Educate a woman – and you will educate an entire nation?
– A comparative study between rural and urban areas on the perception of education and empowerment of women

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to investigate if there are differences between men and women in rural and urban areas on perception of women empowerment. The focus is on girls’ education and development in a post – colonial country. Semi structured, qualitative interviews were conducted in Babati district, Tanzania in February 2011. In order to obtain as much useful information and data as possible several research questions were focused on during the fieldwork. These were: What is the perception on empowerment of women, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati? , How does a gender gap in school affect development, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati? , Is the patriarchal heritage an obstacle for development and gender equality, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati? , Why are urban areas more equal than rural areas, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?

The conclusion is that people in rural and urban areas are very similar in their opinions’ of empowerment of women and education for girls. The traditional social and cultural structures are often obstacles for development.

Key words: Women empowerment, Development, Gender, Inequality, Schooling
"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world"

– Nelson Mandela

(van der Rheede 2010)
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1. INTRODUCTION
This chapter aims to explain some background information regarding education in Tanzania and give an insight to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Millennium Development Goals. Aim, problem statement and research questions are also included to give the reader an introduction to the thesis.

1:1 BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Educational opportunities for people in poor countries is like a lottery depending on different factors such as where you live, how old you are, how much your parents can afford to pay but also what sex you are. Out of the 113 million children in the world that have no access to primary education, 60 % are girls. Inequality between the sexes is common and in the poor families in particular, girls can expect to obtain far less education and schooling, if any, than boys. This is because the families cannot afford to pay the school fees or basic school supplies for all children and the boys tend to be favored. “For poor families- and for those many families with a low cash income- primary school is a luxury and secondary school is an impossibility” (Freedman 2004).

During the colonial period in Tanzania many men left their families and homes to work on the plantations. The women alone then had to cope with all the agricultural workload on the countryside formerly also shouldered by their men. Historically this has been an obstacle for womens’ occupational choices and mobility because they were forced to stay on the same place. There is much evidence that efforts to educate girls and women generate increased development and modernization for a country or a nation. In Tanzania, as in many other countries in Africa, there is a patriarchal heritage. These old patriarchal traditions influence many aspects of the girls’ lives and often has a negative impact on the opportunities given to the girls, for example in terms of education. According to statistics the number of boys and girls in Tanzania participating in school is unequal.

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<th>Gender statistics on education in Tanzania</th>
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<td>Equality in primary school</td>
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<td>Equality in secondary school</td>
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<td>Equality in gymnasium</td>
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(FN 2011)
In Tanzania boys are more likely to finish primary school than girls and they dominate the higher levels of education in the country (FN 2011). Amongst important reasons behind this phenomenon are; early marriage and teenage pregnancy, patriarchal heritage and cultural/traditional believes, poverty and child labor (LeMoyne 2008). One out of four girls in Tanzania is under the age of 18 and still in school when she becomes pregnant and gives birth for the first time. Until recently pregnant girls weren’t allowed to continue school (Namfua 2009) and instead obliged to stay at home taking care of household chores such as collecting water, preparing food and taking care of children (LeMoyne 2008). After years of lobbying by for example UNICEF, the laws have changed and the girls that have become mothers can now find their way back into school and education (Namfua 2009).

What do people living in a post-colonial country like Tanzania, think of development and women empowerment? The purpose of this thesis is to investigate weather mens’ and womens’ perception on woman empowerment and education for girls, differ in rural and urban areas, in Babati district, Tanzania. This is important because gender and education are closely related to development and globalization. The society is slowly changing and the peoples’ awareness likewise. Peoples’ perception on these issues is a vital factor to include in development strategies and when trying to find out what causes an unequal society and what makes gender inequalities remain.

1:2 THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and proclaimed on December 10, 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It should be looked up on: ”as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction “ (UN 2010). In the 26th article in The Universal Declaration of Human Rights one can read about the peoples’ right to education. It goes as follows:
“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit”.

“Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace”.

“Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children” (UN 2010)¹.

One of the Millennium Development Goal is: Promote gender equality and empower women. The target is to”Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015” (UN 2010)². It was reaffirmed 2005 by the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP. The terms “gender” and “gender equality” imply not only that men and women are included, but also the relationships between them. UNDP make efforts to improve women empowerment and promote gender equality and The Gender Equality Strategy 2008-2011 is an example of that. Because attention on women empowerment and gender equality will bring increased action in other areas of work in The Millennium Development Goal, this strategy is designed to complement and reinforce The UNDPs’ Strategic Plan 2008-2011 (UNDP 2008).

Another Millennium Development Goal is: Achieve universal primary education. The target is to “ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling” (UN 2010)². Between 2002 and 2006 an ambitious programme of education reform was embarked in Tanzania, where 54 000 classrooms were constructed and 18 000 additional teachers were hired (UN 2010)³.

1:3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To obtain as much useful information and data as possible for the research project, these four (4) research questions were focused on:
- What is the perception of empowerment of women, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?
- How does a gender gap in school affect development, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?
- Is the patriarchal heritage an obstacle for development and gender equality, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?
- Why are urban areas more equal than rural areas, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
This chapter aims to present different theoretical viewpoints which have been used in the research project.

2:1 WOMENS’ POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL ROLES

When discussing issues on development one of the most important aspects is empowering of women and the positive consequences that it brings. Education and employment are two examples of what’s included in this perspective, but also attitudes from the family or community towards women engaging, and the social conditions that might enable changes of these attitudes (Sen 1999 p. 287-288). Amartya Sen writes about women and their different roles in the society, in her work Development as freedom. According to him, if women are given the opportunity they take the chance and most of the times do very well (Sen 1999 p. 283). The whole society would benefit if women engaged in economical activities and that’s important for a country in order to become part of globalization and development. One of the reasons why women are underrepresented when it comes to daily economical activities is because the patriarchal heritage makes them limited in their access to land and therefore can’t start business with help from banks. There is also much evidence that educated women perform family planning and therefore tend not to get as many children as the uneducated women. That’s a perfect example of how the society will profit from women empowerment that leads to gender equality (Sen 1999 p. 284-285). One of the most common meanings of women empowerment is womens’ growth in capacity to make choices, even though empowerment can also be discussed in general terms
Arlesten & Leijon brings up arguments from writer Sylvia Chant, where she states that the empowerment of women is not dependent on women’s access to material resources such as education. Instead she says that there need to be changes in the social, cultural and legal structures of gender inequality in order to get a major impact. Education might help women to make the right choices and contribute to bringing development forward but it is not a guarantee that women with will gain power (Arlesten & Leijon 2010 p. 30).

2:2 GENDER AND POSTCOLONIAL FEMINIST THEORY

Professor Chandra Talpade Mohanty is one of the leading postcolonial feminist theorists and in her classical work “Under Western Eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses” she talks about the importance of taking into account that women in postcolonial countries have a different historical and cultural background and context than the western women have, when discussing and analyzing gender relations. Furthermore she criticizes the western women’s conception of western gender relations as universal. According to Mohanty “women in developing countries are described merely as victims, or as women without agency and it is in terms of victimization that they are described in western feminist theory (Arlesten & Leijon 2010 p. 25).

An expression widely used by postcolonial feminist theorists is “dual colonialism” or “double colonialism”. There are two different descriptions of the terms where the first one focuses one a male centered view of gender that the former colonialists had. They accentuated the men’s abilities to conquer and subordinate women and subjugate them into housekeepers and passive mothers. In a way, the western-centered gender relations were forced on the original inhabitants by the colonialists and the internal social relations, where the native women had a high status, were torn down. The other description of “dual colonialism” focuses on how women were neglected in postcolonial countries (Arlesten & Leijon 2010 p. 26). Ania Loomba argues in Colonialism/Post colonialism that women in postcolonial countries rarely are described as main subjects in neither discourse of post colonialism or in feminism. She continues by stating that when trying to understand colonialism and history, it’s of great necessity to bring postcolonial women’s experience as a main source (Loomba 2004 p. 140). Regarding gender relations in nation building Arlesten & Leijon brings up the book “Gender and Nation”, written by professor Nira Yuval- Davis who has studied gender and nation building within the field of political science. Yuval – Davis argues that culturally and biologically rooted roles are given to men and
women in the nation. These different roles include various responsibilities and they are important for the reproduction of the society. However, in terms of for example education, the roles or responsibilities are not equally valued. Traditionally womens’ memberships in a nation are based on their ability to secure a nations future by giving birth, while the mens’ role has been described as citizenship givers to their offspring (Arlesten & Leijon 2010 p. 26).

2:3 WOMEN AND GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT THEORY

Women and children make up the vast majority of those living in deprivation in the world and when talking about development, world poverty is an important aspect (Arlesten & Leijon 2010 p. 30). Andersson argues that when increasing the level of educated girls, the end of poverty starts. Furthermore the incentives for a child to enroll in school increases in a family where the mother has an education. Positive effects such as improved health, reduced fertility and family size and more money to the household, are often connected with educated women. In the long run these effects slow down population growth and thus, due to decreased fertility rates, affect the economical growth in a positive way (Andersson 2010 p. 8). In many poor countries a lot of women are left in the rural areas when their men go to the urban areas for work. These women usually don´t have money of their own nor access to their husbands´ economy. They are also deprived in areas such as opportunity to access education and this makes it difficult for them to obtain a higher income employment. They end up in the informal low-paying sectors without social security (Arlesten & Leijon 2010 p. 30). In the modern business sectors for example, the women are poorly represented, and low educational opportunities for women is seen as one of the reasons behind this. The educational gap between the sexes therefore enables even greater economic differences which eventually lead to economic stagnation in the society (Mårtensson 2010 p. 10). Historically it has even been considered a waste to make efforts on educating women (Andersson 2010 p.8). Arlesten & Leijon talks about gender biases and they imply that because of the economical benefits a boy may supply to the family in the future, they tend to get more physical attention, food, health care and education than girls. In societies where the parents and even teachers value education for boys more than for girls, the gender biases are even greater (Andersson 2010 p. 8, 30).
2:4 THE ISSUE OF GENDER AND EQUALITY

The term gender can be defined as “socially-ascribed meanings given to the categories man and woman” (Mårtensson 2010 p. 31) and is an inevitable expression in discussions on the subject of development. The definition refers to expectations and norms on men and women and the gender based approach on development focuses on social roles of both male and female (Mårtensson 2010 p. 31). Prior to the 1970s not much research had been carried out on the issue of gender in relation to development, even though women in developing countries had been trying to address this issue since long before that. The general thought had been that there were no specific differences between men and women in poverty. Different kinds of research on this area has not only brought up the negative effects of development on women but also shown what kind of negative impact this has on the whole nations’ development (Mårtensson 2010 p. 10). In order to achieve constant economic growth for a country, one of the most important things is to provide primary schooling for all children. Therefore this is a huge challenge for the developing world in their process towards globalization and modernization. Furthermore, education enables people to work themselves out of poverty not to mention the individual and national wellbeing that education of girls promotes. This is supported by the former South African president Nelson Mandela in his famous quote: “Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” (Mårtensson 2010 p. 99). According to Mårtensson there are big differences between boys and girls on education in Tanzania, and efforts are being made to improve access to primary school for the most vulnerable ones, which are usually girls. Girls tend to drop out of primary school more frequently than boys and due to different reasons, such as for example early pregnancy and early marriage, they miss essential schooling. One should also keep in mind that in many poor countries the families’ economy is extremely marginalized and the parents have no choice but to let the children drop out of school and instead contribute to the family income. Even if the families’ income would increase in the long run it’s difficult to imply compulsory education because the expenses would be higher and the family would face lower income in the short run (Andersson 2010 p. 6). Mårtensson argues that even though women in Tanzania represent 51 % of the population they don’t receive as much education as men and because the men are dominating the society the women are being socially disadvantaged. Social aspects and cultural contexts should be given attention when investigating the importance of education for a nations’
development. For example, even if a man and a woman have the same level of education, the patriarchal heritage can still affect the women in a negative way (Mårtensson 2010 p. 10).

3. METHODOLOGY
This chapter aims to explain and shed light on the inductive research method which consists of qualitative semi structured interviews. Further, interview technique, data collection and methodological reflections are discussed.

3:1 PREPARATIONS TO FIELDWORK

Prior to the excursion in February 2011 several weeks were spent on learning about Tanzania in general and in particular subjects such as natural resources, economics, social and political structures, etcetera. This was to give a contextual insight to the possible research subjects available. Since issues on gender and development are always current in the developing world the subject was decided to be; perceptions of women empowerment with focus on development and girls’ education. Different research questions were chosen as starting point for the fieldwork. For the theoretical framework in this thesis, previous research concerning gender studies was investigated and scientific essays and books have been used to gather sufficient secondary material. Some of the information is applicable on Africa as a continent whilst some is specified for Tanzania in particular.

3:2 CHOICE OF METHOD AND SAMPLING

Since the aim of this essay was to find out about peoples’ perception on different subjects, the best method to use was, qualitative, semi structured interviews. Any other method wouldn’t give sufficient data and information or give satisfying answers to the research questions. In order to be able to compare not only men and women, but also between rural and urban areas, different possible informants were considered. After discussing with a field assistant, four (4) different locations in Babati town and four (4) locations in rural Babati were chosen to get as good spectrum of informants as possible and an optimal representation of each region. The rural locations were sometimes hard to identify, since small villages close to Babati town could be
considered both rural and urban. Because of lack of knowledge of the surroundings, the sampling process possibly didn’t always succeed and perhaps some of the rural interviewees were not rural enough, in order to discover significant differences. This could have affected the results in a way that the differences between rural and urban areas are less obvious.

The traditional village of Endakiso was inhabited of Masais, and their answers were often peculiar and difficult to grasp. Even though the data from these interviews is part of the research study, it’s possible that they are not as reliable as the rest of the data. There is a chance that the Masais were heckling during the interviews. As a western female interviewing traditional people in a small village in Tanzania, they were given the opportunity to provoke the interviewer in terms of startling comments. Perhaps they took that chance.

Despite the planning it was hard to predict if there would be only a woman or a man or both, attending the interview. An open mind and flexible attitude is needed from the interviewer because the cultural differences sometimes make it complicated to predict the outcome of each interview. In order to obtain as much information as possible, everyone present at each interview was given the chance to answer questions.

3:3 INTERVIEW TECHNIQUE AND DATA COLLECTION

Since the aim of the thesis was to find out about peoples’ perception of women empowerment, the optimum methodological approach was semi structured interviews. A quantitative method wouldn’t give sufficient nor satisfying data. Several questions were prepared before hand and as the first interviews had been conducted the questions were refined and improved, in order to suit the informants and their expected level of awareness. During the interviews notes of the informants’ answers were taken to each question in order to collect as much information as possible.

The advantage of semi structured interviews is that it does not limit the informant in his’ or hers’ answers and it does not prevent explanations with more depth. The prepared questions can be referred to as main questions, and in addition there is also room for open and spontaneous questions. When finished one interview, at least one hour was spent on discussing it with the field assistant. This was to summarize the notes taken during the interview and to understand the center of each question in order to increase the reliability and validity of the data collected. Due
to possible misinterpretations or miscommunication, potential mistakes are taken fully responsibility for.

3:5 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Since Swahili is one of the most common languages in Tanzania, the interviews conducted in Babati were performed with help of the field assistant. Each question was translated from English to Swahili and the answers, vice versa. In the Masai village, the informants spoke masai, a language of which the field assistant wasn’t familiar. Therefore an additional translator was present, and questions and answers were thus translated two times in each direction during these interviews. The possible consequences of these kinds of language obstacles are that some of the information, a specific meaning or emotion, gets lost or translated in a misinterpreting way. It creates an unnatural relation between the interviewer and the informant as a third part is present. This should be taken into consideration when analyzing the findings and the results, since either the question could have been misunderstood, or the answers were possibly not fully translated or summarized.

Another matter or difficulty to be aware of is the presence of other people during the interviews. For example, if a man is present when interviewing a woman in a patriarchal community, she might feel intimidated and therefore give answers that would be considered less peculiar and more mainstream. That affects the final results and should also be taken into account in the analysis.

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter aims to present the results from the interviews and give an analysis with correlations to the theoretical framework. In order to create flow in the text the informants are called Uf1 and Um1 etcetera, where the letters and numbers stand for urban/rural area, female/male, and nr (of informant).

4:1 PERCEPTION ON EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

When interviewing the people in rural and urban areas about their opinion on empowerment of women the general answer was that it was something very positive for the society as a whole and
important for development and modernization. Most of them included education for women in the term empowerment.

Uf1 mentioned the importance of education amongst elderly women because they can spread the knowledge to younger generations and by that bring good changes.

Um1 said that empowerment of women means that they become stronger, they speak out more and she will not be dependent on her husband. In fact they will be dependent on each other.

Educated men think women empowerment is a good thing because she will earn her own money. In rural homes though, women can never become dominant, as men will feel inferior. Rm5 also claimed that women become strong, independent and happier with money.

Uf3s’ perception included organizing businesses and get capital and gain power. She added that in rural areas people don’t know what empowerment is, there is only one tribe and they will not come up with new ideas. They want to stay together in the tribe in their traditional beliefs.

For Um2 the term meant opportunity to education and participation in the society. In the rural area the general explanation of the expression was more money to the household and good changes in the family and the society.

Rm4s’ and Rf4s’ answers were very short and it seemed like they hardly understood the question. Rm4 answered empowerment is not important and the man decides everything and the woman should obey. The man is always the head of the household and it is not an equal society. Rf4 said that empowerment of women is not important.

4:1:1 ANALYSIS

Everyone, except Rm4 and Rf4, thought of women empowerment as something positive to seek for and important for development. There where no obvious differences between rural and urban areas even though they have different baselines and conditions to relate to the expression. They refer to things that are obvious and concrete in their lives and that’s important to be aware of when discussing development strategies in the region. The interviewees included education as part of women empowerment and when educating girls the chances of development become even greater. Arlesten & Leijons’ argument from Sylvia Chant, that women empowerment is not dependent on education and other material resources, in a way become questionable. None of the interviewees brought up the changes that according to Arlesten & Leijon, needs to be done socially, culturally and legally, for empowerment of women to increase. They were more
focused on what it meant to them and how they could relate to women empowerment in their own lives and from their point of view. Mårtensson argues that different kinds of research in the area of gender and equality has shown that people nowadays are more aware of the negative impact on the whole nations’ development that comes along gender inequalities in the society. The results from the interview on this particular question give Mårtessons’ theory weight. The people of Babati town and the surrounding areas are truly aware of the good things that come with empowering of women. They seem to know that in order to become part of the modern world; in some aspects they need to distance themselves from the old traditions and the patriarchal social structures. That will bring concrete changes in their individual life situations and on grassroots level start the process towards a modern and equal society. As Arlesten & Leijon previously mentioned, education for women will contribute to bringing development forward but is not a guarantee that the women will gain power. The female interviewees though, mediated the opposite point of view. They were pretty clear about the increased power and higher status they would obtain through education and empowerment. Even the men were aware of the fact that they would probably need to compromise in terms of power in the household. They knew that when the women become more educated, the men would need to decrease their level of power. The local men in Kwaraa, Rm5, had their focus on the economical improvements that would come if more women were educated. Maybe that’s because the whole family would benefit if more money would come into the household and they would be able to send the children to school. Surprisingly Rf4 said that empowerment is not important and perhaps that is because she hardly knows what it means or what it stands for. She was aware of the fact that because she was a traditional healer and therefore very powerful, she was an exception in their patriarchal community.

4:2 EDUCATION AND GENDER INEQUALITIES

Uf2 explained the situation of young girls dropping out of school because of forced marriage or pregnancy and up until a couple of years ago, the girls weren’t allowed to continue schooling after having delivered the baby. These rules have now changed, thanks to new laws. She said that in some rural regions they stick to old traditions and family structures, and the girls are even forbidden to start primary school. She added that the town is influenced by globalization and therefore also more modern than rural areas. If young people in rural areas would get an
education then they could educate their parents and more effectively perform the household chores. This way the traditional households would be influenced by modernization. She also claimed that when it comes to schooling opportunities for children in poor families, the boys are usually favored. In traditional regions girls’ education is less valued than boys’. Um2 said that some parents don’t think education is important and therefore don’t bother to send the children to school, while other families just can’t afford the school fees. He claimed that illiteracy and ignorance are obstacles for development in rural areas because the people there are busy “surviving the day”. Every day they need a lot of time to collect food and water and therefore they don’t value education the same way as in urban areas.

Rf3 and Rm3 said that the traditional culture is an obstacle for girls’ education and women empowerment in general, because the girl or woman needs to plan her time very carefully to be able to join in different women organizations.

Uf2 explained that when increasing the number of educated girls, that helps decrease the number of forced marriage, child workers, street children and prostitution amongst girls.

When asking the interviewees about the consequences of girls dropping out of school or not attending school, Uf1 answered that the girl would then become responsible for the household duties and would more easily become victim of rape. Uf2 said that an uneducated woman would not be a good mother in the future and she added that men always tend to succeed – even without education.

Uf3 and Um2 expressed their strong feelings regarding this issue and said that it’s a huge problem and the girls will not be respected without an education. She will have problem to find a husband.

Rm5 answered that the girl would loose her direction of life and become victim of prostitution.

Even Rm4 expressed the importance of girls going to school. Rf4 though, thought that there were no consequences at all if a girl didn’t attend school.

Every interviewee had the same or similar opinion on what the consequences are when women are underrepresented in the higher levels of education or in the universities. It would lead to decreasing development in economical, political and social aspects, and it’s an obstacle for modernization and development. An equal society is possible when the women also become
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educated. Then they would empower themselves even more by joining different organizations and activities, for example cooking, sewing, decorating and agriculture. There would also be stagnation in the society and no changes for better development. If the number of educated girls increases that would lead to great development in the society and general improvements on “women awareness” regarding education. Equal representation of men and women in the universities equals great development! Women can do everything just as good as men can- just give them the opportunity! No good changes would come and development would decrease when women are underrepresented in the universities. Women can do hard work and they are more honest. Except the answers from the Masai, there were no obvious differences between rural and urban areas, or between men and women.

4:2:1 ANALYSIS

When discussing different aspects of development it’s important to take into account that in poor countries the rural areas are not as influenced by globalization and modernization as the urban areas are. The lack of impressions from the industrial world can become an obstacle in the process towards development in the rural regions. Through this perspective, Mårtenssons’ theory; for a country to achieve constant economic growth, the outcome is dependent on equal opportunities for all children to attend primary school, becomes relevant. The interviewees mediated the importance of gender equality in school and what that brings in terms of development in social, political and economical areas. The patriarchal, traditional way of living where men has a lot of power over women and are considered heads of the households, influences the womens’ lives in many ways. For example, it makes it difficult for them to gain power and obtain new knowledge and education. Without schooling opportunities for all children, the development process and economical growth would decrease or even stagnate. During history, education for boys and girls has not been equally valued and the gender roles, which Professor Chandra Talpade Mohanty talks about in her work “Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses”, are still today, current in for example Babati district, Tanzania. According to several of the interviewees, the women often become disadvantaged in the society, for example in terms of education. Most of them were familiar with the positive consequences that gender equality in school brings to the society in terms of development. At the same time they pointed out the reasons why schooling for girls is so
important is because it helps keep the girls away from rape, early and forced marriage and so on. Worth mentioning though, is that gender equality shouldn’t necessarily mean equal numbers of boys and girls in all types of activities. The focus should rather be: equality of opportunities to live equally fulfilling lives.

According to Mårtensson, education is one of the best ways for a country to work itself out of poverty and that’s also applicable on individuals. This theory then verifies Mårtenssons’ statement that education is a huge challenge for the developing world. The reality is striking and there are still great differences between the sexes in school, even though improvements on girls’ access to primary school have been done, during the last couple of years. To create an equal and modern society women and men needs to cooperate and understand that women empowerment is part of that. The peoples’ general attitude of wanting to give the opportunity to women to empower themselves through education, and their widespread awareness on the subject, witnesses of its’ long history.

4:3 MOTHER VS FATHER IN EDUCATING SKILLS?

The general opinion of men and women in both rural and urban areas was that the mother was definitely a better transmitter of knowledge and better at educating the children compared to the father. Usually the women are responsible for the household chores and spend more time at home where the children are. Therefore they have more time and opportunities to teach and educate the children. The majority of the female interviewees included the womens’ personal skills as contributing to why they were considered better transmitter of knowledge. They expressed some kind of curiosity though, when asked if men would become better at educating the children if they’d spend more time in the house.

Uf3 said women are also better leader because she is careful, men tend to ignore things and Um2s’ answer was similar; women are humble by nature and men like to give orders and have power.

Rf2, Rf3 and Rm3 thought that men drink a lot and spend more time in bars than women- time that could be spent with the children instead. The children therefore feel more comfortable in the presence of the mother.

All men in both rural and urban areas pointed out biological factors as reasons why the women were better transmitters. They said that the women are humble by nature and know how to handle
children whilst the men like to give orders and gain power. The children are more comfortable with the mother because she is more caring and loving. Therefore she is a better teacher. They never mentioned women spending more time with the children as a contributing factor to why they are considered better at transmitting knowledge. But they did say that usually the men are busy and have no time to concentrate.

Again the answers from Rf4 and Rm4 were peculiar and short. Rf4 expressed her positive attitude towards education in general whilst Rm4 said that men tell the women what to do and the women should obey.

4:3:1 ANALYSIS

Historically women and men have had different responsibilities in the family and the household. Arlesten & Leijon uses Yuval-Davis explanation to this, where culturally and biologically rooted roles are given to men and women in the nation. According to Yuval-Davis the reproduction of the society depends on these roles and responsibilities. It’s clear that various duties such as agriculture, cooking, collecting water, etcetera are valued differently and this still dominate the society in many ways. Usually the women stay at home taking care of children and household chores - men are doing things outside the home. Most times the workload is unevenly spread between man and woman. Because of the patriarchal heritage the women are undermined and usually don’t have much choice but to continue doing what she’d always done. The interviewees seemed aware of these roles but gave the expression that it’s always been like that and that it was natural for them.

When taking about educating skills between men and women their answers witnessed of old traditions and culture. The women are better at educating the children because she stays at home more than the men, but also because she is more skilled in this area. Especially if you ask them men…All men answered that women are better at transmitting knowledge to the children because of their biological conditions. They referred to the women’s loving, caring and humble personalities. One can wonder if the men choose to think like this because it benefits them. There’s a chance that they are just too comfortable in their roles as head of the household, and want to continue their lifestyle and keep their power. They are politically correct in their actions and words and perhaps this is why it’s hard to get to the center of the discussed subject. When the women carry the heaviest workload the men can spend more time in bars and doing things
outside the home. What would happen if the men had more opportunities to educate the children? Would they be as good teachers as the women? The patriarchal heritage is still strong not only in the rural regions but sometimes in town as well. Even if urban areas are more developed than rural areas the gender roles are still obvious in many ways.

4:4 SUPPORTIVE MEN

When asking what men can do to support women empowerment, Uf1 expressed her feelings regarding traditional beliefs and she thought that people should try to leave out the traditional culture and way of living in order to empower women and support them in the process towards development .

Uf2 said that if men had a positive attitude towards women empowerment and they helped out more in the household in order to release “spare time” for the women that would enable the women to attend different activities. The men could also contribute by giving money to start businesses and allow the women to go to meetings and organizations.

Uf3 said it’s hard for the men to neglect empowerment of women because it’s such a strong force and the process is hard to resist. Therefore they are becoming more and more positive to development. Um2 added factors such as men helping out with transportation, money and material for different projects and above all, permitting and accepting the women to engage with other women in different activities.

In Kwaraa village, Rf1 and Rf2 said that the men were traditional in their opinions and way of living but education would slowly help change that, and the men would become more modernized and developed.

Rf3 and Rm3 also mentioned this perspective and said that as time goes by, more and more men start allowing their women to engage in groups and accept that they empower themselves. Life is getting tougher and things are more expensive than before and therefore it’s becoming more accepted that women earn an income. Rm3 also expressed a concern regarding women getting more power, because they would start standing up for their rights and that would lead to increased burden and workload for the men. He thinks that rural men would like to stay in their old habits and as they usually lack education they don’t understand the benefits of new knowledge and critical thinking.
Rm5 said that nowadays men and women make decisions together regarding the household. This is partly because there is a new law that makes it possible for women to go to trial if he mistreats her. This is a good thing because it decreases the violence in the family and in the whole society. Um1 added that if a man does not support his woman in her empowerment process, it’s because he’s jealous of the woman and need to feel superior. There is however no way out for the woman in this situation, she should just stay with him. Where should she go? Who would take care of the children?

4:4:1 ANALYSIS

The gender inequalities are an obstacle for development in both rural and urban areas. Prior to the 1970s there hadn’t been much or any research on the issue of gender in relation to development. The women in these regions had tried to address it since long before that. The traditional patriarchal culture is strong in many places and the women in these regions are neglected and undermined. It is hard for them to obtain new knowledge or education if the men don’t allow it. Development goes hand in hand with gender equality and this is a huge task for the developing world in their process towards globalization. The society is slowly changing and more and more men understand the importance of women empowerment. Even though they don’t always like it, they have to surrender to the modernization- and development processes in the society. If the men don’t change by own will perhaps the government has to intervene. Arlesten & Leijon uses Sylvia Chants statement that in order to get at major impact on gender inequalities in the society, there has to be changes and improvements in the social, cultural and legal structures. She thinks that to offer women education is good, but not enough if the aim is to make them truly empowered. New laws now makes it harder for men to abuse women and that can also bring good changes in terms of men’s awareness on gender equality. The men in the urban areas are usually more educated than men in rural areas and therefore also more civilized. They understand the importance of women empowerment and are generally more positive to it. However there are some contradictions because many rural men are aware of the situation even though they live by the old traditions. In a patriarchal society where the men are considered the head of the household big changes and improvements would therefore be possible if they supported their women.
Another interesting aspect to bring up when discussing supportive men, is the term “dual colonialism”. The male centered view of gender that the former colonialists had, is still fluctuating in the community in terms of gender inequalities. According to Professor Chandra Talpade Mohanty the western centered gender relations were forced on the original inhabitants during the colonial era. The womens’ high social status was torn down and they became subjugated into passive individuals. This phenomenon is still today visible in many regions and Arlesten & Leijons’ theory makes sense. In a post-colonial country like Tanzania where women are neglected in different ways, in order to be part of the globalization the gender gap need do decrease. In order for that to occur the men need to change their way of thinking and acting and support women in their empowerment process. The traditional structures need to be constantly contested and the men have the dominating role in this. Men and women need to go hand in hand towards development.

4:5 ARE URBAN AREAS MORE EQUAL?

Uf1 and Um1 think that men in the town or urban areas are generally more educated than men in rural areas. Therefore the town is more civilized and modern and the differences between the sexes are less than in rural areas.

Uf2 said that more empowered women with education lives in the urban areas and in these areas the influences of globalization are greater and more obvious. They also value an equal society and are aware of the fact that changes in society starts at family level.

Further answers were; urban men are positive to empowering of women and therefore they are considered more civilized. In the rural areas illiteracy and ignorance are obstacles for development and this is why the rural areas are more traditional. Education leads to civilization which leads to modernization which leads to development- that goes for both rural and urban areas. Education brings civilization and urban areas are better at increasing the number of educated girls. With education comes independence!

Uf3 added that in town there are more tribes and therefore more information to share which leads to development. In rural areas the tradition is often stronger and usually only one tribe in one village, which leads to less innovation.

Rf4 said that development is a good thing because you get more food on the table and more education. Agriculture is development added Rm4.
4:5:1 ANALYSIS

When discussing women in development it’s interesting to connect Arlesten & Leijons’ theory with the results from the research. It’s a chain of reactions and everything is connected. The women in rural Babati are often the ones responsible for the house hold duties; they cook food, collect water, do agriculture chores, take care of children, etcetera. They usually don’t have any spare time to attend different activities or get an education. This means it’s difficult for them to obtain a higher income employment and as Arlesten & Leijon puts it, they end up in the informal low paying, low status sector. Their husbands’ economy is out of reach for them and sometimes they don’t have money of their own.

From the interviews it becomes clear that women are being neglected in the society, in both rural and urban areas. In the rural areas the traditions makes it hard for women to become empowered and that affects the development in the whole society. There are more opportunities to obtain an education in town and people in general are more open minded.

The people know the importance of gender equality in school but they don’t really know how to handle the problem. What can be done to improve the girls’ situation? In urban areas the struggle to “survive the day” takes most of the time and innovative thinking on how to improve their standard of life and how to progress, can therefore not be given very much priority. Many urban men want to stay in old habits and traditions and that become an obstacle for women empowerment as well as for development. The men have always been the head of the house hold and therefore become intimidated by empowered women. Without the mens’ approval, the women aren’t allowed to do much and therefore don’t take own initiatives. The traditional social structure values the political correct where people choose their words before speaking. In a way the women are caught in this trap and thus stay undermined. Therefore urban men need to realize that gender equality goes hand in with modern thinking and changing social structures.

6. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

This chapter aims to give a short summary of the results in terms of conclusions from the research questions.
What is the perception on empowerment of women, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?
- The expression is perceived as positive and important for development in both rural and urban areas.
- Women empowerment generally means to become stronger, get capital, obtain power, become independent and it refers to things that are important for every female individual.
- Men tend to have more focus on the money aspect in terms of women bringing more money to the household.

How does a gender gap in school affect development, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?
- When girls drop out of school and become underrepresented in higher levels of education, it will lead to stagnation in the society and decrease in economical, political and cultural aspects.
- It’s a downward spiral and begin when girls drop out of school because of various reasons.
- Urban areas tend to value girls’ education less than boys’.

Is the patriarchal heritage an obstacle for development and gender equality, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?
- The men in traditional house holds usually don’t value education for women as much because they want to keep their power.
- People in both rural and urban areas think that women are better than men at educating the children. Men point at the biological reasons for that, while the majority thinks it’s because the women spend more time with the children.

Why are urban areas more equal than rural areas, according to local men and women in rural and urban Babati?
- In the rural areas the traditional ways of living are usually more obvious and stronger than in urban areas. Because of that gender equality is less valued outside town.
- Urban people have more education and leave out traditional believes.
- Globalization has stronger influences in urban areas and that enables development.
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8. APPENDIX

8:1 GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE INFORMANTS
In order to create flow in the text the informants are called Uf1 and Um1 etcetera, where the letters and numbers stand for urban/rural area, female/male, nr (of informant).

Uf1 and Um1
Urban area, Babati town
Sexes: female and male
Age: 52 years and 55 years
Education: finished Form 4 in Teacher education
Occupation: teacher
Children: 3 girls and 2 boys

Uf2:
Urban area, Babati town
Sex: female
Age: around 40 years
Education: finished Form 6 in teacher education,
Occupation: teacher
Children: 1 boy, 1 girl

Uf3:
Urban area, Babati district
Sex: female
Age: 50 years
Education: she finished Form 4 in Nursery school
Occupation: nurse and pharmacy owner, member of Town council and Kambaragi Women Group
Children: 2 girls and 2 boys

Um2:
Urban area, Babati Town
Sex: male
Age: 25 years
Education: secondary school in Bagara, geography
Occupation: geography teacher
Children: No children

Rf1 and Rf2:
Rural area, Kwaraa Village
Sexes: female and female
Age: 30 years and 47 years
**Education**: both finished primary school  
**Occupation**: no information  
**Children**: yes

**Rf3 and Rm3:**  
**Location**: Rural area, Sigino Village, Babati district  
**Sexes**: female and male  
**Age**: around 60 years (unaware of age) he 60 years  
**Education**: she finished primary school, he finished secondary school  
**Occupation**: she’s owner of a small pastry shop, he’s chairman of a cow milk organization  
**Children**: 1 girl, 2 boys, plus 4 grand children (daughter died giving birth—now they take care of them)

**Rf4:**  
**Location**: Rural area, Endakiso village  
**Sex**: female  
**Age**: around 50 years (unaware of age)  
**Education**: no school education  
**Occupation**: traditional healer  
**Children**: no information

**Rm4:**  
**Location**: Rural area, Endakiso village  
**Sex**: male  
**Age**: around 60 years (unaware of age)  
**Education**: no school education  
**Occupation**: works with agriculture and livestock  
**Children**: no information

**Rm5:**  
**Location**: Rural area, Kwaraa Village  
**Sexes**: male, male and male (two more males were present)  
**Age**: all around 55 years (unaware of age)  
**Education**: no information  
**Occupation**: mostly working with agriculture  
**Children**: yes