

**“Citizenship is *what you are, what you do, and how you appear* in front of other people in [the] society you live” :
Lessons on gendered citizenship in a Tanzanian school**

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Abstract

This case study examines how civics education and forces of schooling shape Tanzanian girls' perceptions of citizenship. Girls often experience multiple barriers, including gender discrimination, when participating as young citizens. Gender concepts have been incorporated into the Tanzanian civics curriculum to raise awareness of gender inequality and champion gender empowerment strategies. To understand the effects of these gender-focused curricular inclusions on conceptions of female citizenship, this study provides an analysis of the framing of citizenship within the civics curriculum and an examination of individual student perceptions of citizenship. Data was collected from interviews, public diaries, and curriculum documents and analyzed using a feminist conceptual framework. The results provide insight into youth and gendered modes of citizenship participation.

Key words: Gender, Citizenship, Tanzania, Civics Education, Feminism

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The problem

Citizenship laws and the scholarship surrounding citizenship discussions are often biased against women and their needs. Citizenship laws across the world have treated women as second-class citizens and in some cases even denied women the full rights of citizenship (Kabeer, 2012; Malekela, 1996, McEwan, 2001). Historically, women had to fight for the right to work, to participate in politics, or to be acknowledged on equal terms with men (Yuval-Davis, 1997a). Due to the political and social inequality that women experience, the discourse of citizenship has produced narrow conceptions of what it means to be and act as a citizen. Female citizens are expected to obey laws that discriminate against them and adhere to nationalistic ideologies in their respective countries that do not align with their economic, social, and political needs such as welfare, safety, and civil rights.

Tanzanian women are one particular group of women who are still struggling to overcome gender discrimination in their society (Mascarenhas & Mblinyi, 1983; Meena, 2009; Mushi, 2010; Shayo, 2005). While women are not excluded from citizenship in Tanzania, they are excluded from certain privileges entitled to men. Currently, Tanzanian women do not have the legal ability to confer their citizenship to their non-Tanzanian husbands due to gender bias. In other words, the Tanzanian constitution does not offer citizenship to foreign spouses of Tanzanian women, whereas Tanzanian men can automatically pass on citizenship to their foreign wives (United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs Immigration Services

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Department, 2011).¹ Tanzanian women also lack full access to land and properties. Customary laws in rural communities often trump civil rights granted to women forcing them to follow traditional and customary rights, which privilege men and deny women ownership of land and properties (Ministry for Community Development, Gender and Children, 2016; Peterman, 2011).² Female activists in Tanzania have advocated that the constitution needs to change to ensure fair treatment of women (Mjasiri, 2012).

The gender³ discrimination in Tanzania has led some global advocates to view Tanzanian society as patriarchal. A recent article by the Global Citizen initiative, an online international campaign for human rights and social justice, framed Tanzania as a “staunchly patriarchal” society where families do not support girls’ education (McCarthy, 2016). However, the extent of entrenched patriarchy is debatable given the recent attempts by the Tanzanian government to support women and girls rights through the Millennium Development Goals. According to the Ministry for Community Development, Gender, and Children (MCDC), recent gender focused initiatives include the development of governmental organizations supporting female run businesses, educational initiatives targeted towards girls⁴, and women’s organizations (2016).

Educational initiatives focused on female students include the creation of gender sensitive curriculum and affirmative action accommodations that lowers academic entrance scores for women in Tanzania (Lihamba, Mwaipopo, & Shule, 2006). Furthermore, the Tanzanian secondary civics curriculum specifically addresses the issue of gender discrimination and

¹ Foreign spouses must apply for citizenship through the regular process of naturalization, which necessitates that they reside in Tanzania for a period of seven years before being granted citizenship and undergoing an evaluation process.

² Legally speaking, Tanzanian women have “strong rights” to land and property but customary laws, particularly in rural areas, resists and re-interprets these civil rights through customary laws (Peterman, 2011, p. 6)

³ Feminist scholar Subrahmanian (2003) argues that gender discrimination occurs when girls are denied opportunities “because of forces of discrimination both inside and outside school” (p. 9).

⁴ The term “girls” is used in the literature to refer to female students in primary and secondary school. Often these girls are under eighteen years of age.

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acknowledges women's past contributions in Tanzania, as exemplified in the excerpt below from a 2004 national civics examination (*as cited in Ezra & Maduhu, 2012*):

Women in Tanzania and the world over have always been very active in contributing to national development. This contribution however, has neither been recognized nor acknowledged by societies especially the decision makers who have always been mostly men.

In Tanzania, for example, during colonial era, many men moved to sisal and tobacco plantations to provide the needed labor force. Women were left at home to care for children and parents. During the struggle for independence in the 1950s women did a lot in campaigning but during elections were rarely voted into power into parliamentary seats (unedited, taken from original text).

The Proposed Solution

The excerpt above is a passage from a national civics examination conducted by the National Examination Council of Tanzania at the end of Form Two.⁵ The passage is part of the section on gender⁶ where students learn about concepts involving gender and the marginalization of Tanzanian women. The discussion within the excerpt focuses on the discrimination of Tanzanian women in different sectors despite their contributions and participation in national development through political endeavors and private care giving activities. The passage attempts

⁵ Tanzania uses the form-system for secondary schooling. Ordinary level education consists of forms one to four and advanced level consists of forms five and six.

⁶ According to the Tanzanian curriculum, gender is the "social roles assigned to men and women" (MOEVT, 2010, p. 45). As such, rather than introducing an alternative perspective of gender I have chosen to acknowledge the curriculum's definition based on socially constructed understandings of gender. Gender for this project is viewed as a social construction, which arises through local and cultural perceptions of gender, and assigns specific roles to women and men (Stambach, 2000; Malszecki & Cavar, 2005).

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to convey a message of empowerment by acknowledging women's roles and the changing legal structure in Tanzania.

Such curricular messages on women's empowerment are placed within the curriculum to improve the status of women and inevitably increase the enrolment and retention of girls in schools (MCDC, 2016; Ministry of Education and Vocational Training [MOEVT], 2010). In 2012, the Tanzanian census noted that the proportion of girls attending primary school between ages five to fourteen was higher than that of boys, but the proportion dropped significantly for girls aged sixteen onwards (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2012).⁷ Girls had a low transition rate to secondary school for many reasons including early marriages, poverty, work responsibilities, or traditional gender expectations in the home.

Young Tanzanian girls are often marginalized because they are positioned within hierarchal familial structures, lack decision-making powers, and their own resources (Meena, 1996; Unterhalter and Helsop, 2011). The Tanzanian government has tried to remove these barriers by implementing free primary education and increasing girls' access to schools through funding, campaigns, a gender sensitive curriculum, and lower entrance scores for girls in secondary and higher education.

The effect: Rationale for present study

Given these educational and curricular changes for Tanzanian girls, I wondered how they perceived messages of citizenship and gender in school. Would they feel empowered as young female citizens despite bias in Tanzanian citizenship laws? Due to my recent awareness of gender biased citizenship laws in Tanzania I was inspired to embark on this investigation on the

⁷ The gender parity index averaged 1.00 for girls and boys aged 5-14 but decreased to 0.65 for boys and girls aged 19.

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teaching and effect of citizenship in the classroom. As a young Tanzanian student, civics was my favorite subject in secondary school, but it did not encourage me to be an active citizen outside of school. My civics instruction focused on classroom instruction, in-class projects, and discussions, with minimal engagement on external activities and studies have shown this is still the case (Thomas & Rugabamwa, 2013). Thus, I wondered how girls put into practice their citizenship lessons in light of these pedagogical strategies and emphasis on classroom based learning.

Another incentive to conduct this study is the increased attention to the dropout rates of girls within secondary schools. A baseline study by Unterhalter & Helsop (2011) demonstrated that girls in Tanzania could not access public schooling and experience gender discrimination within schooling. Girls, particularly in rural communities, are discouraged to attend school, are expelled if they fall pregnant, and are often unable afford tuition for secondary schooling (p.31). Citizenship participation may be far removed from their daily realities given these difficult circumstances. In order to build an equitable society within Tanzania it is imperative to investigate how girls view and understand citizenship messages and gender empowerment in the curriculum and how they apply these messages to their daily contexts.

Research Questions

To conduct my investigation I employed a bounded case study methodology, which limited the investigation to one field site to ensure in depth analysis and minimize variables. The study was conducted over a period of six weeks at an urban secondary school with a group of thirteen female participants, using qualitative methods such as interviews and reflective writing. My goal was twofold: first, to analyze how girls perceived citizenship in relation to their interpretations of civics curriculum and personal experiences and, second, to understand how the

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curriculum influenced their practice of citizenship. Specifically, my study was guided by the following research questions:

- a) What does citizenship and its related rights, roles, and responsibilities mean to Tanzanian girls? (primary question)
- b) How is citizenship represented in the curriculum in relation to girls/women?
(supplementary question)
- c) How do girls participate as citizens in schools, homes, and their immediate community?
(secondary question)

Organization of thesis

This thesis is organized into nine chapters. Chapter One consists of an introduction to the research problem and questions, positioning myself within the study, and a definition of key terms in this study.

Chapter Two covers the literature review of scholarship pertinent to this study and my conceptual framework. The literature reviews focuses on citizenship education and gender. My conceptual framework utilizes gender theories, namely the Gender and Development Approach and citizenship theories focusing on the distinctions between the public and private spheres.

Chapter Three discusses the case study methodology and document analysis approach I used for this study. I adopted Auerbach's and Silverstein's (2003) coding to analyze the data collected through interviews and public diaries.

Chapter Four covers the contextual backdrop of the research site and participants and engages in an analysis of the civics curriculum in Tanzania. I discuss the influence of pedagogy by civics teachers in the school and provide a summary of the participant profiles. The chapter

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provides an overview of the topics taught within the civics courses and the goals of the curriculum in regards to citizenship teachings.

Chapter Five presents the thematic results I obtained through my research. There were fifteen themes generated through my analysis, which speak to the participants' definitions of citizenship, forms of participation, and struggles as young female citizens. The themes were integrated into comprehensive theoretical constructs that speak directly to the research questions.

Finally, Chapter Six discusses the theoretical constructs presented in the previous chapter and analyzes them in light of the conceptual framework and case study context. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research, implications, and recommendations based on the results.

Chapter 2: Literature Review & Conceptual Framework

This chapter discusses the literature and concepts used to frame this study. The first part of this chapter consists of a literature review which makes a case for the gendered nature of citizenship and citizenship education by focusing on three areas: citizenship understandings within a feminist tradition; the purpose and impact of citizenship education; and, the gendered nature of citizenship education. In reviewing these areas, I demonstrate that citizenship is both a status and an on-going process of relating to others in a given society. I also explain the significance of citizenship curriculum and the creation of gendered citizenship identities and, in so doing, show how feminist analyses are ignored in citizenship education research within sub-Saharan Africa.

The second part of the chapter outlines my approach as a feminist researcher and explains the theories used to construct my conceptual framework. Specifically, I draw on the Gender and Development approach (GAD), theories around the nature of political citizenship, Kershaw's (2010) concept of the "caregiving as political", and Guothro's (2009) notion of the domestic sphere as central to women's citizenship. Finally, this chapter concludes with a reflexive discussion on my positionality within this research project.

Literature Review

The typical understanding of citizenship has evolved throughout the last three decades due to increased migration and technological change (Lister, 1995; Meer & Sever, 2004; Prokhovnik, 1998; Yuval-Davis, 1997a). Yet, at the heart of citizenship definitions are key aspects that are relevant. These aspects include: the status an individual receives as a citizen; the

types of relationships citizens form to maintain their status; how citizenship is practiced on a daily basis; and, the role an individual citizen plays in the public and private spheres.

Citizenship as a status.

Definitions of citizenship often paint a vague picture of an individual citizen. Marshall's (1950) definition, commonly cited by scholars, describes citizenship as a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community, [...] all who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties in which this status is endowed" (p. 5 *as cited* in Yuval-Davis, 1997b). His narrow representation ignores racial, ethnic, and sexual identities that have caused discrimination of various groups of people, particularly women (Arnot, 2005; Moghadam, 2003). Historically, women all over the world have been excluded from public and political citizenship participation because citizenship conceptions were based predominately on masculine ideals that privileged heterosexual men (Lister, 2007; Seely, Diouf, Malischewski, Vaikath and Young-Burns, 2013).⁸

Feminist scholar Yuval-Davis (1997b) explains that in early democratic societies, women tended to be included in democratic projects and citizenship discourses as symbols of morality and femininity but were "excluded from possessing political power, and it naturally follows from the realm of citizenship" because of their social and cultural roles as mothers and caregivers (p.10). Women were not considered on equal to men and, as such, not deemed as "full" citizens with the same rights and liberties (Brunell, 2004). Due to civil and legal discrimination women have struggled to move past being superficial figures in their democracies.

However, suffrage movements from the 19th century in the global west and south challenged women's political exclusion, and they were ultimately offered privileges of

⁸ Feminist scholars have advocated for change in democracies and a recognition of women's rights and capabilities (Mandell, 2005).

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citizenship previously only bestowed to men (Moghadam, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 1997a). These struggles for full citizenship status and political power continued into the late 1980s and resulted in treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, signed by various countries, to acknowledge women's rights and subsequent strategies for their empowerment. Further law changes by governments globally have also allowed women to become high-level political leaders (Meer & Sever, 2004; World Economic Forum, 2013). For example, in some African nations such as Tanzania and Rwanda, women account for 30% to 60% percent of parliamentary membership (Yoon, 2008). This elevation of women's positions in political circles has allowed them to claim further ownership over their status as citizens.

Citizenship as a relationship.

Citizens' relations to their respective governments are also pertinent in the granting of full citizenship status because their relationships determine the rights and legal statutes granted to them. Non-law abiding citizens, for instance, do not have the same privileges as a law abiding ones. Often these law-abiding citizens feel a tentative connection to their respective government, and thus they feel obliged to follow the rules (Meer & Sever, 2004, p.17). In instances where government favorability is high, people become more active in civic spaces and participate politically through activities such as voting (Abdi, 2008, p.158; Arnot, 2009).

Not all citizens have strong relationships with their governments. Youth, in particular, are often cited as disengaged from political life or disconnected from the state (Arnot, 2005; Biesta, 2009). However, there have been instances where disenfranchised youth have come together, such as the Arab Spring, to initiate significant political change despite their apparent political apathy (Slackman, 2011). The young people in the Arab Spring relied on the strong interpersonal

ties with other citizens to facilitate a collective movement and repair the broken relationship they had with their state (Reimer, 2012; Slackman, 2011).

In support of the ideas around collectivism and community, McEwan (2005) argues that feminist scholars need to look past the notion of individual citizenship and instead focus on “communities of interests” (p 25). She found that most women in her South African study derived their sense of citizenship from collective group identity. Women rallied together in small communities or groups to take action around immediate interests, such as unemployment, gender violence, or social assistance (McEwan, 2001). Conversely, McEwan highlights how men tended to see themselves directly in relation to the state and participated in state and local governance activities over community needs.

Communities of interest have developed in other female-led campaigns within Africa and resulted in national change. Take for instance the women’s movement led by the Nobel laureate, Leymah Gbowee, to end gender violence in Liberia. She demonstrated that women could be mobilized for change at a national level through their own personal and community struggles.⁹ Gbowee’s personal struggles with gender abuse and violence led her to advocate for change in her community and inspired other women to join her. Strong citizen relationships formed amongst them due to their shared experiences and identity. Consequently, McEwan (2005) argues for a citizenship conception that focuses on the relationship of individuals-nation or communities-nation, rather than of the nation-individual.

Citizenship as a daily practice.

Recent studies on citizenship have advocated for citizens to be more engaged in their communities to promote political and social change within them (Slackman, 2011). Studies have

⁹ Taken from: Nobel Foundation. (2013). *Leymah Gbowee - biographical*. Retrieved from http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/gbowee-bio.html

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shown that governments identify good citizens as individuals who exercise legal rights by participating in formal spaces of citizenship such as politicking or local community activities (McEwan, 2005; Seely et. al, 2013; Yoon, 2008). For example, citizens are often encouraged to voice their opinions through formal referendums. Hence, citizens have the privilege to facilitate change through law and policy makers. Interestingly, recent instability around the world has transferred this burden of advocating for political change to young citizens because of the rise of youth-led movements and their potential as future leaders (Youniss, Bales, Christmas-Best, Diversi & Silbereisen, 2002, p. 123).

Today's youth or "future leaders" have been shown to view citizenship not only as a political form of participation rather as a daily endeavor and learning experience (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009; Wood, 2014). A study conducted in Europe by Biesta et al. (2009) demonstrated that while youth were aware of their citizenship and national issues, they placed more concern on personal and daily interactions over which they could exert some control. The young people in the study were learning ideas of democracy and cooperation through daily interactions, interpersonal relationships, and social contexts. The study demonstrates that citizenship participation and learning is a process that is "situated [in individual student lives] rather than simply cognitive" (p. 21). The authors argue for a reconceptualization of citizenship that accounts for students' daily lived experiences and social networks. More specifically, citizenship conceptions should address students' personal and social contexts because individual circumstances are essential to citizenship learning and subsequent civic behaviors (Wood, 2014).

Social contexts impact how young citizens, particularly girls, practice their citizenship on a daily basis (Gordon, 2006a). Citizenship participation is often seen as citizenship in "practice" (BRIDGE, 2004, p.12). Canadian scholar Ingram (2013) writes that teenage girls strive to engage

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actively in citizenship but are affected by various socializing processes, which inevitably shape their individual and citizenship identities. In her study, the participants negotiated between gender stereotypes and gender empowerment messages in different public and private spaces.¹⁰ Her participants pushed themselves to be engaged young citizens, participating actively in community service and leadership activities, despite complex and discriminatory depictions of girls. Ingram's study highlights how girls are not simply citizens in *becoming* but citizens who *already are* living and acting out their gendered citizenship identities at home and in society.

Public and private spheres.

The differentiation of participation at home and in society occurs due to the separation of public and private spheres. Public and private realms are terms often used in political theory to refer to the public and domestic domains respectively (Landes, 2003; Kershaw, 2010; Weintraub & Kumar, 1997). The private sphere encompasses spaces such as the citizen's home or areas that are non-institutionalized like clubs or community centers (Kershaw, 2010b). Conversely, the public sphere is the space in which a citizen interacts with others and performs civic and political duties (Kershaw, 2010b). A citizen in the public domain could be in a community space volunteering or voting during a general election.¹¹

Women have historically been relegated to the private spheres because of their roles as caregivers. Women's roles were stationed traditionally in the private sphere or home because they were seen as reproducers of the nation (Lister, 1995). The emphasis of the women's roles in the private sphere diminished their position and power in the public sphere. As seen earlier, feminists challenged traditional notions of citizenship so that they could participate politically

¹⁰ The girl participants in Ingram's study were part of a program by Plan Canada geared at supporting active female citizens.

¹¹ Private actions are actions associated with living in the private sphere and vice-versa is true for public actions. For example, domestic obligations or decisions concerning reproduction can be considered private actions or decisions of a citizen.

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(Yuval-Davis-1997a; McEwan, 2001). Although feminists created positive political change for women, they did so by reinforcing the ideal that public participation was essential for women to have full citizenship. Thereby, privileging the public sphere over the private sphere and making the private sphere irrelevant to participation (Prokhovnik, 1998).

Conversely, Prokhovnik (1998) maintains that the concept of citizenship as an identity and practice should include the roles of women in the home. She advocates for a reconceptualization of citizenship that does not disconnect the private domain from the state. Citizenship should be conceptualized beyond formal civic and political participation, and include roles in the private sphere. Along the same trajectory of expanding citizenship theory, McEwan (2005) argues that feminist debates around citizenship still rest on traditional conceptions of citizenship that focus on achieving political and social participation that benefit the nation (p. 4). Citizens must contribute to society at large to be seen as active citizens. She argues instead for a citizenship conception that provides social status to citizens regardless of where or how they participate.

The dichotomy between public and private is highly relevant in this study because the divide affects how citizenship is perceived in relation to women and girls. I aim to blur the line between what constitutes public and private acts of citizens, rather than delineating a clear distinction between the public and private (Prokhovnik, 1998). The conceptual framework, discussed later, hypothesizes the possibility of political citizenship in the home through an ethic of caring for those closest to us in private spaces. The private sphere could be a space where individuals can be active citizens without engaging in public endeavors. These ideas on private citizenship will be explained further in my conceptual framework. To sum up, I was interested in exploring McEwan's and Prokhovnik's ideas of citizenship as an everyday practice connecting

private actions of individual girls to broad processes of citizenship in the public domain such as schools and communities.

The purpose and impact of citizenship and civics education

Although this thesis focuses on civics education, literature on civics is limited so I drew material from civics and citizenship education studies, since both fields draw from similar political theories and methodologies. Antal and Easton (2009) comment that there are nuances between “civics” and “citizenship education,” stating, “*civics* carries the notion of academic theories of governance and the comparative study of institutions (and hence school classes devoted to these topics), whereas *civic* and *citizenship education* is accomplished through and beyond schools [emphasis mine]” (p.600). Both civics and citizenship education involve processes of political socialization where students learn acceptable political and social norms for their generation. Thus, I use the terms “civics education” and “citizenship education” interchangeably in my review of the relevant scholarship.

According to Sears (2004), “democratic citizenship is widely acknowledged as the central goal for public schooling” (p. 91). Citizenship education curriculum attempts to create “good citizens” who will participate and contribute actively within their countries (Sigauke, 2012; Tupper & Capello, 2012). Good citizens learn how to behave ethically and responsibly towards other individuals to facilitate harmony within their respective societies (Sears, 2004). In cases where citizenship curriculum was successfully implemented in schools, it has produced law-abiding and harmonious societies through overt virtue based pedagogy (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008).

Therefore, citizenship education also educates students to be moral and ethical individuals. Creating “caring individuals” is often one of the underlying goals of moral education

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infused into citizenship agendas (Noddings, 2010). The ideology behind caring is often seen as a central idea of citizenship education in feminist citizenship literature. Students are taught to have an attitude of caring being helpful, attentive, and cooperative (Hatcher & Erasmus, 2008; UNESCO, 2010). In this sense, citizenship education serves to mold individual identities and behaviors at a very fundamental level.

Differences are often ignored in the project of teaching citizenship by regulating young students to give up identities “such as gender, race, and social class” to become future law-abiding adult citizens (Gordon, 2006b, p. 3). Students give up individual identities that promote differences in the classroom and embody collectivist ideas. These nationalist ideas embedded in curriculums create specific identifications of the acceptable citizen based on race, gender, ethnicity and social status. These messages implicitly teach students who are included and excluded within nationalist frameworks (Finkel & Ernst, 2005). Current citizenship education programs erase differences present in school settings.

Curricular concepts of citizenship have shown to be powerful tools in shaping student perceptions despite their differing social contexts (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991). As a case in point, Tupper and Capello (2012) in their study on Canadian youth in two schools found that students identified good citizens as individuals who were “proud” of their country, “nationalistic,” “multicultural,” and “embraced concerns for the environment,” despite their own individual identities or experiences with poverty, race, and social difference (p. 47-56). According to the authors, the participants came from different economic and social backgrounds but supported ideas of good citizenship that would foster the common good for all Canadian citizens. Students, in the study, did not question how race or socio-economic status fit into the narratives of Canadian multiculturalism, becoming indoctrinated with commonplace ideas of

good citizenship that erased “problematic” social markers. In this case, we see how standardized curriculums have successfully sanctioned notions of good citizenship in young citizens.

Gender differences in citizenship education in Africa

Despite the assumed neutrality of citizenship education, Madeleine Arnot (2009) argues that masculine notions of citizenship are still transmitted through citizenship education, and inevitably students view citizenship through a gendered lens despite having equal status and responsibilities. In Africa, these differences are stronger due to strong nationalist sentiment and cultural perceptions in young democracies (Mburu, 2011, p. 79). Gender differences are implicit when researchers examine political views of students learning civics education in African schools (Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Kuenzi, 2005; Lombe, Ochumbo & Norstrand, 2008). Siguake’s (2012) study, for instance, on civic education in Zimbabwe demonstrated students tended to support economic rights of women rather than political rights of women. He speculated that this gendered attitude occurred because politics in Zimbabwe is still predominately a male domain, and students may have seen politics as an area populated by males, not females. Students in his study also favored male leaders as opposed to female ones. The gendered perception of the Zimbabwean political domain highlights tensions of gender inequality in schools that have gone unexamined.

Youth also construct gendered identities of their individual citizenship. A recent collaborative survey of poor Kenyan youth’s perceptions on citizenship and rights by Arnot, Chege, and Wawire (2012), noted that boys and girls viewed their rights and citizenship

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identities differently from each other.¹² Girls did not talk about citizenship and public participation rather focused on rights related to gender equality and roles linked to motherhood; while boys tended to discuss their political participation and leadership. The authors were not able to clearly conclude why there were specific gendered tendencies in the construction of citizenship.¹³ The study reveals a need to examine in greater depth how students construct themselves as citizens and gendered individuals. Perhaps, as the authors suggest, girls tended to emphasize their rights due to their marginalization or were influenced by gender empowerment messages they received during their limited education (Arnot et al., 2012).

Research on citizenship and gender has demonstrated that gender regimes and gendered stereotypes are prominent in sub-Saharan African school contexts due to various economic, social, and political factors (Dunne, 2007; Muhanguzi, Bennett & Muhanguzi, 2011) and these regimes may influence youth citizenship participation. A study by Muhanguzi et al. (2011) examined how gender regimes or “configurations of gender relations within a particular setting” influenced the student dress code and spatial separation of boys and girls within the school (p.150). Gender regimes emerged from local and cultural perceptions, teacher attitudes and behaviors, family influences, and a lack of policies to structure gender relations within school environments. The regimes regulated girls’ behaviors inside the classroom, dictating how they dressed, behaved, and participated in the classroom. Girls in the study did not feel comfortable to voice their opinions in the classroom or take the initiative in various classroom exercises.

The Tanzanian civics curriculum addresses women’s discrimination in order to combat gender regimes by acknowledging widespread nature in gender inequality in society. The civics

¹² The youth selected for the study were between the ages of 16 to 25, and were selected based on their home locations within the Kibera slums around Nairobi.

¹³ The authors also note that despite issues of poverty prevented them from participating fully in Kenya both boys and girls in the study felt a connection with the Kenyan nation and acknowledged their rights.

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curriculum stresses the gender inequality women experience in Tanzania but does so by segregating them as a vulnerable group of citizens who need assistance to overcome gender barriers. On the one hand, the curriculum's categorization of women as a "special group" in need of assistance may stigmatize women and reinforce their low status in Tanzanian society (Manzi, 2013). On the other hand, Thomas and Rugambwa (2011, 2013) show that such categorizations allow teachers in Tanzania to initiate class discussions on gender that examine causes of women's marginalization. Given these contrasting depictions, it becomes relevant to investigate gender inequality in school since the intent of the civics curriculum is to allow girls and boys to "develop into full human personalities," so they can participate *equally* in Tanzania's economy and contribute towards the country's growth (MOEVT, 2010, p.5).

Theoretical orientation

In order to explore gender and citizenship conceptualizations within the Tanzanian curriculum and school system, I employed theories within the literature on gendered citizenship education and international development education. Image one below shows a brief breakdown of the concepts I used within my conceptual framework and the connection between them. I have chosen ideas around political citizenship and GAD theory because they help frame the discussion of gendered citizenship by looking at issues of power, social contexts, location, and access.

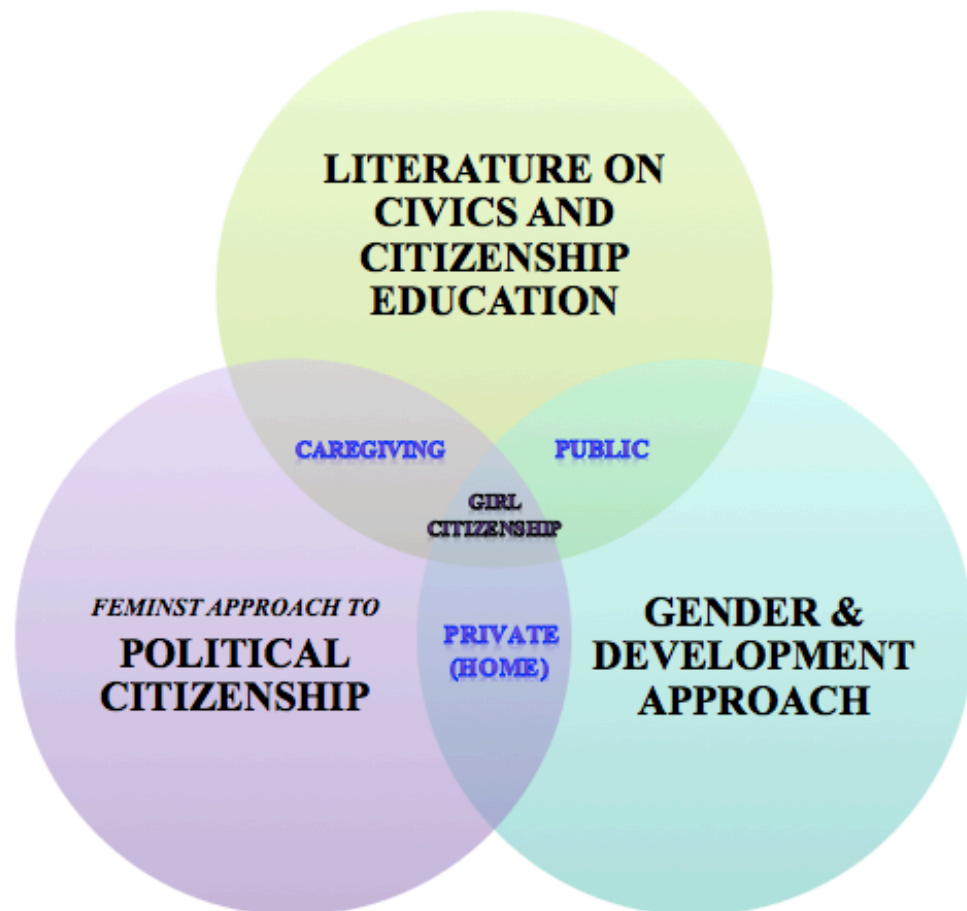


Image 1: Conceptual Map

Gender and Development Paradigm.

For my thesis, I drew from the international framework the Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm to identify power dynamics inherent within various social, cultural, and political contexts and their impact on girls' citizenship. GAD argues that "gender" is an adjective because it describes the roles and positions individuals have due to their localized contexts (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011).

GAD was developed in the 1970s because earlier gender analyses such as Women in Development (WID) approach failed to consider the position of women in a dynamic relation to men. Men were left out of the discussion. According to Maureen Porter (2011),

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the GAD paradigm entreats us to define the underlying problem as one of gender hierarchies and marginalization. Rather than just appending women and girls into institutions and professions that remain designed around an implicit male norm, GAD programs value the impact that reforms can have on balancing power relationships between the sexes (p. 140).

Scholars using a GAD perspective argue that social relations of power underlie the disparities between women and men. These relations of power need to be examined and disrupted. GAD looks at how gender roles and positions are assigned to both women and men to examine relations of power between them. A GAD approach to gender empowerment moves beyond sending girls to school towards the creation of gender-sensitive curriculum that challenges entrenched gender stereotypes. Thus, GAD moves beyond giving access towards creating equity between genders.

Feminists developed the GAD approach to examine the “multiplicity of factors” from class positions to patriarchal structures that shape women’s lives and their relationships with men (Brown, 2006, p. 63). Questions that arose throughout this study were whether or not the girls experienced equal participation in the classroom and felt that their teachers heard their opinions. In my analysis, I argue that a teacher in a classroom scenario is a human agent who either promotes or inhibits student voice because of the power embedded in her or his role as a classroom facilitator. Thus, when GAD is applied to the school context, the framework examines how gendered norms, sexual and social roles affect girls’ success in schools (Unterhalter, 2006; Unterhalter & Helsop, 2011).

According to Brown (2006), a weakness of GAD theory, despite its acknowledgment of social differences such as race and class, is its homogenization of the experiences of women in

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development contexts. In other words, GAD analysis often compares female experiences to male experiences, but in doing so homogenizes the female and male life circumstances. To counter homogenization, Andrea Brown (2006) suggests that the researcher be emphatic and listen to the needs of each girl rather than focusing only on structural factors that cause struggles for girls collectively. This study takes note of these limitations and strives to balance specific participant views within overall results from the data.

Political citizenship.

Along with GAD, I drew on feminist rhetoric of the “personal as political” to further politicize the notion of participation in the private sphere (Mandell, 2005; Weintraub & Kumar, 1997). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the connection between the public and private spheres is relevant for understanding girls’ views on gender and citizenship since they may be limited in the types of public citizenship activities they can engage in.

According to Lister (1995), feminists argued for recognition and politicization of the private sphere to highlight internal gender struggles in the home (p.11). They publicized issues such as unequal sexual divisions of labor, lack of reproductive rights, racial discrimination, unpaid work in caring for others (including non-familial relations) and volunteer work.

The private sphere is tentatively viewed as a political space for two main reasons (Meer & Sever, 2004; Lister, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 1997a). The first reason to politicize the private sphere is that the burden of caregiving primarily falls on women thereby making them less likely to participate actively in political or public spaces (Lister, 2007). The second reason is to value unpaid labor on the same political terms as paid labor and in doing so resist a masculine worldview that solely values paid labor in both spheres (Guothro, 2009). By regarding the domestic sphere as a political space, women’s work in the home counts as active citizenship that

has political value and impact, resting on the idea that political engagement is essential to being a full citizen.

Raia Prokhovnik (1998) provides an alternative view arguing that equating participation in the domestic sphere as a type of political citizenship “resuscitates the traditional public realm,” which is predominately male-dominated and privileges a specific way of behaving as a citizen (p. 95). Women are still “subjected to the rules of the public sphere” that require them to be “political” or have public impact (p. 92). Prokhovnik argues instead for a status of full and active citizenship, particularly women’s citizenship in the private, which is not dependent on political participation.¹⁴ In the context of this study participant activity at home and informal spaces would be seen as active and full citizenship even when public impact is not obvious (Biesta, 2009). Furthermore, girls as young citizens may also be limited in the types of spaces they can engage within because their movements are restricted by parents, transport, finances, safety, or other factors. To strengthen my argument I combine Prokhovnik’s ideas with the additional concepts of: i) Caregiving as an act of citizenship ii) Home place as a connector between public and private citizenship.

Caregiving is an act of citizenship.

Feminist scholars such as Prokhovnik (1998) and Arnot (2012) argue that often citizens and scholars view caregiving as a form of social participation rather than political participation and as a result, do not include caregiving activities as part of their citizenship duties. This phenomenon can be seen in citizenship research where youth interviewees often cite political definitions of citizenship and almost never reference caregiving as a citizenship activity (Arnot, 2002, 2007). Ingram’s (2013) study on active citizen girls, for instance, demonstrated that the

¹⁴ It should be noted that she acknowledges that engagement in public politics is necessary to create change for women but wants to move away from the notion of “political” participation as essential to citizenship since it rests on rules (p. 92).

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girls acknowledged their mothers' roles in the home but did not see caretaking or caregiving activities as part of their mothers' citizenship duties. In contrast, traditional gender roles in the Tanzanian home are acknowledged by the curriculum and portrayed as "work," but curricular materials do not directly link domestic activities with citizen obligations (MOEVT, 2010; Manzi(a), 2007).

In light of the debate around caregiving and the implicit acknowledgment of domestic work roles in the Tanzanian curriculum, I argue that caregiving is an act of citizenship and therefore counts as civic participation using Kershaw's (2010a) study on the political nature of caregiving for empirical support. More specifically, Kershaw argues that caregiving for identity creation is a means to achieve political citizenship because caregiving can become a political act among people who are unable to rely on the public sphere to validate their identities.¹⁵ In instances of marginalization, caregiving in the domestic sphere is a politically driven, civic behavior because it tries to instill a particular type of citizenship identity (Collins, 1991). In the case of young girls, caregiving by their mothers instills in them a sense of identity and confidence, particularly in cases where mothers are first generation students. Through the nurturing process, girls also learn to care for others when they experience positive reinforcement (Noddings, 2012). Thus, caregiving is a civically engaged endeavor.

Homeplace as a connector between public and private.

Finally, in preparing to conduct the interviews with the girls, I needed to pinpoint an area where girls were prone to be located as young citizens and the home was one possible area the girls had immediate access to besides school. Since caregiving can be a form of citizenship, the

¹⁵ In researching immigrant mothers, Kershaw (2010a) found that mothers, particularly those from racialized or marginalized communities, purposely made time to teach their children about their language, cultural, religious or ethnic values and instill a sense of confidence in their children. He concluded that caregiving for the sake of identity creation was an expression of political citizenship when public institutions such as schools "ignore[d] or misrepresent[ed] the identities of racialized ethnic groups" (p.396).

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home becomes a unique space where different types of citizenship activities occur and interact. Similar to Ingram (2013), I argue that the homeplace is not simply a physical place girls live in but is a tangible space that girls feel most connected (p. 44).

Guothro (2009) maintains that the homeplace is vital in the construction of female citizenship identities and the decisions they make. I adapted her model of citizenship to evaluate the experiences of my participants. Her research focuses on analyzing the home place through three focal points: 1) identity; 2) relationships; and, 3) domestic labor. She argues that we must first understand the importance of relationships and identities in the home place in order to evaluate the home's effect on unpaid domestic labor. Guothro's study confirms that even in situations where couples had assistance from other family members or paid help, women still shouldered a disproportionate amount of caregiving. Home responsibilities affected their decisions to pursue education and work. Analyzing citizenship through the factors of relationships, identity and domestic labor in the home is also relevant in young girls' lives where they are still tied to expectations from family and close relations. Where relevant, I examined the participant's self-view and future goals, their relationships to individuals in their homes and schools and the expectations of work placed on them by others both inside and outside the home.

Thus, I drew on ideas of political citizenship to argue that active citizenship participation does not require public participation in instances where there is active caregiving taking place in the life of the participant. However, I do not discount alternative interpretations that may be provided by participants. In summary, GAD approach is used to analyze contextual factors and subsequent relations of power that impacted the girls' practice of citizenship. On a micro level, for instance, GAD examines if girls have an equal voice during participation in school activities. If equal participation is not apparent, then GAD examines what power dynamics occur to prevent

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girls from having a say in school activities. On a macro level, GAD examines external forces and policies such as barriers that may prevent their access to school like teenage pregnancies.

Drawing on distinctions between public and private spheres I leaned on the following concepts for my analysis: 1) the private sphere is political; and, 2) the homeplace is significant to connect public and private citizenship. To analyze the homeplace I adapted Guothro's (2009) model of examining identities, relationships, and domestic labor within the home. Each construct is described using the themes and then explored using the conceptual framework and data contexts.

Philosophical assumptions and Position

My study employed a feminist constructivist lens to interpret subjective meanings of Tanzanian girls' citizenship experiences. Constructivism views reality as created through an interplay of human and social factors. I coupled constructivism with a feminist research approach where the investigation is a collaborative process with a goal of ensuring a collaborative exchange between the participants and researcher that is ultimately transformative (Creswell, 2013, page 29). Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues that the research process affects both the participants and researcher, whether or not either party has benefitted from it. Thus, the results of this study are in some ways created through my interaction with the participants, despite attempts to separate my own opinions. Moreover, since participant identities are socially constructed, the girls may hold several or even inconsistent identities (Riviere, 2005). These multiple identities are often created by barriers girls face inside and outside school environments.

As a feminist researcher, it is important for me to position myself within the research and acknowledge personal biases. As a researcher I am placed in a privileged position and even more so as an outsider doing research at a local Tanzanian school. To mitigate my positionality I have outlined my personal views below. Moreover, conducting two interviews with each participant

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allows for the participant to have more time to steer the conversation in a direction of their choosing.

This research project on citizenship is a culmination of my personal experiences as a Tanzanian citizen living abroad and my struggle to fully understand my own identity as a citizen. When I was in secondary school, I associated the term “citizenship” with national identity and my obligation to follow the laws of the nation. As a privileged Asian, I did not see myself as a “citizen,” rather, I saw myself as a Tanzanian; an individual with a particular heritage. Being Tanzanian was not a political relationship with the state; rather, it was a social identification with peers in my community. Gender concerns did not play a role in my identification as Tanzanian. Thus, I identified first as Tanzanian, and then secondly as a racialized Indian. My participants may or may not share these views and experiences. I attempted to bracket my own views and listen attentively to the voice of each participant.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Procedure and participant selection

To fully understand what the participants were gaining from the curriculum and schooling at large I talked to young women¹⁶ in Form Four, the last year of ordinary level schooling. Students would have covered topics of citizenship and gender in Form One and Two respectively (MOEVT, 2010). In addition, at this stage of their studies, the participants have obtained a good grasp of how to apply these concepts academically because they had national examinations at the end of Form Two. The curriculum analyzed for this study is the Tanzanian *National Curriculum for Secondary Schools Form I-IV*. The school and students were purposively selected from public schools that responded to my research requests (MOEVT, 2010). To gain access to a school I contacted a university in Tanzania to see which schools I could work with. I sent out recruitment letters to three prospective schools and was able to connect with a public school in an urban center in Tanzania. A single research site was selected to eliminate other contextual variables such as extra-curricular activities, teaching style, multiple civic teachers per class and ensure in-depth analysis of findings.

I proceeded to conduct my study after obtaining university and local Tanzanian ethics approvals. My initial research design had a maximum of 10 student participants based on a first come basis. The secondary school selected for this study had two Form Four classrooms. On my first day on campus, a teacher introduced me to the students in each class, and I was given a few minutes to explain my study. I specified that the study was recruiting female participants only, raising several questions by male students who wondered why they were excluded from the

¹⁶ I use the terms “young women” or “participants” to refer to my participant sample. The participants were close to adulthood and spoke about their lives as women-in-becoming.

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study. Given the limited scope of this study and focus on girls' views, I explained this exclusion based on the objectives of my study. Later that day, I held a brief informational session with the girls who were interested in participating in my research and handed out consent forms to a group of about 25 girls. Two days later, I received a total of 14 completed parental and individual consent forms.

I had intended to keep my sample within eight to ten participants, however, due to the positive feedback from the young women at the school, I decided to proceed with a larger sample than intended given my open selection criteria. One of the participants recruited initially was not able to complete the second round of interviews so the final sample comprised of 13 participants. Participants were given the opportunity to select pseudonyms but were assigned ones in certain cases where anonymity was not assured. Participants had a tendency to pick nicknames they used in school, which did not disguise their identities. All the girls were of black African heritage and came from households that they deemed as economically stable. They understood and spoke English but a majority preferred to use Kiswahili during the interview process.

I conducted the first interviews over a period of ten days and the second round of interviews took place around two weeks later. I also volunteered to teach in some of the classes. I sat in on one of the classes to observe teaching styles and later taught two lessons to the students. Volunteering allowed me to observe and become more familiar with the participants and the classroom pedagogy. I observed how some participants were often less active in classroom discussions but were quite vocal and engaged during our interviews. These differences in persona will be addressed later in the discussion in Chapter Six.

During the first stage of the research process, I noted that the participants had similar views in their understanding around citizenship concepts, and I wondered if these views were

reflective of what they were learning in class. I decided to increase the participant sample to include teachers to understand if pedagogy and the teachers' personal philosophies influenced their views on citizenship. The teacher interviews provide additional details on the participant sample, their learning abilities, and the curriculum's impact on participants. The teachers' views further elucidate how citizenship behaviors are enacted and transmitted by voting age adults, since most of the participants in the sample were under voting age.¹⁷

I interviewed two civics teachers at the school at the end of the data collection period. Both teachers had extensive teaching qualifications and over ten years of experience teaching at various institutions. They reflected on their general and personal understandings of citizenship during the interviews and talked about their overall experiences with teaching civics. The teachers were not the main focus of the project so only one interview was conducted with them.

Participant profile

The participants were between the ages of 17 to 18. Ten of the participants came from two parent households, and 12 had parents with basic secondary education.¹⁸ None of the young women discussed major economic barriers preventing them from participating in society. My impression of the participants, overall, was that they were respectful and open to participating in this study. I received a high response rate during recruitment indicating that students were not initially apprehensive about being interviewed. However, despite this general sense of openness, I sought consent several times as part of my ethics protocol, which will be explained later in this chapter. Some participants underscored that the research process was interesting because it allowed them to think about gender and their roles as women. They had not been asked such

¹⁷ Voting age in Tanzania is anyone who is eighteen years or older (See: http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file_id=216577)

¹⁸ The majority of the girls had either one or both parents who had at least a secondary school education.

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questions before. Arnot et al. (2012) highlight a similar experience in their research with marginalized youth, who often don't get asked about "bigger picture" questions such as citizenship, even though they are capable answering them despite their limited formal education.

Most participants had at least one sibling, and a few participants had older siblings who had gone on to university. All participants were of black ethnicity. Some participants were in the science stream, and many studied arts subjects such as commerce and book keeping (accounting). All participants, except one, felt they benefitted from having compulsory civics lessons.

Data collection and Methods

I found that the best way to engage the participants' thoughts, opinions, and feelings was to work one on one with them as much as possible, following a similar model to the Arnot et al. (2012) study on citizenship and gender in Kenya. The researchers in the Kenyan study found youth participants receptive to discussing their views on nationality and rights during the interview process because the participants felt that someone finally cared to hear what they had to say. Thus, I conducted two individual semi-structured interviews with each young woman. I also had the participants engage in a period of reflective writing for 10 days between the first and second interviews where the participants discussed their thoughts and experiences of gender and citizenship. In theory, the writing process allows participants to be thoughtful and uninhibited in what they chose to write within the limits of the research criteria. In addition, I analyzed curricular materials to provide a basis for comparison, regarding learning expectations and standardized definitions of citizenship. These methods are further fleshed out below.

Curriculum documents.

I reviewed the curriculum documents before conducting the interviews to make sense of the raw data elicited from the interviews and public diaries. Curricular documents such as syllabi and examinations often set the tone of what is taught in the classroom, and how students come to comprehend gender and its related issues (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011). In Tanzania, the civics syllabus, in particular, was created using national development policies such as the poverty reduction plan that includes gender-oriented approaches such as GAD to promote economic development (MOEVT, 2010). For this study, I examined the civics syllabus and a set of ministry approved textbooks for representations of gender and citizenship.

The civics syllabus is an eighty-page¹⁹ document that provides overall curriculum goals, learning expectations for students for each grade level and a basic outline of the topics for each grade level. While the syllabus text is a useful guide for teachers, it does not provide detailed teacher prompts or examples for how to conduct discussions beyond the teaching tools to be used. Below are images of two of the pages from the document. The pages highlight the concepts that need to be discussed by teachers under the topic of gender.

¹⁹ The book is A5 in size, which is approximately 21cm by 15 cm.

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TOPIC	SUB-TOPICS	SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES	TEACHING/LEARNING MATERIALS	ASSESSMENT
4.0 GENDER	a) The concept of gender	The student should be able to: 1. Explain the meaning of gender.	Teacher to guide students to brainstorm on the meaning of gender.	Pictures and charts depicting gender.	Are students able to explain the meaning of gender?
		2. Identify different gender concepts	1. The teacher to provide students with gender concepts written on a VIPP card and to guide them in groups to discuss and write down what each concept mean. 2. The teacher to guide each group to pasteup its answer for class discussion and clarification. 3. The teacher to summarize such concepts as gender balance, gender roles, gender blind, gender stereotype, gender discrimination, gender equity, gender analysis and gender mainstreaming. 4. The teacher to guide students to present their group findings, for class discussion and further clarification.	1. Texts on gender issues. 2. VIPP cards	Are students able to identify different gender concepts?

(Image 2: Breakdown of the “Gender” topic in Form Two)

SUB-TOPICS	SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES	TEACHING/LEARNING STRATEGIES	TEACHING/LEARNING MATERIALS	ASSESSMENT
		marriages; regarding women as sex objects; women discrimination and oppression		
	5. Suggest corrective measures against negative socio-cultural practices.	1. The teacher to guide students in groups to discuss effects of negative/socio-cultural practices to individuals and society. 2. Teacher to guide students in groups to discuss and come up with solutions to curb negative socio-cultural practices like wife inheritance, female genital mutilation, premature marriages 3. Teacher to guide students to present their findings for class discussion and clarification.	1. Television 2. Video 3. Pictures and charts depicting bad socio-cultural practices.	Are students able to suggest corrective measures against negative socio-cultural practices?

(Image 3: Continuation of gender topic in syllabus)

I reviewed textbooks produced by the same publisher and endorsed by the Tanzanian Ministry of Education to ensure consistency in the texts’ authorship. It is important to note that the students in the classroom do not necessarily use the textbooks. Students often do not buy textbooks because of direct costs and are often provided with formal notes in class from their

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teachers. During my fieldwork, I noted that subject teachers often dictated important points to students during the lessons directly from a textbook or their personal notes. As such, the textbooks reviewed were secondary documents used to provide further empirical evidence.

Textbooks created by private publishers and authors normally undergo an approval process by the Educational Materials Approval Committee (EMAC), an entity under the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training in Tanzania (MOEVT), to ensure alignment with national curriculum standards. Ministry approved textbooks are differentiated with an EMAC stamp on one of the inside cover. One of the texts in the collection I analyzed did not have EMAC endorsement. I can only speculate that the reason for this is that the approval process is costly and lengthy for smaller publishers to go through for every single publication. Some authors choose to endorse only one or two books in a series to maintain credibility for their work (Mteve, 2013). Furthermore, EMAC was officially dissolved in May 2014 and the Tanzanian Institute of Education (TIE) began producing standardized textbooks from September 2014, which were not in circulation at the time of the fieldwork. TIE creates and sets syllabus texts in Tanzania by working directly under MOEVT but previously did not produce textbooks. These new textbooks were not available at the time of analysis.

Specifically, the documents reviewed were:

- Civics Syllabus for Secondary School (Form One to Form Four)- a guideline text providing an outline of curriculum topics, expectations, and objectives for each Form level by the Tanzanian Institute of Education under MOEVT.
- Form I civics textbook- endorsed by EMAC and authored by Zabron Manzi. The text focuses on Form One topics according to the ministerial syllabus discussed above.

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- Form II civics textbook- authored by Zabron Manzi and it focuses on Form Two civics topics.
- Form IV civics textbook- endorsed by EMAC and authored by Zabron Manzi and covers Form Four topics.

All the textbooks analyzed were written by a former civics teacher turned textbook writer, Zabron Manzi, and were recommended by one of the civics teachers as a popular author referenced by local teachers (Manzi, 2007a, 2007b, 2013). Ms. Abby recommended Manzi's work to me as an author she relied on. Based on her recommendation, I found it valuable to review a text that may have influenced how the teacher participants in my study extrapolated from the main syllabus document (MOEVT, 2010).

Interviews.

I conducted two individual semi-structured interviews with each participant to analyze individual perceptions in depth. The individual semi-structured interviews lasted between twenty minutes to about fifty minutes. The interview questioning was conducted primarily in English, but participants were encouraged to use Kiswahili for their responses if they were more comfortable with the latter. Out of the 13 participants, only two spoke to me entirely in English during the interview and the rest used a mixture of English and Kiswahili. Interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent and conducted on campus in a private space due to the long school day and the difficulty students would have to meet at an alternate location.

I was granted permission to use a classroom when it was not in use due to the limited space available. Most teachers at the school had shared office spaces, which were not conducive to maintaining participant privacy and anonymity. If the classroom was in use, the participant and I moved outside to a quiet spot away from the school. The participants were made aware that

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anonymity would be hard to maintain given the interview location. Interviews took place during breaks or when the Form Four students did not have a class. The participants had free periods within which we were able to hold the interviews, because they had completed requirements for some subjects and were mainly revising for their impending national examinations in November 2014.

The first interview focused on discussing questions highlighted in the interview schedule (See Appendix A). During the first interview, I handed each participant a copy of the interview schedule, and I recorded my initial impressions of her in my public diary. In the second interview, I discussed the public diary entries they had worked on and followed up on themes from the previous interview. Due to the infeasibility of sending the participants completed and confidential transcripts I reviewed the audio file from the first interview with them to ensure member checking. Having the second interview allowed for an opportunity to ask follow-up questions to find out if their notions of citizenship had changed, or remained the same from the earlier interviews and to further explore what had driven them to those conclusions. The research process inevitably affects the participants both positively and negatively by the knowledge the researcher transmits purposefully and unintentionally. Feminist researcher Tuhiwai Smith (2012) encourages a research praxis that is cognizant of the positions of power held by me as a researcher. During the second interview, the participants discussed their overall understandings of citizenship; daily acts of citizenship; and, overall impressions of the research process. They also connected curriculum knowledge to their personal experiences and beliefs.

Public Diaries.

I wanted the participants to use the process of journaling to chronicle personal experiences related to citizenship and gender and note the daily acts of citizenship they

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witnessed. Journals, akin to diaries, capture nuanced daily experiences (Creswell, 2013). Travers (2011) argues that although journals and diaries are similar, there are certain distinguishing features between the two. Diaries are viewed as more personal accounts of daily-lived experience whereas journals combine the objectiveness of a log, using structured factual accounts, with the personal aspect of diaries. Interestingly, despite the use of the term “journals”, most of the participants used the term “diary” and even labeled the notebooks as “so-and-so diary” (Esther, public diary, entry 1; Ruby, public diary, entry 1). In a sense, these notebooks became their personal public accounts, akin to online blogs, of their thoughts on citizenship and gender. Thus, these diaries evolved to what I refer to as *public diaries* that were guided personal reflections utilizing the process of journaling or reflective writing.

I chose to work with the public diaries for several reasons. First, the process of writing in public diaries gives students freedom to discuss experiences that take up most of their conscious thinking (Travers, 2011). Second, by engaging the students in a reflective daily activity, I anticipated that the students would be inclined to observe more closely or “take note” of individuals and activities in their environments (Reimer & McLean, 2015, p.70). Third, by asking the students to record their experiences of citizenship, gender, and the curriculum, I was engaged in an extensive dialog with them that would not be captured within the two time-constrained interviews.

I invited the participants to use several modes of reflection such as making a collage, drawing or writing about their experiences of citizenship in daily life. Participants were provided with a small appointment style dairy with two pens- one black and the other colored. Materials for collaging were not provided. I briefly explained the collaging process and suggested they include stickers, newspaper clippings, printed text or images if they wished. I also encouraged

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them to draw out their reflections so they would not be restricted to simply writing their entries. Visual methods have been shown to act as a stimulus for prompting further oral data, and some students are be more comfortable with expressing themselves through art (Ogina & Nieuwenhuis, 2010).

I reviewed the ethics of self-reflection and safekeeping of the public diaries during the informational session. Participants were advised not to provide identifying markers, discuss or name their school directly, reveal sensitive personal information or share their dairies with other students during the initial recruitment meeting. They were also asked to record their reflections outside of class time, during breaks, or at home. The public diaries were distributed to participants after the completion of initial interview, and I reiterated the ethics requirements associated with the writing process.

The students were asked to create a total of seven entries by reflecting on their knowledge and personal experiences related to citizenship and gender, or to use the questions in the first interview as a guide. The guiding questions were intended to assist participants who were uncertain on what to write about or tended to view citizenship abstractly. It was not intended to limit them if they chose to reflect on other related issues (Reimer & McLean, 2015).

Although the participants initially found the writing process interesting, most struggled to complete the entries due to time constraints, lack of motivation, and confusion over how to engage in a reflection. None of the student participants chose to create a collage as a mode of expression, which may be due to the fact that the materials needed were not available. Several participants used the colored pens to write out their reflections and a few even swapped pens with other participants to make their entries more visually appealing. Some participants seemed to enjoy decorating their public dairies with the colored pens. Others went further and drew

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images in their public diaries. Images were symbolic of national or personal identity. The images included flags, national symbols, and self-portraits and will be discussed further in the results section.

After a week had passed I followed up with some of the participants. Some had not completed the entries and most wrote “academic” entries on what they were learning in civics. The participants engaged in an academic mode of writing where they quoted their civic lessons in the public diary, defining important terms and listing important points. For example, one participant who was engaging in her interviews discussed different civics terminologies and listed concepts she learned in class verbatim. I reiterated the process of reflective writing since she had not completed seven entries, and I asked her to reflect on some of concepts she had raised in her previous entries and relate them to her own personal experiences or “stories.” Her last two entries engaged in stories of the gender issues she had experienced.

A *story* is a popular slang term in Tanzania used to express a personal account or narrative that one tells a friend or acquaintance. In some cases, it may be another way to describe girl talk or gossip. I used the idea of sharing stories to explain the writing process to participants struggling complete their entries since it was simpler than reiterating the research goals of this projects. Several participants later wrote personal accounts of gender struggles they had experienced or heard.

Data analysis

Even though the data analysis process is described step by step, the process of data analysis is not linear as my understanding of the field data evolved and changed every time I read a transcript and allowed for more codes to generate. To provide a guideline I reviewed the curriculum documents early on to make sense of the raw data elicited from the interviews and

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journals. In reviewing these texts, I kept the research questions in mind and focused on the topics of citizenship, democracy, and gender. I highlighted definitions of citizenship, gender, and democracy as well as concepts covered under these topics (e.g. types of citizenship, discrimination, principles of democracy), review questions, curriculum objectives, and competences that the students were expected to master from the texts.

The interviews and journals were transcribed prior to my coding process. Interviews were transcribed directly from the audio file, whereas the journals were transcribed using the main idea of each entry to allow for uniformity in the coding process. I transcribed and translated the interviews using a denaturalized transcription process where the focus was transcribing the interviews directly to convey the main substance of the interview rather than focusing on accents and involuntary actions such as falls in tones or pauses (Oliver, Serovich, and Mason, 2005). Several of the interviews were conducted predominately in Kiswahili so the interviews were translated as close as possible to their initial intent.

The entries were varied and some of the participants' handwritings were illegible due to the colored pens they used. In cases of handwriting issues, I went through the journals with the participant to clarify what they meant. For each public diary, I identified the main concern or idea in each entry and referenced a direct quote from the entry (See Table 1). For example, one student talked about unequal work opportunities between men and women. I transcribed this entry as unequal work opportunities and entered in a tag line of "women have unequal work opportunities because they get pregnant" (Nicole, public diary, entry 2). Another student discussed the effects of oppression on women. I transcribed this entry as effects of oppression with a tag line of "lack decision making power, not chosen as leaders but government combating

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this problem by now giving chances to women” (Dorothea, public diary, entry 2). I repeated the process for the thirteen journals and then proceeded with my content analysis.

I adapted Auerbach and Silverstein’s (2003) coding method once the transcripts of the students’ interviews were completed. The data drawn from the participants was used for analysis and the teacher interviews provided background context. The steps I followed are:

- Making text manageable- by keeping research question in mind when highlighting for relevant texts/sections of data. I created a memo of each section of relevant text.
- Hearing what is said- involved grouping relevant texts based on repeating ideas. My initial analysis has involved grouping at least three relevant texts to create a repeating idea. Repeated ideas were further grouped into themes to encompass the main ideas of the text sections.
- Developing theory- involved grouping themes into abstract concepts in line with GAD theory and feminist conceptions of citizenship.

I initially tested this coding method using the journals and came up with the following tabulated results that were later revised. The following table describes my creation of repeating ideas.

Repeating Idea:	1. Rights are necessary for citizenship	2. Discrimination of Women	3. Tanzanian women are capable
Tag line/Evidence 1:	“Citizens have rights to food and shelter”	“No equal opportunity for women at work”	“As a girl be proud of yourself and your country”
Tag line/Evidence 2:	“...[need] to have rights and justice to perform different activities”	“Women lack decision making power”	“But the truth is that women can do anything on their own power because they are just as clever as men”

Tag line/Evidence 3:	“Fighting for rights is important”	“Men think they are more superior and cause them (women) pain”	“GIRLS, WOMEN ARE ABLE (emphasis in original)”
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Table 1: Generation of repeating ideas

The journals were coded first and then combined later with the interviews since public diary entries often had repeating ideas from the first interviews. Student interview data was triangulated with data from the journals and teacher interviews.

The data from the interviews was initially coded into a set of fifteen broad categories that related to the interview schedule (Appendix A) such as “gender discrimination,” “citizenship definition,” “participation,” “good citizen,” or “special groups.” Using this basic categorization I refined the categories into repeating ideas and then used them to form my themes. I created overarching themes that spoke to the research questions and emphasized student participant voice. Once overarching themes had been generated from journals and interviews they were subsumed into larger abstract concepts by fitting together appropriate themes. The coding process was iterative as I refined themes the more I re-read the data. The abstract concepts or theories were created using GAD, theories around the public/private dichotomy and literature on gender and citizenship. Using a thematic method of coding allowed me to work through the data and pick up texts that aligned with research concerns and highlighted gendered meanings that are not readily addressed by the Tanzanian curriculum.

Validity and Reliability

The validity of the findings from the curricular documents and raw field data was maintained through data triangulation, member checking, rich descriptive writing of the results and clarifying my researcher bias (Creswell, 2013). Member checking took place at the

conclusion of the second interviews to verify the credibility of the information collected and to overcome the infeasibility of sending transcribed transcripts. Data triangulation occurred through corroborating different sources such as the journals and interview transcripts with other research in the field. While not all themes overlapped from the journals and interviews, a majority of ideas discussed during the first interview were repeated in the public diary entries. In creating repeating ideas I collated by ensuring that at least two participants engaged in the same idea to include it in data analysis. However, in the presentation of the findings I also addressed outliers, or sub-themes presented by one or two participants, in recognition of differences within the participant sample. I also substantiated the data from the students by comparing them to the teacher interviews discussed in Chapter 4.

Rich descriptive writing of the interviews in narrative form, and a detailed content analysis of the curriculum ensure transferability of results by the readers of this study. Furthermore, the detailed descriptions enable readers to find shared characteristics between my study and other research contexts (Creswell, 2013).

Ethical Considerations & Limitations

Collaboration with participants.

To maintain the integrity of the study ethical considerations were made towards the participants, data collection process, researcher biases, and local community. Consent was reviewed with the students periodically to ensure that they were free to withdraw at any time, affording them a greater degree of autonomy during the research process. Halse and Honey (2005) caution that obtaining consent from parents is a “double-edged sword” because their consent limits the agency of young female participants. They suggest that consent of minors should simultaneously be obtained “before, during and after the interviews” so that participants

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have repeated opportunities to withdraw or qualify consent (p. 2152 *as cited in* McCormick, 2012). The young women were key participants in this study, so I made every effort to prevent any emotional or cognitive discomfort. For example, during one interview with Rehema²⁰ we concluded our interview and she seemed like she had a few more comments. She asked me if I was still recording and requested me to stop if I was. The interaction between us demonstrates the girls were cognizant that our discussions would be disseminated for research purposes.

Personal Considerations.

Ethical considerations also entail clarifying my personal biases, as outlined in the conceptual framework, and being reflective on dynamics between my position as the researcher and the participants. GAD theory requires the researcher to be reflective on anomalies or issues beyond the norm, so I attempted to keep in perspective the participants' positive experience in light of other challenges they may face on a regular basis but deemed "as part of their everyday life." While the participants were open to being interviewed, my initial impressions suggested that I was sometimes given "textbook answers." Despite being Tanzanian, my "foreignness" and position as researcher was evident in my stilted Swahili accent and in their comments to me. As a researcher I was placed in a position of privilege and afforded respect similar to that of a teacher. The students would often give me automatic responses when asked about their definitions of citizenship and sometimes say they did not remember what they learned, viewing the interview questions as a test of their civic knowledge.

To prevent the participants from reciting their lessons back to me and to encourage them to be open to interpreting the questions as they deemed fit, I often reiterated throughout the interview that I was interested in hearing their *stories*. When possible, I sought explanations and

²⁰ Names have been changed to protect students' identities.

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examples for each of their answers. Due to consent being reviewed several times, I also had two participants request for their interviews to be rescheduled when they felt they were comfortable to be interviewed. Their requests suggest that they were cautious and took some control of the interview process.

As a researcher, I cannot gauge the validity or truthfulness of the student responses, but I received positive feedback on at the end of the research process from the participants, suggesting that they were reflecting on their experiences. Some of the participants found the research process enlightening, making them cognizant about their citizenship positionality and more observant about gender issues.

Broader ethical implications.

Additionally, ethical considerations must be made on the implications of knowledge acquisition from local communities by outsider researchers (Tuhivai Smith, 2012). While I am not a foreign researcher, I represent a foreign institution, and I do not live locally in the community. The data I gathered as an outsider has direct effects on my participants and their affiliated communities. During the field research, I made sure to connect with the school principals on the initial results of the study. We discussed my experiences at the schools and any concerns they may have. At the time the principal did not mention any specific concerns and welcomed any feedback. I plan to go back in 2016 and present my research orally through an interactive discussion with interested parties.

Limitations.

One limitation of the case study approach is that participant experiences may not be applicable in other contexts. I endeavored to increase generalizability of this study by increasing the participant sample and also focused on drawing from previous research that did or did not

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align with my findings. The views represented in this study help shed some light on what female students are learning in the classroom in civics education and how their personal experiences relate to classroom materials.

Two other challenges arose during the data collection and analysis phases of the study. The first challenge arose during data collection when I realized that students had limited access to textbooks. The participants did not have individual copies in class and did not make an effort to borrow the limited copies available in the school library. Often public schools are extremely under-resourced and are likely to have only one copy of the textbook for the teacher (Haki Elimu, 2011). Therefore, students are unlikely to utilize civics textbooks or have minimal access to them.

However, the current civics teacher used the textbooks analyzed in this study to dictate notes to students, so participants had some limited access to the curricular documents analyzed. The majority of the class time was taken up by direct note taking where students would copy off the board or listen to the teacher dictate. Occasionally, the teacher would have a student read the textbooks while the rest of the class copies down the main points. Given the limited availability of textbooks, the texts were used as supplemental information and analysis of the curriculum was largely based on the civics syllabus.

Another challenge occurred during the data transcription where I had to translate the interviews from Kiswahili to English for participants who chose to speak in Kiswahili or use a mixture of Kiswahili and English. I would not classify myself as fluent in Kiswahili and translation often brings issues such as multiple word meanings. Translating certain words such as “kunyanyasa” or “kuonea,” which respectively mean harassed or oppressed in the context of the interviews, proved challenging, as meanings are fluid and interpreted differently by each

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participant. Often these two words were used to signify gender discrimination. On occasion where I didn't understand what a participant meant I would ask her directly during the interview or confirm my understanding of a word. To ease the translation process, I decide to attach fixed meanings to specific words and translated them the same for all interviews to mitigate varied meaning. Such words were kunyanyasa (harass), kuonea (oppress) or kushiriki (cooperate).

Chapter 4: Curriculum and Pedagogy

Case study methodology requires the researcher to set the study within its context and provide a thorough description of the environment to allow the reader to have a clearer picture of the research site and participants. Citizenship in this case study is highly dependent on factors such as the curriculum, school, and participants. The chapter begins with a discussion on the school setting, background on civics teachers who taught some of the participants, the teachers' general views on citizenship, and provides a profile of the participants. Gender and citizenship perceptions held by teachers are highlighted to gauge their influence on participants' personal ideologies. The chapter concludes with a document analysis that identifies how citizenship, gender, and civic participation are framed in the curriculum and then leads into the findings chapter.

School context

The case study site was a “government” or publicly funded secondary school.²¹ The medium of instruction is English and all tests and examinations are conducted in English except for language subjects. The school had about 500 students, serving Forms One to Six, with approximately 80 students in Form Four. Public secondary schooling is not free in Tanzania. Students pay Tanzanian Shillings (Tshs.) of 20,000 per year and incur other miscellaneous costs such as exam fees or donations towards school development. This could amount to approximately Tshs. 100,000.²² The school's motto focuses on developing students that will contribute to the development of Tanzania similar to the goals of the civics curriculum. Students

²¹ Participants referred to the school as a government school rather than using the term ‘public’ - a labeling that is prevalent in Tanzania.

²² Depending on current exchange rate 20,000 is roughly USD 11 and 100,000 would be USD 55.

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in the more senior forms (Forms Four to Six) seem to take an active part in activities such as student council, being class monitors and volunteering outside the school. I observed that there were two classrooms per Form level. In other words, the participants came from two different classrooms and were all in Form Four.

The school is located in an urban center. The students at the school follow a set curriculum depending on their stream (Arts or Science). Students take six compulsory subjects, namely, Mathematics, English, Kiswahili, Geography, Civics and History. Students then either take Physics, Chemistry and Biology or Commerce and Book-Keeping (Accounting)²³. Students also had scheduled periods for religious studies led by teachers from their faith communities. The school appeared to have necessary facilities for the students. They had several separate washrooms for boys and girls, a library, computer lab, and sciences laboratories. However, some participants who took the science stream complained that they were not given adequate time in the laboratory to complete their work; usage priority was given to older A-level students.

The students are required to arrive at school early in the morning and end in the middle of the afternoon. The Form Four students often stay back for extra-curricular activities and arrive home at six in the evening or later depending on how far they live. Three of the participants expressed issues with coming to school given the difficulty and the hazards of public transport in Tanzania. One participant expressed that crossing the street in certain areas was quite dangerous because of on-coming traffic (Rehema, interview 1).

The academic year runs from January to December. In November, Form Four students sit for a national examination used as a screening assessment for further secondary school (Advanced levels) and then later move into university. The participants were in the last stages of

²³ I have chosen to list most common subjects offered in secondary schools and not other supplementary subjects to maintain site anonymity.

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coursework before the national examinations for Form Four when I completed the research. Students who pass the national examinations for Form Four receive a Certificate of Secondary School Examination (CSEE) upon completion of their Ordinary level education. Given the impending examinations, teachers and students were reviewing materials in all subjects and in some cases where students had completed their coursework, participants voiced concerns over “teachers not coming to class” to review materials (Rehema, interview 1; Esther, interview 1).

I was given permission to conduct my research on campus from the school principal and given a tour of the school by Ms. Abby. She gave me a tour of the school and put me in touch with another teacher, who introduced me to the students. Ms. Abby also teaches in the humanities. I was granted access to a room to conduct my interviews when it was not in use. In instances where there was limited privacy because other teachers wanted to use the space for lesson preparation or a class, the participants and I moved to a secluded outside location.

Teacher profiles

The teachers, Ms. Abby and Ms. Jennifer, both had over ten years of professional teaching experience, university degrees, and a similar career trajectory. Both teachers started off their teaching careers in a similar manner with a teaching diploma after finishing secondary school. They enjoyed teaching but often found that the students did not always perform well on examinations. They both had experience teaching civics. Overall, they expressed that teaching at the school was a positive experience and tried to assist the students in academic and non-academic matters.

Ms. Abby said she had a good experience teaching the students, describing them as “bright and energetic,” and organized enough to have a classroom leader. She found that the

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students had changed once they reached Form Three due to “adolescent tendencies.” According to her, students had a good grasp of material, and she was able to “garner attention towards women’s issues.” One reason for her positive experience teaching civics is that students were learning materials currently “being done in society so they know something,” which made teaching civics easier since they already had a real world foundation and could participate actively in class. Most students in her class achieved average test scores and a few performed very well.

One of the main challenges she experienced as a teacher was the lack of teaching materials. She lacked sufficient textbooks for each student and mentioned that the library had very few copies. The government places a priority on science subjects rather than arts and focuses its efforts in supplying enough science materials, which results in them “forget[ting] other subjects.” Other than the lack of materials, she expressed a pleasure in her chosen profession.

Ms. Abby described her citizenship as “belonging to a particular country and having rights and responsibilities” and tried to fulfill her duties as a teacher. We discussed her participation in her society, home, and community. She participated in her community by attending meetings, socializing with people, or attending ceremonies. At home, she often tried to ensure everything “was going proper” in the household and also participated by contributing her income. She felt that contributing to the family basis through ensuring food, clothing, and shelter was available, were part of her citizenship duties. She viewed other home activities such as counseling or participating in family discussions as daily and “personal duties” because she was “not sure if citizens do them often.” As such, citizenship for her was fulfilling her obligations within her immediate environments.

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The other teacher interviewed, Ms. Jennifer, had been a classroom teacher previously for another group of students at the school. She was also positive about her teaching experiences but had not intended to teach at the secondary level. As a classroom teacher, she often counseled her students and helped them if there were in need. For example, she had students who often needed bus fare to get home, which she would generously supply.

For Ms. Jennifer, citizenship was about “do[ing] her responsibilities” and “knowing her rights,” although she sometimes faced challenges in carrying out her duties due to inadequate public services. Nevertheless, she attempted to carry out her other responsibilities as well as she could. She discussed how she participated at work by educating and fulfilling her responsibilities. She also participated in community settings by attending meetings and voting for leaders. At home, she described participating by “cleaning her surroundings” or going over homework with her children. Overall, she felt she played her part in being a good citizen.

She was “proud” being a civics teacher “because [she] could build up the young generation to perceive that women can do better,” helping students understand what gender truly meant. Her students thought gender meant female or male issues, but she helped them understand that it “was the relationship between two sexes and had nothing to do with biological differences.” As such, she often tried to show her students that women were capable of doing different things like driving a car or engineering, and sometimes “do better than men.” She described her own success of independently managing her finances and assisting students when they needed help. Her students, mainly girls, came to her for advice about personal matters, academics, or home issues.

Her general opinion was that a majority of Tanzanians could not “recognize an educated woman” and as such forget these women were capable of helping them. They often ignored

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women or thought less of them. As a result, she tried her best ensure her own students did not think of “women as weak,” but remarked that in cases where the students’ families had “negative attitudes,” she had a hard time changing student opinions. Education, for her, was a valuable tool to teach students and other citizens about women’s rights.

Both teachers were proud of their opportunities to teach and felt as citizens they were doing their part. Their understanding of good citizenship was “performing their duties” and applied this attitude to all spheres of their lives. They also distinguished home responsibilities as part of their individual responsibilities, whereas general acts of caregiving were seen as part of their citizenship responsibilities. Caring for their surroundings by cleaning, supporting their families financially, or teaching their children proper behavior in the home were considered part of their roles as citizens. Citizenship participation took place inside and outside their homes but was limited to actions that had public consequences. In other words, their citizen roles involved activities that had an impact in society. For instance, providing financial support or teaching their children at home had direct implications on their families’ positive involvement within the home and society. As such, they viewed their citizenship mainly through endeavors that contributed towards the public good, leaning towards a political understanding of citizenship.

They were proud of being Tanzanian women. They both discussed inclusive changes currently taking place for women and their role in implementing those changes in the classroom. One of these inclusive changes is the gender topic and terms such as “special groups” in the curriculum. Special groups are individuals, “with specific needs that deserve special care or treatment in the society [...] because they are victims of various problems which they are unable to solve” (p. 60). Ideas around “special groups” were intentionally created to raise awareness about marginalized individuals. The teachers differed in their opinions on the framing of women

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as “special groups” within the curriculum. Both teachers felt the term helped provide accommodations to women who did not have social and financial supports. Several programs and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) were created to support women who were seen as a “special group” by the government. However, one questioned the term “special groups” as positioning women as dependent on others, therefore, reinforcing gender stereotypes. The teacher felt, “it’s a bit awkward thinking women are special group” because it “makes girls feel weak or disabled even though that’s not what they meant.” Her insights are reflective of another study that has shown the term “special group” portrays conflicting images of women but can sometimes lead to productive discussions about gender (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2014). Overall, she felt proud about being a woman in Tanzania because “the country [was] trying to make women feel free.” For her, the position of women in Tanzania had vastly improved.

Overview of curriculum documents

In Tanzania, curriculum documents, such as syllabi, are created and produced by the Tanzanian Institute of Education (TIE), which is a public body under the ministry MOEVT. TIE is also responsible for facilitating teacher education programs. TIE produces all syllabi for various subjects at the primary and secondary level. There are eighteen subjects at the secondary level. Five of the subjects, including civics, are compulsory at ordinary levels (O-levels), and students then select three to four other electives based on their streams.²⁴

According to the Tanzanian Institute of Education (2007), curriculum is often a broad term that is sometimes used to refer to a plan of action or a prescribed set of standards for learning to take place. The Tanzanian Institute of Education (TIE), which produces curriculum documents for the Tanzanian school system, argues that “curriculum should explain the meaning

²⁴ Streams are arts (business, accounting and commerce) and science (physics, chemistry, biology).

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of knowledge, skills, and attitudes that a learner is expected to acquire after successful completion of a prescribed learning cycle. The curriculum also determines modalities for assessment, monitoring, and evaluation of the teaching and learning process” (TIE, 2007, p. 5). The prescribed standards in the curriculum are implemented on a nation-wide level and also outline modes of evaluation of the teaching and learning process.

This type of prescribed curriculum is also known as the *planned* curriculum or guidelines of what is to be taught and what is assessed (Glatthorn, Boschee, Whitehead & Boschee, 2015). Other types of curriculum include enacted and hidden curriculum that are not directly endorsed at the institutional level (Kurz, Elliot, Wehby & Smithson, 2010). *Enacted* curriculum refers to how curriculum guidelines are implemented through classroom pedagogy. The *learned* curriculum refers to what students understand or retain from the planned curriculum regardless of the planned curriculum’s initial intentions (Glatthorn et al., 2015). Given the scope of this study and my intention to elucidate what girls are learning in class, I probed the formal planned curriculum and related documents and compared them against the learned curriculum girls received.

The planned government-mandated curriculum can be found in the civics syllabus. Using the guideline syllabus text, government and private publishers create civics textbooks. I studied the civics national syllabus and three civics textbooks listed in Methodology chapter. The textbooks²⁵ were used to expand on the sparse details in the syllabus. The terms “curricular documents” or “curriculum” will be used when referring to both the syllabus and textbooks. I examined textbooks written by the one author to ensure uniformity in authorship of the texts. The civics teacher at the research site recommended the textbooks selected for me. An analysis of the

²⁵ The textbooks are not state produced content but have to be endorsed by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training before they are allowed into circulation.

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Tanzanian O-level civics documents, namely the syllabus and textbooks, is relevant in gauging how formal school processes influence girls' understandings around citizenship. I focused on reviewing key terms pertinent to this study in the textbooks as well. Combining the textbooks and syllabus documents provided a fuller picture of what students were learning in the classroom.

The civics ordinary level syllabus, as mentioned earlier, provides an outline of all the topics to be covered from Form One to Form Four.²⁶ The current active civics syllabus was created in 2010. The syllabus is broken down into charts containing columns labeled “topics, sub-topics, specific objectives, learning or teaching strategies, learning and teaching materials, assessment, and notes” (MOEVT, 2010; See Image 2). The notes column is blank throughout the book. The textbooks by Manzi cover the same order of topics for each year. None of the textbooks exceeded 80 pages and provided concise points.

Analysis process

I focused on the topics of citizenship and gender, which are stand-alone topics in the curriculum. I cross-referenced them with other related topics such as human rights or gender discrimination within the topic of culture. I applied the research questions to the texts and analyzed the documents using a textual content analysis. Themes were generated after collecting repeating phrases or passages that answered the research questions. I included references to gender and citizenship that focused on definitions and issues pertinent to these topics (Manzi, 2013, p.23). A total of five major theoretical constructs were generated, namely: citizens are socially responsible; all citizens should care for special groups; gender is a social categorization; women are marginalized due to culture; and, women need to be empowered.

²⁶ See note 1; Ordinary level education comprises of forms one to four (equivalent to grades 8 to 10)

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I analyzed the syllabus first to gain a general idea of the aims of the curriculum and the sub-topics students would cover. Next, I analyzed the textbooks. Students are expected to learn responsibilities of citizenship and textbooks clarify these responsibilities. Responsibilities include “economic duties” such as advanc[ing] the country economically through working (Manzi, 2013, p.55). Concepts around citizenship and rights are taught as individual topics in the Form one or first year of ordinary level secondary school. Gender is addressed during the second year (Form Two) of the civics curriculum and is another major stand-alone topic.

The Tanzanian syllabus focuses on “interactive and learner centered” teaching in order to “develop learners’ competences (skills and attitudes) and not merely knowledge” (MOEVT, 2010, p. iii). This broad set of objectives signals a move away from only building knowledge to promoting overall student development such as personality and attitudes (Alphonse, 2007). There is a wide range of topics from macro concepts such as Tanzanian governance and structure, to micro concepts such as personal problem solving skills (MOEVT, 2010). Despite the intent on focusing on the individual student learning needs, the civics syllabus still expects students to understand their place in the overall development of Tanzania and focuses their social and economic contributions to society. Scholars, such as Arnot (2009), have shown most national civic curriculums often focus on creating ‘good’ citizens who will contribute to society. The civics education strategy for Tanzania aims to create individuals that are responsible and participate effectively in society (Vavrus, 2014). These civic goals are further elucidated in the civic syllabus (MOEVT, 2010) as follows:

- Promote an understanding and appreciation for our nation, its culture and better management of its resources.

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

In Tanzania's case, all eight goals in the syllabus focus on aiding the "development of their nation" by focusing on ways students can participate actively as individuals for the collective good (p. v). The goals highlighted in the syllabus are focused on goals "such as equality and cooperation (in production, distribution of products...solving social problems via self help groups)" to further growth and change in a young nation (MOEVT, 2010, p. vi). The curriculum aims to create citizens that will further national goals of Tanzania by focusing on individual development.

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After the introduction of the goals of the civics education, the syllabus divides the curriculum by year of secondary schooling. “Human rights,” “Our nation,” and “Family Life” are a few of the major topics that are covered in the first year of the civics curriculum (MOEVT, 2010, p.8). The syllabus does not specify key terms but rather highlights broad objectives for each topic that the teacher must cover. Table 2 below highlights a few syllabus objectives and how it translates into textbook contents.

	Form 1	Form 2
Syllabus Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of work for self-development • Understanding of civic responsibilities and how to fulfill them • Recognize and respect human rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrate an understanding for his/her government • Understand the concept of democracy and its practices • Promote knowledge of good behavior [and] gender concepts
Textbook contents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify and explain four types of citizenship (birth, registration, marriage, parents) • Explain citizenship responsibilities and practice civic responsibilities • Define ‘special groups’ and identify needs for each group since they have equal rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure of Tanzanian Government • Identify and explain aspects of local government • Identify gender issues and gender discrimination.
Discussion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The texts emphasize the citizen’s roles and duties, including ensuring the government is held accountable for making changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students cover more issues related to governance structures and end the semester by learning about gender discrimination. The ‘gender’ topic focuses on the gender discrimination issues experienced by women.

Table 2: Relationship between syllabus objectives and textbook contents

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The syllabus instructs teachers to ensure students are able to “explain the meaning of a citizen and are also prepared to explain the responsibilities of a citizen” using teaching methods such as role-plays or group discussions (MOEVT, 2010, p. 10). The role-plays are used to engage students in activities that practice civic responsibilities such as “acquiring or using information, cooperation, promoting common good or open-minded listening” (p.11). The intent here, possibly, is to mimic citizenship duties in the classroom environment. At the end, teachers are required to assess if students are able to accomplish their individual civic duties. Interestingly, there are no suggestions of how teachers can undertake an assessment of civic skills that may differ greatly in a real world setting.

The textbooks help bridge some of the gaps between syllabus expectations of knowledge transmissions expected and knowledge application. The textbooks provide detailed breakdown of key terms and expand on the sub-topics listed in the syllabus documents. In addition it offers teachers and students question prompts for discussions. Using thematic document analysis I developed the following theoretical constructs on the nature of the citizenship and gender within the curriculum: i) the citizen is socially responsible; ii) all citizens are responsible for special groups; iii) gender is a social categorization; iv) women are marginalized due to culture; and, v) women need to be empowered.

i) What does citizenship and its related rights, roles and responsibilities mean in Tanzania?

In the introduction to the chapter on ‘responsible citizenship’, students are told that “there is a close relationship between human rights and citizenship responsibilities. This is because the demand for human rights goes hand in hand with being responsible. Do you agree? Can you argue for or against this argument” (Manzi, 2013, p.51)? The passage asks students to make a connection between their human rights and responsibilities as citizens. Implicit in

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Manzi's arguments is the idea that when an individual is provided with rights and protected by their country's government, they must reciprocate by playing their part through political processes.

The concept of rights is addressed earlier in the syllabus as a separate topic entitled "Human Rights" and covers the concepts related to the universal declaration of human rights. Students learn about their multiple rights, including the right to be educated. Students also study how the government upholds rights for every Tanzanian and what role individuals play in keeping governing bodies accountable. Interestingly, the rhetoric of rights is utilized to describe citizenship duties as a requirement and a 'right' or opportunity, which seems to provide incentive for individuals to perform their responsibilities.

Construct 1: The citizen is 'socially' responsible.

The idea of responsibility runs throughout the topic of citizenship by framing citizenship as a privilege, accompanied by its inherent responsibilities towards society at large. Students are responsible for themselves and towards others. The curriculum defines citizenship as:

the state of belonging to a particular country or a legal right of being a member, or native of the state. It is also the status of a person with regards to one's duties, rights and privileges in one's country. Therefore a responsible citizen is a person who respects the law of a country (Manzi, 2013, p.51).

The individual student is required to take up their economic, political, and civic roles. Students are taught their duties include voting, defending their nation, respecting and taking care of each other, and participating in work, including national development activities (p.59).

Embedded within this idea of personal responsibility as a citizen, is an emphasis on responsibilities towards other citizens through work, caring responsibilities, assistance towards

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special groups, cooperation, and advocacy. The Form One textbook has a chapter on “Work” directly following the citizenship chapter (p. 71). Students learn that work includes both physical and mental labor such as plumbing and teaching. Household tasks such as cooking are also considered part of work. Students learn they need to work legally to provide for themselves, their dependents and to create positive growth. The chapter begins by asking students if work is a right or a responsibility. Using prior knowledge, students learn that work is both a right and a responsibility; framing the concept of work as meaningful to oneself and necessary to creating national change. In working, they are taught they are contributing to “sustainable development” of their nation (p. 59). Furthermore, the syllabus also asks teachers to connect the concept of work to the development of Tanzania.

Hard work and productivity are linked with the development of the nation by teaching students about the “importance of work for self-development” and the “importance of work to the development of the nation” (p.76). The correlation between development and citizen responsibilities is continued in Form Three (year 3) of the civics curriculum when students learn about economic and social development, and poverty, which are two out of the three topics covered in that year. Students are taught early on that they are responsible not only for themselves and families, but are also socially responsible to other individuals and ultimately their nation.

Construct 2: All citizens should care for special groups.

Students are taught they are responsible, as citizens, for special groups, or groups that are vulnerable in Tanzanian society. These groups include women, HIV victims, the elderly, disabled, refugees, youth, and orphans. The textbook gives a description of each group and a detailed list of how young citizens must help each specific special group. Special groups tend to

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be marginalized and denied their rights, highlighting a need to bring them on par with regular citizens who do not have the same social disadvantages. The content on special groups makes up 45%, a large portion, of the citizenship chapter. Similarly, 'special groups' is one of the three sub-topics under responsible citizenship listed in the syllabus.

Women are considered a special group because they are oppressed and often denied their rights. The textbook lists discrimination and abuse they experience such as rape, female genital mutilation (FGM), wife beating, forced marriages, kidnapping, and trafficking. Other Tanzanian civic materials complicate the categorization of people classified into special groups by addressing them as individuals "who require special care and attention because they are unable to take care of themselves," (Manzi, 2013, p. 61). Students learn that women need assistance and special accommodations. The textbook educates students to take up responsibilities of abolishing traditions that oppress women, raising funds for women cooperatives, pressurizing the government to provide better transport for women and educating women. The curriculum acknowledges the historical oppression of women and discusses "positive discrimination" that gives women political and economic power within a previously male realm. These accommodations while necessary, may work to further reinforce gender stereotypes that women are the weaker sex in need of assistance in order to reach male standards. These discussions on gender inequality are later taken up again under the topic of gender in Form Two (year two).

ii) How is citizenship represented in the curriculum in relation to girls/women?

In the curriculum, Gender is a singular topic taught in Form Two but is cross-referenced under the topics of family and culture. Gender was not explicitly used as a term when discussing marriage and courting, but the terms 'man' and 'woman' were used in relation to each other.

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Gender was used under culture to discuss negative customs and traditions that generally affect women by spreading HIV/AIDs. These customs are practices such as wife inheritance, female genital mutilation (FGM), and early marriages.²⁷ Thus, gender was used in relation to identity, family structure, sexual practices, and behaviors.

Construct 3: Gender is a social categorization.

Under the topic of gender, students learn key terms such as definitions of gender, gender discrimination, gender stereotyping, gender mainstreaming, gender equality and inequality and gender empowerment. Gender is defined as a “social construction between men and women resulting from biological sex categories and roles” (Manzi, 2007a, p. 88). While the concept of power is not associated with the creation of gender categories, it is implied through discussions around women’s lack of decision making abilities in the home and public because “men have made themselves top of everything” (Manzi, 2007a, p. 94).

The framing of gender as a social construction provides an opportunity to discuss the discrimination of women based on gender roles. According to the curriculum, women are prevented from having similar roles and opportunities as men in Tanzanian society. For instance, students learn that girls are not allowed to go to school or that women lack a say in their households due to various social, economic and cultural factors. In order to allow women to assume a similar position to men, women need to be empowered by granting them access to politics, job markets, and schools.

²⁷ Wife inheritance (also known as spouse or widow inheritance) is a cultural practice where a wife is given to the next brother or male sibling in line if her husband passes away. Early marriages are when underage girls (often 14 to 17) are married off by the consent of their parents.

Construct 4: Women are marginalized due to culture.

According to the syllabus and textbooks, the primary barrier to the participation of women in Tanzania is “culture” and “practices” in Tanzania (Manzi, 2007a, p.95). The civics syllabus requires students to learn about “corrective measures against” these practices (MOEVT, 2010, p. 52). These practices boil down to FGM, wife inheritance, food taboos, sex preferences, regarding women as sex objects or early/forced marriages. Most of these practices are labeled as “socio-cultural” rather than “cultural”.

Culture is used as a broad umbrella term, in the curriculum, to capture issues that cause women’s discrimination in the family, religious institutions, schools, traditions and work places. For example, in Form Four students examine the broad topic of culture, under which they learn the negative parts of culture including gender discrimination. The syllabus requires teachers to “illustrate customs which lead to gender discrimination” (MOEVT, 2010, p.73). Negative customs illustrated by the textbook include the family structure where “beliefs [...] marginalize girls’ participation in many activities” or “initiation ceremonies” in traditional communities that often include FGM practices (Manzi, 2007b, 16). A custom as defined by Manzi’s textbook “is an everyday practice of behavior which is passing and vulnerable to changes” (p. 7). However, initiation ceremonies listed in the textbook are often traditions that have been practiced for generations rather than evolving customs (Manzi, 2007b, p.17).

The civics curriculum conflates social factors with culture in a way that does not allow the student to easily identify that gender discrimination and embedded patriarchy do not simply stem from bad cultural practices but from a complex combination of values, attitudes, behaviors and changing perceptions of gender. Since the curriculum is often seen as a means of true or official knowledge these discrepancies are problematic, particularly around discussions of women’s empowerment (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991).

Construct 5: Women need to be empowered.

The need to alleviate oppression of women in Tanzania has pushed the curriculum to discuss female struggles by engaging in discussions around a preference for male children, gender discrimination, and women's lack of decision-making abilities in the domestic sphere. The textbook acknowledges that women are subjugated in the home due to male heads but does not discuss how women can subvert or change these gendered hierarchies. Neither does the syllabus nor textbooks bring up how these patriarchal notions influence the position of boys in relation to girls. Boys are not taught or encouraged to think about how these patriarchal tendencies may place them in privileged positions in the classroom and workplace.

The curriculum addresses in detail how to combat negative practices that marginalize women (Manzi, 2007a, p.12). For example, students learn about doing away with negative sexual practices such as FGM that marginalize women by spreading HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) or that a girl might be infected with HIV due to unsterile equipment used during circumcision (Manzi, 2007b). This approach allows the curriculum to push once again a women-based agenda to combat stereotypes and practices that exist in Tanzanian society because gender disparity is still high in Tanzania.²⁸

Discussion

Given the spotlight on women's issues in the civics curriculum and the focus on responsible citizenship, girls are encouraged to educate themselves and others; and harness opportunities made available to them through their multiple rights and freedoms. The framing of gender as a social construction aligns with a Gender and Development approach (GAD) because

²⁸ The Gender Gap Report (2014) puts Tanzania's Gender Inequality Index (GII) at 0.741. This is relatively high with 1.00 indicating 100% inequality between men and women in the areas of politics, health, education and economy.

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it allows for discussions around relations of power between women and men. Moreover, the introduction of key gender terms allows students “to discuss effects of negative socio-cultural practices to individuals and society” and identify social roles that create power dynamics between women and men (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011, p.165). The prescribed texts allow teachers and students to have discussions on the present roles of women in Tanzania and the new opportunities granted to them. Two curricular examples of the changing position of women in Tanzania are increasing number of women in parliament and the professional workforce due to increased rights and political supports.

Implicit in the acknowledgment of women’s marginalization, is a problematic emphasis on culture as the cause of gender discrimination. The syllabus and textbooks stress common ways women are discriminated against in social, economic and political areas through a range of “socio-cultural practices.” Practices such as FGM and wife inheritance originate from cultural traditions that are embedded in various Tanzanian ethnic groups. However, other practices such as “sexual or gender preferences in the family for boys” are not cultural rather ideological and socially rooted (Tanzania Media Women’s Association [TAMWA], 2015). Perhaps, the syllabus aims not to place blame solely on culture for the oppression of women by using the term “socio-cultural.” Nevertheless, by citing and reiterating negative socio-cultural *practices* in the textbooks, students may unconsciously associate oppressive practices with their cultures.

Absent from the gender discussion is an overview of the new challenges and modes of discrimination faced by women. The curriculum documents are silent on the recent challenges such as discrimination of girls by and within schools, or the prevalence of gender-based violence in Tanzania including spousal abuse (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). Girls face challenges such as expulsion from school due to teenage pregnancy, lack of safety in schools, or gender

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stereotyping in the classroom (Unterhalter & Helsop, 2011; Mkuchu, 2004; Thomas & Rugambwa, 2010). Nor do the documents address how boys and young men can participate in discussing these issues in the classroom. The onus remains on the teacher facilitating essential gender conversations.

Furthermore, the curriculum does not discuss the complications of being an educated woman confronting gendered societal expectations. Women are expected to respect authority figures and follow appropriate norms such as marrying when they come of age (Malekela, 1996). Education has also been seen as negatively influencing the behaviors of women in the Tanzanian household (Johnson, 2011; Stambach, 2000). Educated women were seen as a threat to the patriarchal structure because they were able to vocalize their independence and had the economic means to back up their appeals. Finally, female breadwinners had gained inheritance rights and became ‘feminine male-heirs’, causing further tensions within families (Meena, 1996).

Tanzanian women continue to struggle for equal power and positions of authority within the family and workplace. Studies have shown that even when Tanzanian women are the primary contributors to the household and farm chores, they still do not have decision-making power (Johnson, 2011). Decisions are still made by men within the household. Women are also still largely responsible for domestic tasks, which they have to juggle with public sphere obligations (Meena, 2009).

Yet within the discussions of gender, the voices and concerns of boys or men are not addressed. What does it mean to be a boy in this reversed situation of preference? If a household has a female heir does this mean that decisions are not made by men in the household at all? These questions are pertinent in Tanzania given the evidence of male advantage in curricular texts. GAD requires a discussion around both men and women to allow for a change in the

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gendered hierarchy within the domestic and public spheres. Incidents of male or female privilege were indirectly addressed by participants, which will be covered in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Thematic Findings

The intent of this chapter is to convey the findings and data analysis process from the participant interviews and public diaries. This research project on girls' citizenship focused on analyzing how girls understand citizenship and practice it in their daily lives. Findings speak to the nature of girlhood and citizenship in Tanzania, since this research was approached as a feminist case study. Following Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003) coding process, I generated themes and condensed those themes into theoretical constructs that spoke to the participants' overall understanding of citizenship.

Table 3 below highlights the themes and constructs generated through the data analysis process. Analyses of themes in the part I and II sections are organized based on how they related to my primary and secondary research questions: a) *What does citizenship and its related rights, roles and responsibilities mean to Tanzanian girls?* b) *How do girls participate as citizens in schools, homes and their immediate community?* Parts III and IV contain themes organized based on how they speak to gender and its related issues in the lives of the girls. In presenting the findings in this chapter I make use of public/private dichotomy to elucidate how each theme relates to home, community, and school spaces that the participants inhabit, where applicable. The labeling of the themes arose from compiling repeating ideas together and where possible I used the exact language of the participants to convey meaning. For example, the theme called *citizens help and cooperate with each other*, compiled phrases of "I help" with "cooperate with each other" when participants were discussing their responsibilities and participation as citizens.

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Part	Theme number	Theme	Percentage of sample
I. Citizenship is:	1	Belonging and being “proud to be a girl” in Tanzania	100%
	2	About “having rights”	100%
	3	Being a good citizen by “performing your rights and duties”	100%
II. I participate by:	4	Co-operating and helping others	100%
	5	Protect and clean my surroundings	85%
	6	“Voting and being voted for”	77%
	7	Educating others	85%
III. Challenges to girl citizens:	8	Gendered behaviors, attitudes and values	85%
	9	Gender discrimination makes me “feel bad about being Tanzanian”	100%
	10	Parental barriers	54%
	11	Lack of government services and corruption	48%
	12	Binaries	40%
IV. “Taking steps to” exist within challenges:	13	“Education isn’t enough” Other interventions	23%
	14	Self-affirming strategies: confidence, faith and focus	62%
	15	Female role models and family relationships	31%

Table 3: Themes generated from data

Adapted from Reimer, 2011

Part I: Citizenship is:

Theme 1: Belonging to a place and having pride.

All participants started off their first interview by defining their citizenship as the “state of belonging to a country” and having “rights” within that particular country (Ruby, interview 1). They all expressed they belonged to Tanzania and had rights and responsibilities as individual citizens. They reiterated curricular definitions of citizenship, referencing the different ways one could belong to a particular country and claimed, “to be a citizen of Tanzania [was] to follow the rules and claim your rights as well” (Dorothea, interview 1). In other words, citizenship reflected their inclusion into Tanzanian society and freedom to participate within it.

Their sense of belonging originated from an acknowledgment that they had the legal residence to participate in a particular place.

Mary: I see citizenship as if I had a permit to live in a specific country or place. It's like the freedom to live somewhere, but the permit is very important. If you have a permit for a specific country, that is citizenship. You are a citizen of that country (interview 1).

Adriana: Citizenship is an act of a person to be part of a country governed by the country's laws. So maybe they were born in that country, or they moved to that country (interview 1).

Rosie: Today I have heard in the radio that all the people who do not have a citizenship of Tanzania i.e. are not citizens of Tanzania by birth, kinship or registration, has to go to his or her own country (public diary, entry 3).

Based on their responses, citizenship was represented as a privilege that anyone could obtain if they were native or applied for the status through the appropriate immigration processes. Rosie's public diary entry above pointed out concerns of refugees having to leave the country. During our second interview she stated that the refugee children were born in Tanzania, and thus a part of it. She felt the children and their parents should not be made to leave Tanzania until their former country was safe to return to. Nicole echoed a similar sentiment about the refugee issue

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but for a different reason. She viewed citizenship by birth as the most valuable form of citizenship and argued that the refugee children raised in Tanzania should stay. The children “were born [in Tanzania and] they will bring many benefits when they grow up since they will know how to challenge [the current system]” (interview 2). As native Tanzanians, the refugee children would be well equipped to develop Tanzania since they were familiar with the environment.

Other participants frequently cited the methods of becoming a citizen in Tanzania, namely through naturalization/registration, birth, descent, and marriage when discussing what they were learning about citizenship. They pointed out why citizenship by birth was “the kind of citizenship they saw on a daily basis” since it was the type most people they knew possessed (Dorothea, interview 1). The other approaches to achieving citizenship frequently discussed were by registration and descent. Citizenship by registration or naturalization is a legal means for immigrants to apply for Tanzanian citizenship after having resided in Tanzania for a period of seven years. A final way to achieve citizenship is through marrying a Tanzanian citizen, which was mentioned by only three of the participants. Below are examples of our discussions:

Linda: Suppose I marry a German he can be a Tanzanian... For example, if he comes here the easy way to ask for citizenship is through marriage and we show our marriage certificate and then they will agree to let him live here as a citizen (interview 1).

Dorothea: Citizenship you see on a daily basis – by birth (interview 1).

Carolina: Most often you have to be born to be a citizen here. But say your parents were Tanzanian but you were born in Kenya, you wouldn't be a citizen here like your parents (interview 1)

Tanzanian women are not entitled to pass on their citizenship to their foreign spouses, a fact that participants never mentioned and were not aware of (URT Ministry of Home affairs and Immigration services, n.d.). I noted this discrepancy in the marriage law when Linda mentioned

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her hypothetical German husband becoming a Tanzanian citizen through her. She was confused and had no knowledge of ever learning or hearing about this version of naturalization through marriage from anyone.

Nonetheless, the participants' positivity on being Tanzanian came from a sense of nationalism, patriotism and pride in a distinct Tanzanian culture and identity. Two of the participants drew nationalistic symbols such as the Tanzanian flag, coat of arms and wrote verses from the national anthem in their public diaries. Students would sing the anthem during assemblies and prior to sporting events. Dorothea, who drew a flag, commented about how she "loved" her country under the picture (public diary, entry 3). Mary and Adriana also mentioned being willing to do anything for their country, including defending it. Three other participants further described patriotism in terms of wanting to aid in Tanzania's development. The spirit of nationalism embedded in the curriculum and schooling practices impressed upon the participants a belief of their place in the continued development for Tanzania and a pride in their place within it.

Coupled with their pride on being Tanzanian, was a sense that Tanzanians behaved in certain ways and treated other citizens accordingly:

Angel: Firstly I love my country. I help my neighbors. I do my duty [...] come to school. I don't do things I'm not supposed to like drugs, prostitution [...] these things are not our culture (interview 1).

Angel: People [in Kenya] don't greet in the morning or ask you Salama, if you woke up well; they don't have that. So long as they don't know you, they want to know anything about it. But we Tanzanians, if we meet someone in the street we don't know, we say "mambo," [or] "how did you wake up" (interview 2).

Rehema: Peace, love and justice and cooperation among people is what defines [the] real meaning of Tanzania. Cultural and traditional practices in Tanzania define their daily life style (public diary, entry 1).

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Ruby: I told my mom that when I grow up and get married, I want to live in Tanzania. But because I had no knowledge of the situation, but now I have, I think, I'll have to live here and help to develop my country (interview 1).

Rehema echoed Angel's beliefs that there was a difference between Tanzania and other cultures that did not advocate for people acting against cultural attitudes (interview 1). Their nationalism seemed influenced by Tanzanian culture and the narratives of development embedded in the curriculum (Manzi, 2007b).

Inclusion within the nation allowed them to be satisfied with life as articulated by Angel who mentions, "I live a life that most people live, that is maybe those who have a father and mother" (interview 2). Their sense of satisfaction was tied to the fact that they were "happy to be girl[s] in Tanzania" because they felt they had equality. They discussed having equal rights, being proud of their culture, and having access to different opportunities. Their classroom lessons on civics demonstrated that women were marginalized but steps had been taken to address discrimination. Accommodations had been made for women such as lower entrance scores for university, access to political leadership roles and legislated rights (Lihamba, et al., 2006; Meena 2009).

Theme 2: Having rights.

In light of their national pride, the participants viewed rights as essential to themselves as individuals and young women. The language of "having rights" was repeatedly used throughout the interviewing process and was seen as one of the leading means for gender empowerment. The young women identified several types of rights they saw necessary to citizenship in their public diaries and interviews. These included, to name a few: right to education, right to vote, right to participate, human rights, rights of special groups, right to work and protect economic rights of others, and equal rights. They discussed the impact of rights in their lives:

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Rehema: I am proud of being a girl ...we have all equal rights and there is gender balance. All in all, I have rights and it brings me all that I have so I feel proud (interview 1).

Priscilla: It is good I can represent my ideas to other people. I can help others who have problems. That is the reason why I love to be a girl (interview 1).

Dorothea: I would feel bad [if my rights were taken away]. But it gives you a challenge. Like next year we are choosing a leader, and how would he help in these challenges (interview 2).

Nicole: I feel good because I hear girls are given priority in the science subjects. So I feel good because I am one of them also taking science subjects. I have also heard that there is a lot of discrimination of girls (interview 1).

They felt conflicted about their Tanzanian heritage when experiencing instances of personal gender discrimination or learned of women denied of their rights. Linda, in her public diary entry, suggested that gender discrimination and violence would make an individual “not proud of being born in Tanzania as a girl [when she is] treated badly” therefore negating any sense of nationalism an individual citizen might possess (public diary, entry 2).

The participants’ most valuable constitutional right was their right to education, which they viewed as both an entitlement and obligation they needed to fulfill. They wanted to continue their education so that they were fulfilling their roles to “meet their future” (Carolina, public diary, entry 6). The participants believed all Tanzanians should endeavor to be educated and have the opportunity to do so:

Carolina: So firstly as a citizen I have a right to be educated. So until this time I have been studying. So that’s one right that has been created for the citizen (interview 2).

Rehema: All in all we come to school to get the knowledges. I am always increasing my knowledges and skills (interview 1).

Nicole: As citizen of Tanzania I participate even by coming to school to learn. All citizens of Tanzania should be educated. Then, you participate in matters relating to the government (interview 1).

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All participants except one felt that public provision of education helped them fulfill their goals of education and created a connection between themselves and the government.

Education as a right was also important to the participants because it created awareness of their other rights and offered information on how they could protect themselves. They discussed issues of discrimination by keeping their education in perspective:

Esther: I...how do you say...I have the right to vote the right to do anything I want, 'cause I have a right, and I don't think people will harass me, because I am educated (interview 1).

Rehema: I know my rights, this (abuse) will not happen to me (interview 2).

Rehema understood should she ever be in a situation where she experienced abuse from her spouse, she could go to the police or a women's organization to receive help. Rehema knew she could claim her rights when necessary. Awareness of women's rights was perceived as essential because they learned of strategies to prevent abuse of their rights.

Theme 3: Being a good citizen by performing your respective responsibilities.

At school, the young women were learning that they were required to carry out different obligations and thus tried to act out good citizenship at home, school and in society. The terms "duties" and "responsibilities" were used interchangeably when describing their roles as citizens. Ten of the participants felt that they were fulfilling their roles as good citizens. Ruby, who did not feel she was completely a good citizen, argued, "some how I am. I'm not a good citizen because I am not voting but I will try my best next time" (interview 1). She did not feel she could easily call herself a good citizen since she had not fulfilled the "compulsory" duty of voting in elections.

The participants also considered themselves good citizens because they did not break the law and diligently completed whatever was required, which included:

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Julieth: A good citizen is the person who participates in what is required (interview 2).

Angel: Good citizen is the one who helps, cares and has respect for others...does their responsibilities. Like me, I'm a student, I study, do my homework (interview 1).

Rosie: A good citizen is someone who follows the rules who doesn't do things that the law prohibits. For example, if the law doesn't allow stealing and that person steal, s/he is a bad citizen... I follow the laws (interview 1).

Being a good citizen entailed “do[ing] all the requirements” for others and themselves (Ruby, interview 1). The young women were expected to be self-responsible and in engage in varied social conventions. Nonetheless, the participants strived to be good citizens.

Ten participants commented that the duty and right to work was also essential to citizenship but did not have the ability to work on their own. Work for them involved participating in school chores, volunteering or working with other individuals in school and their communities. At school they were often given scheduled chores such as sweeping or cleaning the classrooms. Two participants talked about having regular cleaning duties in their neighborhood, although, overall these activities were discussed as ways they participated as citizens, rather than regular tasks they needed to complete. At home they also accomplished similar household chores such as cleaning. Even in instances, such as Ruby's case above when participants realized they did not have the opportunity to vote, they considered themselves good citizens by virtue of doing the best they could in areas they could participate in. One participant, Julieth, went so far as to distinguish between good and bad citizenship. She saw some students subjected to corporal punishment because they refused to clean and remarked that they were “uncitizens” for not participating. Thus, citizen responsibilities were not limited to political or public activities such as volunteering but encompassed menial tasks such as cleaning.

Part II: I participate by:

Theme 4: Helping and cooperating with others.

The young women framed participation through daily tasks where they could help or cooperate with others through a range of non-political activities. Three of the interview questions focused on how they participated in home, school, and societal or communal spaces (Appendix A). All participants, except Linda, addressed how they “participated” in various spheres using terms such as “helping” or “cooperating,” interchangeably to describe these participation activities or forms of good citizenship. The term “helping” referred to assisting others or doing chore-based activities, whereas “cooperating” referred to working *with* or *for* other people. Using the specific language of “helping” or “cooperating” allowed the participants to capture their participation through routine or general activities, resulting in a broad spectrum of citizenship participation.

The young women discussed how they participated in private spaces, such as their individual homes, by “helping look after siblings,” cook, clean, or advise family members at home (Angel, interview 1). They would assist their families by playing the roles expected of them as young women and elder siblings. In Tanzania, the oldest child often is granted a great deal of respect. With that position in the family, the eldest also has a great deal of responsibility. Ruby, for instance, was proud to be one of the older children in the home because of the respect that came with it. The homespace was a place where specific gender roles were acknowledged. Ruby described her brothers not wanting to cook, viewing the division of labor as normal because “although we are all the same, I'm supposed to be different from them” (interview 1). Similarly, Mary described her roles in the home:

In my family, because I am a girl, I have to do things for my younger siblings as well as my older brothers. For example, a boy cannot enter the kitchen to cook. According to us how we have set things up in our home, we cannot make a boy child

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cook. So I will do things at home like sweeping, helping my mother with thoughts, if she needs help or advice because some things she cannot tell her sons so she has to tell me as I am a girl (interview 1).

Helping was an obligation that arose from a sense of generosity and made a difference in people's lives and, inevitably, their nation. Performing a desirable behavior through helping was psychologically rewarding once completed. One participant commented on how she had a duty to assist others during moments of "crisis" as part of her citizen responsibilities (Dorothea, public diary, entry 3). The participants felt a deep sense of individual satisfaction after helping other people:

Angel: There was a child came to greet me and asked for money. And the next day, I saw him and he told me dada thank you. And so I felt, wow, I helped the kid. If I hadn't helped [...] he may have gone to the streets to beg for it so I felt peaceful because I helped that child (interview 2).

Carolina: I volunteer with my fellow students to do things. And another thing, at home area, if I see someone with a problem I must help them so they can come out of their problem. Another thing I need to become a leader so that I can help people (interview 1).

Nicole: When I am older I want to help them, these people I am talking about on the streets so that they are not caught up in bad groups and break the law, and can they can be good citizens (interview 1).

Rehema: Today I witnessed a person helping a disabled one (person). It was a [shocking] event because no one would believe a person who survived is still alive. I was waiting for the cars but suddenly I saw a person crossing the road, in fact there was a lot of cars coming... but we came to realiz[e] the person crossing the road was inability of seeing. [...] Suddenly a young man decided to go and help him by pushing him away from the road. This was so brave because he risked his life for the sake of another person (public diary, entry 3).

Julieth: [...] One was sick and the other was alright, but when the person starts to be conscious feeling cold, the other one helps her by giving her a coat to cover herself. This shows how they do care about each other and that's what we call good friendship (public diary, entry 7).

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Helping a parent in the home or someone elsewhere gave the participants a sense of peace and fulfillment. Using the term “help” seemed to place an intrinsic value on citizenship responsibilities.

Even Linda, who could not identify how she participated at home as a citizen, used the term cooperating to describe how she volunteered at a blood drive and in a school club, which for her meant that she was caring for other people. Caring, in Linda’s case, required a moral effort. Cooperating was used to imply that people needed to assist each other and not simply work together.

Linda: Yeah, volunteerism is cooperating with others...you are saving people by cooperating (interview 2).

Interviewer: And for you citizenship is cooperating with others?

Carolina: Yeah and to have rights of leadership or to choose or be chosen (interview 2).

Priscilla: To be a good citizen is to cooperate with others in many aspects (public diary, entry 7).

Peace and justice was maintained, as well, through cooperation with others. In school, this often meant forming studying or working in groups with other students on class projects and contests. Participants sought to accomplish their citizen duties harmoniously with others:

Esther: I am getting an education so I am cooperating and maintaining peace (interview 1).

Angel: Then a teacher came and said you know why you guys failed, because you didn’t cooperate, you didn’t love each other. You know one thing and don’t want to tell your friend, and you know something else and don’t want to say. So that is why you failed (interview 2).

Mary: We live close by but not that close. There was a day, the transformer blew and it caught fire and so people threw sand on it until the fire went out. So people cooperated to remove the fire (interview 2).

Mary: Robberies have occurred so this made the citizens to cooperate with policemen to catch them (public diary, entry 7).

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In some cases, participants realized a lack of cooperation was detrimental to successes they could achieve both in school and in societal settings. They tried to engage positively with other students in their classes and referred to incidents where citizen engagement resulted in instances of change.

Theme 5: By educating others.

The participants found their education valuable and often tried to educate others and spread awareness about issues they deemed important. They described their participation in various private and public spheres through activities of “teaching” or “advising” other people:

Carolina: Okay, well suppose someone doesn't understand in a lesson. I try to explain it to them because I feel good when I teach someone and then they do well (interview 1).

Julieth: Advising them (other students). They should not see that when they clean they will change. They should volunteer and be patriotic (interview 1).

Interviewer: What about at home?

Julieth: To do work and to give advice to my young siblings.

I: What do you advise?

J: To advise them to be patriotic from their environment to their country (interview 1).

Adriana: In my community I participate more because I educate other people about human rights [...] and I educate my mother and other friends so I think I use my knowledge at home (interview 1).

Priscilla: I participate in studying. I have friends who are boys and young women. We study together or have chitchats, making up stories (interview 1).

Informally educating others was a responsibility that they felt comfortable engaging in as students themselves.

The participants felt it was their duty to educate others in their communities, particularly other girls who were not in school, on issues related to education, gender, and citizenship. Nicole discussed how she often shared ideas related to what she was learning at home with other people.

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She thought it was her duty to “teach friends who [weren]’t studying” (interview 1). Another way Nicole participated was by teaching a family member literacy skills so that they could participate in community and political meetings. Other participants echoed Nicole's obligations to lead by teaching. Adriana shared a similar sentiment and discussed how she tutored her friend in civics because they did not have a civics teacher at their school.

They framed their participation in extracurricular activities in terms of raising awareness. When discussing how they engaged in school they would often discuss their participation in youth activism or talked about encouraging those who were not going to school to become educated, particularly women.

Interviewer: How will you help women?

Julieth: By giving education to everyone. Women are discriminated a lot. For example, in the villages they have FGM. So I would go to the villages and say FGM isn't good and may make people die (interview 1).

Linda: Yeah I participated. For example, in our area there is a youth group and I teach others. There is also a sports group. We also plan days where we go out and educate others about diseases (interview 1).

Esther: There are illiterates and literates. So I'm trying, I have this education so I'm trying to educate them. (Proceeds to recount an episode where she confronted an individual who stole from a student and she was able to retrieve the item. She tried to teach the thief that stealing was wrong) (interview 1).

They felt they were creating change on a larger scale by raising awareness on gender discrimination and trying to rectify other negative citizen behaviors. Education seemed to motivate them to tackle large issues within their communities.

Theme 6: Taking care of the environment.

On a smaller scale, participants focused on maintaining order or cleanliness in their environments. Cleaning was evident in all spheres of participation because it was a daily chore

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and delegated task in the school. Participants used the term “clean” or referenced caring for their environments as part of their duties as citizens:

Interviewer: What examples of citizenship due you see on a daily basis?

Rehema: Taking care of social infrastructures, of properties (interview 1).

Angel: I have a big part to play in my school or society. For example in school when I arrive, I clean, or when I go to another school, I talk about my school (interview 1).

Angel: As a school we go and help, we clean the hospitals (interview 1).

Nicole: I also associate with work that will enable my country to progress. For example, I help when we are required to plant trees (interview 1).

Mary: On our street [...] children, youth need to come out to clean. This is more like a regular exercise, but we all know that we clean the entire street. All the people on the come down and we sweep all the leaves, we cut extra plants [...] (interview 2).

The focus of looking after their environment was to maintain and protect it. The participants did not discuss engaging in recycling and only Nicole mentioned planting trees. There was a distinct notion of protection and participants cared a great deal about their surroundings. As seen earlier with the teachers, cleaning seemed to be a regular activity in the community and was part of their civic duties. The participants were versed in cleaning norms and replicated them within the school structures. Engaging in the cleaning based activities was a method for them to engage in volunteer efforts so they could play their individual parts in creating change or protecting their environments as good citizens.

Theme 7: “To vote and be voted for.”

Voting was one of the most frequently cited duties of a citizen reviewed during our interviews. The young women articulated a need to vote in elections and be eligible to be voted for as leaders. The Form One textbook describes one of the most basic duties of a citizen is to “vote and be voted for” (Manzi, 2013, p. 67). Participants used the same phrasing to articulate their need for voting as both a duty and a right they were entitled to:

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Dorothea: (provides list of rights) Right to life, right to participate in various national affairs, right to study, right to vote, and be voted for (public diary, entry 8).

Rosie: A citizen needs to do work and vote during elections (public diary, entry 3).

Given the merits of voting, two participants felt they were not ‘good’ citizens because they could not vote as young adults. Adriana, commented how “when I...reach 19, 20, I will be a good citizen because then I will have a right to participate in election activities” (interview 1). Thus, fulfilling right to vote would enable them to be seen as good citizens.

Having the right to be ‘voted for’ or being eligible to run for political positions was essential because it allowed them to claim other non-political leadership roles. They learned that women had been denied leadership positions in Tanzania, which was made apparent when some participants experienced being a minority when running for school leadership roles. Leadership responsibilities were not limited to having a commanding presence but also acting in an advisory or support position:

Esther: Being a girl and a president, you know, is very important to me because many boys, you know boys in this country are president more than you can say to girls. So of course I feel very happy to be a girl because I can represent girls. I want to be a president because...yeah that’s it (interview 1).

Rehema: I had noticed something that girls were not given equal opportunity as boys like the head of the club former leader was insisting that the chairperson should be a boy and not a girl while he had equal level of education and equal level of understanding. The only difference is that he is a boy while I’m a girl. So I felt the elections were unfair because the number of the boys were not equal with the number of the girls...although I haven’t contesting on their leadership. And those practices are still in our society (public diary, entry 7).

Dorothea: My friend has a lot of worry because she is the only girl in the campaign, majority of them are boys. When the teacher sees she is the only girl, teacher support her because of her volunteer (public diary, entry 2).

Nicole: ...And also as a girl I want to be involved in politics and leadership because they are a lot of women. So I feel good to be involved in order to help girls and to vote for them (interview 1).

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Ruby: I received a call from my mother and she said at my home place they have done an election and for the first time a female leader has been chosen... before we only had male leaders because they were considered as the strongest in everything (public diary, entry 3).

They supported women in leadership roles so that they were represented because representation lent them a sense of internal value.

Part III: Challenges to girl citizens

Theme 8: Gendered behaviors, values and attitudes.

Representation of women was necessary to highlight gender inequality present in Tanzania. Participants felt that they still experienced some forms of gender inequality, albeit it may not have been a daily experience, and they knew people who had experienced forms of gender discrimination. They were also made aware of gender inequality through the media. Yet, their civic lessons stressed the progressive position of women in Tanzanian society in spite of ingrained discrimination of women. Esther highlights part of this tension by arguing:

There is gender equality? No I don't think so. There is gender inequality. Because you know in Tanzania, men, they say men are the first and the last decision makers in our society. So if you think that men are the first and last, then women who are we (interview 2)?

She and other participants discussed various gendered attitudes, values, and behaviors, which reified what they experienced in light of curriculum messages. Thus, gender discrimination remains in the Tanzania and does not allow girls to live quality lives.

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Gendered behaviors were evident in the home through divisions of labor and cultural norms expected in family life. As seen earlier, household chores that involved traditional female tasks such as cooking, cleaning or looking after children were left to girls and women. Mary, discussed how gendered roles were also evident through community participation. She explained how the women in her neighborhood would cook together for community potlucks. Divisions of labor transferred over to communal participation. There was a distinct way of behaving in her family in regard to her father's position as head of the family:

For example, a father requires his food, drinks etcetera to be served in specific dishes that I will follow because not every utensil or dish a father has to share with his kids. It's not good. Or a father should not sit on the same chair as his child. That's not good. The father's seat should be separate and placed in its own spot.

She respected the differences placed on her father's role in the family. These distinctions did not always come with complete understanding from her. During our interview she mentions that girls were not supposed to eat certain foods such as chicken "gizzards" (interview 2). This food taboo is expressed in Manzi's (2007b) textbooks as a form of gender discrimination towards women. She later argued that she would keep the same familial structure for her future family but would "not follow" the gendered task structure, making sure her sons "all do the same job" (interview 2).

Mary's experience at home was not entirely unique, given that similar gendered expectations and values were expressed in other interviews, making other participants feel dissatisfied and troubled. The participants provided instances in their own lives where they knew that females were not valued the same way as their male counterparts:

*Rosie: Her mother does not want Sandra*²⁹ [although she was old enough] to use [the item]. Sandra's younger brother [...] is allowed to use [it] because he is a boy (public diary, entry 4).*

²⁹ Names and references have been changed in entries to maintain anonymity

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Linda: Most people see girls as not as smart as boy [...] they say girls don't know subjects like science and maths. They have no ability or drive to study the sciences even in my family. They said oh will you be able to study these subjects? These are for men (interview 1).

Nicole: When we sit in the classroom even when the teacher comes she says "In class, girls, you are not able to be educated unlike boys. Even when you look in the classroom, there are more boys than girls. They are given priority (interview 1).

Their personal experiences with gender bias made the curriculum content more applicable.

However, the participants discussed how the representation of women in the curriculum did not always frame women in a factual manner. Part of our interviews discussed specific framings of women in the curriculum, namely as special groups, which did not always sit well with the participants. One participant felt that the categorization of women as a special group suggested a negative connotation towards women. Four participants felt conflicted about using the term 'special groups', whereas seven acknowledged the terminology created awareness of the marginalization of Tanzanian women.

Angel: So in our country, women have been given accommodation, but in the past women were left out, they were seen as unfit to do them. But now women have been educated, they are presidents, MPs, so these days women have bigger IQs than men. [...] In the past they were discouraged. The only thing men can do are those hard jobs, physical. [...] Yes, (special groups category) it helps (interview 1).

Rosie: They are put in special groups because they need help. Let's say in the villages. In the village, women there are not like in the city. Women do a lot of work. So they are put in special groups so that they can get help (interview 1).

Priscilla: Being a woman as special group is not bad thing at all because other sectors, which help women, are established and they work for citizens and gender because we people still believe in bad customs which as early marriage, FGM (public diary, entry 5).

Linda: As I understand it, my understanding, from the beginning women were seen as not being capable so we need to be helped in order to do the things we want. We cannot do it ourselves without getting help. It helps a little because it gives us priority but on the flip side it also seems like we aren't capable (interview 1).

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Adriana: No, it's not good. When you say women as special group that means she depends on others. Women are capable; stand on our own to do things. So for me I don't see this as good. Women have already done so many things...we have read it in books. For example, the book we read there was a woman who was born albino... the boy was an albino and the mother made a lot of changes. The boy ended up getting married. So in the book it says the woman is a person of revolution and can do big things in society. So when we say women are special group I refuse because we can stand on our own and progress (interview 2).

Nicole: So I told [my friend] this gives me a lot of trouble to hear that women are put into a special group. What has occurred that they have their own special needs? When all human beings have the same needs so if they have their own special needs that means there are things that they are missing, that's why they are put on their own (interview 1).

The framing of women as a “special group” was created with the intent to underscore the discrimination of Tanzanian women and in doing so become a tool for accommodation, in and of itself (MOEVT, 2010). In other words, the curriculum was accommodating girls by discussing the societal issues they may experience, and explicating the ways that the government was promoting women’s equality. Some participants did not see this as helpful for several reasons. The first reason is that the term “special group” suggested that women were weak because special groups needed assistance from others to achieve equality. According to participants such as Linda, Tanzanian women were capable and independent. Second, as Nicole suggests, the term meant that Tanzanian women were still being discriminated causing troubling implications on Tanzanian society as a whole.

Awareness about the discrimination of women through personal experiences, schooling, and the media created fluctuating gender bias for three participants. As a case in point, Adriana acknowledged a complete disregard for men occasionally:

Adriana: Many of them are being raped and beaten, and other discriminated things. By my side its real pain to see many girls are being discriminated in their society. And many are the one who cause that problems... I really hate boys because they cause different pain among girls (public diary, entry 10).

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And then later discussed why she wrote the entry:

Adriana: I wrote this because...you know in life we are different. If I see women are beaten like [relatives] I know, I think it ruined me psychologically. I think everyone is like that. But I know my mother and father leave peaceful. But then again, I hate boys. Boys can cause you problems. Like my relative, her future was ruined by that man. I think I hate boys that are irresponsible people (interview 2).

During our interview she expressed a helplessness and frustration in witnessing her relative's abuse but later moderated her anger to focus on 'boys' that inflicted 'pain among girls'. Ruby and Esther also expressed similar views regarding the nature of men as being discriminatory towards women. In one participant's case, she recounted an incident where she failed an examination, and her father suggested it was a waste to send her to school if she couldn't study well. At first, she commented that "all men were like that," but then later concluded it was "somehow" in "their nature" even if all men did not have such attitudes. The moderating of misandry was also exhibited by Ruby, because she was told by a friend not to be prejudiced against men even when they oppressed women.

Theme 9: Gender discrimination makes me "feel bad about being Tanzanian."

Gendered behaviors, values, and attitudes gave rise to discrimination and abuse of women at all levels of society. One of the most troubling ways discrimination manifested, according to the participants, was through gender-based violence (GBV) in the home. Given the sensitive nature of domestic violence, I was surprised at the frankness of participants to talk about these issues. It is worth noting, however, that none of the participants discussed physically experiencing GBV. However, they knew of relatives and friends who had experienced it as exemplified by the following:

Rosie: They are beaten everyday by their husbands. They are not given opportunities to make decisions in a family. Always women are considered under men (public diary, entry 5).

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Esther: We asked her why she was crying she told us that the man who gave her the baby abused her and told her to leave him alone that he didn't want the baby girl but what he wanted was a baby boy since the mother got birth to a baby girl, the man through (threw) her out of the home (public diary, entry 5).

Priscilla: In my home compound I saw a drunk man fighting with a woman caring a little baby [...] the man wanted to take that baby away from her mother while the baby is too young that shows that the other men are not good citizen treating women as trash.

These incidents of violence impacted their sense of security and fed into their desires to create awareness about gender discrimination. Almost all participants discussed gender discrimination and over half discussed issues of GBV.

Domestic abuse occurred to wives, according to participants, when they did not obey their husbands or felt the need to pursue work outside their homes.

Esther: My relative advised her friend to tell her husband because it is not fair for her to work without her husband's permission. The friend listened and she went straight to her husband, but her husband has different beliefs that a woman's place is at home, making food and shelter; but she insisted. But her husband could not understand, and thought she will still want to work so he thinks the best way for him to do was to beat her. Beating her up was the one thing she didn't want (interview 2).

Carolina: My [relative] was told by her husband to stay at home and do not work instead cook and washing clothes [...] and relative don't lyk that kind of discrimination so she went to the place where women's rights are listened. Upto now they are not living together and my [relative] continues with her business without any prob (public diary, entry 4).

Rehema also discussed domestic violence occurring to a friend's mother in her public diary.

During our second interview she affirmed that it would "never happen" to her because she was aware of her rights. In the instances above the abused women did seek help from either an agency or a friend. According to census surveys, social supports and laws help protect women sine GBV is seen as an acceptable means of control in the home (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011).

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Violence was not limited to the home realm but occurred in other areas of society.

Participants shared incidents they had witnessed or read about in the media:

Linda: For sure many girls are treated very badly by men and this shows how much girls are weak and also our government do[es] not work hard to find solutions in these kinds of problems. It is really painful seeing your fellow girl [rape victim] treated this way (public diary, entry 2).

Adriana: Did you hear the [news] story of the girl who lived with her aunt? Her mother died from AIDS. So when her aunt saw that her mother died from AIDS she thought directly the girl had it. But it wasn't the case. So her solution was to put her in a box, she was two years old (interview 2).

Mary: Yeah, there was a police officer who was forcing children to have sex with him. And when they refused they were put in prison, given a case without wrongdoing (interview 1).

Julieth: I saw the teacher beating the students because...they did not want to clean their environment (public diary, entry 6).

In Linda's case above, she shared an account of a rape incident she had heard on the radio, which had disturbed her. Her demeanor changed when we discussed the entry, and she shook her head wondering why women had to experience such crimes. She was disturbed by the violent incident above, solidifying her belief that gender discrimination was an on-going issue for Tanzanian women.

Discrimination of girls also occurred at a school level when it came to teen pregnancy. Participants shared stories of friends who got pregnant and wanted to return to school but could not because they were not allowed to return either due to the head teacher's disapproval, a lack of fees, or social stigma within schools. Often times these girls were became pregnant through relationships with boyfriends or were taken advantage of by an adult, including teachers:

Carolina: There was student- we were in grade seven together. When we finished school and were waiting for the results, she had a boyfriend. She got pregnant and her boyfriend did not want to have anything to do with the child. He said he didn't have time and left her. And so she never finished school. When the results came out

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we found out she passed and could have gone to Form one. Even now that she has given up.

Rosie: When the boyfriend knew that [his girlfriend] was pregnant, he leaved her. It was very hard for [the girl's] mother to accept the fact that her daughter [was] pregnant. But she had to accept it (public diary, entry 1).

Some girls had to drop out of school because they were married after primary school. Adriana knew of three friends who could not go onto secondary school because their “early marriages” resulted in teenage pregnancies (interview 2). Early marriage is an issue that is addressed in the curriculum and students are asked to identify the effects of early marriages such as teenage pregnancy. However, other issues related to teenage pregnancy, such as the sexual exploitation of minors or expulsion from school were not addressed.

None of the participants were aware that government policy changed in 2009 to allow girls back into schools and opportunities were created for them to sit for national examinations privately (Maluli & Bali, 2014). Studies have shown that schools often do not align with these policies and create their own set of restrictions (UNICEF, 2011). Maluli and Bali (2014) suggest that this disagreement between school rules and government initiatives is due to a lack of policy implementation at the school level. As a result, girls often had to discontinue their attendance because school officials were not considerate to their situations or had alternative rules. In other cases, the girls could not afford the school fees once they had their babies because they now had a child to support on their own. Six participants knew of friends or girls in their school who had become pregnant and dropped out of school as a result. In five of the cases, the boys involved continued with their education. Rosie thought harsher consequences such as jail time should be given to the individuals impregnating these girls:

Rosie: But the government says if a girl gets pregnant she cannot continue with school but a boy is allowed to.

Interviewer: Oh the government says this?

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R: Yeah.

I: Oh I didn't know.

R: Yeah.

I: Is it written somewhere?

R: I heard it on the news. For example, if someone impregnates someone they continue with school and we have seen this. But a girl doesn't study again. She leaves.

I: Okay. What should the government do?

R: Yeah. They should return people to school because it's unfair. Why should a boy return and not a girl? Yeah they should continue and the boy should be locked up. Like maybe two years.

I: Oh really?

R: Yeah when they see the government has put strict laws and if you make a girl pregnant you get locked up, people will leave it.

Drop out due to teenage pregnancy was evident in their school life and the curriculum and teaching staff remained silent on these issues.

According to participants, gender discrimination manifested itself in Tanzanian society at work, religious institutions and in society. Three participants discussed their beliefs that women were hired less at jobs because they were likely to bear child. Nicole's public diary talked about employers not hiring women because they assumed women would have to stop work once they were pregnant. None of the participants could offer examples in their own lives of this discriminatory practice. I cannot clearly conclude whether personal, class or media related information influenced this opinion since the curricular documents examined did not provide examples of this pattern of discrimination. However, studies have shown that businesses do practice discriminatory policies of not hiring women of childbearing age due to stereotypical beliefs that they will leave or be less productive once they are pregnant (Correll & Benard, 2007).

All participants concentrated on the fact that FGM was one of the biggest ways girls were discriminated against culturally in Tanzania. However, only two participants knew an individual who had actually undergone the circumcision ritual as part of an initiation process. Carolina's

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friend left school and went back to her home village, and she had no idea of what became of her.

All other the participants had heard of the prevalence of FGM from class, news or through other people:

Priscilla: I heard from the news yesterday that 4 women are caught because of advicing girls to be circumcised and this is the right way of minimize this evil situation (public diary, entry 6).

Dorothea: These acts were always happening in certain parts of society such as the Wagogo in Dodoma and the Maasai (public diary, entry 6).

Esther: These are some of the negative social-cultural practices that shows the inequality gender in Tanzania. Women discrimination –this is the process of isolating women in social and other services as a owning properties through inheritance. Women oppression- is the act of suppressing and humiliating women. Female Genital Mutilation- this is the violation of basic human rights especially to girls and women (public diary, entry 3).

Adriana: Bad traditional beliefs and cultural believes such as FGM, inheritance of wife.... Which are still practiced in different society. Many girls are being hurted [hurt] (interview 2).

Statistics show that FGM is still prevalent in many parts of Tanzania with up to “15% of girls between 15 and 19 undergoing FGM” (TDHS, 2011, p. 295). A few anti-FGM organizations work with the female practitioners who conduct FGM and provide advocacy to prevent further spread of the practice. Tanzania women’s media advocacy association (2014) conducted a study in Mara region, northern region of Tanzania, demonstrating that FGM was an active practice among the communities there. The Tanzanian Ministry for women says that FGM is a common practice and systematic among specific ethnic groups, who are often dispersed in more rural parts of Tanzania (MCDC, n.d.).

Theme 10: Binaries.

Interestingly, six participants created oppositional binaries to cope with gender discrimination evident in their communities. Despite some confirmation of FGM in their

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immediate environments they often framed it as a rural problem. Another participant, Ruby, believed that similar gendered discrimination was particular to Tanzanians and did not occur in other places. Two participants later discussed how other non-gendered based problems occurred in Tanzania because they were not part of Tanzanian culture, and hence resulted in tensions.

This ‘here versus there’ binary is evidenced in the following statements:

Interviewer: Well what have you learned about problems facing women in class?

Dorothea: In class...Yeah like cultural practices, Like FGM, circumcision, or forced marriages...those kinds of problems.

I: Have you seen these problems?

D: Yeah I have

I: But you wanted to write about these problems. Is there a reason why?

D: Yeah well those are cultural practices happen in villages often. These are urban (interview 1)

Interviewer: How will you help women?

Linda: By giving education to everyone. Women are discriminated a lot. For example, in the villages they have FGM. So I would go to the villages and say FGM isn't good and may make people die (interview 2).

Ruby: I think there is, there might be, you know like, yeah in Tanzania, we girls [...] we are [...] we are harassed, I don't think other countries ever do that to girls, so I think there is a difference (interview 1).

Angel: I don't do things I'm not supposed to like drugs, prostitution...these things are not our culture [...] if you do such things you will upset your parents. But prostitution, drugs, maybe abroad.

Rehema: There is quite a difference between us Tanzania and other countries. By respecting myself, my culture is not allowing me to behave as something fishy.

FGM, in particular, was seen as a problem, which affected girls who lived mainly in rural areas amongst more traditional societies. Distancing themselves from FGM practices, perhaps, allowed them to see urban centers as more conducive to fostering women's liberties.

Another tension was created between the past and present forms of gender discrimination, framing the marginalization of women as a historical occurrence. This narrative helped solidify the ideology that women are being empowered in Tanzania (MOEVT, 2010).

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While the girls noted gender discrimination was still present, they acknowledged inequality by moderating it with references of current accommodations given to women. Framing gender problems as past issues may have allowed the participants to feel good about being girls in Tanzania.

Angel: So in our country, women have been given accommodation, but in the past women were left out, they were seen as unfit to do them. But now women have been educated, they are presidents, MPs, so these days women have bigger IQs than men...In the past they were discouraged... The only thing men can do are those hard jobs, physical.... Yes, (special groups category) it helps (interview 1).

Linda: Before women were just staying at home care for children and other home activities...nowadays by giving women chances of involving themselves in activities of building a nation (public diary, entry 7).

For example, my relative narrated a certain story about when she was young when my grandma and my grandpa those past days. My relative did not go to school. Her dad did not take her to school and these days a father can go and send his daughter to school. My relative went to school herself by force, it seems like girls were not taken care of and they were not taken to school (interview 2).

These distinctions highlight tensions in how the participants came to understand and negotiate gender discrimination. While discrimination was ever present, messages of gender empowerment and enforcement of child rights to education had allowed them to form positive images of women in their immediate environments.

Theme 11: Lack of adequate government service.

Positivity towards education was at times mitigated because participants did not feel its immediate benefits. Nine participants felt civics education, and their education in general, was very useful, but three participants mentioned that teacher absenteeism was frequent. Adriana additionally compared her public education to that of private schools. She believed private schools were better than public ones because private campuses had superior teachers, performed better on exams and were more accountable to their students. Her experiences were in contrast to

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Julieth, who shared a positive view of her public education. She recounted how ministry officials had come to the school to listen to their opinions. She believed that the visit demonstrated the government “cared about” their education (interview 2). Yet, she acknowledged that sometimes the government was negligent in its roles towards citizens and students:

Julieth: A total of people 1126 lost their lives ...this shows how the government are irresponsible for their people, they have to construct good roads. I mean all pathways of vehicles and people respectively and carefully in order to avoid those extreme accidents to save people's lives (public diary, entry 3)

Esther: For example, the teacher, if the government were to support us they can bring another teacher to our school. But no. Until now, I have stayed here four years but we have only, less than like two or three teachers in civics...yeah the students have complained. But there [are] no changes.

Adriana: Maybe I can say this, there is a relationship between my and the government...if you look at government schools, we pay very low school fees. You can't compare this with private schools. So this as helped me as a citizen to get an education at a low cost, but sometimes, if you compare a government school student and a private school student, it seems that a private school student has more knowledge than that of a government school. At government schools, sometimes the teachers don't show up to class and the teachers don't make up missed classes.

Provision of adequate public services was vital to the participants who felt they were denied their “rights” when the services were not received. Two other participants complained about the hazards of coming to school because of traffic. Several of the participants lived very far from the school and often had a hard time catching crowded buses. Only one participant talked in depth about the extent of corruption she witnessed on a daily basis:

Corruption– many leaders practice these things. As a citizen of Tanzania I saw many people getting hurt because of corruption. In different sectors such as health service, people are getting suffered because they don't have money. [...] A citizen must enjoy his country. But for really as Tanzanians we are not enjoy[ing] anything in this country. They are [the] ones who enjoy, all those leaders, [who] control the country. Therefore those are the things, which cause me to hate my country (public diary entry, 10).

People skip lines at hospitals because they pay someone. [...] Like you will see ministers will never have their water cut but other people will (interview 2).

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When we study history, we studied neo-colonialism. Neocolonialism is that someone rules you like you have uhuru wa bendera (flag freedom). Tanzania has uhuru wa bendera. I am not scared to say this. We are still being controlled by European countries [...] So in Tanzania, we don't have freedom, we have uhuru wa bendera but we don't have control of ourselves. We are being controlled. Our leaders, they act like puppets. They are the puppets of the Europeans (interview 2).

For her, corruption did not just extend to the provision of social services but also affected the development of Tanzania. She passionately believed that the president was complicit in siding with foreign governments and not standing up for the rights of Tanzania, by allowing foreign policy to dictate the changes in Tanzanian society. She provides an example of the Tanzanian president “allowing lesbianism in Tanzania” because he remained silent whereas another president vehemently opposed it.³⁰ Thus, corruption engulfed every part of her life as a citizen.

Corruption and the lack or provision of government services was reflective of the participants' tentative connection to the government. All participants except one felt they had a relationship with the government because it provided them with education. They acknowledged that their relationship was faltering because they felt their government sometimes did not care about its citizens. Another participant was adamant that even though she had access to school she was independently “fighting for her own” to succeed and help her family (interview 1). The government did not play a beneficial role in her life. Ironically, she discussed having future plans to become a women's rights advocate to fight for citizen rights. As can be seen, participants felt they had a relationship with the government, albeit at times faltering, stemming from their public education and the sense they were born at a time in Tanzania when women had opportunities to succeed.

³⁰ The curriculum does not address homosexuality and only participant who referenced the topic. She did not seem inclined to discuss it further but used its presence in Tanzania as an illustration of poor leadership.

Theme 12: Parental barriers.

The only specific barrier participants identified to their citizenship was their parents (See Appendix A). Six participants felt their parents restricted them from participating in certain activities. They often had to ask permission, like most teenagers, to go out after school hours and this fact did not always sit well with them, because they didn't feel they "were doing something wrong" (Julieth, interview 1). As young adults, the participants were limited to their home lives and the structures within them:

Adriana: Like in the US, other children make decisions on their own. For example, there is this boy Jayden Smith³¹ wanted to have his own home since he was 15, wanted to be independent make my life. But here in Tanzania you can't do that. An African child until you are even 22, parents limit you [saying] shouldn't do this or that.... So they are things where you want to make your own decisions but your parents disagree (interview 1).

Carolina: Yeah there are [barriers]. Like parents. For example if you wanted to do something parents could say you shouldn't be doing that. Others have cultural beliefs, for example, if you do this you won't be able to or this. There was a day we were told to take clothes for orphans because we were going to visit them. But when I went home, my dad said you shouldn't be taking these clothes. What he said could make you feel discouraged. He said no giving the clothes to anyone; burn them instead (interview 1).

Linda: Yes, there are things I can't do because I live at home. I live under my parents. So you can't go somewhere without telling them and getting permission. There are things privately that you can't do without getting permission from your parent (interview 1).

Nonetheless, they did not comment on resisting these rules during our interviews, for varied reasons, including a sense of respect for elders and parents had been ingrained into them. For instance, in Julieth's and Dorothea's cases, they cited that "respecting my parents" was one of the ways they participated in their homes (Julieth, interview 1; Dorothea, interview 1). Parents, as can be seen in instances of their home life, provided a structured arrangement within their households.

³¹ Jayden Smith is the son of a famous American actor, Will Smith.

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Some participants were cognizant that structures did serve a purpose in their lives. Rosie acknowledged that parental restrictions prevented her doing “the wrong thing” (interview 2). She disliked having to ask permission to go places outside of school but later reconsiders her attitude saying: “I still feel bad but I also see that they are protecting me. I am used to it. I don’t see a difficulty” (interview 2). Parental relationships were in a constant state of evolution for the participants.

Part IV: “Taking steps to” exist within challenges

Theme 13: “Education isn’t enough”: Other interventions.

The message participants were receiving in class and society was that women’s discrimination could be dealt with in multiple ways: laws, pro-rights agencies, advocacy, and education. For a majority of the participants, education was the main strategy for empowering women and increasing their personal awareness. However, three participants addressed the fact that “education [was]sn’t enough” to tackle gender inequality. Adriana shared the following dilemma on the impact of education:

Even if you say education, people have had a lot of education, like provision of education to people. What should be done? Education. What should be done? Education. But it doesn’t help. People get educated but still. But I see this is a very big issue, big problem and people live deep inside and they don’t like displaying their problems. So it becomes so hard as a society to know the problems of someone else. So well, Eh (sighs). I don’t know what should be done (interview 2).

Adriana was concerned about how to move forward when education did not always make a difference on a large scale- an issue quite overwhelming for a young woman to tackle. Her concern addresses the need to have curricular and class discussions on the limits of rights and policies. Scholars have argued that for gender inequality to end systematic change needs to occur at all levels of Tanzanian society over a gradual period (Mbilinyi, 1996; Shayo, 2005).

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Other participants advocated for continued work of women's and youth organizations for they had made a meaningful impact. In two of the cases where domestic abuse occurred, women involved were able to seek help from agencies and get immediate redress. However, this is not always the case as seen with Adriana's relative who had to leave her town to get support from her family. Other participants like Nicole suggested that to curb issues such as teenage pregnancy, organizations or "clubs" needed to be created for students so that they would spend less time going out at night and keep busy (interview 1). The students had opportunities to volunteer and school clubs but limited immediate spaces for community or recreational activities. Nicole's suggestion for youth clubs highlights a need for more spaces for young adults to engage with each other as citizens and individuals in a safe environment.

Theme 14: Self-affirming strategies: confidence, focus, and faith.

To cope with the personal struggles and instances of gender discrimination, participants developed an increased sense of confidence in themselves and other women. It is worth noting again, in cases where participants discussed domestic abuse or GBV they frequently noted how they would not let that happen to them because they had the knowledge and the tools to deal with these issues. These tools included, knowing where to go to seek help; having the means to support themselves independently; and, awareness that they did not deserve to be treated badly. As girls coming of age they focused on building up their own self-esteem and that of their gender:

Priscilla: I feel good because I know myself. I know how to take care of myself. I know how to teach other people who is a bad or good citizen. So I feel good (interview 1).

Esther: We (women) don't need help (interview 1).

Rehema: Part of being a citizen is to have self-respect. I respect myself, I respect others, adults, my self-confidence, self-esteem (interview 1).

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Ruby: We are powerful and ambitious, we think that if we do something we will make wonders, where people wondering where did they get their strength or something like that...I wrote it in here (in public diary), it's just to show that women are powerful, and we are gorgeous, talented and we can do anything we want, you know, in our power (interview 2)

Self-confidence is important to girls as it allows them to negotiate mixed and conflicting messages about themselves and their gender (Ingram, 2013). Education coupled with their awareness of self, gave them the knowledge and skills necessary to become independent individuals and develop critical viewpoints of their worlds.

Some participants found it necessary to develop a strong work ethic and diligence to perform well on a regular basis in school and other areas. Four participants mentioned how they would stick to a “timetable” or schedule, which allowed them to stay focused:

Julieth: Me as citizen, my work, to study [...] I don't stay idle, I have to work on everything I am supposed to. I am planning my things (interview 2).

Rehema: For example, for me when I wake up in the morning, I know what to do and I have my self-timetable and have my self-routine (interview 1).

Dorothea: For example, I try to avoid peer pressure like when I reach home you will meet many friends but not everyone studies, maybe one or two [friends]. So [there is] peer pressure so I avoid because you can talk about things out of education (interview 1).

By sticking to a routine, as much as possible, these participants seemed to cope with the daily pressures of life, without having to sacrifice the education they found valuable.

A sense of confidence and diligence seemed relevant to how one was perceived in society. Linda discussed how her behavior and personality were part of her citizenship identity. She described citizenship as “what you are, what you do, and how you appear in front of others in the society” (public diary, entry 5). She highlighted how she was very aware of how she behaved around others and wanted people to view her as a good person. As an individual she was

self-aware of how she interacted with other people and imposed this reflexivity on her identification as a citizen. Her broad understanding of citizenship exemplifies that citizenship participation was a daily endeavor.

A final factor that may have influenced their sense of confidence was their religious faith. A few participants relied on notions of God and religious beliefs as a source of their strength and a reliable coping mechanism:

Julieth: First I thank my God that he gave me this gender and I like being a girl. So I will... So I can help my fellow women if they have problems.

Angel: (On helping a child get to school) I felt good because I felt I saved her somehow [...] because I crossed the road and got her to her school, and then I came to school. But I felt, what if I didn't meet her? I knew that God would have looked after her (interview 2).

*Participant³²: (On corruption) Therefore, those are the things, which cause me to hate my country. But I just pray for my god to help this country in order to have different development. **God bless Tanzania and its people** (emphasis in original) (public diary, entry 4).*

Religious faith seemed to allow them to hope for the best in their situations and also provided an external reassurance. However, I could not conclude how much of an impact faith played in their lives, although, three other participants discussed attending religious services during the data collection phase.

Theme 15: Female role models and family relationships.

Another external force that contributed to their sense of confidence and identity were the role models they had at home or saw in society. A few participants mentioned prominent female members within Tanzanian government, naming individuals such as Anne Makinda³³, as positive signs of women's empowerment in Tanzania (Ruby, interview 1). Along with these political

³² Participant name and pseudonym removed to ensure anonymity.

³³ She was the former speaker of the Tanzanian national assembly (parliament).

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figures, were women in their lives, such as their mothers who supported and counseled them, which influenced their personal worldview:

Interviewer: So can you give me an example, like something that happened that convinced you?

Ruby: My relative was married to a non-Tanzanian/foreigner, but she refused to live [in her husband's home country] and wants to stay here because she says "this is my country this is where I belong I want to work here. Though she had no work, but she said, "I'll fight for work here in my country" (interview 1).

Mary: You see my mum and I like sharing stories. So when things happen we talk about it. I'm not nervous about sharing it. And if an adult approaches me I have to tell my mother (interview 2).

Adriana: So my mother encourages me and tells me just be a good girl because if you are a good girl God will help you, so to be a good citizen and follow rules, but they also say rules are made to be broken, but that saying is not good. But sometimes it is used, but it isn't good. So my mum advises me and teaches me.

Angel: My mother is like that because she helps me a lot. Sometimes when I come back home, I have strength and I can do my things. Other times I come home and I am so tired I don't feel like eating. So when she sees me like this she mainly helps me (interview 2).

In Angel's case, her mother came from a family that encouraged her to go to school (interview 1). Angel credits her grandfather for supporting her mother's choice to attend school even though she was a girl. Angel's mother financially supported her other siblings to go to school. She seemed very close to her mother and proud of what she had accomplished. In the quote above, she stopped mid sentence because she became emotional when she discussed the amount of support and love she received from her mother. Support for some girls came from their mothers, aunts, and even male relatives who created the necessary environments for them to thrive.

Conclusion

The participants based their general ideas of citizenship from the curriculum and the behaviors they had established as young women. However, they also developed distinct ways of

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participating as citizens that were not accounted for in the civics curriculum such as their domestic roles at home or as teachers amongst their peers. Moreover, they found ways of dealing with gender discrimination, environmental issues and societal problems apart from the skills they learned in class. They did this by creating a strong sense of identity and routine as young, gendered Tanzanians with equal rights. Social support, rights, and participation opportunities played a large role in creating an optimistic experience of citizenship. They also saw their citizenship as more than civic participation in public spheres. Citizenship participation was part of their home and private lives.

Chapter 6: Lessons on Gender and Citizenship

This chapter addresses the themes raised in the previous chapter in relation to the literature and theories on gendered citizenship education. The purpose of this study was to analyze and explore how Tanzanian girls understood citizenship and how they took up their roles as citizens. Theoretical constructs arose in relation to my conceptual framework and are supported by the themes and data contexts (teacher views, curriculum, and participant profiles). The theoretical constructs are discussed using the GAD approach and the public and private dichotomy and are presented in the Table 4 below, along with the themes that were combined to create them. Finally, the last part of this chapter discusses implications and overall conclusions from this research endeavor. I provide recommendations based on these implications and conclude with the contributions this study provides in the fields of citizenship and gender and suggestions for further research.

Theoretical construct	Themes used
1. Broad understanding of citizenship	1, 3
2. Girls want and need political power	2, 6, 8
3. Gendered roles, gender bias, and restrictions	8, 10
4. Girls participate by educating, co-operating with and caring for others	4, 5, 7
5. Narratives of accommodations for women and their real world implications	9, 11, 12
6. Resilience through pride, role models, and faith	13, 14, 15

Table 4: Theoretical constructs formed from emergent themes

1. Broad and holistic understanding of citizenship

For the participants, citizenship acts were not limited to the public sphere because they discussed the need to carry out their responsibilities everywhere. The participants applied curricular messages of responsible citizenship to their individual responsibilities. Thus, gendered experiences of caring for the family extended towards other citizens. Similarly, the teachers identified caregiving responsibilities such as financial provision as part of their citizenship duties. Both female students and teachers felt socially responsible for the needs of others.

While the curriculum does not make explicit its ideology on social responsibility, this notion is implicit in comments such as “working to provide for your family” (Manzi, 2013, p.59). Acts of social responsibility are evident in home life since people have to care and nurture others (Guothro, 2009). The relationships participants built within their families were dependent on their active participation in home life. They identified typical home tasks as part of their “jobs” as citizens particularly in instances of group involvement. Several participants cited cleaning chores in their home, school, or community activities as part of their duties. Mary was one person who talked about caring for her environment at school and home by “cleaning her surroundings” (Mary, interview 1). She was often responsible for cleaning in her house and neighborhood. Hence, citizenship responsibilities included the participants’ personal responsibilities at their school and homes.

Citizenship definitions also involved personal conceptions of self- an idea not addressed in the curriculum. Guothro’s (2009) study on women highlights that individual behaviors and feelings impact how individuals view citizenship. For example, Linda described citizenship as “what you are, what you do, and how you appear in front of others in the society” (public diary, entry 5). As a self-aware individual, she connected her identity with that of her citizenship. Her definition blurs the line between public and private and creates a comprehensive understanding

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of citizenship that is very personal. In other words, being a “good and responsible citizen” also meant being a good person for a few of the participants since they associated caring behaviors indirectly with citizenship.

Being “good” individuals in public and private spaces may have been possible because the participants felt a strong attachment and patriotism towards Tanzania. Their sense of nationalism and belonging was evident -despite awareness of gender disparities- along with an identification of a distinct Tanzanian standard of behavior. Studies have shown that youth, at times, are non-political and cannot easily identify with citizenship concepts (Arnot, 2005) but that was not the case with the participant sample. Nationalist ideas were present in the school culture and students readily identified with the Tanzanian nation. Participants did not question their citizenship status because their curricular materials framed citizenship without gendered traits. The addition of the gender topic helped participants recognize that they had rights, and the government was aware that women were marginalized. According to GAD theory, power relations between men and women need to be examined and critiqued before gender equality can occur. Addressing women’s struggles in the curriculum was an effective accommodation to make participants aware of their privileges as equal citizens. The curriculum addressed rights for women both outside and inside the home in an attempt to ensure women had a voice in all spaces.

2. Girls need and want political power

As discussed earlier, rights were very important for the participants for three reasons, namely, they were necessary for full citizenship status, facilitated the empowerment of women, and allowed them to function as full citizens. According to feminist scholars, the power granted through established legal rights was essential to women because of daily gender marginalization

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(Ingram, 2013; Kabeer, 2012). The language of rights was pervasive in civics curriculum topics of citizenship and gender. In the case of the participants, who were well aware of gender discrimination, the right to education was a step towards their individual empowerment. Education allowed for self-protection, because it made students conscious of their rights. Several participants were confident that they “would not be abused” in their home because they had access to social support systems (e.g. women’s rights group, like-minded female family), and foremost the knowledge of how to deal with abuse (Nicole, interview 2; Rehema, interview 1). They raised several solutions they would take if they were in a situation of domestic violence. The curriculum’s endeavor to highlight women rights and subsequent empowerment was a positive driving force in how the girls positioned themselves as young citizens.

The participants felt a responsibility to use their individual power or privilege, granted through rights, to create political change for women. One participant even wanted to become president of Tanzania, even though she knew she could face different obstacles. Her ambitions may be due to curriculum messages of “rights as responsibilities” and the belief that they needed to create change for other women like themselves. The curriculum framed certain rights as a responsibilities for reasons not explicated. The right to work was mentioned as a responsibility because an individual needed to protect other citizens’ right to work (Manzi, 2013). Perhaps the framing of rights as duties was created to ensure the universal application of rights for all. In other words, an individual was obliged to ensure that other people had the same rights.

Progressive change for women was evident to participants because they saw successful women in their immediate environments. Their teachers personified the freedom felt by the girls in spite of gender discrimination. Both teachers discussed trying to be a positive force for women by explicitly challenging gender stereotypes through their pedagogy. However, gender

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differences were apparent in student receptiveness to gendered lessons. One civics teacher discussed how one male student held stereotypical views of women and men. Moreover, her female students often experienced unsafe environments outside school that threatened their attendance at school. These episodes need to be examined in light of participant experiences as well. None of the participants discussed being in a compromising situation, but several of them lived in hostels that were not always safe spaces. Given external school factors and gender stereotypes present in the school, participants negotiated gender hierarchies on a daily basis. Thus, the curriculum's discussion of gender empowerment strategies provides insight and basic steps for girls to deal with gender discrimination.

3. Gendered roles, gender bias, and restrictions

The participants encountered gendered hierarchies both outside and inside their school. First, they were subjected to familial structures and rules, and then later learned of gender discrimination outside their homes. From a GAD perspective, these young women negotiated hierarchies on a daily basis even when they did not explicitly challenge them. One participant wanted to challenge the division of labor in her future home because she felt boys needed to do the same domestic tasks as girls (Mary, interview 1). In contrast, Ruby felt that as the only girl child, it was fine to always perform "girl chores" even though she had brothers who could help. Interestingly, although Mary was opposed to the division of labor in her home, she supported a family hierarchy that allowed her father to have a designated seat in the home, unlike her mother, and have the authoritative position. Thus, the girls challenged gendered hierarchies when it had a direct impact on them or their choices.

Although formal education was teaching them that they had numerous human and political rights, their social opportunities and rights were limited due to their age and gender.

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Young men in their age group did not always have to negotiate permission to leave their home and did not deal with the consequences of issues such as teenage pregnancies. Boys often returned or continued their education if they had fathered a child, however, girls who could not hide their pregnancies, were forced to leave school with little opportunities for return. Studies have shown that schools and citizens within their communities discriminate girls, thus preventing them from returning to school (Unterhalter & Helsop, 2011; UNICEF, 2012).

As Guothro (2009) aptly elucidates, female identities as “daughters” dictated the types of roles they had and the challenges they faced. In several cases, participants discussed how their mothers or relatives were the first in their families to be educated, but this was due to the drive of the individual woman and the inevitable permission she gained from elders in her family. These elders were often men. Men, and their positions within families or communities, dictated future roles of female members. In instances where there was a positive view of women and strong female role models, girls often went on to become one of the leading contributors in their families. Angel’s mother supported her sibling financially through school and continued to do so with her daughter. Her mother was able to change the identity of women within the family and normalize the expectation of girls attending school.

4. Girls participate by co-operating with, caring for, and educating others

The participants’ citizenship duties took the form of caring for other individuals. Caring stemmed from the gendered sets of behaviors they adhered to inside the home and a moral and social obligation towards others. They assisted others by co-operating with them or caring for them through routine activities they were accustomed to performing such as assisting in chores or teaching others. Caring constituted real work, lending participants a sense of civic identity. Most participants felt they were contributing to the personal betterment of others when they

helped people. Similarly, Lister (2007) concludes, “the importance of spaces and places of citizenship notwithstanding, the key determinant of whether or not an action constitutes citizenship should be *what* a person does and with what public consequences, rather than *where* they do it (emphasis in original)” (pg. 57).

Nel Noddings (2012) theory of care suggests that women may approach the world through a “relational ethic of caring” since they normally bear the burden of caring (2010, p. 391). The participants applied a similar ethic of caring in performing their citizenship duties outside the home. Noddings notes that girls also resist prescribed roles of caring in situations where they are cognizant of their gendered roles (Noddings, 2012). Instead they choose alternative roles such as leadership and non-caring oriented professions, as seen in Esther’s case who wanted to become a politician. Nonetheless, these girls still care for their immediate relations as part of their routine. Citizenship, McEwan (2005) argues, is often a relationship with other individuals rather than the nation-state because of the moral and ethical obligations we have towards them.

Consequently, the civics curriculum fails to recognize the multiple ways girls can participate within the confines of the private sphere and in their communities. As one participant put it: “I am not a good citizen because I don’t vote, but in some ways I am” (Ruby, interview 1). Contrary to Kershaw’s valuation of caregiving as political, the participants did not view their participation at home as “political” participation. While the curriculum does recognize that women have contributed to the development of Tanzanian in domestic spaces as seen in the exam passage referenced at the beginning of this thesis; it is their work in political circles that gives them the right to lay claim over political positions (Ezra & Maduhu, 2012). Emphasis on political participation as essential to citizenship duties creates conflicting perceptions of who can

claim “good” citizenship. In light of this need for political activities as well as gendered hierarchies in the home, Tanzanian girls may inevitably feel that they are limited citizens due to their inability to volunteer, campaign, or engage in other forms of formal civic participation.

5. Narratives of accommodations for women and their real world implications

Despite a focus on gender empowerment, the curriculum fails to include the voice of men and boys in the gender debate and equip students with tools to take up gender discussions or issues on their own. According to GAD theory, gender empowerment for women can only occur when there is a balancing of power between women and men. This is not the case in Tanzania, which is undergoing many changes to ensure women have equal access and rights. Women face on-going issues of domestic violence and gender stereotyping in education that are compounded by inadequate social services and corruption. The curriculum fails to equip students with specific tools or knowledge to deal with systemic patriarchy because it mainly focuses on positive political changes for women such as positions in parliament or access to higher education. The gender topic also does not bring young men into the conversation about creating equality. Participants in this study also noted that they did not engage in class discussions on gender perhaps because they were never prompted to. They are taught that women should have a voice in family decision-making, but they are not taught how to deal with such challenges on a daily basis (e.g. in their homes) unless the teacher raised such a gender discussion. The burden is on the teacher to facilitate these valuable conversations out of their own incentive, knowledge, and time.

Furthermore, the curriculum provides only limited information on the scope and magnitude of gender issues in Tanzania. The civics curriculum frames FGM as a rural or ethnic issue, problematizing rural spaces and inevitably favoring urban settings. The curriculum focuses

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on culturally produced problems that cause discrimination of women, not allowing students to include or have to think about other gender based issues. The textbook and syllabus repeat the same problems (e.g. FGM, early marriage, wife inheritance) throughout and do not encourage students to think about current gender struggles. Although these may be major factors in the discrimination of women, other topics such as safe public transportation for girls and boys also contribute to gender inequality. Participants often had to bus to school at very early hours of the morning and sometimes felt unsafe or could not get to the bus on time. Infrastructural barriers impacted daily student life and may have prevented students from making the most of their education.

Given the importance of knowledge and the extensiveness of the Tanzanian civics curriculum, a balanced portrayal of the position of women is necessary. Awareness is key in creating social and political change for women in Tanzania. Mary described in her interview that she wasn't aware of most of her individual rights until she learned about them in class. Thus, inclusion of a broad range of gender issues will strengthen the curriculum's empowerment message. One problem that has influenced participant views on rights but was absent from the classroom teaching and curriculum is teenage pregnancy and the subsequent re-admission policy allowing girls to return to school after childbirth. Most participants assumed girl students with children could not go back to school, making teen pregnancy a taboo issue that further marginalized girls. Another issue missing is the rampant domestic violence in the home, which often targets female spouses. Pregnancy and GBV are subjects discussed widely in the media and society according to the participants and should be addressed in the classroom. The fact that these gender based topics are missing restricts discussions of gender (in)equity and (in)equality, and leads to problematic assumptions amongst students.

6. Resilience through pride, role models, and faith

The group of young women in this study focused heavily on constructing and understanding their own identities. Gordon's research (2006b) with female students explains the necessity for girls to verbally address their experiences from a position of 'I' because it denotes individuality and enables them to move away from abstract definitions of citizenship. Thus, my evaluation of their personal definitions of citizenship was dependent on whether they exercised their agency using language such as "I am" or "I like". Girls, as Gordon asserted, are empowered to enact their citizenship when they exercise individual agency and participate freely in a social life regardless of gender and other different social identities (2006a).

Self-awareness was important in how the participants chose to behave as citizens. They were not simply obedient to parents, teachers, or elders, rather they were conscious about their choices or actions in front of others. Linda described her citizenship broadly, exemplifying a strong sense of morality and cognition. Guothro (2009) explains that a strong identity allows women to negotiate mixed messages and deal with the complications of family and societal expectations. Linda was concerned with her behavior around others and the kinds of relationships she formed with them. Her ideas of good citizenship were drawn from ethical perceptions of the universal good person similar to what Sears found in his research (2004).

Participants also relied on internalized self-respect, acceptance, and structured daily routines. Self-respect and acceptance played a big role in the creation of their personal goals and diligence towards completing their duties. Rehema described how "self-respect" was important for citizenship (interview 1). Her attitude towards respecting herself prompted her to continue persistently with her studies and daily tasks despite difficulties she was facing. She also wanted to respect others in a similar way granted they behaved in the same way towards her. The notion

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of respect is also vital to Tanzanian culture and individuals make sure to observe respectful behaviors at all times.³⁴

The girls also clung to reassuring familial relations that enhanced their character and capabilities. Mothers played a large role in how participants saw themselves. Nicole was drawn to helping her uneducated mother learn. Part of caregiving is a political endeavor to allow for the recipient to participate effectively in society (Kershaw, 2010). In Nicole's case, she practiced citizenship by educating her family to give them the tools to actively participate in community and local politics. Caregiving then becomes a source of political and social identity creation (Kershaw, 2010).

Individual resilience also allowed them to negotiate the realities of women's rights in a complex society. Participants did not allow themselves to succumb to a defeatist attitude. They believed the restructuring of political and social opportunities for women in Tanzania would allow them to succeed in life despite prevailing attitudes towards women. However, a few participants felt that education and awareness raising activities were limited in changing mindsets and ensuring that the government played an active role in the lives of Tanzanians. For instance, almost a quarter of the participants felt "education wasn't enough" to curb systematic discrimination of women and ensure government accountability. These participants were critical of the world around them but were also aware that they needed a mechanism to cope with daily realities. Thus, they focused on the advancement of women in Tanzanian society so that they could remain hopeful. A sense of optimism was also essential in their negotiation of gender dynamics on a daily basis given their complex realities and limitations of the school curriculum.

³⁴ Self-observation of the researcher.

Implications and Recommendations:

1. Gray areas & curriculum.

The civics curriculum does not address the complexity of the gender struggle in Tanzania. Contrary to the earlier article by Global Citizen, which advocated for sending girls to school “in order to break tradition,” it is unrealistic to assume tradition and patriarchy can be removed by simply including women in educational, social, and political circles in Tanzania (McCarthy, March 2016). Combatting gender regimes in schools is a constant struggle to battle ingrained perceptions and mindsets held by both women and men. However, the civics curriculum implies that by removing specific obstacles and giving women access to schools, politics and economic forums, they will have a better life and gender discrimination will slowly be removed.

This study does not discount the positive messages embedded in the Tanzanian curriculum in regards to women and their discrimination. However, students are not exposed to a broad understanding of gender discrimination rather they focus on women’s issues. In a very test oriented system, Tanzanian students often only learn topics they need to know for the test and therefore do not explore other topics not required by the curriculum (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2012). Ignoring a broad picture of gender and its related issues means students will not be exposed to the full range of issues facing both women and men in Tanzania. All the women’s issues presented in the curriculum are attached to progressive reforms that are currently in place in Tanzania.

There are no gray curricular areas where complex gender issues such as sexual exploitation and hierarchies in the home are discussed in depth. Issues such as teenage pregnancies and the stigma of adolescent pregnancy are not addressed. A large percentage of

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girls do not complete secondary education because of early motherhood struggles and are stigmatized for it. More frequent and relevant revisions are warranted to ensure that civic classrooms are addressing current challenges facing young Tanzanians. The curriculum and gender sensitive classroom pedagogy are avenues that will allow Tanzania to push for gender equality part of the new United Nations sustainable development goal.

2. Incorporating male struggles and other voices.

The curriculum needs to implement a wider representation of gender. If the Tanzanian curriculum intends to continue promoting gender empowerment it needs to be more open to other gender concepts and issues and discuss current struggles facing all Tanzanians. For instance, LGBTQ (Lesbian-Gay-Bisexual-Transsexual-Queer) identities are also completely absent from the curriculum and classroom discussions. The reasons for these omissions are not addressed in anyway in the syllabus or TIE guideline documents.

Referencing the topic of gender as ‘gender’ is misleading because it mainly focuses on women’s issues. This intention is noble and necessary but leaves out a very important component in creating change- men. Concepts such as masculinity and even femininity are missing from the topic of gender. Some non-Tanzanian organizations have started creating textbooks that focus on masculinity and femininity. One such book by Sommer, Likindikoki and Kaaya (2013) called *Kuwa Kijana* (To become a man) teaches students about puberty, relationships and how to deal with the opposite sex. These topics should be incorporated into the civics education curriculum.

3. Iconic female figures and legalized rights are essential to challenge gender stereotypes.

Girls need tangible examples of roles they can play as individuals and the opportunities to enact them. All the participants knew of powerful female leaders or women in their lives. Over half, the participants cited Anna Makinda or Dr. Asha Rose Migiro as women leaders who

represented Tanzanian women on an international stage.³⁵ Their teachers were also concrete examples of what women could achieve. These women, in Tanzania and outside it, provide tangible representations of changing gender hierarchies, which are necessary to motivate girls and redefine gender roles in society.

A rights-based discourse has allowed girls in Tanzania to struggle against gender discrimination. Many girls in Tanzania would not be able to achieve access to school without enforced rights and multiple campaigns that advocate for girls' education. Scholars such as Kabeer (2012) have shown that connecting rights to discourses of empowerment is central to creating real change in the lives of women. For the participants, knowledge of their rights gained through formal schooling allowed them to exercise other rights granted to them and promoted their individual development.

4. The private sphere influences citizen identity and participation.

One of the major outcomes of this study was the impact of private spaces on the creation of citizenship views. This study focused on examining the impact of curriculum on citizenship identity but found external schooling forces also played a large role in participant citizenship ideas. Participants took citizenship ideas further by connecting them with their private lives. By acknowledging domestic responsibilities—babysitting, cleaning, cooking, and teaching – as part of citizenship duties, participants were able to make connections to social, emotional and relational aspects of citizenship. According to feminist scholars, the private sphere has been vital to the creation of identity and citizenship in women since this is the space they most often inhabit (Prokhovnik, 1998; McEwan, 2005; Kershaw, 2010).

³⁵ Anna Makinda was the first female speaker of the National Assembly in Tanzania and Dr. Asha Rose Migiro was the Deputy Secretary General for the United Nations. Both women are role models for aspiring female leaders particularly because of their international political impact.

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Home habits and ideologies impacted how they described their understanding of citizenship and behaved as citizens. They chose to care for other citizens by “helping” and “cooperating” in the same way they were taught to do at home. Some participants, such as Angel, were taught to nurture and vividly carried this out when performing their duties. Angel often tried to assist young children and exhibited deep feelings of attachment, beyond what would normally be expected, when trying to be a good citizen. Some participants viewed the home as a space where they had equality so they extended “positive” behaviors and relationships gained in the home to other areas of their lives.

This connection between private and public spheres is not highlighted in the curriculum and ought to be incorporated. The curriculum’s definition of citizenship needs to be expanded to explore a multi-dimensional relationship rather than relying on individualistic interpretations of citizenship. Young, non-voting, students are more concerned with daily realities and not abstract connections with politics that they barely have access to. The opportunities for citizenship learning lie in the everyday actions of individual students. They learn charity and cooperation in unassuming ways through friends or strangers they meet on their way home. These valuable citizenship experiences need to be represented within the curriculum and political theory.

5. Civic learning opportunities outside classroom learning.

A few participants openly acknowledged that education was not a ‘miracle cure’ to end discrimination of women. Awareness of rights and resources such as women organizations and law enforcement bodies helped women leave violent situations but did not change discrimination in the home. Education did create awareness but was limited in terms of changing systemic views about women. Thus, further laws and media campaigns need to be created to prevent GBV inside and outside the home. If perpetrators experience longer jail sentences and severe

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consequences, then perhaps domestic violence will no longer be seen as the norm. Furthermore, students need more safe spaces such as youth clubs or other institutions where they can spend their after-school and weekend hours. Girls in particular need spaces where they can feel free and not dominated by boys to discuss issues or experiences relevant to them (Rehema, interview 2).

MOEVT should implement a curriculum where students are encouraged to create their own community service or related projects. The current civics curriculum does not equip students with concrete knowledge to engage actively in political processes as non-voting persons and critical awareness of structures causes of injustice. Some of the participants attended community meetings or volunteered frequently but did not always question root causes of the issues they cared about. While others addressed structural causes of gender discrimination (e.g. political barriers, culture, family structures) but did do not know how to take this knowledge further and advocate for change themselves. In others words, they exhibited mixed approaches to citizenship engagement ranging from participatory to social-justice oriented approaches (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).³⁶ To illustrate, on one hand, a few participants talked about helping to educate street children who were living in dire circumstances and complained about the government's lack of care of them. Yet, they did not question why these children could not access public schools, consider their social class or the limited shelters for children. On the other hand, another participant questioned the corruption exhibited by ministry officials and the wealthy with extensive access to services such as health care and power; and she did not know how to engage her frustration with systematic abuse in a positive way. Thus, students need to be

³⁶ Participatory citizens are individuals who are civically engaged in their communities but do not question structural causes of the issues they advocate for. Whilst social justice oriented citizens are aware of systematic causes to social issues but are not always as actively engaged in creating change, or know how to, at a grassroots level.

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equipped with concrete skills to enable them to be further involved in political activities and also to be challenged to question underlying structural forces.

Contributions and further research

This study provides an exploration of citizenship education within the Tanzanian school system. By surveying girls' views, I was able to understand and show the extent to which civics impacts girls' views on citizenship. Although the girls, in this study, sometimes adhere to gender hierarchies in their private lives, they participate actively as citizens. The curriculum has aided in the creation of a positive view of female opportunities in Tanzania. The civics curriculum has taken a very progressive approach by tackling notions of gender and gender discrimination and making it necessary for teachers to discuss these pertinent issues in the classroom. Similar civics and social studies curriculum do not address root causes of women's discrimination, and when they do, often these curriculums are not compulsory. In that sense the Tanzanian civics curriculum seems far ahead by engaging in these necessary gender discussions that can build a gender equitable and a just society.

The lack of clarity and consideration of women's citizenship and youth participation hinders the apparent progressiveness of the civics curriculum. The planned civics curriculum attempts to make students socially responsible so that they can contribute to the development of Tanzania on a personal level by working; on a social level by cooperating and following the law; and, on a political level by participating in public political activities (e.g. activism or voting). However, as under-age young adults, the participants cannot always access public forums of participation and were not provided with adequate knowledge of how to do so. Instead, they framed their participation mainly within the private sphere or by using the language of the private sphere; thereby politicizing the home as a space where citizenship duties occurred

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regularly. For a majority of the participants, attending to the well-being of their family and close friends or *caring for* others was the main avenue for their citizen engagement. The emphasis placed on caring or domestic duties by participants does not negate the need for political participation; rather it provided them with alternative spaces for citizenship. Their active participation within community and homes provided impetus for them to want to participate politically once they are of legal age. These insights demonstrate that curriculum and pedagogy do not consider the full circumstances of girls' daily lives and need to account for multi-dimensional citizenship relationship.

Last, further discussions and observations with the participants in the school were not possible due to time constraints and specificity of a master's thesis. Voices of boys are also absent and their inclusion would shed further light on the gendered nature of youth citizenship. Additional research is needed to clearly outline similarities or distinctions between boys' and girls' forms of citizenship participation. Finally, this study is context specific and broader research is warranted to evaluate the impact of gender topics within the curriculum in Tanzania.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questions

(Adapted from Arnot, Chege & Wawire, 2012)

General question:

- 1) What does citizenship mean to you?
- 2) What is it like being a girl in (insert location)?
- 3) What are some examples of citizenship that you see on a daily basis?

Girls' interpretations of civics curriculum:

- 1) What have you learned about citizenship in school?
- 2) How does a person become a citizen?
- 3) What is required of a citizen? (Roles and responsibilities)
- 4) What does a citizen receive in return? (Rights and entitlements)
- 5) What is a 'good' citizen?
- 6) Do you think you are a 'good citizen? Please explain why or why not?
- 7) How do you feel about the current civics education in school?

Girls' perspectives on citizenship identity and participation:

- 1) Can you please describe yourself?
- 2) How do you feel about being a Tanzanian?
- 3) What are your expectations of the government?
- 4) What is your community like? Who is part of your community?
- 5) How do participate as a citizen?
- 6) How do you participate or contribute to your home, school, community or society?
- 7) Do you discuss issues related to citizenship with others? Where and with whom?
- 8) Are there barriers that prevent you from having the freedom to act in certain ways?

