

Graduate School of Development Studies

**GENDERED PERSPECTIVES ON TEENAGE PREG-
NANT SCHOOL GIRLS: AN INTERSECTIONAL
ANALYSIS OF TANZANIA EDUCATION AND
TRAINING POLICY 1995**

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DEDICATION

BY THE GLORY OF GOD:

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved husband Dr. Thomas and my lovely children Kelvin and Careen for their prayers, fellowships, love and comforts throughout my studies.

The LORD is OUR shepherd; we shall never be in want.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AWD	Association for Women's Rights in Development
BEST	Basic Education Statistics of Tanzania
CAS	Current Awareness Services
CCIES	Continuum Complete Encyclopedia of Sexuality
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of a Child
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
EFA	Education for All
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalist
FemAct	Feminist Activism Coalition
HDCA	Human Development and Capability Association
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Network
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NNOC	National Network of Organizations Working with Children
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
STD	Standard
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women Association
TETP	Tanzania Education and Training Policy
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Program
NICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

1.1 Introduction

This research is concerned with the expulsion of pregnant school girls in Tanzania. The government of Tanzania has been applying the policy of expulsion of pregnant school girls as a way of disciplining girls and reducing pregnancy in school. Education is regularly seen in development as one of the main sources of female empowerment, as relevant for the betterment of individuals and nations, and is thus one of important Millennium Development Goals. Although the government of Tanzania has committed itself to several international agreements for provision of education as a basic right and for achieving Education for All, pregnant girls are still denied their rights to continue schooling.

The research perceives the act of expulsion of pregnant school girls as state violence against girls, violation of girls' human rights and rights to education. Expulsion from school is a catalyst of poverty and social exclusion that affects directly both the young mother and the expected baby. To support this argument this research will review rich feminist literature on gender, education and development, and use this literature as a guide in analyzing the underlying gender assumptions that inform Tanzanian state policy on pregnancy of school girls. Next to looking at the gender aspect of this policy, it will also look whether the intersectionality of gender with sexuality, poverty and socio-spatial location (i.e. rural/urban location) of girls is taken into account.

However, change of expulsion policy is not enough to bring social justice for pregnant school girls. The environment to which education is offered is problematic in terms of traditional and institutional ideologies that make re-entry of young mothers into the school difficult. Thus, the research is concerned not only with the fact that pregnant girl is denied the rights to education but also calls for the placement of specific support system through which pregnant girls could comfortably proceed with their education after giving birth.

Sexuality is especially relevant in this respect; it determines identities of pregnant girls. State defines girls' sexuality negatively, and tries to control it through expulsion policy. The state policy implies that expelling pregnant girls from school can be a warning for other girls not to have sexual relationships before completing schooling. Massaut (2004:4) claimed that "...the diversity of cultures, religions,

traditions and beliefs around the world influence how people defines sexuality for themselves". She further claim that sexuality has to be approached in positive ways rather than perceiving it as a problem. Such approach would help to talk openly among adolescents, enable recognition of the diversity of sexuality, diversity of needs and desires of adolescents and their sexual development while accepting adolescent girls as sexual beings.

This research argues that Tanzania schools have expelled pregnant girls on moral ground, in the belief that their pregnant condition disrupted other students. If expulsion policy gives a lesson to other pupils, then the dropout rate and rate of pregnancy should be lower for the years the policy has been implemented. But there is no evidence of reduced rates of pregnancy. Instead, the rates of pregnancy of school girls remain constant if not increasing. It also argue that recognition of sexual and reproductive rights of both boys and girls, and understanding that school girls' pregnancy is related to other social problems, such as poverty and location in rural or urban environment, with creation of enabling environment in which the rights can be realised, are all necessary for an effective policy.

This research calls for rethinking of policy assumptions which facilitates provision of effective opportunities for teenage pregnant girls to function for their betterment and the nation at large. The outcome of the research will be useful not only to the state but also to the schools and non-governmental organizations, for taking intersectionality of gender with sexuality, class and rural/urban location into consideration in their policies, plans and implementation strategies.

1.2 The relevance and justification of the research

In the last decade, much research focused on causes of girl's school dropout, implications and effects of teenage pregnancy on education and the relationships between education level and teenage pregnancy (Didana 2006; Durowede, 1995; Husain, 2001; Mulongo, 2006 Yashuang, 1995). The focus of these studies is relevant for the debate on gender equality in education. However, there is a gap in research on intersectionality of gender and other relations of power. To address the expulsion of teenage pregnant school girls in its broader context, it is necessary to look not only at girls but at the complex social conditions under which the girls get pregnant.

The main research questions are the following:

- i. To review the debates about gender and education in development, and analyze how they impact on the perceptions about teenage girls pregnancy.
- ii. To analyze underlying assumptions about pregnancy of school girls that inform Tanzanian education policy, and examine the presence/absence of intersectional perspectives of gender, sexuality, class, age and rural/urban location.
- iii. To inform the state on comprehensive intersectional perspectives in designing strategies and policies regarding teenage pregnant school girls.
- iv. To offer alternative perspectives and recommendations for rethinking the policies and to provide policy makers information that they may lack

The objectives of this research are:

Despite the diversity of perceptions from many relevant actors (the state, school, local community, family, religious organizations, civil society organizations, and pregnant girls themselves) that deal differently with teenage school girls' pregnancy, this research will focus only on the state's perspectives, as defined in its policy documents.

1.3 Research objectives and questions

The policy of expulsion of pregnant girls indicates the assumption that pregnancy and education can not go together, thus reflects gender injustice and violation of girls' right to education. This assumption is guided by the meaning attached to girls' sexuality as a problem that needs to be controlled. But pregnancy is related to other social relations of power such as sexuality, class, age and rural/urban location of girls and effects of pregnancy are also experienced through these social relationships. Therefore, if pregnant school girls are given more tailor-made institutional support which takes into account these multiple social relations, they can be more productive and able to improve their future and contribute to the self-development, national development and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

The research starts by situating teenage pregnancy socially, in Africa and Tanzania (chapter two), providing a broad overview of the problem to be analysed and the situation on ground. The main argument of the first chapter is that teenage pregnancy is not only a gender issues, but also an issue of sexuality, poverty, and ru-

1.5 The Research Structure

This research relies on secondary sources such as academic and civil society discussions on gender, development and education. Main focus of policy analysis in this research is one policy document: Education and Training Policy, adopted in 1995, applicable for the entire education and training sector, obtained from Tanzania Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. This policy document is the main Tanzanian education policy document, and thus is relevant in understanding state's conceptualization of school girls' pregnancy, and for understanding what guided state's decision of expulsion from school. The policy is implemented for both government and private schools in Tanzania. It is used by the government to improve provision of quality education in Tanzania with the objective of increasing enrolments, achieving equitable access as well as quality improvement. As one section of the document refers specifically to teenage girls' pregnancy, it is worthwhile to analyse the document due to the fact that the state is a prominent actor and duty bearer to ensure that girls get their rights to continue with school.

1.4 Data and Methodology

iii. What are the debates on teenage school girls' pregnancy in literature on development, education and gender, and in civil society, in Tanzania and Africa, and to what extent are these debates informed by intersectionality of gender?

ii. What assumptions about gender, age, class and rural/urban locations inform the policy? In other words: Does the policy document consider intersectionality in addressing the problem and offering solutions?

i. How the Tanzania Education and Training Policy 1995 perceives teenage pregnancy, in relation to girls' education, and what solutions are offered to the problem?

ral/urban location. Additionally, perspective of Tanzanian state on school girl pregnancy is briefly discussed. The perspectives of non-governmental organizations are also presented due to their role in advocating for girls rights to education. Chapter three introduces intersectionality as the main theoretical framework of the research. The subsequent chapter engages in feminist debates on gendered aspects of the relationship between development and education, with specific emphasis on education policies. Chapter Five to Seven focuses on the state as an institution impacted by gender and other relations of power, and goes into analysis of the Tanzania Education and Training Policy (1995) document and offers alternative perspectives and recommendations for rethinking the policy. The main arguments are revisited in the conclusion.

2.1 Situating the problem: teenage pregnancy and schooling

Most traditional societies perceive teenager pregnancy of unmarried girls as a strange phenomenon. Pregnancy is taken as identity which renders pregnant girls visible for punishment. In addition, pregnancy becomes a source of stigmatization and stereotyping (CCIES, 2004). The negative perception of pregnancy creates exclusion and stigmatization for teenage pregnant girls in schools, family, and community. Teenage pregnant school girls are deprived from enjoying their rights to education while conducive environment is not provided to facilitate their studies after delivery. It is difficult to hide pregnancy, thus a girl is a first person to be identified while a partner responsible for pregnancy remains free regardless of the law against him.

There is evidence of high teenage fertility rate in developed countries like the United States compared to Canada, England and Wales. The rate of abortion is stated to be also high in the US compared to other developed countries like Canada and England (Klein, 2005:2). However, the current research indicates the decrease of teenage pregnancy in these countries due to wide use of contraceptives and the media campaigns. It is estimated that nearly 14% million adolescent world wide give birth at the age of 14 and 15, each year. According to a UN report, "25% to 50% of these teenage girls are in third world countries while the highest percentage of pregnant teenagers is found in sub-Saharan Africa" (UNFPA, 2005:50). The report further explains that among pregnant teenage girls those aged 15 to 19 "from the poorest groups are three times more likely than their better off peers to give birth in adolescence, and have twice as many children" (UNFPA, 2005:50).

Most African countries have limited practice of mother-daughter interactions on matters related to sexuality, due to the meanings and perspectives attached to sexuality. If sexuality is approached with positive attitude it can be openly discussed, while approaching sexuality as a problem creates communication barriers between parents and young people and even among young people themselves. "In their communication about sex, mothers construct sex as being dangerous for young women, something that they don't want to hear about" (Lesch et al, 2005: 11). The consequences of not discussing sexuality lead to fear of children to dis-close their relationships even if there is evidence of the involvement in sexual ac-

activities. "These relationships lead to daughters being very alone with their sexuality and receiving little real support and guidance from their mothers" (Lesch et al, 2005:11). "In fact, while young people receive factual information regarding most aspects of their lives, sexuality is often left out" (Massaut, 2004:10)

Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest rates of teenage maternal mortality in the world and the highest rates of early marriage and early motherhood (CCIES, 2004:1016). "In many countries, girls who get pregnant, often as a result of unwanted encounters with teachers, or male pupils, are penalised by being forced to drop out of school (while the baby's father seldom face any kind of sanction)" (Unterhalter et al, 2005:48). "Pregnant girls are reportedly expelled from school in Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda and Zambia while the rule have been changed in Botswana, Guinea, Kenya, and Malawi" (Tomasevski, 2003 in Unterhalter et al 2005:51). Denied schooling can be both a cause and an effect of teenage pregnancy and childbearing. Specific interventions and investment are required to encourage girls to stay in school and delay motherhood until they are both emotionally and physically ready. "...[A]n abrupt end to the teen mothers education with no suitable alternatives or support system, places her at further risk of additional unplanned pregnancy" (UNICEF, 2003).

Tanzania media reports inform of girl children who become pregnant at the age of eleven and twelve (Majira, 2004:1, Uhuru, 2003:1 in CAS 2004). It is clear that girls at this age are highly in need of education for various reasons including acquiring knowledge and skills not only about their bodies and sexuality but also helping them to become powerful, active and responsible participants in development process. Available reports indicate the relationship between the level of education and the rate of teenage pregnancy. "Mothers with more education provide better nutrition to their children, have healthier children, are less fertile, and are more concerned that their children be educated" (World Bank 2005 in Unterhalter, 2007:44). Denial of the rights to education and lack of education programs suitable for teenage pregnant girls manifest multiple forms of exclusion.

Tanzania primary education takes seven years after pre-primary schooling, as universal and compulsory for all children from the age of 7. The primary school circle begins with standard one (STD I) entry, and ends with standard seven (STD VII). STD VII examination is a primary school leaving examination and it is used for selection of students to get into secondary school level (MOEVT, 2006:9). In

some cases children complete primary education at the age up to 16, because of late enrolment in STD 1.

Tanzania, through the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, has implemented Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) for 2002 – 2006 as strategies for achieving Education for All and Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The program has succeeded to increase enrolment by 33.1 percent and gender parity of 0.99 percent in primary school (MOEVT, 2006:23). However, teenage pregnancy has been an obstacle to completion of education for girls because pregnancy leads to expulsion of girls from school. The Tanzania Education Basic Statistics (2002 – 2006) indicate that 6.0% of school girls have been expelled due to pregnancy in 2006 (MOEVT, 2006:17).

Tanzania government is concerned with large number of girls expelled from school due to pregnancies and early marriages. The president of Tanzania in his recent media speech indicated the persistent high rate of teenage pregnancy in southern regions of Mtwara and Rukwa where about 400 and 200 girls respectively dropped out of school in 2006. He called for the arrest of people who made school-girls pregnant and urged parents and community leaders to ensure teenage girls completed school (IRIN, 2007). In reality it is difficult to identify and arrest boys responsible for school girls' pregnancy. Furthermore, some boys are under 18 years, thus protected by the Convention on the Rights of the Child which the country ratified.

However, punishing boys as suggested by Tanzania President could not be the solution to the problem of girls pregnancy, as the main concern is the way in which government defines school girls pregnancy and girls sexuality. There must be similar control mechanism for both boys and girls sexuality, and learning about safe sexual practices.

The policy of expulsion of pregnant school girls has been a public concern for years; however, the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) toward achieving Education for All raised debate on the issue since 2000. The period of the debate is linked with the implementation of international policies like Millennium Development Goals in 2000¹ and Dakar Declaration on Education for All (EFA) of 2000. These policies require governments to ensure that all boys and girls complete primary education and gender disparity is eliminated. The policies focus on

¹ MDG nr. 2 - Achieve Universal Primary Education; MDG nr. 3 - promote gender equality and empower women

gender equality and elimination of discrimination in education and ensuring equal opportunity for both girls and boys. The debate was initiated by civil societies, and was a challenge to the government for its act of denying pregnant girls an opportunity to complete their education after delivery. The debate focused on insisting that the government of Tanzania reintegrates teenage pregnant school girls after delivery, calling for review of policy on expulsion of pregnant school girls. "Regulation 2002 – GN 295 of 2002 – Cap. 66 stipulates the manner to remove any pupil from school found to be impregnated" (NNOC, 2005:38).

2.2 Gendered Intersections: Sexuality, Poverty, Rural/Urban Divides and Teenage Pregnancy

Assumptions about male and female sexuality and sexual violence are the factors in teenage pregnancy. Sexual relationships are created within the dominant gender norms and within the dominant power relations between boys and girls. Teenage girls being immature and not having enough social power to refuse sex, engage in sexual relationships without proper protection. Male sexuality is believed to be powerful and uncontrollable and men themselves think that their sexual desires are more important during sexual relationships. These are the meanings given to male sexuality which lead to ignoring any negative consequences of sexual relationships. Often society wants to control female's sexual desire, assuming that it comes only after marriage. In case of pregnancy before marriage the girl is held responsible. Studies indicate that the male partners expect girls to have knowledge about their sexuality including their safe days (CCIES, 2004:1017). Pregnancy is perceived by male partners as a girls' carelessness, yet power relations involved in sexual activities are ignored. Girls bargaining power - for example, whether to use contraceptives or not - is very low to the extent that it leads to unsafe sex which results in pregnancy and sometimes HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. The men responsible for pregnancy can be fellow students, older married man, and teachers where it becomes difficult to marry or support the girls at all (CCIES, 2004:1017).

Dominant norms towards sexuality demands girls to be virgin or not to have sexual relationships before marriage. Pregnancy becomes a proof that the girl has done something morally wrong to the extent of being rejected by the society. Furthermore, sexual violence and rape are high among factors contributing to teenage pregnancy in Tanzania. According to survey conducted in Mwanza, 33% of males

Advancement of technology such as the use of internet especially in urban areas is reported to be a good source of information on sexuality (Save the Children, 2004), though, poor girls have limited or no access to internet. Furthermore, very few schools have computers, let alone internet services. Sexual and reproductive health is a part of human rights. Inadequate information concerning reproductive health increases vulnerability of girls to pregnancy.

The Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (HDS) indicate that teenage pregnancy in rural areas is 29 per cent, while in urban areas 20 per cent (HDS, 2005). However, the survey data do not indicate the percentage of teenage pregnancy among primary school girls. More teen pregnant girls are found in Lake

Source: Compiled from Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey, 2006

Category	Men	Women	Difference	Men	Women	Difference
	Men	Women	Difference	Men	Women	Difference
Tanzania Total	7.3	1.3	6.0	2.4	1.9	0.5
Mainland Tanzania	7.5	1.3	6.2	2.4	1.9	0.5
Dar es Salaam	16.9	4.4	12.5	1.1	1.5	-0.4
Total Urban	15.2	3.5	11.7	1.3	1.1	0.2
Total Rural	5.2	0.7	4.5	2.8	2.2	0.6

Table 1: Percentage Male – Female variation in use of condoms and withdrawal in Tanzania

and 7% of females had sex at the age of 14 years, whereby 23% of the girls said they experienced forced sex (Todd et al, 2004).

Contraceptives and family planning as the name suggest are targeted for couples and its availability in rural areas is limited compared to the urban. Normatively, adolescents especially girls are not expected to use contraceptives until marriage regardless of the fact that adolescence is accompanied by increased sexual desire. Nevertheless, there is persistent power relation on the use of contraceptives as decision to use or not to use is normally made by men/boys. "Programmes geared towards prevention of teenage pregnancies are likely to fail if they do not take into account ideas and behaviours concerning gender relations, sexuality, and contraception" (Klein et al, 2005:2). The table below indicate the use of contraceptive in Tanzania. The data are not segregated by age.

The coastal region of Tanzania has high rate of dropout by pregnancy compared to Northern region. However, Dar es Salaam has lower rate compared to other coastal region because of availability of contraceptives in urban areas and access to abortion, although it is illegal. Thus, availability of contraceptives, especially if coupled with sex education in schools, and efforts to change men's/boy's and women's / girl's perceptions of female sexuality would be necessary steps towards reducing the teenage pregnancy, and school dropout. Regarding low rate of pregnancy in Kilimanjaro region, education awareness started earlier, compared to other areas of Tanzania. Missionaries were settled and build many schools and churches. Fear of God as it is advocated in religious ceremonies is among factors

ing 2002-2006

Source: Tanzania Basic Statistics in Education (BEST), Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

Region	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
Arusha	137	51	66	68	47	369
Kilimanjaro	30	12	13	16	18	89
Manyara	Not formed	108	104	81	90	383
Tanga	95	101	152	230	295	873
Total						1,714

Table 3: Drop-out by pregnancy in Northern Tanzania

tional Training 2002 - 2006

Source: Tanzania Basic Statistics in Education (BEST), Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

Region	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
Dar es Salaam	76	44	54	87	38	299
Lindi	182	150	206	169	292	999
Mtwara	275	227	358	415	533	1808
Pwani	166	135	121	174	188	784
Total						3,890

Table 2: Drop-out by pregnancy in Coastal Region of Tanzania

Zone and coastal region than in northern highlands. The relationship between teenage pregnancy and the rural/urban contexts is brought about by availability of information concerning reproductive health and sexual rights, strong norms attached to sexual matters and information concerning body and anatomy.

contributing to low pregnancy in Kilimanjaro region. In coastal region there is persistence of ritual ceremonies at the beginning of puberty, immediately after the first menstruation. The ceremonies take girls away from schools, while trainings offered include how to satisfy their husbands and encourage them to marry rather than attend school (Mbunda, 1991 in CCIES 2004).

Research also shows that poor girls engage in sexual relations for material benefits or in socialization process. Teenagers from wealthier families very rarely get pregnant compared to those from poor families (DHS, 2004). Poverty can lead to teenage pregnancy, and at the same pregnancy can be a contributing factor to poverty. Pregnant girls from rich background can also end up in poverty because of being denied support and thrown out of home by parents. "Teenage pregnancy is a response to poverty and an environment lacking in education and economic opportunities" (Stephen, 2004:31). Furthermore, recent study conducted by Forum for African Women Educationalist (FAWE) indicates that major contributing factor of school dropouts is poverty (FAWE: 2000:7). Thus research shows that the intersection of gender, sexuality, age, poverty and rurality leads to pregnancy for school girls, and that these social relationships of power have different consequences once girls get pregnant.

2.3 Social exclusion of teenage pregnant girls

It is easier for a pregnant school girl from well off families to lead normal life than her poor counterpart. In contrast, it is difficult for poor pregnant girl to find other sources of livelihood after delivery as a result of social exclusion. Kaijage et al (1996) argued that, poverty and inequality are relevant to explain social exclusion in Tanzania. People leaving in rural areas encounter social exclusion due to unequal access to the benefits of development (Kaijage et al, 1996:16). Poor pregnant girls are denied access to education because the school in its definition excludes and discriminate mothers and pregnant girls. They are deprived from employment opportunities because without higher education it is difficult to get decent jobs. And they are denied access to community resources such as land because of low bargaining power, and have no access to credit due to lack of collateral. Education is a key to reduce poverty because an educated girl has a better chance to compete in the labour market; it contributes to the autonomy of girls to make choices about arrangements within their families and acquire decision making

ing power (Unterhalter, 2007:44). Education empowers women to take part in development process and it is a key to break the cycle of poverty. Individual empowerment is essential for pregnant girls to make informed choices concerning her life, acquire self confidence and self esteem. Education creates capability for pregnant girls to function for self development and for their children. Dropping out of school perpetuate poverty because it reduces ability to function.

The above discussion shows that the approaches which strive to solve the problem of teenage school girls' pregnancy have to be gender sensitive. But this gender sensitivity has also to take into account how gender relations intersect with norms of sexuality, poverty, rural/urban differences of the girls based on class and age.

2.4 Perspectives on Teenage Pregnancy

The following section gives a brief outline of the perspectives on teenage pregnant school girls from state and non-governmental organization. These two actors are chosen due to their conflicting perspectives on expulsion of teenage pregnant school girls. The details of perspectives are explored in the subsequent chapters.

Tanzania government is yet to review education policy to allow pregnant girls to re-enter school after giving birth. Regulations from 2002 Government's Notice Number 295 says, "...any female student who gets pregnant while in school shall be expelled" (Daily news, 2003). Forum for African Women Educationalist (FAWE) reported that "Ministry of education officials are themselves highly conservative and reluctant to sponsor alternative education programs or outreach to facilitate re-entry of girls who have become pregnant in school" (FAWE, 2000:17). The implementation of Complementary Basic Education of Tanzania targets school age children who fail to complete education circle or due to some circumstances could not have access to education. Persistent of negative image for girls who get pregnant in school by society affect girls motivation to go back to school after delivery. It is not known how far and to what extent the program has accommodated teenage mothers due to hidden obstacles which are not taken care of by the program.

Additionally, FAWE reported that "Ghana, Botswana and Malawi are some of countries which have amended the policy to allow re-entry of pregnant girls, but for various reasons however, many ex-pregnant girls never return to school. Some of the reasons are lack of clarity of the policies and the systems are not supportive"

(FAWE, 2000: 19). Policy amendment by itself is not enough to solving the problem of education to pregnant school girls. Intersectional approaches are required.

As stated earlier, education is essential for the development of individual skills and increasing decision making power and participation in the development of the country. Education is a strategy in eliminating poverty and bringing social and economic transformation "Education is itself a basic capability, is the foundation which affect the development and expansion of other capabilities" (HDCA, 2005:6).

Tanzania is determined to achieve education for all and its principles of access, equity and equality of education for all children. Expulsion of pregnant school girls is contradictory to the commitment of the state on achieving education for all. This policy seems both unequal from the perspective of gender, and unfair from the perspective of other relevant differences between the girls, poverty being the crucial one. Wealthy families in urban locations, for example, may offer more opportunities to the expelled girls to re-build their life, than the situation in rural areas coupled with poverty.

Unlike Tanzanian government, Tanzanian non-governmental organizations advocate for equal education opportunities for both boys and girls based on human rights and gender equality perspectives. Tanzania NGOs' report to Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC) in 2003 states that "the government enacted and enforced the Education (imposition of penalties to persons who marry or impregnate school girls) Rule 2003 which provides for three years imprisonment. This rule was brought as a discriminatory remedy of expelling pregnant girls since previously it remained silent to the male impregnator. However this rule does not address the right of the girl to continue with her education after delivery" (NNOC, 2005:38). NGOs appealed for the review of education policy and re-entry of teenager pregnant girls to school. "Activists throughout the country have strongly advised the government to allow pregnant girls to continue education after giving birth in line with international convention which Tanzania has signed" (*The Express Newspaper*, 2004:7) However, perspectives differ from one NGO to another in terms of the definition of problem of pregnant school girls' dropout and their solution. The NGOs give different weights to gender, class, age, sexuality, rights, and education in their definition and solution to the problem. Still, many of the NGOs take into account these different relations of power and different contexts. For instance, pov-

erty is seen by many NGOs as a major contributing factor to teenage pregnancy. NGOs should expand the focus beyond amendment of the policy to empowerment of pregnant girls and change of negative perspectives toward pregnant girls by families, schools and general community. In this research, NGO perspectives will not be analyzed systematically; rather, it will use a selected number of NGO reports that have had the strongest position on expulsion, to criticize the state policies.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The previous discussion indicates that economic background, norms of sexuality, sexual violence, rural/urban and age distinction are relevant for the study of teenage pregnancy as much as gender relations of power and notions of femininity and masculinity. Therefore, intersectionality as analytical tool will be used to find out whether the state takes into account gender, sexuality, poverty/class, and age in its definition of teenage pregnant school girls and whether they are taken into consideration in finding the solutions. The research will situate the phenomenon of teenage pregnancy in the context of gender, sexuality, poverty, and rural/urban location as social relations of power that produce different forms of exclusion that are, in turn, relevant for designing policies on teenage pregnancy and schooling.

Intersectionality is integral approach that identifies and analyzes multiple forms of discrimination (Collins, 1998). It forms a broad perspective from which the research problem is approached. Intersectionality as analytical tool helps to analyze policies and it is a tool for policy development and advocacy in understanding ways in which various sets of identities impact on access to privileges, rights and opportunities.

This research chooses to focus on how state defines teenage pregnant school girls and solutions it offers. Teenage school girl pregnancy is situated in the field of education and educational rights, where education is seen as one of the significant elements within the larger field of development. The purpose of research is to find out how are intersections of gender, sexuality, poverty/class, rurality and age incorporated in the state's definitions of teenage school girl pregnancy, and in the solutions to the problem.

In this respect, two authors are especially relevant: Leach (2006) and Unterhalter (2007). Research done by Leach (2006) revealed that economic, cultural, institutional and school factors contribute to girls dropout. She further elaborates that the distance from school places girl children at a risk of rape and sexual abuse, and that domestic violence and early marriage contribute to teenage pregnancy. Had the states considered these intersectional factors and discrimination hidden in social institution such as family and school, expulsion of pregnant girls from school would not have been the policy outcome. The narrow definition that led to the ex-

pulsion policy considers pregnancy as a moral issue, and a form of disability which hinders pregnant girls from being accommodated in school.

Leach states that research on gender equality in schooling mostly focuses on equality of opportunity, equality of treatment in teaching and learning and processes of schooling (Leach, 2005). Unterhalter argues: "Education is a form of capability because it enhances the opportunities of all to choose what they wish to do or to be" (Unterhalter, 2007:79). Without addressing the problem of teenage pregnancy in education, gender equality and parity will never be achieved. Gender equality means fairness in treatment of women and men according to respective needs in term of rights, benefits and obligations (Leach, 2005:47). Gender parity means that the same proportion of girls and boys enter and complete schooling (Unterhalter, 2007:2). Expulsion of pregnant school girls is against efforts to achieve gender equality and gender parity.

An understanding of gender equality beyond simple access of girls to education is relevant to this research. It is calling for more focus on retention rather than only enrolment as a measure of gender equality. Addressing specific gendered constraints such as poverty and sexuality, for example, and application of creativity in formulation of fair and just enabling environment for both sexes, in their diverse circumstances, is important.

3.2 Feminist theorizing of intersectionality

Intersectionality became a part of the feminist scholar's debate in 1980s and 90s as a need to expand gender analysis, and later gender-race-class analysis, to include intersections of ethnicity, sexuality and nationalism (Yuval Davis, 1992 in Marx-Ferrete et al, 1999:64). Feminist theorizing of intersectionality have made the interlinking of a range of social categories such as race, ethnicity, class, disability, age, sexuality and gender, the core of analysis currently expanding fast within the feminist scholarship. "The term [intersectionality] was first introduced by Kimberley Crenshaw in 1989, as intervention to traditional 'identity politics'. Nevertheless, the genealogy of intersectional thinking has a much longer history within feminist traditions" (Thorgerdur, 2007:2). Major concern was the intersection of race and gender on women of colour in the United States and on the intersection of gender and class, the Marxist feminist perspectives.

Crenshaw identified two varieties of intersectionality named structural and political intersectionality. "The former occur when inequalities and their intersection-ality indicates how inequalities and their intersection are relevant to political strategies" (Verloo, 2006 in Thorgerdur, 2007:23). The policy of expulsion of pregnant school girls takes the form of structural intersectionality since it is relevant to the lived experiences of pregnant girls and community and requires structural change to be addressed.

Intersectionality is defined differently by different scholars, with a shared assumption that it recognizes the system of interwoven discriminations which lead to multiple impacts on both men and women as two distinct groups, as well as within each group, as they encounter different forms of discrimination based on their gender, class, age, sexuality and other relevant social relations. "Intersectionality is analytical tool for studying, understanding, and responding to the way in which gender intersect with other identities and how these intersection contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege" (AWTD, 2004:1). It is wise to say that all school girls are subjected to discrimination, but pregnancy becomes additional factor which determines individual social position in relation to other forms of discrimination. "Intersectionality can be used to analyze changes, variations and processes with main focus on minority cultures or marginalised, the troublesome and the extraordinary. It is basically on normalization, to find out what and how the 'normal' is constructed as the faultless centre" (Knudsen, 2003:73).

Pregnant school girls of different age, class and sexual orientation encounter different forms of discrimination even if are seen as one social group. Intersection-ality pays attention on the relationships between social groupings and individuality. It is associated with power within and power between different groups (Mc Call, 2005: 11). According to Foucauldian theory, power is not always suppressive it can also be positive and productive (Knudsen, 2003:66). Rather than viewing exclusion barely as a matter of suppression, exclusion involves discourses of opposition and productive power with negotiation about the meaning of gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity and so on. Sawicki, (1991:17) calls for struggle over the many differences resulted from power differences and diversity.

Intersectionality is also used in human rights perspectives. As education is approached in this research as a right, this is an important aspect to address. Enjoyment of human rights is universal to all individuals and the differences in the con-

² Race plays different role in different parts of Africa. In South Africa, for example, it is a very dominant factor, with a legacy of racism and apartheid. In Zimbabwe race comes with class, due to poverty of African farmers compared to white owners of land. In Tanzania race is less prominent, while class (poverty), age, sexuality and disability are significant (Sender, 1991).

text of their lives do not limit this entitlement. Emphasis is placed in consideration of men and women in all diversity in order to achieve social justice and human rights for all. "If the human rights of any are left unprotected – if we are willing to sacrifice the rights of any group, the human rights of all are undermined" (Bunch, 2001:111). Bunch argued that majority of women all over the world experience intersecting forms of discrimination based on gender, race and class.

In most parts of Africa, next to gender, class and race, major categories include sexuality and age. While race is important², I criticize Bunch for universalizing race as a core of intersectionality. It is true that intersection of gender and other factors lead to multiple forms of discrimination, but race should not be placed at the core of intersectionality because there are places where racism is not the central aspect of discrimination. In fact, intersectionality is socially constructed and culturally specific because people from different localities encounter different forms of discrimination and subordination, be it gender, class or – often forgotten but for Africa especially significant - age. In defining intersectionality it is important to focus on context and respect differences based on location.

Looking at pregnant school girls from an intersectional human rights perspective there is a need to challenge the system of power, structure and privileges based on their differences. "The concept of diversity and intersectionality inspire us to examine how identity can influence the position of individual to be placed in the periphery or in the centre of power relations" (Bunch, 2001:112). For instance, As a 'troublesome group' which does not fit in school ground (Staunæs, 2003 in Knudsen, 2003:62).

Intersectionality points to the process of becoming the 'other' in a normative setting. 'Otherness' perpetuates the positioning of individuals in places where access to rights and opportunities is limited and are regarded as troubling the normal. Pregnant school girls are expelled from school because they are regarded as 'other' or troublesome, they do fit to be in the same class with other students who are 'normal'. If in addition they are poor, and from rural background, their 'otherness',

analyze realities of pregnant girls from different social background: rich and poor, categorical approach it can yield many groups of analysis. In this manner, we can

lysed it can have only two comparison groups: boys and girls. However, using single social group, single category or both" (Knudsen, 2003:66). If gender is analysed within and across analytical categories and not on complexity within "Categorical approaches focus on the complexity of relationships among multiple quantitative method of analysis while the other two build on qualitative analysis.

Inter-categorical approach, also called 'categorical approach', is based on

specific social location within which marginalization occurs

can be seen as a neglected group and the school and the community may be seen as social location" (Knudsen, 2003:66). In relation to the research, poor pregnant girls of sexism and racism. Intra-categorical approach employs qualitative analysis of

tion. For example "violence upon women of colour can be a result of intersection identities and may focus on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection The intra-categorical complexity focuses on examining crossing categories and

place pregnant school girls out of 'normal' class.

and being pregnant she is discriminated because of her sexuality. These identities criminalized because of class, being teenager, she is discriminated because of her age mal'. Being a girl she is discriminated because of gender, being poor, she is discriminated of pregnant girls from the class defines the class without them as 'normal' and knowledge as means of exclusion and inclusion. In a similar manner, being gender, sexuality, ethnicity, disability and so forth. This approach analyses construction and destabilization of binaries like woman/men, black/white etc and tradition where intersectionality is reflected in transverse perspective, calls for deconstruction The anti-categorical approach is linked to post-structuralism and deconstruction

complexity (Knudsen, 2003:65).

social complexity: anti-categorical, the intra-categorical and inter-categorical are three approaches to (uses of) intersectionality, each addressing specific kind of modalities of social relations and subject formation. According to Knudsen there Intersectionality is understood as the relationship among multiple dimensions and

3.3 Complex nature of intersectionality

and thus their discrimination, is even more pronounced, and the consequences of their pregnancy even more dramatic.

rural and urban, younger and older, with knowledge on body and sexuality and without it.

The concept of intersectionality is useful in making indivisibility work in practice because it speaks to interconnections and their consequences in real life terms. In working of human rights mechanisms feminists insists on collection of disaggregated data by sex. "We need data that show how women's situations are often different from those of men. However, from an intersectional perspective, we need more than this. We need data that is disaggregated in multiple factors and tell us the difference in the situation between women's groups, between and among women and men of particular class, race or age" (Bunch, 2001:14). By so doing we will be able to describe diverse women's realities more effectively and to show the consequences of multiple forms of discrimination.

In Tanzanian context, intersectionality is rarely recognized in addressing teenage pregnancy. Furthermore, the term intersectionality is somewhat new in literature concerning discrimination of women and girls though poverty has been central concern in affecting girl's education. Gender, class, sexuality and rurality are becoming more visible analytical categories in today's Tanzania efforts to tackle discrimination, especially among the NGOs. From intersectionality perspectives, 'additive intersectionality' is often used in Tanzania whereby different aspect of abuses and discriminations are recognized, but treated as distinct and separate. With additive intersectionality, the variations between the categories are rarely discussed (Knudsen, 2001:63). For instance, teenage pregnant schoolgirl is expelled from schooling because of her engagement in sexual activities while schooling. No matter that certain social situation forced her to get into sexual activities, whether it is in rural areas or urban, and in whatever age.

The problem of additive perspective is that any category may be regarded as the most significant and the other ones are marginalized, or sometimes specific categories are valued more in the hierarchy. In addressing teenage pregnancy in education in Tanzania, gender is placed high in the hierarchy of policies and regulations guiding education systems. But policies have to focus not only on intersection among the categories but also on the intra-section among them. It is important to be aware of intra-section - the way categories intertwine and transform each other. This is denoted as 'transverse intersectionality' where the categories overlap and create transversal perspective. Transversal intersectionality means integrating separate categories that overlap and create transversal perspective (Knudsen, 2001).

As I will argue later, Tanzanian state policy of expulsion of pregnant school girls overlooked intersectionality, and especially the sexuality and issues of sexual desire. Different forms of sexuality are excluded from education curriculum and text books. There are no other forms of families encouraged, apart from nuclear family and heterosexual relationships. This fact leads to the perception of pregnant school girls as troublesome because there is a possibility of becoming single parent which is deviation from normative culture.³

³ Foucault expressed the ways other sexualities than heterosexuality are excluded from the language and marginalized in literature. Tanzanian school curricula only focus on heterosexual relationships.

4.1 Gender, Education and Development

This chapter discusses the link between education and development, and its effects on teenage pregnant school girl, as present in feminist literature. The role of education in development is directly linked to economic benefits in terms of increasing employment chances, increase productivity and earning power because of skills gained (Herbert, 2007). In both developing and developed countries people with high education level earn more wage than their counterpart. Education can contribute to promote and sustain development, in turn to enhance quality of life. This is apparent effect of schooling on development. If education determines earnings, it is necessary to educate both boys and girls, and expulsion of pregnant girls from schooling could not be the solution to the problem. Education seems to continue to focus on girls and young mothers rather than a more inclusive approach that understand the social construction of femininity in relation to sexuality and sexual relationships, and boys are left out in the agenda concerning pregnant school girls (Skelton, 2006:121).

Beneyee et al (2006:274) claim that "Girls education has relationship with fertility decline and reduced mortality rate. It is argued that girl's education reduces her desired family size, changes the relationship between her desired numbers of births, and improves her ability to achieve her desired family size". An individual denied education is likely to encounter three problems manifested by exclusion, namely poverty, unemployment and vulnerability. "Poverty is exclusion from the economic development process, unemployment implies an exclusion from economy and vulnerability is a product of exclusion from safety nets and social security systems" (Abdi et al, 2006:23).

Education and development as expressed in Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education for All (EFA) advocate gender equality and social justice. These goals insist on increasing enrolment and retention for both boys and girls. Despite these efforts millions of children especially girls still remain out of school (Unterhalter, 2006:6). The poorest population are still denied education, and gender relation are in the core of this intersection. "Gender has been implicated in form of exclusion and discrimination which have denied millions of children access to school, regular attendance, condition to learn appropriately or progress beyond few

years of instruction" (Unterhalter, 2006:6). Poverty is a major factor in the denial of schooling to girls, followed by pregnancy (Unterhalter, 2006:7). "Gender social relations inside and outside school make access and progress difficult for large number of children, but the effect weigh especially heavily on girls" (Unterhalter, 2006:9).

Unterhalter (2007) is calling for an understanding of gender equality in education in terms of rights and capability. Global social justice entails interventions by the governments, multinational organizations and aid agencies to address the requirement for schooling for the third world countries. Unterhalter (2007:154) claims that there are three approaches to global social justice. Interventionist approach spotlights on enrolment of girls in school while overlooking the gendered processes of learning and social condition of gendered inequality in the states. The second approach concern the ways in which gendered power relations structure social relations and institutions, and is concerned with changing the values within institutions. The third approach is concerned with changing social condition while responding to demands of equality, differences and diversity, and links rights and capabilities. Within this approach, there is a dialogue and criticism beyond the institutions responsible for delivering social justice.

Additionally, Sen claim that "In attaining social justice it is necessary to judge individual in term of capabilities that a person has, that is, the substantive freedom he or she enjoy to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value" (Sen, 1999:87). Education provide individual with capabilities to claim social justice. Unterhalter concludes that there is no single approach that can by itself bring about gender equality and justice in education. "...all [three approaches] need to be mobilized in tandem if goals for gender equality and education are to be realized" (Unterhalter, 2007:156).

Unterhalter et al, (2005) discussed the relationships between gender, education and development by arguing that formal education is promoting hegemonic economic development model. In areas where girls and boys have equal access to formal education there are still obstacles creating inequalities among them. Early marriages, household duties and cultural and historical contexts perpetuate discrimination in school. The perception that girls are expected to get married and work in the household make education to be viewed as having few benefits (Herward et al, 1999:90). "The expectations that girls will eventually marry and become house wives means what they learn at home is considered by mothers to be as more

important than what they learn at school... Formal education is, therefore, sometimes not perceived as appropriate for girls and is consequently not valued" (Rose et al in Heward et al, 1999:91).

In the number of countries in Africa, girls may appear to be privileged over boys in certain features of the education system, due to many initiatives targeting girls. These initiatives are based on the assumption that access to education is the key to the social and economic well being of a girl. However, "Measures of access is insufficient in accessing equality of opportunity... Discovering and redressing inequalities of opportunities require considering outcome as well as starting points" (Skelton et al, 2006:421). It is impossible to know whether the opportunity has been equal and just without taking under consideration the outcomes. In some cases, although fewer girls may be enrolled they are more likely than boys to complete primary schooling and to remain in school until the end of the secondary phase (Unterhalter in Heward et al, 1999:51).

Over the years, the donor community, and the World Bank in particular, have been criticized for their failure to extend their analysis of education to include broader social issues and constraints, particularly in understanding the girls' education (Heward, 1999:115). "By focusing heavily on increasing access, the World Bank approach to girls' education overlooks the constraints underlying social structures. As a result, those structures remain unchallenged and unchanged" (Ibid, 1999:115).

UNICEF estimates that across all developing countries the gender gap in education is 10 percent (UNICEF 2003). In sub Saharan Africa, 54 per cent of all girls do not even complete primary education, and only 17 percent go on to secondary education. The persistent gender gap is an indication that gender parity and gender equality is yet to be achieved. "... equality entails the removal of deeply embedded obstacles and structures of power and exclusion, such as discriminatory laws, customs and practices and institutional processes all of which undermine opportunities and outcomes in education" (Unterhalter, 2005). Majority of students who enter the first grades do not complete the period of compulsory schooling, which is usually six years period (Skelton, 2006:315). "There is significant differences in access to, participation in, and return to education depending on social class, ethnicity, geography, gender and urban rural differences of education opportunities and outcomes" (Ibid:315).

4.2 Gender, Education and Development: Bringing in Intersectionality

Gender is not the only relevant aspect of education and development. Poverty limits education access to some groups due to lack of money to meet school expenses, even in countries like Malawi, Tanzania and Uganda which have forms of free education for primary schooling (FAWE, 2000). Furthermore, lack of access to education perpetuates poverty and exclusion. "Poverty involves deprivation of crucial assets and capabilities, the unbearable effect of which is hardly temporary" (Benerjee, 2006:233). Sen (1999), defined poverty in term of capability rather than lack of income and education is a capability for getting out of poverty. "... [P]overty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely a lowness of income, which is the standard criteria for identification of poverty" (Sen, 1999:87). Income is a means to capabilities and the development of capabilities leads to increased ability to be more productive and get higher income (Sen, 1999:90).

In additional, Benerjee, (2006:234) claim that poverty can be viewed as failure to acquire a basic minimum set of capabilities that exclude people from participating in social and economic activities in some 'normal' manner on par with the rest of society. Education is identified to be one of these capabilities and is a precondition for participating in labour and credit market, and functioning as a social and political citizen (Benerjee, 2006:234)

Walker (2005:2) further argued that, "Education is it self a basic capability; it is the foundation which affect the development and expansion of other capabilities, such as having good health". He criticized Sen's capability approach by overlooking the situation in which education as offered in schools reduces chances of gaining required capabilities to some groups of people. "A deep sense of failure or experiences of harassment at school can seriously reduce chances of future education agency and freedom" (Walker, 2005:2).

Walker (2005) is criticizing Sen (1999) for not taking care of functioning, as capability and functioning go together. "Functioning is beings and doings that learner value" (Walker, 2005:2). For example, take two girls who are expelled from school because of pregnancy. If we evaluate only functioning, their achievement looks the same. However, one student can be from poor background, living in rural area, while the second student can be from rich family and living in urban area. The first student has limited opportunities and choices because the condition is not con-

ductive for her to continue schooling with the responsibilities of taking care of the baby, while the second student may have opportunities and variety of choices. The Centre for Reproductive Rights (2003) reports that Tanzania has ratified various human rights instruments, including The Convention on the Rights of Child, within which early marriage is unacceptable and is not encouraged. However, the Marriage Act 1971 which administer marriages in Tanzania states that "The minimum age of marriage is 18 for males and 15 for girls" (Ibid:123). In Tanzania's criminal laws this age is even lower: 12 years. Section 138 of the Penal Code provides that any person who has or attempted to have "carnal knowledge" of the girl, with or without her consent, before she has attained the age of 12 years is guilty of misdemeanor punishable by five years imprisonment (Ibid:126). The family planning guidelines state that all males and females of reproductive age, including adolescents, are entitled to family planning information, education and services. In addition, the guidelines provide that adolescents are entitled to counselling on family planning information and that those who are sexually active are to be counselled on access to birth control methods which are suitable for them (Centre for Reproductive Rights, 2003:125). However, girls and adolescents have only superficial knowledge about sexuality and contraceptives whereby the most familiar is condom. Research indicates that men and boys refuse to use condom claiming to have allergy or limited pleasure. Due to gender power imbalance, girls fail to enforce the use of condoms because of fear to loose the partner or financial support from men (Rasch, 2000).

Thus, in these discussions, education is understood not only as a human right but also as contributor of personal and national development, through the development of knowledge and skills societies and persons are deemed to need. Denial of education opportunities is violation of human rights. Furthermore, "Education play crucial role in teaching young people about their rights to information, to services and political representation, their rights to a 'voice' and to accountable government" (Leach, 2003:4). No education system should tolerate discrimination or inequality of any sort, as this is a very antithesis of 'education', its purpose being to release the potential to every human being. Clearly, gender is not the only source of discrimination, but also class, age, race, sexuality, and disability. And as long as they all are not taken into account, education cannot be realized, either as a right, or as a contribution to personal empowerment or national development.

5.1 The state as gendered institution, and its duties

It is the duty of the state to ensure that gendered dimensions of rights to education, namely: availability, adaptability, and accessibility of the school (Wilson, 2003:12), are included in its policies. Regarding availability, it becomes a violation of education rights if state fails to ensure establishment of schools and compulsory education for all school age children. Accessibility encompasses elimination of obstacles to education such as school fees, in order to enable all children no matter how poor to complete primary school. Acceptability encompasses aspects such as abuse which takes place in school including sexual abuse and physical violence against girls (Tomasevski, 2003:51). Adaptability is basically promotion of human rights and abiding on the best interest of the child. Tanzania through Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) succeeded to some extent to achieve accessibility and availability while adaptability and acceptability are not yet achieved because of violation of pregnant school girls rights to education. The state ratifies and signs different treaties in favour of its people. To mention few, Tanzania has ratified 2000 Dakar Framework for Action, Jomtien 1991 and human rights conventions including Universal Declaration of Human Rights, CEDAW and UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, as far as education is concerned most school children as well as teachers have never heard of many international human rights treaties that lay down the rights to education (Tomasevski, 2003:1). Swanepoel, (1997:37) claim that "There is a gap between policy formulation and policy implementation that renders most efforts to develop policy useless". The policy formulated by state require pregnant girls to be expelled, and schools implement the policy even if they are not happy with it. International policies are made to protect human rights and countries sign and ratify the treaties sometimes without implementing those rights to its people. Rights to information, rights to education and human rights in general are advocated in national and international policies, while there is persistent information gap in matters related to reproductive and sexual rights.

Government is a catalyst for social transformation including legal and regulatory policies. Passing laws that support gender equality, however, still does not guarantee the enforcement of the laws. Establishing gender equality in rights and

using regulatory policies to address specific areas of gender inequality are critical roles for the state (WB, 2001:142). According to World Bank Report (1997), one among fundamental tasks of the state is to maintain non discriminatory policy environment and protect vulnerable people (WB report, 1997:4). Thus the state is required to protect rights of pregnant school girls in the same ways like other non pregnant pupils.

Brown et al (1995) in the book *The Struggle for Accountability* alleged the state to be masculine due to the power and privilege constitutive of gender within an order of male dominance. "[T]he masculinity of the state refers to those features of the state that signify, enact, sustain and represent masculine power as a form of dominance" (Brown et al, 1995:167). The persistence of male power and dominance in public is generally indication of the gendered nature of the state (Brown et al, 1995:173). State controls the society whereby there is marginalization and subordination of some groups or individuals. "The powerful are discursively normalized, naturalized, while the dominated appears as mutants, disabled" (Brown et al, 1995:167).

Violence and abuse against women is one of the manifestations of gendered power imbalance inherent within patriarchy relations (Kandirikivira, 2002:127). Leach et al, (2003) identified two categories of gender violence in school which state has to take into consideration in its education policy. The first is explicit gender (sexual) violence which entail sexual harassment, abuse, assault and rape; the second is implicit gender violence encompassing corporal punishment, bullying, verbal and psychological abuse, teachers' use of students' for free labour and other authorized practices that are gender specific (Leach et al, 2003:2). Gender violence is reported to be a major cause of poor attendance and achievement of girls and pregnancy a major cause leading to drop out (Leach et al, 2003:12). Mgalla (1998) reports persistent gender sexual exploitation of girls in Tanzania schools where forced sex, rape by teachers and school boys and old men is common (Mgalla et al, 1998:4).

Additionally, there is insufficient information on pregnancy in school programs while sexual activity is perceived as immoral, and can not be discussed in public (Mushi et al, 2007:18). "Poor provision of contraception, coupled with the official exclusion of sex education from school curricula, results in a considerable number of young girls becoming pregnant" (Nkya in Mirsky et al, 1995:23). State is responsible for development of policies on discipline and code of conduct re-

The act of expelling pregnant girls from school can be understood in term of male privilege, sexuality and rights. Pregnancy is a result of sexual relationship between two individuals of different sexes. Pregnancy can be a result of forced sex, ignorance of sexuality issues and power imbalance in term of use of contraceptives. However, sexuality can have positive or negative definition. The negative definition given to sexuality becomes a barrier to information concerning sexuality which is then against rights to information. Expulsion regulation means that state controls female sexuality and protects male's sexuality.

Data concerning pregnancy have to be available for both pregnant girls and boys and men responsible for pregnancy. This is not the case for Tanzania. It is very rare to find data on boys impregnated girls in national education statistics. Much literature continues publicizing data for pregnant girls leaving men out of the scene. Furthermore, the persistence of expulsion of pregnant school girls without expulsion of boys and teachers who impregnated the girls is a perpetuation of gender inequality in school. "Adult men, including teachers who seem to be responsible

5.2 Male privilege, sexuality and rights

cause only girls are affected while boys and men remain untouched. and explicit gender violence, at the same time indicate patriarchal character bet- sion of pregnant girls from school signifies failure of Tanzania to address implicit petuates isolation of women from the processes of the state (Rai, 1996:17). Expul- information on new legislation, illiteracy and exclusion from social practices per- lence based on gender, race and class (Rai, 1996:17). Inadequate dissemination of weak system of internal regulation resulting in relatively high level of state vio- struggle and negotiation" (Rai, 1996:14). Third world state is also characterized by terrains [...] oppressive, threatening, while at the same time providing spaces for thorties are given to men. "Third world state and civil society are both complex symbiotic relationship between the state and patriarchy whereby patriarchal au- whereby women have been regarded as 'others'. She further states that there is Rai (1996:17) raised the issue of bargaining of interest within the state true for Tanzania too.

ment to tackle violence by teachers and male students (Leach, 2003:13). This is garding gender based violence in schools. Leach (2003) reported lack of enforce-

ble for most teenage pregnancies, have remained beyond the remit of punishment” (Tomasevski, 2005:5).

State power is dominated by male value, ideology and male power with institutionalized patriarchy (Sutton, 2004:179). The patriarchal nature of the state perpetuates gender inequality in education and development. Sutton accused schools for not taking to account the diversity of learners, their age, gender, and needs which leads to marginalization of specific groups of people. In the case of pregnant school girls, the need of these girls should be addressed in the education policy with further consideration of their age, class background and location.

Tanzanian Education and Training Policy (TETP), 1995 state that “Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children from the age of 7 years until they complete this cycle of education” (TETP, 1995:36), but pregnant girls are still expelled. Furthermore, “[P]arents, teachers and community leaders tend to support the expulsion of pregnant girls, rationalizing this choice by stating the need to uphold moral norms that prohibit teenage sex; pregnancy is treated as irrefutable proof that this norm has been breached” (Tomasevski, 2005:5). “Even when studies focus on pregnancy-related school dropout, they do not address directly the question of which schoolgirls [...] are likely to drop out of schools” (Grant et al, 2006:6). For example, Garnet et al (2006:6) argue that if a girl terminates her pregnancy before it becomes visible, she can avoid school dropout. In this way, the poor girls who have no access or means of terminating pregnancy are expelled.

Termination of pregnancy is illegal under 1965 Penal Code of Tanzania, hence school girls try to induce abortion by taking high dose of chloroquine (tablets for malaria) with high risk of deaths (Nkya in Grant et al, 1995:28). “A woman who terminates an unwanted pregnancy can be imprisoned for seven years, while a person who performs an abortion is liable to 14 years imprisonment” (Nkya in Mirsky et al, 1995:22). In reality, if a person impregnated a school girl is a fellow teenager, this punishment will not be applicable because it is against article 37 of CRC which define a child as a person under the age of 18 (UN, 1989).

“Women’s groups call for liberalization of abortion law so that abortion becomes legal for social and economic reasons, or upon request in early weeks of the pregnancy” (Grant et al, 1995:29). Tanzanian NGO Media Women Association (TAMWA) also calls for legalization of abortion arguing that “Denying women access to safe abortion is a violation of women’s rights” (Grant et al, 1995:29). However, government officials fear that sex education and legal abortion will en-

courage teenagers to have sex (Grant et al, 1995:31). Even in presence of illegal abortion law there are number of reported cases of teenage abortion in Tanzania. Again, change of law is not enough without infrastructures and availability of qualified doctors to undertake the procedure, otherwise there will be high risk of infection and even deaths.

Sex and sexuality remain topics that are not discussed in government education policies in Tanzania, although ideas about female and male sexuality affect girls' and boys' attitude and behaviour towards sex and sexual practices, and have deep impact on their reproductive health and rights. Government policy should improve services in the area of reproductive health including family planning for adolescents to enable them to deal with their sexuality. "Adolescents are particularly vulnerable because of their lack of information and access to relevant services..." (Sen et al, 2000:10). High risk of unsafe sexual behaviour is a result of inadequate knowledge about sexuality, poor quality of reproductive health information and limited power girls have over their sexual and reproductive lives (Sen et al, 2000:18). However, Landry (2006) claim that, "[P]revention of early adolescent pregnancy involves more than the availability of family planning services and low cost and safe abortion" (Landry, 2006:158). She recommended imposition of policies and prevention programs for achieving autonomy and career development. Thus, the state has a role to empower women and girls to know, access and assert their reproductive and sexual rights through creation of enabling environment such as policy and legal system which reinforce and support girls empowerment, and through integrating sexuality and reproductive health in education curriculum (Sen et al, 2000:29). However, "Rights for women will have limited meaning if they do not feel able to come forward to claim their rights" (UNESCO, 2003:187). "[T]he liberating or emancipator connotation of empowerment is one which brings up the question of personal agency rather than reliance on intermediaries, one that links action to needs, and one that results in making significant collective change" (Stromquist, 1993 in Sutton et al, 2001:194). Teenage girls especially may have little use of their rights, if they are not in a position to realize them.

6.1 The policy document: An intersectional analysis

This chapter presents analysis of Tanzania Education and Training Policy (1995) which is still valid and used. It is translated into Primary Education Development Plan for possible strategies and actions for the development of primary education. The first part of the chapter is concern with intersectional analysis of the definition of the problem of pregnant school girls by the state policy, whereas the subsequent section is the intersectional analysis of the solutions given to the problem. Intersectionality as an analytical tool is employed with analytical categories of gender, sexuality, class and age.

Tanzania has signed and ratified The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child in 1998. The Charter calls for states to guarantee that girls who become mothers before completing primary education are provided a chance to continue with their education on the basis of their individual ability. Furthermore, Tanzania Education and Training Policy 1995 acknowledge that education is a process of acquiring knowledge and skill for changing social, economic and political condition of an individual and the society. Ratification of the Charter by the state implies recognition that pregnant girls have the rights to education. Unwill- ingness of the state to review 2002 regulations which require pregnant girls to be expelled from school is against the charter and is violation of girls' human rights. Additionally, Tanzania ratified Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991 which defines a child as "every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (CRC,

1989). The Committee on the rights of the child noted the existence of discrimina- tion against certain groups such as teenage pregnant girls in Tanzania and calls for the state to review the legislative and discriminatory policies (CRC Committee report, 2006:5). Further, the Committee noted the persistent high rate of teenage pregnancies and accused state of not paying attention to the health issues of adoles- cents. The Committee recommended inclusion of reproductive health education in education curriculum, information of adolescents' reproductive health rights, pre- vention of teenage pregnancies and sexuality (CRC Committee report, 2006:10). Further, it recommended the state to provide support to pregnant teenagers and en- sure the continuation of their education, while reviewing the 1992 Tanzania Educa-

The text here focuses on slow increase in participation of women/girls in education and identifies three problems: cultural preferences of boys, drop-out (due to pregnancy and early marriage) and low performance of girls compared to boys. In such a formulation, I would argue, only effects are visible, while causes (of early marriages and pregnancy, or low performance) are not. Pregnancy and early marriages involves not only girls but also boys, the family and the community, while they are all absent from the text. Further, as far as early marriages and pregnancy is concerned, sexuality could be the main points of view which contribute to the problem. However there is no single page in the policy document mentioning sexuality in addressing the poor participation and drop-out of girls in education.

The participation rates of women have risen from 47.1% in 1981 to 49.1 at the primary school level, at 'O' level from 31.6% in 1981 to 44.7% in 1992, and at 'A' level, the rise was from 22.3% in 1991 to 24.3 in 1992. The slow growth of the participation rates of women at these various levels may be attributed to cultural preferences for educating male children, high drop-out rates due to early marriages and pregnancies and relatively low performance levels by girls in class and during final examinations when compared to boys. Therefore, in order to raise participation rates of women, the following policies will be implemented" (TETP, 1995)

Girls' Education

"TANZANIA EDUCATION AND TRAINING POLICY 1995"

The following is the section of the policy where the teenage pregnancy of school girls is mentioned. The meaning given of school girls' pregnancy in the policy is analysed by using intersectionality of gender, sexuality, class and age. The analysis of a short paragraph which is the preamble of the policy is first presented.

6.2 Intersectional analysis of the policy: Defining the problem

From social justice perspectives expulsion is an interventionist approach as stated by Unterhalter (2007) where state focuses on enrolment of girls and forgets the gendered process of learning and other social conditions of inequality. Hence, there is intersectionality on the effects of school girls' pregnancy.

tion Act on expulsion of pregnant girls from school (CRC Committee report, 2006:12).

But most importantly, in the policy, early marriages and pregnancies are presumed as 'cultural' issues (together with preference for boys), and not as issues of gendered hierarchies and ideologies – that is, of structural patterns of exclusion. Culture is important in regulating gender and sex identities as well as personal identity, often within a binary system (men/women). This binary meaning is constructed from cultural processes that legitimate itself as natural. Consequently, heterosexualosexuality is presented and perceived as natural, moral, practical, and superior to any non-heterosexual option. Furthermore, categories of gender, in different ways, produce multiplicity of other categories in a society. Likewise, while cultural practices affect distribution of resources, roles and responsibilities, power relation, sexual practices as well as individual identities, these practices themselves are also part of other social and economic structures, such as poverty.

While the policy appears to show the signs of gender awareness (by listing issues specific to girls), it defines gender in term of sex differences, and not as a power relation based on inequality and exclusion. The use of terms 'women' and 'girls' interchangeably shows an assumption that girls and women represent the same group, and is an indication of lack of awareness of relevance of age difference. Thus, such a definition of gender does not take into consideration class or sexuality, hence assumes 'gender' to be natural, rather than socially constructed. Scott argued that "gender is the social organization of sexual differences... gender is the knowledge that establishes meanings for bodily differences" (Scott, 1988:2). The intersectionality of sexuality, gender, class and age has to go beyond comparing differences between boys and girls. State in its policy has to focus on the relationships between them, for instance to look at how sexuality, gender, class and age lead to early marriage, pregnancy or preferences of boys, as well as to the poor performance and drop-out of girls.

As this research adopted definition of intersectionality as social relationships with multiple dimension, the conclusion is that the definition of teenage pregnant girls in the policy text is neither anti-categorical, inter categorical nor intra categorical approach. If anything, it is additive: it treats each category of analysis (early marriage, pregnancy, preferences of boys) as separate from each other, and as unrelated to issues of poverty, sexuality or gender hierarchies. A transversal intersectionality would acknowledge the categories being intertwined, transforming each other, and situated in complex web of other social relations. Then, pregnancy (as

well as preferences of boys, early marriage and low performance) could be seen as results of the intersection of gender, class, age and sexuality.

6.3 Intersectional analysis of the policy: Defining the solutions

This section analyzes the solution to the problem as defined in the policy text above, i.e. the policies to be implemented for raising participation rates of women. The policy text offered 12 points as a solution to the problem of teenage school girls' low participation in education. But, surprisingly, none of the problems identified above are addressed in the solutions offered by the policy! Rather, different strategies are offered: the strategies directed at school, at poverty, and at curriculum. They are grouped in sections and analyzed again by using intersectional analysis.

6.3.1 Section One

The following articles address physical environment:

- “3.2.4 Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children at the age of seven years until they complete this cycle of education.
3.2.5 The establishment of co-educational and girls' secondary schools shall be promoted and encouraged.
3.2.6 Government shall not deboard existing girls' government boarding secondary schools.
3.2.7 Government shall establish girls' day streams in existing government secondary schools in communities where girls' secondary education is severely adversely affected.
3.2.13 Government shall encourage the construction of hostel/boarding accommodation for girls in day secondary schools” (TETP, 1995)

The above quotation from Tanzania Education and Training Policy 1995 indicate clearly that, the relationship between the problems and remedies are not in line especially for primary schools. The policy clearly states the problems for girls' education to be preference of boys, early marriages, pregnancy, dropout and poor performance by girls. But none of these are addressed in the policy remedies. The strategies for solving the problem of low participation are directed to formal school environment while larger social environment and gendered relations of class and sexuality cry out for recognition.

Universal and compulsory primary education is claimed to be the solution to the low participation rate of girls in education. However, universal and compulsory education may be an assurance for access, but they do not guarantee retention of children in school. Nonetheless, universal and compulsory education can not be achieved if pregnant school girls continue to drop out and be expelled without re-entry opportunities. Efforts such as building more boarding schools specifically for girls has to be complemented with removal of "non physical barriers, whether economic, social and cultural" as described by Leach, (2003:5).

Stromquist and other authors further claimed that African countries managed to enrol all children in school but drop-out continues to increase at upper grades because of various reasons, including gendered cultural norms which affect girls negatively, and passive sexuality leading to pregnancy and early marriage (Mlamina, 2001:5; Stromquist, 2003:1; Hilbert et al, 2002:3). Universal and compulsory education is not an assurance of outcome without addressing the causes of girls' pregnancy which lead to dropout and expulsion from school.

The establishment of girls' and boarding schools is mentioned in the policy as the solution to the problem of pregnancy and early marriage of school girls. But it is difficult to confine girls in boarding school without contact with external environment and or male teachers. In human rights perspectives, "...all young people, whatever their gender and sexual identities are sexual objects and have the rights to experience sexual pleasure and desire (Skelton et al, 2006:251). Even in boarding schools for girls, there is a chance of getting pregnant from teachers or other men outside school environment. It other words, "sexual abuse is also perpetuated outside the school by adult men (some times called 'sugar daddies') who engage in transactional sex (sex in exchange for gifts or money) with children under the age of consent" (Leach et al, 2003:4). Teenage life is a period of transition where biological and physical changes are accompanied with sexual desire. It is the period of teenager's life in which sexuality acquires adult meaning. Furthermore, men should not be viewed only as a threat or an obstacle, but should rather be engaged in issues related to sexuality and gender violence in all aspects of life including education.

Finally, power relation in school is not recognized in the policy as a contributing factor to poor participation of girls in education. "The school as a social arena is marked by asymmetrical power relations that are enacted not only through gen-

der but also through age and authority..." (Leach et al, 2003:3). "[F]ar from being safe havens for learning, schools are often sites of intolerance, discrimination and violence. Many girls who surmount the barriers preventing them from attending school face harassment and sexual abuse from peers or from their teachers once they are enrolled" (EFA, 2003:143). Pregnancy for school girls can be a result of imbalance of power between girls and boys, girls and teachers or other men outside school yard.

6.3.2 Section two

The following two articles address structural issues in education of women and girls:

"3.2.8 Government shall establish special educational financial support schemes for girls and women in education and training institutions.

3.2.9 Adult education programmes shall be designed to encourage and promote the enrolment and attendance of women" (TETP, 1995)

Financial support for women and girls and special programs for adult women are a positive effort of the state since it provides education opportunity for poor women and girls, and recognizes that gender is not an isolated factor of disadvantage. However, poverty was not mentioned as a reason for women's and girls' low participation in education in the preamble. Furthermore, this particular policy solution has nothing to do with pregnant school girls as far as the policy of expulsion is concerned, as it does not offer any financial support or special programs for young mothers. What is important is the existence of clear and supportive structure for re-entry after delivery, and a change of negative definition of school girls pregnancy by institutions such as family, school and state which make pregnant school girls as unfit to the school system. Even with the provision of financial support, if other pupils look at a pregnant school girl as the 'other' she can not enjoy schooling.

6.3.3 Section three

These articles focus on curriculum:

"3.2.10 The school curriculum shall be reviewed in order to strengthen and encourage participation and achievement of girls in mathematics and science subjects.

3.2.11 Education and school systems shall eliminate gender stereotyping through the curricula, text books and classroom practices.

3.2.12 Special in-service training programs shall be designed and implemented for women teachers" (TETP, 1995)

Review of curriculum is important, but inclusion of science and mathematics can not be a solution to school girls if boys continue to dominate classroom interaction and marginalise girls participation. Apart from eliminating gender stereotyping through curriculum and text books, curriculum needs to address power relation where men should not control female sexuality and should include desire, pleasure and erotic in sex education. Family education is included in education curriculum for the purpose of educating pupils on the consequences associated with teenage pregnancy. Intersectional of sex education with reproductive rights and power relation is required. The school program has to give information required to empower adolescents to make appropriate choices rather than portraying males as potential predators and females as victims, or showing both girls and boys the big picture of their bodies as future mothers and fathers, in the context of abstinence before marriage. High rate of school girls' pregnancy indicates inadequacy of such programs. Furthermore, the education policies most often forbid distribution of condoms in schools (Skelton et al, 2006: 256).

Finally, employment and special training of women teachers is mentioned as implementation strategy for solving the problem of girls' poor participation in education. But replacement of male teachers by female teachers cannot solve the problem of girls getting pregnant by school boys, or older men outside of school. It is difficult to achieve gender equality without increasing men's awareness on gender issues. Furthermore, power relation, patriarchy norms, and naturalization of men's power need to be challenged. "Men's relationship to such patriarchal arrangement of power must be a critical area of concern to development programs that seeks to involve men in gender equality work" (Greig et al, 2000:7). It is required not to view men as obstacles to development. Rather men should be viewed as partners in development and education programs. Men teachers should be trained and should participate in gender training, rather than being replaced by women teachers.

In conclusion, it is clear that intersectionality of gender with sexuality, class and age is hardly present in the policy. While gender is perceived as major category which shapes discrimination, it is defined as a sex differences, rather than as a social relation of power. Pleasure and sexual desire is implicitly controlled by putting girls in boarding school with female teachers. Class category is present only in a limited way, though provision of financial support for girls' and women's educa-

tion, but not as an element of support for young mothers. The elaboration on the type of education which will be offered in not expressed in the document. The above explanations indicate the use of additive intersectionality in the policy as efforts to address the problem of girls' participation in education, but the issue of pregnancy is circumvented by placing it as a cause of low participation, and not as an effect of gendered inequalities and exclusions based on poverty and norms of female and male sexuality.

The policy is gender biased by viewing pregnancy as exclusively girls' concern, excluding boys and men from the issue. The policy is also gender biased because it reduces the gendered inequalities to the issues of 'culture', never recognizing that this 'culture' is based on ideologies and structures that define female sexuality in such a way so as to render girls vulnerable to sexual violence by boys or teachers, unable to negotiate sexual practices and make them subject to marriage at early age. The relationships between these gender hierarchies and poverty and dropout due to pregnancy, early marriages, or poor education achievement of girls is not shown in the policy. Rather, if addressed, different aspects of disadvantage and discrimination are treated separately in the policy, while the interaction and variation between them are ignored.

7.1 Alternative perspectives and recommendations for rethinking policy of expulsion

Amendment of Tanzania policy on expulsion of pregnant school girls is not enough for achieving human rights and social justice. It has to be supported by the changes of environment to which education is offered. Specific support systems to allow pregnant school girls to complete education after delivery need to be in place. Involvement of different stakeholders such as NGOs, schools, community and pregnant girls themselves with the diversity of their identities is important to advocating for positive perceptions toward teenage pregnant school girls, thereafter provision of opportunities for them to complete their education. Policies, plans and implementation strategies should take into consideration the intersectionality of gender with sexuality, class, age and rural/urban location.

For the state to solve the problem of school girls' pregnancy using gendered human rights and social justice perspectives, a combination of three intersectional approaches, namely anti-categorical, inter-categorical and intra-categorical (as explained by Knudsen, 2003) are required. The uses of these three approaches show interconnectedness of multiple dimensions of exclusion and marginalization and provide space for challenging the system of gendered power and structures. State needs to stop defining pregnant school girls as 'troublesome' group which does not fit into school system.

7.1.1 Anti- categorical approach of intersectionality

Anti-categorical approach rejects separation of categories and assumes trans-versal relationships among them. Intra-categorical complexity examines crossing categories and identities and focus on particular social group at neglected points of intersection, whereas inter-categorical approach allows us to study structural relationships in many social groups (Knudsen, 2003:66).

If anti-categorical approach (Figure 1) is adopted by the state, then pregnant girls' schooling would not be defined as a cultural problem but would be explicitly related to gender hierarchies and exclusions, and unequal power relation between and within categories. Gender would become a complex concept intersecting with multiple forms social relations.

Power relations are linked to exclusion and inclusion. For example power relation involved in sexuality can result in pregnancy. Power imbalance between girls and boys or girls and older men can lead to pregnancy and dropping out of school. The questions of 'Who' will define the pregnancy, and 'How', are also relevant. Those defining pregnancy as a result of girls' relations with 'sugar daddies' or even prostitution support expulsion of pregnant girls from education, perceive pregnant girls as unfit to the school environment. The system of power, structure and privileges based on gender, class, sexuality and age need to be challenged. State has to examine different ways through which these power relations influence the position of pregnant girls.

There are individuals and non-governmental organizations which advocate for inclusion of pregnant girls in education through review of expulsion policy. However, they have less power compared to the state with its role of making and implementing the policy. State is required to analyse power in relation to exclusion and inclusion and critical understanding of the ways in which meanings of gender, sexuality and age are negotiated in school, family and society.

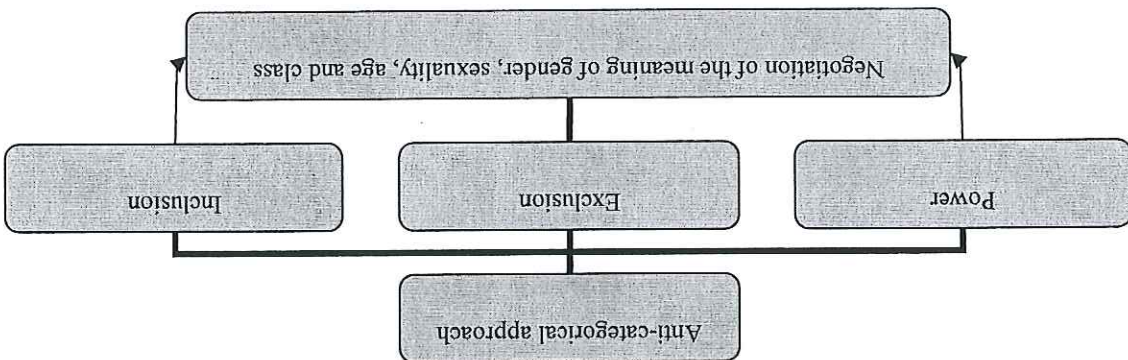
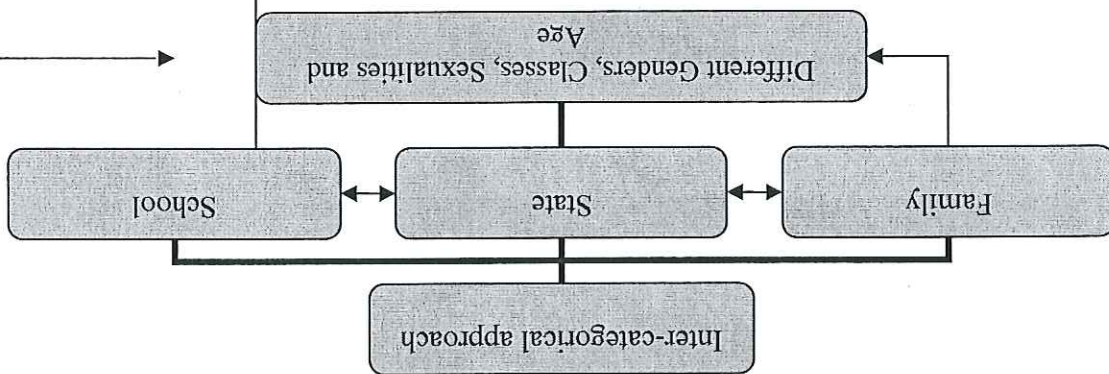


Figure 1: Anti-categorical approach

7.1.2 Inter - categorical approach of intersectionality

Figure 2 represents inter-categorical approach of intersectionality which focuses on structural relationships of social groups. It is elaborated by using three institutions - family, state and school - which are directly involved in affecting pregnant school girls' lives. Each has a role to play.

Figure 2: Inter - categorical approach



Family is a place where gender relations are transmitted from one generation to the next through gender roles and relations among members of the household, and a framework in which children of different sexes are brought up (UNESCO, 2003:118). In addressing pregnancy of school girls family has the role to play, for instance in the openness on discussing sex issues between children and parents. "Parents feel to be responsible and have control over girls, rather than boys as they believe that if girls are not controlled and given much freedom they will loose purity and even become pregnant while boys have nothing to lose (Heward et al, 1999:91). State is responsible to support the family, as well as to ensure availability, accessibility, adaptability, acceptability of girl's education. Skelton (2006) claim school to be a historical, social and cultural institution, within which gender is negotiated, reproduced and produced. Students and teachers interact and identities and relationships are constructed (Skelton et al, 2006:423). Other scholars describe school as a dangerous place where sexual harassment, bullying and corporal punishment occurs: "Classroom as one of the specific sites where schools as deeply gendered and heterosexual regimes, construct relations of domination and subordination" (Ibid, 2006:426). Teachers demand sexual favour from girls for good

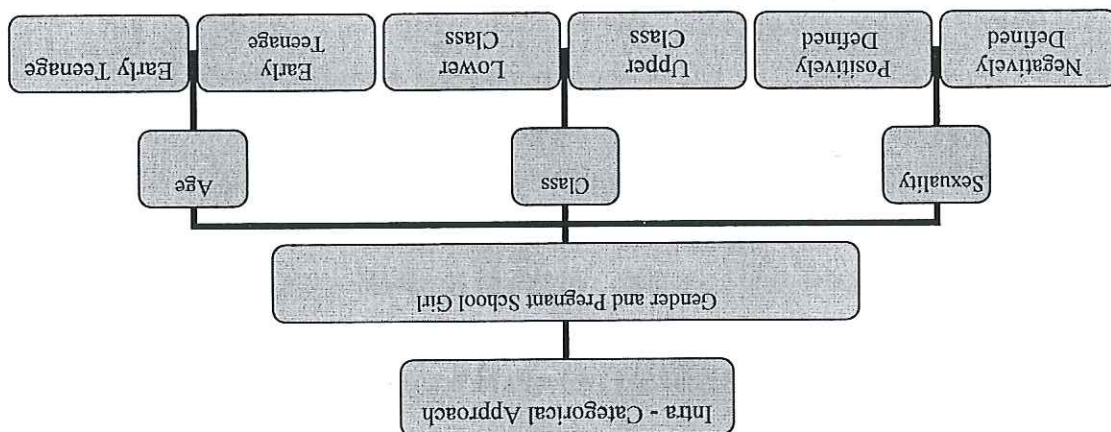
grades or preferential, money or gifts. Such teachers are rarely expelled from teaching profession, while girls have to leave the school.

If the state in its policy were adopting inter – categorical approach of intersectionality it would mean not to look at school as a building or a physical environment, but rather as a social environment while recognizing the links between school, family and community in terms of valuing sexuality of girls. The state would have emphasized on differences among pregnant school girls and examine structural inequalities among different classes, age and sexual orientation in which less attention is devoted.

7.1.3 Intra - categorical approach of intersectionality

Intra-categorical approach (Figure 3) calls for analysis of gender by directly relating gender to other categories such as class, sexuality and age. Use of intra categorical approach means that state policy would situate pregnancy of school girls not as a cause of girls drop out, but as an effect of unequal power relation. The solution would not be removing pregnant girls from school, but rather make school and education empowering tools for changing these power relations.

Figure 3: Intra - categorical approach



Intra-categorical approach represented in Figure 3 calls for analysis of gender by comparison of gender with other categories such as class, sexuality and age rather than analysis based on gender alone. The expansion of analysis beyond gender is based on the fact that gender often remains within two categories: women and men.

Use of intra - categorical approach means that, state policy would look at intersection of gender, class, sexuality and age in relation to education of girls. Thus situate pregnant school girls not as a cause of girls drop out but as an effect of unequal power relation. The solution would not be removing pregnant girls from school, rather make school and education empowering tool for pregnant girls.

7.2 Conclusion

The state needs to take into consideration the three approaches of intersectionality in addressing education, development, poverty and pregnant school girls in its policy. Denial of education for pregnant school girls is a violation of human right and perpetuation of poverty for this group of people. Importance of education for pregnant girls is not only related to their human rights but also to broader issues of social justice in development. Education is a basic capability for any individual to function and a means of getting out of poverty. Education is empowerment for pregnant girls to take part in development processes and the key to break poverty circle.

Positive social change can be brought about by deconstructing normative assumptions of pregnant school girls. There is power inequality in the definition of girls' and boys' sexuality, which is derived from gender relations between them. For instance the assumption that girls' sexuality is to be controlled and protected until marriage, while boys' sexuality is not. The state has to develop education policy with recognition of gender relations between girls and boys in the society, family and in school. It has to be acknowledged that oppression is experienced differently by different groups of girls. Also it has to be understood that gender relations intersect with other oppressive relations such as those of class, age and sexuality. It is necessary for the state to focus on different ways in which these power relations impact on development and education, and to direct its efforts toward empowering pregnant girls to make their own choices.

There is a strong need of reviewing the current Tanzanian policy on expulsion of pregnant girls from schools. The expulsion policy is against education rights as one of the basic human rights. However the policy change by itself is not enough to bring social justice and enable pregnant school girls to enjoy their rights to education. Support systems with clear strategies for their re-entry are required where school attendance is well-matched with raising a child. The state has to realise that

at such a young age it is difficult to perform the duty of raising children and schooling simultaneously, and thus girls need a supportive structure.

With support system in place, changing ideas about female teenage sexuality is of great importance; otherwise the social cultural stigma may affect pregnant school girls' education after delivery. Sexuality has to be understood as sexual desire whereby either boys or girls can be subject or object of desire. The underlying assumption of a state policy of expulsion is based on the patriarchal sexual norms which view male sexuality as more important and uncontrollable. This assumption places pregnant school girls as objects of sexual desire who deserve expulsion as punishment and needs to be changed in order to bring social justice for both sexes. Even if the law is changed and girls have the rights to go back to school, if there is no structure and the social and cultural meaning assigned to female sexuality remains discriminatory, the opportunity for pregnant school girls to comfortably continue with education can still be problematic. The discourse of gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity is understood by redirecting resources toward girls' education, skills and access to health services. But remaining only with financial and physical resources ignores the imbalance of power, social structures and cultural practices of subordination that characterise the hierarchical relationships between boys and girls, especially in the context of poverty.

Persistence of pregnancy and resulting dropout in primary schools in Tanzania is an indication that the policy of expulsion of pregnant school girls is not an effective way of dealing with the problem. Multiple factors which lead to pregnancy and effects of expulsion and their intersectionality have to be dealt with. Teenage pregnancy is contributed by poverty, sexual violence, insufficient information on sexuality and inadequate information on reproductive health and sexual rights, and insufficient use of contraceptives.

Tanzania Policy of Education and Training 1995 need to consider intersectionality of poverty, age, class and sexuality, in addition to adopting much broader definitions of gender in relation to education. In order to look at the interaction between gender, education and development as far as the provision of education for girls is concerned, it is required that the policy moves beyond the World Bank reductionist perspective, which focuses on access to and provision of girls' education. Gender parity which many governments claim to achieve is a mere quantitative indicator which has nothing to do with power relation between boys and girls. Gender equality implies equality of outcomes which is difficult to be achieved

without change in social norms and customs which guides peoples' behaviour (UNESCO, 2003:116).

Finally, it is my strong belief that teenage pregnant girls have the same rights to education like any other children. Despite the physiological and biological factors, and many others associated with teenage pregnancy, it is injustice to expel these girls from school. Education should be viewed as a resource for building individual and collective capacity and providing skills for safe and supportive motherhood and getting out of poverty and social exclusion.

Above all, individual empowerment for pregnant school girls in all three dimensions of power relation as put forward by Wieringa (1994) namely oppressive/coercive, challenging/critical and creative is important. The state in collaboration with other stakeholders such as citizens and non-governmental organizations have to engage in empowerment processes of girls to be able to expose the oppressive power of existing gendered relations, critically challenge them and creatively shape alternative social relations. Pregnant girls should be empowered to gain self confidence, self esteem, sense of agency and sense of 'self' in a wider context of dignity. "Empowerment should also enable them [pregnant school girls] to challenge oppressive gender and social power relations that get constructed primarily within patriarchal referential domain" (Raju, 2005:256). The intersectional efforts of all stakeholders should empower girls to control their own bodies and sexuality and be able to question unequal power dynamics that create inequality.

Empowerment efforts of the state, school, NGOs and citizens should effectively address the diversity of pregnant school girls based on sexuality, class and age, as well as rural/urban location in order to spare those in less privileged from becoming further marginalized. Additionally, inclusion of gendered perspectives of multiple exclusion and discrimination in school curriculum and family education is also important because it helps to create awareness of complex power relations in the society, within which both girls and boys live.

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