for a grand theory, while challenging all other grand theories (ibid.).

The Psychoanalysis based feminist perspective takes another dimension on the analysis of gender. It is influenced by the Freudian theory of "pre-Oedipal stage and "Oedipal complex", whereby "women's oppression is embedded deep in their psyche, as a result of mother-infant ambivalent relationship. Like Freud, psychoanalytic feminists believe that during the pre-Oedipal stage all infants are symbiotically attached to their mothers, but during the Oedipal stage boys separate themselves from their mothers. Girls, it is believed, do so slowly. "Girl's gradual departure from her mother delays her integration into culture, and keeps her in the periphery of culture, puts her in a position to be ruled". (Tong, 1989:139-172) However, this conception has been criticized for falling into patriarchy's line of naturalizing women's subordination. They appear to have twisted socially constructed aspects of life together with biological or natural ones. The mother-infant relationship, or a boy's and girl's departure from their "first love object" (mother) depends more on cultural socialization than on biological development. A natural departure between the sexes is not universal for all cultures, neither is it similar for all children.

Another distinct approach to the problem of gender inequality is Simone de Beauvoir's. With her notion of "the second sex" she offered an existentialist explanation of women's subordination. According to her analysis, women are oppressed by the virtue of their "otherness" because they are not men. Men are considered "self and free" because they define the meaning of their existence, and also that of women (Tong, 1989:195-216).

This approach has influenced much of the writing in cultural studies and postcolonial discourse, whereby non Western cultures are seen as the Other to the Self Western cultures, the colonized as the Other to the Self colonizing countries.

Postmodern feminism, unlike most of Western feminist perspectives, does not have a perspective of its own, rather, it evaluates other feminist perspectives. Postmodern feminism views the problem of gender inequality as needing a multidimensional approach. It identifies the partial nature of the contribution that each perspective brings into feminism. It also recognizes the uniqueness of each perspective, the interrelationships of feminist ideas, and sees them as complementary. Postmodern feminists believe that the richness of feminist ideas, which represent women's experiences across class, racial and cultural lines, can strengthen feminist theory and speed up women's emancipation (Tong, 1989:217-233).

Postmodern feminism challenges socialist feminism for the emphasis it places on establishing a unified feminist stand point. To postmodernists, such a unification of feminist thought is undesirable because it falls into a dichotomy and the inflexibility of patriarchal thinking (Tong, 1989).

As it can be observed from these Western feminist perspectives, gender inequality has been widely analyzed. Many feminist scholars believe that gender relations have always been unequal and oppressive. The concept of gender is sometimes defined synonymously with the concept of sex, of being male or female. Like many Western feminist scholars, Valerie Bryson's (1992) articulation of gender inequality is based on sexual difference. Her analysis of women's subordination universalizes men's power over women. In such a conception, women are viewed in isolation from men, as victims, passive and powerless. Defining women in terms of their differences from men, or what some scholars call "a metaphysical discursive femininity", (Donaldson, 1992:4) consolidates the male/female hierarchical binary, and makes women appear to be less political. Waylen calls such a definition "a catch-all category" (1996:6) because of its universalistic nature and its apparent disregard for differences in terms of race, ethnicity, class and sexuality. Waylen also sees such conceptualizations as leading to "added-in approaches" which entail a less challenging and transformative capability (ibid.).

Many feminist theories, especially in Western societies, support the articulation of gender as a sexual difference (metaphysical discursive femininity). Such theories include Elaine Showalter's notion of a distinctly female perspective gynocriticism; Sara Ruddick's Maternal Thinking; Valerie Bryson's Feminist Political Theory; Helene Cixous's Feminine Writing and Rosemarie Tong's Feminist Thought (Tong, 1989; Bryson, 1992; Showalter, Ruddick, & Cixous, in Donaldson, 1992:33). As Donaldson has observed, this kind of theorizing "constructs a universalized woman, subject and victim, a universalized man, powerful and dominant, and it disempowers feminist thought". (1992:33)

Views held by many sociologists and psychologists about gender differences appear to bridge the gap between men and women which is created in a female distinct analyses. Many sociologists and psychologists define the term gender as a product of social relations and socialization in different periods of time and space. Due to the inclusion of time and space in their conception of the term gender, these scholars "demonstrate the interconnectedness of relations between men and women", (Waylen, 1996:6) and indicate the existence of multiple meanings for the terms man and woman in different times and societies erasing the gap created by a single-focused Western feminist paradigm.

However, when the notion of gender inequality is viewed in its multiple dimensions involving questions of identity, even the sociological conception of gender relations based on socialization becomes too simplistic and inadequate to explain specific issues concerning the construction of gendered subjectivity. The notion of gender is sophisticated and difficult to analyze. Scholars, especially within deconstructive approaches such as Derrida, Kristeva and Irigaray, Stuart Hall, Lata Mani, Ruth Frankenberg, Michel Foucault, and those influenced by psychoanalytic theories (Freud and Lacan), have attempted to analyze issues related to social inequality, including gender inequality. When the problem of gender inequality is analyzed within deconstructive approaches the emphasis is placed on "ways in which masculinity and femininity

are constructed in the individual subject rather than seeing gender as a set of roles into which people are socialized". (Waylen, 1996:6)

These approaches accommodate issues related to the formation of subjectivity, including questions surrounding the concept of identity which create an overlapping and fluid dynamism about the conception of gender inequality. The static, concrete nature of gender as an identity changes into fluidity, overlappingness, temporarity and multiplicity states. Gender as an identity is viewed as being constituted of many factors such as race, ethnicity, class, religion, experience, level of education, and not just sex difference. Instead of gender being seen "as a set of roles into which males and females are differently socialized", (ibid.) it becomes possible for an individual person, male or female, to play any type of role, or any multiple of them provided he/she is able to do so. Role playing and socialization thus becomes gender neutral. The degree of acceptance of gender neutrality varies from one society to another and in different time periods.

A gender neutral approach can be better understood by focusing on self-evaluation, which brings an individual's socio-economic, cultural, and political conditions (in their both theoretical and practical forms), in relation to power systems and discursive practices into the process of the construction of identity. In this sense, the use of Chandra T. Mohanty's notion of "politics of location" (1991) to understand gender inequality in all walks of life, including education, becomes invaluable. This perspective centres an individual's experiences in different political, economic and cultural times (in terms of structures of thinking) and places, to unfold the subject's relation to power systems and discursive practices in the process of the formation of subjectivity. It also suggests that "cultural time is paced differently according to one's location in relation to systems of domination". (Frankenberg and Mani, 1993:300; Hall & Gay, 1996:4) Thus, while gender inequality is experienced differently between sexes and has generally been accepted as a female students' problem in Tanzania, the degree of its magnitude varies across their cultural, class and geographic locations, and over time.

The notion of "politics of location" creates specificity and limitations in the analysis of gender inequality in education. An evaluation which crosses socio-economic and cultural boundaries, as well as gender experiences, may create overlapping results which may help to define whether or not gender inequality in education is largely shared by both male and female students or not.

The notion of "politics of location" is also a subject of historical reference, an aspect through which socio-economic, cultural and political transformations, temporality, multiplicity and hybridity can be identified. These aspects challenge Tanzania's post-independence reform efforts, which were directed towards authenticism, absolutism, and nation of integrity as a route towards reclaiming traditions, returning to the roots.

These aspects of transformation, temporality, multiplicity and hybridity can also be related to elements which Mohanty's notion of "politics of location" raises, and are closely related to Stuart Hall's sense of "after effects" in a post-colonial era, which also challenges Tanzania's postindependence ideologies. Unlike Ann McClintock's conception of post-colonialism, which periodizes colonial and post-colonial eras with definite time lines, Hall's post-colonial view recognizes power relations within the post era as "after-effects" of colonial legacy, as the same colonial relations operating in a displaced position of the paradigm. Hall's conception of a postcolonial era, when blended with Mohanty's notion of "politics of location" and Frankenberg and Mani's notion of "cross-currents", can explain why gender inequality persists in the schooling process in Tanzania's post-colonial era. According to Frankenberg's and Mani's contention, what actually happened when colonies such as Tanzania became independent was not a definitive, but a decisive shift in political relations or the end of colonial direct rule. It means that while some colonial features are altered, some are modified and others are left unchanged (ibid:303). These modified and unchanged relations, what Hall calls "after effects", cross the boundary of the colonial era and continue to operate within new relations in their deformed and displaced environment. Like Mohanty, Frankenberg and Mani believe that while political time passes faster than economic time, the cultural shift is the slowest of all. So in 1961, when Tanzania's independence was formally declared, as in many ex-colonies the country was still facing the "uncompleted struggle for decolonisation" at the same time as it was exposed to "the crisis of the post-independence state...". (Hall, 1996:244) These two factors, according to Hall, "are deeply inscribed together". (ibid.)

Like the complexity which Weber identified in the analysis of social inequality suggests, the diversity which exists within feminism indicates that women can no longer be analyzed homogenously (Waylen, 1996; Groot & Maynard, 1993). Unlike Marx's catch-all model of categorization, gender inequality must be viewed as one among many forms of subjectivity. Women can, as well, be subjected because of their skin color, race, ethnicity, class, religion, and even their age (for example, children and elderly women). Gender inequality can no longer be analyzed in a non-contradictory way because, as Amos and Parmar (1984) observe, "women's lives are structured, mediated and experienced through a variety of oppressive forces". (in Groot & Maynard, 1993:152) They maintain that "although all women may be oppressed, they do not share a common oppression". (ibid.)

Theories of social inequality within the mainstream have directly or indirectly influenced feminist analyses. They have helped feminist theorists to challenge endocentric theories, identify theoretical units which carry more gender explanatory weight than others, and recognize fundamental issues in the study of gender inequality. In this way, ideas from mainstream theories of inequality have been useful in helping feminist scholars pinpoint crucial social causation of gender inequality. Private/public sphere differences and their implications of women's lives, the sphere of work and its adherent discursive practices maintain male predominance in "the family, in the realm of production or reproduction, economic structure, sexual domination and mothering, and also cultural representation". (Barrett & Phillips, 1992:4)

As it can be observed, gender inequality does not cover all discursive processes through which women's subjectivity is formed, maintained and perpetuated. Also, the complexity

surrounding gender inequality, decentres or anonymizes the notion of gender inequality, changing its conception more into questions surrounding the concept of identity including its temporality, multiplicity and fluidity state in time and space. This kind of conceptualization has increasingly dominated the views of many contemporary scholars within not only feminism but also colonial and post-colonial discourse and cultural studies.

## 2.8 COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL DISCOURSE

Colonial and postcolonial discourse is generally a scholarship which questions social inequalities brought about as a consequence of the falsely produced knowledge about ex- colonies and their people. It challenges "the historical and national contexts in which the knowledge about colonialism and postcolonialism is produced and received". (Fincham, 1995: 224) Issues of concern include how the knowledge about the "other", or the colonised was/is discursively produced and represented; how such a knowledge, which was socially and historically constructed, continues to maintain consequential differences between the then colonising and colonised people, mostly to the disadvantages of the latter. In addition, "the notion of continuous post-coloniality, unbroken history of automatic, effortless resistance by the colonised" (ibid.) is challenged. It recognises specificities of colonial and imperial experiences (Frankenberg & Mani,1993). Also, colonial and postcolonial discourse challenges models of colonial resistance which perpetuate an opposition subject/object dynamics which may lead to absolutizing, totalizing or stigmatizing possibilities both of the term postcolonial and its categories of analysis. Postcolonial studies involve the investigation of migrant and diasporic cultures and internal colonization (Fincham, 1995; Maxwell, 1991).

Colonial and postcolonial discourse focuses on misconceptions about the "other", the colonised. It is a discourse which attempts to uproot and explain circumstances under which the knowledge about the colonised cultures were constructed, and why such knowledge continues to function in the postcolonial era. It is an attempt to reverse knowledges about the "other", now

understood as misconceptions, to equalise the value placed among races, skin colour, geographic locations, and cultures. It is a making use of historical and cultural resources for a psychological moulding, a process which requires the involvement of both the then colonising cultures and colonised ones. At a certain point both parts may realise that most of the differences between them, along with the existing inequalities in access to resources and rights to opportunity among individuals were, discursively created, and/or intensified over time and space.

maintain that the existing Colonial and postcolonial discourses superordination/subordination binary between industrialised and non-industrialised countries, the superiority/inferiority complex attitudes existing between Westerners and non-Westerners, the wide gap existing between wealthy and poor countries, and between individuals within these countries, and the continuing developed/underdeveloped trend existing between the Western and non-western, or colonising and colonised countries, are a manifestation of socio-economic, cultural and political inequalities, which were either vividly or discursively created, or intensified during colonial rule. According to these discourses, colonial institutions, including socioeconomic, political, and religious ones, existed to produce, legitimise, reproduce, and maintain the dichotomous knowledge between the colonising and colonised countries.

Many challenges raised by scholars within the colonial and postcolonial discourses are directed towards the global context in which the concept of colonialism is positioned. They criticise processes through which a generalised knowledge about the colonised, "other" is produced, knowledge which homogenises the variety of colonial empires and different experiences by both the colonising and the colonised knowledge which oversimplifies the variety of cultural responses to European domination, and resistance by the colonised which manifested(s) in different forms (Mohanty et al., 1991; Frankenberg & Mani, 1993).

Analysts within colonial and postcolonial projects can be classified into two main categories. There are academics such as Ann Mclintock, Ella Shohat and Arif Dirlik, (in Hall, 1996) who periodize historically crucial moments, such as colonialism, and create a polemical

closing sense of understanding, a sense of disengagement, during a decisive shift of political relations. For them the concept "postcolonial" marks the end and the termination of colonialism. Political independence closes the prior colonial era and begins a new period with a fresh political relations. It is a "celebration of the end of colonialism". (Hall, 1996:243) Such a conception draws clear lines between colonial and postcolonial periods. They deny the complexity raised by other academics, and view it as creating fuzziness and theoretical ambiguity, which leads to an ahistoricizing and a depoliticizing tendency of some uses of the term postcolonialism, and the possibility of displacing other critical procedures (ibid.). They periodize postcolonial on the basis of "epochal stages, when everything is reversed at the same moment, all the old relations disappear for ever and entirely new ones come to replace them". (ibid:247)

On the other hand, academics such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall, Edward Said, Ruth Frankenberg and Lata Mani move the analysis of postcolonialism beyond the periodization to the axis of a continuous subject formation after a decisive political independence. They aim at producing forms of knowledge that would be "responsive to colonial, cultural, and historical differences". (Finchan, 1995:224) Most of their writings indicate that colonialism takes diverse forms in each of its political, economic, military, intellectual and cultural manifestations. "All countries are not postcolonial in the same way". (Frankenberg & Mani, 1993:300) For example, America and Australia (white settler colonies) were not colonised in the same way as India, Kenya, Nigeria (British colonies), and Tanzania (Arab, German, British colony). (ibid.) Similarly, social and racial differences are discriminatorily formed in relation to dominant power relations. They view postcolonialism as "representing another colonising strategic stance of domination over the cultural production of the Third World". (ibid.) "The prefix "post" not only is premature but also it embodies the ideology of linear progress that undermines empire, and maintains the knowledge which despises the colonised". (Hall, 1993) The main task for these scholars is to redefine postcolonialism, the colonised, and "specify both the limits and value of the term postcolonial". (Frankenberg & Mani, 1993:292)

Colonial and postcolonial academics within this camp perceive the term postcolonial as useful in describing the "shift in global relations which marks the (necessary uneven) transition from the age of Empires to the post-independence or post-decolonization moment" (ibid:246). The term helps to identify what becomes "low and high in the interval", (Hall & Gay 1996) in terms of power systems and forms of subjectivity emerging in the new conjuncture. According to Hall, postcolonial refers

to a general process of decolonisation, like colonisation itself, has marked the colonising societies as powerfully as it has the colonised (...in different ways)... It has revealed a two way traffic in which both the colonising and colonised became deeply inscribed in the cultures of each other... (and) the long-term historical and cultural effects of the transculturation. (Hall, 1996:246)

Some such effects influenced the development of anti-colonial movements (nationalism), which for such ex-colonies as Tanzania, meant claiming back their cultural origins displaced by colonialism. However, the hybridised effects of transculturation have made any possibility of reversing, going back to the roots, to an absolute and pure set of uncontaminated origins difficult. Instead, both the colonising and colonised must learn how to come to terms with the continuous social, economic, cultural and political changes.

The analysis of postcolonialism in this camp doubly inscribes, or crosses the boundaries which separate the inside from the outside, the colonising from the colonised, the First World from the Third World and the self from the other. It does so by re-reading

colonisation as part of an essentially transnational and transcultural "global process", not in terms of universalising but, in terms of how the lateral and transverse cross-relations (Diaspora) supplement and simultaneously dis-place and centre-periphery, and the global/local reciprocally re-organise and re-shape one another. (Hall, 1996:247)

Colonial and postcolonial discourses provide an insightful analysis which is significant to a better understanding of questions of identity and its processes of construction, involving discursive practices and the notion of "politics of location". Ideas from these scholarships are useful for the development of a theoretical approach required to confront the obstacles of women's participation in postcolonial education in Tanzania.

The question of gender inequality in education in Tanzania has drawn the attention of many scholars, including Marjorie Mbilinyi, Patricia Mbughuni, Julius K.Nyerere, Ruth Meena, Priscilla Olekambaine, and Stella Bendera. However, they have produced a wide ranging analysis of the nature and causes of the problem, they have not yet reached "a fully articulated and agreed upon theory of the origin and perpetuation of gender inequality" (Duley, 1986:78) in education in Tanzania.

To a certain extent most of these scholars, whose analyses include social aspects of life on gender issues at school, have managed to challenge some of the static perspectives provided to explain women's relatively lower participation and performance in education. Such perspectives as C.P.Benbow's and J.C. Stanley's (1980) provide a biological perspective on gender and cognitive ability which indicates that males by nature outperform females. Their analyses do not consider, or trivialise, social factors. For them, the biological/natural factor is adequate to justify their belief in the inferior state of the female mind. They believe that the causes for male's higher performance and female's lower performance at school "stem from innate differences". (in Wrigley 1992:193) To them females are, by nature, are less intelligent than males. It is an attempt to convince the world that since the female's inferior mind is associated with nature, nothing can be done about it because it is a part of the natural order, inevitable and irreversible.

Priscilla Olekambaine's analysis of the main obstacles to females' full participation in education adds socio-economic, regional differentiation, and traditional customs in Tanzania to attempt to explain gender inequality in education. Her explanation finds a certain commonality with those of sociologists who link school performance and environment in which a given student has been raised, and the effect of that on future opportunities (in Mbilinyi et al, 1991:34-36).

Students' attempt to do well at school usually depend on a number of elements, including their family's socio-economic, cultural and political conditions. These factors influence the way children are socialised, in terms of value-patterns held, knowledge and skills to acquire, their possible future. Social constructs, and not only biological endowment, helps improve students'

cognitive abilities at school. It is a combination of various factors in time and space which bring people to a point where they can even consider the opportunities available for them in future.

If opportunities in society are gender stratified students will be moulded according to what society expects of them as females or males. Differentiated expectations between male and female students will, in turn, be reflected in relationships between parents and their sons and daughters, teachers' attitudes when dealing with male or female students, and friends' attitudes when giving advice. Male students may be encouraged to try harder in mathematics or science-related subjects to prepare them for engineering, medical or managerial occupations in the future. Female students are usually encouraged to take welfare or nurturing-related subjects so they can be nurses, teachers, social workers or secretaries in the future.

In this sense, both biological assumptions based on natural/static ideas, and sociological assumptions based on socialization are outdated since many women have raised their consciousness enough to challenge gender roles which perpetuate dichotomous perspectives between sexes. In many developed societies women have demanded more valued and respected opportunities in society. But dichotomous conceptions between sexes are still practiced, especially in many Third World societies such as Tanzania, where the degree of women's awareness and action is still questionable (Wrigley 1992: vii, 194-96; Southern Africa Chronicles, vol.v, no.6 March 30, 1992:8).

Despite the challenge that scholars in Tanzania appear to have given to ideas based on biological/natural views, like many 1970s Western feminist analyses of women's subordination, their articulations of gender inequality in education in Tanzania has been based largely on sexual difference, of women's differences from men, and appear to universalize men's power over women. Women students are often viewed in isolation from men, as victims, passive and powerless.

Such analysis can be related to what Laura E. Donaldson calls "a metaphysical discursive femininity" (1992:4) or "a catch-all category". (Waylen, 1996:6) The universalization of women's

subordination consolidates the male/female hierarchical binary and makes women appear to be less political. It also conceals the internal diversity which is influenced by race, ethnicity, geographical location, religion, class and sexuality, and it weakens transformative capability.

Many of the analyses of gender inequality in education in Tanzania, correspond with many sociologists and psychologists who have recognized social relations in all spheres of production, distribution and reproduction including cultural aspects of life, ethnicity and social class-as contributing factors to gender inequality in education. While such an identification may bridge the gap created by distinctive male/female perspectives which are to emphasize differences between men and women, approaches used in sociological and psychologically related analyses appear simplistic and inadequate to explain specific issues concerning the construction of gender subjectivity in education. They are also incapable of encompassing historical moments crucial to the shift of gender relations in both private and public spheres. Many of these analyses do not address the role of power systems and their inherent discursive practices in reproducing, maintaining, and perpetuating gender subjectivity in education over different periods of time.

Consequently, specifying alternatives for women's educational problems has become a difficult task for many scholars in Tanzania. The main reason follows a tendency of many scholars to universalize women's problems and homogenize their solutions, rather than particularizing their problems to develop a different solution to a particular problem.

For many Tanzanian scholars what is missing in their analyses is the articulation of what Waylen (1996) has recognized as women's political activities as manifested in different forms, from within and without the conventional arena in Tanzania's case for their academic achievement. It omits those women who have managed to reach higher educational levels despite the odds. Women who have made use of their autonomous activities and educational skills as strands linking them to higher politics, the state, political parties, and formal employment have barely been acknowledged. There has been no positive, strong recognition of such women who might become

an inspiration, or role model for young Tanzanian women. These women's struggles and successes could encourage and empower female students during their schooling process.

Most obstacles to women's participation in postcolonial education are socially and historically constructed. As well, the severity of these obstacles among women vary across ethnic, geographic, class/social status, and to a certain extent, religious boundaries. These landmarks influenced and still influence the nature of women's relations to the power systems in the country, which are the main determinants of their access to resources and rights to opportunity.

There is a need for intersocietal team work which would include both male and female analysts, to grasp how socio-economic, cultural, political and religious factors relate to females' relatively lower participation and performance in education, the quality of education they receive, and the impact of such factors on their lives as women. Socio-economic, cultural, political and religious factors contribute to preventing the full participation of women in education, and to transforming the contents of curricula, which in Tanzania are fundamentally male-oriented. A better understanding of such barriers may help to clarify how quality of education suitable for both male and female students could be achieved.

## 2.9 CONCLUDING ANALYSIS

This chapter illustrates different perspectives of both classical and contemporary theories on social inequality of which there are many types. Individuals can be subjected to problems because of their age, gender, religion, racial or ethnic differences. It has also been acknowledged that what is defined as equality or inequality is relative to time, person and society. In Tanzania during the German and British colonial rule, non-Christians were excluded from social services such as education and health services (Nyerere, 1973). In South Africa, especially before the end of direct rule by the Boers, discrimination based on race was the accepted norm. In the East and West Germany's process of unification, "the standards of equality in the old Federal Republic

of Germany, when applied to women's interests in the old German Democratic Republic, lead to unequal chances in the labor market". (Groot and Maynard, 1993:133)

Furthermore, a distinction between those inequalities which affect individuals' lives and those which usually do not has been identified. With such a distinction it has been recognized that it is the subjective meanings imposed on differences which make inequality a social problem. Individuals, even those coming from the same family, differ in many ways such as skin colour, height, weight, how they talk and walk, as well as different interests and beliefs. This makes inequality seem inescapable, and "familiar facts of social life". (Grabb 1990:3)

However, the problem arises when and where such differences begin influencing the way people and places are defined, when and where these differences are used to mark boundaries and to exclude certain categories of people in societies, when and where they are used to the advantage of certain categories of people or to the disadvantage of other categories. Individuals, families, communities, ethnic groups, and races receive different rewards or privileges, punishment and rights between and within societies, and their access to resources and opportunity differ greatly.

There are many explanations for why individuals occupy different positions in society, and why inequality exists in their access to resources and opportunities. Such explanations range from idealistic or naturalistic/essentialistic views to materialistic ones, and revolve around monolithic and static reasons, and multiple ones of a dynamic nature. For a naturalistic conception of society developed by philosophers including Plato and Aristotle, it is natural for some people to have more resources than others and for them to dominate and make choices for others.

The most popular classical sociological perspectives on the concept of social inequality, as identified by Grabb, are those constructed by Karl Marx (1818-1883), Max Weber (1864-1920) and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). These theorists, by identifying different sources of social inequality in society, revealed different dimensions through which the problem of social inequality can be evaluated. Their analyses concentrated on the origin and development of nineteenth century capitalism. Each of these sociologists uses a particular feature of capitalism to describe social

inequality, to explain its causal factor(s), and propose alternative solution(s) to the issue of social inequality (Grabb, 1990).

At a basic level, an evaluation of social inequality appear to hold both positive and negative meanings. In Tanzania the exclusion of non-Christians from social services might have been used by the missionaries as strategy to obtain many converts, the same strategy caused a great deal of suffering to many indigenous people who were denied of such services.

Both classical and contemporary perspectives on social inequality reveal a number of elements which appear to be common in all forms of social inequality. There is the creation of a gap or difference between persons or "the socially defined positions they occupy in society". (Grabb 1990:4) Due to differences in access to what Giddens calls "mediate and proximate sources of power", (in Grabb, 1990), and what C. Wright Mills defines as "higher circles" (1959) certain categories of people become more influential, significant, superior, richer, and/or occupy prestigious and higher positions in society.

Social closure, as identified by Parkin, is another common element in all forms of social inequality. Concepts such as formalization, specialization, socialization, initiation, and/or indoctrination, forbidden language, censorship, commentary and authorship, as argued by Michel Foucault, are common in conventional systems of selection, control and exclusion. In conventional processes of selection many limitations are developed, to make certain categories of persons eligible, or let them in, and to exclude others (Foucault, 1970). Different kinds of doors are opened for some individuals and closed against others. Binaries are created, structured, normalized, or naturalized between the advantaged and disadvantaged categories.

Another tendency in all forms of inequality is the creation of hierarchies in societies. There is, for example, a hierarchy of power and status, as recognized by Weber, in bureaucracies. Weber viewed the bureaucratic organization of power/authority within modern institutions as rational. His conception of rationality separates "thinking from feeling and rationality from sensuality". (Groot & Maynard, 1993:134) It is "Cartesian division between mind and body, and an identification and

stabilization of its universalistic logic". (ibid.) It is similar to Kant and Hegel's distinction between concepts such as subject and object, male and female, and equality and difference (ibid.).

These divisions imply domination, and a hierarchical order in which the categories of body and nature, sensuousness and feeling, are traditionally associated with women and femininity... and subordinate sphere... Mind, understanding and reason are regarded as masculine and placed on a higher level of social and moral value. (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1947 in Groot and Maynard, 1993:134, 136-137)

For Foucault, "rationality in Western civilization has resulted in individualization, totalisation, and the abuse of power". (1977, in Groot & Maynard, 1993:137)

Social inequality, therefore, has attracted the attention of many scholars because of its inherent implications for different categories of people within and between nations. For many theorists the main questions about social inequality include whether "social inequality is good or bad, natural or contrived, a permanent or transitory in social settings".(Grabb, 1990:4) They want to inquire about the "origin and causes, and how to reduce or even to eradicate it". (ibid.)

A close observation indicates that none of the critiques or subsequent theories developed to challenge natural theories on social inequality have managed to develop "entirely different concepts with which to replace" (Hall & Gay 1996:1) the original concepts. Even Marx's challenge to the primacy of ideas over matter does not completely erase it, instead, it displaces the primacy of ideas into a secondary position below "matter". In this way, while they "no longer operate within their original paradigm, they are paradoxically permitted to go on being read". (Hall & Gay 1996:1)

What Derrida calls "thinking at the limit, thinking in the interval, a sort of double writing", (in Hall & Gay 1996:1) is a critical approach used by many theorists of social inequality. Such an approach produces responses incorporating a wide range of factors, such as those which can be observed in writings such as Grabb's 1990 evaluation of theories on social inequality.

Edward Grabb (1990) provides a very precise summary of several theories on social inequality. Through this summary one can observe a richness of ideas stemming from the multidimensional nature and scope these theories of social inequality take. But no one theory can adequately explain the problem of social inequality. Nor can it adequately prescribe a permanent and universal alternative solution. This indicates that theories of inequality, like feminist

perspectives, while retaining a sense of uniqueness, provide a partial contribution to the knowledge of social inequality, and appear to complement one another (Tong, 1989:1). The interrelationship of ideas within the theories of social inequality is remarkable. This indicates that a theory laddenness tendency exists in the process of developing theories of social inequality.

On different levels and dimensions of categorization, perspectives within this subject of social inequality share a unified identification of consequential social differences. These are social differences which may make certain categories of people powerful, so that their decisions or non-decisions affect the daily lives of ordinary men and women (Grabb, 1990:4; Mill 1959:3). Consequential differences thus create problems which attract theorists' attention. Marx talks about problems such as exploitation, suppression, and alienation. From Weber one can learn about problems which stem from rigid bureaucracies and authoritarian rule as opposed to democratic rule. Durkheim discusses problems of forced labor, the unequal division of labor and anomie, which are due to social injustices and immorality in modern society.

Inequality has also become an analytical concept for questions about socio-economic and political disparities, from personal and day to day to global impacts. Economically this can be observed in the widening gap or the differences in access to global resources and opportunities, in terms of disparities in income, economic growth, market opportunities, human capital, official development assistance and international debt. One example of such disparities and inequalities is that "the richest 20 percent of the world's people are at least 150 times richer than the poorest 20 percent".(Human Development Report, 1992:3, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, and 45)

Furthermore, there are inequalities which must be viewed in the context of individual rights to opportunity. Usually differences in individual rights are based on "socio-cultural traditions, their norms and values systems, and their political and economic history". (ibid:28) An individual's right to vote and to property ownership follows those aspects discussed above. In addition, an individual's right to political freedom may differ in relation to his/her degree of personal security, rule of law, freedom of expression, and political participation (ibid:29).

There are also collective rights which are granted according to the status of the family (for example, diplomatic and royal families), community, ethnic group, or country (in the issue of rights to immigrants, it is not elaborated as to which rights should be granted to them in a foreign country). Collective rights are, therefore, also a manifestation of social inequality.

As in other subjects of social inquiry, a review of the historical development of philosophies concerning the notion of social inequality is based in sixth century Greek philosophy. A chronological observation of theories on social inequality indicates that there have been phases of theoretical development. A comparison between one phase and another reveals changes in concepts leading to paradigm shifts. There is a gradual theoretical movement, indicating a shifting process from a naturalistic, static and a closed type of thinking towards a monolithic, but dynamic openended kind of thinking to Marxism. Then, there is a movement from a Marxist single-focused theorizing to a more complex and multi-dimensioned theorizing, which does not completely supersede previous epistemological values. Current theorizing thus crosses both chronological and epistemological boundaries, raises issues of complexity, multiplicity, hybridity, temporarity, and fluidity, and allows for openness in the process of theorizing. Also, issues are moved from the local to the centre and vice versa, where there is common ground for both sides as well as where variables can be filtered and sutured together, (Hall) or grafted (Derrida) for the new theory to emerge.

This multiplicity, fluidity and temporary aspect of explaining the problem of social inequality contributes to the difficulty of, for example, drawing a line between what Grabb calls consequential and non-consequential differences. An understanding of social inequality has become relative to individual, time, and place. Its complexity requires knowledge of more than just Marx's economic classes and their relation to the means of production, more than an understanding Weber's conception of social structure and bases of power, economic classes, status groups, party, and types of authority or domination, more than Durkheim's perception of forced and unjust division of labor, and more than the study of Giddens's social structure and bases of inequality

which include both Marxian and Weberian categorizations plus gender, race, ethnicity, religion, age and sexual orientation (Grabb, 1990). The complexity crosses gender binaries as posed by many Western feminists, and gender, racial and class boundaries as categorized by many Third World feminists, towards an individual person whose self is composed of multiple identities, changing in time and place.

This complexity surrounding the problem of social inequality can better be explained by a combination of Mohanty's notion of "politics of location" (in Frankenberg & Mani, 1993:300) and discursive practices in relation to an identity construction. An analysis based on such a combination centres around an individual's experiences in different political, economic, and cultural times (in terms of structures of thinking) and places, with an understanding that "cultural times is paced differently according to one's location in relation to systems of domination". (Frankenberg and Mani 1993:300) This assertion confirms Edward Said's notion of different kinds of colonial empires and experiences by the colonized. Also, according to the "politics of location"

for each of us there are multiple time-pathways, variously paged, so that cultural change is simultaneously slow and fast, not just across communities, but within socially and historically positioned selves. (Frankenberg and Mani, 1993:300)

All bases of inequality, as identified by different theorists of social inequality, can be relevant to explain various types of social inequality in different periods of time and place, not just as experienced by various categories of people, but also by a single person in different times and spaces. The experience of a single person as a member of given family, community, ethnicity, nation, race, gender, sexual orientation, age group, and religion, in different periods of time and place can be assessed. As Hall observes, such experience enables the identification of "what becomes low, what becomes high and what emerges as a new conception in the intervals between inversions". (Hall & Gay 1996:2)

However, an analysis which combines "politics of location", questions of identity and discursive practices confirms that the struggle for equality are not about how the subservient rise against it. Rather, it is about "how systems of power can be both an instrument and an effect of

power, as well as a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for, and an opposing strategy", (Foucault, December 2, 1970:100-1) in a similar way observed in Parkin's two forms of power: "closure and usurpation", (in Grabb, 1990) and as observed by Michel Foucault. The notions of "politics of location" and discursive practices bring Hall's concept of identity to the questions of agency and politics, which help subjects in their displaced positions to identify their new relationship with power systems, through which "the process of subjectification and politics of exclusion recurs and is rearticulated". (Hall and Gay 1996:2)

The knowledge of these notions help subjects to see how much they have been represented and misrepresented, how this has affected the way they represent themselves in the whole process of identification, and how it has caused difficulties and instabilities in their relations to power systems. Most importantly, it can help to revive, or create, strategies to reconceptualize subjectivity to confront and overcome it. A person may begin with a self re-evaluation to situate herself/himself within power systems and understand the degree of his /her relations to them, in time and place. A person should be aware of discursive practices which produce, transmit, and reinforce power and domination in society. He/she also must be able to recognize what undermines power and domination, when they become exposed and fragile, and when it becomes possible to convince, manipulate or thwart them (ibid.). It is, therefore, an every person's own struggle, through which "turn-ups" and "turn-downs" should be expected to occur and re-occur. In order to succeed "turn-ups and "turn-downs" should be received as positive parts of the process towards an intended goal. For a woman's struggle for development to be meaningful she should acquire knowledge and skills, to enable her to contextualize both ideological and material converging forces in time and place. An individual woman should be able to identify where and when intersecting forces serve as a hindrance or an opportunity. Such a knowledge can be fully obtained if a review of crucial historic moments in Tanzania are included in the analysis, to capture women's experiences in traditional society, during colonialism and after, the point to which this discussion is turning.

## CHAPTER THREE

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THIRD WORLD AND COLONIALISM

### INTRODUCTION

The question of women's development in Tanzania can be traced back to the 1950s when many social scientists in the "developed" world decided to develop modernization theories deemed adequate for the development of "Third World" countries (So, 1990:7). Most modernization theorists adopted both a unidirectional assumption of social change as found in Evolutionary theory, and theories of system's interconnectedness, equilibrium and stability aspects of development found in functionalism. Criticism about such modernization assumptions began to surface during the 1960s, especially from dependency and underdevelopment theorists whose explanations for underdevelopment in the "Third World" countries emphasized external factors. The debate about development issues in the Third World has been part of an ongoing process which has prompted changes in all of the theories which had previously been accepted as suitable for development in the Third World (So, 1990; Kegley, Jr. & Wittkopt, 1993; Waylen 1996; Human Development Report, 1997).

The 1950s is also considered to be a period when any official colonization of "Third World" countries came to an end. (So, 1990; Human Development Report, 1997:2) As the HDR (1997) indicates, the improvement in education, along with health and economic development, was a goal for social change and development that followed the end of decisive colonialism in the "Third World". Since the end of colonialism, during which gender, race and religion, were factors determining an individual's access to education, many women are still, de facto denied access to education in Tanzania.

Gender inequality in post-colonial Tanzania's education can also be viewed as one post-colonial "after-effect". It is a problem which reinforces other complexities surrounding the decolonization of women from the shackles which continue to confine them within their traditional roles of mother, wife, daughter and woman, which continue to exclude, conceal or trivialize

women's contributions in the public arena, and conditions which continue to oppress, suppress and exploit women in Tanzania. The arguments in this chapter will concentrate on how problems surrounding gender inequality in education in post-colonial Tanzania are in part a manifestation of its colonial experiences and discursive practices in the formation of knowledge about the colonized.

As in many ex-colonies of Africa, the Tanzanian educational system is usually perceived as involving two sets of relationships namely, the relationship of educational practices in the post-independence era to those of colonial regime, and the interconnection between education and various other facets of national life, within the relevant local and international contexts. (Rodney in Resnick, 1968:71)

This problem reveals many factors relevant to socio-economic, cultural and political conditions related to power systems as intersected by class, gender and racial positions.

In many African countries the intensity of gender inequality in both public and private spheres is usually associated with external contacts including colonialism (Boserup, 1970; Waylen, 1996). Foreign contacts, with their different missions in Africa including exploration, religious conversion, economic exploitation, and political power influenced major changes within the existing African socio-economic, cultural and political systems (Harrison, 1969). African socio-economic, cultural and political traditions were altered, and directed mainly towards serving foreigners' religious, economic, and or political interests. While there was a significant degree of resistance from indigenous peoples, the foreigners processes led many local people to a great compliance with what was believed by the foreigners to the civilization which they represented. Of all the foreign missions in the Third World, colonialism is understood, especially by underdevelopment, dependency and post-colonial theorists, to have had major and enduring impact on traditional socio-economic, cultural and political systems.

In this chapter examples will illustrate how colonial processes created, what psychoanalysts would call, "ambivalent attitudes", or confusion, among the colonized people about the direction colonial influences were moving their society towards. Most important, an attempt will be made to

show how colonial processes were gendered, and the impact they had on gender relations, especially on women, in Tanzania.

For a better understanding of such colonial influences certain elements must, according to Waylen (1996), be identified. First, the distinctiveness of colonial missions from one period of time to another. Second, strategies used by given colonizers within their territories, in different time periods to maximize goals and keep social order. In addition, since "colonial discourse was highly gendered", (Waylen,1996:49) the ways in which gendered traditions appear to have complemented colonial processes to the disadvantage of women should be recognized (ibid.). Before any further analysis, it is important to clarify crucial concepts, namely colonialism, foreign religions (Islam and Christianity), and the concept impact.

## 3.1 UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPTS OF COLONIALISM, RELIGION AND IMPACT

Colonialism, which is referred by Joyce M. Hawkins as "a policy of maintaining or acquiring colonies", (1979:324) originates from the concept of colony. This concept is defined by Hawkins as "an area of land settled or conquered by a distant state and controlled by it". (ibid.) Colonialism is, therefore, a policy and belief system which gives a foreign state power to dominate and control social, economic and political systems of a colonized country. It is a policy which deprives indigenous people of, among other things, the right to control over the means of production, equal appropriation of end products, and equal access to resources and opportunities within their own country. The division of labor under this policy grants colonizers the status related to that of Karl Marx's masters in slavery mode, lords in feudal mode, and bourgeoisie, owners or capitalists in the capitalist mode (Grabb, 1990).

Waylen (1996:47) has defined colonialism as the system of ruling which "involves the formal political control of one country by another". From these two definitions, colonialism can generally be understood as a system of rule characterized by formal and coercive political control, and by unequal relationships between the colonizers and the colonized. It is a system of rule

through which one society dominates another. It is a system through which the colonizers accumulate wealth for their mother countries by exploiting colonized countries. Capital accumulation and social control were, thus, major elements of colonial mission.

To achieve a maximum accumulation of wealth and social control colonial rule used both coercive and persuasive strategies. Coercive strategies included the displacement of local communities by moving them from fertile land which was designed for plantations, the introduction of a poll tax which forced local people to work on the plantations, and the introduction of aversive punishment including whipping, lock-up, and imprisonment. Coercive strategies did not always work effectively. Sometimes persuasive strategies became necessary to legitimize and justify colonial operations and win local people's compliance. As Waylen (1996) and Swantz (1985) have observed, methods to destabilize existing cohesiveness or solidarity which existed among local communities were developed. During European rule the Christian religion and Western social services were the main weapons used by colonizers to manipulate local people's thoughts and convince them to despise their traditional beliefs, ideology, religions, medicine, education, culture and civilization. Western ideology, religion (Christianity), education, health services, culture and civilization became viewed as superior to traditional ones. The colonizers werein a superior position in all senses of the word.

Many writers, especially from the Western countries, tend to consider the introduction of foreign religions in African colonies as a totally advantageous for Africans. There are various explanations indicating multiple reasons that compelled Africans' conversion foreign religions. Trimingham contends that "conversion occurred as a way of incorporating the crumbling of the structures of traditional religions into a universal religion". (in Petersen, 1987:23) For R.C.Horton "rationalization of traditional beliefs in response to modernization". (ibid.) was the main reason. Fisher believes that "literacy, conquest, migration, and the activities of devout clerics" (ibid.) were the reasons. To Ifeca-Moller, Africans converted foreign religions "as a desire for 'White Power', deprivation, denominational rivalry, education, literacy and knowledge of the Bible", (ibid.) and

for "inter-marriage, social prestige, patron-client relationships, and a desire not to be labeled as a pagan, primitive". (ibid.) Also, R.C.Horton's review of missionary records indicates that "the impact of Christian eschatology has had a profound effect on African cosmologies as well as on the imagination of individual Africans". (ibid). While these assertions represent a certain degree of the truth in relation to ways in which these cosmologies were affected by foreign contacts, the cost of loosing their dignity, social status, material wealth from natural resources, and control over their own environment was incomparable to how they benefited from colonial rule. The dimensions that colonial rule and Christian teachings have channeled the imagination of Africans are multiple and complex, and are usually viewed in different, but interconnected ways representing both costs and benefits of foreign contacts.

However, while to a certain degree it is fair to admit that foreign religions such as Islam and Christianity were beneficial to the indigenous people in Tanzania, they played a profound role in exacting colonial interests, which included domination, exploitation, and social control. In Tanzania Islam and Christianity, which were introduced by Arabs and Europeans, contributed in destabilizing local communities, and served as appeasing tools. Religious teachings often served to calm angry local people, and prevent them from reacting the colonial rule (Swantz, 1985; Nyerere, 1973). Resisting against colonial exploitative and discriminatory system became associated with deviant behavior, acting wrongly, and sin. Based not only on Christianity and Islam, but also on specific colonizers' cultural criteria, most aspects of the colonized culture come to be associated with wrong-doing or sin (Petersen, 1987). Karen Sinclair has defined religion as "an ideology of believing without visible or tangible evidence". It is an ideological system, which to her, "structures and reflect a society's perception of the cosmos and the world". (in Duley & Edwards, 1986:107)

The impact of colonialism on the colonized people in Tanzania can never be generalized because Tanzania has had multiple colonial rules, varying in the nature of their penetration and ruling policies. The term impact is often used synonymously with concepts such as influence, side

effect, and end-results. It is, as Hawkins (1979:324) has argued, "the force exerted by the influence of new ideas".

Foreign contacts such as colonizers enter given countries with their own value patterns which conflict with those of indigenous people. Such friction may cause changes in both foreign and local systems, and influence certain alterations in various aspects of life. According to Marxists' notion of dialectical change, alterations in both colonizers' and local peoples' patterns of life became inevitable because such a clash of opposites changes the original nature of both sides involved in conflict (Grabb, 1990).

While colonial processes disrupted and weakened the fabric of traditional solidarity within local communities and subjected local people to new political, economic and social pressures, there were also unexpected reactions against colonial rule from local people, which compelled the colonial government to frequently seek new strategies of ruling. This chapter focuses on the different colonial rules Tanzania has experienced, the conflict created by colonialism, and reactions from local communities.

# 3.2 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF COLONIALISM: FOCUS AFRICA, TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE

Colonialism, as summarized by Waylen (1996), and as discussed by Kegley Jr. and Wittkopf (1993), has been viewed by underdevelopment and dependency theorists as one of the early mechanisms which contributed to the making of what today is, ideologically, called the Third World, economically, the Least Developed Countries, and geographically, countries on the Southern sphere of the world. These theorists tend to associate colonialism with the "spread of capitalist economic relations, which, like many Marxists, they believe to be unequal and exploitative. Conversely, modernization theorists view "colonial experience as one way in which the modern", (Waylen, 1996:48) which is defined as advanced and civilized, met the traditional, which is seen as primitive, backward and undifferentiated (So, 1990).

Colonization in the Third World has lasted for over 500 years (Waylen, 1996). According to Waylen's analysis, colonialism began with the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of Latin America and parts of Caribbean in the late 15th and 16th centuries. During that time it was based on "pillage and plunder, and organized on an almost feudal and monarchical order". (ibid:48)

The second phase of colonialism in the 17th and 18th centuries involved Europeans who colonized the Caribbean and East Indies. It was "based on merchants and trade, which preceded the development of capitalism, and later resulted into slave trade and the creation of the plantations economies". (Brown 1963 in Waylen, 1996:48)

In the 19th century colonialism, became more formalized "with the development of new empires... in Asia and Africa". (Wolf, 1982 in Waylen 1996:48) A desire to colonize Africa had begun some years before in 1884 (Taylor, 1963:13). Trade, exploration, and religious evangelical work were among initial foreign missions. For scholars such as Paul Harrison (1969), economic and political interests were the main foreign desires in Africa.

Colonialism, which is an authoritative model of ruling, whose "government is imposed not participatory...and instructive rather than consultative" (Chazan at el, 1992:28) was conducted by different people, who had differing interests, in different periods of time and place. As Edward Said and Stuart Hall have observed, all societies were not colonized in the same way, or "to be one of the colonized is potentially to be a great many different but inferior". (Said, in Hutcheon, 1995:7) While India and Kenya fell under British territorial rule, the United States and Australia experienced a settlers' type of colonization (ibid.). With such differences in colonization it follows that both the colonizing and colonized people experienced a differing colonial impact on their lives. Also, while colonizingpeople used different strategies to force compliance from the colonized, the So as response from local people (the colonized), whether by complying or reacting against colonial rule, differed across gender, racial, ethnic and geographical location, class categories, and periods of time. Social and racial formations and specificity, to avoiduniversalizing the term". (Hall, 1996:245)

This discussion will concentrate on the 19th century colonial experience in Tanzania.. As in many African ex-colonies, Tanzanians experienced colonialism in a diversified manner across gender, class, racial, ethnic and religious categories, and in different periods of time. In all types of colonialism, women, especially in rural areas, were the most affected by colonial processes. Although Africans, especially women, were thought of by colonizers as "passive victims" (Mohanty & Mohanty, 1990:19 in Waylen, 1996:47) they reacted in various ways to object to the colonial system.

Each colonial rule in Tanzania was different from the others in terms of the nature of mission, strategies used to achieve intended goals, and reactions from the local people. While there was very little difference between the nature of colonial missions, strategies used to reach given goals differed greatly. For Arabs, trading was their first priority, and strategies used to maximize the accumulation ranged from extreme force to establishing intimate relationships with natives. These strategies were very suppressive for the indigenous people and of an ultimate advantage for Arabs. While slaves had to totally submit themselves to the will of their masters, inter-marriage legitimized not only the presence of Arabs in the country, but their activities as well. They become part of native clans. This may explain why most of reactions against Arabs from the indigenous people became inter-ethnic wars. By marrying natives, Arabs managed to turn natives' grievances inwards, for captives who were eventually possessed by Arabs as slaves (Taylor, 1963).

Germany's mission appeared more political than economic, it was to expand Germany's colonial empire as a source of economic might. Their operations in the territory were more organized and formal than the Arabs. Germans used both coercive and persuasive measures to win natives' obedience and social control, and to maximize their accumulation of wealth. The introduction of taxes, and social services, which were open to Christian converts were the main tools used to achieve the German colonizers' goal. While boundaries between Germans colonizers and African colonized were made very clear in terms of status, and the right of access to resources and opportunities in society, there was also a creation of hierarchical boundaries which crossed

geographical locations and ethnic groups, religions, and gender. Due to its cruelty and discriminatory policies, German rule provoked the most extreme reactions of all from the natives. Despite the fact that there were different kinds of resistance by indigenous people during the Arab and British rules, the natives' resistant against German rule will be elaborated as an example.

British colonial rule was mostly political, and more moderate than Germany's rule. Its main goal mission was to prepare Tanganyika's colony for its own independence. Although during British rule the knowledge of white supremacy and that of African, or black inferiority and otherness, was maintained, there was at least a very limited level of native integration into the colonial administrative processes. On another hand, though incorporating traditional rulers into colonial politics was one British strategy to legitimize their power and keep social order. Traditional rulers acted as a buffer between the colonial ruling system and the indigenous people.

# 3.2.1 ARABRULE

Although there were other earliest foreign traders in East Africa, in Tanzania the main foreign contacts over different periods of time were Arab, German and British. Arab contacts came to Tanzania as early as 700 A.D. (Waylen, 1996), and brought with them Islam civilization. Today more than 35 percent are Muslims, most of whom live along the coast, in Zanzibar and the Pemba Islands (Dar-es-salaam University computing Centre 1997:4).

As can be summarized from J. Clagett Taylor's writing, the Arabs were basically traders, but as the trade prospered, they established permanent posts on the islands along the coast of East Africa. In time, the trend moved beyond trading towards establishing permanent claims over the territories, a move towards the process of colonization (Taylor, 1963).

Arab rule exercised minimal political control over the indigenous people. Under this system governors were appointed to act as the Sultan's representatives, they did little more than collect the customs duties levied at each trading port. Political control, therefore, was secondary to trade. Business was a primary concern (ibid.).

Over time the business in East-Africa became very prosperous for Arabs. Economic policies had led to the establishment of the slave trade, and Zanzibar became a significant settlement and principal port in East Africa. It also become the main source of world's supply of cloves, the largest slave market in East Africa, and the major source of ivory and gum capal. Arab trade in East Africa was very destructive to social and economic resources. The slave trade, for instance, encouraged conflict and fighting among the ethnic groups in Tanzania. Many ethnic groups attacked one another and war captives were sold to Arabs as slaves. Hostility was created among ethnic groups, inter-ethnic relationships were altered, and due to the loss of a large number of males in wars and slave trade, gender relations, especially in the division of labor were changed to the disadvantage of women. They became responsible for both their duties and those which had previously been carried out by men.

However, unlike the Europeans, Arab settlers intermarried with the local people, especially chiefs' daughters, as one of the strategies to gain access to more wealth, including gold, ivory and slaves, and social control. At the same time, the Swahili language developed from a mixture of Arabic and Persian and the local Bantu languages. the Swahili language, which is now a national language in Tanzania, traces its origins to this period.

Under the Arab rule Tanzania suffered from the loss of natural wealth-gold, ivory and tortoise shell. The slave trade drained much of the population's work force and encouraged intertribal wars, whereby the defeated could be sold to Arabs as slaves. Arabs introduced cloves, still one of the major cash crops in the country. They left strong influences on culture and the Islamic religion, especially in the areas where they settled, or passed through during the caravan trade in the interior. Today due to the existence of the inter-religion ethnic-group marriages, the acceptance of Swahili as a national language, and the emphasis placed on equalizing access to public services, Arabic influence has reached most of the people in the country.

# 3.2.2 EUROPEAN CONTACTS: GERMAN RULE

In the 19th century Europeans and Christianity were present in Africa. Between 1877 and 1884, the Belgians, French, and Germans made several expeditions into East Africa. Although according to Allison Butler Herrick, et al (1968), Europeans were in Africa for trade, adventure, religion and humanitarian purposes, over time, it was realized that colonialism was their main mission.

In 1890 Germany became the colonizers of Tanzania (then Tanganyika) (Taylor, 1963: 17). They brought social services such as education and health programs, but many of the schools and health centres were run by missionaries who used the conversion to Christianity as the main condition for getting access to these services.

During the same period new crops such as sisal, cotton and coffee were introduced which led the German colonial government to divide the country into productive and labor reserve zones. In productive zones local communities were moved from the fertile land, which was designated for the establishment of plantations. To force indigenous people to work on plantations the German colonial government introduced "hat or poll tax", by which every household was required to pay the government. The introduction of the tax forced the indigenous people, especially males, from labor reserve zones to move from their communities, live away from their families, and work on plantations for wages. Furthermore, roads and railway lines were built across the country to to link productive, or surplus generating areas to the export port of Dar-es-salaam. There were three main plantation areas, the Usambara region, the central railway area and the hinterland of Lindi. Others included the Kilimanjaro region, lands around Lake Victoria, the Iringa district and the Mahenge plateau (Taylor, 1963).

German colonial rule had insufficient personnel to manage all the tribes in the country. In many areas the colonial administration utilized Arab and Swahili officers, known as Akidas, together with village headmen (all of them men) to handle local administrative matters. German

district officers served mostly as supervisors, and in areas where tribal organization was essentially feudal, they served as advisors (Taylor, 1963:50).

The Germans were cruel and authoritarian, and often used coercive measures to win compliance from local people. They caused misery for the local population. The displacement of local communities from the fertile land and the demand imposed on the local people to work on the plantations reduced production in the subsistence economy, created a scarcity of resources, and increased the burden on women who were left alone to take care of their families and work in subsistence economy (Boserup, 1970).

Working on the plantation was an initial process in what would later come to be known as rural urban migration. It is a trend which contributed to family and marriage break ups, and encouraged polygamous marriage and prostitution, especially in small towns which were built around plantations.

German cruelty is one of the reasons that of all the colonizers, they faced extreme resistance from the local people in Tanzania. The social cost to the indigenous people was immense and for many the situation became unbearable. In many places natives began to revolt. According to Taylor (1963), the resistance manifested in three main forms: active, passive and adaptive.

The diversity in forms of resistance by indigenous people against the Germans was influenced by local conditions, including the nature of people's social organizations and political systems, which determined how they fought, and norms and values, religions and other beliefs, which provided a causal explanation of the crisis created by German encroachment (Herrick et al, 1968).

The Maji Maji rebellion of 1905-07 is a good example of the active resistance, where the indigenous people physically fought with the Germans. However, the technological gap and the difference between weapons used by the indigenous people and their enemies (Germans) placed them on the losing side. Indigenous people used a mixture of water, corn and sorghum seed that they believed could create an immunity to bullets. This war resulted in great destruction, especially

in the southern part of the country. The Germans not only killed people, but they also destroyed their crops and set fire to villages. The number of local people who died in this war and the resultant hunger was estimated to be 120,000 (Herrick et al, 1968:51). Despite such a great loss by the indigenous people this rebellion served as an inspiration when the 1950s nationalist, movements emerged seeking independence. Those indigenous people who died in the Maji Maji war were heroes and icons whose legacy helped to propel the nationalist movement in the country, towards the 1961 formal independence.

Passive resistance was less physical, a lesson learned from the Maji Maji rebellion, indigenous people re-evaluated the strategies they used to resist against the colonial rule. In certain areas, especially in labor reserve-zones, local people realized that while they disliked the presence of the Germans in the country, they could not ignore the German military might. It became important, therefore, to find ways other than direct confrontation to prevent the Germans from further interference of their traditional ways of life. They attempted a non-compliance form of resistance, "when mercenaries were sent in the villages to search for laborers the villages were empty the local people retreated into hiding". (ibid.) This method was not very successful because they could not stay in hiding forever, it was often just a matter of time before they were caught and punished. It was also hard on women who had to stay home taking care of both their children and their husbands in hiding. Sometimes women were also harshly punished when they refused to tell mercenaries the whereabout of their husbands (ibid.).

In some areas people became very smart in the way they practiced their resistance to German colonial rule. Instead of demonstrating direct resistant, they attempted adaptive methods of resistance. According to Herrick et al's observation, this was mainly practiced in areas such as Kilimanjaro, "where chiefs liked flattery and disliked opposition." (ibid:52) The chiefs took advantage of one German method of intervention, which was to seek alliance with them. For the Germans, seeking alliances with chiefs was one way to accelerate the process of legitimizing their rule, for the chiefs it was one strategy to destabilize German authority. By keeping the Germans

close to them, they got to know them better, and sometimes, by conspiring with other chiefs, they managed to make the Germans victims of their own strategies. When the Germans allied with a given chief, through conspiracy information about the Germans spread to other chiefs, in ways that served to extend rivalry to the Germans themselves (ibid.).

The chiefs in Kilimanjaro area, or what is sometimes called Chaggaland, were recognized as autocratic and powerful.

They usually made an attempt to utilize every new thing and every kind of human being coming into their chiefdoms to suit their own ends. They could even hire informers to provide political inteligence service. In this sense, often what appeared on the surface as a collaboration with the new comers, was mainly chiefs' strategy to ensure or advance their own interests. For these chiefs, an understanding of Germans' politics was, therefore, necessary. Several times, they used such a knowledge as a pawn in African political games. (ibid:52)

These forms of resistance challenge allegations often made by many historians that the colonized people in Africa were lesser members of the human race, uncivilized and passive victims of colonization. To the contrary, the colonized, apart from being human beings equal to the colonizers, actively used different strategies to react against colonial rule (Mohanty in Waylen, 1996). As G.C. K Gwassa has argued, "European colonization (in Africa) was not always as easy as it might have often been thought". (1969:85-97)

#### 3.2.3 BRITISH RULE

The British were present in East Africa even during Arabs' reign. Initially, they went to Africa as explorers. Over time the British government became involved in the process of abolishing the slave trade. At the same time it supported and encouraged the Arab sultans to extend their authority on the mainland. However, when the Arabs started fighting with the Germans over East African territories, the British government sided with Germans (Taylor, 1963).

German rule in Tanganyika (now Tanzania) came to an end with the defeat of Germany in World War I. In 1914 clashes occurred between British and German troops, and in 1916 the Germans were defeated (Taylor, 1963:23). Taylor's observation indicates that

this defeat was followed by the Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany, which renounced all of Germany's rights over her overseas possessions, including her East African colony. All former German colonies were placed under mandates, which were administered by the League of Nations through its permanent Mandates commission. British received the mandate for Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in January, 1920, and it was confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations in July, 1922. (ibid.)

The mandate was responsible for sending the commission regular reports on the administration of their territories. The terms of Mandate, as outlined in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the Mandate agreement for Tanganyika, placed the following requirements upon Great Britain:

to promote to the utmost the material and the moral well-being and the social progress of Tanganyika's inhabitants (Article 7); to suppress the slave trade and work for the eventual emancipation of all slaves (Article 5); to protect the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and force by the careful supervision of labor contracts and the recruiting of labor (Article 5); to respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population, in the farming laws relating to the holding or transfer of land (Article 6); to ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality (Article 8); and to refrain from using the territory for military purposes. (Taylor, 1963:25)

The fight between the German and British people, and the shift in political relations in general had an adverse impact on the social and economic projects established by the Germans. The expulsion of the Germans included missionaries, who ran most of schools and health centres. All the estates fell into decay, and the overseas trade was adversely affected. Men were taken to serve as soldiers or porters, so the labor force was scattered, and production dwindled (Herrick et al, 1968). Communication was also disrupted, and there was a sharp drop in population due to famine and diseases. This was the situation that British rule's faced initially when they took over the colony from the Germans.

When the British government took over it adopted socio-economic projects and administrative pattern previously established by the Germans in the country. As indicated by Herrick et al, (1968), changes in all sectors were very gradual. Local governments were left to be developed by the local administrative officers. Also an indirect rule system was introduced to make it easier for the British government to implement new economic and social policies. It was

perceived as a less expensive method of implementation, and was complementary to the insufficient number of personnel compared to the level of demand at that time. Under the indirect rule system the traditional rulers were used as agents of change, bridges between the British colonial rule and local people, between the colonizing and the colonized. Native authorities, under the direction of the provincial and district commissioners, were given executive, judicial and financial duties (collection of taxes) through a series of ordinances.

However, this incorporation of native people was done at low levels of colonial administrative, for there was no African members of Legislative Council. The colonial government made use of traditional tribal organization as part of its administration, therefore, for a gradual adaptation to new needs and methods, and basically as a strategy which helped the government maintain law and social control. (ibid:57)

Furthermore, the British colonial government did not interfere with much about traditional lives in the districts along the coast where indigenous people had been so much influenced by Arabic culture and Islam religion (ibid.). This may explain why, even today in such communities, traditions still play a significant role in determining social development.

During the World War 11 approximately 80,000 Tanganyikans served in the British forces. Again, manpower and production needs were badly affected. After the war when the government tried make certain improvements, especially in transportation, education and civilian medical care were given a lower priority. On the other habd, local chiefs took advantage of war setbacks for colonial government and seized more power than before. In 1947 Great Britain placed Tanganyika under Trusteeship, to assure that there was political advancement (in European terms) as political preparation for eventual independence (ibid.).

At this point, the discussion of colonial experiences in Tanzania has highlighted three main elements: they were different, but with an overlapping nature of colonial missions, various strategies used by colonizers to reach their interests, and different forms of resistance from natives during each period of colonization. The reactions from indigenous people indicate that foreign contacts came into conflict with the already existing patterns of life in their traditional settings. The colonizers caused socio-economic, cultural and political imbalances in their territories. These

irritations were responded to with different kinds and degrees of reactions from the indigenous people, ranging from non-organized to organized resistance, direct confrontation to passive and strategic resistance. They did not sit down and watch their culture being assaulted, their social organization being disordered, and their subsistence economy being replaced by cash economy. The indigenous people knew that they had to do something to protect their traditional way of life. However, it was too late for a complete victory. Most of the strategies used were simple, direct and easily noticed by their opponents (colonizers); their technology was not only different from that used by colonizers, but crude and unpopular. In many incidents indigenous people could not have their demands considered, or have their contribution to colonial economy recognized. Their efforts to resist colonial cruelty was viewed as irrational and unable to threaten colonial power, and were thus trivialized and ignored. All of the periods of colonial rule in Tanzania, with all the power they had over the colonized; with their highly organized systems of ruling, and advanced technology and with the application of both coercive and persuasive strategies to win local people's compliance, managed to change only some aspects of the traditional way of life that had existed before their invasion. At the same time their own (Western) way of life was inevitably changed. Both the colonized and colonizing lived within an environment where Christianity and Islam religion coexisted with traditional religions, a cash economy coexisted with a subsistence economy, and Western culture coexisted with traditional ones. With varying degree of influence, both the indigenous people and the colonizers swung between such coexisted factors.

### 3.3 TRADITIONAL SOCIETY OF TANZANIA.

Understanding the patterns of life that indigenous people fought so hard to keep and the ways in which such patterns clashed with those of colonizers may help to clarify certain issues related to the obstacles many women still face during their schooling process. A brief overview of traditional life in Tanzania will be of help to understand the traditional way of life before colonialism.

As Goran Hyden has argued, the history of colonialism and foreign religions in Tanzania and Africa in general inadequately acknowledges traditional socio-economic and political development of this part of the world (1980:38). In the eyes of colonizers, especially those from Western world, non Western individuals, and especially black people, were less human, inferior, and underdeveloped (Farnham, 1987:114). Such assumptions can also be observed in certain writings by modernization theorists. For Marion Levy and Inkeless (1964), progress in Third World countries, especially in Africa, started with contact with "modern man", including missionaries, traders, and colonizers (in Goran 1980: 38; So, 1990:41; Rev. Macdonald, 1969:1-14). Using similar assumptions, African societies are usually defined as rural, agricultural, primitive, static, sacred, Gamainschaft, traditional, and mechanical (Durkheim, 1893; Maine, 1961 in Bill, 1973).

But these "developing world" societies had their own cultures, political, social, and economic organizations. Politically, pre-colonial societies had empires and chiefdoms which varied in power and size. They also had active codes of conduct to keep society together and to give people a sense of dignity and belonging. Economically, apart from the subsistence economy, they had developed their own technology for a range of products such as agricultural devices and weapons. Some of these products were used locally and others were exchanged in barter trade. They also "devised methods to not only protect themselves against vermin and attacks from wild animals, but also used the land in a productive manner". (Goran 1980:38-39) Socially, individuals in these societies interacted and interconnected under the guidance of what Durkheim called "mechanical solidarity". (Durkheim, 1893:70 in Grabb, 1990)

They had their own and different socio-economic and political hierarchies. In their own terms, and relative to the standard of development in time and society, local people in Tanzania were economically self-sufficient and able to provide for their own production and consumption needs. Under the guidance of common beliefs and sentiments (collective consciousness), they respected humanity, preferred to work collectively, and tried to make sure that everybody was

satisfied with the share he/she received (Shostak, 1983). Traditional societies, as Kjekshus has observed,

were well adapted to the ecological conditions, thus offering the local people optimal returns from their efforts...a relationship between man and his environment ...had grown out of centuries of civilizing work, managing vegetations, and controlling the fauna. (in H. Goran, 1980:39)

Communal and integrated as they were, African societies had no "effective distinction between religion and society". (ibid.) As observed by Dr. Moyo,

religion was not an affair of an individual, but was seen as a matter of the entire community. Every member of the community was obliged to participate in faith of the community. Religion permeated all aspects of African life, there was no separation between the sacred and the profane, or between church and state. (in Goran, 1980:146)

Generally, there were no sharp, clear differentiations among individuals in African communities. In many communities, this advantage allowed individuals (males and females) to freely articulate their potential, and some achieved expertise in a variety of areas. Such patterns of life "enabled people in traditional societies to achieve a high level of harmonious life while gradually developing their interests, acquiring more knowledge and skills, that helped them to cope with environmental disasters at their own pace". (Shostak 1983:109)

Many of the limitations that people of traditional Africa faced in their daily lives were more environmental than institutional. Environmental factors included location in the tropics, so that most of its countries are characterized by tropical climates. This kind of climate does not have freezing temperatures and is conducive to the proliferation of pests which destroy many crops and diseases which affect many people and animals (Chazan et al, 1992:23-24). The heat of the sun is another constraining feature which tends to kill organisms that provide humus the organic portion of the soil, or plant foods-in the soil. Heavy tropical rains destroy the particle structure of the topsoil, which is then eroded by strong winds (ibid:24-25).

Tropical climates, harsh as they appear to many observers, have been a major stimulant for individual mind creativity. These climates have challenged indigenous people, in different parts of

Africa to discover various survival strategies and to acquire knowledge and skills about their environment which help them to survive and cope with unpredictable and drastic climatic changes. Women were noted not only as farmers, potters and weavers, as Bina Agarwal observes, but also as gatherers, herbalists, fishers, psychics and family care takers. They were active and knowledgeable in many areas and they were able to

discover plants, trees, roots, fruits, seeds, leaves and grasses that had food, and medicinal properties for either preventive or curative measures, some for decoration and spices. They also had elaborate knowledge about edible plants and seeds not normally used, but critical to tide over prolonged shortages of other foods during climatic disasters, and those that are poisonous. They were also good at selecting fire woods, and experts at distinguishing different types of clay and its use, and at identifying water source points. Many women could even tell, not only the appropriate methods for cultivation, but also devise special implements for tilling the soil, reaping and storing the crop and vegetables, and converting them into food. (Chide, 1942 in Bina Agarwal, 1989: WS-46)

Women in pre-colonial tropical countries of Africa were generally very active in both the private and public spheres. Their daily activities sustained the family. In certain ethnic groups, such as the Fipa and Nyamwezi in Tanzania and Kung in Botswana, meat was supplied by men through hunting, and viewed as the more valuable food supply. However, men's hunting activities appear to have served as supplementary to those of the women. Politically women in such ethnic group as the Fipa in Tanzania were active participants, sometimes they could assume political leadership. In many pre-colonial African societies women could experience a significant degree of independence and autonomy (Roberts ed. 1968:85-90, 119-122; Swantz, 1985; Shostak, 1983; Boserup, 1970).

However, since in many traditional African societies the patriarchal system dominated (and still does), elements which subordinated women's status in society also existed. A woman's identity, or rather her social status, apart from being associated with her relationship to natural resources as she struggled to provide for family subsistence, was also measured by her fertility rate. A high rate of fertility which was measured by the number of children she bore, and especially male children held the highest and most prestigious status a woman could obtain. In most cases of infertility a wife was divorced, or forced to accept sharing her husband with other

wives or women in a polygamous marriage. These were popular alternatives because infertility was rarely thought of as a man's problem. Social reproduction was used as a major tool to raise women's status, while it was also a cause for their subordination in society (Swantz, 1985).

## 3.4 THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM ON TANZANIAN SOCIETY AND ITS PEOPLE

Colonial experiences have had a differing impact on the different geographical locations and categories of people in the country. Social, economic, cultural, and political changes and pressures have been experienced at different levels and magnitudes. Like many ex-colonies of Africa, in Tanzania a dual social outlook has been a common manifestations of colonial rule. A majority of the population live in rural areas, below the poverty line, and only a minority of those in urban areas live in appreciably improved conditions. Women, especially in rural areas, provide 70 to 90 percent of the food supply, yet most of them live in poverty (Dankelman and Davisson, 1988).

Colonial experiences are multifaceted and cannot be adequately explained in a singular way. Individuals in areas where Arab trade routes passed, especially those who associate their economic prosperity with the coming of Arabs to the country, usually provide positive impressions about Arab rule, despite the inhuman slave trade which was intensified during its reign. In areas where Arabs settled and inter-married with the indigenous people, and where the influence of Islam became very strong, it is possible for many individuals to have positive attitudes about the Arab contact. Through inter-racial marriage some Arabs became blood-related to local people's clans in areas which have a major Arab influence, including areas along the coast and across the central railway from Dar-es-salaam to Kigoma. However, despite being influenced by Arab culture, local people in these parts of the country still maintain a number of their traditions (Swanzt, 1985).

With European contact (German and British) factors such as geographical location, race, social status, gender and religion became major determinants of an individual's position in society. They became markers that people were identified with, and which determined their relations to

power systems. Local people from "productive zones" (areas designed for the establishment of plantations) had different colonial experiences from those in "labor-reserve zones. While communities from "productive zones" were dislodged to make way for colonial plantations, families in "labor reserve zones" were forced to separate because the men had to move away from their families to work on the plantations. For people from "labor reserve zones" labor power became the definition of their relation to the colonial power system. People from "productive zones", while they lost most of the fertile land, and were as well forced to work on plantations, did not have to abandon their families. They also could apply some of the new agricultural techniques in their own small farms. Within both zones further differences of their colonial experience were influenced by class, social status, ethnicity, religion, and gender.

Local people from up North, the Chagga, who live in one of the areas defined by the colonial rule as a "productive zone" have experienced both Christianity and colonial influences. In this part of the country local people tend to embrace European or Western social and economic ideals. They are business-oriented and more individualistic than any other ethnic group in the country (Nyerere 1973). People from the out West, the Haya, despite having experienced external influences similar to the Chagga people, and being strongly influenced by Christianity, have managed to retain what they believe to be strong traditional values. From the South-West, the Nyakyusa, much like the Haya, have managed to embrace both traditions and Christianity. Indigenous people from "productive zones" such as the Chagga, Nyakyusa and Haya are the wealthiest and most educated in the country. The concentration of plantations, Western products, and the influence of Christianity, which arrived along with health and education services, are the major explanations for such advancement in these areas (Nyerere, 1973).

Furthermore, with exception of royal families in both types of zones, which were favored by colonial rule, indigenous people from the South and South-West of the country, areas designated as "labor reserve zones", had a more Christian than Islamic influence, but were the most humiliated by European colonial rule. Many individuals in these areas received primary

education through missionaries, but very few are highly educated. These are the areas most of the families had been separated by colonial demands. Missionaries who worked in these areas played the role of psychological appearement more than of evangelism by suppressing the anger and frustration among members of the proctored families. Consequently, many individuals, especially women, in these areas tend to have a fatalic attitude when faced with complicated problems. Generally people in these areas are strong believers of both traditional religions, superstitions, and Christianity (Roberts ed. 1968:xiii, xiv; Hyden 1980; Petersern 1987:43).

The multiple colonial contacts, differing in the nature of their missions and their strategies of ruling, were intersected by internal diversity across gender, class, ethnicity, and religion lines. Contradictions which developed at the crossing points required certain negotiations which forced both the colonizers and the colonized to reach a compromise, allowing an inevitable interconnectedness to exist. Inter-racial marriage, especially during Arab rule, inter-ethnic and racial integration on plantations during European-rule, and inter-religious marriage are some examples for such an interweaving. In addition, while the colonial education system and formal employment procedures were discriminatory, the shortage of personnel in formal colonial sector, and economic pressure on both the colonial system and local people prompted an interdependence, albeit lopsided, between the two.

Colonial experiences influenced indigenous people in ways which, while they may differ from one to another, overlap across generations and space. It was a hybridized form of experience which did not completely alter traditional ways of life, and they continued to evolve over time in response to endless struggles for a better life. All of these factors brought individuals together from different geographical locations, classes, ethnic groups, religions and genders. One of the many after effects resulting from such a mixture has been a wide range of conceptions about colonialism and foreign religions.

# 3.5 DIFFERING LOCAL CONCEPTIONS ABOUT COLONIALISM AND FOREIGN RELIGIONS

The differing colonial experiences and resultant hybridized influences have placed many Tanzanians into what Derrida would call a double-inscribed state of attitudes about both their local traditions and colonial influences, including religions. For some Tanzanians such influences were not strong enough to change their traditional value patterns, while for some, foreign influences were very strong and are perceived to have provided Tanzanians with significant alternative solutions to what they believe are uncivilized traditions.

Those Tanzanians who view colonial and foreign religious influences as extremely negative in their lives would agree with Akilapa Sawyyer's views about foreign religions and Western civilization in Africa. Sawyyer, a Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana, believes that Western civilization was and is inadequate to change traditional culture in Africa. He views Western culture as conflicting in many ways with African cultures. While a Western definition of the family is usually related to a monogamy and or a nuclear family, the African definition of the family is usually associated with the extended and compound families. In Western countries the elderly people are often taken care of in formal institutions, while in African societies taking care of the elderly people is, to a large extent, perceived as the obligation of the young generation within every family or clan. In African cultures elderly people are highly respected and thought of as having wisdom acquired through a life-long accumulated skills, experiences, and knowledge about the environment. Taking care of them, is comparable to having a living library at hand. Sawyyer also believes that the African way of life still, to a large extent, embraces elements of collective work, common good and reciprocity. For Mr. Sawyyer, any ideology that aims at altering traditional organization is, therefore, not appreciated (Harden, 1990:67). Like Petersen, Sawyyer considers colonization and Christianity to have had a disorienting effect on local communities, producing an increasingly "intensified identity crisis in the towns, schools, churches and between men and women", (Petersen, 1987:146) and creating problems such as stress, alienation, loneliness, and fragmentation of accepted norms (ibid.).

On the other hand, there are Tanzanians, who, like Otieno's family in Kenya, have been swept up by Western civilization. These individuals tend to demean, despise, or even insult anything to do with their traditional culture. Like Jairus O. Otieno (Otieno's son), they view local people as lazy, primitive and uncivilized. They elevate their status to non-tribal Africans (Harden 1990:116-117), probably feeling good thinking of themselves as closer to European culture than to their own. These people may be well educated, and likely to have obtained their degrees abroad, or illiterate and semi-literate. However, they lack proper information about the meaning of civilization.

Furthermore, there are Tanzanians, both men and women, who, like Oduro (a sociology teacher at the University of Ghana), often have ambivalent attitudes about colonial and foreign religious influences. Most of these people are educated and live in urban areas, and are employed in the formal sectors. The money they earn from formal employment, as their wages or salaries, is increasingly less adequate to cover both their own expenses and that of their relatives. While they still recognize the importance of their local traditions, they feel burdened by the obligations these traditions ask of them. Sharing their earnings with relatives and taking care of their parents and grandparents in the face of ever increasing economic hardships are becoming unbearable tasks. Many urban employees would like to abandon such local traditions, but they feel guilty doing so because in the past their traditional communities raised and paid their tuition fees. However, while they resent traditional obligations and see them as one way of perpetuating the poverty in their lives, many of them, especially the men want to keep traditions such as polygamy, which is practiced in most of Tanzania's ethnic groups. Some women view polygamy as liberating from household confinement, and in some ethnic groups such as the Luguru, Yao, and Zaramo, polygamous marriage allows women to keep their birth names (Harden, 1990:61-65, 67-94).

A mixture of negative, positive, and ambivalent attitudes that exist among local people about changes brought about by foreign contacts may explain, firstly, how colonizing strategies failed to completely shift the lifestyles of the colonized, either by overlooking, underestimating or ignoring indigenous people's cognitive ability to pursue their desires, their capacity to make choices, and resist to undesirable changes, and the degree of commitment they have to their local traditions. Misjudging local people as stupid, uncivilized, primitive, and passive caused the colonizers to underestimate their capacity to adapt, react and resist what was believed by the colonizers to be advanced, civilized or modern. Colonizers expected the indigenous people to assimilate without questioning what was being introduced to them.

Secondly, indigenous people, while they might have felt a desire for change, were afraid to abandon their local traditions because of what Martin Jay in "Name-Dropping or Dropping Names" calls "inability to forget... or psychologistic interaction of debt and guilty". (1988:20, 24) They did not want to betray their ancestors and wanted to keep certain traditions and customs. They wanted to continue honoring some of their commitments to, and maintain relationships with their environment, including their ancestors. While they found it necessary to assimilate to the new culture, to cope with a continuously changing society, they were afraid they would infuriate their ancestors, and be cursed (Harden, 1990).

Indigenous people's ambivalent reaction to foreign civilizing or modernizing ideals, or changes can be related to some academic views on modernization. De Tocqueville, for example, while he believed in modernization theory, perceived it to have a tragic element in human progress. Sir Henry Maine and Ferdinand Tonnie, while embracing modernization trend, "expressed some anxiety over the prospects of (what they thought could be) a chillingly impersonal and ruthlessly calculating modern society". Emile Durkheim, who believed in organic solidarity, saw in man's loss of traditional relationships as increasing unhappiness and the insecurity of anomie (Grabb, 1990).

An ambivalent state of mind generally occurrs when a person identifies both the disadvantages and advantages in a given process. As a disadvantage, community displacement due to land expropriation for colonial plantations during German rule cost local people fertile land, reduced production in their subsistence economy and created a scarcity of land and foodstuffs. Labor migration, especially in labor reserve zones, caused family disintegration and overburdened women's workload. Working on plantations and other colonial projects as cheap labourers, eroded men dignity, prestige and power to control their household as heads, husbands and men in their traditional settings.

On what appears to be the positive side, especially for many men, colonial processes introduced a new socio-economic order which exposed men to modern technologies, a monetary economy, and a new style of life in centres that were established around plantations. Man learned to buy basic needs from the shop or market. He saw movies which displayed his master's riches and modernity. He was subjected to another transformation by being insubordinated, disrespected, disregarded and reduced to a cheap labourer, and servant for the master, to despising his own identity, and taking pride in the master's lifestyle and culture. His world view was gradually changing from traditional to a modern or Western view. He began to value material wealth, individuality, modernity and to question his own traditional values and norms.

Overall, modernization, through colonialism reduced the number of men in traditional communities. This trend, apart from increasing women's workload, also had a psychological impact on gender relations. As the number of men decreased in local communities as compared to women, men's and women's attitudes towards each other changed. Men's value in relationships with women increased. They began to think of themselves as rare, and valuable. Polygamous marriages and husbands having affairs outside marriages became common. Men, especially in urban areas, became more selective for their life partners. However, while many men began to despise women from their home villages, and preferred educated, "civilized" urban women, they view urban women as promiscuous, with too much freedom. Colonial contacts, therefore, have

had both a negative and a positive impact on men and women, more positive for men's lives, and more negative for women.

There are various perceptions about the colonial and religious influences in Tanzania. These can be viewed as a multiple consciousness, which at the end of formal colonialism characterized both the colonized and colonizers. They were a result of a colonial interruption of the local population's capacity for self-recognition (biological, social, cultural, economic, and political), and the failure of its decentring processes to distract the colonized subjects to completely centre colonial discursive practices. Generally, as Lloyd and Susan Rudolph have argued, the colonial regime to a large extent, displaced traditional societies, while it misunderstood the relationship between traditional and modern societies. Although the colonizers probably did not achieve what had been the colonized (Tanzanians) psyche was highly anticipated from their colony (Tanzania), compromised and placed at the junction between traditions and "modern" (Western) values. As in many African ex-colonies, Tanzanians, most of whom were born and raised in tradition-governed rural areas, have been brought into the conflict. They are "almost stranded in a heavy traffic of Western culture" (in Harden, 1990:101) including formal education, which for many people is too expensive, and, therefore, cannot accommodate everybody; as well, formal employment which is limited and highly competitive, and other modern ambitions.

Many Tanzanians have found themselves caught between the worlds of tradition and modern civilization. As Colin M. Turnbull stated "there is a void in the life of the African, a spiritual emptiness, divorced as he is from each world, standing in between, torn in both directions... While the old is still dominant, the new is plainly more powerful", (in Harden, 1990:101) yet difficult to comprehend.

Tanzania's government recognized education as the most significant tool to bring about balance between the traditional and modern in various spheres, and to re-direct postcolonial Tanzanians towards successful lives. Formal education, despite being a colonial legacy was a strand which managed to cross the boundaries of the colonial era and continue to liberate people

from the shackles of illiteracy. Also it is one of the factors considered to be a social landmark towards a quality life, formal education has a role in constructing new forms of subjectivity, power relations, and discursive practices. Education has continued to be offered even through its limitations and possibilities for academic success, which were created or intensified during colonial rule and are still implicitly identified and expressed in its postcolonial educational policies. The following chapter explains more about the significance of formal education in day to day life, and describes how and when it was introduced in Tanzania.

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

### EDUCATION BACKGROUND IN TANZANIA\_

#### INTRODUCTION

Education should be viewed as an important variable in human development which no one should be denied. It helps humans to better understand, cope with, and master natural, socio-economic, political and ideological environments and changes. Education is also an important factor in determining respect for socio-economic and political rights, and for individual involvement in all developmental processes in society. Well educated people can participate more productively, and occupy higher positions in all socio-economic and political sectors. In this sense education, when positively used, may empower, liberate, emancipate and, as Eileen M. Byme (1978) states, determine people's life chances, provide them with access to equal opportunity, and illuminate their paths to advancement. It is an invaluable weapon in the fight to solve socio-economic, cultural and political problems, and is thus an invaluable tool for women's development.

Education can be viewed in many ways, as a mediating variable between the ancient and contemporary knowledge about life, a bridge through which life transformation processes take place and as a vehicle for both passengers and drivers. In Tanzania since political independence the educational vehicle has theoretically been available to all citizens, regardless of race, class, ethnicity, religion or gender. Post-colonial educational policies, including the Education for Self-Reliance and Universal Primary Education and Regional Quota System, were subsequently established as part of the government's effort to make education compulsory for every child in the country.

During the schooling process many male children are able to identify themselves as being in the driver's seat, but just a few female students could, some have missed passenger seats and begun their trip standing up, postponed their trip, and/or dropped out before reaching their destination. This experience often occurs to female students because they are usually not well

prepared for a journey. Many male students have been prepared and begin the trip with the right attitude, good health, and the required knowledge. They are usually in a better position to know how to get to their intended destination.

The driver is more informed than a passenger about what to do to avoid accidents and find the way without confusion This kind of knowledge and skill is required for success. Unfortunately, as many data indicate on females' participation rate in education as compared to males' in Tanzania since independence, such knowledge and skills are underdeveloped in many women. The current social, economic, cultural, and religious institutions, and educational policies which emphasis equal access to education are not adequate to prepare women to take charge of their schooling process and obtain a good quality of education. Power relations between the sexes, and within the family, have largely been left under the authority of the clan or traditional authority. In many ethnic groups such power relations continue to suppress women, triple their workload and cheapen the value of their labor based on an exploitative and oppressive sexual division of labor (Mbilinyi 1983). Under such biased influences, male students are in a better position to take charge of their schooling process.

Postcolonial educational policies have managed to encourage all male and female children to begin their schooling process at seven. However, these policies have not been concerned with the female students' position in academic process. It should be remembered that while both passenger and driver are in the same vehicle, and may reach their destination at the same time, a driver will have more complete knowledge and experience, will know all the obstacles, and have the kind of skills and patience to finish. A passenger can decide to fall asleep, but a driver must stay awake. At the end of the journey the passenger has had a safe ride, while the driver has completed another successful trip.

The vehicle metaphor provides insight about obtaining a good quality of education and how education can become a real achievement. It is imperative for women in Tanzania to be in control throughout their schooling process. They must know that education is their right, not a favor.

Post-independence educational policies which appear to emphasize equal access to education for both sexes should not be viewed as adequate to liberate women academically. Education, as stated by Merleau Pont, is not something that can be offered or received, it is earned, worked for and obtained through a real struggle which, in certain circumstances, can be a life and death one (1995:17).

Despite the significant role education plays in women's lives, post-independence education policies have minimized what education can do to improve women's lives in Tanzania. These policies have had a tendency to conceal factors which maintain a traditional concept of women, and motherhood, the notions of a gender division of labor, and unpaid household work. While education policies appear to have contributed to liberating women, they have also contributed to perpetuating problems faced in the process of schooling in Tanzania.

Such problems are not easily identified because, on the surface, most of the education policies embrace the concept of equal access and the right to education for all citizens. The concept of equality has been over-amplified to the extent that it hides discursive practices which reproduce and perpetuate gender inequality during the schooling process. If women are empowered from within their families, communities and ethnic groups they will become strong and courageous enough to fight for substantial equality in education. The empowerment process may begin by raising their consciousness about their individual socio-economic, cultural and political positions in society, about the existing power systems, and the discursive practices which are part of the process of formation of gender subjectivity.

#### 4.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION BACKGROUND IN TANZANIA

Formal education, as it is understood today was introduced in Tanzania by European colonial rulers (German and British). Education was provided to promote Western civilization and to "train local individuals for the service of the colonial state". (UNESCO, 1979:18, 77) As one means of increasing production, the colonial system selected a segment of local population to

methods of agriculture on the plantations. The colonial system also needed local people to do clerical work and occupy junior positions in its offices. European missionaries also used literacy as a way to spread Christianity (ibid.).

The education system introduced in Tanzania by colonialists was on the European model, which emphasized on white-collar skills. It was a system based on discriminatory principles, using race, religion and gender as significant factors to determine eligibility for enrollment. Three distinct school systems based on racial differences were developed. The European and Asian communities had a more highly developed education pyramid than the Africans. The African education system functioned mainly to produce an active producer in the colonial economy, to enhance submissive attitudes among Africans, and to instill a sense of inferiority. The colonized were discursively taught to view the colonizers' race as superior to their own, and to embrace and accept the colonizers' ideologies (ibid.; Chazan at el, 1992:237-238).

In 1945 there were 1000 primary schools, 18 secondary schools and 24 teacher training centres in Tanganyika. The total secondary school enrollment was 1000, in teacher training it was 1100, and there were 27 students at Makerere University, all males. Girls' enrollment came very late, and mostly through missionaries. The main subjects for girls were related to motherhood and household management. (Waylen, 1996) In 1956 there were 105,000 girls out of 336,000 students enrolled at the elementary level (grade I-IV), 4,900 girls out of 28,000 students enrolled at the middle level (grade V-VIII), and only 204 girls out of 2,409 students at the secondary school level (grade IX-XII) in the country. (UNESCO, 1979: 85) At independence (1961), Tanzania "had too few people with the necessary educational qualifications even to man the administration of government as it was then, much less undertaken the big economic and social development work which was essential". (ibid.19)

Tanzania, as with most African countries, "inherited the educational system that had effectively excluded the vast majority of Africans from schooling". (Chazan et al., 1992: 237)

However, over time it tackled racial, class, and religious discrimination within the education system. Separate school systems based on racial, class, and religious differences were integrated (ibid.). Theoretically, formal education became available for all citizens regardless racial, class, religious and gender differences.

Efforts to abolish discriminatory practices in education, have overall overlooked gender inequality in the postcolonial educational system. As confirmed by different records and writings on education from gender perspective, and as illustrated by five selected case studies, females still encounter problems which deny them full access in education. Post-independence educational policies have been inadequate in eliminating gender inequality in education (Mbilinyi & Mbughuni, 1991; the Ministry of Education and Culture Dar-es-salaam, 1989-1995; Chintonwa, 1991:7; Kiliwiko, 1992, 1995; Kivuyo, 1995:1). These policies have been unable to eliminate factors which create or intensify gender inequality in education at both micro and macro levels, and the internal and external categories (Mbilinyi & Mbughuni, 1991:26).

The colonizers in Africa did not direct enough financial resource towards educating local indigenous people. Until 1960, only 36 percent of children, of primary school age were enrolled in school, in contrast 75 percent in other developing countries. At the secondary school level, only 3 percent were enrolled, compared to 15 percent in other developing countries (Chazan at el, 1992: 236). "University enrollment was negligible". (ibid.)

Many African countries achieved independence with few insufficiently skilled indigenous people. In Tanzania a 1962/63 survey indicated that eighty percent of all positions that required a university education were occupied by non-Africans, there were only 12 African civil engineers, eight African telecommunication engineers, 9 African veterinarians, 5 African chemists, and only 38 of the 600 secondary school teachers holding university degrees were African (ibid.).

Tanzania has had three main foreign contacts over time, the Arabs, Germans and British. The Arabs who came as traders as early as 700 A.D., brought Islamic civilisation. European contacts came with missionaries who introduced Christianity in the 19th century. Today, at least

40 percent of Tanzanians are Christians of various denominations, and more than 35 percent are Muslims who live mostly along the coast, and in Zanzibar and Pemba islands. The remaining 25 percent includes those who still follow their traditional religions and those of Asian origin (Southern Africa Chronicles vol.v no.7 April 13, 1992).

Along with Biblical teachings, the missionaries introduced social services, including Western style education. Initially most of the services rendered by missionaries were provided for converts. Most of these services-economic, educational, health, and spiritual-were concentrated in productive zones, compelling many indigenous people to compromise their culture to have access to new wealth and learning. At independence the majority of the Africans who had received a Western education were male Christians who occupied most of the government posts left by the colonisers (Southern Africa Chronicles vol.v no.7 April 13, 1992:8). The predominance of Christians in the public sector suggests that Christianity was still a significant variable for the access to participation in the public sector.

The colonial government was run by Christian nations so the education introduced Western culture and spread Christianity which conflicted with Islam. The situation was complicated by the tendency for Christian donors to invest in Western style education while Moslem donors gave money for building mosques and the spread of the Quran and Islamic education. After independence Moslem donors invested little in Western style education even though it was recognised that it was the system of education adopted after independence, and provided the knowledge and skills required for competition in the labour market (ibid.).

Several years after independence the government nationalised most of the Church owned schools to equalise access to schooling for both Christian and Moslem children. For some Moslem parents and children the content of curriculum and the strictness became another problem because it differed from the Islamic education to which they had already been exposed.

Islam and its educational system was introduced in Africa in the seventh century before the introduction of Christianity and European education in Africa. Islam and the Arab culture tolerated

certain elements of African traditions. The Islamic system of education is also known to have a unique and flexible approach to learning and life, with distinctive features from Western Education.

Its operations are less dependent on specific administrative, institutional and organisational patterns...Islamic system perceives education as an endless process, and although paper qualifications do exist such as Ijaza (diploma) and Isnad which is linked to it, put less emphasis on certificate or diplomas than does Western education...Islamic system of education allows individuals to remain students as long as they wish. (Bray, Clarke, Stephens 1986:81)

For women this is questionable, since reproduction is also highly valued in Islamic culture, and is interconnected with questions surrounding the veil or covering women's bodies, in relation to their liberation. The female reproductive role may deny Moslem women access to, or discourage them from staying in school. This provides some explanation for why some people believe "that in general there has either been serious neglect or ...insufficient attention given to the subject of women's education" (ibid:85) in the Islamic community in the country.

According to Bray et al, in the Islamic system of education a student's attendance and registration is more flexible than in Western system. Students may attend, leave or switch to another school as they wish. Islamic education is based on two schools, the Quranic, which teaches spiritual or divine illumination and is equivalent to the Western primary school. Second, the Ilm, which teaches about human reasoning, including the effort of mind and body to show the connections between different meanings. It is equivalent to the Western secondary school where students learn a wide range of Islamic literary, theological and legal subjects. Islamic education also includes subjects such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, and personal conduct (ibid:82-84). Children begin school between three and six years of age. For the most part, problems integrating Moslem males and females into Western formal education, even after independence, are partly embedded in the nature of European education adopted after independence, which differs from the Islamic education system.

As far as equality in education is concerned, Tanzania made major changes in the education system, along with other reforms including a change to the Constitution and Africanisation of the

civil service after independence (1961). The government introduced Mass Education and Curriculum Reform, and the Education for Self-Reliance policy following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Literacy or Adult Education in late 1960s to combat adult illiteracy, Universal Primary Education (education for all) in 1974, and created a secondary school education system similar to that of the British model. Education for Self-Reliance was introduced to replace the colonial policy of education which Tanzania adopted from the British colonial rule (UNESCO, 1979; Mbilinyi et al, 1991).

Colonial education was a racial, class, religion, and gender biased system which initially offered education to only a few African men and fewer women. Furthermore, there was a bias against access to formal education based on regional, religious and class backgrounds. Many schools were built in areas around plantations (productive zones), which later developed into towns and cities. In 1953, "primary school enrolment reached 53 percent in wealthier regions such as Tanga, compared to 18 percent in the Central Province". (Mbilinyi et al 1991) The regions which were categorised as "unproductive" (Labour-Received Zones) received little finance aid for education, and their communities were too poor to build and maintain schools. With regard to religious and social class bias, Christian converts and wealthy people had more access to school than Moslems and poor individuals.

The level of education provided for indigenous people did not extend beyond the elementary level (Standard 1-4). Those who did well, and especially those from upper class families, were employed in junior administrative posts. Race, gender, socio-economic status, geographical region and religion determined one's access not only to education, but also to other resources and opportunities. Such inequalities created dichotomous attitudes between regions, races and religions, and between men and women, which weakened the solidarity that had existed among the indigenous communities. Inequalities in education contributed to intensifying socio-economic and gender hierarchical organisation. They were also major reasons why Africans (both men and women) accepted the imperial power/order so easily and so quickly. Such inequalities

also helped to reduce women's status, and placed women in inferior and subservient positions relative to men, and on the bottom of socio-economic hierarchy in the society (Southern African chronicle, Vol.5, March 16, 1992:2).

Of all the barriers to adequate schooling of women in Tanzania, gender bias was the major impediment during colonial rule. It was through sexually asymmetric ideology that both the colonial government and traditional leaders denied women participation in education. Indigenous leaders, and the general population viewed formal education as influenced by colonialists' perspective. Education, modern technologies and other elements of "modernity" were introduced initially to men alone because the colonialists viewed the women's sphere as private, with their roles as wife and mother and their position in society as secondary to men's. They perceived men as more necessary to improve the colonial economy than women. In agreement with Rousseau's theory of Sexual Asymmetry, they viewed men as different and separate from women and believed in men's rational mind and intelligence, physical strength and activity as compared to women's irrational, less intelligent, immature, passive and weak capacities (Nadler 1994:11). African men increasingly took pride in the master's life style, culture, and attitudes about women. They valued foreign culture and despised women and most of their traditional values, norms, and customs.

Even when formal education was extended to women it was to make them "good wives, mothers", and literate assistants to male employees at low levels of the colonial administration. Women were increasingly relied upon to provide casual labour for large farms and plantations. They were, as well, used as "free labour" by their families in the peasant production system which encouraged a male rural to urban influx. While women's work load intensified, men were free to attend schools and "to enter the semi-skilled occupations open to Africans".(ibid:34)

Despite the recognition of the importance of women's labour for the colonial economy, there was still an implicit resistance against any expanded inclusion of girls during the 1950s. At this time there were only 204 female students at post Middle-school level in the entire country,

mainly enrolled in government-run schools in urban areas. (Cameroon and Dodd 1970:104 in Mbilinyi et al 1991:28)

In the 1950s the level of education was raised to Middle schools level, and gender-segregated boarding schools (Standard 5-8). The syllabus was practical and vocational, aimed at training students for rural life, and similar to an adult education programme which "combined literacy and social welfare activities such as home-craft and hygiene for women and some agricultural training... and or animal husbandry for men". (Mbilinyi et al, 1991:24-29)

This curriculum was opposed by many parents as "inferior, dead-end schooling" because it did not promise formal employment. It lagged behind a time of tremendous changes in the socio-economic arena and the geographical and socio-economic dualism created by the colonial system. How could rural life be promising while urban areas were being developed at the expense of the rural economy in terms of natural and human resources, agricultural products, and other opportunity. Indigenous people preferred schooling which led to employment, the major means for survival, rather than some form of improved agriculture and home-craft which would lead many students to an unpaid labor pool.

At independence the total literacy rate rose to 16 percent from the 1940 rate of 3 percent, including African students enrolled in elementary education together with those enrolled in adult education (Meena 1989 in Mbilinyi et al 1991:27). The total of African female students participation in education at the Elementary level was only 36 percent. The percentage declined to 19 percent at Middle school level and only 14 percent at Secondary level (URT/Education 1963 in Mbilinyi et al 1991:34).

Colonial education was basically foreign (British), it operated within an extremely discriminatory policy, and reflected European culture. The bias in its distribution denied a majority of women access. Those who managed to get into schools received less education in terms of quality and level. While it prepared men for wage employment and for competition in the labour

market, "it prepared women for their roles as rural workers, mothers, wives" and free labour (Sumra 1990 in Mbilinyi 1991:34).

The government, and especially former president Julius Kambarage Nyerere, identified the colonial education system as discriminatory, elitist and designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who entered the school system. The colonial education system, under the policy of education for adaptation, used education to develop skills, attitudes and knowledge recognised by the Western world and the global labour market, The system was designed to transform the traditional culture of the indigenous people into "Western/modern" civilisation but the "world of work" during the colonial period was "shaped by the policies of racial segregation and division, which denied both (African) men and women access to higher levels of education and employment". (ibid.)

The colonial education policy of adaptation was also contradictory. The primary education system focused on preparing children for further education, while only about 13 percent of the primary school students could expect to get into secondary school, fewer into high school and very few into University (ibid.). 87 percent of the students who completed primary education believed that they failed while a door to secondary school was opened for 13 percent of students, and a few had access to further education. Those with an advanced education expected to not only "get comfortable employment and high wages in towns, but to get away from agricultural activities and rural life". (Bray, Clarke, & Stephens 1986:73) Individuals who made up the 13 percent of the privileged students were most probably from wealthy families, the local elite, Christian and male. Women, who have always been poor, and who became more invisible during colonial rule, were among the remaining 87 percent of the unprivileged.

## 4.2 POST INDEPENDENCE EDUCATION POLICIES: WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Since independence the government's priority in education has always been focused on equalizing access to education for all Tanzanians, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion or gender. Most mission and private schools were nationalised to facilitate such integration. The government started integrating in the education system by expanding and standardising the curricula, and by financing teaching staff to meet popular demand for education at all levels. However, socio-economic status, gender and, to some extent, geographical location, and religion have continued to determine who has access to higher levels of education, based on differences that were intensified during colonialism.

Education policies, which include the 1967 Education for Self-Reliance, the 1977 Universal Primary Education policy, and the Regional Quota System, were among the measures introduced to Africanize education, and equalize access to education for all Tanzanian citizens, including women (Nyerere, 1973). These policies were a significant achievement in the discriminatory attitudes between classes, ethnic groups and religious denominations. Also, as in many contemporary societies, Tanzania has, in theory, reached a point where it can claim to provide equal access to education to all citizens regardless of race, religion, class, ethnicity or gender. When the total school enrollment is compared with many African countries, Tanzania appears to have reached the highest level of literacy (98.2 percent) in Sub-Sahara Africa. In contrast, Sudan's illiteracy rate of 76 percent for males and 85 percent for females is the highest rate in the world (Third World Guide 1991/92; Hale, 1996:125). But when enrollment is the only measurement for literacy levels, regardless of the drop-out rate, the declared literacy rate becomes questionable. The gap between the numbers which exist for female student enrollment and them at their graduation, in all phases and years since independence, especially at the advanced levels of education, and the tendency for this gap to fluctuate towards a widening range are reasons that

education policies have been challenged as inadequate to effect any substantial gender-equality in education (Mbilinyi & Mbughuni, 1991).

Education policies were among the cornerstone measures in the state's commitment to a socialist and self-reliant future, in a process towards "African unity, the absolute integrity, and sovereignty of the United Republic of Tanzania". (UNESCO, 1979:20) It was a developmental process which was intended to divorce the new political, economic and cultural relations from the features of previous colonial relations and delineate the boundaries of the colonial past and the post-independent present and future. Is was a process with a polemical closure, similar to Anne McClintock, Ella Shohat and Arif Dirlik's arguments about post-colonialism. The shift in Tanzania's political relations during independence was "used to mark the final closure of a historical epoch, as if colonialism and its effects (were) definitively over, or terminated". ( in Chambers & Curti 1996:243)

Many observers contend that none of the post-independence education policies, or any combination of them, has been adequate to eliminate gender inequality in education. Mbilinyi et al (1991) observes that these policies did not and do not include efforts to transform existing oppressive gender relations. Many incidents such as sexual harassment, rape, and gender stereotypes are condoned, trivialized, even ignored, and continue without challenge within the school environment. In 1991 a first year undergraduate female student at the University of Dar-essalaam committed suicide after being raped by a male engineering student (Mponda 1991; The World Bank Report, 1991:59). The victim did not get the support she deserved from the administration and fellow students.

Practices which perpetuate gender inequality in the education system are diverse and complex. They are part of the socio-economic, cultural and political aspects of life, and social interactions which, for both sexes, have subjective and objective meanings (Weber in Grabb, 1990). It is hard to define gender inequality because most of its explanations or causal factors are

indefinite and complex (ibid.). This complexity has often made practices which perpetuate gender inequality more powerful than any efforts which promote equality.

What complicates gender inequality issues in education is its complexity and invisibility, exacerbated by the persistence of socio-economic, political and cultural factors. The complexity and invisibility of gender inequality from outside and within the school environment are reasons that, despite every attempt by the government to equalize access to education for all citizens, female school attendance is still poor, performance continues to be poor, and the female school drop out rate continues to be higher than that of male students. The gap between the enrollment at the primary school level and the University level is significant evidence that "most female students do not stay in school or they do not perform well enough to pursue further studies". (Bendera, 1994:2) While female enrollment at the primary school level was 49.2 percent in 1993 and 49.4 percent in 1994, at the University level it dropped to 16.5 percent (BEST, 1994:34 & 1995:34; Bendera, 1994:2; The World Bank, 1991).

There has been a significant increase in female student enrollment, especially at the elementary level, however, their school performance at all levels has been relatively low when compared to male students. Female students' drop out rate is also been higher when compared to male students. At the University of Dar-es-salaam in 1992 while 137 male students graduated with a B.A. General, only 36 females graduated, in 1993 only 45 female students graduated out of 148 male students, in 1994 there were 150 male graduates and only 35 females, in 1995 while 119 male students graduated, only 33 female students managed to graduate, and in 1996 only 28 female students graduated, compared to 163 male students (Mbilinyi 1991; UDSM, 1997:53).

In Tanzania gender inequality in education is a complex issue, and because of that many women still receive little or insufficient schooling. Despite what appears to be significant achievements through education policies, as in other sectors the structure of education in Tanzania, is still hierarchical, "raising from the many at the primary or elementary level to the few... (at the university level). Education continues to reinforce social stratification... and serve as gatepost for

future employment and a higher salary, while encouraging expectations for an urban life" (H. Hinzen, in UNESCO 1979:11) in ways similar to those used during the colonial era.

Many individuals in this country, at all levels including students, parents, and even political leaders, have become dissatisfied with the myth of the education policies. It has become obvious that, as in many ex-colonies of Africa, wealthy children continue to have access to higher levels of schooling while poor children and many women have access to much less schooling (Mbilinyi et al, 1991; UNESCO, 1979). The expansion of education is usually implemented at the elementary level than at higher levels of education. Post primary expansion is still highly disproportional to the base, which grows quickly. Classes at the elementary level have become very large, and teaching materials are scarce. Access to higher levels of education has, therefore, become more competitive.

Post primary screening (still) increases a focus on examinations as the sole method of selection... The teaching approach (has mainly become) that of "spoon-feeding" or "copy copy" teaching...(This situation has contributed to create) an authoritarian system of school management, (Mbilinyi et al., 1991:45)

a system of centralised power, which does not allow challenges. Punishment such as caning, push-ups and suspension have become accepted in schools to deter students and win their obedience (ibid.).

A combination of large classes at the elementary level and limited chances for higher levels of education, a scarcity of teaching facilities and a copy copy authoritarian method of teaching have led to cheating on exams and nepotism, worsening the situation for women in the school environment. Given that female-students are generally viewed as weak, passive, less intelligent and dependent vis-a-vis male students, they face many problems from both the male teachers and students. Many female students appear to believe those perceptions which become a warrant for their victimisation, and a support to those ideologies which denigrate women. Levina Musika's experience of being isolated not only from male students but also from her fellow female students was a vivid example of how such negative ideologies are sometimes supported by both males and females (French ed. 1994:280). Gender inequality in education in Tanzania combines a chain of

problems, most of which weigh on female students. Many of the problems contradict the postcolonial education policies in Tanzania, whose focal point has always been equality of access and right to education for all citizens.

The Education for Self-Reliance policy was introduced in 1967, following measures taken by the government immediately after independence to abolish discrimination in education. It was also an attempt to incorporate and integrate traditional or pre-colonial forms of education into formal/Western education. Traditional education, sometimes called informal education, was a system of education through which students acquired knowledge and skills by listening, observing and practicing. The knowledge and skills that this type of learning created was thought to stimulate students' critical thinking and integrate theory into practice. Learning included manual agricultural activities (Mbilinyi & Mbughuni ed., 1991:2).

The education for Self-Reliance policy called for curriculum reform to integrate traditional knowledge and skills into the formal Western education, in an attempt to make education relevant to the people and society of Tanzania. The reform included changing the conception of education from that of adaptation or preparation, as understood during colonialism, to a "terminal" conception of education, whereby each phase or level of education is complete, and the usefulness of education should be identified within each phase, whether elementary, secondary, or post-secondary phase (Nyerere, 1974, The World Bank Report, 1991, Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991). With the new terminal conception of education, at the end of every educational phase a student is expected to have acquired adequate knowledge and skills to enable him/her to work productively, whether in the field as a peasant or in the formal sector as an employer or employee.

The Universal Primary Education policy of 1977 and the Education Act No. 25 of 1978 were designed to equalize access to education for all children of both sexes at seven years of age. The goal of this policy conflicted with the reality of multiple regional, ethnic, class, religious (where formal education was associated with Christianity as opposed to Islam religion), and

gender divisions, created or intensified during colonialism, which continue to exist in various degrees during the postcolonial era.

The Regional Quota System was another policy established to ensure that each region provided an equal number of students to enter secondary schools and to ensure that a certain number of students from each region was female (Bendera, 1994:2). With the District Quota System, the points/grades accepted for secondary school could vary between and within regions, and between sexes. Male students are expected to achieve higher grades than female students for selection for secondary school education. According to the Tanzania Development Research Group (TADREG), in 1985 boys in Kinondoni District-Dar-es-salaam needed at least 94 points, while girls needed 80 points for secondary school entry. "The cut-off point for girls...has been put consistently lower than those of boys, for what was/is thought as helping girls fill in the (limited) Form one vacancies reserved for them". (The World Bank, 1991: 51-52)

The cut-off points regulation for girls was/is seen as a strategy to restore gender equality in education, but it maintains the gender intellectual hierarchy to the detriment of female students. The fact that under the Regional Quota System girl students are now accepted into the secondary school level with lower performance levels than male students' secondary school entry points, confirms, for those who believe it, that women are less intelligent than men. The cut-off points system means that female students enter secondary school level less qualified, and with no program to help them catch up, many of them cannot cope with more advanced academic requirements, become frustrated, and drop out of school.

The cut off points system is a double-edged discursive practice in the conventional systems of selection and exclusion. The acceptance of this policy, especially by women, plays into this trap, which will gradually eliminate women from the academic field and formal sectors of employment. It also devalues the essence of the equal access to education policy as stipulated by the Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy. Regional Quota System thus institutionalizes the falsely conceived difference of intellectual quality between sexes. They are indirectly discouraged

from being critical thinkers. Women in this situation are supposed to receive and not to earn, or obtain an education, receiving it at levels and quality chosen for them as a favor. They are expected to resume their traditional roles as mothers and wives. With the cut off points system the Universal Education Policy is nullified.

The cut off points measure has also contributed to limiting the expansion of a female higher level of education. It has also adversely affected the selection of students for post elementary education, and has diminished formal employment prospects especially for women, many of whom do not reach advanced levels of education (Mbilinyi & Mbughuni ed. 1991: 40). The 1992/93 undergraduate students enrollment in the B.A. General programme at the University of Dar-es-salaam included only 7 female students for every 25 male students in all academic years. In 1993/94 there was only one female student for every 5 male students enrolled, in 1994/95 only 149 female students were enrolled, while there were 468 male students, in 1995/96 only 164 female students were enrolled out of 697 male students, and in 1996/97 only 171 female students to 715 male students (University of Dar-es-salaam (UDSM), 1997:46).

An evaluation of the Regional Quota system clarifies many issues. What may appear to be a positive discrimination towards female students is really a set back for them. "On the average girls are less qualified than boys when they enter secondary school", (the World Bank 1991:52) it helps explain why many female students do not reach post secondary levels of education.

One way of explaining the government decision to reduce point requirements for female students could be that it realized the inadequacy of its education policies, and decided to use the cut off point' strategy as a cover-up so the policies would remain popular. In 1977, ten years after the end of colonial direct rule in Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere stated;

"I am becoming increasingly convinced that we in Tanzania either have not yet found the right educational policy, or have not yet succeeded in implementing it or some combination of these two alternatives". (J.K. Nyerere in Education for Liberation, 1979:11)

He realized that colonial features were still prevalent in the educational system and that policies meant to equalize access to education failed to disentangle the post-independence strands

from the web of colonial structures. If the cutting off points measure was established with the belief that women are less intelligent than men, the government was/is perpetuating a dichotomous male/female binary which had been intensified by colonialism.

Cut off points regulations, if viewed within Martin Carnoy's paradigm, demonstrate how women have been objectified as less intelligent, less rational, and unqualified to occupy "the highest positions in the social, economic and political hierarchy, which requires highly qualified individuals". (1974:3) The Regional Quota system does not off set inequality, instead it perpetuates social and gender hierarchy. How can cutting-off points be helpful for women, when it implicitly denies women access to advanced levels of education, and when it is widely accepted that more schooling increases chances for a greater access to resources and raises individual income?

Cutting off points for female students can also be viewed as a refusal to acknowledge women's intellectual diversity, which stems from their differing socio-economic, cultural and political experiences. It should be understood, as Joanna de Groot & Mary Maynard argue, that women are not a homogenous group, "even where women's lives appear to take similar forms and to be structured in similar ways, their experiences may vary". (in Kulke, 1993:151)

Furthermore, the cutting off points system is one way of keeping women down, and catering to male fears that if women become as educated as men they will

challenge the hegemonic control which men are struggling to maintain over women... Men are terrified by intellectual competent women, especially in the academy where their sexist narratives about knowledge are... (embedded). (Patricia McFadden, 1995:44)

The cutting off points system is one way of keeping women out of higher levels of education.

Cutting off points system for female students was the result of the government's recognition of existing problems of regional differentiation in the face of a limited post-elementary school level. The Regional Quota System forced an equal number of Form one (first year of post-primary school education) intake from each region in the country. By 1976 access to Form one in all regions averaged 6.3 percent of primary school leavers. More resources were allocated to the less developed regions for education. However, the Regional Quota System did not go further to

examine issues concerning gender bias in education. Women's unequal access to education and inadequate schooling was subsumed within issues of regional access. Like the "trickle down development" assumption, it was thought that women's participation and the quality of education they received would automatically improve through the Regional Quota System. How could that happen when, in many cases, power relations in the family favour males over females with important issues such as education? Formal education has been misunderstood by many ethnic groups as meant mostly for men because they were the only ones initially exposed to it.

Furthermore, how could the Regional Quota System help improve women's situation in education when the gender division of labour had became so rigid and oppressive to women? Since the introduction of formal education in the country, the emphasis on men's roles within a given clan as leaders, husbands and fathers, which included obligations to the rural community and their family, had loosened up to include education and wage employment in urban areas. The men's former responsibilities then had to be fulfilled by women, wives and daughters on in addition to their own responsibilities. How could women find time to attend classes? Who would encourage them to stay in school when their oppression has freed men from family and community responsibilities? Thus, even with the Regional Quota System, women may continue to be denied access to participation in education.

After the post-Arusha Declaration, The Education for Self-Reliance policy (ESR) in 1967 and the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1974 in Tanzania, girls' rate of enrolment in primary school grew. While in 1985 boys' enrolment was 90 percent to 80 percent for girls', in 1986 the rate for girls' enrolment reached the same level as the boys, but the girls' performance continued to be lower than the boys'. Their school attendance remained poor and the number of girl drop-outs remained higher than boys'. At the Secondary level, while boys' enrolment dropped to 40 percent, there were only 4 percent of girls enrolled. Even today the situation has not changed much, and few girls graduate at the University level. Most of them join traditionally female defined fields in the Arts. Science-related fields are usually filled by male

percent for females. When it comes to attendance and performance in literacy classes, females usually lag behind males. In Vocational Training and Technical Education, the fields which are defined as male females' participation has reached only 20 percent since independence (CUSO 1989; Third world Guide 1991/92; UNESCO 1980; Country Profile 1989-90).

## Education for Self-Reliance is aimed at

providing (supposedly) relevant education for local conditions. It geared at providing the skills and values necessary that would enable students to become economically active members of their community after leaving school. That is, they had to go back to the land and become more productive smallholder peasants, casual labourers, and or unpaid family workers. (Mbilinyi et al 1991:27)

It appears that the government wanted to keep most of the population in their home villages and prevent a rural urban influx which was created/intensified by colonial systems. Education for Self-Reliance also aimed at

promoting national unity, loyalty to the government and adaptation to one's place in society. Teaching methods were to encourage critical thinking, self-confidence in problem-solving, creativity and co-operative values rather than individual competitiveness. (ibid.)

Education for Self-Reliance policy was deemed to be a sufficient and terminal education, not a gate post for further education or employment. Although it has effected some changes in the curriculum, major elements within the process of schooling continue to reinforce gender oppressive relations. Teaching materials continue to portray men and women in stereotypic roles. Also, according to Mbilinyi, teachers tend to pay more attention to boys than girls. This element emeshes the school environment with the cultural, religious and sexual aspects of the teachers' identity, which in Tanzania's context may contribute to keeping teachers' distant from girl students.

Despite the government's efforts to effect changes in the education system which are supposed to reinforce equality, it has not managed to shift societal expectations instilled by the colonial educational system. For many people, both privileged and disadvantaged education is still viewed as a bridge to success and a luxurious life, and to upward mobility. So while Mwl.

Nyerere felt that Education for Adaptation was divorcing its participants from the very society it was supposed to be preparing them for (in UNESCO,1979: 43-55), many parents and their children understood it as a weapon to combat the misery of poverty, and conceived of it as a gatepost to formal employment, which even today they continue to aspire to. The context in which Education for Self-Reliance was introduced was in opposition to the already rooted expectations of the population. In addition, a door for further education continues to open for a small segment of the student population, mostly males who are relatively wealthy and have prestigious social status.

Women are still the most excluded from advanced education, despite the fact that they make up 51 percent of the total population. The population in the country was estimated to be 27,328,000 in 1990, and will reach 37 million in 2000, a 3.5 percent growth rate (Third World Guide 1991/92).

Although the number of women exceeds that of men in the country, in 1988 girls at primary school level made up only 49.7 percent, at secondary level 41.3 percent, at the University level 16.9 percent, in Teachers Training Colleges 41.6 percent, and in Technical education 5.1 percent. Alarmingly, between 1986 and 1988 the general participation of women in education dropped by 40.3 percent. Female enrolment has been fluctuating and declining in response to various policy interventions, and socio-economic, religion-related and cultural conditions. The Universal Primary Education policy, community self-help, government financial support and the Villagisation drive of the 1970s increased general primary school enrolment from half a million at independence to 2.2 million in 1976. The female ratio rose from 42 percent of total enrolment in 1974 to 49 percent in 1984 and it matched the level of males in 1985. However, the female dropout rate remains high today and female performance is relatively below males. In 1986 examination results indicated that girls' performance was 12 percent lower than boys in general knowledge and 31 percent lower than boys in mathematics (TADREG 1989 in Mbilinyi 1991:38).

The reasons for the high rate of female drop outs may be related to a number of factors including the lack of funding which was a result of the national economic decline, during the

1970s and the subsequent shortage of schools and facilities. According to UNESCO (1989), there was a regional shortage of 1,140 classrooms, and 47,000 desks in 1980. Fifty percent of the students had to sit on the floor or stand during classes. Many schools also lacked electricity, audiovisual aids, and there has been scarcity of teaching materials including text books, wall charts, and maps.

The shortage of schools has complemented the Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy by creating a trend of a continuously increasing class size. The Universal Primary Education policy requires that all children at seven should attend school (Mbilinyi et al 1991: 16-18). The ever-increasing class sizes is disproportion to the existing limited number of teachers, and the scarcity of teaching facilities. In Dodoma region the average teacher-student ratio was 1-56 (Olekambaine, 1987 in Mbilinyi et al, 1991). Large classroom size may encourage absenteeism, and can also affect classroom interaction, making it hard for a teacher to notice or help slow, shy learners, who may feel left out, get discouraged, and finally drop out of school.

While the number of subjects taught in the school curriculum influences teaching and learning effectiveness, the content of texts perpetuate attitudes of both male and female students about their status at school and in society at large. Despite the shortage of teaching facilities and big class size in Tanzania, thirteen subjects are taught in the primary school curriculum. It is likely that many of the subjects are taught superficially and quickly to meet the national centralised syllabus, leaving little time for teachers "to use innovative methods, which would encourage critical thinking among students", (Mbilinyi et al 1991:42) or to give extra attention to slower students. Many such students are girls who often come to school already tired from household chores.

The content of most textbooks, especially at the primary level, are gender biased. They depict both sexes in gender typed roles: "the mother/wife cooks, the father/husband farms or returns from office; the boy herds cattle and the girl carries water". (ibid:43) These contribute to an inferiority complex in the girls and a sense of superiority in the boys at school and in the future.

Such circumstances, frustrating as they may be to both teachers and students, result in teachers adopting authoritarian management styles and teacher-centred, or moulding, methods of teaching. According to a 1990 study by the Faculty of Education of the University of Dar-essalaam, rote memory is enforced and the copy-copy method of teaching is used in schools. Using the copy-copy method of teaching, teachers copy notes on the blackboard from the lesson notes, extracted from selected textbooks. Students copy the same material and later reproduce it on school tests. The copy-copy method and recitation in combination with rote model of learning can be stressful, boring, undemocratic, and anxiety producing for students, especially those who are not good at memorising. This situation often intensifies authoritarian attitudes among teachers, making many students, especially women, withdraw from school (Mbilinyi et al 1991).

This chain of factors which can also be viewed as various forms of discursive practices, forms a negative incentive to women's desire for schooling. It explains why the Universal Primary Education policy has had little impact on girls' entry to the secondary school level before the 1980 to 1988 period. When there was a large increase in girls' secondary school enrolment (31 percent increase for girls and only 5 percent increase for boys), the increase did not occur due to any progressive changes in the public school system such as the expansion of post-primary school level, or an increased supply of teaching facilities, or changes in girls' performance, rather, it was due to the proliferation of private secondary schools. By 1989 there were 195 private secondary schools compared to 131 public schools. In 1988 private secondary schools accomodated 14,350 students while public schools could accept only 9,200 students. Thus, there are more secondary school students, especially girls, now studying in private schools. According to 1989 statistics from the Ministry of Education, in 1984 51 percent of all secondary school girls were in private schools compared to 42 percent of the boys. During the period from 1981 to 1988, the female ratio in private secondary schools rose from 37 percent to 42 percent, compared to an increase from 31 percent to 34 percent in public schools.

At the High school level, which is mostly government run female enrolment dropped from 23 percent in 1981 to 19 percent in 1988 in part because the government has been slow to expand it (TADREG 1989:Table 5).

#### These statistics indicate that

while the access to post-primary education may be limited for both male and female students, girl students in particular depend on the private sector for further education. Unfortunately, private schools which are run by other organisations, apart from the Church, are well known to have a lower standard of education in all dimensions. For instance, teachers are usually less qualified, most of these schools lack adequate teaching facilities including textbooks for students and many of them could not provide quality instruction in basic math and science subjects... The existence of such private schools has ended up being more of political advantage than an educational substantive reflection. They act as a safety valve to relieve public pressure on the government and donors for more public schools. (UNESCO 1981, Mbilinyi et al 1991:51)

The female enrolment at the University level rose from 10 percent in 1976/77 to 27 percent in 1979/80. The rate then gradually dropped to 16 percent in 1987/88 and rose to 19 percent in 1988/89. Such fluctuations have a number of causes. First, the Musoma Resolutions of 1974 required that students work for two years and complete National Service (military training) after completing High school, before being enrolled in University. During the first year of Musoma policy implementation, there was a 71 percent drop in female enrolment, and only 9 percent of the total intake was women (BEST 1989). This Resolution was later revised, especially for women, who resumed their direct entry University, without having to work first. However, The number of female students at the University level continued to be small compared to that of male students.

The most common explanations for the decline in female enrolment at the University level can be associated with poor performance at the High school level, and factors outside school environment such as policy interventions, along with socio-economic and cultural implications. As far as Musoma Resolution is concerned, during the two year national service period women were likely to get married and start a family because of family and economic pressures. In many African countries age and family (reproducing role) expectations are taken seriously. It is within African expectations that at a certain age a girl marries (usually between 15 and 20 years of age) and has

children. In some ethnic groups they marry before 15 years of age, at or just after the first menstruation. The Musoma Resolution thus complemented cultural biases which demands that females marry younger.

Another factor is the economic dependence of women on men, which is still rooted the mind of many. Sometimes girls abandon education to marry a rich man. Once married, they either lack the support or permission from their husbands to continue their education. In some cases, economic pressures force even those who would like to continue their education to opt for direct employment (a job without professional training) or to train for employment possibilities (UNESCO 1980).

Another explanation is the growth of alternative tertiary education opportunities outside of the Ministry of Education. According to UNESCO (1989), in the late 1980s there were 264 post-secondary institutions, only 17 percent of which were administered by the Ministry of Education. Many students, especially women, preferred more vocationally oriented programmes because admission requirements were often lower, the programmes shorter and led to higher paid work than an university education. In 1986 and 1987 there were more than twice as many first year enrolments in the Diploma courses offered at IDM, IFM, Ardhi Institute, Nyegezi Social Training Centre, Technical Colleges and the Co-operative College Moshi than at the University.

The government plays a double-edged role in issues around women's participation in education. While its emphasis on equal access to education for all citizens increases the possibility for women's emancipation, it offers "lip service" about equality in gender issues because it does not intervene in the private lives, where many causal factors to women's problems are embedded. In this sense, the government's rhetoric on this issue hampers women, and keeps them trapped in their subjectivity. It is one form of discursive practice which has contributed to perpetuating a trend whereby women obtain insufficient education as compared to men, in terms of their participation and the quality of education offered to them.

The government has strongly encouraged education as the main tool through which equal access to resources and right to opportunity may be realised. It was assumed that the Education for Self-Reliance policy would not only develop a "relevant" education for local conditions, but would also reinforce gender integration into the traditionally male defined fields of education. Students of both sexes were encouraged to participate in agricultural related subjects and construction lessons and activities during self-help performance. Similarly, with the introduction of the Universal Primary School policy (UPE), the government made an attempt to maximise equal access to education for all people, including women. Again, gender issues were overlooked or subsumed with overall societal issues. Although data indicate that UPE did increase tremendously the rate of girls enrolment at the primary level, the percentage of girl drop-outs stayed high, and the quality of education in general continued to decline subsequently.

Furthermore, the 1992 educational policy change, which reintroduced school fees, has exacerbated women's problems. "Education Cost-sharing" is the popular slogan in Tanzania today. It implies that the cost of meeting education and other socio-economic services has shifted from the government to parents. This shift was one of the measures taken by the government to reduce social expenditures, to comply with the International Monetary Fund's recovery programme conditions (Bade, 1989: vol. 1&2; George, 1989). This shift is strongly related to the feminization of poverty. When the government does not intervene into family affairs in a poor country like Tanzania, and where a preference for boys dominates the culture, women will be the most affected by a programme such as Education Cost Sharing. In most cases parents decide to pay for boys, since in many ethnic groups and especially where bride price is still high, education for girls remains a luxury. Parents may even, unconsciously or consciously, want to use their daughters as commodities and withdraw them from schools to marry. The dowry may be used to meet economic needs in the family, including paying for the sons' school fees. Education cost sharing is a threat to women's development and will be used as an excuse to keep girls home until they get married. This will place women in extreme poverty-related conditions because in today's socio-economic

and political crises the uneducated wife will be suppressed and oppressed even more. An illiterate woman/wife in Tanzania may be forced to have many children by her sexual partner, without knowing that multiple pregnancies are the main cause of ill-health and maternal deaths in the country (Kiliwiko, 1992:7).

Given such complexity, without proper intervention women will continue to be subjected in all walks of their lives. Men will continue to get more power to dominate and decide for women. Men would like women to stay less educated because insufficient schooling limits their chance to assume higher positions even in the education system. And when curriculum is being developed women would lack representatives who could help to integrate women's views into the desicions.

Post-independence reform education policies, while they were developed to reclaim Tanzania's traditions (UNESCO, 1979:19-20), and were expected to equalize gender access to education have overlooked or left out socio-economic, cultural and political conditions. These factors, which are outside the school environment, are crucial to the student's daily life. They are also major determinants of society's expectations about women's status in society. They play a significant role in shaping the type of education women are expected to receive and the level they are expected to attain. These conditions play a significant role in shaping gender relations within the family and all the way to national and international levels.

# 4.3 OBSTACLES TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Power relations within the family continue to be a primary obstacle to women's full participation in education in Tanzania. In many African countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania, especially in rural areas, gender relations at the family level can be identified as more traditional than not. With this form of relations, the husband or the father is the head of the family and has power over all members of the family (Boserup, 1970; Riphenburg, 1997:34-40). In many African countries very little has changed from the traditional gender inequality experienced in

different ethnic groups before and during colonialism. In many ethnic groups women, especially in rural areas, are still responsible for providing for, and taking care of, the family. Usually they are allocated a house and land to produce the subsistence crops necessary for the family (ibid.).

Time constraints result in women continuing to have less time for schooling. For those who manage to continue with schooling, household chores mean that they get to school already exhausted and cannot concentrate on what is being taught in the classroom (The World Bank, 1991:53). Many female students begin shouldering the household burden when they are four years old. Usually when a mother falls sick or leaves home for a visit, a daughter stays home as a substitute home-maker. These traditions have had negative impact on female students' schooling process, including poor school attendance, a high rate of school drop out and relatively poor performance when compared to male students. Unfortunately, such end results have often been used to generalize that female students are less intelligent than male students.

The family and/or clan authority, which has been strongly influenced by both traditional and colonial legacies, usually intensifies women's work load by encouraging and valuing males' labour in the public sphere more. Since colonial times women's labour has been reduced to "unpaid family labour", even though their productive labour sustained the labour migration which was considered necessary for plantations and large-scale agriculture production for export. The colonial system forcefully directed male's labour in economic activities oriented to the market and the earning of money by introducing the head tax, licences, court fees and fines. Such economic pressure still exists in different forms today. For the most part, it has had a negative impact on females. While females are compelled to work both in private and public spheres as part of their responsibilities, usually male heads of the family choose which role to play and when to pursue it. In many cases they do not depend on the female's approval to leave their families for wage employment in urban areas. Gender equality is a very complicated issue and is hard to achieve, especially since crucial basic factors within the family are usually overlooked.

It is apparent that one reason that efforts made by the government to improve women's conditions often fail is because it does not generally intervene in family affairs. Power relations within the family contribute to prevent women's full participation in education. To be effective, Government efforts should examine processes which begin at the family level where power relations and the division of labour are engendered. Efforts should rearrange the traditional division of labour, which leads to women's multiple roles in society, and limiting their time to participate fully in education. Male attitudes about female development must then be examined and changed. Women are forced to pursue their own choices in addition to the responsibilities that are socially ascribed as women's. They are not relieved of their workload, so their involvement in developmental processes such as education increase it. Many get discouraged because they cannot keep up with school under such pressure.

In addition, the effects of the global feminization of poverty from within the family institution need also to be considered. Women are among the most affected segments of the population by socio-economic and political changes throughout history because they have a limited voice even at the family level. In the Third World women's productive role in agriculture and access to the surplus crops was curtailed by the commercialisation of the subsistence economy. By including subsistence agriculture in the Gross National Product (GNP), women's contribution to production was reduced to just one of their family responsibilities. Family income was pocketed and controlled by heads of the household, the fathers, husbands and sons. Women became poorer (Boserup 1970 in Ostergaard 1990:2-3; Women and Development: Colloquium Proceedings 1988:

Differing rates of development between rural and urban areas is another factor which causes socio-economic inequalities between the two sexes. Dual development between rural and urban areas, which was created or intensified by colonialism, has not been reformed. To a large extent, schools and teaching facilities are still concentrated in urban areas. The impact of this development on women's lives, many of whom live in rural areas, has been contradictory and

differs from men's, and from one category of women to another. While women and their traditional roles can never be described uniformly, for those who live in rural areas traditional roles even today continue to be a major obstacle to their participation in education. They live in more pathetic and poor conditions as compared to men and most women in urban areas. Many women in Tanzania live in rural areas which are severely underdeveloped, and their conditions continue to be pathetic, different from, and less valued than the experiences of many women in urban areas (Mbilinyi & Mbughuni 1991; Riphenburg, 1997).

Another factor is the declining economic power within many families, especially in the rural areas. When poor economic conditions are added to society's expectations of women as mothers, wives and home-makers, the chance for many women to reach higher levels of education is further limited. Economic conditions and cultural practices become tools used to discourage females from struggling to further their education. While male siblings are encouraged to a higher education, females are encouraged to search for well-educated and wealthy men to marry (Kiliwiko, 1992; Mbilinyi, 1983).

Like marriage, cultural practices such as initiation contribute to denying females education, especially at the advanced levels. In ethnic groups such as Yao, Zaramo, Ndengereko, Ruguru, and Rufiji in Tanzania, when a girl reached puberty and first menstruates she must stay indoors for at least one month. It is a time when a girl is taught how to become a real woman, mother, wife, and a homemaker (Mbilinyi, 1983). Usually, most of what she learns discourages her from wanting further education, and many girls get married at this time.

Female students in the rural areas and ethnic groups which still practice intensive initiations have a more limited access to education than those in urban areas or from wealthy families. The major factors outside the school environment which limit women's educational advancement include unequal power relations within the family, dual development between rural and urban areas, the gender division of labor, poor economic conditions within the family, and cultural practices and demands.

Like many countries in Africa, Tanzania is predominantly rural, with a majority of its population (73 percent) residing in rural areas. According to 1990 population statistics, the population was estimated at 27,328, 000, of which only 27 percent was urban (Third World Guide 1991/92. It stands to reason that unless these conditions, which are external to the school environment, are properly dealt with, a majority of women will always stay uneducated or partially educated.

In addition, in times of economic recession many formally employed women are laid-off jobs because most of them, due to insufficient schooling, occupy unskilled or semi-skilled and part-time jobs. Without a job, they become poorer, and are forced to switch survival strategies. Many of them can not afford to go back to school because it is expensive. Going back to school becomes a secondary priority in such circumstances.

The poor national economic condition has became a major reason why Tanzania can hardly cope with the global educational system which prepares students for future competition in the job market. It is a competition which requires the candidate, whether formally or self employed to match skills, attitudes and knowledge to the world of conventional institutions. The situation is more complicated by the fact that these qualities are themselves in constant flux (Canadian Journal of Development Studies, 1995:89; Mbilinyi et al 1991:27).

It is fair to say that since independence the government has placed emphasis on equality in the provision of resources and opportunities, including equal access to education regardless of race, ethnicity, religion and sexual differences, it has overlooked certain issues which complicate gender inequality in education. While racial, ethnic and religion-related barriers to equal access to education have been significantly eradicated, basic power relations between sexes and within the family, have been left largely under the authority of the clan or traditional authority. Such power relations continue to suppress women and devalue their labour through the organisation of the domestic labour process based on an exploitative and oppressive sexual division of labour. Consequently, women's participation in education is powerfully curtailed, most women provide

free labour in their family and are a pool of cheap labour in the public sphere (Mbilinyi 1983). They become a long term category of people subjected to both conventional and unconventional power systems.

## 4.4 UNDERSTANDING GENDER INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION AT A MACRO-LEVEL

Like many African countries, Tanzania falls into the ideological category of "Third World" countries, and into the economic category of "Least Developing Countries" (LDC) (Kegley.Jr., & Wittkopf, 1994). When gender inequality in education is analyzed on a global level, Tanzania's position within the international ideological and economic hierarchies becomes crucial.

Tanzania's educational system evolved from the British colonial system. This supports Aijaz Ahmed's argument that for almost every formal program in the Third World there is a dominant one in the developed world (1991). As has been discussed, during the colonial period access to education in Tanzania was based on race, religion and gender. Europeans had special schools with the same standards as those in their home countries. There were separate schools for Asians, Arabs, coloureds, and for black Tanzanian men. Black Tanzanian women were the last to be considered for formal education (Nyerere, 1973; UNESCO, 1979). It was a similar racial hierarchy of eligibility for education between the white and other races during the 1950s, in many Western countries (Carnoy, 1975).

The formal schooling model as understood today was developed in Western societies. As Hurn (1978) noted, it became dominant within the paradigm of an extreme right functionalism. Under this paradigm which borrows heavily from Medieval Enlightenment thought, formal schooling is viewed as "an essentially rational device for sorting and selecting talented individuals in an increasingly complex society..." (ibid., 1978: vii) Often individuals obtain meaningful societal recognition with their education achievement.

However, the functionalist model has been challenged by many scholars because it grounds students to an

acquisition of particular..., and fixed body of knowledge... Many sociologists view this approach as inadequate to impact equally on all members of society. Some even argue that the model handicaps lower class populations..., and preserves the power of privileged groups rather than creating equality of opportunity" (and is far from a) "perfectly meritocratic system of social selection". (Hurn, 1978: vii, viii, 6)

Within a radical paradigm, traditional schools are seen as not only "institutions preserving the power of existing elite rather than facilitating the mobility of talent", (ibid.) but also as "far from teaching democracy and humane values. (Schools are, according to radicals) designed to repress the natural talents, intelligence, and creativity of the child". (ibid.) as well as instill fear and anxiety. Furthermore, they view Western traditional schools as "places where children are coerced, controlled, sorted and hierarchically categorized. To them, Western traditional schools are places where students are surrounded by "rules and regulations" which undermine children's confidence to think and act independently (Ibid: 5, 6). This perspective can be related to Foucault's argument about the nature of operations within conventional institutions and the roles they play on social organization, control, and closure. However, it is another question as to what learning would be like if there were no formally designed discourses if all ideas and talents would be allowed to flourish indiscriminately, without external control.

Others scholars, holding moderate alternative approaches, have argued that the traditional functionalist model would have been fine if it had not been ill-adapted. They perceive that the main problem is imbedded in teaching methods and approaches. When students are taught to "memorize facts, instead of how to grasp liberal general principles (rationality and freedom). When authoritarian moral injunctions are conveyed, instead of conveying humane and liberal values". (ibid.) The impact of such teaching methods on students, in terms of their relationship with society, is the production of "educational credentials rather than cognitive skills", (ibid.) with education bearing "little relationship to occupational status" (Hurn, 1978:viii) in the real lives of people.

There has been a proliferation of alternative models of schools including free and open schools, and those with individualized instruction. These schools were developed as a reaction against traditional schools, which were seen as either out of date or ill-adapted. They were designed to develop the student's role in the process of schooling and allow their intrinsic motivation and natural curiosity to develop, which were believed would, in turn, enable students think for themselves and understand their actions.

Many questions have been raised about whether such alternative models "represent real knowledge about learning in collective settings, or whether they only reflect desires of what people would like to be true". (ibid. ix) Many scholars view these alternative models as too simplistic, too good to be true, and possibly invalid. Challenges from radical and moderate alternative models have forced educational institutions in Western societies into endless transformation. While they may still represent many of the features found in functionalist model, these institutions cannot escape from the influences of other ideals emerging from different models.

Even without further analysis of these moderate alternative models, which focus on students' needs and interests and place emphasis on the integration of educational thought into students' cognitive and emotional growth, it is obvious that after independence (1961) Tanzania adopted a traditional model of European formal education (Nyerere 1973, 1969; UNESCO, 1979), a model which was already being challenged by many Western scholars.

Adopting a British education system, functionalist and capitalist-oriented, contradicted Tanzania's socialist ideology which had been chosen to direct its socio-economic and political development. Ironically, despite the government's tremendous efforts to direct the educational system towards socialist oriented features, it failed to alter its colonialist, capitalist related features (Mbilinyi 1991). Contradictions are clear between what the education policies dictate and what is implemented, and between the socialist oriented ideology these policies attempt to embrace and the more or less capitalist oriented ideology held by parents and students about schooling.

In this sense, gender inequality in all walks of life, including education, in Tanzania can be viewed as colonial legacies. It has been complicated by the fact that in Tanzania, as in many socialist, neo-patrimonial states, equality is mainly emphasized on an ideological, theoretical level. When it comes to implementation, conditions which prevailed during colonialism, and which are followed in capitalist-oriented ideology, come into play. This complexity has placed gender inequality in education in a position where it is barely identified as a priority or as an issue at all.

After independence Tanzania adopted a socialist ideology for its developmental plan. It engaged itself in a search for an authentic, absolute and integrated society in an attempt to divorce itself from existing colonial features of inequality (Nyerere, 1973). Tanzania's post-independence policies matched those of post-revolutionary and neo-patrimonial regimes such as Cuba and Mozambique, now Msumbiji (Waylen, 1996:77-80).

Gender issues in socialist states such as Tanzania are usually marginalised. Women's problems are believed to have been created, or intensified, by the "antagonistic contradictions of colonial social order" (ibid.) and, therefore, have nothing to do with unequal power relations between men and women. Also, even before colonialism Tanzania was, and still is, predominantly a patriarchal society. In many African patriarchal ex-colonies what is now called a neo-patrimonial regime is merely a continuation of the pre-colonial patrimonial regimes, albeit with a displaced positionality. Waylen observes that in such regimes gender inequality is not identified as a significant problem, nor is sexual equality a priority.

"The main concerns are economic development and social stability...the concept of sexual equality is based on the notion of male and female roles being symmetrical and complementary rather than undifferentiated". (Waylen, 1996:79)

As with Cuba and Msumbiji, in Tanzania, while the involvement of women in production is seen as a key for their emancipation, women's roles as a mother, wife, and care taker are expected to be played fully in the private sphere (ibid.). With such expectations, neo-patrimonial ideologies in Tanzania, like those in post-revolutionary regimes in Cuba and Mozambique, maintain and

perpetuate the pre-colonial African patriarchal domination and ideologies, some of which discriminated against women (Waylen, 1996; Hale, 1996).

Evaluating gender inequality in socialist-related ideologies requires a critical evaluation to see beyond the obvious. It is crucial to understand that such regimes, while appealing for women's development, usually maintain "motherhood" as a natural pursuit of women, of which, in the words of Waylen is " a biologically reductionist view of women". (1996:79) In Tanzania efforts to change women's roles, or rather to integrate them into developmental programmes such as formal education, are designed to increase women's chances to become waged employees while ensuring that women continue to carry out their duties as mothers, and home-makers. Very little is done to encourage men to participate in domestic chores (The World Bank Report, 1991:13).

In neo-patrimonial regimes, development programmes such as schooling for women can also be viewed as what Stuart Hall calls "the play of specific modalities of power", (Hall & Gay, 1996) which are used to differentiate, exclude, and maintain the difference between males and females, which is then perceived as natural. In Tanzania education for women has, more or less, been as an "overdetermined process of closure". (ibid.) Many women who manage to reach advanced levels of education are either from upper class families or able to establish an alliance with the economic and political power systems. It is easy for women in these categories to find employment and occupy high positions within the mainstream of neo-patrimonial institutions. But these women usually challenge less, and often support the dominant ideologies, even when it adversely affects a majority of women. While the strategies these women use to establish such alliances could be useful for many women they are questionable.

When an ideology is blind to gender inequality the government plans and social policy designs become similar to what Waylen (1996) calls "catch-all policies," or added-in approaches. As with "trickle-down" theory, these policies of developmental effects are expected to reach everybody equally. Many such projects, especially in Third World countries, have proven

otherwise. Education policies in Tanzania, as an example, have taken a "catch-all" route. The outcome has been contradictory, and largely inadequate to restore gender equality in education.

Economically, gender inequality in education has been intensified by the declining economy. During colonialism the colonizers extracted and exported Tanzania's wealth. After independence, developmental and dependency theorists argue that the ex-colonizing countries continued to drain wealth from their former colonies, using more sophisticated forms and mechanisms such as Import Substitute Industrialization (ISI), which controls the market for technical knowledge, in terms of equipment and expertise with donor countries. For many recipient countries, ISI puts them into debt because many projects fail or produce less than the required capacity, causing an almost stagnant economy, which is characteristic of many post-colonial nations of Africa (Kegley Jr. & Wittkopf, 1993: 130, 132; Waylen, 1996:30).

During colonialism many colonies, including Tanzania, "became suppliers of cheap raw materials and labor", (ibid.) and markets for the first world. Writers such as A. G. Frank (1969), Paul Harrison (1979) and Joan Edelman Spero (1990) in Kegley Jr. and Wittkopf (1993:124) maintain that colonialism established unequal economic relations which benefitted the colonizing countries to the detriment of the colonized countries. Through such relations much wealth was drained out of these colonies. Many scholars and politicians, including Nyerere (1973), have argued that the political shift at independence did not stop the drainage. Export-Oriented Industrialization has often obliged many Third World countries to produce twice as much to earn as much or even less than previously, due to fluctuating prices in the international market, which is controlled by developed countries. Furthermore, multinational corporations (MNCs) with their foreign investments can often write off all taxes and revenue payments to the local country for five years. These companies take 100 percent of the profit. Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with its Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), demand that recipient countries reduce domestic consumption and increase exports. Such adjustments cause the devaluation of local currency, cutbacks in government expenditures, particularly for social services

are reduced, food subsidies are eliminated and government price controls must be abolished (George, 1989; Human Development Report, 1992; Kegley Jr. & Wittkopf, 1993; Waylen, 1996:30).

Most macro-economic strategies attempted by ex-colonies, remain "as in the days of mercantilism,...to serve the economic interest of the metropole", (Spero 1990 in Kegley Jr. & Wittkopf 1993:124) which continue to "control investment and trade, regulate currency and production and manipulate labor", (ibid.) even in the post-colonial era. These developments and changes in economic strategies have affected decision making, priority determinations and policy formulation processes in many Third World countries, usually to the detriment of the subordinated groups in society, including women.

In Tanzania attempts to recover economically were worsened by the oil crisis at the end of the 1970s, the subsequent world recession, and the subsequent deterioration in the prices of Tanzania's major export commodities in the 1980s (Country Profile, 1992). According to CUSO (1989), the war between Tanzania and Uganda, repeated droughts, the breakup of the East African Community (EAC) in 1977, and the disruptive effects of the Ujammaa Vilagisation programme all hampered recovery. As well, the 1991 political shift from a single party system to multi party system, coupled with a poor economy, exacerbated Tanzania's economic situation. It is logic that such a shift might cause a redirection of resources and changes in priorities. While new political parties need resources to establish, popularize and stabilize themselves, the old party needs more resources to defend its existence, legitimacy, and autonomy.

These incidents contributed to a continuous decline in the Tanzania's purchasing power. The International Financial Statistics (1995) reported that in 1979 the exchange rate was 8.217 Tanzanian shillings per US dollar, by the first quarter of 1995 it was 609.00 Tanzanian shillings per US dollar and, according to this report, it continued lose "about a quarter of its value in the course of 1995 as a whole". (Country Profile, Tanzania, 1995:13)

The declining economy and inflation in Tanzania led to a scarcity of resources, which influenced changes and priorities within the country. Such changes included cutbacks to the public sector, whose clients are mostly women and children who have become the most affected and disadvantaged of the population (Human Development Report, 1992).

Furthermore, because of economic hardship in many of post-colonial nations, oppressed individuals tend to seek protection and socio-economic and cultural security from people (men) with power within the state. For women an alliance with a prominent man within the state may deprive them of power, capacity or choice to challenge decisions made for them. It forces what Emile Durkheim called immoral or unjust compliance by weaker individuals to those who are dominant. The dependence of weak women on strong men makes it difficult for them to question dominant ideologies, even when the imperative of such ideologies conflicts with "the reality of the internal diversity, in terms of gender, class, ethnical, geographical and religious divisions". (Rajan, 1993:6)

Internal divisions arising from socio-economic and cultural differences may alleviate or perpetuate gender inequality in education. These factors contribute to shaping course for social change because of the assumptions they impose on gender roles and identity. But they are usually overlooked, trivialized or ignored.

A declining economy and inflation are also associated with a scarcity of teaching facilities, unequal distribution of educational facilities between and within schools, and a declining standard of education (Mbilinyi et al, 1991), which reflect the government's inability to finance such facilities for all students at all levels of education. Economic decline, if combined with neopatrimonial attitudes towards women's status in society, leaves many women with very limited access to education.

As indicated by the EIU Country Report (1995:11), inflation in Tanzania has recently been estimated at close to 40 percent and many families are facing severe economic hardship. While an urban family requires at least foodstuffs, soap, kerosene and charcoal, clothing, house-rent and

transportation as basic needs, the current minimum wage of Tsh. 35,000 (US \$ 57) a month could, in 1995, buy only 10kg of maize. For many families, 8kg of maize is enough for a couple days' consumption. In this situation it is obvious that poor people experience more inequities than before, and education for women is usually one of the most affected areas. Lawrence Kiliwiko observed that until 1992 education was one of social services provided free of charge in Tanzania. The policy change required as part of the implementation of the International Monetary Fund's economic recovery program has limited women's access to formal education (Kiliwiko, 1992:7). When poor parents become responsible for tuition fees, and where many ethnic groups have always given education preference to boys, girls are discouraged or denied their right to obtain education. The number of women who manage to reach advanced levels of education may become even smaller than previously.

However, despite all the problems women face during their schooling process, some have managed to push socio-economic, political and cultural boundaries and succeed academically, and some now occupy prestigious positions within formal institutions. They include, Mary Nagu, minister for Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children, Theresia Ngalula, director for The National Social Welfare Institute, Zakiya Meghji, minister of Health, and Anna Makinda, who has held different ministerial positions (EIU Country Report, 1995:3). Although it may be true that many of these women are from wealthy families whose members occupy high positions in political and ideological institutions, they provide a good example for what a woman can achieve with real assistance and support.

Within the political arena since independence there have been at least ten women ministers. After the 1965 elections there were 17 elected women out of a total of 218 members. In the 1990 elections, while women won only two seats, there were 25 women of 218 representatives in parliament (Swantz 1985:12-14). Also, in 1991 the government established the Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children. All of its ministers have been women.

But in other sectors the number of women formally employed is small, and many of them occupy low positions.

Economically, as in many developing countries, while many women have engaged in informal small-scale money generating projects in Tanzania, a few women have managed to establish large-scale businesses. Women's projects in Tanzania, both formal and informal, range from salon and kiosk-running, poultry-keeping, gardening, local brewing, dairy and pig-farming, to selling prepared food near their homes, at work and in market places (World Labour Report, 1995:21).

Along with the United Women of Tanzania Association (UWT), which was established in 1961 as an affiliated organization of the ruling party, there are a significant number of women's organizations in Tanzania, some established by women to help women improve their lives. Such organizations include Tanzania Media Women's Organization (TAMWA), which conducts research on issues relevant to women's lives, and which disseminates information necessary for women's development through the media; the Tanzania Women Lawyers' Organization (TWLO) which deals with legal rights of women in the country; the Women's Section within Labor Union (OTTU) which deals with women's issues in the work place.

Although these organization face many problems associated with a lack of skills among the women who run them, it is a step forward in the process of challenging traditions which perpetuate gender inequality in Tanzania. These women, few as they are, are role-models. They are a positive force, a strand on which other women can attach their unconventional and conventional activities, moving towards their goals. These women role-models have, to various degrees, managed to make use of discursive practices to their own advantage. They have managed to alter some of boundaries which separate them from men and the public sphere and important sectors within it. Their success can revive other women's voices, strengths, skills and visions which the status quo has suppressed and trivialized. Their struggles can help other women regain their energy, find joy and hope beyond their misery and despair, awaken women's desire to work harder so that they too can

overcome socio-economic, political and cultural obstacles, and enable them to imagine their lives beyond the traditional prescribed roles of women, mothers, wives and daughters. This concept of role-models is crucial, their successful strategies can be used by other women who also want to take charge of their lives.

Despite all the factors affecting women's participation in education a few women-role models across class, ethnic groups and religious lines in Tanzania have helped to neutralize false assumptions about women. They managed to side step obstacles and validate their overlooked, trivialized and ignored ideas and skills, and succeed in their lives. They have encouraged other women to stay strong and continue to work towards successfully completing their education, and provide guidance for their lives in general. Some of the life stories of these women will be presented in the following chapter.

#### 4.5 CONCLUDING ANALYSIS

The discussion in this chapter provides most of the answers asked in Chapter One. The fact that many problems which women encounter during their schooling process originate from outside school environment, and the fact that they are influenced by both micro and macro conditions, educational policies will continue to be inadequate to solve women's problem of insufficient schooling. This is to say that women's full access to education, and meaningful academic achievement will be reached when firstly, such problems are well dealt with, by both conventional and unconventional institutions. Secondly, when women become significantly aware about those problems, and get committed enough to strive for quality education.

Post-independence education policies were created to provide guidance in the search for national authenticity and a socialist society, but have failed to erase most of the capitalist features introduced and intensified during colonialism or the gender inequality in education (UNESCO, 1979). This has created a misleading image about a prevailing reality: while the problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania has remained complex and persistent, its identification has been

complicated by neo-patrimonial ideologies which conceal gender inequality and double women's burden by turning a blind eye to a rigid and unequal gender division of labor in the private sphere while obliging women to work in the public sphere, what is perceived as integrating women into developmental projects.

Educational policies have helped only a little in changing society's expectations of women in Tanzania, from the period before and during colonialism to post independence. Pre-colonial traditions placed women in a relatively subordinate status to men, during colonialism women's subordination was intensified, and post independence policies have not yet been able to erase the problem of gender inequality. In this sense, as with the case of the ideal African family (Riphenburg, 1997), men have implicitly continued to be the ultimate decision makers about the type and level of education a woman is expected to get, how they should be represented, and present themselves within the education system. Since the education system is predominantly male, policies which are formulated and established either enforce patriarchal values or do not challenge them.

The question of representation brings the problem of gender into a close relationship with questions surrounding the notion of identity, as discussed by Stuart Hall, (1996). As with the notion of identity, evaluation of gender inequality in education requires an identification of how women have been represented within the education system in Tanzania. How, on a general level, has that affected the way women perceive education and themselves? It also requires that women recognize that their perceptions are a result of changes which occurred and continue to occur in the context of socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics. Their perceptions about education are constantly in the process of change, multiplication, fragmentation and transformation.

It should also be acknowledged that women's perceptions of education are a result of historical moments such as colonialization, modernization and post-modernization (Hall, 1996). The problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania must be situated within those crucial historical developments and changes to understand the influences that such developments and

changes have had on the way this problem is presently viewed. During colonialism women were directly discriminated against in the public (formal) arena, and excluded from formal education, even when missionary schools began to enroll women, the education they offered was related to motherhood and child-care (Nyerere, 1973; Waylen, 1996).

During colonialism a few black African men, but many as compared to women who received a colonial education became the representatives of women in education. Women's lives, decisions and opinions were integrated into those of men by the colonizers. Through formal education males' attitudes about women became more negative than previously. Many men who reached high levels of education felt, and still feel, superior to and more civilized than those who stayed illiterate or semi-illiterate, and to women. For many women, formal education became something related to maleness, not of the females' domain, and something new and Western-oriented. Their attitude towards formal education was indifference and, especially in rural areas irrelevance.

Even after independence many ethnic groups continued to associate education with males. As Mbilinyi demonstrates, in the 1960s in the Swansea, Mwanza region many families selected only one or two boys in the family to go to school (UNESCO, 1980). This tendency for male preference for education may explain why, as reported by UNESCO, in the 1960s in Africa only 12 percent of the female population 15 years and over was literate. While a high degree of female illiteracy in developed societies was eradicated by 1970, 60.2 percent of women were illiterate in developing countries, especially in Africa.

Reasons for the persistence of gender inequality in education are complex and include socio-economic, political and cultural factors, at both micro and macro levels. These factors, which at both levels begin outside the school environment, strongly influence gender inequality within the school environment. Such factors existed even before colonialism, but their detrimental impact on the sexes was intensified during colonialism due to its discriminatory ruling system.

Post-colonial ideologies and education policies in Tanzania have been either inadequate to deal with gender inequality or to have trivialized it, indirectly allowing it to persist everywhere, including education. A tendency to reclaim traditional (original) ideologies in many ex-colonies, including Sudan and Tanzania, has been perceived as one way to perpetuate African patriarchal ideologies, many of which discriminate against women, and which, according to McFadden, are "the oldest and most entrenched systems of ideology". (in Hale, 1996) She maintains that such systems have been intensified by, among other factors, subservient attitudes imposed on females. These attitudes include culturally imposed constraints, "society's image of women which has helped form their own perception of their skills and limitation, and which influence the perceived choices available to them". (The World Bank Report, 1991:53) As well, cultural practices in relation to sexuality, particularly early marriage, mothering, and bride wealth (dowry), have led parents and female students to devalue education, especially at the advanced levels (Mbilinyi, 1991:4). Furthermore, women's roles as mothers and wives give them less exposure than men to new technologies and ideas (The World Bank Report, 1991:53).

The most discouraging aspect is the superficial attention and refusal to acknowledge these attitudes which contribute to the creation and perpetuation of gender inequality in education. As observed by Dr. N.A. Nwangwu (1974), the process of equalizing education tends to overlook certain aspects of life for both male and female students, including the student's background, economic conditions, cultural demands on the student's time and energy, the student's experiences in the classroom and the school environment in general, as well as employment prospects and gender issues. A close examination of these aspects often reveals that, overall, female students are affected more than male students. This fact adds to other reasons for female students' poor school attendance, and performance and high drop out rate. An evaluation of the contributing factors outside the school environment, at both micro and macro levels, is crucial to an understanding of their effects on education policies, and of gender inequality in education in Tanzania. It helps to

clarify how daily activities in the private and public spheres, at both national and international levels, influence policies and gender inequality in education.

On another level of evaluation, a close examination of the concept of independence becomes necessary. Just as colonialism affected people in many ways, differently from one to another and across socio-economic, cultural and political lines, independence did not mean the same thing to everyone. As has been argued by many scholars within the post-colonial discourse, such as Hall (1996), Frankenberg and Mani (1993), in many ex-colonies what was declared as independence was formal rather than practical, a political shift rather than real economic and cultural change.

At independence Tanzania was probably ready for a shift in political relations, but that did not imply the same for its economic and cultural sectors. The economic disparity—created by colonial rule between productive zones and labor reserved zones, along with a hybridized culture caused by foreign influences on people exists to the present day. Tanzania's post-colonial era continues to, as argued by Stuart Hall (1996), be "a time of difference". Tanzania's independence can also be conceived, according to Frankenberg and Mani's conception of independence, as more decisive than definitive. Furthermore, they contend that a shift in political relations does not immediately influence economic and cultural shifts. They believe like Hall that a non-uniform change in political, economic and cultural relations is the reason that the post-colonial period is also a time of difference. They contend that while some elements change along with political relations, some elements are modified, while some remain unchanged and continue to operate within the new relation, in their displaced positionality (Hall, 1996). The latter may be related to the hierarchied educational structure and gender inequality which persist in Tanzania even after independence.

As with Hall's statements on "after effects", the problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania can be viewed partly as a result of the effects of a colonial legacy-most of which continues to operate in displaced positionality within the new relations (1996:1). It is a continuation of the colonial legacy to keep social structures in a hierarchical order. Today in many African ex-

colonies an elite, ruling class, or individuals in key positions in the government, has become very corrupt. In 1992, corruption scandals involved the vice president and three ministers in Botswana (Modise 1992:1), in Tanzania, a 1997 report by Tanzania's former-prime minister Joseph Warioba's commission revealed many corruption scandals in which "so many prominent leaders are implicated" (New African February, 1997:22). Many of the powerful elite misappropriate government funds through embezzlement, fraud and scandalous allowances (Kiliwiko, 1994:7). Also, many of them have unlimited access to other national resources which they use for their personal needs. In many instances they squander government funds and other resources to make "adjustments to a western way of living", (Burns 1965:2) rather than directing resources towards more developmental projects for a majority of the people. There is probably still an unequal allocation of funds and other school facilities from one region to another, from one school to another, from one subject stream to another, and between sexes (The World Bank Report, 1991:57). In addition, the possibility for women to secure genuine alliances can also be affected by a declining economy, internal socio-economic, cultural and geographical diversity, and misuse of public funds

Furthermore, as in many post-colonial nations of Africa, in Tanzania the problem of gender inequality in education can be associated with a misconception about the role of the state. The state is perceived as "the guarantor of rights to its citizens". (Rajan, 1993:6) Such a perception assumes that all government policies are accepted, and require no challenge. This mistake contributes to concealing internal differences, and the fact that the state in many ex-colonies of Africa has "become a major perpetrator of injustices whether as a function of military power or political parties' electoral calculations, or economic power". (ibid.)

Like in many African societies, gender inequality in education in Tanzania can also be understood as the result of the effect of institutionalized patriarchal oppression, exploitation and discrimination against women (McFadden, 1995:42). These are among the many external factors, in addition to those within the school environment, which complement one another in the

production, reproduction and maintenance of women's subordination in all walks of life, including the schooling process. They are factors which oblige post-independence policies to consider and provide suitable direction to eradicate them.

Understanding gender inequality in education in Tanzania requires more than an evaluation of education policies. It should begin with a study of preschool conditions and experiences, which both male and female students face, to understand their influence on both male and female students' attitude towards education. In this sense, the evaluation also requires the "rearticulation of the relationship between subjects and discursive practices" (Hall & Gay, 1996:2) on all levels and dimensions of social interaction. It needs an evaluation of "processes of subjectification to discursive practices, which entails the politics of exclusion". (ibid.) However, for many Tanzanian women the question of subjectivity and its unconscious process of formation have not yet been acknowledged, and the dichotomous concept of gender attributes is still strongly believed. This has resulted in the trivialization of women's need for education.

Basic to women's liberation in Tanzania is, therefore, not only adding or including them in the schooling process as it appears in post independence educational policies' directives, but helping them

"become aware of the effects of male (class and racial) domination...of things that one knew but had repressed...of unbearable knowledge or experience which was kept unconscious via repression, in order to allow daily life of women, as subordinates and the oppressed to continue unchanged". (Eisenstein, in Johnson, 1991:12,13)

Such knowledge helps women focus more on their own worth and a sense of urgency than on their oppression and their victimization. This strategy may also change women's attitudes about education in Tanzania and it may, over time influence changes in education policies to the advantage of a majority of women.

Consciousness raising can be achieved by informing women about how their status as women has been discursively constructed by power systems from the personal to international levels. Women must also be cautioned not to be blinded by post colonial political slogans, most of which portray colonialism as the sole cause of women's problems and independence as the only

source of their liberation. They should be reminded that the Tanzanians who replaced colonial officials in high positions within different institutions had, themselves, received a colonial education. They were taught to think and rationalize in Western terms which, according to Kulke, are rooted in the Enlightenment's instrumental rationalism (Groot and Maynard, 1993:132,142), a theoretical construct which formalizes equality, in terms of "both constituting and legitimizing social uniformity and egalitarianism...without taking diversity into account". (ibid:142) Such a colonial legacy is clearly manifest in education policies which have, since independence, concentrated on homogenizing equality, and paying lip service to students' diversity. These policies conceal social diversity across socio-economic, cultural, geographical, gender and religious lines, and, crucially, "in the case of women, the historicity of the social construction of differences and roles". (ibid.) Women must know that all these elements influence peoples' attitude towards education and their ability to perform. Tanzanian social diversity has been complicated by multiplicity of colonial experiences which have had a varied influence in different localities and among various ethnic groups. It is a diversity rooted in its Arab and Islamic past, its German and British colonial rules, and in the combination of values and customs of African traditions.

Women need help to realize that they are not less intelligent than men, that they can independently make rational choices for their lives, that they can perform well in education, and succeed in life without necessarily becoming a man's puppet. This requires that women to be able to visualize and recognize their self worth, power and weaknesses. Such recognition will bring women into a direct relationships with power systems at both micro and macro levels. It will situate each of them within the socio-economic, cultural and political hierarchical order. Using their prior experience in these areas, each woman must be able to identify areas where her power and strength was effectively applied, as well as where its articulation was denied, and be able to explain why. Women have to recognize lessons from past experience and identify what is useful in their present situations, and be able to make effective use of it to reach their intended goal.

Since experience appears to be crucial to the study of gender inequality in education in Tanzania, the diversity of experiences which exists between and within sexes is a significant aspect of this investigation. It accommodates the diversity based on social, economic, cultural, religious and geographical factors, in space and over different periods of time. This study also emphasizes on the usefullness of exchanging ideas, and urge women in various circumstances to forge coalitions among themselves based on common experiences to be used as points of "suture" or intersection (Hall and Gay, 1996), where the strength drawn from past experience and the strength developed by women's present situation can be grafted together to redefine their problems as women, the causal factors and suggest alternative solutions. Women's awareness about their situation and their struggles to rearticulate their relations to the power system are what can bring about genuine changes in educational policy, changes which will positively impact on their schooling process and their lives in general. The following chapter illustrates multiple dimensions of experiences that certain women went through, and various types of struggles they undertook to stay in school and better their living conditions.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES REFLECTING PROBLEMS THEY ENCOUNTER DURING THEIR SCHOOLING PROCESS

#### INTRODUCTION

Many challenges to the educational policies in Tanzania have confirmed that what exists in Tanzania's post-colonial educational system is a genuine conflict between expectations and realities (H. Hinzen, in UNESCO, 1979:7-11). As Elizabeth Dore (1997:11) has stated, it is a conflict "grounded in an ideological pretense to reinforce appearances of homogeneity and harmony", and conceal existing complex and contradictory conditions which influence gender inequality in education. Women's participation in education, especially at the advanced levels, is still poor and different from men's participation. Also, because Tanzania, as with many underdeveloped countries, has limited resources, it is difficult for the government to afford enough facilities for schools in the whole country, and to provide practical support for all students during their schooling process. Furthermore, despite the ideological choice of socialism, the educational system more reflects the capitalist social values which existed during colonialism than those of socialism. The educational system is still largely an elite system (UNESCO, 1979), which reflects, more or less, the dichotomous hierarchies among students whose degrees of participation and possibility of completing schooling implicitly depends on the geographical locations of their families, economic class, social status and gender. To a large extent, it is still a system whereby those who have wealth, a prestigious social status, and power, what Giddens calls "mediate credentials" (Grabb, 1990: 173-174, 158), are more likely to achieve their academic goals than not. In addition, confirming Waylen's (1996:1) observation, socialist expectations about equal access to education do "not have the same impact on women as on men". The ideology of socialism has either overlooked or trivialized the influences that "politics of location", including gender, socioeconomic, political and cultural positions have on problems women face in the process of obtaining education in Tanzania (Mbilinyi 1983; Kiliwiko, 1992:7). These elements usually, "stand for one

another". (Dore, 1997:14) They are crucial aspects of life, through which both conventional and unconventional systems establish, objectify and legitimize knowledge about certain categories of people and phenomena in society. They are aspects through which power systems establish procedures which restrict, exclude and sanction those who are viewed as deviant, peculiar, inappropriate, ineligible, and unqualified. Gender, socio-economic, cultural and political conditions are among those aspects on which the order of discourses are formulated and maintained (Foucault, 1970).

The following are five stories which have been extracted from interviews with five Tanzanian women selected from ten interviews to illustrate some of the problems women experience in their schooling process. All of the interviews were conducted in Swahili, the language all of the women interviewees were comfortable communicating in. Three of these interviews delineate achievements the women have reached despite the limitations against them. These stories can be related to what is often revealed in writings, including Tanzania's Women's Magazine, Sauti ya Siti, and discussed in articles by Mbarwa Kivuyo (1995:1), Lawrance Kiliwiko (1992:7), Stella Bendera (1994:4), and in the World Bank Report (1991:53).

#### 5.1 CASE STUDIES

#### Case study (one)

Deborah Kabula is a 30 year old woman currently living in Canada with her former employer's family as her sponsor. She was born to a farming and grazing family in a rural area of Mwanza Region in Tanzania. Deborah is a third child in a family of eight children, four of which are females and four males. Deborah was the eldest of the female siblings. She attended Ngw'ashi primary school, located about five kilometers from her own village. She had to walk ten kilometers five days a week. Like many other female students, every morning she had to do household work before she went to school cooking porridge for siblings for breakfast, doing the dishes and sweeping the house and yard in front of the house. She started working like that when she was

four years old. When she began attending school no one took over her duties. Most of the time after school she helped her exhausted mother prepare supper instead of doing her school homework. Like her mother, she usually went to bed late and woke up early. Sometimes she did not even have time to eat breakfast. She often went to school tired and hungry. While her school attendance was excellent (because to her going to school was a break from household chores) her performance was poor because most of the time she was too tired to concentrate during class.

Deborah completed her primary education (grade seven) but she was among many female students who were not selected for secondary school level education. It should be remembered that since in Tanzania the official age for children to begin school is seven, girls complete primary education at puberty. At this stage children experience biological/physiological changes and some psychological confusion. It is a transitional stage from childhood to adulthood.

For many ethnic groups in the country, puberty is viewed as a proper age for females to marry. In Deborah's ethnic group dowry price, which ranges from fifteen to forty cows, is another issue to consider. Deborah arrived at an intersection where she was faced with an academic setback, and with biological changes, which in her ethnic group means marriage and motherhood, a source of wealth for her family.

Deborah and her two girlfriends had not wanted to marry young. Inspired by what they read about Western products and the life style in urban areas, they wanted to leave their village for what they thought would be a luxurious life in a big city. They also dreamed of marrying a wealthy and educated man. Their aim was to be able to live in an urban area and get away from such cultural demands as early marriage. However, according to Deborah, they did not know how they could make this happen. It was like arriving at the intersection when traffic lights do not work, something which paralyses traffic from all directions for a while.

A year passed before Deborah and her two friends (she did not want to mention their names) could find a way to leave their village in a rural area, and escape from some of the local traditions. One Sunday it was announced in the church that a team of four agricultural extension

workers were in their village to help introduce peasants to new methods of cropping. These workers were government employees, appointed to work with farmers in their villages for three months.

After a month Deborah became romantically involved with one of these extension workers named Mr. Edward. She wanted Mr. Edward to take her with him when the assignment was completed in her village. Unfortunately, he was married, and he was afraid to lose his job if the affair was discovered. Before he left he gave Deborah some money and the address where he worked in the city where she could find him when she managed to leave the village.

Nine months passed before Deborah could find a convincing reason to leave her family and go to live in the city. She decided to write to Edward and ask him to write her a letter, pretending he was an employer replying to Deborah's job application. Edward did that, and Deborah managed to leave her village. When she got to the city Mr. Edward was not there, having been transferred to another town. His friend, Mr.John took Deborah home to his family. When he asked Deborah why she wanted to live in the city, her answer was "to find a job". With a discouraging tone he said, "but you are not qualified for any kind of a formal employment". She replied, " it does not matter, after all I know how to read and write".

At this point, Deborah did not want to return, she wanted to go forward and see what would happen.

It makes sense to think that every adventure has to start somewhere, and that life is a struggle. Sometimes once you commit yourself to what you believe in, it is better to stand for such a commitment to realize its end result. It means working hard, staying strong, and couragious. Do not quit. When things get tough, bitter to swallow, so exhausting and tormenting, cry if necessary, but do not give up. It is better to stay and struggle because sometimes just a step makes a huge difference. (my emphasis)

Deborah had a strong commitment towards success right from the beginning because, as happens in many cases after not finding Mr. Edward, Deborah could have easily decided to go back to her home village, but she did not want to. She was ready to move on to the next step. She was ready to adjust her thoughts, attitude, behavior, and other aspects of her identity to find out

whether there were other possibilities open to her. With Mr. Edward, there was a possibility for Deborah to live in the city as his mistress, and maybe later as a single mother. With Mr. John who was a stranger acting with a humanitarian basis, her future prospects were still unknown and hard to anticipate. She faced her fears and decided to take a chance, and accepted an offer from a stranger.

John's family liked Deborah because she was a very hard working girl. She was like a family member to them. Deborah lived with them for about four months; then one day John came from work with news for her. An European expatriate working in the country in collaboration with John's office wanted a person to do household work for him. John told Deborah that he had already told this expatriate about her, and that she could do the job.

Although Deborah was terrified she agreed to take the job anyway. It was her first job offer, and also cash payment for the work she did. Getting paid was the exiting part Her major worry was how to communicate with her employer given the language barrier. She did not know how to communicate in English. This scared her but she did not want to lose the job.

At the same time there was an adult literacy campaign in the country launched by the government in collaboration with the Institution for Adult Education through Correspondence. Mr. John helped her enroll for English language lessons, and that was the beginning of Deborah's next academic process.

Deborah worked for a European expatriate and did her correspondence lessons, gradually advancing from one level to another. Eventually, she became able to communicate with a few sentences with her European boss, who helped her to improve her verbal skills. By the end of his contract, Deborah had already done an examination at the secondary level and passed. The European expatriate had to leave for England. As an appreciation for good service he received from Deborah he promised that he would try to invite her to visit his family in London, and would also try to find a long-term sponsorship for her. Deborah then went back to live with John's family.

After a month or so John helped her to find a job as a receptionist in a private company, where she worked for three years.

One day Deborah received a letter from her European former employer inviting her to visit his family, surprisingly not in London as anticipated, but in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. She was so happy. Before she left the country, she went back to her home village, and spent two weeks with her family. When she arrived in Canada her host family helped her complete computer and fashion design courses. She expects to return to Tanzania and establish her own business in fashion design.

In this case, the problems that limited Deborah's participation in the postcolonial education system were influenced by cultural demands and the geographical location of her family. Firstly, her experience reveals the traditional unequal division of labor between the sexes. This division of labor burdens women with multiple roles, limiting their time for participation in education. Secondly, the geographical distance between the area where her family was located and modern amenities, including formal school (five kilometers), was another exhausting daily practice in addition to her routine household chores. Thirdly, her family was located in a rural area where local traditions were/are strongly upheld and formal education, especially for women, was viewed as a secondary priority. Fourthly, traditional demands such as early marriage, which was/is still intense because of its dowry price in her ethnic group, undermined the significance of formal education. Generally, Deborah's desire for education was intersected and thwarted by cultural and geographical obstacles.

A close observation indicates that Deborah's strategy sprang from the fourth stumbling block (traditional demand of early marriage). While she tolerated household chores, and the long walk to and from school, early marriage was too much for her to handle. Also psychologically/biologically, the mood swings, and rebellious attitude which many teenagers develop during puberty might have contributed to strengthening her desire to escape from rural life. Deborah managed to evade a demand for early marriage, and it became a bridge which linked

her to an urban and a different life. Her fear of early marriage became a positive force which pushed her across the rural, traditional boundaries imposed on women, across household work that she had been doing since she was four and later across national geographic boundaries.

In the city she found herself at another junction of disappointment which was intersected by a new gender relationship, and a force towards new anticipation. This situation required her to adjust her identity, to cope with new situation. In the process of adjusting, her household expertise revived and became helpful in winning John's family's love and trust. In the long run, the love and trust this family had for her became another force which helped Deborah to move forward to the achievements she has now attained.

Every experience has its good and bad side. In some experiences both sides are well defined and easy to identify, in some experiences one has to put an extra effort to see both them. What is viewed as a positive experience by one person, does not necessarily mean the same for every person. It is, therefore, up to each person to identify what works best and know when to apply it towards the intended goal.

Tanzania, like many African societies, is predominantly patriarchal and patrilineal. Male rights and authority are acknowledged as above those of women (Greenstreet, 1981:14). In many ethnic groups, especially in rural areas, such traditions are strongly upheld by both males and females. Gender division of labor is rigid. A female member of the family begins practicing the mother's role at four years of age. Education for women is generally seen as a foreign, Western idea, and unimportant. "A woman is supposed to get married, have children and accept the traditional role of wife and mother". (French, 1994:278) In Deborah's ethnic group wifehood and motherhood and define social status, through which "a conceptual terrain about women is formed, produced and maintained". (Foucault, 1970:48) Deborah was not supposed to think beyond such a paradigm, beyond such reasoning (ibid.). By thinking beyond the generally accepted paradigm she was risking to be labeled as deviant, unfeminine, hard to handle, and even be sanctioned to deter other women. Gender division of labor was discursively used to gradually suppress, and

eventually shatter, Deborah's desire for education, and limit her desire for alternative choices, other than wifehood and motherhood. It is one way of objectifying and formalizing the male/female dichotomous paradigm.

Deborah's story is fascinating. It illustrates her energy, patience, resilience, focus, flexibility, and willingness to change. These are crucial qualities if a person wants to succeed in life. Deborah illustrates the fact that "everything is out there", that limitations which are imposed on various discourses do not necessarily represent the scarcity of resources and opportunities available in society. Rather, they exist to partly protect those who hold and do not like to lose valuable resources and significant position in the global village and partly to keep social order. In Deborah's case the tradition of early marriage persists because it is also a source of accumulating wealth through dowry price for a bride's family which is headed and controlled by a male.

### Case study (two)

This story is the result of an interview with Lea, a 40 year old Tanzanian woman doing her Masters Degree in Sociology at the University of Iowa in the United States. She came to Montreal to visit her friend Zena and I met her during a Tanzanian functions in Ottawa. Her educational profile is interesting, a story of many women who left their humble backgrounds to become educated and middle class women in Tanzania.

Lea is the second born in a family of six children, two females and four males. Her father is a peasant. Her family lives in a semi-urban area, on the outskirts of a small town. She began her schooling story with what, to her, was a very painful experience. Lea was still at an elementary level of education in grade six, when she experienced her first menstruation. This change kept her from attending school for one month because in her ethnic group the first menstruation symbolizes a new stage of femininity, a stage when a girl must stay indoors to be initiated into womanhood. She was not sure whether she would be allowed to go back to school or not because while she was still indoors, her family received twenty cows as half of her dowry for a pre-arranged marriage.

In a more or less similar way to Deborah's situation, Lea fell victim to a cultural discursive practice. The traditional culture manifested its claims with both ideological and practical reality. The initiation ceremony, which is practiced by certain ethnic groups in Tanzania, can be interpreted as another—reminder to women of their supposedly primary roles of social reproduction and sexuality. On the other hand, these are the roles used by power systems in the formation of women's identities and subjectivity. The main lessons women hear from their traditional educators during the whole period that they are kept out of school (which varies from one ethnic group to another) are focused on how to be a good wife and mother. Traditionally, a decent woman stays a virgin until she marries; a good wife is the one who becomes subservient to her husband, submitting to all of his demands. She understands that the concept of rape does not apply within a marriage (the concept of rape in Tanzania has been discussed in French ed., 1994:227); generally a wife does everything to please her husband. A good mother is the one who takes care of everybody else's needs in the family, and considers her own needs as secondary.

These ideas are usually emphasized during the initiation ceremony. Women's desire for education is suppressed and gradually destroyed. For those who do not go back to school, who marry right after the initiation ceremony, something which was probably expected to happen in Lea's situation, getting educated turns into a fantasy, a day-dream, and something unreal. Paying dowry is another traditional strategy, a discursive practice which manipulates women into believing that the status of wife and mother can be rewarding. It is a weapon used to reconstruct woman's identities in a way that women's identification stays within the parameters of wifehood and motherhood. Often, education, which requires a long term investment loses the battle. In Lea's case the initiation ceremony took place at the moment when education could not rescue her. The enemy, cultural taboos, attacked her when the skills and knowledge acquired from education, a tool she could have used to fight this tradition, were still weak, crude and undefined. While she was no longer an illiterate girl, academically she was not yet mature enough to stand up for her desired future. The level of education she had obtained at the moment of her first menstruation

placed her at an intersection without clear guidance, unable to identify any effective and applicable means to suppress such traditions. It was also a stage when her adolescent body was undergoing psychological and physiological changes towards maturity, a transformation process which added to the intensity of her crisis.

Lea could have been married just after her initiation ceremony if her would be bridegroom had not impregnated another girl during the same period and been forced to marry her. Fortunately, Lea went back to school. She missed a lot of classes and it was very hard to catch up with the other students. When she entered grade seven, the last year for elementary education in Tanzania, she found a friend named Ema, whose family was richer and more secularized than hers. Ema became a good influence on her because she worked so hard on her school work, and always talked about becoming a doctor. Many boys did not like her, and they nicknamed her "Mzee (an elderly) Reuben", because of her seriousness about education. They even tried to end her friendship with Lea, but they did not succeed. After missing a month of school Lea needed someone like Ema to help her catch up with many subjects. They did homework together, and according to Lea, Ema was always very helpful.

The end of elementary education came and they did their pre-secondary education examination. Ema was selected for a secondary level education, but Lea was not. That was another intersection, Lea was faced with an academic setback, a separation from her friend Ema, andthe possibility that her family would force her into marriage. However, Ema did not want to leave her friend behind. She tried to talk to her father, a teacher, to see if there was anything he could do to help her. "There are two options", her father said, "Lea can repeat grade seven when the school opens, or join Grade C Teachers' Training College". Ema rushed to tell Lea about her father's suggestion. Lea was very happy and grateful to Ema's family. She opted joining TTC because she wanted to get away and escape the marriage trap. Ema's father made arrangement with one of the colleges, claiming that Lea was his relative. To convince her parents, Lea had to lie

about the arrangement with Ema's family, and convince them that she had passed her examination, not for secondary education, but for Teachers' Training College. Her family was content.

During Lea's last year at TTC on her field work attachment, she met Mr.William who became her boyfriend. Mr. William was a university graduate, who occupied a government administrative position in the Regional Commissioner's office. They got married two years later, when Lea was in her second year as a teacher. Due to her husband's occupation, they were entitled to a government owned house, car and a driver. She was driven to work and back home daily. They also hired a housegirl for housekeeping and cooking while Lea and her husband were at work.

However, despite it all, Lea still felt as though something was missing in her life. Nothing seemed enough to fill the gap she knew existed between her own and her husband's academic achievement, as well as between her's and Ema's academic achievements. By that time Ema was in Form five (a Cegep level). Lea often felt insecure, jealous and suspicious of many women, especially her husband's school mates and coworkers. She felt inferior to all of them, and was very upset. Her inferiority complex kept her from attending the parties, either official or attended by well educated people who knew Lea's husband. From her experience these people sought out personal information including one's level of education, schools attended, and the kind of job they did until they had defined a person's social status and then dismissed or befriended her/him. Lea thought about it and because she had not attended secondary school she hated going to these parties. Life was very challenging. She loved her husband and leaving him was out of question, but Lea felt that she did not fit in her husband's social life. She wanted to do something about it.

After her second child was born Lea told her husband that she wanted to go back to school. By the time she decided to tell him, she had already received an acceptance from Chango'mbe Teacher's College, for a year and a half upgrading programme. Her husband did not object, because the College was in the same city where they lived, and Lea opted to be an off-campus

student. When she completed this programme her title as a Grade C teacher changed, and she became a Grade A teacher.

Fifteen months after her graduation she had her third child. The following year she applied for mature entry status at the University of Dar-es-salaam, in an undergraduate program in sociology. This time she did not succeed. But she did not give up. Through the Adult education programme she took a number of courses in sociology, and attended many related seminars. She kept applying at the University every academic year. Three years later she was finally admitted into an undergraduate programme in sociology at the University of Dar-es-salaam. Again she opted to stay off campus and she was driven to and from school daily. Lea's husband's status helped her to escape the sexual harassment often experienced by female students at the University. She worked hard and completed her programme. She was appointed to teach at a secondary school level and taught for three years before she received a scholarship for a Masters Degree in sociology at the University of Iowa in the US.

At this point Lea's struggle for education had paid off. However, Lea was no longer a young girl. She has three children and a husband to think about. Leaving them behind was not an easy decision to make. This time going for further academic advancement conflicted with her love and commitment to her family. It was a package filled with mixed feelings of happiness and sadness. She did not want her family to feel abandoned, yet she thought education was still necessary to her. Suggestions from her friends contained different messages. Some friends thought that by going away Lea was giving her husband a chance to get involved with other women, so she could ruin her marriage. Some told her she should have applied for a short term program. Only a few of her friends encouraged her to go for Masters programme. She remembered one of her friends telling her, "You know, men always cheat on their wives, whether they are with them home or not", and "Your husband is a good father. You should not worry much about your children, they will be just fine". That statement encouraged her. Three months later Lea left the country to pursue her studies in the US. She is now in her final year in the programme.

Lea is a strong and determined woman. Even if she had married after her initiation period it probably would not have killed her hope of obtaining an education in the future. She did not give up easily. The process of going back to school was made possible initially by the original bridegroom's behavior. Later, the possibility of staying in school was nourished by Lea's ability to befriend a committed student (Ema), and her ability to effectively use her relationship with Ema to her advantage. It was also the outcome of her willingness to adjust her identity to the new environment of her marriage. She found a positive way to negotiate and cope with emerging power relations, in a dialectical struggle between pleasure, identification and discomfort, which pulled her out of her spouse's social life (Petty, 1991:8).

Lea knew what she really wanted was an advanced education. She strategically adjusted her multiple, transforming identities to help her eventually obtain advanced education. She made sure that the new identity reconfiguration stayed active in the continuing struggle for education, which had been suppressed during her initiation ceremony, and could have been weakened by married life. She managed to escape the adverse cultural demands. Lea's personal struggle for education challenges the political rhetoric on the integration of women into developmental projects, and on educational policies which enlarge equal access to education. Lea is the kind of woman whose thoughts do not rest in the past. She places herself in the transitional process, is flexible and willing to work for a change in her life. She would agree with Homi Bhabha, who during his interview with Jonathan Rutherford, argued that "in any particular struggle, new sites are always being opened up". (Petty, 1991:15) To make productive use of such new sites is to not abandon all of the old principles but stop anchoring all of her/his identities in a totally essentialised past. (ibid.) Lea's strength and courage provide a positive image for other women who are in a similar struggle.

# Case study (three)

Josephine is a 47 year old woman, born in Rwanda and raised in Tanzania. She completed her Masters degree in International Relations, in political science, at the University of Western

Ontario in London, Ontario. She is currently a landed immigrant in Canada, struggling to find a job in her profession or join a Ph.D. programme in the same field at any University that will accept her. Josephine did not want to talk about her school experience in Tanzania, but about the force behind her academic and life struggles in Canada, where she came as an International Student.

She began her story with what to her was the most painful experience of all. She left her three children in Tanzania when she came in Canada for her advanced education. When she left Tanzania for the first time, her last born baby was only 18 months old.

It still hurts so much, whenever I remember the day I left the country", she said. After a sip of wine Josephine continued, "At the Dar-es-salaam Airport the moment of departure came when I had to separate from my family. My elder sister took the baby from my arms. It was the hardest part of the whole experience. For a few minutes the baby did not realize what was happening, then the gate opened and I had to leave. The baby cried and cried and made everybody cry too. The experience of that emotional moment has stuck into my head, I can never forget.

Josephine remembered how she could not stop crying. She sobbed all the way to Amsterdam, and could not eat. On the plane her situation drew the attention of many passengers, who felt sorry for her and tried to console her. She became exhauted both physically and emotionally.

At Amsterdam airport where she had an eight hour stop over before boarding another plane to Canada, rather than looking for a temporary visa to allow her go downtown, she found a comfortable seat and fell asleep. A passenger-friend who wanted to say good-bye to her woke her up when it was time for him to catch his plane. She realized that she had been asleep for four hours. She thanked him, and wished him all the best. Josephine went to freshen up in the bathroom then got something to eat. After some time she was aboard the plane to Canada.

Josephine stopped there, and after a pause she said,

Experience has been a base for all of my struggles for education and a life in Canada. Nothing can ever hurt me the way I was hurt that day. Nothing, nothing can ever be compared to the risk I took as a mother when I left my children behind, not knowing what the next day held for them. I have never experienced as much guilt as I felt and still feel for abandoning my own children for education. No memory has ever been so tormenting as that one. You see as a mother and wife, I do not fit into any society. I have crossed, not just geographical boundaries, but the boundaries of my culture too.

She paused for a while, drank more wine, and continued,

On the other hand, through these experiences of pain, fear and guilt over having hurt and created a retrogressive void in my children's lives I have subconsciously reinforced some changes in my attitude. I have developed a strong desire to want to make up for my children. This has helped me to work hard, not just on my academic journey, but in whatever process I happen to engage myself with. I have come to learn to acknowledge my limitations and try to work beyond them, instead of encouraging a self-pitying state, or getting easily discouraged. I no longer embrace any idea which makes me feel inferior, inadequate, ineligible an outsider. I know in this society resources and opportunities can be more difficult to get for certain categories of people than others, at different periods of time and in some sectors. As stipulated in Canada's Immigration Guide, a landed immigrant can be accepted for a profession job by a Canadian employer only after being validated by a Human Resources Canada Centre that no suitably qualified Canadian is available to fill the position (EGE700, 02/98:4). Therefore, there are some resources and opportunities that are difficult for me to get in this society because of my status as an immigrant. However, there are always a few resources and opportunities which have been designed to help immigrants integrate into this society. So I have decided to begin with what is available at my disposal, instead of dwelling on what I can currently not get because of my social status, which is presently blocking my path to prosperity. I prefer to focus on how being different, a minority, can help me to become creative and cope with various situations in this foreign society, especially during this time when cutbacks to human resources are the order of the day.

Josephine paused again for a short while, then she continued,

Most of all, I have come to strongly believe that the greatest gift I can ever give to my children is for me to live my wildest dream. That is to keep struggling until I obtain a doctoral degree and get a job in my specialty. I believe by reaching such an intended goal I will be giving my children a chance to live their dreams too. Such an achievement will also teach them that sometimes a person has to make tough decisions in order to succeed in life.

She paused again, and reflecting on her past academic experience, she continued,

It has been a long journey of struggle. Initially, as an international student, I was first hit by a cultural shock. The teaching methods in the classroom were very different from those used in Tanzania. For instance, I found here it is more of a class discussion, rather than listening and paying attention to what a teacher has to say. Also, I found teaching methods here allow a greater participation from students. However, at the beginning I was often disturbed by the way students would sometimes talk to their teachers and behave during classes, and some of their outfits were quite different, and seemed very strange to me. Many students appeared confident, well focused, individualistic, and they appeared to keep themselves busy most of the time. That scared me a little bit because, as a woman of my culture, I was still haunted by the teaching methodology dominant in Tanzania, by which students, especially female students, are mostly expected to learn by listening, expected to ask unchallenging questions in a polite way, and behave in a manner viewed as proper for a woman in the classroom. I did not know yet how to break through that behavior barrier. I wished that what we learned about the academic system during an orientation phase had been more elaborated and inclusive. Then I told myself, Josephine this experience is nothing compared to what you have put your children through, find a way that will help you cope with the situation. Another discouraging thing was that although I could sense that other international students were having similar experiences, nobody dared to talk about it. There were a number of services available for international students. However, given the fact that I was trying to adjust to many things all at once, and the school work load was overwhelming to me, it took some time to realize the importance of these services in my situation.

Another challenging experience was the advanced technology. I was so amazed by the abundance of textbooks available in the library, some very recently published. I realized that most of the textbooks are found by using a computer, a technology which was new to me. However, the librarians were very helpful and it did not take much time before I got used to this technology.

After completing my Masters programme, the main problem has been to find a job in my profession, and earn a reasonable income large enough to sponsor my children. It is different from what a Masters degree holder could have expected to experience in Tanzania-not only that it has been so difficult to find a job in my profession, but that sometimes I had to hide my qualification to get accepted for a job, and I was always employed on temporary basis. When it becomes very difficult to find reasonable employment I even look for low paying jobs just to survive. I have never wanted to apply for a welfare assistance because of a negative social stigma such assistance usually creates in person's life. I will keep trying, hoping that one day things will work out for me. Going back to school is my next step. Who knows, maybe after completing my Ph.D. the luck will be on my side, and I will finally give my children the best gift of all.

Josephine's case is very informative and interesting. My interview was something she had been waiting to scream out from her silence. Her school experience in Tanzania as a woman was nothing compared to the drastic and traumatic separation from her children. It was a sudden change which loosened the knot of her mother-child relationship. The thought of going to school abroad displaced her identities, leaving her confused, in a state of what Derrida would describe as "thinking at the limit", or "in the interval", of being "dislodged and dislodging". (Hall, 1996:1)

The definition of motherhood in Josephine's culture, the boundaries that have discursively been constructed to surround this social status, and the sanctions that have been established to either punish or reward those who defy or embrace motherhood strengthen women's ties to motherhood. When Josephine's academic demand forced such ties to loosen up, that experience generated pain, fear of the unknown, and a guilty consciousness. Pain, fear and guilt are feelings that cultural discursive practices have used to strategically instill in women's minds. In this case they could have weakened Josephine's effort towards advanced academic achievement abroad. However, she was able to turn these negative feelings into a positive force towards achieving her intended goal. She has blended them together to generate positive energy from which her new struggles stem.

Josephine's struggles included the adjustment she had to make to obtain a further education in a new environment as an international student, from Tanzania, and problems faced later when

looked for a job in her profession, as an immigrant. These two points connect women's obstacles towards participation in postcolonial education in Tanzania to a macro analysis, to a level where such obstacles can be explained within a global framework. Josephine's story helps to situate women's problems of schooling in Tanzania within a framework which includes Diaspora issues such as voluntary and forced migration trends from the Third World to developed countries (from the periphery to the core). It is a migration which usually includes students, professionals, political exiles, businessmen/women and refugees, an issue which Hall would include in his notion of the "after effects" of colonialism. Josephine's case, therefore, helps to explore the nature of the continuing relationships between ex-colonies and ex-colonizing countries. It enables one to look into the lives of such immigrants in these developed countries, to how much the question of "Otherness" (Said, 1978 in Joshi, 1991:225-226) still affects immigrants' access to resources, the right to opportunity, and property ownership. It highlights how differing degrees of "otherness", as created by dominant ideologies through their historical discursive processes of racial formation (Waylen, 1996; Frankenberg and Mani, 1993), have some influence in making the lives of some immigrants in developed countries better than their fellow immigrants, in terms of how they relate to power systems and their access to resources and the right to opportunity. The influence of such differing relations to the power systems among immigrants contributes in creating various levels of "Otherness", whereby immigrants in certain categories feel superior and despise other categories of immigrants is challenged (Frankenberg and Mani, 1993). However, for the pupose of this analysis, the discussion will be limited to looking into issues concerning academic life for international students.

Leaving for further studies in a country defined as developed, and of a different culture, requires a foreign student to make many adjustments. Crossing geographical boundaries is not the only thing that happens: intellectual, cultural, behavioral, and language boundaries are also crossed and shaken. A student is supposed to be much more critical, and ready to face many incidents, both expected and unexpected ones. Getting an education abroad is a very tricky process, and is

sometimes so difficult that a student might want to give up. It is not automatically a smooth process always leading students to meaningful academic achievement. There are a lot of ups and downs associated with the process. Unfortunately, many international students take some time to realize that, and some do so only when it is already too late. Getting an education abroad may be a very discouraging process. To avoid negative academic experiences, international students must be more critical, open minded, and ready to work practically to identify their position while adjusting themselves to new power systems which surround them during their schooling process in the foreign countries. They should not be preoccupied with fantasies that the process will be pleasant and smooth, limited to advanced academic changes alone. Such projections may conceal other crucial factors which must be considered to succeed.

Furthermore, foreign students from many developing countries, especially from excolonies like Tanzania, should remind themselves that since formal education was introduced by European colonizers, most academic programs in their home countries correspond to the dominant ones in developed countries. As a colonial legacy the academic standards and the quality of academic programmes in their home counties will generally be viewed as less rigorous and less sophisticated than in the developed countries. It is also prudent to consider that their country's socio-economic, cultural, and political influences will affect their academic performance abroad, for better or worse. They should also understand that further adjustments are required to accept the new place's teaching methodology and technological advancement. If a study is conducted about how foreign students prepare themselves to pursue studies in developed countries, it may confirm that these issues are seldom considered as necessary by many international students.

Adjusting to a different teaching methodology, technology, language, and culture, especially for Tanzanian women, usually becomes the most frustrating aspect of academic life. Many of them spend much of the time in their programmes being frustrated. Some of them may even return to Tanzania without completing their programmes. Difficult as it may appear to justfy, even those who manage to complete their programs "rarely gain the academic sophistication"

(Joshi, 1991:224) at the level recognized in the Western education system. Like their fellow women in Tanzania who manage to graduate from University they complete their programmes and obtain a more advanced education, but with less sophistication as compared to those obtained by many resident female students.

It is understood that many international students come from different environments, some from poor countries with scarce teaching facilities, and with limited technology. In Tanzania these conditions have contributed to the adaptation of a teaching methodology based on note copying (copy-copy method), rote methods of learning, and a teaching methodology which relies on a few selected text-books as references (Mbilinyi, 1991). A student whose desire for education, attitude, and academic capability was developed and shaped within such an environment and educational system differs from a student from a rich Western environment. Despite such deficiencies and a constrained educational system, a non-Western student is implicitly expected by both the sponsoring body and the hosting University to automatically study under the full weight of the existing standard in Western education system, and complete his/her studies within a designated time.

Also, due to differing education systems and schooling experiences a foreign student may appear peculiar, or even timid to other students and teachers. Although this is a false impression, it may make a foreign student feel like an outsider, and unacceptable. It may even make resident academics think the foreign student is not capable. They may reveal an indifferent attitude when dealing with international students, something which again has its roots in their socio-economic, cultural and political socialisation, which in many cases causes an ethnocentric arrogance. For many foreign students the indifferent attitude towards them sends a chilling and unfriendly message. They may feel isolated, and when they face academic difficulties they may not approach anyone because of the fear of being considered stupid. During classes many international students may prefer to remain quiet. Often, they do not ask questions or participate in class discussions because they assume that their ideas are going to be viewed as irrelevant or be dismissed.

For similar reasons, many international students hesitate to make use of support and advocacy services. Depending on the circumstances in which a student find herself, using such services can feel like a confirmation of misinterpretations about herself/himself. If an international student finds the courage to seek help from the support services available to students, at the counter her/his presence appears to surprise the receptionist, who might say "usually we do not get students at your academic level". This statement may be interpreted in many ways including "here your academic background does not count, at this academic level you are not supposed to receive this kind of support". After such an experience it is unlikely that the student will return for any academic support services. What does such a comment do to a student's self-esteem? What would other international students think if this student has the courage to tell them? With the good intentions such services were established for, they serve as landmarks on which academic systems of exclusion discursively construct, confirm, and perpetuate subjectivity towards certain categories of students.

In this case the problem of subjectivity is a question of representation. It reflects how many "developing" countries and their people were/are represented in Western, "developed" countries, and ex-empires (Joshi, 1991:222). Due to such misrepresentations, some people in "developed" countries judge a person at first sight once they know that person is from a developing country. For them, terms such as developing country, Africa or Tanzania are all they require to judge the kind of individual a person is. They look at you and say, "Oh! she/he is that", and they stop taking any interest because they think they know all about you.

There is something crucial that is usually overlooked by international students. What Tanzanian students, for example, and many from the developing world miss academically by not having abundant reference books, an advanced technology, and challenging classroom participation is powerfully compensated for by things probably not available to many students in the developed world.

Many international students go abroad for further education at the level of Masters degree and above, when they have already practiced in their areas of specialization for years as formal employees. Many of them are employed by the government or paragovernmental organizations in their countries, and occupy prominent positions. It is understood that in many developing countries there is generally a shortage of well educated personnel, especially for high levels of government and paragovernment positions (Chazan at el, 1992). The shortage of personnel means that many people in a developing country like Tanzania who have obtained a Bachelors degree occupy high positions, and assume many responsibilities as managers, directors, regional commissioners, and engineers, among others. Through such demanding positions they develop creative alternatives to deal with the many problems their countries and people face. They implement their creative ideas in the field, in the real world on practical problems, which manifest at different levels. The validity of their ideas are confirmed by clinical cases, and over a period of time. They learn by observing, listening and practicing. When this is combined with the basic theoretical knowledge, compared to that acquired by students in developed countries they obtained from classroom teaching, they are probably more knowledgeable about issues in the world than what they could have obtained from research alone

For resident students and teachers in the developed Western societies, even wanting to know about practical experiences from Third world students represents a challenge to their ethnocentrism. It is also a result of geopolitical practices which might have existed within the context of conventional institutions in the West. Protectionist practices may prevent the creation of new processes and new sets of knowledge from emerging within mainstream's knowledge (Joshi, 1991:207). This may be interpreted as a discursive way of creating intellectual imperialism. As A. Ahmad has argued, knowledge produced in the metropolitan countries is often viewed as effective even for periphery countries (ibid.). It was not only during Hegel's time, but even today that the geopolitical powers still define the limits of the conceivable, comprehensible, and meaningful knowledge, while knowledge produced from most non-Western countries has been largely

marginalized (ibid.). Along those lines, it is easy for Western students and teachers to think that there is nothing they can learn from students from the Third World. Knowledge produced through observation, listening and practicing are often viewed as theoretically incoherent and therefore, difficult to conceptualize, and validate (ibid.).

It is likely that foreign students from developing countries are generalized as intellectually inferior, and marginalized in a way similar to knowledge produced in their countries. Their status is usually based on the position that their countries occupy within the intellectual, socio-economic, cultural and political global hierarchies. The position their countries occupy in such hierarchies becomes the main factor, at the macro level, to represent their identities. It becomes a mirror through which their academic capacities and abilities to cope within the new academic environments are evaluated. International students, especially from the least developing countries should remember that crossing geographical boundaries is not enough to "obliterate their differences". (Hall, 1996:3) which may sometimes work to their disadvantage. They should know that many factors by which international students are identified are those which exclude them in terms of their academic background, racial formation, cultural aspects of life, economic and political conditions. Whether they like it or not these factors will, to various degrees, influence their lives in foreign countries because they will continue to influence their identification. At the same time, they will never completely fit into the new environment, which is also in as constant flux from both external and internal forces. They will "always be viewed as having too much, too little, as over-determinated, or lacking" (ibid.) for what is required to properly fit into the new environment.

However, since nothing is static, in every environment, everywhere, in every discourse, everything is in a process of change, neither foreign nor resident students can ever claim to have reached a stage where they fit perfectly into the system. In every society both ideological and material conditions are constantly changing, multiplying and transforming. Not even a resident in a given society can claim to perfectly fit with her/his society's ideals. Everybody in every society is

always trying to reach somewhere, to fit into certain ideals surrounding the meanings and values of human life, but such ideals are themselves in constant flux.

This reality is what foreign students, especially from poor countries, should hang on to when pursuing their studies in developed countries. It may help to lessen the magnitude of their shock. When they realize the differences between them and resident students they should try to understand possible reasons behind them, and continue with their academic struggle, while working on their limitations. Josephine did that, instead of prematurely withdrawing from academic life. It may help them to realize the importance of integrating their new knowledge into what they already have, rather than struggling to completely change and forget their past in an attempt to fit in something new, modern and advanced. That is a retrogressive process in itself because, as many Marxists believe, to understand any revolutionary process one must look back as far as she/he looks forward. For a person to be able to look at both sides he/she has to stand on the fence, in no-man's land, and look across the border to permit the knowledge strands from the past to graft to strands from the current knowledge. It is a suturing process which enables new, transformed, and hybridized branches of knowledge to grow.

As can be observed from Josephine's story, by looking back to her past experience she became aware of the distorted representation, and/or misrepresentation about her country and its people, the distorted representation of her as a mother, woman and Tanzanian, which for many students could have influenced her to give up. Instead she decided to create her own true representation, of how she would like to be represented, a projection of her own true self and her wildest dream, which is for academic achievement at the Ph.D. level. She is determined to reach that level of education and go beyond all existing limitations. While her determination, which can be viewed as self representation, challenges her previous representation and/or misrepresentation of her country and her own self, what she has projected as her true representation, and what she thinks as a misrepresentation will always challenge Josephine's self representation. It is a juggling process which her efforts and her articulation will determine the level of her achievement.

Generally, those elements which bring people to a diversion point, or factors in a person's identity defined as peculiar, different, or even despised, might be the same elements that bring purpose to her/his existence. Sometimes, diverse factors make individuals keep struggling to move forward towards meaningful achievement in their life.

#### Case study (four)

Zuhura and Athumani are siblings. They were born in a family of seven children, three males and four females. The family is located in a semi-urban area, their livelihood based on subsistence traditional agriculture, and a few grazing cows and goats. Until 1991 both Zuhura and Athumani attended public secondary schools, while education was a free service in Tanzania. In 1992 the government reintroduced tuition fees. Zuhura and Athumani's family could not afford to pay for both children. Gender was used as the basis to remove Zuhura from school. At the same period of time her aunt, who lived in another town, gave birth to her third child and she needed extra help. She asked her brother, Zuhura's father, to send Zuhura to help her. He had no objection and Zuhura was sent to help her aunt with household chores.

Zuhura started a new life with her aunt who was a businesswoman, running two kiosks for soft drinks in the city. This business worked to Zuhura's advantage because her aunt, knowing that her brother's economic situation and traditional attitudes towards women's education played an unfair role against Zuhura, planned to gradually return Zuhura to school.

The process of returning Zuhura to school was strategic. According to Zuhura, her aunt wanted Zuhura to demonstrate decent behavior, hard work and obedience in order to receive her financial support for education. It was a gradual process. During the first year with her aunt Zuhura attended evening classes. She stayed home taking care of the new born baby, and did other household chores from morning until late in the afternoon, when her aunt returned from her business. The following year, her aunt's business was expanded, and she was able to hire a full time baby-sitter/housekeeper. Zuhura was now able to go back to school as a full time student.

Zuhura was in form three when new obstacles appeared. Her parents, relatives and girlfriends urged her to marry Emanuel, whose family was very wealthy. Emanuel was Zuhura's ex-boyfriend who had just returned from abroad. They had lost contact when Emanuel was out of the country and when he came back Zuhura had another boyfriend who was not as rich or educated as Emanuel. Despite Zuhura's new boyfriend, Emanuel wanted her back, this time as his wife. He became impatient and jealous, and gave Zuhura an ultimatum. Emanuel wanted her to quit school or she would lose him. He played many tricks to make Zuhura think that he was the most desirable man in the area, yet he wanted her and was in love with her. Emanuel did everything he could to make her believe that he was in love with her, and that it was difficult for him to wait for her to complete her education. Zuhura did not fall for this tempting and seductive manipulations. Therefore she did not immediately quit school to marry Emanuel.

However, during Zuhura's last year of her secondary education, form four, she was expelled from school because she became pregnant by Emanuel. When he found out that Zuhura was pregnant and had been expelled from school he changed his attitude towards her, he scolded and blamed her for being careless, that she was not supposed to get pregnant at that time. He started to date another girl, and eventually broke up with Zuhura. She became sad and depressed. During the first three months of her pregnancy the morning sickness was very intense and she was weak. She miscarried during her third month of pregnancy.

Even after all this, Zuhura did not return to her hometown, she decided to stay with her aunt, who, despite being blamed by Zuhura's parents for what happened to Zuhura, became her best friend. Zuhura joined her aunt in her business and in a few years they became partners.

They are currently running two kiosks and a newly opened restaurant. Zuhura is planning to go

back to school in the year 2000. This time she wants to take a courses in computer science.

What surfaces is the way Tanzania's declining economy has affected social services, including education. Changes in education policy caused the reintroduction of tuition fees as the

country tried to adjust to its economic condition, and was an attempt to cope with policy changes which occurred at the macro level.

The reintroduction of tuition fees intensified the economic pressure on many families. To cope with such pressures, many families found recourse in traditional attitudes, which work to limit women's access to public participation, including limited access to education. Their goals are redirected towards marriage and the supervision and protection of a male guardian, a husband, father, or brother. Many families use such traditional taboo, to deny women a chance of meaningful academic achievements. While many changes in society tend to pull such bonds tighter around many women, they also promote the value of having a male protector, supervisor and employer, and the preference to educate more boys than girls (Thomas Sankara, 1990:16).

Zuhura fell victim to the 1974 educational policy, under which a pregnant student is expelled out of school. According to this enactment, both people involved are supposed to be punished, yet there is no censuring process for how a non-student male partner is to be punished. Emanuel was free to continue using his economic power, patriarchal dominance and intellectual arrogance to suppress other women, who might fall into a similar trap. Emanuel contributed to limiting Zuhura's access to advanced levels of education, freedom of choice in life, and eroded her dignity. The man Zuhura thought loved her showed no remorse for ruining her academic life, and he was not convicted of any offense.

Zuhura was removed from schooling twice. In both cases gender/sex differences appear to be central to her subjectivity, tools used to freeze her academic aspirations into the narrowly designed paradigm of wife and motherhood. Her family's economic condition, and her reproductive functions suppressed Zuhura's desire for education. What came to her rescue was again gender roles in combination with the obligatory role of taking care of each another, especially within the parameters of the extended family that included Zuhura's father and aunt. Helping one another through difficulties is a part of life in many African ethnic groups. Another thing that came to Zuhura's rescue was her aunt's economic position. All these gender, cultural

and economic resources were grafted together to create new energy, hope, and determination for Zuhura's future prosperity.

Her gender twice relegated Zuhura to situations which forced her to redirect her desire for education, and to review her wishes, efforts, and goals in life. In both situations Zuhura's identities reached an intersection with a fuzzy vision, she did not know which direction she was supposed to take.

The complexity of this case stems from the fact that it interconnects cultural discursive practices, economic power over women's prospects, and the power of formal education as a colonial legacy to hierarchically stratify individuals in society. Emanuel's economic class, his ability and capability to be educated abroad all conspired with cultural discursive practices, and the poor economic situation of Zuhura's family to gradually eliminate her from the academic process. Emanuel went abroad for an advanced education, probably to one of the ex-colonizing societies which introduced the ideology of racial superiority of the colonizing over the colonized (Waylen, 1996:49). A racial superiority complex, especially by ex-colonizers, has managed to profoundly influence how both the ex-colonized and colonizers think about themselves (Joshi, 1991:207). The racial superiority/inferiority binary constructed during colonialism continues to be practiced by certain categories of indigenous people, even after a decisive independence in Tanzania. This attitude appears to have influenced the way Emanuel mistreated Zuhura. It probably influenced the eager attitude, of Zuhura's friends, parents and relatives, as they tried to convince her to marry Emanuel.

Talking Zuhura into complying with her boyfriend's demands was probably assumed to be easy, given that for some women in Tanzania marrying a wealthy, educated man from abroad is viewed as a means to reach their life goals. They perceive it as one way of bargaining with patriarchal power to their advantage.

Zuhura's family's economic situation and the changes in education policy which were influenced by a decline in Tanzania's national income, probably caused by changes in the price of

its export products in the world market, denied Zuhura advanced academic access She was profoundly affected by changes in macro and micro policies, and local traditions. The economic power and sophisticated social status of Zuhura's boyfriend challenged her desire for education. They were, together, forms of discursive practices interwoven and disguised to control Zuhura's desire to take charge of her own life. They managed to limit her participation in education and suppress her ability to take control of her own choices, and to understand her rights in society as a woman and citizen. They denied Zuhura opportunities which were supposed to be her birth right, including education. Her aunt became a source of empowerment, the light on the path on which she continued to struggle and adjust her identities, to match the new forms of power relations surrounding her social, economic, cultural and political conditions.

### Case Study (five)

Alice is a 35 year old woman, born in Dar-es-salaam, where her family still lives. She is the first born in a family of four children of three girls and a boy. Her mother is a registered nurse/midwife and her father holds a high position in the government. Unlike the other cases, her family's social status and economic prosperity have overcome many of cultural demands which deny women access to education. Alice grew up in a family where the children had almost every material thing they needed. She received her primary and secondary education in prestigeous schools. Like many children of the upper class in Tanzania, Alice attended the University of Dares-salaam right after completing her high school education to pursue undergraduate studies in Education. She completed her programme within three years, the officially designed time for a first degree in Tanzania. She found employment and occupied an administrative position in a government institution.

Her main problem at work was an inability to understand many documents, especially those written in English, to her a foreign language. She did not have enough confidence. This problem was exacerbated by her lack of experience, and she often found it difficult to make

decisions about issues brought to her attention. Things continued to worsen, and as time passed her responsibilities increasingly became more complex. Alice felt miserable at work, and eventually she could no longer handle it. She approached her father and admitted that she could not handle the job.

Although the message did not please her father, he decided to help her. Alice's father used his influence, what might be termed as nepotism to find her a scholarship for an advanced education abroad. She went to the Netherlands where, after a qualifying year, she entered a Masters programme in Education. She expects to complete her programme at the end of 2000.

Alice's friend, whom she came to visit in Montreal, knew about what might have contributed to Alice's problem of not performing well at work. Explaining Alice's situation, Veronica viewed it as a reflection of Alice's lifestyle at the University of Dar-es-salaam. She thought that Alice knew very little about what she was supposed to learn at school because she spent most of her school time entertaining her boyfriend, in exchange for having him do most of her homework and papers.

Veronica's comments about Alice's experience in the work place is what makes this case study interesting. Many questions can be raised, and factors often concealed by the Universal Primary Education policy can be revealed. In this case, the main factors include the role that the power of her family's economic position and social status played in Alice's access to advanced education and employment. Gender issues are important because Alice placed herself in a subservient position to her boyfriend. It can also be viewed as a confirmation that the inclusion of women into the schooling process is not enough for their meaningful academic achievement and liberation that would require that their attitudes towards education and ways of thinking be changed to believe that as women they can work independently and perform well at school, and in the work place without necessarily depending on a man's intellectual input.

Alice's case study illustrates how some children who have almost everything are blinded, and may think life is always easy, only to find that at certain points of their lives their individual

capability and intellectual ability are what count in order for things to work to their advantage. Alice's economic and social status had brought her to a point where they no longer worked, and were not powerful or helpful enough to make Alice's work life function smoothly. Her intellectual capability was suppressed, or remained dormant because of her family's class and status, and by her boyfriend who did her school work. However, at her work place her insufficiently developed intellectual capability surfaced. Such intellectual flaws affected Alice at work despite her family's economic power and social status.

What appears to be a disadvantage, being overprotected by her family's economic and social status and by her boyfriend's intelligence, can also be viewed as a manifestation of a patriarchal form of social organization which places males in a superior position to females, making many women think they are less intelligent than men. It is a form of discursive practice which has contributed to encouraging men's educational advancement over women's in society. In its disguised form this kind of discursive practice weakened Alice's academic commitment and progress, and impoverished her academic achievement.

One thing to remember is that the patriarchal form of social organization plays a significant role in designing gender representation. It indirectly shapes society's expectations of how male and female students should represent themselves at school. In many African societies women are expected to perform below men academically. This kind of attitude has convinced many women that they are less intelligent than men. It is possible that Alice thought she could use her gender to acquire knowledge without any personal effort. However, while it is likely that Alice's academic papers scored high grades, she acquired very little knowledge because they were somebody's work.

Students like Alice often live a very demeaning life at school putting up with all kinds of harassment. Usually, once a female student accepts such a cheating arrangement she cannot stop, unless her male student/partner wants her to. Refusing his demands makes the girl a target of

harassment. In this manner, the female victim is scared of public humiliation, and is afraid to seek help from legal services available for students.

Often even female students who do not want to play the cheating game with male students find it difficult to avoid harassment. Life for female students, especially at institutions of high learning, can be a torment. Sexual harassment in Tanzania is very common, not only in the workplace but on the streets and even within the school environment (Sheikh-Hashim, 1990:8; Che-Mponda, 1990:4 in French, 1994:280). Many cases are not reported due to naiveté or fear of a double victimization on the part of women, so many men can safely continue their harassing practices. Only extreme cases attract public attention.

On the evening of February 7, 1990, Levina Mukasa, a woman first year student in education at the University of Dar-es-salaam, committed suicide by taking an overdose of chroloquine tablets. She decided to end her life because she has been repeatedly harassed, both verbally and sexually, by two male engineering students" (ibid.). It was even more shocking to realize (from the report) that almost every woman student at this university faced the problem; that sexual harassment of female students has been legitimized by a clandestine institution at the University known as PUNCH; that this clandestine institution aim at degrading women, ruining their academic progress, forcing them to drop out from school, and making sure that women do not refuse intimate relationships with...sexual demands by PUNCH male members. (ibid.)

It was unbelievable that a majority of the public opinions prompted by the newspapers, blamed the victim (Levina). While some called Levina a fool, many said she was a prostitute, and some wondered why she was so negative about sexual harassment, something they viewed as normal (Che-Mponda, 1990: 23 in French, 1994:282).

Miss Mukasa probably realized that PUNCH institution has indirectly been accepted by the University. After failing to get meaningful help from the authorities she reported her case to, Miss Mukasa gave up and decided to end her life. For her, the whole situation was completely exhausting, psychologically, physically and socially.

"Her sense of self-worth, her privacy, desires, plans, expectations and identities were totally destroyed. She was left like a zombie, having been deprived of both self-esteem and confidence". (ibid:282) "Her autonomy had been disregarded, her life plans been ignored, and she had been

treated like an object by non-pathological men". (French, 1994:13) That was unbearable. Taking her own life, rather than continuing to be raped became the only solution to her problem.

## 5.2 CONCLUDING ANALYSIS

These are just several of the wide ranging examples which illustrate gender as a common site for female subjectivity. They also demonstrate significant degrees of social diversity among women-across cultural, ethnic, geographic, citizenship, and racial (Josephine's case) bounderies, which are intersected by a "growing social differentiation based on location, income, occupation, education and life style". (Chazan, at el, 1992:170) They also demonstrate how difficult it can be for a Tanzanian woman to become educated, which falsifies the rhetoric of equal access to education for all citizens, the official post-colonial educational policy.

Various documents and interviews, which helped to reveal the nature and dimensions of socio-economic, cultural, and political obstacles, confirm that most of the problems female students encounter within and without the school environment are generally viewed as personal, private, trivial and irrelevant. They are often left to be dealt with within the family or the traditional institutions usually to the disadvantage of women.

The problems observed in the first case study are mainly due to a rigid gender division of labour, cultural expectations of women, and geographical obstacles. These factors contributed to limiting Deborah's access to post-colonial education. In the second case study, biological changes and cultural discursive practices were Lea's major stumbling blocks in her schooling process. In the third case study, things are even more complicated. Problems which were more a psychological torture than not. They came about as a result of Josephine's ability to bend cultural and motherhood boundaries. Such psychological torture was coupled with diaspora issues, which minimized her access to resources and rights to opportunity in a foreign country. In the fourth case study, gender inequality is vividly demonstrated when Zuhura was profoundly affected by educational policy changes. In this case, cultural discursive practices are interconnected to

economic pressure, policy changes, and gender issues which limited Zuhura's chances to reach advanced levels of education. In the final case study, factors that prevented Alice's full participation in education differ from the other cases. While Alice's problems at the work place might be common for many women workers, they came about as a result of a misappropriation of resources, opportunity, and of nepotism.

One thing in common for all the cases is that problems arose while women were struggling for the access to resources and opportunity. In the process their personal identities clash or come into contradiction with both conventional and unconventional institutions-law, regulation, norms, codes of conduct, mores, and customs. In varying degrees institutions became obstacles which minimized, or even prevented, women actors from accessing their intended goals, and also brought them to various intersections, points which enabled them to experience not only pain, frustration, anger and psychological exhaustion, but also a sense of discovery.

Through the process of trying to make sense of a given episode which happened against their will, people ask themselves many questions, and may seek information from other individuals. In the process, they learn and acquire new knowledge about their situations, and discover previously unknown realities. Such knowledge and discovery may influence changes in the way they think and perceive things. Changes in a person's perception may, in turn, serve as a new force to push her to move on to another stage, to keep struggling to reach another intersection. At every such point, a rearticulation becomes necessary for a meaningful grafting or suturing to occur, so that a more comprehensive reconceptualization of obstacles, means and alternative solutions to a given situation is possible (Hall, 1996; Frankenberg & Mani, 1993; Halrod, 1979).

The problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania, needs to be rearticulated and reconceptualized for a prescription of acceptable alternative solutions. As indicated in all the case studies, to make this possible women's experiences must be explored, specified, validated, and related to both external and internal systems, and to procedures of limitation, exclusion and

prohibition, and to discursive practices within conventional and unconventional discourses at different historical moments in a society (Michel Foucault, 1970). It is important to examine how institutional discursive practices contribute to the construction and reconstruction process of women's identities. How are women's desires for education shaped? How do these practices sometime cause women to be disappointed in their formal education? How do these institutions, by revealing restrictions inherent with schooling process, make women feel betrayed and deceived by the post-colonial educational policies which place emphasis on equal access for all individuals? Given the obstacles many female students encounter during their schooling process, it is likely that they often lose their interest in formal education.

Meanings which are discursively constructed behind gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status can affect women's school attendance and contribute to raising the female drop out rate. Discursive practices can push women to a point where they cannot see how, given their circumstances, education could enable them reach their desired goals, so they decide to drop out of school, or even to commit suicide.

The practices which limit and exclude women from education can stimulate their urge to excel academically. They may decide to challenge discursive practices in whatever form, decide to transform their attitudes towards formal education, determine to stay in school, and reinforce their choice to reach more advanced levels of education. Methods for women to work against such discursive practices to their advantage must be identified. In Tanzania, despite the fact that female participation in formal education, especially at advanced levels, has always been low and their drop-out rate higher as compared to male students, there are women who, even during the period of colonial rule when the system of education was extremely discriminatory, managed to succeed academically. While the impact of discursive practices on women's schooling process is generally negative, certain women have managed to succeeded both academically and professionally in Tanzania. This means that institutions, fundamental as they can be in creating an order of discourse in society, with their discursive practices, as systemic and complex as they may be in creating

limitations, as rigid as they may be in excluding certain categories of people, and as severely as they may apply their sanctions to establish, produce, reproduce, and preserve knowledge, and control its appropriation (Foucault, 1970), must be seen as sites of contestation, fields of struggle, and playing fields. Institutions are playing grounds where levels, and degrees of participation, or performance are reflected. They are where the knowledge and skills that individuals have about the given game or process are challenged. It is where the end result indicates or determines how appropriate the efforts, strategies and approaches applied by individuals to achieve their goals were.

Institutions can be understood as "both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for and opposing strategy". (Foucault, 1970:50-51) They are forces where power is "transmitted and produced, they reinforce but also undermine and expose it, render it fragile and make it possible to thwart it". (ibid.) To succeed academically, women in Tanzania should know how to take advantage of the complexity and instability which exist among both conventional and unconventional systems of limitation and exclusion discursive practices (ibid.).

### **CHAPTER SIX**

#### CONCLUDING ANALYSIS

This research began with an awareness that the number of women who participate in the post-colonial education system in Tanzania, especially at advanced levels, is small compared to the number of men. Less participation by women in education is perceived as a disorder. It is an indication that something is not right with the ideological and material conditions responsible for social organization and women's development. As indicated ealier, ideological commitments and material conditions influence policy decisions and operations in society. As far as educational policy decisions and operations are concerned, while the influence of both socialist-oriented and capitalist-oriented ideologies can be traced, socio-economic, cultural and political conditions have been marked as major causal factors without the school environment which impact on limiting women's participation in education.

This dissertation attempts to develop a model which would be currently adequate to rearticulate and reconceptualize the problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania. The notion of "politics of location", as expounded by Mohanty at el (1991), discursive practices as explained by Foucault (1970), and aspects of identity as discussed by Hall (1996), have been selected as the most striking intellectual approaches relevant to devising a conception of gender inequality in education in the country.

Using this discussion, it is clear that students' academic achievement must be calculated between possibilities and limitations. Students' possibilities to a maximum participation in education, and obstacles which deny them unrestricted access are shaped by dynamics which exist as a reflection of students' desires, wishes, fantasies, and projections towards academic achievement, and the institutions, which are there to guide, monitor and control individuals' access and rights to scarce resources and opportunities. These institutions, whether conventional or unconventional, socio-economic, cultural, religious, or political, establish laws, regulations, norms, and sanctions as tools of operation. Through these institutions knowledge about people,

events and places are formulated, reproduced, objectified, categorized and maintained. Such knowledges become the main determinant for individuals' access to resources and the right to opportunity. To a large extent, subjective meanings attached to gender, race, class, nationality, citizenship, religion, and sexual orientation become landmarks used by the systems of control to determine one's eligibility and limitations, and as a field for selecting and excluding certain categories of people from certain discourses.

Both male and female students, whose daily activities bounce between their desires for an ultimate academic achievement and socio-economic, cultural, religious and political limitations must understand their relation to the power systems around them. They must keep themselves well informed about dynamics within both conventional and unconventional institutions, to make constant adjustments to keep pace with changes which can affect their schooling process.

Female students have been the subject of this research because of their diminishing participation, especially at the advanced levels of education, during the post-colonial period, the time when all types of discriminatory practices in education are supposed to have been abolished in Tanzania.

A close evaluation indicates that obstacles to women's participation in post-colonial education in Tanzania go beyond sex/gender differences, across socio-economic, cultural, religious and political boundaries. They can also be observed at both micro and macro levels. Gender difference is, therefore, viewed as a basic differentiation, which encompasses many other diversities including class, race, geographical locations, and ethnicity to define a more meaningful explanation of gender inequality in post-colonial education in Tanzania.

This research acknowledges that the problem of gender inequality in education in Tanzania is complex, dialectical, and manifest in multiple forms. It is situated at various levels, and can be viewed in different dimensions. Factors which deny women a full access to education appear to have a major influence on policy decision making, and to encourage gender discrimination within the school environment. Many of these factors emanate from without the school environment,

transforming issues related to gender inequality in education in Tanzania to issues central to the problem of identity, including questions of identification and representations of female students in the education system.

Barriers to women's access to sufficient schooling in Tanzania, as in many other developing countries, are rooted within the family. The family unit has been considered as the primary institution in the learning process and socialization. In many families, especially in developing countries, traditional control over women as practiced by male heads of households and clans still exists.

Schools are still locations where traditional male defined ideologies are formalized, generalized, internalized and transmitted from one generation to another. Between the family and the school there are other institutions-economic, political and religious-which mediate the process of socialization. In many religions "God appears as the heavenly Father, the Lord, the almighty Patriarch"... (and the) symbols and institutions in Christianity, reveal a patriarchal heritage". (Baum 1995:1-2 & 6) Although there have increasingly been reactions by women against Biblical ideology in relation to women's status in society, theological ideologies still bless and legitimize the inferiority of women (ibid.).

Within the family, school, and religion, all of which comply to a given political ideology, individuals males and females are taught to believe and

accept the ready-made standardized scheme of the cultural pattern handed down by ancestors, teachers, (priests or other religious leaders) and authorities, as an unquestioned and unquestionable guide in all the situations which normally occur within the social world. (Stone, ed. 1994:18).

When no one comes forward to challenge such a pattern of understanding, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, both women and men internalize the characteristics as defined by those in power and authority, even those constructs which suppress and subordinate one sex to the other. When an ideology is not challenged it comes to be perceived as natural and normal. The inferiority of women and inequitably distributed rights are accepted, objectified, then naturalized.

The imposed inequalities and characteristics between the sexes appear to be objective or natural. Males are assumed to be as naturally strong, intelligent, rational, competitive, aggressive and paramount in society. Women, come to be defined as naturally passive, weak, less intelligent, irrational, emotional, less competitive and second class, a typical patriarchal perspective.

Many women have been convinced that they are intellectually less intelligent than men, emotionally irrational, physically weaker than men, and socially inferior and subordinate to men. Such assumptions have allowed men to dominate all institutions, including education, and feel stronger, more powerful, more aggressive, and superior to women.

Women's perceptual realities and diversities as have widely been argued by feminist scholars "have to a large extent been obscured by society's expectations of their position in society as women, mothers, daughters, and wives. In many societies roles played by women have been made look inferior and different from those played by men, something which, according to Greene, "confines women to the narrow room in which they have been given a deadly brainwashing". (Greene in Stone 1994:17)

A close evaluation of the conditions leading to gender inequality in education reveals the existence of two major categories: external and internal factors. Both are influenced by ideological commitment, acquired through family, religion and school socialization, and the stage of societal socio-economic, cultural and political development in the society (Hurn: 1978), which determine a given society's position in the global hierarchy. In turn, these influence policy decision-making, and the nature of women's experiences in the schooling process.

The external category includes those conditions outside the school environment encompassing socio-economic, political and cultural factors which can be viewed at both micro and macro levels. At a micro level the analysis begins within the family. Many families in Tanzania give educational priority to male children though it is not explicit. Certain cultural demands and expectations deny girls access to advanced education. Women are often overworked and have little time for other activities, because of the unequal division of labor between the sexes. In many ethnic

groups cultural practices related to sexuality, particularly marriage and bride wealth, mean that parents and female students devalue education, especially at the advanced levels, and or when they become old enough to marry. In addition, poor or undereducated parents are another factor. Illiterate or semi-illiterate parents may not accept the importance of formal schooling for their female children (The World Bank Report 1991).

At the national level, gender inequality in education can be associated with a declining economy, which leads to an inequitable allocation of resources and the disadvantaging of subordinated categories in society such as women. Corresponding to Hurn's notion of "an economy of scarcity" (1978:2) in Western educational systems, in Tanzania there have been tighter budgets in education and reduced employment prospects of graduates, especially women. An economy of scarcity also affects economic condition within the family, making it difficult for many families to send all of their children to school. It is the government's inability, or rather inadequacy, to devise an educational policy to guide the teaching process towards providing skills which are needed in the real lives of a majority of the population, and an education policy which would enhance equality rather than maintaining the elites' demands and handicapping the poorer classes. As with Hurn's observation, in Tanzania changes in the educational policy have focused largely on mediating teachings which is centred around ideological pressures of equality in a situation where social equality is challenged by the internal diversity across geographical location, class, ethnic groups, and gender. Ideological pressure is often allowed to determine policy change at the expense of policies which would help the majority of people improve their lives (UNESCO, 1979).

In any society the nature of the educational policy is shaped primarily by "ideological commitments and preconceptions, (and material conditions) which influence the way people think about school and society". (Hurn 1978:1) Educational policy is a bridge which links articulated and infiltrated values, norms and other ideological elements, and the material conditions in a given society to an educational process aiming to benefit all students involved in the process.

Educational policies in Tanzania have had different impact on male and female students to the detriment of many female students, and among women students across economic, cultural, religious, and political boundaries. Many of the amendments made subsequently to improve educational policies have overlooked many socially constructed factors which obstruct women's access to formal education, and make female students appear to be less intelligent than male students. For women to succeed academically educational policies must be adequate to understand and challenge all socially oriented factors, whether ideological or material, which prevent women from reaching full participation in education.

Similar to Hurn's (1978) observation about Western school systems, Tanzania's socialist based ideological commitments have contributed to manipulate and disguise interpretations of empirical findings about gender inequality in post-colonial education in Tanzania, making the process of genuine analysis about this problem very difficult. Due to socialist related ideologies changes in Tanzania's educational policy have often been made without an adequate evaluation of gender issues. As a result, subsequent changes in educational policy have had a varied impact on academic progress between male and female students, and among female students (Mbilinyi 1991; N. A. Nwagwu, 1974: 5-12). Poor performance, school drop outs, pregnancy in school, poor school attendance, and sexual harassment within the school environment have been common problems for female students, especially at the higher levels of education in Tanzania. The reasons are based in the social, economic, cultural and political conditions, factors which are often considered as outside the school environment, and so superficially dealt with or even ignored (The World Bank Report, 1991:53).

On the international level, the problem of gender inequality in education can be evaluated by positioning Tanzania and its socio-economic and political conditions within the global hierarchy. This problem can be understood using Parsons' "functionalist theory", through which a society is viewed as a biological organism composed by different parts or units (So, 1990:20). Tanzania can also be viewed as a unit within a global system which is affected by any changes within it. Gender

system, between the local and international community, and between what dependency theorists call the periphery and the core (ibid:110-128). Changes within macro policies affect a unit country's policy decisions, priorities, and expenditure and, in a similar way, alterations within the unit country affect macro policy decision making. Gender inequality in education, therefore, becomes one of after effects, or side effects, of multiple macro and micro dynamics (Hall, 1996).

The notion of after-effects as discussed by Hall, demands a critical evaluation of historical moments to help unfold other axes on which gender inequality in education can be better explained. Many observers within the colonial and post-colonial discourse contend that in many ex-colonies of Africa dichotomous gender assumptions were intensified during colonialism and many continue to exist even after independence (Mbilinyi, 1983; Hall, 1996;). Such assumptions have implicitly led to differing attitudes about the prospects for education between female and male students in Tanzania.

The second category of factors which hinder female advancement in education are those from within the school environment, including the scarcity of teaching materials for a large number of students. In such situations a rote or "copy-copy", approach and authoritarian teaching methods are likely to be adopted. Rote and authoritative teaching approaches often suppress students' creative thinking. Another factor is the difference in the way teachers respond to female and male students. Many teachers tend to encourage male students academically in different ways than they do for female students.

Furthermore, sexual harassment and differing encouragement that male and female students receive from parents and teachers in selecting gendered subject combinations are major contributing factors to women's problems in the schooling process. While male students are usually streamed towards science and technical subjects, female students are usually encouraged to join arts related subjects (The World Bank, 1991; Mbilinyi & Mbughuni 1991). The male/female subject binary helps maintain male superordination and female subordination. It contributes to

making male students feel superior to female students, which can be observed in their daily interactions. This binary may also influence different attitudes between male and female students towards education.

Obstacles towards women's participation in post-colonial education are interwoven into Tanzania's ideological commitment, and its economic, cultural and political dynamics, on both micro and macro levels. The complexity means that a comprehensive analysis of these problems requires that women's socio-economic, political, and cultural aspects of life be taken into account. Ideological, economic, cultural, and political arrangements are conventionally established to keep order in society. It is also through such establishments that false knowledge about women is produced, reproduced and maintained. These establishments play a significant role in monitoring the appropriation of dominant knowledge, and in shaping and controling individual desires, fantasies and projections as they develop resources and opportunities in society. It is through such conventional and unconventional systems of control, limitation and exclusion that subjectivity is discursively constructed using identification, representation, and ritualization as their principal mechanisms. These mechanisms should be understood and challenged by women themselves if they are determined to obtain a meaningful education, as a few women have managed to do.

There are a few women, ministers, doctors, University-teachers, and business-women, who, despite the limitations within educational system, have managed to reach high levels of academic achievement. They are models who can teach women strategies to use in their struggles towards academic achievement.

Discussing Tanzanian women who have succeeded academically may help to unfold more configurations and conjunctions upon which female subjectivity in education can be challenged. It may provide researchers with an invaluable insight into how women have been represented in the education system, and how, in turn, that has affected the way they represent themselves to power systems at different levels (Frankenberg & Mani, 1993), and most importantly, how subjectivity can be overcome, used as a stimulant to critical thinking, and as a basis for emancipation.

Education can also be perceived as a major aspect through which identity is formed and transformed. As in other societies, it is a crucial element which contributes to the shape of the social, economic and cultural development of Tanzanian women.

As in many African ex-colonies, in Tanzania women's education struggle in the post-colonial era should focus on factors from both without and within the school environment. From without the school environment women should be able to identify impediments at both micro and macro levels. At a micro level women should evaluate power relations within their families, ethnic groups and communities. At a macro level an evaluation should be focused on socio-economic and political conditions that Tanzania, as an ex-colony, finds itself in on a global level, and the impact of that on their struggles for education. Such an evaluation, especially at the micro level, may help female students improve their autonomy and confidence which are required to face the factors influencing their subjectivity within the school environment.

There have been achievements and failures in Tanzania's post-independence policies of education. Furthermore, in this discussion, especially in chapter four, some of the ways which these policies have helped to alleviate and or intensify gender inequality in education have been elaborated. Although there have been subsequent amendments to the educational policies in Tanzania to bring about equal access to education for all citizens regardless of race, religion, gender and ethnicity, many obstacles to women's participation in education still persist.

It appears that Tanzania's post-independence educational policies were established as if all Tanzanians were living at the same level of socio-economic, cultural, and political conditions. All the diversified experiences encountered during colonial rule were assumed to have been balanced and separated from those experiences in post-colonial era. The struggle for decolonization was understood to have been successfully completed, and all colonial shackles were undone at the end of colonial direct rule in 1961. The declaration of independence confirmed the end of the struggle for decolonization, and the colonial era was divorced from post-colonial era. The main concern became "what kind of society was to be built?", (UNESCO 1979:19 Nyerere, 1968:5) and the lack

of skilled manpower was thought to be the immediate, major crisis that this post-colonial nation was facing.

Education became a major priority. Under the new state's socialist ideology it followed that the education provided by Tanzania for its citizens was/is to be that which would encourage "the growth of the socialist values... and the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development..." (Resnick, in UNESCO, 1968:70)

With this view of post-colonialism, which disengages itself "from the whole colonial syndrome", (Hume, 1995, in Hall, 1996:246) and assumes that everything has been reversed, education policies were developed on a course towards the just and egalitarian future aspired to by the new state. It should be remembered that such reform measures were to be implemented under difficult circumstances that the country experienced at the end of formal colonialism, and from then on. At the beginning, changes were to be made when Tanzania, as with many ex-colonies, was still characterized by a high degree of inequality based on race, class, religion, ethnicity/community and gender. When many development projects were still concentrated in urban areas, and rural areas, where a majority of the population resided and still reside were and are severely underdeveloped. There was insufficient man-power, few educated local people, a declining economy, and fragile state institutions (Chazan et al, 1992). Although the magnitude of many forms of social inequality has been reduced over time, many conditions continue to hamper women's full participation in education and have not been dealt with properly.

Due to women's insufficient schooling, even today in Tanzania the number of women in public, formal job participation continues to be relatively small when compared to men. Many women continue to occupy lower positions in the socio-economic and political arenas. Sometimes even those with high qualifications refrain from competing for administrative or decision making positions in governmental or paragovernmental organisations. During the 1985 parliamentary elections, only a few women competed for leadership positions, while two candidates, Shamim

Khan and Kate Kamba, who both lost their race, contested constituency parliamentary seats (Sauti ya Siti, October, 1990).

Furthermore, Rajan's comment that, "the irreconcilability between gender and authority" (1993:116) is still a major problem in Tanzania. It is likely that those women who manage to occupy high positions in the government do not necessarily represent women. Many of those who do, lack the influence to effect changes in policy decision making, especially those decisions which have a direct impact on women. Women's issues require representatives who are skilled, dedicated, educated and strong enough to negotiate and persuade the government to make decisions to benefit women. The government must enact by-laws to govern family issues such as heritage, bride-price, woman's plight in polygamous marriage, divorce and subsequently review the child support system, which was introduced under the Marriage Act of 1971, to go hand in hand with the present purchasing power of Tanzania's currency. The amount of money initially allocated for child support was TSh.200 or \$ Can.0.50 a month. Presently, the Tanzanian Shilling has been devalued to US \$ 1 per Tsh.630. Many children may suffer if the official child support rate stays at TSh.200 a month.

The Ministry for Women's Affairs and Social Development, which was established in 1991, has a woman minister, Mary Nagu, and should see that women's issues are now taken more seriously and given the priority they deserve. The ministry must develop strategies to challenge the discursive practices which are systematically interconnected to socio-economic, cultural and political beliefs to hamper women's academic achievement. It must implement changes to the education policy to change the daily lives of women, and improve its intervention on issues previously dealt with by the family, clan, and/or unconventional institutions which usually serve to perpetuate female subjectivity.

The ministry should demonstrate its dissatisfaction with the fact that only a few women graduate at advanced levels. It must show its commitment and determination to change women's attitude towards education. Female students have to focus on graduating from more higher levels

of education, with confidence that they can make use of the knowledge they acquire to productively participate in the public sector, without feeling inferior to males.

Many women, because of insufficient schooling hold an inferior attitude in the work places allowing males to be the final decision-makers, sometimes, even on issues which have direct impact on them as women. Their inferiority complex can also be observed in their tendency to comply with male demands which are counter to their interests even when they are being victimised, be it in school or in the work place (Ndziku, 1990; Mbilinyi & Mascarenhas, 1983).

The ministry for Women's Issues and Child Welfare must make sure that even though schools in the country are mixed and women in theory, have equal access to education factors outside the school environment which impede women's academic advancement are properly dealt with. If such issues are allowed to continue to control women's lives in the country

schools will continue to direct the development of girls according to discriminatory principles by offering them models of less stature for identification, by encouraging in them dependence and attitudes of subordination, and by systematically discouraging those who would like to include in their lives elements other than motherhood and its connected functions. (Dunnigan, 1975:1 in Byrne 1978)

#### 6.2 SUGGESTED MODELTOWARDS ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The notions of "politics of location", discursive practices, and identity have been combined together to form an alternative model of analysis in this research. It is recognised that this approach is presently adequate to explain gender inequality, not only in the post-colonial educational system in Tanzania, but it can also be applicable in various sectors, by males, in many societies, and during different periods of time.

In any society individual daily activities are geared to accessing to scarce resources and opportunities. Various levels of achievement in life are reached based on the diversity which exists among individuals, in terms of their interests, desires, value-patterns, knowledge, experiences, and theories they are committed to (Harold, 1979). All of these elements influence how individuals make choices, and how they move towards their intended goals. Over time, depending on how an

individual applies his/her talents their operations will intersect with the laws regulations, procedures, norms, codes of conduct, customs, mores, and other restrictions from both conventional and unconventional institutions. It is through these institutions that the many factors which characterize individual's existence, such as social status, class, ethnicity, citizenship, nationality, race, gender, sexual orientation are turned to bases of eligibility or restriction. They become implicitly associated with degrees of access, or limitations, to given resources and opportunities in society.

To succeed in life, this model of analysis suggests that an individual must situate or understand her/his current position in all crucial aspects of life. The process begins with a personal evaluation, with an identification of where do you stand in relation to socio-economic, cultural, political, and religious forces, at family, community and national levels. How do you relate to your fellow individual and to the socio-economic, cultural and political power systems at both micro and macro levels over time and space. How have all of these aspects of life influenced the person you have become? How do they influence how you earn your living?

How did you arrive at where you are today, and what you have become. Use yourself-knowledge about your intellectual capability, family socio-economic position, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and age to trace back your experiences and see how they have influenced your identities and your relationships with power systems over time and space.

Ask your self, does the position you have reached, what you have become, correspond to your intended goal? If yes, do you think it is enough, or is what you have become all you can be? Keep questioning, pulling and applying positive energy into your life to continue attracting meaningful resources and opportunities. You will be amazed as to how much you can achieve in life.

If the answer is no, try to identify your positive or strong and negative or weak points and in your past experiences to enable you to recognise the limitations and obstacles that have blocked

your efforts. Try to focus on your strong points and visualise how, in certain circumstances, you managed to succeed in the past. Find out how you can make use of such energy in your current situation to bend, or remove obstacles, and move towards your intended goal.

The first goal is to understand, or situate oneself in society as a woman/man, citizen, student, immigrant, Christian, Moslem and so on, in relation to existing institutions, which stands between an individual and resources and opportunities. Secondly, identify and define the main obstacles which stand in the way, and limit, or close access to resources and opportunities. Are such obstacles cultural, social, economic, political, biological, and/or religious? Contextualize your situation in order to understand how, why, and when such obstacles came to affect your choices, access and opportunities in society. Evaluate the changes which have occurred in society over time, and the ways such changes have influenced your choices, relationships to power systems, and access to resources and opportunities. In Tanzania an observation can be made about how different the 1990s adaptation of the liberal approach to political leadership, citizenship, and economic rights has affected the distribution of scarce resources and opportunities to disadvantaged groups, or rather their redistribution (Heilman, 1998:369-383). A person can then identify any shift in her/his choices, relationships, and the degree of access to various resouces and opportunities, for better or worse.

Furthermore, identify the main actors, forces, and structures in society. Actors are those individuals who occupy decision-making positions, whose actions or inaction profoundly affect the lives of a majority of the population in society. Forces are the main ideology by which social, economic, political, and religious doctrines are communicated, their operations legitimised, justified, and the masses' compliance and loyalty won, and their labour power extracted. Structures are the nature and degree of bureaucracy within both conventional and unconventional administrative bodies. In addition, define the main opposition actors, forces and structures, from the bottom, the grass-roots, through which coalitions can be forged and the changes within certain policies be influenced. Such counter actors, forces, and structures are a source of information,

knowledge, hope, and autonomy, leading to personal meaningful achievement and emancipation (ibid.).

As in many other social situations, in analysing gender inequality in education in Tanzania the interrelationships which exists among the notions of "politics of location", discursive practices and questions of identity should be understood to understand how the interrelationships have, and will continue to influence problems that many women face during their schooling experience in Tanzania. The emphasis a society places on educating women will largely depend on the knowledge it has developed about them, women's position in society, and the types of achievements the society expects women to reach, all of which depends on society's political ideology and its level of socio-economic, and cultural development. Together, these elements continue to design society's expectations of men and women, and influence individuals' thoughts and attitude about education in time and space.

To obtain a quality education requires a critical mind to comprehend beyond the obvious, to evaluate policy decisions made about the schooling process to identify inherent discursive practices, and to challenge those practices which appear to block academic success. Women in Tanzania must struggle for the autonomy required to face any and all the obstacles they may encounter during their schooling process. They should know that "Education is a vehicle for change rather than an independent force, and the direction which this educational vehicle takes depends very strongly on who is driving and where the driver wants to go". (Bray, Clarke, Stephens, 1986:7)

How an individual woman was brought up to view education, influences her attitude towards education as the key for her success or failure. The combination of ideologies, expressive symbols, and material conditions used in the process of constructing the foundation of her identities (a sense of being and becoming) are important for her success or failure in education. These elements will influence how a woman chooses to experience her schooling. The quality of

education she acquires will depend on her ability, capability and energy she commits towards achieving a meaningful academic achievement.

Students' experiences outside the school and within the school environment determine their "perceptual realities" or "cognitive structures". (Greene in Stone 1994; Brown, 1979) Just as with other individuals', students' perceptual realities are the product of their socio-economic, cultural, political and gender status in society, which influence other factors they experience within the school environment.

Gender inequality in education is thus, a very complicated issue. It has its roots in the socio-economic, political and cultural/religious conditions and expectations of men and women in society, which are then translated into different models. Equal access to education between the sexes does not necessarily mean identical provisions for boys and girls, unless societies value both males and females equally.

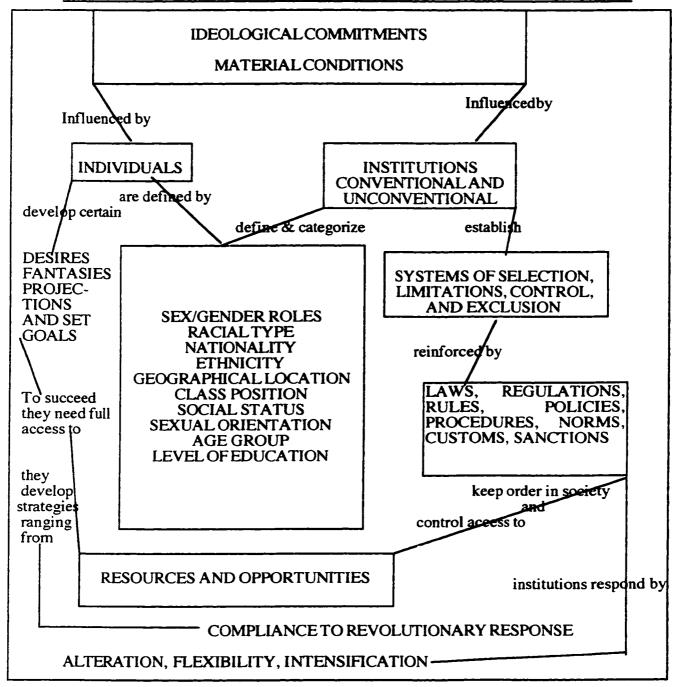
Becoming educated is not something a person achieves by fantasizing, or by attending classes. The process has to be a part of the person's real world. According to Ponty, it must be viewed in close relationship to what a person lives through and her/his daily experiences (1995:17). In this sense, female students in Tanzania, and other parts of the world, are urged to always strive for a route which stimulates critical thinking. It is a way appropriate to acquiring knowledge. It helps for students to evaluate their capability and weaknesses, and their self-esteem and confidence may improve in the process of identifying and tackling problems which hamper their academic progress. They may be able to understand what makes them a part of problems they are facing, and what makes them a part of possible solutions to their problems. Critical thinking makes a meaningful personal re-evaluation possible in terms of identifying ways and levels in which students relate to themselves, their fellow students, their cultures, and the power systems of their time and space. It is an identification which may help students to situate their position in socio-economic, cultural and political organizations, which has a profound impact on their schooling process. Taking a critical route in the schooling process, helps students to clarify

their perceptions about education, helps them to understand the level of intellectual effort required to reach meaningful academic achievement, identify who can help them to obtain the knowledge they still lack and their intellectual qualities which can be of benefit to other students. Such an understanding may create a genuine interdependence among students which then makes it possible for them to be aware of the need to communicate with one another across gender, class, ethnic, religious, age, and cultural boundaries, making education also serve as a unifying and peace making variable.

The following are two illustrations to help any individual person, who is striving to reach certain achievement in life to begin the process properly. These illustrations may help a person to understand (a) the main ideologies and material conditions which have influenced the existing social stratification and power relations or distribution in society. (b) To help her/him to make use of certain characteristics of her identification, in relation to discursive practices (the subjective meanings imposed on them) to situate her/his position in society, and understand specific characteristics that become obstacles towards reaching certain goals. Also to help an individual understand how, where and when they become so.

#### FIGURE NO 1:

## CERTAIN INFLUENCES ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOCIETY

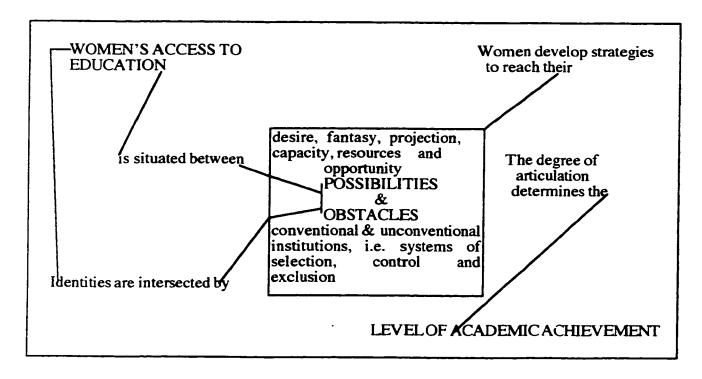


This figure illustrates (1) how ideology and material conditions influence social organization, nature of institutions, and individuals' access to resources and opportunity in society. (2) How institutional changes are influences by popular response.

246

### FIGURE NO 2:

# WOMEN'S ACCESS TO POST-COLONIAL EDUCATION IN TANZANIA



While this figure illustrates how women's access to education is positioned in Tanzania, it also indicates that generally individuals' access to resources and opportunity is situated between possibilities and limitations. Most of the limitations are socially created or intensified. The level of any achievement in person's life depends more on the nature and magnitude of existing limitations, his/her awareness about them, the level of articulation he/she applies towards eradicating such limitations, the availability of resources and opportunities to person's disposal, and his/her capability to utilize them. These factors make education central to any meaningful achievement and human development in general.

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