Linking questions of distribution and empowerment amongst girls' education in Tanzania: A Case study of the Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) project

By

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Abstract

Education and educational frameworks have been at the forefront of global initiatives as a transformative tool to combat women and girls' inequalities. This paper analyzes the relationship between pursuing a distributional frameworks and its link to empowerment. While the literature has been historically critical of using distributional frameworks as a proxy for gender inequality, the Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) project claims to link distributional frameworks with empowerment. Given that the focus of this paper is Tanzania, qualitative and quantitative empirical data will focus on issues of distribution and empowerment in Tanzania. The aim of TEGINT is to transform educational attainment and processes related to empowerment for girl's education in Tanzania. In order to determine whether there was in fact a relationship between the two, this paper analyzed the baseline and endline data conducted as part of the projects objectives. Questions of distribution and empowerment are related to broader questions about education approaches to girls' education, and their effectiveness in fostering changes in access and outcomes.

Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA …………………………………………………………………………......Action Aid

BERE.……………………………………...….Bureau for Education Research and Evaluation

CAPP.………………………………………......Community Action for Popular Participation

EFA.…………………………………………………………………Education for All

ESDP.…………………………………………..Educational Sector Development Program

GAD.………………………………………….………….Gender and Development

GER.………………………………………………………….Gross Enrolment Ratio

GPI.……………………………………………………………Gender Parity Index

MDG.…………………………………………………….Millennium Development Goal

NER.……………………………………………………………Net Enrolment Ratio

NGO.…………………………………………….……..Non-Governmental Organization

PEDP.………………………………………………… Primary Education Development Plan

SMC.………………………………………………...….School Management Committee

TEGINT.………………………………Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania

WCEFA.………………………………………..World Conference on Education for All

WID.………………………………………………….....Women in Development

UN.………………………………………………………………….United Nations

UNESCO.……………….…….United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UPE.……………………………………………………….Universal Primary Education

Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

Gender equality as a development focus came to prominence in the 1990s. Much of it can be attributed to the conception of various development paradigms aimed at examining the roles of women within development practice in the preceding decades (Unterhalter, 2005; Rathgeber, 1990). The rise of various social feminist theories in the 1970s and 1980s, in conjunction with the worldwide mobilization of women by Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), "coincided with and helped sustain pressure for gender-disaggregated statistics and a documenting of levels of gender equality and inequality by UN Agencies" (Unterhalter, 2005, p. 113; Palpart, 1993). This created an official arena through which women's issues and inequalities could be heard. Mulugu (1999) argues that the issues regarding women's subordination and gender inequality, such as poor health, poverty, low incomes, and inability to exercise political rights are very closely related to insufficient schooling (p.1). Here, education is thought of as a "basic foundation of equality" (Rao & Sweetman, 2014, p. 4) and is viewed as the medium through which women can improve their lives and achieve empowerment (Mulugu, 1999). Mulugu (1999) makes the argument that "educated women can cope with socio-economic, cultural and political changes that affect their access to development" (p.1).

Some prominent scholars interested in education and development, including Unterhalter (2005, 2013), Kelly (1990) and Morley (2006) have heralded education as a tool to bring about transformative change in both developed and developing countries. In the case of gendered dimensions of development, education is often debated as going hand in hand with achieving gender equality—both in its accessibility and quality of schooling (Unterhalter, 2005; Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011). Gender inequality limits agency and impedes access to social and political benefits associated with the capabilities approach such as empowerment, access to healthcare,

education and economic resources (Unterhalter, 2005; Chisamaya, DeJaeghere, Kendall, & Aziz Khan, 2012). In many developing countries, this disparity in education between men and women lead to different realities, and access to opportunities that are intrinsic to improving one's capabilities. Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, owes much of its current educational system and experiences to its colonial legacy—from which it has inherited patriarchal policies and social institutions that have continued to promote the subordination of women and girls (Bloch, Beoku-Betts, & Tabachnick, 1998; Mulugu, 1999).

The continual marginalization of women and girls, and unequal access to various resources like education has led to the creation of global initiatives aimed at dealing with the issue of gender inequality (Okkolin, Lehtomaki, & Bhalalusesa, 2010; Unterhalter, 2005; Subrahmanian, 2005). These global education initiatives began in 1990 with the Education For All (EFA) declaration, which aimed to "to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieve gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality." (Rao & Sweetman, 2014, p. 1; UNESCO, 2015). These goals were supplemented with the Dakar Framework for Education in 2000 and the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the same year, both of which incorporated provisions for achieving gender equality through education—mainly through the implementation of gender parity programs, which promotes equal enrolment of girls and boys in school (Okkolin et al., 2010; Rao & Sweetman, 2014; Unterhalter, 2005; Subrahmanian, 2005). Gender parity programs view the issue of women's inequality as one of distribution, whereby simply promoting policy and projects that focus on redistributing equal access to education are thought to solve the problem of gender inequality. Therefore an approach centered around equitable access to education is viewed as one

that promotes women's empowerment (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011, p. 154). It is this relationship between distribution of educational access to girls and empowerment that this paper seeks to explore, with particular reference to Tanzania and the Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) project. TEGINT provides a relevant case study that looks to improve the inequality of girls through educational access, whilst also claiming that empowerment is an intrinsic component to the project.

The Case of Tanzania

Tanzania, like many other Sub-Saharan African countries, exhibits widespread gender inequality and disparity across a variety of socio-economic indicators, including but not limited to education, health care, literacy rates, and life expectancy (World Bank; UNESCO, 2015). However despite this, women play a significant social and economic production role in Tanzanian society (Mulugu, 1999, p. 2). However, their insufficient access and enrolment at higher levels of education is argued to be the "causal factor of their subordination" (Mulugu, 1999, p. 2). The country has participated in various global initiatives geared towards universal primary education, and gender equality through the implementation of gender parity programs (Woods, 2007). In addition, the government of Tanzania has drafted and implemented its own policy objectives aimed at ensuring free primary school education for all since 2002, with a particular focus on gendered enrolment ratios (Woods, 2007). Primary school in Tanzania has seen a 50% increase in enrolment from 2000 to 2009, increasing from 4.4 to 8.4 million students (Unterhalter, Heslop, & Mamedu, 2013).

Education initiatives in Tanzania have been a prominent national goal, with broader access to education featuring in policy since the 1970s; a prominent component of early policy looked to promote education for self-reliance (Woods, 2007; Wedgewood R. , 2007).

Government programs such as Universal Primary Education (UPE), aimed at providing primary school education for all students in the 80s and 90s, and the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) implemented in 2002, demonstrate a strong engagement with education provision (Wedgewood R. , 2007). Beyond launching parity initiatives in education, the government of Tanzania has also pursued parity across other social sectors, through political representation and improved access to health (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011; Unterhalter et al., 2013). Tanzania's institutional parity initiatives, represent a "distributional framework for equality" which has been key in promoting educational parity programs (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 569). While increased representation and access to resources women across a wide variety of social sectors and indicators are positive, there are very relevant questions and criticisms that arise from pursuing distributional policies only as a means of achieving gender equality and ensuring women's empowerment.

The distributional framework for equality in Tanzania has led to impressive enrolment rates in primary schools for both girls and boys. According to a 2008 UNESCO report, Tanzania had a 97% to 96% enrolment of girls and boys at the primary school level, and a Gender Parity Index (GPI) of 1.01 (UNESCO, 2012). However, the enrolment and GPI of given by the UNESCO report represent aggregate figures, and therefore they fail to show regional variations in enrolment, and differences in distribution along economic, and demographic lines in Tanzania (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 268; UNESCO, 2015). According to Unterhalter et al. (2013) there are "particular geographical areas where access to schooling has been more limited and forms of exclusion more marked" (p. 268). Beyond issues of geographical variation in school enrolment, there are very real variations of girls and boys in the completion, attainment of higher education and examinations results (Morley, Leach , & Lugg, 2009, TEGINT, 2011, Unterhalter et al.,

2013). Data from UNESCO shows a huge drop in secondary school enrolment for both girls and boys, but highlights a bigger drop in girl's enrolment compared to boys (1998). The adult literacy rates follow the same trend, with roughly 1 in 3 Tanzanian women lacking "basic literacy skills" in 2008 (UNESCO, 2012). An overview of the empirical data begs the question, why? Why, despite achieving gender parity at the primary school level, do there exist tremendous gaps between girls and boys in higher education enrolment, attainment and outcomes? What is preventing young girls at the primary level of education from achieving the same access and attainment of higher education as their male counterparts? Certainly, while the Tanzanian government has invested a lot of resources into ensuring access to primary education, the same is not the case for secondary and tertiary education. Wedgewood (2007) argues that there is a lack of provision made towards post primary education, especially since primary school provision dominates international education policy and funding (p. 6). Beyond the fact that distributional frameworks have often been used as a measure of challenging gender inequality in educational domains, there has been rising concern about how to best frame the question of gender inequality and how that relates to education policy and practice.

Due to the magnitude of gender inequality and the many spheres of society within which it manifests, Mulugu (1999) argues that gender inequality in education in Tanzania "cannot, therefore, be viewed as a simple, polemical or dichotomous phenomenon" (p.42). That is to say, several factors influence the inequality of women and girls within and outside the school. It is important to note that there are different configurations of inequalities that women and girl's face in Tanzanian society such as ethnicity, class and religion; they are intrinsic to gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the disparities that permeate its education system (Mulugu, 1999; Johnson, 2011). In the case of education for girls in Tanzania, a combination of socio-

cultural, economic and political factors prevent them from being able to fully benefit the fruits of education (Johnson, 2011, p. 22; Mulugu, 1999). Simply, the parity approach to education as it stands does not provide girls and women with the tools or the capability to survive in a society that is structured against them. The parity approach is ill equipped to deal with issues of "attitudes, structures, socio-cultural process, uneven forms of empowerment, capabilities and outcomes" (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 567).

While recognizing the issues of a distributional focus only, Unterhalter et al. (2013) argue that access to education is important, and that criticism often misses the importance of the confidence it gives girls and its real generational impacts, such as promoting education to their own daughters. The notion of empowerment has gone hand in hand with gender equality frameworks, and has been mentioned in all of the global education initiatives, including but not limited to the EFA and MDGs (UNESCO, 2015; Rao & Sweetman, 2014; Monkman, 2011). Many scholars agree that while women's empowerment is used often in policy and programmes, there is little explanation of what is meant by empowerment and in what context it is used, or even how it is measured (Mosedale, 2005; Kabeer, 2005; Smyth, 2007). Depending on the actors, the context, and the policy, empowerment can mean different things. Many scholars deride the constant use of the word empowerment in gender and development contexts, often without specific meaning (Smyth, 2007; Kabeer, 2005; Mosedale, 2005). In this paper empowerment is defined as a process, wherein women and girls continuously negotiate structures, attitudes as well as access in relation to men (Smyth, 2007). This paper uses a definition based on Stromquists' (2002) and Mosedale's (2005) models of empowerment, whereby critical understanding of reality, awareness of inequalities in access to power and the ability to recognize and mobilize against them, capacity to generate income, and self-esteem are

viewed as tenets belonging to a process of empowerment. Empowerment not viewed as an end goal that one can arrive in some absolute sense; there is no transformation from being disempowered to being empowered (Mosedale, 2005; Smyth, 2007). Rather it is an ongoing process whereby girls and women can negotiate their roles, capabilities and access resources within society.

Case Study: Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) project

In order to analyze the relationship between empowerment and distribution, this paper will look at a project called Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT). The TEGINT project is a collaboration between Action Aid, researchers from universities in Tanzania, Nigeria and the United Kingdom, and two NGOs, Maarifa ni Ufunguo in Tanzania and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) in Nigeria. The project which ran from 2007 to 2012 was a:

> Special education initiative to transform the education of girls in Northern Tanzania and Northern Nigeria, enabling them to enrol and succeed in school by addressing key challenges and obstacles that hinder their participation in education and increase their vulnerability to gender violence and HIV/AIDS (TEGINTa, 2011, p. 4)

Given that the focus of this paper is Tanzania, qualitative and quantitative empirical data will focus on issues of distribution and empowerment in Tanzania. The aim of TEGINT is to transform educational attainment and processes related to empowerment for girl's education in Tanzania (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 568). Certain data will however be compared to its sister project in Nigeria to give context to the results. Questions of the relationship between a distributional framework and empowerment will be based on baseline and endline research in Northern Tanzania, which ran from 2007-2009 and 2012 respectively. TEGINT was created partly as a way to address the regional differences in enrolment, attainment and examination

results of girls compared to boys, as well as provide a distributional framework of education provision that could encompass and work on the criticisms of parity projects, while promoting girl's empowerment (Heslop, Audu, & Kishekya, 2010).

The TEGINT program took place in Northern Tanzania, working with formal schools in the region, that is, schools funded by government assistance. Non-formal schools and educational provision are not within the scope of this paper, but are prevalent in Tanzania and provide an alternative means for schooling especially in urban areas of the Arusha and Kilimanjaro regions (Gee, 2015; TEGINTa, 2011). The TEGINT project was geographically based in three regions of Northern Tanzania and operated in six districts, working specifically in 57 schools (47 primary and 10 secondary) (TEGINT, 2011; Heslop et al.,2010). The project looked to combine aspects of community intervention, advocacy, and research as a way to bring about transformative change in education, whilst also following a distributional framework (Heslop et al., 2010, p. 3).

The framework of the TEGINT program is one that stresses the importance of parity, whilst also trying to focus on the agency of girls. The project focused on the incorporation of girls' voices and actions, whilst also examining factors that placed constraints on their agency (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 270). Girl's education was presented as being a necessary resource for girls to protect themselves against HIV/AIDs, although there was little written or even explained as to how this was to be done, what measures were being specifically put in place to combat the disease. Central to the project however was how to consolidate expanded access (distribution) to notions of girl's empowerment. Therefore the project used a framework that sought to combine two development paradigms in order to combat criticisms of pursuing parity projects alone. While the project looks to focus on empowerment and distribution, the

framework in which they suggest to do so is one-dimensional. The TEGINT project conceptualized 'empowerment' as giving the girls a voice to explain what they view as the barriers to education and succeeding afterwards (TEGINTa, 2011, Unterhalter et al., 2013).

The issue with a distributional framework of educational provision, which has been the overall goal of the Tanzanian gender inequality approach, has been viewing the problem as one of resource. This means that the problem is structured as one of unequal access to education, therefore, the argument is made that if boys and girls have the same access and same enrolment rates to education, gender inequality as a by-product of unequal enrolment will disappear. However this conceptualization of the problem tends to completely ignore the economic, socio-cultural and political structures that exist and work against the agency of girls and women. It does not consider that gender and power are intrinsically linked together, and that the issue of access to education is not apolitical (Lakoff, 2008). Therefore, an approach that only seeks to repair issues of access on the surface—gender parity programs—Is destined to fail and will not significantly alter the gaps between men and women in society, neither can it singularly achieve women's and girl's empowerment.

The approach to education requires a change in not only the conceptualization of gender but also an understanding that women's rights are a by-product of the socio-political configuration, and discursive practices of the society in question (Mulugu, 1999; Johnson, 2011). I will argue that a distributional framework towards educational provision for girls does not necessarily link to achievement of empowerment for girls. Rather, empowerment requires processes to related larger issues of awareness of the structures that constraints girl's rights and agency, ability to recognize and mobilize against them. Beyond issues of distribution, there are larger issues related to broad overarching political and economic institutional structures that

prevent girls from accessing higher levels of education and wage employment. Socio-cultural factors also prevent girls from accessing and continuing school, such as pregnancy, gender violence and female genital mutilation (FGM) and these cannot be addressed solely from a distributional framework of education. Rather, they need to be part of other approaches to gender equality that are not completely immersed in education initiatives, but rather provide a different approach to dealing with issues that women face in Tanzania.

The methodology for this research paper has consisted of secondary data ranging from scholarly articles, books, policy agendas and reports from development organizations and institutions. Analysis of the links between distribution and empowerment will be achieved through the comparison of the TEGINT programs baseline and endline studies. These studies will be compared to one another in order to determine whether empowerment was or was not achieved through the expansion of educational access.

The objective of this paper is to investigate the relationship between pursuing distributional frameworks of education and empowerment. In order to do so, this thesis paper has been broken down into 5 chapters. This first chapter has introduced issue of girls' education in Tanzania and has given some context to current developmental issues of educational provision and gender equality. Chapter two focuses on the debate in the literature surrounding global education initiatives approaches to education where it concerns gender inequality and empowerment, this section also discusses the theoretical framework for which the research and thesis statement are based on. Chapter three is an overview of the current education situation of girls in Tanzania, the context and research findings of the baseline and endline studies in TEGINT project. Chapter 4 is an analysis and discussion of the data and chapter 5 presents concluding remarks on the relationship between distribution and empowerment.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

It is necessary to understand the various theoretical frameworks and schools of thought relevant to women, gender and inequalities. The two that will be reviewed in this paper are necessary to understand and situate the existence of distributional frameworks, empowerment, and the critiques that accompany them.

Women in Development (WID)

Early development practice often overlooked and excluded women as rightful participants in development projects (Gwinn Wilkins, 1999, p. 49). It was not until the 1960s that there began to be a call for the inclusion of women in development projects (Gwinn Wilkins, 1999; Rathgeber, 1990). The works of Esther Boserup (1970) looked at women's economic development and inspired movements to include women in development are viewed by many scholars as pivotal to the beginning of the development paradigm (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011; Mulugu, 1999; Rathgeber, 1990). American liberal feminists herald the Women in Development (WID) paradigm for its emphasis on the roles of women (El-Bushra, 2000, p. 55; Rathgeber, 1990). According to Gwin Wilkins (1999) "A WID strategy advocated including women as an explicit focus in order to achieve development goals" (p. 49). WID as a development paradigm identified women as being sidelined by development activities, and viewed their involvement in development as necessary (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011; Rathgeber, 1990).

The WID paradigm has its roots are entrenched in modernization theory of development, following the idea of "slow and steady development" (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 491). Development agencies recognized that women were not benefiting from development and the argument was

made that women needed to have equal access to resources in order to meaningfully participate and contribute to development (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 491). Rathgeber (1990) and many feminist theorists have argued that the WID paradigm did not appropriately tackle the root causes of women's inequality, instead the approach sought to accept existing structures rather than to challenge them (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011; Unterhalter & North, 2011). According to Rathgeber (1990) the "nonconfrontational approach avoided questioning the sources and nature of women's subordination and oppression and focused instead on advocacy for more equal participation in education, employment and other spheres of society"(p. 491). Development projects and policies that have been situated within this theoretical framework have tended to focus on redistribution of resources, while ignoring the overlying broader structures that reproduce the inequalities that women face. Rathgeber (1990) argues that they focus on the productive aspect of women's work but not their lives (p. 492).

The WID development paradigm bears significant importance to topics of women's education projects and policies. In terms of women and education, this conceptualization puts a lot of emphasis on resources, and women and girls modes of reproduction via education. Rao & Sweetman (2014) argue that "basic education is a foundation of equality" (p.4). However, basic education in itself is not enough of a goal when it comes to battling and tearing down the number of inequalities that women face. Unfortunately, the global education initiative has generally chosen to engage the issue of women's inequality in education through parity programs and policies (Unterhalter & North, 2011, p. 3). This is because the conceptualization of gender from a WID perspective looks at "women and girls, who are identified descriptively in biological differences" (Unterhalter, 2005, p. 18; Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011, p. 156). This way of looking at gender prevents one from using the social stratification of women as a means to

explain the various inequalities that they face. As a result education is prevented from acting as a transformative force that actively promotes gender equality and women's empowerment. Women and girls are not able to enjoy the fruits of education as the sources of inequalities are not properly addressed and challenged. The WID paradigm is important for understanding why many parity programs fail to address the issue of gender inequality from a multidimensional point of view. WID provides a narrowed conceptualization of women and their roles within society does not lend well to achieving inequality that stretches well beyond the realm of access and redistribution of resources.

While there has been the recognition that despite equal access to education, the gender gaps between men and women in society still remains. Gee (2015) argues that "equality in participation does not necessarily translate into equality in outcomes" (p. 208). Therefore it is important to see that these approaches to education are not enough to target the issue of gender inequality and empowerment (Gee, 2015). Effectively, parity programs due to their linkages in WID have rendered educational projects and approaches in regards to gender inequality as technical—that is to say, it views them outside of their socio-economic and political context. In doing so, much of the issue of gender inequality in education is misunderstood.

Efforts to expand on the limits of WID resulted in the Women and Development (WAD) paradigm. WAD came out of a need to expand on the limitations of WID and modernization theory, whilst also stating that women had always been a part of development (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011). It focuses on women and the process of development, as opposed to integrating them into development. WAD does aim to be more critical than WID, realizing that women's issues are multi-faceted but still falls short (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 494). In policy and projects however, WAD is almost the same as WID. They focus on income generating activities

of women, ignoring the work they already do in households, and therefore ignoring that income increases do not lend themselves to becoming empowered in relation to men. However, for the purpose of this paper, WAD will not be discussed at length.

Gender and Development

The Gender and Development (GAD) development paradigm emerged in the 1980s as an alternative theoretical framework to WID and WAD paradigms that came before it (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 493).GADs theoretical approach borrowed a lot from social feminism, identifying the "social construction of production and reproduction as the basis' of women's oppression and have focused attention on the social relations of gender" (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 494). According to Thomas & Rugambwa (2011) the GAD approach "aims to challenge gendered relations of power that underlie sociocultural and political-economic disparities reflected in quantitative indicators of inequality." (p. 156). In addition to that, GAD has an implicit focus on the social constructs of gender, and how this contributed to gendered divisions of labour and responsibilities which have historically marginalized women (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011; Rathgeber, 1990; El-Bushra, 2000). Gwinn Wilkins (1999) recognizes GAD as "a model of social change" (p. 50) which approaches "power within normative and structural conditions" (p.50). GAD as a theoretical approach looks at the structures—cultural, political and socio-economic—and institutions that continually rob women of their rights, and recognizes that without change within these structures, women will continually be unequal to men (El-Bushra, 2000; Rathgeber, 1990). GAD puts a lot of emphasis on the State in terms of improving women's rights, and addressing inequality as political issue rather than a technical one—an issue free of political aspects.

In the context of education, the GAD theoretical approach has been used by educationalists to argue that there need to be moves beyond access (Thomas & Rugambwa,

2011).   The transition from a WID to GAD approach would signal a move towards understanding multifaceted "social relations of power", incorporating aspects outside of access (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011, p. 154). This is important especially because it understands inequalities as fluid and able to intersect with one other. For example, women in Tanzania may not only face discrimination as women, but also can face further discrimination based on class, ethnicity and/or religious practices. Many educationalists argued that violence's against women girls are not limited to the household, but is reproduced in many aspects of society, including the school (Morley, Leach , & Lugg, 2009; Parkes et al., 2013). It views the primary source of injustice as not tied to questions of distribution, rather as related to broader domains such as "political economy and socio-cultural formations" that work to constrain women and girl's empowerment (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 566). Therefore it is important to realize that there are several systems of inequality that combine to confine women's agency and that continually lead to the subordination of women in relation to men. In the context of education, a GAD perspective suggests that "the inclusion of women in the marketplace or the parity of girls in schools does not automatically redress gendered injustices" (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011, p. 156).

Due to the nature of the GAD theoretical approach, it does not lend itself well to policy and practice (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 495). This has been a major critique of GAD by many development practitioners. For example implementation of policies and projects situated in this theoretical framework requires changes to political and socio-economic structures that constrain agency. Due to this, they are not realistic for development agencies or even Non-Government Organizations. However, GAD approaches allow for critical analysis of the structures, practices and attitudes that constrain girl's empowerment and rights, and allow for better and more

conscious policy and projects where it concerns addressing the issues of women's inequality and relative disempowerment in relation to men. (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 568).

Literature Review

Overview of Global Education Initiatives

Education is often argued to be a transformative tool that helps decrease disparities that exist within and amongst marginalized social groups (Rao & Sweetman, 2014; CARE, 2010). Women and girls compose a large part of marginalized groups and have long been subjected to unequal access to resources and uneven power structures where it concerns schooling, in addition to unequal access to development in the political, cultural and socio-economic spectrums of society (Unterhalter et al., 2013; Parkes, Heslop, Oando, Sabaa, Janaurio, & Figue, 2013). Education has been heralded as one of the tools with which current structures that promote gender inequality can be challenged.

Educational expansion as a policy agenda to combat gender inequality has been prevalent since the 1990s with the onset of global initiatives like the EFA, MDGs and Dakar Framework (Unterhalter, 2005; Subrahmanian, 2005). While the timeline for which most of these initiatives aimed to achieve universal primary education and gender equality expired in 2015, there has been a call to realign education goals towards access and quality schooling in the post-2015 development era (Winthrop, Anderson, & Cruzalegui, 2015, p. 297). This is especially the case as the targets for the Sustainable Development Goals of 2030 are being carefully developed in the international arena.

The use of education has been heavily promoted by big development agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations (UN) for the achievement of gender equality (Unterhalter,

Heslop, & Mamedu, 2013). In 1990, the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) promoted a new impetus on increasing the rates and access to primary education for children all across the world, setting the tone for the implementation of EFA and subsequent global education initiatives. Many organizations adopted gender parity initiatives, focusing on equalling girls' enrolment and attendance in school to that of boys (Chisamya, DaJaeghere, Kendall, & Khan, 2012). This approach to girl's education was mirrored by many organizations, and many gender inequality initiatives undertaken in that period perceived the problem as an issue of resource accessibility. Therefore, policy and practice were mainly aimed the equal redistribution and access towards said resources, hence gender parity programs were extremely popular. (Akanksha & Moussie, 2013). In fact, distributional frameworks are still used currently by large international development organizations, such as CARE International as a way to pursue girls' equality and empowerment (CARE, 2010).

This approach to gender inequality has of course cultivated an interesting debate amongst scholars. Certainly there are scholars that view gender parity programs as sufficient development endeavours Takako et al., (2013), and those that view gender parity programs alone as insufficient promoting gender equality (Unterhalter, 2005; Chismaya et al., 2012). However, the debate among scholars is more nuanced than a simple split of those that are in favour of distributional frameworks and those that are not. Instead, the argument has diverged along three arguments that look at the nuances of the global approach to education (Winthrop et al., 2015). Furthermore, the way in which some scholars conceptualize gender inequality plays a significant role in how they approach the issue of unequal access to education.

Educational provision

In a review of education debates, practices and frameworks, Winthrop et al. (2015)

compares current educationalist perspectives. They distinguish three perspectives regarding the global approach to education, which have historically focused on improving primary school enrolment rates as well as achieving gender parity (Subrahmanian, 2005, p. 397). The first perspective held by educationalist is that global approaches to education have been limited and had little impact at the national level. The popularity of programs such as EFA and MDGs has had influences on how countries in the global south have approached education provision. However, despite the fact that such approaches have been lauded by development agencies and institutions (especially in the 90s), application of parity programs in regions like Sub-Saharan Africa have had limited success (Holmarsdottir, Moller Ekne, & Augestad, 2011). While access might be expanded, there persist issues of high teacher-pupil ratios, crowded classrooms, and lack of teaching supplies (CARE, 2010, p. 3). Expanded access to schooling does not necessarily translate to quality education or better learning outcomes (Beatty & Pritchett, 2012; CARE, 2010). Beatty & Pritchett (2012) argue that there are few to no gains made by girls in this approach, especially given the relatively poor and slow rates of learning. Given that this perspective views quality learning as central to educational approaches, emphasis is placed on learning targets, rather than enrolment and completion targets (Beatty & Pritchett, 2012, p. 19)

The next perspective diverges from this view; instead it views these global approaches as being successful. This is because it views the provisions made for universal primary school enrolment in many developing countries as being significant achievements towards gender equality (Winthrop et al., 2015, p. 298). This perspective prioritizes access to education as being central to the development of women and girls. However, like the former perspective, it has evolved to also incorporate the notion of quality education, recognizing that what is taught within the classroom, and how well it is taught bears significance to how well girls perform in

school (Holmarsdottir, Moller Ekne, & Augestad, 2011; CARE, 2010). In addition to improving performance, quality education can contribute to positive attitudes of girls' towards educational attainment, which play a role in determining how well and to what extent schooling can lead to transformative change.

The third perspective is one that is shared by prominent educationalist scholars like Unterhalter (2007), which views the approach and conceptualization of these global education approaches to be problematic in themselves. In this case, Unterhalter refers to the oversimplification of gender equality through the use of simple indicators like enrolment and completion rates (2013, p. 4). Gender inequality is understood as being a complex configuration of inequalities and therefore, simple approaches and understandings of the problem do not help improve women's marginalization.

Other debates in the literature look at the impact that development agencies and organizations have on influencing policy and practice. Over time as the EFA, MDGs and other initiatives like the Dakar framework for Action were adapted, the global education goals were narrowed so that MDGS only included primary education enrolment rates and completion as well as achievement of gender parity (Unterhalter, Heslop, & Mamedu, 2013; Winthrop et al., 2015). Winthrop et al. (2015) argues that this change was due the feasibility of pursuing enrolment and completion rates, in addition to measuring them. Vandemoortle (2009) states that MDGs were not meant to be wholly comprehensive and inclusive of all aspects of education. The goals were concise and easy to understand hence their adaptation as a global goal/standard (Vandemoortle, 2009; Winthrop et al., 2015). The indicators and quantifiable data used to measure the success of these goals were readily available and widespread making it much easier to assess if the goals had been met. However using indicators like enrolment, completion, and

attainment rates as proxies for gender equality have been greatly criticized by many scholars (Chisamya, DaJaeghere, Kendall, & Khan, 2012; Mosedale, 2005; Unterhalter, 2013). Criticism stem from the fact that the indicators are not seen to accurately portray the local socio-cultural, economic and political environments that contribute to gender inequality. Rather, the indicators represent homogeneous solutions that fail to take into account the s spatial and temporal contexts in which gender inequality and women's subordination occurs (Goldman & Little, 2015; Monkman, 2011).

Gender Inequality and Violence

The issues regarding education along gendered lines looks through various different frameworks. The conceptualization of inequalities is such that they are intersectional, they occur along gender, race, class lines and so forth. The response to girl's education for example has been tackled by policy that is entrenched in the WID paradigm, viewing it as an issue of resource availability (Parkes, Heslop, Oando, Sabaa, Janaurio, & Figue, 2013). Parkes et al. (2013) consider all the socio-cultural, economic and political factors that contribute to women and girl's subordination as being structural violence's. These violence's impede their capabilities to live with dignity and freedom. Parkes et al. (2013) argue that inequalities do not occur in a vacuum, and so policies of education aimed at eliminating gender inequality need to understand need to understand the conditions of inequality within which women and girls operate. They state that there are existing "violent social relations" along gender (Parkes et al. , 2013, p. 2).

Fraser (1995) is prominent in feminist theory literature and also views gender inequality and justice along the lines of structural violence's. In particular, Fraser (1995) views them along social, cultural and political lines, and argues that these structures prevent the agency and wellbeing of women. Some scholars like Stromquist (2005; 2015), Mosedale (2005) and

Monkman (2011) argue that these inequalities can be reproduced within the school itself. Violence's against women whether physical, emotional, or structural in nature can and is often perpetuated in the school system, just as it is in the home, and on societal and international levels. In fact (Parkes et al., 2013) argue that imbalances in power that exist outside the school are often reflected within the school as well. Therefore the approach to education has to be more holistic in its understandings of how and where gender inequalities are produced and reproduced.

Unterhalter (2013) makes the case that the Gender and Development framework has been used by educationalists to argue that how gender is conceptualized and taught in school are very much related to labour structures and relationships, they are a representation of the political and social structure spheres. The school itself is not a separate space from which these relationships are reproduced and acted out (Unterhalter et al., 2013). Fraser's (2007) conceptualization of gender inequality is similar to Mulugu's (1999). However, Mulugu focuses a lot on "politics of location" to describe inequality in education of women in Tanzania, stating that "while gender inequality in education is experienced differently between male and female students, the degree of its magnitude varies across the students' culture, class, and geographical boundaries, and changes in different periods of time and place." (p. 5).

Parity Programs

Many educationalists in the literature like Fraser (2007), Unterhalter (2005) and Vaughan (2013), argue that education policy simply aimed at improving girls' access to education is not enough. The expansion of education itself does little to change the structures of inequality that exist in the household, in the schools themselves and in other spheres of society. Kelly argues (1990) that educational expansion for girls and women alone does not improve gender inequality in socio-economic and political life, in fact she argues that there's little change in women's

participation in the labour force and some countries have seen a decrease in female employment (Kelly, 1990). While the enrolment of girls in schools in many parts of Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa moved towards parity in the 1970s and 1980s, Kelly (1990) argues that the gains made did not signal moves towards equality. In fact, access to secondary levels of schooling and beyond decreased vastly for girls in comparison to boys, and the quality of education was not the same. Inequality and gendered structures existed within the school themselves, whereby material taught and even opportunities available within schools were partitioned with gender being the basic organizing principle. The conclusion made by Kelly (1990) was that improved access to education had "little impact on the work force outcomes of female education, women's wages, and women's access to power and authority in society" (p. 135).

Other case studies conducted on gender inequality and women's empowerment in relation to parity programs have found the same (Chisamaya, DeJaeghere, Kendall, & Aziz Khan, 2012). Chisamaya et al. (2012) looked at the cases of Malawi and Bangladesh, two countries that have done exceptionally well at improving primary enrolment rates as well as achieving gender parity. The study found that increasing girl's participation in school and moving towards gender parity did not have effects on the empowerment of women in the respective communities in Bangladesh and Malawi. Chisamaya et al. (2012) state that the institutions outside of school which include community, gendered family and division of labour, labour and marriage markets and even schooling practices are very important in determining whether education can transform and empower women's lives. While rapid gender parity—equal enrolment rates of boys and girls in school at a fast rates—was good news in terms of girl's access to education, it was not enough by itself to address issues of gender inequality. In Bangladesh, despite increasing access to education, "Freedom from violence and protection of

women's physical well-being is extremely low, and women continue to be discriminated against in their economic rights of inheritance and land ownership." (Chisamya et al.,2012, p. 746). The case remains the same in Malawi, whereby the structures and institutions like civil liberty, ownership and inheritance rights, law and social norms still favour of men instead of women (Chisamya et al., 2012).

The debate of education and gender inequality is grounded within the understanding of where the inequality lies. During the early to mid-1990s with the introduction of EPA, UPE and the MDGs, the framing and conceptualization of education for women and girls was viewed as one of access. The inequality was based on the distribution of the resource of education, and this was the sentiment undertaken by the World Bank and others in the literature (King and Hill; Unterhalter et al., 2013). Through this, gender parity programs were herald as the means to promote gender equality, and became the global approach to education (Unterhalter et al., 2013; Winthrop et al., 2015). The other side of the debate emerged in the 2000s where there was a shift in identifying the inequality as not one of resources, but of structures, societal attitudes and socio-economic conditions, including uneven outcomes and forms of empowerment (Unterhalter et al., 2013 ;Gee, 2015). It understood inequalities as a fabric of the society, where the school reinforced itself as a microcosm of society—enforced gendered norms, attitudes and violence's (Unterhalter et al., 2013).

What is important to note about the debate is that not all literature falls into former or latter categories, there are those like Unterhalter et al. (2013) who try and consolidate the views of both camps. Unterhalter et al. (2013) situate themselves in middle ground between literature that views gender parity initiatives as the direction for global education goals, and literature that has critiqued that approach as being insufficient in its approach to gender inequality. Much of the

latter's literature looks at structural constraints and violence's embedded within the fabric of society which works against women and girls as they try and realize the fruits of education. Unterhalter et al. (2013) try to find a way to consolidate these approaches because they argue that the latter does not sufficiently recognizes the gains that can and have been made by the redistribution of resources and gains made by schooling.

In a report written by Grant & Behrman (2010) using demographic and health surveys to examine disparities in access to education, they argue that girls have better schooling progress than boys, in regions of Latin and South America, The Middle East and Asia. They make the case that girls have now been the focus of education initiatives; that they benefit the most from them. However, much of their argument is focused on the schooling environment and not the outcomes outside of school. Their report fails to articulate the realities of girls and women once they have finished their education. The portion of girls who even get beyond primarily school enrolment still lags behind net enrolment of boys in secondary school and higher education. The argument by Grant & Behrman for gender parity still does not look at the differences in outcomes or dispel the argument that women are not getting the same access to resources, for example jobs, as men.

Therefore while education is a powerful tool for women to realize their power, and gender equality, policy advocating gender parity is not enough to realize women's empowerment. The case studies have shown the flaws in this policy, because broader social structures have to change in order for women to access the opportunities promised to them by education. However, it is still important not to cast away gender parity programs in their entirety. While they do not by themselves bring about gender equality, over time they can start to create dialogues and change attitudes about girls and women's roles in society. Much of the issue with

parity programs is that they are one dimensional in their approach and understanding as to what contains women and girls' rights, agency and access to resources.

Empowerment

Empowerment is a multidisciplinary concept that is used in academic fields such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and international development studies (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010; Malhorta & Schuler, 2005). However as a construct, empowerment has no precise definition; it is unclear whether the interdisciplinary usage of empowerment invokes a causal or correlational relationship between the concept and its lack of a cohesive definition. Cattaneo & Chapman (2010) argue that empowerments' "lack of precise definition has made it amenable to diffuse applications, which have then exacerbated the lack of precision in its definition" (p. 646). In terms of development literature, the concept of empowerment has been largely inconsistent in how it defines, assesses, and applies the notion of empowerment to development practice (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010).

The concept of empowerment is frequently used and considered important to international development, especially where it concerns gendered dimensions of development (Malhorta & Schuler, 2005, p. 71). However, some scholars argue that because of the ambiguous nature of what empowerment means and its varying methods of systematical measurement, empowerment is often co-opted (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010; Mohapatra & Luckert, 2014; Stromquist, 2015). Therefore, empowerment as a concept is often shaped to take on different meanings depending on who defines it. This includes the parameters of what empowerment is and is not, and what it can and cannot do.

Much of the literature on empowerment expresses frustration on how easily empowerment is co-opted and how the lack of consensus on its meaning and use can be

detrimental (Malhorta & Schuler, 2005; Mosedale, 2005). Sometimes referred to as a buzzword that appears quite heavily in development discourse and policy, the literature on empowerment has sought to concretely define what empowerment means and create methods of systematical measurement in which to analyze its successes or lack thereof (Ellis, 1995; Goldman & Little, 2015; Holmarsdottir, Moller Ekne, & Augestad, 2011; Kabeer, 2005; Mosedale, 2005; Stromquist, 2015). In terms of the relationship between education and women's empowerment, the literature is vast.   Education, economic independence and political participation are often identified as going hand in hand with empowerment (Monkman, 2011). Exactly how education is linked to empowerment is contested in the scholarly debate on the relationship between the two. Some scholars view education as the outcome of empowerment (Lim, 1999), whereas others view education as enabling empowerment (Stromquist, 2015; Maslak, 2011; Changezi & Biseth, 2011). However, the debate on education and empowerment is quite nuanced and also considers aspects of power, individual and collective processes, and capabilities as being integral to empowerment. Certainly, the literature on empowerment encompasses a wide variety of ideas and approaches, the purposes of this section is to provide an overview of those relevant to education and how they relate specifically to girls' education policy and practice.

Within the empowerment literature, definitions of empowerment vary. As a result, many authors in the literature often state what they mean by empowerment. However, given that there exists many ways in which empowerment is conceptualized, the debate is not focused on particular definitions, but rather the models and overall development and theoretical approaches from which these definitions stem from. Scholars on the same side of the debate often have different definitions of empowerment, but share similar ideas about what empowerment encompasses and the parameters within which it works.

While empowerment as a construct has varying definitions within development discourse, the consensus in the literature is that empowerment is a process (Goldman & Little, 2015; Maslak, 2011; Monkman, 2011; Stromquist, 2015). According to Mosedale (2005), part of conceptualizing empowerment as a process is understanding that there is no end goal or ultimate outcome (p. 244). Monkman (2011) states that empowerment is simply a process that has no strict direction, it does not move in a linear fashion, neither is it direct or automatic (p. 10). Therefore, empowerment is generally not perceived as the outcome of participation within socio-economic indicators like education, wage employment, and political indicators like political participation (Kabeer, 2005; Monkman, 2011). The conceptualization of empowerment as a process is both ambiguous and malleable to many policy and practice prescriptions. What can be generally agreed on is that empowerment is not a product, and therefore there is no definitive state of being empowered, rather it is an iterative process (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010; Goldman & Little, 2015; Mosedale, 2005). The ambiguous nature of empowerment means that the particularities of the process of empowerment vary from scholar to scholar. Education's role in promoting the empowerment process therefore varies, and often depends on what outcomes of educational access scholar's view as being principal contributors to empowerment. Therefore, the debates encompass varying approaches to the empowerment process that sometime agree, disagree, and build upon each other.

While the literature has advanced from defining empowerment in terms of self-esteem and confidence, there are still explanations that engage notions of self-confidence within economic contexts (Stromquist, 2015, p. 33). Some scholar's like Maslak (200) and Lim (1999) view economic empowerment as a proxy for empowerment, furthermore arguing that women's participation within wage labour serves to challenge gender inequality as it promotes women's

'bargaining power' within households and an overall move toward women's social respect (Maslak, 2011, p. 121; Sen, 1989) . Carr (2000) defines economic empowerment as:

> Having access to and control over the means to make a living on a sustainable and long term basis, and receiving the material benefits of this access and control. Such a definition goes beyond short-term goals of increasing women's access to income and looks for longer term sustainable benefits, not only in terms of changes to laws but also in terms of power relationships a the household, community and market levels. (p. 2).

However, some scholars like Bisnath (2001) view the use of economic empowerment as a proxy for empowerment as divorced from the socio-economic conditions that lead to women's marginalization. Approaches to economic empowerment have focused on individual action (participation in wage labour, micro credit), and have excused states from assuming responsibility for "broad based social and economic support" (p. 11). There is also growing concern that increased access to financial resources shifts the burden of debt and subsistence to women (Mosedale, 2005, p. 248). Stromquist (2015) finds that economic empowerment should focus on both macro and micro indicators of women's access to financial resources. She calls for a focus on the socio-economic contexts (micro) of a particular place because macro indicators "produce an incomplete and perhaps even erroneous picture of women's economic empowerment, since their incorporation into the labour force, particularly those at the lower ends of the social hierarchy, tends to place them in stagnant positions" (p. 310).

Maslak (2011) in her research of the impacts of both formal and informal education on Muslim girls' career paths in China, asserts that access to education is central to establishing economic empowerment. However, whether economic empowerment is a suitable form of empowerment is highly contested in the literature. Some scholars argue that educational attainment does not necessarily lead to outcomes in wage employment, and if they do, as Stromquist (2015) points out, their participation in the labour force may constrain them in spaces

of marginalization. Maslak (2011) and Lim (1999) however view economic empowerment as significant outcomes of education, leading to the ability to utilize resources and reap the benefits of their work. Holmarsdottir, Moller Ekne, & Augestad, (2011) instead call for a move away from numerical analysis and indicators of empowerment, preferring a more nuanced conceptualization of empowerment that takes into account the stratification of women and girl's in society, and how neither economic empowerment or increased enrolment levels effectively challenge the structures that promote inequality.

The notion of 'Power' presents another conceptualization through which many scholars have understood the process of empowerment. A lot of contestation on this side of the debate can also be attributed with how power is defined and in what capacity it is used. Cattaneo & Chapman (2010) view empowerment as a process that is "fundamentally about gaining power" (p. 647). Power is understood to be embedded within the socio-cultural, economic and political structures and interactions within a particular spatial and temporal context. How individuals are engaged in questions of dominance, and how certain actors can cannot exert influence are hallmarks of how power is conceptualized (Cattaneo & Chapman, 2010, p. 647). Therefore, increases in the ability to exert influence on decision, outcomes, herein viewed as power, are considered to be part of empowerment. However, in order to be considered empowerment, the process of gaining power should exist in a context whereby power is unequally distributed.

Kabeer (2005) uses this same method of gaging empowerment, arguing that empowerment entails a process through which one goes from being disempowered to being empowered (p. 14). The process of change can thus be measured by individual's ability to make choices. Kabeer (2005) does include stipulations about what 'real' choice is, and arguing that empowered individuals need to have alternatives to choose different paths for their lives, and

alternatives should not just exist but be "seen to exist" (p. 14). Here, Kabeer refers to how power relations can prevent women seeing and claiming other alternatives and thereby promotes women's inequality and subordination. Women's changing notions of themselves, and how they negotiate power privately (household) and publicly (society) are the ways in which both Kabeer (2005) and Cattaneo & Chapman (2010) understand empowerment processes. Education is viewed as a way to bring about changes in self-perception that can lead women and girl's to question and reflect on the structures that promote their inequality, and challenge them. Although, as mentioned earlier in this paper, some scholars view the school as a space for social reproduction, whereby attitudes that exist within society are not divorced from the schooling environment (Holmarsdottir et al., 2011, Chisamya et al., 2012).

Other scholars view power as not 'power over', which indicates dominance and influence as is seen in Cattaneo & Chapman (2012). Power over is understood as a zero sum game, and therefore, as someone gains power another loses it (Mosedale, 2005, p. 250). Power then is not conceptualized as one individual overt power over another, but rather views power as a process and mechanism that defines the contexts of inequality. Therefore, power is not necessarily about how some individuals may constrain the actions of others, but the differences in how certain actors have entitlements to voice and act upon injustices:

> Critical questions about how power shapes freedom are not, then, reduced to questions about distribution and individual choice. Rather, they are questions about the differential impact of social limits to human actions on people's capacities to participate in shaping their lives and shaping the conditions of their collective existence. (Hayward, 1998, p. 32)

Other scholars like Stromquist (2005) have created models through which they determine the process of empowerment. These models stem from a critique of other approaches such as

self-esteem, economic empowerment, power and capabilities as being on their own not enough to enable processes of empowerment. Stromquist's (2005) empowerment model has four dimensions which acts a framework from which to determine empowerment: cognitive, psychological, political and economic. The cognitive dimension is a focus on critical understandings of one's reality. This dimension deals with knowledge of how women are aware of their legal rights, gender violence and sex education. The cognitive dimension is aimed at critical understandings of how women's lives are implicated in broader socio-cultural, economic and political contexts. The psychological dimension deals with feelings of confidence and self-esteem that women are able to acquire during the process of empowerment. The political dimension focuses on how women engage with processes of decision making and involving themselves in collective processes. This can include "making household decisions collectively or in partnership with one's spouse, inserting one's ideas and opinions in community governance processes, voting an leading social initiatives or groups" (Mosedale, 2005, p. 5; Stromquist, 2002). The economic dimension involves access to wage labour opportunities and the ability to control or influence how it is spent.

Stromquist's model of empowerment has been used by many scholars because it attempts to combine the many aspects related to the empowerment process. However, Stromquist's model does not apply to many contexts of empowerment, particularly because the model requires that all four dimensions must be met in order to claim the empowerment process. Therefore, formal education, especially primary and secondary school are not able achieve a process of empowerment according to the model (Stromquist, 2015). Stromquist (2015) views formal schooling as an environment within which social values are reproduced (p. 24). Empowerment according to Stromquist (2015) is not the mere participation in formal education schooling,

arguing that formal schooling instead "assumes that the experience and knowledge attained in schooling automatically prepare girls to assess their worth and envisage new possibilities" (p. 24). Rather, Stromquist (2015) identifies non-formal education for adult women as the best educational approach within which to empower, given that all four dimension can be met. This is especially the case for non-formal education programs that incorporate some kind of skill based training as part of its process, as highlighted by Ellis (1995). While she does not view primary or secondary schools as disempowering, Stromquist does not consider them as strong enough capacities for change.

Shah (2011) contests Stromquist's claim that empowerment and change are more possible with adult women within non formal education. Shah's (2011) research aimed to link empowerment and formal education for girls in India. As part of her investigation, Shah conceptualized empowerment as "consisting of two interrelated dimensions – instrumental and intrinsic empowerment" (Shah, 2011, p. 92). Instrumental empowerment refers to empowerment outcomes such as education attainment and employment. While intrinsic empowerment "encompasses the identities and social skills that enable girls to use democratic, bureaucratic, or patriarchal institutions to gain equality through law, within the workplace, and through social patterns and relationships in the home." (Shah, 2011, p. 92).

Given the debate, this paper views empowerment approaches solely based on economic empowerment, or improving self-confidence as being one dimensional; they fail to take into account the local contexts that subordinate women, and tend to overestimate the power wage labour and confidence can have on helping women to combat structures that disempower them. Models like those of Stromquist (2002, 2015) help to expand the notions of women's

empowerment as not being tied to singular notions of poor economic conditions, or lack of self-esteem, and push the process of empowerment to look at a diverse set of approaches that can be pursued in conjunction with one another. However, the model itself is limited in how it can be used.

Instead, this paper relies upon Mosedale's (2005) definition of empowerment, which borrows from Kabeer's (2005) discussion on empowerment as being related to processes of power. Mosedale defines empowerment as:

> The process by which women redefine and extend what is possible for them to be and do in situations where they have been restricted, compared to men, from being and doing. Alternatively, women's empowerment is the process by which women redefine gender roles in which extend their possibilities for being and doing. Mosedale (2005, p. 252)

Mosedale's definition of empowerment processes focuses on extending the parameters of what is possible for women and girls. Most importantly, these parameters are not only for individual women, but also work collectively for women in current spaces and in the future. Using this approach to empowerment, given that is combines many aspects of broader structural societal changes; this paper seeks to critique the approach to empowerment by the TEGINT project. This research thesis will argue that a distributional framework towards educational provision for girls does not necessarily link to achievement of empowerment for girls.

Chapter 3: Girls' educational outcomes in Tanzania and the TEGINT project

Tanzania's participation in the EFA and MDG initiatives beginning in the 1990s meant pursuing gender parity in primary and secondary schools, reducing the number of children out of school and increasing adult literacy rates (Woods, 2007, p. 20). These initiatives followed the failed Universal Primary Education (UPE) agenda undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s as part of a collective push towards poverty reduction and socioeconomic benefits associated with increased education (Wedgewood R. , 2007, p. 383). The failure of UPE, Wedgewood (2007) argues, can be attributed to a lack of provisions made to post-primary education and a massive drop in quality due to high teacher-pupil ratios (p. 385). The participation in the EFA and MDG initiatives provided Tanzania another opportunity to increase access to education, paying careful attention to gender parity and achieving gender equality. The participation in these global initiatives came with the added benefit of donor funding (Wedgewood R. , 2007, p. 383). The government of Tanzania also undertook educational development strategies in 1997 with the implementation of the Educational Sector Development Program (ESDP) (Woods, 2007, p. 5). This program had two sub-sectors that looked at the provision of both primary and secondary school (Woods, 2007).

The biggest indicators used to track educational progress according to the World Bank are the Gender Parity Index (GPI), Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) and Adult literacy rates. The GPI refers to the ratio of boys to girls in school, usually measured from 0-1, with 1 representing achievement of gender parity (World Bank). According to the UN, GER refers to a total enrolment in all levels of schooling, and is expressed as a ratio of the official school age population in a given year (UNSIAP). Adult literacy rates have been described by the World Bank as being a percentage of the population over the age of 15 who read and write with understanding in everyday life—this indicator also encompasses numeracy, which is the ability

to perform simple arithmetic (World Bank). Since the implementation of the EFA and MDG initiatives, Tanzania boast a GER of 84% in primary education as of 2013—however this is a decrease from the 97% GER achieved in 2008 (World Bank). There is little in the literature to explain the fluctuations in GER in Tanzania, however current trends show positive increases.

According to World Bank education statistics on Tanzania, there has been no problems achieving gender parity in primary schools, with a GPI index consistently close to 1 or just under it since 2000 (World Bank). However, the World Bank has no current nor past data on secondary school enrolment. This could be due to the immense push for primary education, with the global initiative of the MDGs failing to look past primary education. The MDGs place a lot of emphasis and funding on primary schooling, failing to create provisions for secondary school enrolment and access.   According to Woods' (2007) report on Education in Tanzania, since the implementation of the ESDP and participation in EFA and MDGs, there have been dramatic shifts in expenditure away from tertiary education and towards primary and secondary (p. 5). However most recent data show a decline in primary school funding, from 344 billion Tanzania shillings in 2008/09 to 314 billion in 2011/12 (TEGINTa, 2012, p. 8).

The current vision of education in Tanzania is one that seeks to reduce poverty and increase the country's competitiveness in the global economy (Woods, 2007, p. 9). In Tanzania, primary school is 7 years, followed by 4 years in lower secondary and finally 2 years in upper secondary provided they pass the necessary exams (Woods, 2007, p. 9; Bines & Woods, 2007). An UNESCO report looking at the differences in primary and secondary enrolment for boys and girls in 2008, demonstrates dramatic disparities. In 2008, Tanzania had almost equal primary school enrolment of girls and boys, with a 97% and 96% ratio respectively (UNESCO, 2012). However the numbers at the secondary school level show a marked decrease in enrolment of

girls in relation to boys, 24% to 31% respectively (UNESCO, 2012). Tanzania has one of the lowest secondary school enrolments in Sub-Saharan Africa, as of 2006 their gross enrolment rate was 25% whereas other countries in the region had 50-60% enrolment rates in secondary school (Woods, 2007, p. 9).

The GPI in Tanzania decreases significantly in both secondary and tertiary education—private and public universities (Morley et al., 2009). The quality of education in Tanzania also plays a determining whether students advance into secondary school. In order for students to attend secondary school, they write a national test at the end of primary school. Performance in these national examinations shows a significant difference between girls and boys; in 2007 the pass rates for boys was 62.5% compared to 45.4% for girls. In 2010, it had changed very little, with a 59% pass rate for boys and 48.3% for girls (TEGINTa, 2012, p. 8). Reasons for the marginal examination rates can be attributed to the quality of education in primary school. While there were increases in enrolments of primary education, no provisions were made about teacher-pupil ratios (Woods, 2007, p. 3). This has adverse effects on the quality of education, as was seen during the years of UPE in the 1970s and 1980s (Wedgewood R. , 2007).

However, while there are many configurations of inequalities that contribute to the lack of equal access to education, for example children with disabilities and/or children living in rural areas, a lot of these inequalities still intersect with gender. That is to say, the poorest girls are still going to school less than the poorest boys, and vice versa. According to data from the EFA Global Monitoring Report, as of 2014 the rural/urban divide is quite significant, with a 20% higher primary completion rate in urban areas as opposed to rural areas (UNESCO). However, despite the significant divide between rural and urban primary completion rates, there is no discernible difference along gender lines within those same categories. Where there does exist a

huge difference in the access for girls in relation to boys is in the enrolment rates for lower secondary education. In 2010, enrolment of girls into lower secondary education was 47% and boys were 54% (UNESCO). In the higher levels of lower secondary education, the disparity increases, with girls only making up 33% of the students (Woods, 2007, p. 14).

Despite the push to equal access to education and achieving gender equality, there still remain huge barriers to girls and women in education. In Tanzania, the percentage of women in tertiary education was only 32% as of 2008 (Morley et al., 2009, p. 58). This was despite the various government educational strategies, participation in global initiatives and affirmative action programs. The most likely group to attend university are still men from prominent socio-economic backgrounds (Morley et al., 2009, p. 59). What this shows is that the inequalities women and men face, especially in regards to education, is not simply one of access. Morley et al. (2009) argues that girls and boys in the same socio-economic situations do not have the same access to education.

Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) Project

The TEGINT program took place in northern Tanzania, and was funded by Comic Relief and Tubney Charitable Trust. The projected operated in six districts of northern Tanzania, working specifically in 57 schools (47 primary and 10 secondary); The districts were Arusha, Monduli, Moshi, Hai, Babati, and Mbulu (TEGINT, 2011; Heslop et al.,2010, Unterhalter et al., 2013). The project looked to combine aspects of community intervention, advocacy, and research as a way to bring about transformative change to girls education, whilst also following a distributional framework (Heslop et al., 2010, p. 3). Schools chosen to participate in the project varied in conditions; some schools were in rural areas, while other schools were in peri-urban and urban areas. The schools were chosen for the project on the basis of referral by local

education professionals   (Unterhalter et al., 2013). Given that the schools were in different districts, schools varied in schooling provision, funding, and teacher quality. In addition, individual schools operated within their own political and economic contexts (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 570). The districts in which these schools operated had varying degrees of wealth, access to piped water, and some districts like Babati and Mbulu, had a history of 50% of its population living under the poverty line. The districts all had a varying degree of different socio-economic indicators, especially in the case of educational enrolment, attainment and adult literacy rates in women.

The project was divided into baseline and end line research, with the hope of providing administrators and policy makers guidelines for how to approach girls education that could be transformative and empowering. The baseline research was to serve as assessment material from which the TEGINT project could analyze issues plaguing girls education and provide solutions to transform education and empower girls. The main aim of the baseline research was, therefore to collect qualitative and quantitative data on schools participating in the TEGINT project and determine local context related to inequality and disempowerment that girls were facing. Using this information, the aim of the TEGINT project was to work with "key groups within communities (for example, girls' clubs, community circles, school management committees) to build skills and confidence and support them to understand and demand their rights to education and challenge discrimination" (Heslop et al., 2010, p. 4). Central to baseline research was a series of surveys aimed at understanding what girls viewed as obstacles to their education, and solutions which could allow them to continue with their education. The data for the baseline study was collected in three waves: the first was a pilot collection of data in 2007 related to enrolment, attainment, and completion; the second was the main survey of various agents within

the school and community in 2008; and the last was additional collection of qualitative data in late 2009 (TEGINTa, 2011, p. 4).

The conceptual framework of the TEGINT project was one which aimed to combine aspects of WID, GAD and the capabilities and empowerment approach. From WID, the project identified the importance of distribution, viewing access as a fundamental first step in girls education. Another component of WID that was deemed useful was the use of statistical indicators like enrolment rates, completion rates, and teacher qualifications in order to get a clearer understanding of how the project was working. Aspects of GAD such as understanding how gender relations are produced and reproduced in the household, the school, and society were important in trying to create a project that understood the nuance of the constraints that prevented girls from accessing the rights to education. The capabilities approach was incorporated into the project through the importance placed on girls voices, that is, using their views of educational access or lack there of to inform approaches to education. The project also viewed the engagement of parents, teachers and school management committees as necessary to achieve transformative education. Therefore, the "agency, judgement and action of girls" (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 570) was the focus of the project, and was essential so that girls could have spaces and opportunities in which to recognize the obstacles to education but also allow for them to claim them.

Baseline Studies

The baseline study component to the project occurred from 2008 to 2010. In order to understand education provision in the six districts, research was done in the participating 57 schools. Data was collected by researchers from Tanzania, who worked with Maarifa ni Ufunguo, the partnered NGO of the project (Unterhalter, Inequality, capabilities and poverty in

four African countries: girls' voice, schooling, and strategies for institutional change , 2012).

Baseline research provided an opportunity to understand the current schooling situations and

how they related to girls perceptions of school, if and what obstacles they saw as coming in

between their education, and how to overcome them. The study looked specifically at 7 areas

related to overall goals of TEGINT in the participating schools:

> 1. What girls attending these schools say about their schooling, what obstacles they anticipate encountering and how they feel these can be overcome;
>
> 2. What the gender profiles in enrolment, attendance and progression in the schools in which the project is working are and how these may be similar or different to other schools in the district;
>
> 3. What insight these indicators suggest on girls' views relating to the support they receive with schooling;
>
> 4. Teacher conditions, notably class sizes, teacher qualifications, gender and teacher deployment, forms of training on gender and HIV and the extent to which teachers consider the schools in which they work support girls' education;
>
> 5. What payments schools' receive and how these relate to the school gender profiles and girls' views on their schooling;
>
> 6. The work of school committees, the training they have provided for their members and to parents, their approaches to addressing gender-based violence at school and how gender mainstreaming in management may or may not relate to gender profiles regarding girls' progression and attainment and girls' views on their schooling;
>
> 7. How gender, generation and processes for community connection bear on views about the obstacles girls confront in progressing their education and the forms of mobilisation that should be used to address this.
>
> (TEGINTa, 2011, p. 4)

Therefore, research was first concerned with gathering data related to socio-economic conditions

of each district, specifically those related with literacy, enrolment and student-teacher ratios. The

second component of the research surveyed girls, teachers, principals and community members.

Close attention was paid to girls articulation of obstacles and solutions as it was viewed as a

proxy for empowerment (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 270). Only girls in their final year of primary and secondary school were surveyed as it was thought they were better equipped to identify obstacles and solutions to their education. Over the 57 schools, 564 girls, 378 teachers, 56 head teachers, school management committees (SMCs), and 56 village heads were surveyed.

A key contributing factor in the implementation of TEGINT in Tanzania has been the acknowledgement that educational enrolment, participation, attainment and examination results are not uniform within the country. Tanzania has long a history of educational policies, the UPE policy in particular was one which was led to a steep decline in enrolment and was publicly viewed as providing poor education to children (Burke & Beegle, 2004; Wedgewood R. , 2007). Among differences in socio-economic conditions, public perception of education as being poor that contributes to differences in educational access and outcomes in Northern Tanzania (Burke & Beegle, 2004).

The difference between urban and rural areas in regards to educational access and quality education contribute to regional variations and negatively impact education for girls. Indicators show the Babati and Mbulu regions as having half of its population living in poverty, with a majority of the population being illiterate (Table 2). Table 1 highlights the different socio-economic condition in which TEGINT operated, illuminating the various circumstances in which girls hoped to achieve an education, and have it contribute meaningfully to their lives.

Table 1: Tanzania: selected socio-economic indicators for districts in which TEGINT is working.

	% Population below poverty line (2000/1)	% Literate people, 15+ years	% Households using piped or protected water source	%Literate females, 15+ years	Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)	Pupil-teacher ratios 2009
Arusha	12	94	99	93	39	42:1
Monduli	24	43	49	35	35	42:1

Moshi	28	89	75	85	40	36:1
Hai	22	86	68	83	44	36:1
Babati	50	70	56	64	59	52:1
Mbulu	49	67	24	62	69	52:1

Source: Derived from Unterhalter (2012, p. 314), TEGINTa (2011)

Central to the TEGINT project in Tanzania was the surveying of girls, thereby allowing them to articulate what they saw as the obstacles and solutions to educational access. Girls were asked open-ended questions as to what they considered to be preventing them from attending and completing school. The specific question asked to girls, in Kiswahili, was "What obstacles do you think will prevent you reaching the level of education you wish for?" (Unterhalter, Inequality, capabilities and poverty in four African countries: girls' voice, schooling, and strategies for institutional change , 2012, p. 316). Table 2 shows how girls across the six districts responded. While perception of obstacles is not uniform, the data does show that early marriage, poverty and pregnancy were amongst the most cited as barriers that prevented girls from being able to attend and complete school.

An interesting component of the data shows that girls coming from the districts with the lowest reported poverty, Arusha, Moshi and Monduli, cite poverty as the biggest barriers to their education. Moreover, 25% of girls in Arusha, whose mean distance from the school is 1km, view distance from school as contributing to their inability to attend school. On the other hand, girls from the district of Mbulu, in which 49% of its population live under the poverty line, cited ill health and pregnancy as the predominant barriers to education. However, only 6 and 7% of girls from Mbulu and Babati cited distance from school as obstacles, despite having to walk distances of up to 7km (Unterhalter, 2012).

Table 2: Tanzania: girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education (percentage of girls interviewed, by district).

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

Source: Derived from Unterhalter (2012, p. 316), TEGINTa (2011)

Table 3 shows how girls responded when asked about solutions to possible barriers from getting an education. Strategies related to political action, like the abolishment of fees and levies were less likely to be mentioned, instead girls viewed sponsorship as a means of being able to surpass issues of educational enrolment. The regional difference in the responses is also important, as girls from urban areas were more likely to cite it as a solution than girls from rural and poorer areas.

Table 3: Tanzania: girls' views on how to overcome obstacles to attaining their desired level of education (percentage of girls interviewed, by district).

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

Source: Derived from Unterhalter (2012, p. 318), TEGINTa (2011)

School Profiles

One of the ways in which the TEGINT project was able to analyze the nuance related to the provision of education itself and how it could be related to empowerment was through the creation of composite variables. These variables were a group data that allowed for researchers to easily identify measures related to certain objectives. For example, the Gender Profile score was used as a measure for parity and girls' outcomes in order to ascertain whether girls were being supported in their quest for education (Heslop et al., 2010). The indicators used to measure this variable were: enrolment, attendance, progression, repetition, attainment and completion (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 571). The Gender Management Profile score focused on school level activity in relation to how other actors within the school like teachers, principals, school management committees and village leaders responded to girls' education. In particular, it focused on what actions these actors took in promoting girls education. The gender management profile was measured by looking at:

> Provision of training and information for school management, teachers, parents and pupils on issues such as gender, HIV/AIDS, reproductive health and educational management; involvement with political campaigning; outreach activities to help the most disadvantaged and socially excluded families, monitoring gendered access, enrolment and teaching and the mobilisation of pupils and staff in order to promote community development (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 571)

The last composite variable used was the Teacher Qualification profile, which was a measure of the level of qualification teachers in each school possessed. More teachers with high qualifications led to higher teacher qualification profiles for the schools (Unterhalter et al., 2013). These three variables formed the basis for which TEGINT were able to evaluate pre-existing conditions of schools in regards to girls access and attainment of education, as well as serve to highlight future policy and practice in the projects aim to transform girl's education in Northern Tanzania. The two scholars who conducted the baseline research (Unterhalter et al.,

2013) state that the "three summary variables may thus be seen to look at aspects of the distributional question in a more multi-dimensional way than simple gender parity" (p. 571). Using these variables, analysis was conducted to see how a more nuanced distributional framework was able to contribute to and realize questions of girl's empowerment. No empowerment composite variable was created for the baseline research, but it was however present in the endline research. Empowerment throughout the baseline summary was often interchanged with capabilities, and central to its approach was placing importance to the voices of girls. Therefore, empowerment was presented as being the ability of girls to articulate the obstacles to education and being able to identify solutions (TEGINTc, 2011, p. 18; Unterhalter et al., 2013).

In order to analyze the relationship between projects concept of empowerment and distribution, a Pearson product-moment correlation test was used. Specifically, to test this relationship, girl's articulation of obstacles and solutions were tested against each other to determine "[sic] aspects if empowerment, with the gender profile score, that is gender parity in opportunities and outcomes at school" (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 571). The Pearson product-moment correlation is a statistical test used to determine a linear relationship between two variables and is denoted through a correlation co-efficient (r). The correlation-coefficient is the numerical representation of a line of best fit, which shows how a well any two variables appear to be correlated (Laerd statistics, 2016). In addition to a correlation co-efficient, a p-value was used to determine the statistical significance of the variables in a research study. P-values signify whether a null hypothesis of a research project can be rejected or accepted (du Prel, Hommel, Rohrig, & Blettner, 2009). The relationship between distribution and empowerment are shown in table in Table 4.

The correlation coefficient analyzes data from a range of -1 to +1, and depending on the value given, a positive, negative or no correlation status can be attributed to the relationship between two variables. A value greater than one denotes a positive relationship between the two variables, while a value of less than zero denotes a negative relationship. A value of zero denotes no association between the two variables (Laerd statistics, 2016). The statistical significant value (p) are correlations at a 95% confidence limit for the data in Table 4, and means that if a p-value is less than 0.05 than the result is significant and the null hypothesis can be rejected. While the TEGINT project research design had no initial aim to answer questions about the relationship between distribution and girl's empowerment, the data collected was used to test the correlation between the two variables.

Table 4 shows the correlation between distribution and empowerment in relation to the gender parity profile, which looks at how like girls are able to cite obstacles where there is less enrolment, attainment and completion of schools between girls and boys. There was found to be no uniform correlations between distribution and empowerment on the basis of the gender profile, however, there were general trends that were extracted from the data. Bolded values represent statistically significant data. The overall trend shows a negative correlation between empowerment and distribution, whereby girls are generally more likely to articulate obstacles in schools with low gender profile scores. Therefore in schools with lower indicators for girl`s enrolment, attainment and completion, girls were more willing to articulate and discuss what they thought were barriers to their education. Exactly what is meant by this data is unclear, though it generally points to the idea that increased enrolment, attainment and completion alone are not enough to enable processes of empowerment.

Further trends and/or relationships between empowerment and distribution could not be

determined from the data. Overall, they point to a negative correlation, however this was only for a select number of obstacles and the lack of uniformity made it difficult say with certainty how these relationships are linked in broader context of girl's education in Tanzania.

Table 4: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education and solutions to overcome these obstacles, by gender profile, Tanzania.

	Correlation coefficient (r);	Significance value (p)
Obstacles		
Early marriage	−.060	(.175)
Poverty	**−.178**	**(.000)**
Parents withdraw from school	**−.162**	**(.000)**
Old for class	−.055	(.221)
Lack of facilities	**−.272**	**(.000)**
Distance from school	−.100	(.250)
Ill health	**−.108**	**(.015)**
Pregnancy	−.004	(.926)
Solutions		
Sponsorship	**−.136**	**(.002)**
Provision of facilities	**−.217**	**(.000)**
Stop early marriage	−.084	(.058)
Abolish fees and levies	**−.170**	**(.000)**
Family life education	.036	(.417)
Enlightenment of parents	**−.105**	**(.019)**

Source: Derived from Unterhalter et al. (2013, p. 572), TEGINTa (2011)

Table 4 also highlights how the solutions to educational obstacles as conceptualized by the girls remain relatively apolitical in nature. That is to say, solutions did not demonstrate that girls conceptualized the obstacles to their education as being part of broader socio-economic and political structures. An understanding linked to how institutions work against their capabilities and agency would reflect solutions based in a change/ rearrangement of institutional structures that continually subordinate women and girls rights, therefore not allowing them to claim the rights of education. The sister project in Nigeria also presented unclear relationships between

distribution and empowerment in regards to the gender profile (Unterhalter et al., 2013, TEGINTb, 2011).

Other tests were done to see the correlation "between the proportion of girls citing particular obstacles and solutions to their completing schooling, with the gender management score, that is the range of actions that schools are taking in support of girls' education" (Unterhalter et al., 2013, p. 572). The results were also not statistically significant, except for two obstacles (Table 6). Given that the data suggests a rather weak correlation, conclusions between distribution and empowerment as related to the school management profile were difficult to make. While Tanzania did boast a higher school overall school management profiles than in Nigeria, the profiles only showed how active schools were in the promotion of girls education but the quality related to said actions were not inferred. Therefore, there could be differences in the quality and even understanding of how schools conceptualize girls rights and capabilities within local and broader socio-economic, cultural and political contexts (Unterhalter et al., 2013).

Table 5: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education and solutions to overcome these obstacles, by gender management profile, Tanzania.

	Correlation coefficient (r)	Significance value (p)
Obstacles		
Early marriage	.008	(.858)
Poverty	−.024	(.575)
Parents withdraw from school	**−.980**	**(.020)**
Old for class	−.070	(.096)
Lack of facilities	−.004	(.933)
Distance from school	**−.107**	**(.011)**
Ill health	−.016	(.697)
Pregnancy	−.050	(.239)
Solutions		
Sponsorship	−.038	(.373)

Provision of facilities	−.003	(.945)
Stop early marriage	.021	(.622)
Abolish fees and levies	.051	(.225)
Family life education	−.056	(.181)
Enlightenment of parents	−.040	(.341)

Source: Derived from Unterhalter et al. (2013, p. 572), TEGINTa (2011)

The relationship between girls empowerment and teachers qualification showed more clear results, demonstrating a positive correlation. While the data was not statistically significant across all items, trends showed that girls were better able to recognize obstacles and solutions in schools where better qualified teachers were present. In addition, schools with higher ratio of female teachers contributed to increased awareness of girls, although the reasons why are not clearly known (TEGINTa, 2011). Here, solutions closely related political understandings of what can be done to help girls have better access to education.

Table 6: Girls' views on the obstacles that will prevent them from achieving their desired level of education and solutions to overcome these obstacles, by teacher qualification profile, Tanzania.

	Correlation coefficient (*r*);	Significance value (*p*)
Obstacles		
Early marriage	.098	(.023)
Poverty	**.247**	**(.000)**
Parents withdraw from school	**.162**	**(.000)**
Old for class	**.113**	**(.008)**
Lack of facilities	.068	(.115)
Distance from school	**.166**	**(.000)**
Ill health	.046	(.289)
Pregnancy	**.127**	**(.003)**
Solutions		
Sponsorship	**.182**	**(.000)**
Provision of facilities	.067	(.116)
Stop early marriage	**.119**	**(.006)**
Abolish fees and levies	**.222**	**(.000)**
Family life education	**.197**	**(.000)**
Enlightenment of parents	**.184**	**(.000)**

Source: Derived from Unterhalter et al. (2013, p. 573), TEGINTa (2011)

After baseline research was concluded, the data gathered was used to inform TEGINT's policy intervention towards transformative education for girls. TEGINT used the following five approaches as interventions to promote better outcomes for girl's education within the participating schools:

> 1. Establishing girls' clubs to empower girls (and boys) with understanding about gender and education rights and provide girls with information, confidence and skills to challenge in-school and out-of-school obstacles to their schooling. Each club consists of 40 girls and 20 boys facilitated by two teachers (matron and patron);
>
> 2. In-school teacher training to over 1,300 teachers on HIV/AIDS, gender and participatory methodologies in the classroom to improve the quality of teaching and learning;
>
> 3. Capacity building for primary school management committees and community structures including traditional leaders groups, delivering training on education rights, gender, HIV/AIDS, budget tracking, and school governance to enhance parents, managers and community members' commitment to girls' education;
>
> 4. Promoting legal and policy frameworks for girls' education, engaging with local government officials on teacher qualifications, deployment and support, especially for female teachers in rural areas, and working with the national education organisations on policy issues;
>
> 5. Partner institutional capacity building, working with Maarifa ni Ufunguo to become a leading authority on education and gender.
>
> TEGINT (2012, p. 8)

Endline Studies

Endline research was conducted as part of the TEGINT project to analyze and examine changes in empowerment and girl's schooling outcomes following the baseline research and policy interventions. Endline research took place in 2012 was meant to determine whether the policy prescriptions of TEGINT had improved varying indicators related to girls' education and empowerment in Northern Tanzania. Given the focus on distributional frameworks, this section

focuses on data related to variables introduced in the baseline research, as well as data introduced in endline research that are related to empowerment. For TEGINT in particular, endline research was conducted to investigate changes or lack thereof for the following indicators:

1. Whether gender inequality in educational access had changed; did gender profiles in enrolment, attendance and attainment change?
2. Have girls empowerment processes changed; and what are the relationships between empowerment and distribution?
3. Teaching quality, looking at how girls experience and participation is tied to teacher conditions
4. School management profile, how the gender management profile has changed since the baseline and how this is related to the gender profile, girls' empowerment, teacher qualifications, teacher engagement and project interventions.

TEGINT (2012, p. 4, 5)

Unlike the baseline research, only 30 schools were selected for research in the endline studies; 23 primary schools and 7 secondary schools. In each district, at least three primary schools and one secondary school were sampled. Endline data was collected through interviews and surveys with 295 girls, 30 head teachers, 149 teachers, 24 school management committees and 91 community members. In addition, 29 girls' club facilitators and program officers from the local NGO, Maarifa ni Ufunguo were surveyed as part of the data collection process (TEGINTa, 2012, p. 6).

Table 7 looks at the difference in girls ability to cite obstacles and solutions in regards to their education for both baseline and endline studies. In the endline surveys, girls were found to cite one new obstacle (failure in final exam) and two new solutions (focus on studies, avoid early sex). Poverty was still viewed by many as being a huge barrier to educational access and outcomes, and in terms of solutions, the general consensus was that of sponsors and increased sponsorship. Many girls did also cite a greater focus on studies as being capable of circumventing obstacles to schooling, as well as necessary for educational success. Overall, there

were no significant differences in what girls saw and understood as being the obstacles that often impede their education. The presence of new solutions could suggest that girls were beginning to expand thought processes relating to the structures that constrain their ability to enrol, attend, and complete schooling and to be able to access resources and opportunities promised by education. However the data shows that were no significant differences in how girls conceptualized their subordination. The ability to recognize political structures as having big impacts on girls' educational aspects was used as a proxy for empowerment in this project. However, by the time of the endline studies, fewer girls viewed the abolishment of fees and levies as solutions to issues of unequal educational access and outcomes.

Table 7: Girls' perceptions of obstacles and solutions to achieving their desired level of education

	Baseline % who mentioned (N=564)	Endline % who mentioned (N=295)
Obstacles		
Early marriage	35	33
Poverty	61	58
Failure in final exam	Not categorized in baseline	**29**
Lack of facilities (including teachers)	31	22
Ill health	28	23
Pregnancy	54	41
Solutions		
Sponsorship	56	51
Provision of facilities	38	31
Stop early marriage	34	24
Abolish fees and levies	20	7
Family life education	40	15
Enlightenment of parents	42	31
Focus on studies	Not categorized in baseline	65
Avoid early sex	Not categorized in baseline	17

Source: Derived from TEGINTa (2012, p. 11)

A new feature of the endline studies was the presence of the empowerment index. However, while it cannot be compared to baseline because a composite variable did not exist those studies, the TEGINT empowerment index is the result of interventions by the project on schooling provision. The empowerment indicator was created as a way to track changes in girl's confidence and capacity. In addition, the empowerment indicator assesses how the TEGINT project interventions, school management profile and teacher qualifications lead to girl's empowerment (TEGINTa, 2012, p. 11). The empowerment index in this case is measured by considering the range of obstacles and solutions girls were able to cite, knowledge about HIV/AIDS, knowledge and understanding of gender equality, and how confident girls were in dealing with situations of gender based violence. Table 8 shows the mean empowerment index developed for endline research, and how its variation in the districts. Girls from the district of Arusha were seen as having obtained highest levels of empowerment, with girls from Moshi displaying the least. Girls attending school in urban contexts were considered to be more empowered than girls from rural schooling contexts. A value of 1 is meant to denote complete empowerment, although the study was not clear on what empowerment relating to a numerical value would look like.

Table 8: Girls' Empowerment Index

District	Mean Index of girls' empowerment
Arusha	0.665
Babati	0.624
Hai	0.643
Mbulu	0.683
Monduli	0.627
Moshi	0.613
Location of schools	
Rural	0.624
Urban	0.668
Primary	0.695
Secondary	0.766

Source: Derived from TEGINTa (2012, p. 13)

Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion

The TEGINT project presents a new approach to girls' education, wherein, the social, cultural, economic and political contexts are considered when promoting educational policy and practice. A focus on these allows for better understandings as to what constrains girls' access to education, but also what can prevent girls from attaining and completing education. A focus on the politics of the locale moves the approaches beyond simple policy prescriptions of access, quality teachers and instead analyzes the temporal and spatial conditions that work to marginalize women and girls in Tanzania. The project showed promise as a new way to tackle issues related to girl's education outcomes in Tanzania, which have been lower than their male counterparts despite both government and development agency interventions.

The project's focus on giving girls a medium in which to express their concerns about educational attainment and outcomes does well to illuminate questions about why girls in Tanzania have not benefitted from the various education policies implemented by the government. The projects' move to link quality teachers, school management committees and even community members as all being necessary to help girls succeed through school does differ from average parity projects as proxies for achieving gender equality. Linking girls' subordination to larger social, economic and political relationships and interactions allows the project the capacity to enact real meaningful change.

However, the TEGINT project did also raise questions about the use of education as being a pillar of enormous social change. While not explicit, the project showed that education cannot by itself promote transformative social behaviours and attitudes that allow girls the same access and outcomes as that of boys. Borrowing from Stromquist (2015) and several other scholars, education tends to be written about as some sort of almighty resource that determines

whether girls are empowered or not simply by having access to schooling. That is not to take away from the importance of education, and what it provides in possibilities, aspirations and capabilities. However, there needs to be greater focus on the conditions beyond lack of education that constrain girls' rights in the first place. This includes a need for education to be more connected to political, socio-cultural, and economic processes (Stromquist, 2015, p. 309). While not part of my research, a lot of the TEGINT prescriptions seemed focused on tackling everything and anything that they saw as contributing to girl's subordination, whether or not it was appropriate to pursue through schooling. There needs to be a push towards simultaneous changes in economic and political opportunities. Beyond that, while gender inequality is a cross cultural phenomenon, there needs to be a focus on the specific contexts in which marginalization occurs. Education in itself cannot tackle all these structures, some of them need to change in order for education to be a valuable tool in how girls engage and negotiate the injustices levelled against them.

A common theme in empowerment literature is the ambiguous nature of what it means, and what it entails. Unfortunately, the definition of empowerment throughout the TEGINT project was quite vague. Often exchanged with capabilities in the summary reports, it was clear that there was no clear cut conceptualization of what empowerment meant. Beyond issues of definition, the project also failed to specify how empowerment was being measured, and if so how was progress to be tracked? The most clear cut measurement of empowerment only surfaced in the endline research, but was completely missing from baseline studies. In the baseline studies, the project tried to assign more concrete outcomes of empowerment, such as increased self-confidence and most importantly, girls' ability to voice the obstacles and solutions to their education. Although the ability for girls to cite obstacles in solutions was a breakthrough, it

showed that girls understood that their educational outcomes were part of broader social processes; often what girls cited was limited to their milieu.

As a way to link notions of distribution to empowerment, correlational tests were conducted on the data for all three composite variables created by the study. A recurring theme in the empirical data has been weak to no statistically significant correlations between variables related to empowerment and distribution. In the case of the TEGINT project, girl's empowerment was conceptualized as the ability to recognize and identify obstacles and solutions to education. Girls' voices and ability to articulate opinions were viewed as proxies for empowerment. This approach to empowerment is not only one dimensional, but data related to this approach could not strongly link the two. The data overall showed that there was no straightforward relationship between a distributional framework and empowerment. Therefore, this approach to girl's education while important in expanding educational access fell short in achieving girls' empowerment. Moreover, the approach to girl's empowerment was highly problematic, only focusing on one aspect of empowerment that could be measured.

Unterhalter et al., (2013) states that despite allowing students to articulate what they view as constraints, this does not change the fact that their capabilities are defined by what they see and what surrounds them. Girls who lived in rural areas strife with poverty were less likely to identify political solutions to their obstacles, as opposed to girls in better schools with better resources. It goes to show that this framework of distribution and this operationalization of empowerment did not necessarily work as hoped. Rather, the same problems persisted where the issues of girl's education were understood and conceptualized taken out of the realm of socio-economic, political contexts that inform them. Girls issues were not understood within broader issues of gender based violence within and outside of the school. The TEGINT project

recognized issues of quality education, gender based violence's inside the schools and broader issues of inequality in society as playing a role in preventing girls from claiming the rights to education. However, despite that, the project still tried to link processes of empowerment and distribution, whilst only focusing on actions within the school. The project itself showed comprehensive understanding on the factors that limit girls in educational enrolment, attainment and completion. In regards to empowerment, the ways in which the project linked girls' education to processes of transformative change was weak.

The overall data showed that girls were less likely to cite political solutions (Table 5, 7) to what they saw as obstacles. Therefore, despite access to education and improved teacher quality, girls were not better at being able to obstacles related to broader institutional frameworks. The literature has shown that this conceptualization of women and girls inequalities is necessary in working towards more equitable outcomes for girls and boys. It highlights that distribution (parity) alone does not change inequalities or promote empowerment. Rather, the framework is good for expanding access but does little to account for the fact that issues of inequality persist beyond access (Unterhalter, 2005).

Research from the TEGINT baseline study also conducted surveys with community members. The surveys showed that overwhelmingly, issues of girls' educational access and inequality were viewed as issues attributed to and to be handled by private family arrangements. This means problems were conceptualized as not being part of broader socio-political policy within the public realm, but rather belonging to the private realm. How does one achieve transformative education when there is little change in public perceptions of girl's education? A distributional framework in this case does not transform education and provide empowerment but rather reproduces dominant ideas about gendered relations. This does not help girls in trying

to claim the rights of education.

On the basis of three TEGINT research findings, particularly, the weak statistical relationships between notions of empowerment and the composite variables, it seems there is not a strong enough link between educational expansion and empowerment. The use of the empowerment index in the endline studies was used as a measure to show that a distributional framework was a transformative approach to education, despite the debate against parity programs. However, it seemed paradoxical to assign an numerical indicator to show empowerment, when empowerment is not a product, and there is no absolute final state of empowerment, which a numerical value indicates. Beyond that, the index was to be a measure of all girls in one district, which again takes away from the spatial and temporal contexts in which empowerment processes occur. While scholars like Stromquist (2002) highlights the importance of individual and collective processes in empowerment, there are issues with assigning empowerment values to girls in every district, as if each girl experiences the processes of empowerment homogenously.

From both the literature and the TEGINT project, there is room to question how often education projects for girls often claim empowerment as a by-product of their interventions. The literature shows that empowerment is still quite contested amongst many scholars, and the way in which empowerment is claimed by some is opposite to the way it can be claimed by others. Purely going by TEGINTs own parameters, empowerment is not strongly linked to educational expansion, attainment and completion as a result from how weakly the indicators correlate to each other. In terms of their own empowerment index, it draws up several questions about how empowerment can be co-opted and measured from a scale of 0-1. Its measurement is similar to other indicators that the project used like GPI, which is used as a measure of parity. However,

given that the literature has yet to still find consensus on empowerment processes and what they entail, the measurements given by TEGINT are difficult to truly analyze for empowerment potential.

Beyond debates on what is and is not empowerment and whether TEGINT by other measures and definitions were able to link distribution and empowerment, are questions about educational approaches and expectations for girls. For a concept that is often contested, very difficult to measure given the nature of the processes involved, is empowerment even a useful approach to take with girls education? What empowerment espouses is important for women, development and general approaches to gender inequality. Empowerment leads us to ask about micro and macro considerations where it concerns inequalities and marginalization. Empowerment is great in trying to locate the spaces and structures that promote girls and women's subordination, which lead to fewer outcomes and access to resources. However, since empowerment is conceptualized as an ongoing process, one which is hard to measure, in terms of concrete development approaches, empowerment is often utilized without being able to substantiate such claims.

The TEGINT programs distributional framework can be argued to be a transformative approach to girls' education. The project really did take into account issues that constrain girls' education; it involved community members and opened dialogue about girls' inequality within the school and outside of it. It aimed to ameliorate issues of parity programs, whilst still trying to expand access. The project didn't need to create this notion of distribution and empowerment as being linked, as the data has shown that they are not.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Education is often lauded as a transformative tool through which women and girls can negotiate better rights and opportunities. Furthermore, education has been a popular development prescription to issues of women's marginalization and inequality. Issues of women's inequality in relation to men have often lead to worse access and outcomes where it concerns health, economic freedom and political representation. While gender inequality exists across all across the globe and in a variety of social and political contexts, it has been particularly damaging to the lives of girls and women in the global south. Therefore, the right to education was been taken up by several world agencies and organizations as a global initiative for the past few decades. This has been especially the case since the introduction and implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA) initiatives during the 1990s. These initiatives focused on eliminating the gender gaps in both primary and secondary education, as proxies for achieving gender equality.

In Tanzania, distributional frameworks for education have been present since the 1970s. However, this has not always translated to equal access to schooling attainment and outcomes. Despite having achieved gender parity in primary education, there persist issues of girl's enrolment, attainment, and completion. In addition, regional differences in education mean that some girls in Tanzania have outcomes way below the national average. However, despite the heavy criticisms on parity programs, some scholars insist that distributional frameworks to education can still work and can be linked to processes of empowerment for girls.

The Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania (TEGINT) project aimed to link notions of empowerment with distribution. It was seen as a new way to approach the highly criticised gender parity projects, whilst also tackling issues of gender inequality, capabilities and empowerment. Unterhalter et al., (2013) note that distribution and empowerment

are hard to keep in a dynamic relationship with one another. Throughout this paper, the focus has been to analyze how distribution and empowerment were framed as being linked by the TEGINT project, and whether there was substantial data to back such a claim.   Baseline data was shown not to have statistically significant positive correlation between empowerment and girls' enrolment, attainment and completion. Endline data provided an empowerment indicator, however questions were raised about the validity of operationalize the concept of empowerment into indicators having to do with girl's ability to articulate obstacles and solution.

Overall, there was found to be no strong links between pursuing distributional frameworks and empowerment. More research needs to be conducted on this relationship. However, the project did introduce new ideas about how to pursue parity projects whilst also taking into account the structural conditions that often prevent girls from receiving an education, and being able to benefit from the rights claimed by education.   However   notions   of empowerment were often presented as being one dimensional and not particularly relevant to the aims of the project.   The project highlights the often included notion of empowerment in many education projects, many times with very little explanation about how empowerment is defined, measured and attained.

This paper aimed to show that empowerment is not an intrinsic component to education policy or projects. In fact, attributing empowerment to projects tends to remove focus from broader structures that prevent women and girl's equal access and outcomes. Given the frequent nature in which empowerment is contested and defined, there needs to be closer inspection on educational policies and projects that claim empowerment. Inequalities have been shown to permeate many aspects of society, and empowerment is often presented as being capable of combatting these inequalities, especially through education. However, there are still no

conclusive links between the two. As such, more research between the two variables needs to be conducted.

Education is a powerful tool and one which girls in Tanzania and much of the global south have not had equal access to. A distributional framework is a great approach that allows for girls to have equal access, but often such a framework forgets that equal outcomes in capabilities and opportunities are not an intrinsic result of its approach to inequalities. Empowerment also does not link to such an approach to education, as has been shown in this paper and in the literature.

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