



A Study on Girls' Basic Education in Tanzania

A Focus on Factors That Affect Girls'
Retention and Transition Rates

2019



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Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	ii
List of tables	v
List of figures	vi
List of Images	vi
Executive Summary	vii
Introduction and Background	vii
Key Findings	vii
Recommendations	ix
Section 1: Introduction and Background	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background information and context of the Study	1
Section 2: Methodology, Approach And Methods	3
2.1 Study Design and approach	3
2.2 Study population	3
2.3 Study area.....	3
2.4 Selection of Districts, Wards and Schools	4
2.4.1 Selection of school girls for quantitative survey	4
2.4.2 Determination of sample size.....	5
2.4.3 Selection of informants for qualitative data.....	7
2.5 Research methods and tools.....	10
2.6 Data quality control	10
2.7 Data analysis and presentation.....	10
2.8 Ethical considerations.....	11
Section 3: Factors for Retention and Transition of School Girls From Lower to Higher Levels of Education	12
3.1 introduction	12
3.2 Domestic Environment where school girls live and socialise	12
3.2.1 The value attached to formal education	12
3.2.2 Financial constraints and poverty conditions at household level.....	19
3.2.3 Food security.....	23
3.2.4 Source of lighting	24
3.2.5 Early Marriage.....	24
3.3 The teaching and learning environment	25
3.3.1 School attendance.....	28
3.3.2 Lack and/or shortage of dormitories/hostels	29
3.3.3 Sanitary conditions.....	30

3.3.4 Impact of girls' upbringing to their ability to resist sex temptations	31
3.4 Girls' decision to drop out or remain in school	32
3.4.1 Percentage of school girls ever considered to drop out.....	32
3.4.2 Why school girls consider dropping out of school.....	33
3.4.3 Why school girls decide not to drop out	35
3.4.4 Reasons for dropping out: school girls' perspective	35
3.4.5 Why school girls decide not to drop out	36
3.4.6 Prevalence of drop out: school girls' perspective.....	36
3.4.7 Challenges of dealing with menstruation cycle and hygiene.....	39
Section 4: Best Practices to Emulate for Higher Girls' Retention and Transition Rates.....	41
4.1 Introduction	41
4.2 Socio-cultural sexual beliefs/practices and girls' education: Prioritising investing in girls' education instead of bride price.	41
4.3 The Role of Parents and School Boards/Committees in Promoting Good Learning Environment.....	42
4.4 Rewarding Girls' Academic Achievements	42
Section 5: Addressing Challenges to School Girls' Retention and Transition	43
5.1 Introduction	43
5.2 Efforts to address challenges to school girls' retention and transition	43
Section Six: Conclusions and Recommendations For Enhancing School Girls' Retention and Transition.....	44
6.1 Introduction	44
6.2 Conclusions.....	44
6.3 Recommendations.....	45
References	47

List of Tables

Table 2. 1: Criteria for selection of regions	3
Table 2. 2: Sampling Process	5
Table 2. 3: Sampling of school girls	6
Table 2. 4: Summary of Qualitative Data	8
Table 2. 5: Characteristics of School Girls who participated in the social survey and their households	8
Table 3. 1: Percentage of Hours Spent by Girls on domestic work per day by Region	14
Table 3. 2: School Girls' Places of Residence, (N=1841)	16
Table 3. 3: Distance from girls' residences to school, (N=1841)	16
Table 3. 4: Means of transport used by School Girls by region (percentages)	17
Table 3. 5: Time taken for girls to travel from home to school by district	18
Table 3. 6: Engagement in paid work in the last 12 months, (n=270).....	21
Table 3. 7: Source of money to spend in school.....	23
Table 3. 8: School girls' perception of the learning environment at school (N=1841)	27
Table 3. 9: The capacity of school to promote transition of girls in schooling (N=1841)	27
Table 3. 10: Number of times failed to attend the school per month, (n=1062)	28
Table 3. 11: Reasons for not attending school, (n=1062).....	29
Table 3. 12: Whether school Girls Considered Dropping out of School, (N=1841).....	33
Table 3. 13: Circumstances which influence girls to drop out of school.....	34
Table 3. 14: Reasons for considering dropping studies (Secondary school girls)	34
Table 3. 15: Reasons for reconsidering not dropping the school	35
Table 3. 16: Reasons for considering dropping studies (Secondary school girls)	35
Table 3. 17: Reasons for reconsidering not dropping the school	36
Table 3. 18: Do you know any girl who dropped out of school? (N=1841).....	36
Table 3. 19: Reasons for drop out of peers.....	37
Table 3. 20: Percentage of School Girls who have Sexual partners by region and district.....	38
Table 3. 21: Girls fear to attend classes during menstrual period, (N= 1841)	40

List of Figures

Figure 3. 1: Number of hours spent on manual work at school per day, (N=1841)	15
Figure 3. 2: Main sources of income for respondents' households (N=1841)	22
Figure 3. 3: Number of Meals at Respondent's Household by Region, (N=1841)	23
Figure 3. 4: Main Source of Lighting at Respondent's Household by Region (N=1841)	24
Figure 3. 5: Support from parents/guardians in passing final examination (N=1841).....	25
Figure 3. 6: Whether the school has the necessary conditions for girls' retention and transition (N=1841)	26
Figure 3. 7: Percentage of Girls of who think Sexual Practices (n=346) and Early Pregnancies (n= 547) Cause Drop outs.....	37
Figure 3. 8: School Girls who have Sexual Partners by level of education, (N= 120)	40
Fig 3.9: Percentage of girls who think menstruation hinders their regular attendance, (n=441).....	41

List of Images

Image 3. 1: Bicycles: one of the means of transport in some schools in Tabora region.....	18
Image 3. 2: Water container near the latrine for washing.....	30

Executive Summary

Introduction and Background

While Tanzania has attained gender parity in enrollment at primary school levels, the transition from primary school to lower and higher secondary school has remained a challenge especially for girls. The present study sets to understand how different factors shape the patterns of retention and transition rates in selected regions in Tanzania.

Study design

The study adopted an exploratory design using a mixed method approach (quantitative and qualitative). The study approach was mainly qualitative, focusing mainly on purposively selected cases. Five regions were taken as case regions namely, Dar es Salaam, Lindi, Kilimanjaro, Dodoma and Tabora from which twelve (12) case districts, 24 wards and 63 schools were selected for this study. Study participants were mainly stakeholders in girls' education, who have knowledge about the issues pertaining to girls' education. A total of 1841 school girls were interviewed, 41 IDIs and 29 FGDs conducted.

Key Findings

The findings indicate that there is a dialectical relationship between the factors affecting the rate of retention and transition of girls from primary school to lower and higher secondary schools in Tanzania. The factors can be clustered into three categories namely: the domestic environment in which young people live, the teaching and learning environment and girls' disposition and sexual behavior.

First, the nature of the domestic environment in which school girls live and are socialised influence the conditions for girls' retention and transition from primary to secondary education. Both structural and cultural forces produce and reproduce the interplay of several aspects, which make the domestic environment un-friendly for girls' retention and smooth transition from primary to higher levels of education. Such aspects include but are not limited to: value attached to education by parents and guardians; the meaning of, and roles expected of school girls; and poverty conditions forcing young girls into child labour and the availability of necessary school requirements.

- In societies where formal education is not considered as a resource/an investment/means to better life, the rates for retention and transition especially among girls is lower compared to areas where education has been taken as a valuable investment in the lives of children regardless of their sex.
- Five in 10 girls interviewed perceive the distance from home to their school as either far or very far. Most of the girls either walk on foot (in Lindi, Dodoma and Tabora), others travel by bicycle and public transport in Dar es Salaam, and Kilimanjaro.
- The experiences that girls encounter as they travel between home and school especially in Lindi, Dodoma and Tabora, are not limited to squeezing their time and energy for studying but also expose girls into vulnerable situations especially in relation to sexuality and teenage pregnancy.
- In societies where education is considered valuable, girls are not only socialized to be resilient to the challenging encounters of schooling, but, also encouraged by parents and their role models (relatives who have benefited from excelling in education) to work hard.
- Girls report to have considered dropping out of school due to lack of the necessary school and basic necessities, in order to provide for themselves or compliment efforts done by their parents/guardians. This was especially noted in Dar es Salaam, Tabora and Lindi.
- The nature of livelihood activities that households rely on to make a living have an influence on girls' participation in schooling which in turn explain both their retention and transitions in primary and secondary schools.

- About 2 in 10 girls experience food insecurity their household. Regions with low retention and transition rates have low percentages of girls reporting to have availability of food in their household throughout the year.
- About 8 in 10 girls have access to reliable source of lighting has been mainly electricity from the national grid supplied by TANESCO and solar power. One in ten girls still depends on kerosene as a source of lighting.
- Parents and/or guardians play a significant role in the transition of school girls from one level of their education to the next. About 8 out of each 10 girls consider their parents as their main supporter in successful performance in school.

The *second* important factor affecting school girls' retention and transition is the teaching and learning environment at school;

- Seven in 10 school girls from regions perceive their schools to have better conditions for teaching and learning.
- Three in 10 school girls perceive their school to lack better teaching and learning. In some schools the shortage of teachers is acute
- At least 5 in 10 school girls have a positive image of their school in terms of having the enabling environment for making them succeed to the next level exception of availability of enough and clean toilets.
- Five in 10 school girls reported that their schools do not have enough and clean toilets. The sanitary condition at many schools is not adequate because, latrines are not enough and they are not adequately supplied with water.
- More than half of the interviewed school girls fail to attend school once every month with the majority being in form III and IV; but at least 4 in 10 school girls never missed attending school.
- Girls' irregular school attendance due to challenges of handling their menstruation cycle has cumulative effects on girls' transition to higher levels of education.
- The shortage and/or lack of dormitories/hostels was noted to deny girls adequate time for studies, and expose them to risks of pregnancy.

The *third* aspect is school girls' dispositions as they come of age and strive to locate their identities in society;

- Sexuality and teenage pregnancy was reported to contribute significantly to drop out of school girls. Girls' sexual activities are enacted in response to financial constraints and pragmatic attempt to deal with the difficulties of walking/ travelling long distances hence fall prey to ill-intentioned men.
- Girls engage in sexual relationships and hide such relationships from both their parents and teachers. More than one third of the girls interviewed in Lindi, (31.5%) Dodoma (32.3%) and Tabora (38%) and more than 20% in Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro think that early pregnancy is the main cause for girls' drop out of school.
- The percentage of school girls who have sexual partners' increases as they go up educational levels from 0.9% among class five pupils to 31.8% among form six students.
- More girls interviewed in Dar es Salaam in Dar es Salaam (7.8) reported to have sexual partner(s) followed by Lindi (5%).

The above three factors operate simultaneously. Some factors have more influence in certain contexts or situations than others. Some factors provide a prerequisite for others to operate in a given context. For instance, the following order of influence was reported to determine girls' retention in schools: Financial constraints; Corporal punishment; Difficulties in studies; long distance from home to school; and the burden of domestic chores.

Pregnancy and sexual practices as the immediate reasons for school dropout. Nonetheless, the two factors are mediated by financial constraints, domestic environment, and individual girls' dispositions.

The girls themselves, their peers, and parents are critical change agents in reversing girls' decision to drop out compared to teachers.

Recommendations

The study findings suggest that addressing the challenges that affect girls' retention and transition from primary to lower and higher secondary school requires interventions that are informed by a multicomponent theory of change. The latter should concurrently address factors that affect girls at home, at school, and their sexual and reproductive challenges. The findings call for context specific and sensitive advocacy strategies i.e. collaborative engagement with strategic actors in the respective regions.

On Domestic Environment where school girls leave and socialize

- Parents/guardians and community leaders are key change agents who need to be mobilised and sensitised to supervise and ensure that girls go to school. Experiences of Kilimanjaro region where retention and transition rates are the highest indicate that such successes are mainly due to parents'/guardians' commitments and follow ups in order to ensure that girls get education.
- Feeding programmes should be enhanced in schools to improve attendance and learning. Approaches used to mobilise contributions in line with government policy as adopted in Kilimanjaro should be scaled up in other regions.
- Further sensitisation of community members on the importance of girls' education should be done especially in Tabora, Dodoma and Lindi regions. Context specific counter narratives to beliefs and values, which discourage investment in girls' education, should be disseminated. This calls for concerted efforts from both government and non-governmental organisations, and religious leaders.
- Promote intervention based on improvement of local knowledge especially the knowledge related to girls' hygiene. Means of preparing local sanitary pads such as sewing of pieces of cloth as used by girls trained by COMPASION under the EAGT Church at Urambo should be enhanced.
- Efforts should be done to improve communication between mothers/female guardians and their daughters regarding the biological changes which the girls undergo as they grow up.

On the teaching and learning environment

- Sanitation conditions should be improved in order to ensure that girls are comfortable to attend school even during their menstrual cycle. HakiElimu and other stakeholders should join hands to support the ongoing campaign under the Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group (TWPG) to promote construction of modern toilets in school.
- The ongoing provision of sanitary pads to school girls is laudable but still, the budget should be enhanced to cover more girls.
- In Tabora region and other areas in which the idea of satellite schools (shule shikizi) has cropped up, efforts should be done by both, the government, nongovernmental organisation, private sector, and development partners to develop these centres into fully fledged schools managed and run mainly by the government. Moreover, in areas where the idea does not exist, and still the available schools are inadequate, the idea of "shule shikizi" should be up-scaled.
- The quantity and quality of teachers should be enhanced along with improvement of teachers' working conditions. Ensure adequate number of female teachers in all schools. In service training for teachers especially youthful teachers should be provided periodically in order to give them an opportunity to recollect on their professional ethics and equip them with gender sensitive teaching and guidance skills.

On school girls' disposition and sexual behaviour

- More interventions should focus on putting in place mechanisms to empower girls to make right decisions regarding their sexual activities both at the family level and in schools. This should include comprehensive sexuality education to equip girls with the basics of making informed decisions.
- It is important to provide parents with the right skills and competence in parenting adolescent girls coming of changes in completely new contexts compared to the times when parents grow up and were raised by their parents.
- Enforcing the existing tough laws and punishments against those who impregnate school girls.
- More hostels should be constructed to accommodate more girls specifically those living far away from schools in order to improve attendance and to reduce exposure to risks of teenage pregnancy.

Section 1: Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

HakiElimu is striving to realise its overall goals of equity, equality and democracy particularly through its Strategic Plan 2017-2021 in line with efforts by the government and other education stakeholders' efforts to provide girls' education. This plan intends to address several challenges facing the education system in Tanzania including: relatively poor learning outcomes for students, gender inequality, limited inclusion for students with special needs and circumstances, incidences of violence in schools, and a fragmented system where the rich get quality private education while the poor are subjected to low quality government schooling.

This study therefore, was conducted in line with HakiElimu's overall goals and strategic plan to highlight the education challenges among school girls' for HakiElimu's and other education stakeholders' attention. Generally, the objective of the study was to establish the specific factors that contribute to and/or hinder girls' retention and completion in primary schools and transition to secondary education. While retention refers to school girls remaining on the course of study until they complete their studies or attain the intended skills and knowledge, transition refers to advancing from the lower to the higher level of education. In specific terms, the study seeks to:

- i To establish factors that favours or affect girls' retention at primary and secondary school levels
- ii Explore reasons behind the prevailing transition rates from primary school to lower secondary school levels and higher secondary school levels in Tanzania.
- iii To establish the relationship between retention and transition rates and the corresponding teaching and learning environment and the domestic environment where female students leave and socialize
- iv To explore factors for retention to secondary schools
- v To establish the relationship between factors for retention to primary schools and transition to secondary schools
- vi To enlighten the extent to which each factor affects retention and transition and rank them in priority or level of impact
- vii To establish the best practices and case studies for best performing places in terms of girls' retention and transition
- viii To specifically look into the girls' hygiene factor and its relationship to retention and transition rates in schools
- ix To specifically inquire on girls' pregnancy and the extent to which it affects girls' retention and transition rates at both primary and secondary levels
- x To suggest and recommend best solution to the noted challenges and proposal as well as provide guidance on the best advocacy mechanisms for the research findings.

1.2 Background information and context of the Study

Tanzania has ratified important regional and International instruments protecting the right to education such as the Universal Declaration of Human Right of 1948; Convention on the Right of the Child; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; International Convention on Civil, Cultural and Political Rights; African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, African Charter on the Right and the Welfare of the child (URT, 2015). The National Education Policy of 2014 was adopted by the government to improve the quality of education and training in order to increase the number of Tanzanians who are educated and those who like to educate themselves further so as to contribute in reaching the national development goals as

well Sustainable Development Goals. The policy provides that primary education and secondary education is compulsory for all Tanzania children (URT, 2014- Statement No. 3.1.3). In that respect, the Policy has triggered the re-introduction of fee free education for primary and lower secondary levels in the quest to attain universal primary and secondary education that require all children to enter primary and secondary school and complete the cycle. The policy is geared towards contributing to children's retention in primary school as well as transition to secondary school. The Human Rights Watch Report of 2017 states that under the fifth phase government all school fees and contributions were abolished in December 2015. By doing that, secondary enrollment has increased considerably (HRW, 2017).

Similarly, the right to education is enshrined in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977, which states that in Tanzania everyone has the right to access education and to pursue education in field of his choice up to the highest level according to his or her merits and ability. Article 11(2) of the Constitution of Tanzania emphasizes that education should be provided equally without any discrimination. In that respect, the Law of the Child Act of 2009, provides that children have the right to education and that no person including parents, guardian and other people having custody of a child shall deprive a child access to education. According to the law, facilitating children's access to basic education is among the parental duties and responsibilities.

As recent report on education with a focus on gender equity and fee-free basic education in Tanzania provides a relatively fair assessment of the fee-free basic education programme (FBEP), which is a government's flagship policy to expand equitable access to basic education (Samer 2018). It acknowledges that enrollment and progression rates in basic education in Tanzania are similar for boys and girls but large gender inequalities in learning outcomes continue. Primary and secondary dropout are high whereby 29 percent of girls and 34 percent of boys are estimated to drop out of lower secondary before they complete compared with other countries in the region. Poor examination results of female students affect their ability to continue in formal schooling. Over the last 4 years 21% of boys and 16% of girls that completed lower secondary schooling went onto upper secondary (Samer 2018)

Tanzania has attained gender parity of 1:1 (boys and girls) in enrollment at primary school but the levels of transition from primary school to lower and higher secondary school has remained less than one third, (Human Rights Watch (HRW) Report, 2017), and the situation is worse for girls. Available statistics for instance, show that only 5-6% of girls, continue with secondary education compared to 12-13% of boys (HRW Report, 2017). Equally, according to Human Rights Watch (HRW) Report (2017), "Barriers to Secondary Education in Tanzania", less than one third of girls who complete primary school get to join and complete lower secondary school. Poverty and financial constraints are the major factors barring retention and transition, followed by failure to pass exams, (ILO, 2010; Singh and Mkhherjee, 2015; Katiwa, 2016; Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST, 2017); HRW, 2017; URT, 2017). Cumulatively, HRW report (2017) further shows that the latter has since 2012 barred more than 1.6 million adolescents from accessing secondary education. The available literature highlights the factors for retention and transition rates in developing countries (see ILO 2010; Katiwa 2016; Singh and Mkhherjee 2015) establishes factors such as schooling costs, absenteeism and temporary drop out inhibit education access, retention and completion by children from vulnerable communities.

Furthermore, truancy and pregnancy are other reasons for low girls' retention and transition. According to Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 2017, 54,117 primary school girls dropped out of school in 2016, out of whom 594 were due to pregnancies. In the same year, 30,268 secondary school girls dropped out of school, of whom 4,442 were due to pregnancy. Likewise, TDHS (2015/2016) shows that more than 30% of young women who were in the early 20s were married before they turned 18 years (see also URT 2017).

Since the factors documented above operate differently in different contexts, it is important to understand how these factors shape the patterns of retention and transition rates in Tanzania in order to recommend context specific interventions. It is against this background and context that HakiElimu commissioned researchers from the University of Dar es Salaam to explore how specific factors for girls' retention and transition from primary school to lower and higher secondary play out in different contexts in Tanzania.

Section 2: Methodology, Approach and Methods

2.1 Study Design and approach

The design for this study was exploratory seeking to explore and understand how different factors influence school girls' retention and transition. Thus, to adequately establish specific factors for school girls' retention and transition from primary to lower and higher secondary schools, two methodological approaches were taken into account, namely: *review of relevant documents* and *collection of primary data*. Review of documents was critical for establishing the state of art regarding the legal and policy framework within which education in general and girls' education in particular is provided in Tanzania. In addition, review of documents has enabled revisiting and making sense of the existing research regarding school girls' retention and transition to secondary school.

Equally important, collection of primary data was essential in establishing a situational analysis by engaging stakeholders to speak about the challenges and prospects of girls' education. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods for data generation. Quantification (percentages and cross tabulations) was done to further describe patterns in retention and transition rates. The methods were in-depth interviews (IDIs), focus group discussions (FGDs) and structured interviews.

2.2 Study population

The population for this study is stakeholders in girls' education. These include school girls, teachers, parents/guardians, community leaders, and government officials at regional, district and ward levels.

2.3 Study area

The selection criteria were influenced by study objectives e.g. selecting regions with high and poor performance in order to highlight factors that favor or affect girls' retention and transition, inquire on girls' pregnancy associated with high girls' pregnancy rates etc. The consultants drew *case study areas* (regions, districts and wards, villages/mitaa and schools) from which they established the factors for school girls' retention and transition to secondary schools. The selection of study areas was as follows:

Table 2. 1: Criteria for selection of regions

Selection criteria	Case region	Reason for selection
Most affluent and urbanised	Dar es Salaam	Is the most affluent and urbanised region in Tanzania. Was chosen to enable to highlight the differences in girls' retention and transition between rural and urban areas.
Relatively poor performance in exams e.g. CSE, 2017	Dodoma	During the preparation for fieldwork Dodoma was among the regions which had relatively poor performance in the CSE, 2017
Relatively good performance in exams e.g. CSE, 2017	Kilimanjaro	Among the regions which had ranked the first CSE, 2017.
Relatively poorer region	Lindi	Has for many decades been ranked among the poorest region in Tanzania

Selection criteria	Case region	Reason for selection
High rates of school pregnancies	Tabora	Among the regions with highest rates of teenage pregnancies and child marriage cases (TDHS, 2015/16; URT, 2017)

2.4 Selection of Districts, Wards and Schools

On the basis of the same factors used for selection of case regions, (namely rural/urban differences, performance in exams, rate of truancy, rate school pregnancies, income differences etc.) the research team liaised with education stakeholders at regional level especially the Regional and District Educational Officers to identify the best, worst and/or medium cases at both district and ward levels. At ward level, depending on circumstances such as the number of schools in the ward and location of particular schools, random and purposive sampling procedures were used to obtain schools from which to sample school girls were selected:

- i In cases where there were several schools located in urban areas or rural areas, a list of all schools in the wards were arranged alphabetically and the first school on the list picked.
- ii Schools, which were located in typical urban areas or rural areas, were picked purposively.
- iii A-level secondary schools were mostly located at district level. The districts, which had one school; that one school was selected. If the district was selected on the basis of the criteria mentioned above but had no high school, another district, which has a high school, was added only for the purpose of obtaining a high school.

2.4.1 Selection of school girls for quantitative survey

2.4.2 Determination of sample size

The sample size was calculated from an unknown population of school girls¹ in primary and secondary schools. According to Tanzania Population Census of 2012, the proportion of girls who are attending schools out of all students in primary and secondary schools is 52 percent. We also assumed the confidence level of 95% and marginal error of 2.282%.

Then, we let the proportion of girls be $P = 0.52$, Confidence level be $CI = 0.95$, Marginal error be $ME = 0.02282$ and sample size be n . Sample size was calculated using Cochran's formula since it enables to determine the sample size, from the desired level of precision (Margins error), desired confidence level and the unknown population standard deviation. Thus Cochran's sample size formula is as follows:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 P(1-P)}{ME^2}$$

Where Z is the standard score which is calculated by using Z table given the confidence interval. Since the CI is 0.95, then its standard score is 1.96. Therefore, by using equation (1), the sample size is calculated as follows;

$$n = \frac{1.96^2(0.52)(0.48)}{0.02282^2} \approx 1842 \text{ girls}$$

In order to divide the sample evenly, 1 girl was dropped and remain with the sample size of 1841. Hence, the following is the distribution of the sample size of 1841 from Ward level to regional level and from primary school (standard five to standard seven) and secondary from form one to form six.

¹ It was difficult for the research team to establish the population of schoolgirls in the study regions hence to treated it as unknown for the purpose of this study.

Table 2. 2: Sampling Process

Region	District	Ward	School type	Number of schools	Number of Students per school	Total Number of students to be interviewed		
	Urban District	Ward 1	Primary	2	21	42		
			O-level	1	40	40		
			A-level	1	20	20		
				4		102		
		Ward 2	Primary	2	21	42		
			O-level	1	40	40		
			A-level	0	20	0		
				3		82		
		Total per district				7		184
		Rural District	Ward 1	Primary	2	21	42	
	O-level			1	40	40		
	A-level			0	20	0		
				3		82		
	Ward 2		Primary	2	21	42		
			O-level	1	40	40		
			A-level	1	20	20		
				4		102		
	Total per district				7		184	
	Total per region				14		368	
	Total per 5 regions						1840	

2.4.2 Procedures for Selection of School Girls

Depending on circumstances, at boarding schools, girls were picked randomly, while at day schools they were picked purposively.

- i For O-level boarding secondary schools, one stream (for schools which have streams) was picked and ten students picked randomly. For A-level, the same procedure (random) was used to pick ten students.
- ii For day students in O-level and pupils in primary schools, purposive sampling was used whereby teachers were asked to assist researchers to pick girls on the basis of criteria such as those who travel long distances to school, who live close to school, who are from disadvantaged backgrounds, etc. For O-level schools, 10 students were picked from every class while for primary schools 7 pupils were picked from every school.
- iii It was noted that at ward level, there were fewer secondary than primary schools and that drop out cases are more pronounced at secondary than primary school levels. Thus, we decided to divide the sample evenly and sampled (10) girls from every class in selected secondary schools, 7 girls in every selected primary schools, in every class five to seven.

iv Finally, 1841 school girls were interviewed, 41 IDIs and 29 FGDs conducted. Ultimately, 1841 school girls at different levels of education were recruited for participation in this study. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 below are illustrative.

Table 2. 3: Sampling of school girls

Region	District	Ward	School	No of students	Total		
Dar es salaam	Ilala	<u>Kisutu</u>	Kisutu Girls Sec	40	183		
			Olympio P/s	21			
		<u>Upanga</u>	Jangwani Sec	19			
			<u>Mashariki</u>	Zanaki P/s		20	
		<u>Chanika</u>	Chanika Sec	40			
			Zingiziwa P/s	21			
		Lukooni P/s	21				
			183				
		Kigamboni	<u>Mji mwema</u>	Aboud Jumbe Sec		40	165
				Maweni P/s		22	
	<u>Gezaulole</u>			Gezaulole P/s	22		
	Mbutu P/s			21			
	Nguva Sec			39			
		165					
	Temeke	<u>Chang'ombe</u>	Kibasila H/s	21	21	369	
			21				
<u>Dodoma</u>	<u>Dodoma Urban</u>	<u>Makole</u>	Dodoma Sec	42	186		
			Dodoma H/s	20			
		Chaduru P/s	42				
		Nghambala P/S	21				
		<u>Chigongwe</u>	Chigongwe P/s	21			
			Chigongwe Sec	40			
		186					
	<u>Konodoa</u>	<u>Pahi</u>	Konodoa Girls Sec	20	189		
			Pahi P/s	22			
			Pahi Sec.	21			
			Kiteo P/s	22			
		<u>Kiusa</u>	Amani A. Karume P/s	21			
			Loo P/s	21			
			Loo Sec.	39			
			Kalamba P/s	23			
			189				
	375						
<u>Kilimanjaro</u>	MoshiMC	<u>Soweto</u>	Soweto Sec	21	179		
			Kalanga P/s	21			
		<u>Mawenzi</u>	Mawenzi P/s	21			
			Mawenzi Sec	40			
			Mawenzi H/s	20			
		<u>Kibo</u>	Kibo P/s	16			
			Kiusa Sec	40			
			179				
		<u>Rombo</u>	<u>Holili</u>	Holili Sec		40	184
				Holili P/s		21	
	Custom P/s			21			
	<u>Makiidi</u>		Kifufuu P/s	21			
			Mkuu Sec	40			
			Mkuu H/s	20			
		184					
	363						

Region	District	Ward	School	No of students	Total			
<u>Lindi</u>	<u>Lindi MC</u>	<u>Matopeni</u>	Lindi Sec	44	168			
			Mtuleni P/s	21				
			Wailes P/s	21				
		<u>Matanda</u>	Mtanda P/s	21				
			Angaza Sec	40				
		<u>Liwale</u>		Kineng'ene P/s	21	174		
					168			
			<u>Liwale Mji</u>	Liwale P/s	21			
				R. M. Kawawa Sec	31			
				Kawawa P/s	21			
<u>Likongowele</u>			Likongowele Sec	38				
			<u>Nangando</u>	Nangando P/s	21			
Kambarage P/s				21				
Naluleo P/s				21				
				174				
<u>Lindi Rural</u>		<u>Nyangao</u>	Mahiwa H/s	20	20	362		
			20					
<u>Tabora</u>		<u>Tabora MC</u>		Cheyo P/s	21	186		
	<u>Cheyo</u>			Cheyo Sec	41			
				Kazima H/s	21			
				Masubi P/s	21			
	<u>Misha</u>		Misha P/s	21				
			Misha Sec	40				
			Itaga P/s	21				
				186				
			<u>Urambo</u>	<u>Urambo</u>	Azimio P/s			22
					Ukombozi P/s			21
Ukombozo Sec		42						
<u>Uyumbu</u>		Izimbili P/s		21				
		Msengesi P/s		20				
		Uyumbu Sec		39				
		Uyumbu H/s		21				
				186				
Total sample for school girls					186	372		
					186	1,841		

2.4.3 Selection of informants for qualitative data

The selection of study participants was informed by the relevance and suitability of the informant in provision of the information required to address research questions. The need for such information was the basis of recruiting key informants for IDIs and participants for FGDs. In particular, education officers at district and ward level, academic or discipline masters at secondary and primary schools were recruited for in-depth interviews. In addition, parents/guardians and education committee members together village leaders at village levels were recruited for FGDs. Ultimately, 41 IDIs and 29 FGDs were conducted (see table 2.4). During analysis, four cases, as presented in the findings section, were drawn from FGDs and IDIs.

Table 2. 4: Summary of Qualitative Data

	Dar es Salaam		Dodoma		Kilimanjaro		Tabora		Lindi		Total	
IDI												
Regional educated officer		1		1		1		1		1		5
District education officer		2		2		2		1		2		9
District Welfare Officer		2		-		-		1		-		3
Ward education officer		2		2		1		1		2		8
WEO/VEO		4		4		2		3		3		16
FGDs												41
Parents		-		1		1		2		1		6
School Committee		1		1		2		1		1		6
Ward leaders		1		2		1		1		1		6
Students/pupils		2		2		2		3		2		11
Total												29

Table 2. 5: Characteristics of School Girls who participated in the social survey and their households

Age of respondents	Dar es Salaam		Kilimanjaro		Tabora		Dodoma		Lindi		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
10-12	72	18.0%	98	24.6%	57	14.3%	73	18.3%	99	24.8%	399	21.7%
13-17	244	20.4%	224	18.7%	262	21.9%	242	20.3%	223	18.7%	1,195	64.9%
18-21	53	21.7%	40	16.4%	53	21.7%	58	23.8%	40	16.4%	244	13.3%
Don't know	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	3	0.2%
Total	369	20.0%	363	19.7%	372	20.2%	375	20.4%	362	19.7%	1,841	100.0%
Education level												
standard 5	34	14.8%	47	20.4%	36	15.7%	55	23.9%	58	25.2%	230	12.5%
standard 6	50	17.9%	48	17.2%	61	21.9%	56	20.1%	64	22.9%	279	15.2%
standard 7	85	25.7%	68	20.5%	71	21.5%	61	18.4%	46	13.9%	331	18.0%
form 1	15	8.1%	45	24.3%	61	33.0%	26	14.1%	38	20.5%	185	10.0%
form 2	40	18.3%	37	16.9%	45	20.5%	50	22.8%	47	21.5%	219	11.9%
form 3	58	28.0%	39	18.8%	26	12.6%	36	17.4%	48	23.2%	207	11.2%
form 4	47	25.3%	40	21.5%	30	16.1%	49	26.3%	20	10.8%	186	10.1%

form 5	10	11.0%	19	20.9%	20	22.0%	21	23.1%	21	23.1%	91	4.9%
form 6	30	26.5%	20	17.7%	22	19.5%	21	18.6%	20	17.7%	113	6.1%
Total	369	20.0%	363	19.7%	372	20.2%	375	20.4%	362	19.7%	1,841	100.0%
Household source of income												
trade/business	198	31.4%	171	27.1%	81	12.9%	92	14.6%	88	14.0%	630	34.2%
Farming	40	5.6%	92	12.9%	185	25.9%	214	30.0%	182	25.5%	713	38.7%
Fishing	5	22.7%	0	0.0%	6	27.3%	4	18.2%	7	31.8%	22	1.2%
livestock keeping	10	26.3%	10	26.3%	7	18.4%	4	10.5%	7	18.4%	38	2.1%
official employee	88	26.4%	65	19.5%	73	21.9%	47	14.1%	60	18.0%	333	18.1%
casual labour	17	29.3%	11	19.0%	9	15.5%	9	15.5%	12	20.7%	58	3.2%
other activities	11	23.4%	14	29.8%	11	23.4%	5	10.6%	6	12.8%	47	2.6%
Total	369	20.0%	363	19.7%	372	20.2%	375	20.4%	362	19.7%	1,841	100.0%
Respondent's bread earner												
Parents/brother/sister	346	20.6%	333	19.8%	341	20.3%	328	19.5%	331	19.7%	1,679	91.2%
Myself	2	6.5%	5	16.1%	1	3.2%	12	38.7%	11	35.5%	31	1.7%
Other relatives	19	16.2%	22	18.8%	28	23.9%	28	23.9%	20	17.1%	117	6.4%
Other(Non-relatives)	2	14.3%	3	21.4%	2	14.3%	7	50.0%	0	0.0%	14	0.8%
Total	369	20.0%	363	19.7%	372	20.2%	375	20.4%	362	19.7%	1,841	100.0%
Adequate food throughout the year												
Available	207	17.1%	276	22.8%	233	19.2%	235	19.4%	261	21.5%	1,212	65.8%
Not available	90	21.4%	50	11.9%	116	27.6%	86	20.5%	78	18.6%	420	22.8%
don't know	72	34.4%	37	17.7%	23	11.0%	54	25.8%	23	11.0%	209	11.4%
Total	369	20.0%	363	19.7%	372	20.2%	375	20.4%	362	19.7%	1,841	100.0%
Source of light												
Kerosene	28	14.7%	36	18.9%	52	27.4%	34	17.9%	40	21.1%	190	10.3%
fuel wood	4	9.3%	6	14.0%	6	14.0%	16	37.2%	11	25.6%	43	2.3%
electricity from national grid (TANESCO)	233	24.6%	254	26.8%	162	17.1%	105	11.1%	192	20.3%	946	51.4%
Generator	0	0.0%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%	5	45.5%	3	27.3%	11	0.6%
solar power	90	15.3%	64	10.9%	145	24.7%	184	31.3%	104	17.7%	587	31.9%
other sources of power	14	21.9%	0	0.0%	7	10.9%	31	48.4%	12	18.8%	64	3.5%
Total	369	20.0%	363	19.7%	372	20.2%	375	20.4%	362	19.7%	1,841	100.0%

2.5 Research methods and tools

Both quantitative and qualitative methods and tools for data collection were used as follows;

Quantitative methods and tools: Quantitative methods, data collection involved the use of structured interview using a questionnaire with mainly closed ended questions and a few open-ended questions. This was administered to schoolgirls in both primary school (standard V to VII) and lower and higher secondary school. The purpose of quantitative data is to enable the quantification and prioritization of factors, which affect girls' retention and transition to secondary school. In particular, the tool helped in describing patterns in the factors accounting for retention and transition rates.

Qualitative methods and tools: Qualitative data were generated using qualitative methods of data collection mainly in-depth interviews (IDIs) using an interview guides and focus group discussions (FGDs) using FDG guides. On the one hand, one IDI tool was used to generate data from education stakeholders such as officials in education and health ministries, regional administration and district/municipal councils, teachers and local leaders (village and ward executive officers, village/mtaa chairpersons etc.). On the other hand, two (2) FGD tools were used, one to generate data from parents/guardians and another one with village health committee together with village ladders and school girls. The purpose of qualitative data is to get to the perspectives of various education stakeholders on the situation of girls' education. In particular, qualitative data helped to qualify quantitative data and better understanding on how different factors operate in terms of shaping girls' retention and transition.

2.6 Data quality control

To ensure quality of data the study, investigators applied various measures ranging from design of data collection tools to data analysis. Data collection tools were developed in English but were translated into Swahili language for easy and correct understanding of questions to both data collectors and respondents. A one-day training of all research team members involved in the fieldwork was done prior to the fieldwork to familiarize everyone on the research methods, sampling procedures, tools and questions, ethical and logistical aspects of the fieldwork. This was pertinent to ensure consistence.

During data collection, the field research assistants under the directives of field supervisors convened daily meetings after fieldwork to review completed work and share challenges and experiences. Using relevant approaches as deemed convenient the supervisors used such meetings to address any gaps in proposed methodology. Field supervisors also used the meetings to get updates from the field and communicate necessary changes in the methodology.

Data entry and cleaning before analysis were done to ensure quality data and documenting any anomalies found. Both electronic and paper based records were coded in the field and during data transcription. Recorded transcripts were verified against the electronic records for accuracy and completeness.

2.7 Data analysis and presentation

Both quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods were used. Quantitative data processing was done using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS-20), analysis was done using STATA 13 and Microsoft Excel 2016 were used to construct graphs and charts for presentation of findings. Both descriptive measures and measures of association were done to establish patterns and relationship between school girls' retention and transition to secondary school and their socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

On the other hand, qualitative data involved summarising and extracting information from data collected followed by a content analysis. These included but not limited to: Organising the data (distinguishing the important aspects that were aimed to be explored against topics of interest that emerged in the process). And, finding and organising ideas and concepts that appears more frequently in the interviews/discussions and categorising/coding them accordingly

2.8 Ethical considerations

Prior to commencement of fieldwork, the consultants obtained research clearance through the University of Dar es Salaam. Official letters with detailed information about the study including objectives, methodology and usage of its findings were distributed to the respective authorities for their approval. The consent to interview schoolgirls below 18 years was sought from teachers. Informants were told that participation is voluntary and that their identities would remain anonymous. Moreover, care was taken to ensure psychological security of these young study participants. Contact details for the study team were left with respondents in case they needed to follow up with questions/clarifications after the data collection.

Section 3: Factors for Retention and Transition of School Girls from Lower to Higher Levels of Education

3.1 Introduction

This section presents and discusses findings on the factors for retention and transition of school girls from one level to another (from primary to lower secondary and from lower secondary to higher secondary school). Attention is paid to domestic environment where school girls live and socialise; teaching and learning environment; school girls' sexuality and teenage pregnancy, challenges of hygiene and handling of menstruation cycle. This means that factors influencing retention of girls in school can also shape their transition from lower level to higher levels. The immediate concern is that Tanzania has been successful in retaining a greater proportion of girls in primary school but their transition to lower and higher secondary schools remain low. The analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data in this study indicates that the link between factors for retention and transition is both complex and multifaceted as discussed in the next sections. In that respect, factors for retention and transition are discussed simultaneously in order to avoid being repetitive.

3.2 Domestic environment where school girls live and socialise

Both qualitative and quantitative data show that the nature of domestic environment in which school girls live and are socialised influence the conditions for girls' retention and transition from primary to secondary education. Both structural and cultural forces produce and reproduce the interplay of several aspects, which make the domestic environment (un)friendly for girls' retention and smooth transition from primary to higher levels of education. Such aspects include but are not limited to: low value attached to education by parents and guardians; the meaning, and roles expected of school girls; child work to assist their parents/guardians in production (farming and pastoralist) activities; and poverty conditions forcing young girls into child labour and the availability of necessary school requirements.

3.2.1 The value attached to formal education

The study findings suggest that the value attached to formal education is one of the factors accounting for the current patterns in retention and transition rates among girls in the studied regions. In societies where formal education is not considered as a resource/an investment/means to better life, the rates for retention and transition especially among girls is lower compared to areas where education has been taken as a valuable investment in the lives of children regardless of their sex. To be specific, low value attached to education in general and girls' education in particular was quite evident in regions such as Lindi, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma (Kondoa) and Tabora.

Historically, in these regions, the situation has been reproduced by religious beliefs and traditions. Available studies especially Sambaiga (2013) in Mtwara and Lindi regions, show that, although of late the situation is increasingly changing, values of the patriarchy systems coupled with influence of the Arabic civilization (spread through Islam), have historically attributed low value on formal education in general and girls' education in particular. In such contexts, women were traditionally confined in the domestic sphere and responsible for domestic chores, reproduction and raising of children as well as production activities in the fields. Interviews with education experts at regional and district levels and FGDs with school girls, in the above mentioned regions revealed that some parents instruct their children to write wrong answers in their final examinations so that they do not pass and transition from primary to secondary school. Other parents tell their children not to worry about education because they (parents) never went to school and still are living a happy life.

According to the norms and customs of most coastal communities, it is not important for a girl to be educated...Parents do not see it is their role to remind their children on the importance of studying hard (KII/District official/Dar es Salaam)

Traditions and customs in this area when a girl is at the adolescent age she stays in a different house away from her parents, due to that she become free to do whatever she wants and easy for her to engage with lured into peers' pressure this may cause poor school attendance that lead to poor performance and drop out from school. Also there are circumcision and initiation ceremonies, this traditional education from initiation ceremonies contribute in destroying children especially in issues related to education because initiation ceremonies prepare them for marriage purposes (KII/Education stakeholder/ Lindi).

Children are the ones taking care of the family instead of their parents ...Many parents are illiterate, drinkers and they don't monitor their children...Circumcision rituals and early marriage contribute to poor school attendance... During the farming season many children do not attend school as they work on farms (FGD/School girls/Dodoma)

Equally important, data from interviews indicate that the long held cultural beliefs and practices among other ethnic groups (in Tabora, Lindi and Dodoma) among which this study was conducted, condone early marriage. Among the Nyamwezi in Tabora for example, once a girl attains puberty, it automatically becomes acceptable for such girl to get married. Girls who participated in this study, revealed that some girls deny their parents/guardians information about their attainment of puberty for fear of being immediately married off. So, for some parents, their daughters being in school after attainment of puberty, constitutes two unpleasant risks. First, it delays such parents' chances of receiving cows as bride price from prospective suitors. Secondly, such delays may lead to a risk of parents missing an opportunity of dowry (cows) especially if a girl gets pregnant before marriage her status drops sharply and no good dowry can be expected from such a girl. It is for this reason that some parents/guardians use various means to take their daughters out of school and marry them off. In line with these findings, URT (2017:6) also underlines concerns among parents and communities such as "reputational risk, fear of dishonor and financial consequences" once an unmarried young girl gets pregnant.

In some cases, going to school has not helped our girls. Instead of acquiring the intended skills many fail their exams and others become harlots who steal other women's husbands, (FGD/Parents/ Dodoma)

In this community female children are not given priority even in terms of listening to their needs...Some of the parents think girls cannot study but should stay home to do the household chores and get married (FGD/Parents/ Dodoma)

These findings are well corroborated by the Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS, 2015/2016) data which show that 36% of girls of age between 20 and 24 years old were married before the age of 18.

Under the circumstances where parents attach low value to education, even the question of giving their children enough time to concentrate on their studies becomes unimportant. Through FGDs, primary and lower secondary school girls explained that, before and after school hours, unlike most of their male counterparts, girls have to participate in domestic activities such as fetching water, washing dishes, cooking, and caring for young ones. Day school girls revealed that they normally participate in household chores and go late to school where they face punishment for coming late. Some revealed that they always hide in the toilet, for some hours, a practice described by school girls in Urambo (Tabora) as "kubana mtaro" in order to avoid being punished by teachers for being late at school. In rural areas, girls further narrated that, domestic work becomes intense during the farming (rainy) season when many girls (and boys of course) are prevented from going to school in order to assist their parents in production activities.

Girls' involvement in domestic chores is also supported by social survey findings which show that a significant number of girls 760 girls (more than 40%) who participated, in this study spend two (2) hours or more one domestic work. Table 3.1 below is illustrative.

Table 3. 1: Percentage of Hours Spent by Girls on domestic work per day by Region

Time	Dar es Salaam (N=369)	Kilimanjaro (N=363)	Tabora (N= 372)	Dodoma (N=375)	Lindi (N=362)	In general (N=1841)
Less than one hour	36.31%	32.78%	33.06%	45.07%	50.55%	39.54%
One hour	30.62%	44.63%	31.18%	31.47%	35.36%	34.60%
Two hours	9.76%	11.85%	17.47%	12.27%	9.39%	12.17%
Three hours or more	12.20%	9.09%	14.25%	9.87%	2.76%	9.67%
Does not do any domestic work	11.11%	1.65%	4.03%	1.33%	1.93%	4.02%

Source: Survey data, 2018

Qualitative data corroborates the above findings. Below is a portrait of a girl who failed her final primary education examination due to limited time for studies.

Siku: did not pass the examination due to spending more time selling cassava

Siku is a 17 years old girl who lives at Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam. Her parents died. So, she lives with her sister. Siku completed primary school education, three years ago but she did not pass her final examination. For this reason, she did not get a chance to join public secondary school. Siku claims that she failed primary school final examination because of her too much engagement in income generating activities such that she did not get enough time for studying. “After school hours I was always supposed to assist my sister in trading cassava. The money we raised from the business to meet livelihood needs”. So when Siku failed her final primary school examination, she had no other option than joining her sister in trading cassava because the money raised from cassava could not be enough to take Siku to a private school.

Similarly, FGDs with school girls and school committee members illuminate how time for domestic works compete with girls’ time for schooling and studies;

Most of the children after school hours when they get back home they had to do the household work such as collecting firewood, fetching water, cattle grazing due to this they don’t get enough time to study at home and the time they finish the household works they can’t study because of tiredness (FGD/School girls/Dodoma)

Household chores are arranged with gender considerations, for girls they spend most their time doing the household chores due to that they don’t get enough time to learn compared to boys (FGD/School Committee/Lindi).

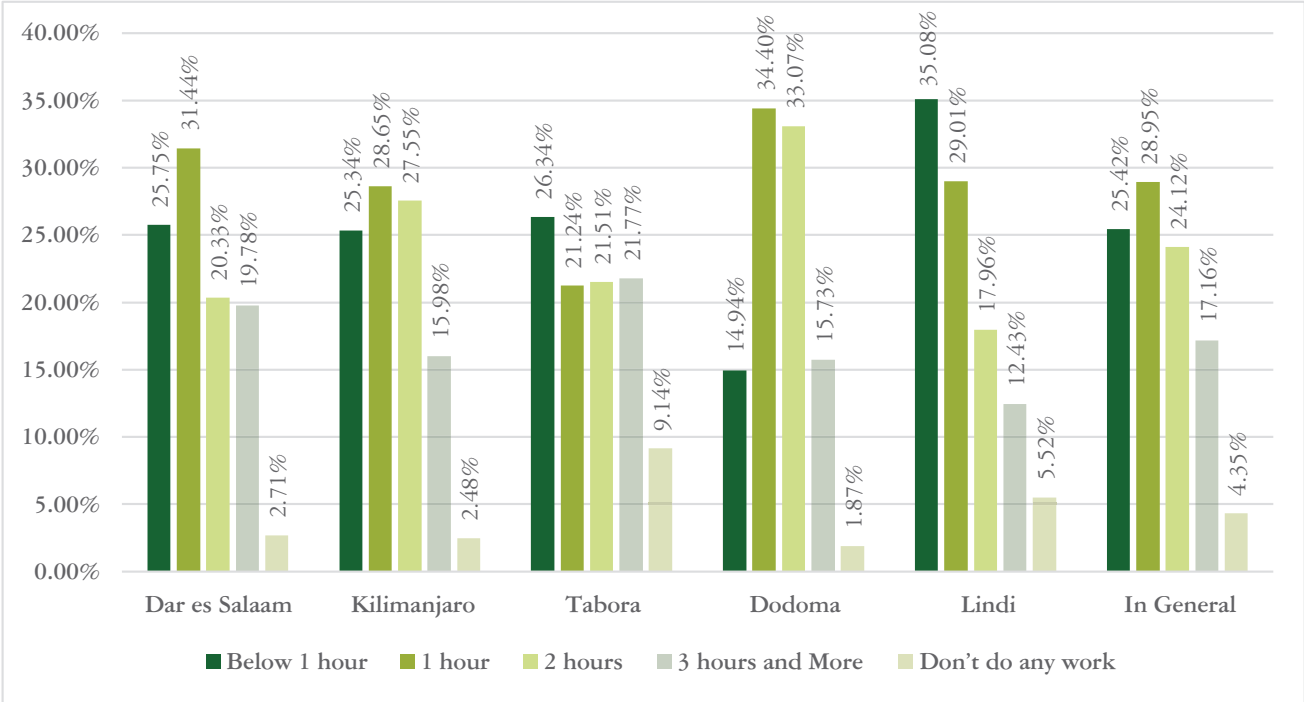
Parents in this village have bad economic conditions and because of that situation they fail to take care of their children...the school is too far from the students’ homes, most of them walk 10 kilometers from home to school...parents are discouraging their children from doing well in their exams. That is why some of them fail. their exams (FGD/School girls/Dodoma)

In its own right, the involvement of girls into domestic work is not an issue of concern for girls’ retention and transition from primary education to higher levels unless it affects the time and ability of the students to concentrate on their studies especially for day scholars. This view takes into account the fact that, some of girls would have done manual work for more or less similar hours at school (see table 3.1 above) along with walking or riding bicycles or hustling for public transport for some time such that they are already tired by the time they get home or at school. Data from the field indicates that time spent undertaking domestic chores might not be the culprit for retention and transition challenges, but rather how domestic work is organised. Further analysis show that more girls reported spending more time working while at school (53%

reported doing manual work for 2 hours or more while at school) as compared to 41% of the girls who reported spending 2 hours or more doing domestic chores at home. However, what one notes is that the timing of the chores disfavors girls at home since chores are meant to be done early in the morning delaying them to get to school.

As a result of the delays they end up being punished. For some rather than being punished they opt not attending classes. Issues of gender inequality which lead to discrimination against girls are also underlined in (URT, 2017:6) which portrays that in many communities in Tanzania, girls are “trained as caregivers performing unpaid domestic tasks” while boys are portrayed as “economic investments expected to support the family”. Other studies have shown that household demands on children’s time often translate into less time for girls to devote to their schoolwork when they are out of school (Samer, 2018). A study by the World Bank (2006) found that girls in Tanzania work for their households more frequently and for longer periods than boys. This also means that girls arrive at school less ready to learn (see also UNICEF 2003).

Figure 3. 1: Number of hours spent on manual work at school per day, (N=1841)



Source: Survey data, 2018

Furthermore, quantitative data from the study indicates that more than 85% (1566/1841) girls who participated in this study, live at home and have to travel to school on daily basis (see Table 3.2).

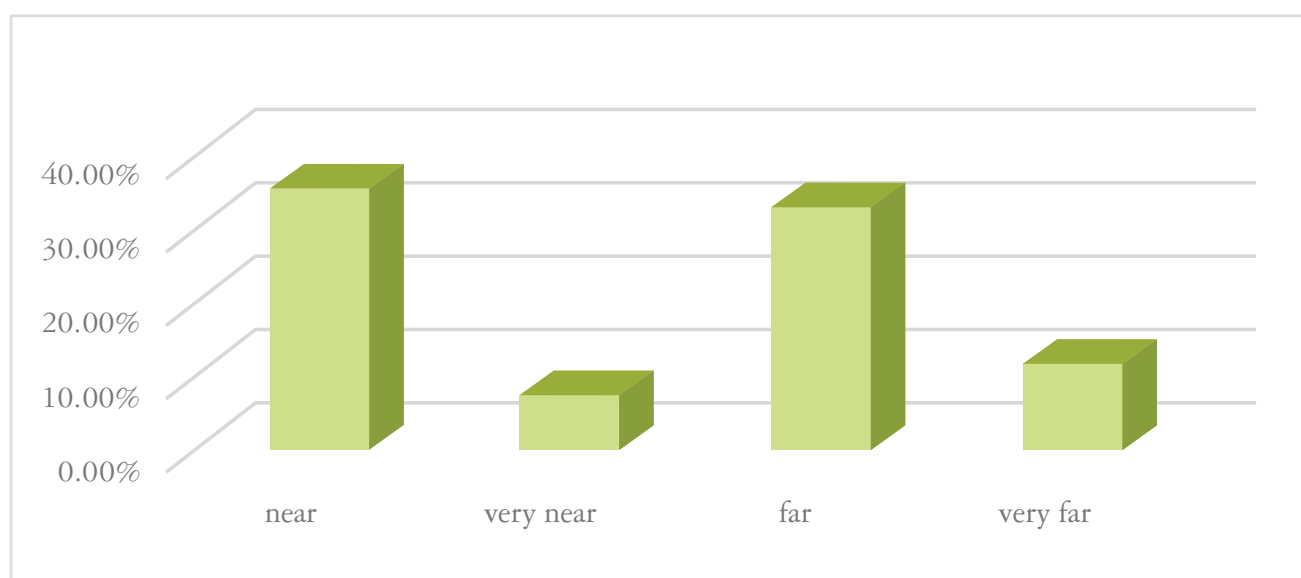
Table 3. 2: School Girls' Places of Residence, (N=1841)

District	At school/Boarding	At home	Rent a room	Total
Ilala	0	180(98.4%)	3 (1.6%)	183(100.0%)
Kigamboni	1(0.6%)	160(97%)	4(2.4%)	165(100.0%)
Temeke	1(3.4%)	20(69.1%)	8(27.5%)	29(100.0%)
Dodoma Urban	25(13.4%)	156(83.9%)	5(2.7%)	186(100.0%)
Kondo	20(10.5%)	164(86.7%)	5(2.4%)	169(100.0%)
Moshi MC	17(9.5%)	160(89.4%)	2(1.1%)	179(100.0%)
Rombo	41(22.3%)	142(77.2%)	1(0.5%)	184(100.0%)
Lindi MC	4(2.4%)	163(97%)	1(0.6%)	168(100.0%)
Lindi Rural	20(100%)	0	0	20(100.0%)
Liwale	38(21.8%)	133(76.4%)	3(1.7%)	174(100.0%)
Tabora MC	21(11.7%)	157(87.8%)	1(0.5%)	179(100.0)
Urambo	55(29.5%)	131(70.5%)	0	186(100.0%)
	243(13.2)	1566 (85%)	32(1.7%)	1841(100.0%)

Source: Survey data, 2018

To be sure, close to half of the interviewed girls (44.3%) perceived the distance from home to their school as either far (32.7%) or very far (11.6%). As such, on top of domestic chores, several school girls have to travel relatively long distances between home and school. From FGDs, girls who live very far from school said to spend up to four hours on the way to school and another four hours from school.

Table 3. 3: Distance from girls' residences to school, (N=1841)



Source: Survey data, 2018

Lack of reliable and/or efficient means of transport to and from school adds up to the severity of the challenges posed by long distances school girls have to travel. In fact, data shows that most of the girls either walk on foot (in Lindi, Dodoma and Tabora), the average of which is 75% of all the school girls who participated in this study or travel by bicycle (18.5%), public transport in Dar es Salaam, 37.4% and Kilimanjaro, 30% as indicated in Table 3.4.

Table 3. 4: Means of transport used by School Girls by region (percentages)

District	On foot	By bicycle	School bus	Public transport	Motorcycle	Total
Dar es Salaam (N=369)	55.6	0	4.1	37.4	2	100.0
Dodoma (N=375)	87	1	0	11.5	0.6	100.0
Kilimanjaro(N=363)	77	0	0	30	0	100.0
Lindi (N=369)	90	5.6	0.7	0.7	3	100.0
Tabora (N=372)	80.5	18.1	0	1	0.2	100.0
Total	75.7	4.6	0.75	17.5	1.5	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2018

The experiences that girls encounter as they travel between home and school are not limited to squeezing their time and energy for studying but also expose girls into vulnerable situations especially in relation to sexuality and teenage pregnancy as explained below. With all these practical challenges in their everyday life of schooling, to expect that girls can be retained in school and perform better in their exams to continue with further education without putting in place resilience mechanisms, is perhaps to expect too much.

Long distance contributes to girls drop out from school due to the journey from their home to school due to this they might find themselves being tempted or raped for instance a place known as Namaringo is too far from school services (FGD, Lindi).

Transport is a problem especially for girls because they face challenges since there is a long distance from home to school...Temptations from young men especially bodaboda driver lead to poor school attendance among girls' students and may lead to drop out due to pregnancy this happened due to difficulties in life (KII/Head of Secondary school / Dar es Salaam)

Some parents make their children do so much household chores and engage in income generation activities for example in restaurant and alcohol clubs instead of studying as the result they drop out from school (FGD/School Committee/Dodoma)

In some rural areas people's settlements are scattered and unevenly spread. This has meant that even education services are scattered and that some pupils/students have to go long distances to and from school as noted earlier. In Tabora region for instance, peri-urban areas of Tabora municipality and in Urambo district, girls revealed that they walk long distances to and from school. One for instance, spends two hours from home to school, and the paths they take are bushy and for that matter they cannot leave home very early in the morning. Still, when they get to school very late they are punished for coming late. Such circumstances have discouraged many girls from attending school regularly, or even encouraged them to drop out dropping out of school. Some enlightened parents and those who have good incomes have bought bicycles for their children to ease their transport to school, but still, other parents either refuse to buy such bicycles or have no money to do so. So children of such parents have to keep going on foot and some have dropped out of school.



Image 3. 1: Bicycles: one of the means of transport in some schools in Tabora region

Yet still the findings on table 3.5 indicate that more than one third of the girls 44.4% (about 800/1841 girls) who participated in this study travel for one hour or more to school. And, 12.2% equivalent to more than 200 girls revealed that they travel for four hours to school. This has serious implication in terms of students' quality of learning for both boys and girls but more so for the girls taking into account the workload they have at home.

Table 3. 5: Time taken for girls to travel from home to school by district

District	less than an hour	1 hour	2 hours	3 hours	4 hours	Total
Ilala	58 (32%)	94 (51.4%)	12 (6.5%)	18 (10%)	0	183(100.0%)
Kigamboni	92 (55.7%)	54 (33%)	14 (8.5%)	4(2.4%)	1(0.6%)	165(100.0%)
Temeke	7(33.3%)	10(47.6%)	3(14.3%)	0	1(4.7%)	21(100.0%)
Dodoma Urban	77(41.4%)	70(37.6%)	7(3.8%)	7(3.8%)	25(13.4%)	186(100.0%)
Konodoa	109(57.7%)	50(27.3%)	9(4.8%)	1(0.5%)	20(10.6%)	189(100.0%)
Moshi MC	118(66%)	38(21.2%)	3(1.7%)	3(1.7%)	17(9.5%)	179(100.0%)
Rombo	111(60.3%)	15(8.2%)	4(2.2%)	13(7.1%)	41(22.3%)	179(100.0%)
Lindi MC	129(76.8%)	31(18.4%)	4(2.4%)	0	4(2.4%)	168(100.0%)
Liwale	108(62.1%)	25(14.4%)	2(1.1%)	1(0.6%)	38(21.8%)	174(100.0%)
Lindi Rural	20 (100%)	0	0	0	0	20 (100.0%)
Tabora MC	103(55.4%)	46(24.7%)	14(7.5%)	2(1.1%)	21(11.3%)	186(100.0%)
Urambo	92(49.5%)	36(19.3%)	1(0.5%)	2(1%)	55(29.6%)	186(100.0%)
Total	1024(55.6%)	469(25.5%)	73(4%)	51(2.7%)	224(12.2)	1841(100.0%)

Source: Survey data, 2018

The above data is well corroborated with URT (2017:6) report, which also highlights that long distances between home and schools expose girls, among other things, to “sexual assault”. Likewise, the above findings are inline with the analysis by Samer (2018) which shows that approximately a third of girls enrolled in secondary school in Tanzania had to travel over 3 kilometers to their closest secondary school in 2017. The long distances affect regular school attendance and subject schooling girls to risks of sexual and physical violence.

In societies where education is considered valuable, girls are not only socialised to persevere with the challenging encounters of schooling but also encouraged by parents and their role models (relatives who have excelled through education). The findings from Kilimanjaro region shed light on the point in question and explain the contribution of supportive domestic environment on the high rates of retention and transition in the region.

As the major ethnic group in Kilimanjaro region, the Chagga have embraced a culture that promotes enabling environment for girls’ education. Qualitative data indicates that a culturally suitable (acceptable) age for a girl to get married is not immediately after the girl’s attainment of puberty. Instead, it would take several years after puberty (up to 20 years of age) for a girl to be deemed fully grown up, both biologically and socially, to take up family and relationship responsibilities. IDIs with elderly people among the Chagga, revealed that this belief and practice goes far back in the Chagga tradition to the days before the coming of formal education and Christianity. So, the requirement of having girls who have attained puberty in school is harmonious with the Chagga’s beliefs and practices pertaining to woman’s sexual activities and marriage. While there could be some rare cases of some school girls among the Chagga getting married, such practices are at least contrary to long held cultural beliefs and practices about woman’s sexual activity and marriage. One of the parents who participated in this study reiterated that:

For us the Chagga, the acceptable age for a girl to get married is not immediately after puberty. It would always take some years after puberty before a girl gets married. The reason is to ensure that they are manure enough to handle family responsibilities. At such age, many girls today always already completed at least lower secondary school. So there is no contradiction between our beliefs about girls’ sexual activities and the requirements of the formal education system, (IDI/Parent/Kilimanjaro).

Eventually, the Chagga’s sociocultural beliefs and practices about women’s sexuality largely coincide with—and they are in fact promoted by—the government’s guidelines for which puberty is not a determinant of the girl’s maturity and readiness for marriage. According to the government guidelines, the acceptable age at which a girl can engage in sexual activities or get married is 18 years for those who are not in school. For those who are in school, even if they are above 18 years, sexual activities including marriage are prohibited until they leave both primary and secondary school. Today, there is a strong sense among the Chagga that educating a girl is an investment in itself because when they are successful through education, they turn out to be very helpful to their parents.

3.2.2 Financial constraints and poverty conditions at household level

Both qualitative and quantitative data indicate that financial constraints are among the major factors negatively affecting retention of girls in school and consequently their transition rates. This is particularly due to inadequate provision of school supplies, the costs of transportation to school, sanitary wear and uniforms. These constraints affect girls’ regular school attendance. As a result, some parents consider marrying their daughters as means of protecting them economically and socially, getting wealth (money or cows) and reducing the burden of costs related to education girls.

Interviews with education experts and official at different levels in the surveyed regions, and FGDs with school girls revealed that many girls drop out of school due to lack of the necessary school and basic necessities. In order to provide for themselves or compliment efforts done by their parents/guardians, some girls drop out of school and engage in income generating activities like selling labour to plantations and other enterprises. Many girls also confirmed to participate in selling different items like vegetables and domestic work like

washing, and mopping among others. In some cases, girls have appropriated such paid labour as strategies to make ends meet which primary school girls described as “*kupiga madili*”. In Dar es Salaam, teachers revealed that some children (both girls and boys) do not attend school regularly because of lack of money for transport and other school requirements such as uniform, books, shoes, money for breakfast, etc. This was further confirmed in the case studies of school girls who had to drop schooling or could not pass their final examinations because of the lack of money for purchasing the basic school requirements (see Jane’s case below).

Jane: failed to join secondary school due to lack of school requirements

Jane is a 16 years old girl who lives at Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam. Jane completed primary education in the year 2016. Previously she was living with her grandmother because her parents had died. Jane passed her final examination and was selected to join a secondary school. Unfortunately, there was no one to support her in her education especially in meeting the important school requirements (such as uniforms, shoes, fare and pocket money). The government abolished school fees payments in public school from kindergarten to form four, but for some households such as Jane’s even other requirements different from fees were unattainable. So, Jane missed an opportunity of joining secondary school. Thereafter, Jane shifted to her sister’s place where she stays to-date. Jane assists her sister in doing small business which their means of livelihood.

Likewise, discussions and interviews with girls highlights several economic constraints that impinge upon the conditions for their effective participation in schooling. The following extract from FGD with primary school girls from Tabora shows how financial constraints affect both retention and transition rates in the region;

How financial constraints negatively affect retention and transition

Some girls drop out of school or become regular truants due to lack of the basic needs like sanitary pads during menstrual cycles, body jelly and school uniforms. There are many girls who in order to meet their needs, sell various items such as vegetables, consumables like nuts on streets. Others sell their labour like in washing and mopping other people houses so that they can get money for their subsistence. Yet others get into sexual relationships so that they can be given money by men to meet their personal needs and at times bodily desires. Eventually some drop out of school or become irregular attendees. For instance, amongst us, class seven pupils, there is a girl who started by not attending regularly and she was always seen working for payment in people’s houses. This time she is pregnant, expecting any time from now (FGD/Schoolgirls/Primary School/ Tabora).

Similar sentiments were expressed by informants from other regions as follows;

Due to poverty girls are allowed to fight and to depend on themselves for basic needs it become common thing even when a girl decide to sleep over a man’s house instead of home just because that man helps her (FGD, Lindi).

For those who are single parents, children monitoring in studies is very difficult when they are at home because they are parent spend most of the time working to provide the need to children known that their children attend to school every day (KII, Lindi).

Qualitative data on school girls’ involvement in paid work, is well corroborated with quantitative data. Table 3.6 shows the percentages of school girls per region who engage in paid labour. Generally, more than 75% of the girls who participated in this study, said that they did not participate in paid labour in the 12 months preceding the fieldwork for this study. Still, a significant number of school girls in some regions, led by Dodoma, 21.6% (equivalent to 81 girls) followed by Tabora, 19.4% (equivalent to 72 girls) revealed to have participated in paid labour in the 12 months preceding the fieldwork for this study.

When compared across levels of education of the girls, the findings suggest a mixed picture whereby in some regions girls start engaging in paid labor at a very early stage of schooling compared to others. Although some of the paid work may have been done during the periods when schools are closed hence do not necessarily affect girls' education, evidence from qualitative data above leaves a lot to be desired when related to rates of retention and transition of girls in primary and secondary schools.

Table 3. 6: Engagement in paid work in the last 12 months, (n=270)

	Dar es Salaam (n=32)	Kilimanjaro (n=49)	Tabora (n=72)	Dodoma (n=81)	Lindi (n=36)
Standard 5	36.36%	27.27%	13.64%	37.50%	8.62%
Standard 6	45.45%	45.45%	45.45%	31.25%	12.07%
Standard 7	18.18%	27.27%	40.91%	31.25%	79.31%
Form 1	41.67%	13.16%	38.00%	28.57%	25.00%
Form 2	11.11%	15.79%	22.00%	14.29%	12.50%
Form 3	11.11%	15.79%	10.00%	12.24%	16.67%
Form 4	5.56%	26.32%	12.00%	20.41%	16.67%
Form 5	11.11%	15.79%	8.00%	14.29%	25.00%
Form 6	19.44%	13.16%	10.00%	10.20%	4.17%

Source: Survey data, 2018

In Dar es Salaam, out of those who are engaged in paid work at primary level, most of them are standard VI (45%) followed by standard V (36%) and standard VII (18.18%). Kilimanjaro has the same case as that of Dar es Salaam but the number of respondents for standard VII and standard V is 27.27% each. For Tabora region, standard VI are more engaged in paid work compare to other primary level classes followed by standard VII and standard V who are 40.91% and 13.64% respectively. Notable in Dodoma is that involvement in paid labour starts earlier as demonstrated by more standard V students (37.5%) engaged in paid work compared to standard VI and VII. In Lindi, those who are finishing primary level of education, more than three quarter of responded students from primary engaged in paid work for the last 12 months compare to other primary level classes.

At secondary school level, compared to other classes, many form one students from Dar es Salaam (41.67%) engaged in paid work, which is the same case for Tabora and Dodoma with different magnitude of response that is 38% and 28.57% respectively. In Kilimanjaro, large number of secondary students who were engaging in paid works are form iv students (26.32%) while in Lindi, those who start ordinary level and those who starts advance level are the ones engaged in paid works for the last 12 months as responded by 25% of each of form I and form IV classes as shown in Table 3.6.

Furthermore, the nature of livelihood activities that households rely on to make a living was found to have an influence on girls' participation in schooling which in turn explain both their retention and transitions in primary and secondary schools. Even in situations where girls do not directly engage in such activities as farming, grazing or trading, they indirectly participate in the household's economy by shouldering the domestic chores as highlighted earlier.

In general terms, the majority of the girls surveyed in this study reported that their livelihoods depend on farming, pastoralism and other people on small trading/ entrepreneurial activities especially in urban areas. These activities are often labour intensive such that children are co-opted into production activities

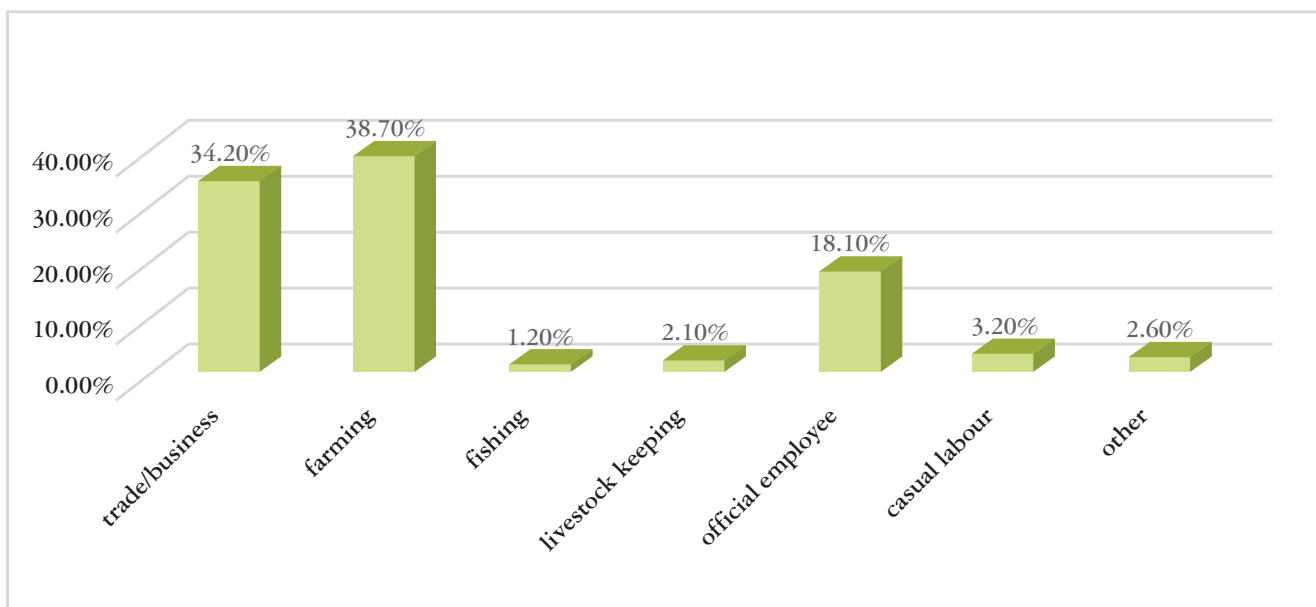
like cultivation and keeping animals for their households' livelihoods. Consequently, people's concern on livelihood earning activities outcompete concerns over their children's education.

The poor quality of life at household level has a huge contribution to girls' engagement in non-school related matters which ultimately cause girls to drop out of school. Here at Urambo for instance, many girls are forced to perform domestic chores in the morning before going to school and in the evening after school hours. In the morning for instance, you find that a girl has to fetch water and wash dishes. After such works when she gets to school late she is punished (strokes). Some girls always hide in the toilet until break time for fear of being beaten, and hence, misses some classes. Similarly, when they come back home they have to do jobs like washing dishes, collecting water, working in the farm, watering vegetable gardens. After such works the girl is always too tired to do private studies (FGD/Schoolgirls/Primary School/Urambo DC/ Tabora).

Shifting cultivation; in this community most of the people practice shift cultivation and because of that parents leave their children at home alone to take care of themselves, and some cases young girls are left with responsibilities to take care of their siblings. Therefore, before going to school she has to make sure that everything is ok at home, she must cook food and feed her siblings (KII/Official in the education sector/Lindi).

In line with the above qualitative findings, figure 3.2 shows that the main sources of income for the large majority of the households from which girls (nearly 75%) who participated in this study hail, is either farming 38.7% or trading (small businesses) 34.2%. By far, these main sources of income are followed by official employment, which is a main source of income for 18% of the households of girls who participated in this study.

Figure 3. 2: Main sources of income for respondents' households (N=1841)



Source: Survey data, 2018

It is also important to note from the findings that majority of the respondents depend on parents and/or guardians for money to meet school related requirement. There are also for others who rely on peers and sexual partners. This means that in settings where parents do not prioritize investing in girls' education, girls' education requirement are not adequately supplied which in turn affect their regular school attendance and concentration in class.

Table 3. 7: Source of money to spend in school

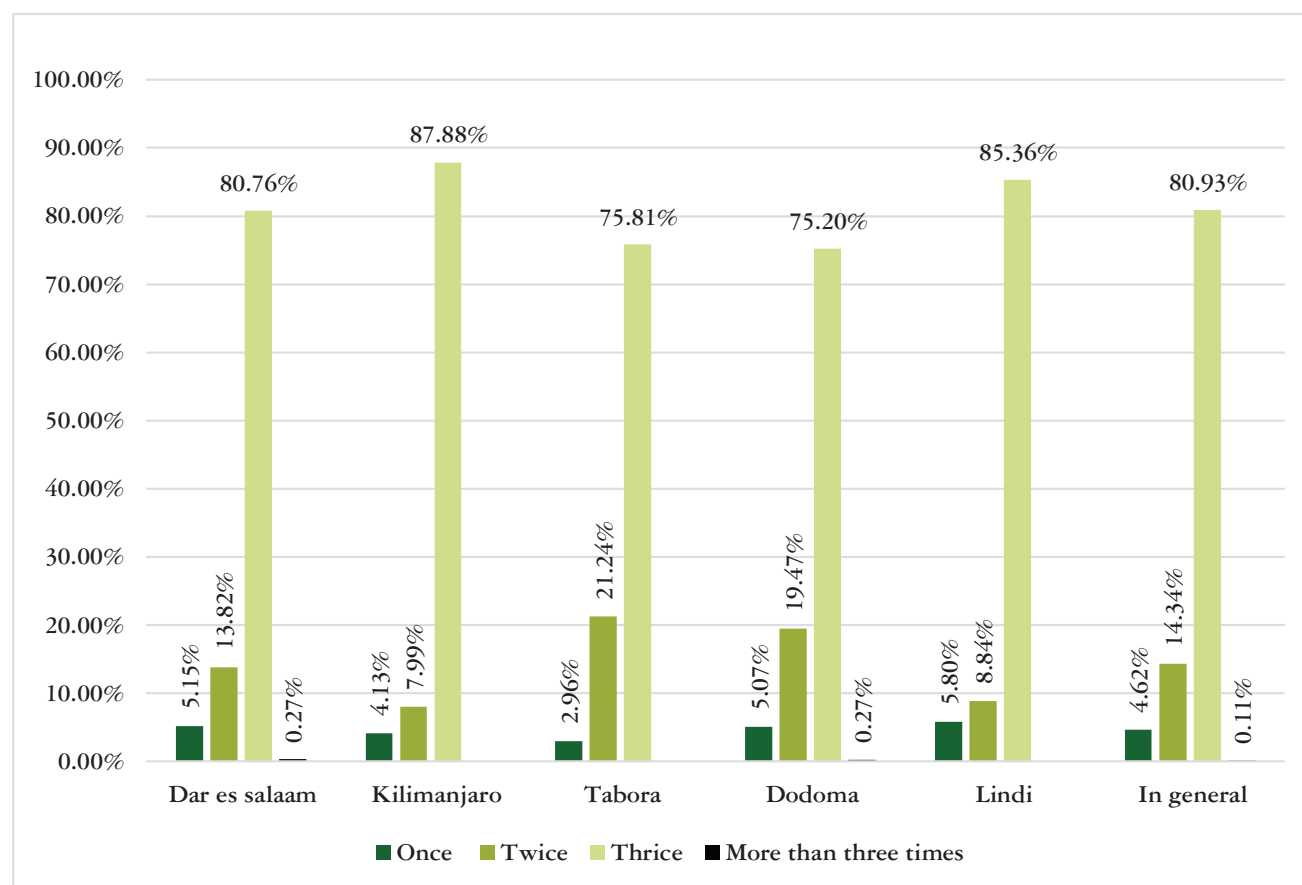
Source	Dar es Salaam (N=369)	Kilimanjaro (N=363)	Tabora (N=372)	Dodoma (N=375)	Lindi (N=362)	In general
Parents/guardians	96.21%	95.87%	95.70%	93.60%	96.96%	95.65%
Girlfriends	17.07%	7.71%	18.28%	6.40%	24.03%	14.67%
Boyfriends	6.23%	2.75%	5.11%	1.87%	7.73%	4.73%
Sexual partner	2.71%	2.48%	1.35%	1.95%	1.11%	2.6%

Source: Survey data, 2018

3.2.3 Food security

Although it is an important element in the motivation of children to continue schooling and perform better in their studies, access to food at the household seems to be a challenge for 22.8 percent of the girls interviewed. It is however, encouraging that 65.8 percent of the girls confirmed that food is available in their households throughout the year. This was further confirmed by 81.04% of the surveyed girls that they have access to three meals per day in their households. A notable observation in relation to retention and transition rates is that some regions with low retention and transition rates have low percentages of girls reporting to have availability of food in their household throughout the year.

Figure 3. 3: Number of Meals at Respondent's Household by Region, (N=1841)



Source: Survey data, 2018

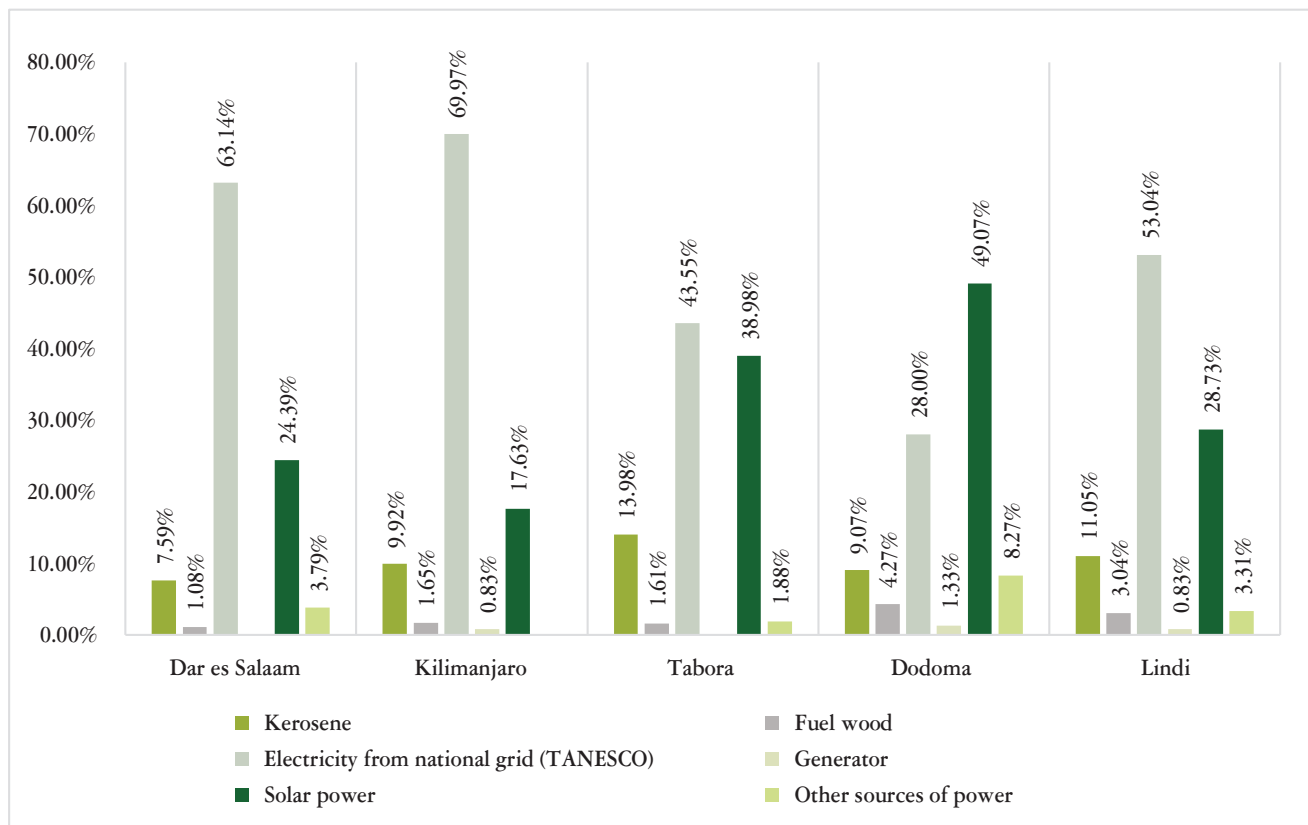
It is also important to note that in some areas, schools provide food even for day scholar students. For, instance, it was reported in an interview with regional education authorities in Kilimanjaro that provision of food in most of schools in the region have led to better retention and transition rates.

Many schools in Kilimanjaro region provide food for lunch. Students get their lunch at school and we have done a lot of investment in this area (...). The retention rate is high because the certainty of getting lunch at school is even higher than it is the situation at home (IDI/Regional Education official/Kilimanjaro).

3.2.4 Source of lighting

The findings of the current study show that the majority of girls (83.3%) have access to electricity at their homes whereby 51.4% uses electricity from the national grid supplied by TANESCO while 31.9 % have access to solar power. Only 10.3 percent of girls reported to use kerosene as a source of lighting.

Figure 3. 4: Main Source of Lighting at Respondent’s Household by Region (N=1841)



Source: Survey data, 2018

3.2.5 Early Marriage

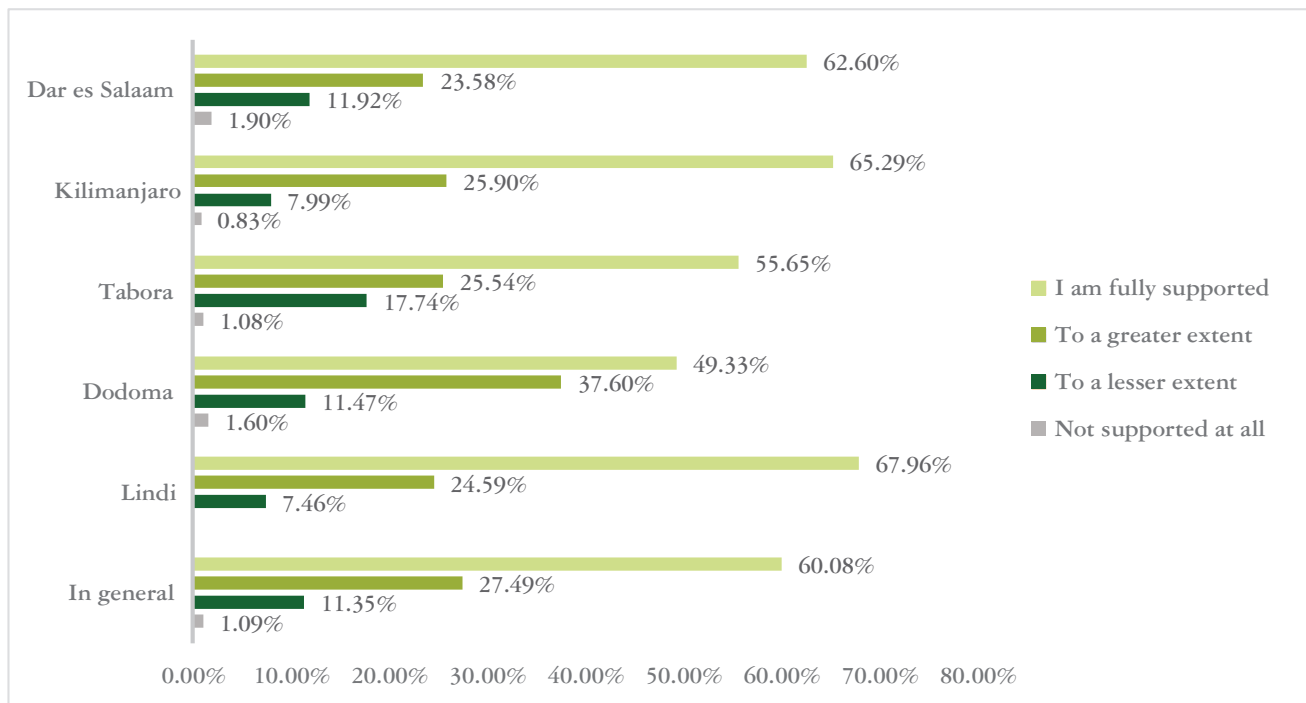
Despite increased efforts to keep girls in school as a means of paving way for a better future not only for the girls but also the society at large, early marriage is still a reality for some girls in the study regions. In some contexts, parents consider marriage of their daughter a means of wealth. In other cases, girls themselves consider marriage a means to realise better life. In such contexts, the popular construct that ‘education is key to better life’ is contested at the expense of girls’ retention and transition from primary to secondary schools. Especially in Dodoma, Tabora and Lindi regions, communities attach meanings and assign roles to school girls which are in conflict with values of the government, experts and development partners projected

into girls' life. Data indicates that among the Nyamwezi and Sukuma of Tabora, and the Gogol in Dodoma for instance, if a girl attains puberty, she definitely becomes suitable for marriage. Since school girls attain puberty between the age of twelve and fifteen, the age at which they are between standard VI and Form II, there is always a temptation of marrying them off even before they complete their studies.

In some cases, for instance, it was sited that parents participate in getting their daughters out of school and marry them off. One of the mechanisms used is requesting for transfer of a particular girl to another district or region. Once the transfer is effected, this girl does not report to the new school she is transferred to. Instead, she gets married off. Such cases become difficult to follow up because the school and district authorities may not easily know if such girl did not report to the school she was transferred to.

It is important to underline that the findings suggest that parents and/or guardians play a significant role in the transition of school girls from one level of their education to the next. This is confirmed by 87.57% of the surveyed girls. The situation is more or less the same across regions with Lindi region taking the lead followed by Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam, Tabora and Dodoma (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3. 5: Support from parents/guardians in passing final examination (N=1841)

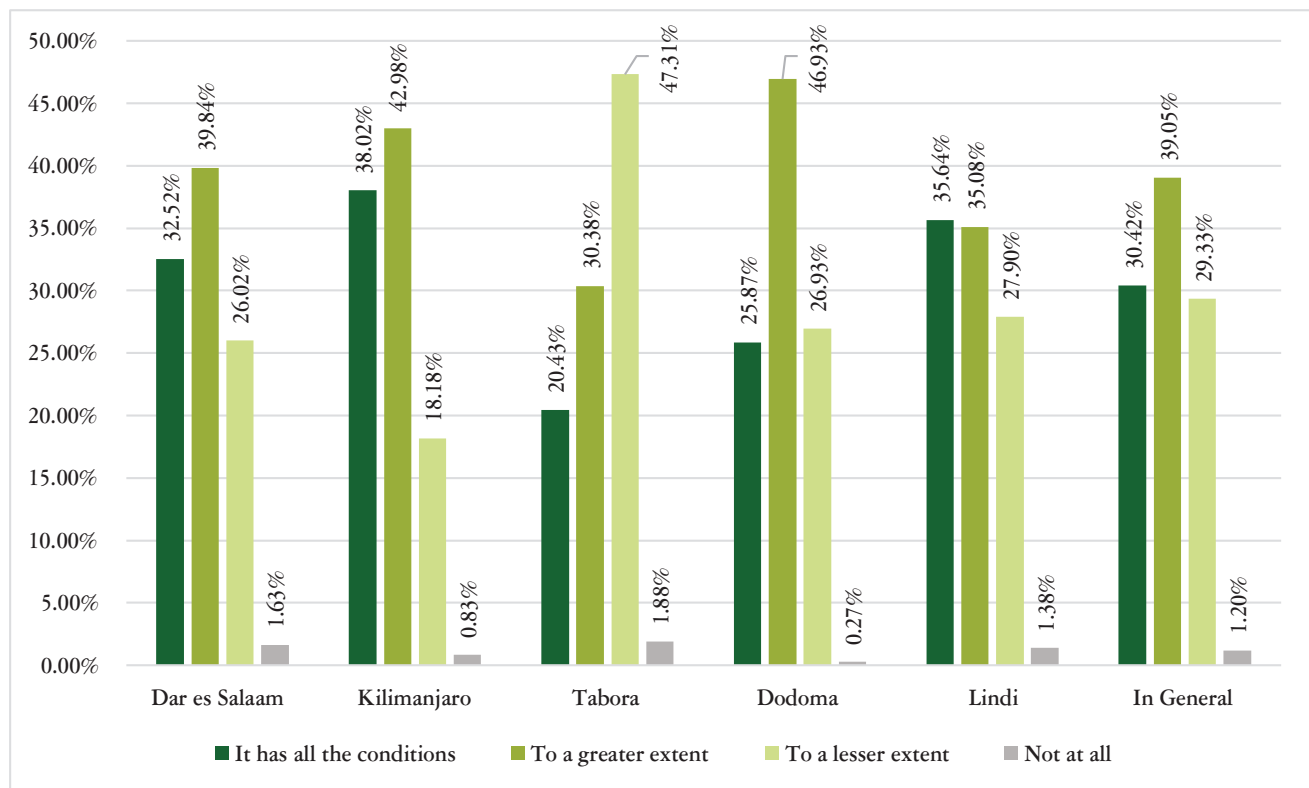


Source: Survey data, 2018

3.3 The teaching and learning environment

In general, more than 30 percent of school girls from all regions perceived that their schools have all conditions for teaching and learning. Kilimanjaro region is leading for having schools that are perceived to have better teaching and learning environment followed by Dar es Salaam, Dodoma and Lindi while Tabora lags behind. With exception of Kilimajnaro (18.2%), the other case regions in which this study took place, between more than a quarter, (26.92%) in Dar es Salaam to nearly a half (47.31%) in Tabora of the surveyed school girls perceived that their schools do not have the necessary conditions for their retention and transition to higher levels of education. The patterns of girls' perception by region are reflective of the retention and transition rates by region.

Figure 3. 6: Whether the school has the necessary conditions for girls' retention and transition (N=1841)



Source: Survey data, 2018

The above findings were supported by interviews with different education stakeholders who applaud the government's commitment to provide fee-free education and furnishing of school buildings especially by supplying adequate desks to many schools in some areas/regions. However, there are issues, which still affect negatively girls' retention and transition. Such issues include: shortage of teachers in general, and for science subjects in particular, inadequate supply of water to schools and bad conditions of school latrines.

For some regions, especially Lindi and Tabora, shortage of teachers is compounded by the geographical and socioeconomic conditions of these regions. Educational officers at district and regional levels in Tabora and Lindi regions for instance, lamented that some teachers who report to some of the schools in remote areas in the region do not stay. After a short while, such teachers either request for transfer or just resign and go back to urban areas. The aspect of remoteness of areas to which public schools are located was also mentioned in Lindi region and in Kondoa District of Dodoma region. In many rural areas water and electricity supply is still a problem although ongoing government efforts were mentioned to be promising.

In some schools the shortage of teachers was found to be acute. One of the secondary schools in Tabora municipal for instance, has more than 500 students but has five (5) teachers only, one of whom does not teach because he is the head master. Still, all these teachers are males. In the FGD, girls at this school expressed their dissatisfaction with the lack of a female teacher at their school. They said they that they have no one to turn to when they go through their biological/menstrual conditions or when they need information and support related to sexuality and reproduction.

While the learning environment is not very conducive as qualitative data reveals, the social survey findings show that school girls have some dissatisfactions with the quality and commitment of teachers. In particular, the majority of girls, 80% who participated in this study, consider (agree or strongly agree that) their teachers to be competent for the subjects they teach. Likewise, more than 87% of the girls who were interviewed, consider (agree or strongly agree that) their teachers to be approachable for academic consultation.

Table 3. 8: School girls' perception of the learning environment at school (N=1841)

View	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree
My school has competent teachers required for all subjects	5.1	7.8	7.1	26	54
My school is supplied with reliable electricity throughout the year	22	15.1	9.8	21.8	31.3
My school has reliable supply of water	13.7	10.8	8.1	20.2	47
My class is not congested	15.2	11.9	2.6	9.2	61.1
I feel free to consult teachers on any academic question	3	3.5	3.9	22.1	67.3

Source: Survey data, 2018

Further analysis indicates that school girls have a positive image of their school in terms of having the enabling environment for learning in many respects, as confirmed by more than half of the girls with the exception of availability of enough and clean toilets. About 53 % of the girls reported that their schools do not have enough and clean toilets (see table, 3.9).

Table 3. 9: The capacity of school to promote transition of girls in schooling (N=1841)

	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree	Total
My school is equipped with enough books	11.0%	19.0%	10.2%	23.7%	36.1%	100.0%
My school has competent teachers required for all subjects	9.2%	12.4%	6.7%	24.0%	47.7%	100.0%
My school has enough teachers for all subjects	5.1%	7.8%	7.0%	26.6%	53.6%	100.0%
My school is supplied with reliable electricity throughout the year	21.6%	14.8%	9.6%	23.5%	30.6%	100.0%
My school has reliable supply of water	13.5%	10.7%	8.0%	21.3%	46.4%	100.0%
My class is not congested	15.0%	11.7%	2.6%	10.3%	60.4%	100.0%
I feel free to consult teachers on any academic question	3.0%	3.5%	3.9%	22.9%	66.8%	100.0%
Teachers attend classes basing on timetable	5.5%	8.6%	6.5%	25.7%	53.6%	100.0%
The curriculum in my school also covers sexuality education and life skills	18.8%	12.1%	8.5%	19.7%	40.9%	100.0%
I have enough time for sports in my school	8.7%	5.9%	5.1%	23.8%	56.5%	100.0%
If I try hard I can improve my situation in life	1.2%	1.0%	0.9%	9.8%	87.1%	100.0%
Other people in my family decide on how I spend my time	13.6%	14.2%	7.2%	23.7%	41.3%	100.0%
My school has clean and enough toilets	33.8%	19.3%	8.3%	15.6%	23.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey data, 2018

The above findings are in line with the concerns raised by education stakeholders including students through FGDs and key informant interviews as expressed in the passages below;

The school environment is not very friendly to girls especially when it comes to conditions of toilets. In this school there is few toilets, also there is no water and this is a challenge especially for girls and contribute to students' truancy which lead to low performance. There is also a lack of private room for female students (FGD/School Committee/Dodoma).

Availability of enough teaching and learning materials such as classrooms, libraries, laboratories and textbooks at every education level is key to the retention and transition from one level to another (Effiong et al., 2015; Samer 2018).

3.3.1 School attendance

More than half (57.69%) of the school girls reported that they fail to attend school once every month with the majority being in form III and IV. It is interesting, however, to note that 41.55% of the surveyed school girls, never missed school every month and extremely few misses more than once (see table 3.10).

Table 3. 10: Number of times failed to attend the school per month, (n=1062)

Education level	Never	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four times
Standard 5	40.43%	59.13%	0.43%	0.00%	0.00%
Standard 6	39.07%	59.50%	1.43%	0.00%	0.00%
Standard 7	46.83%	52.57%	0.00%	0.60%	0.00%
Form 1	40.54%	59.46%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Form 2	45.21%	53.88%	0.46%	0.00%	0.46%
Form 3	36.71%	62.80%	0.48%	0.00%	0.00%
Form 4	29.57%	69.35%	1.08%	0.00%	0.00%
Form 5	58.24%	39.56%	0.00%	1.10%	1.10%
Form 6	44.25%	55.75%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Total	41.55%	57.69%	0.49%	0.16%	0.11%

Source: Survey data, 2018

It is striking to note that reasons for majority of the school girls failing to attend school every month is illness, (80%), followed by menstruation period (8.5%). It is possible that girls also frame menstruation period as illness (see table 3.11).

Table 3. 11: Reasons for not attending school, (n=1062)

Reason	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four times	Total
Illness	78.72%	0.84%	0.28%	0.19%	80.02%
Attending domestic chores	1.39%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.39%
Menstruation period	8.46%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	8.46%
Caring for the sick	1.86%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.86%
Involve in small business	0.46%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.46%
Transport costs	1.39%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.39%
Fear of punishment	1.21%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.21%
Scarcity of water in the school	0.37%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.37%
Scarcity of toilets in the school	0.46%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.46%
Long distance from home to school	1.58%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.58%
Total	98.70%	0.84%	0.28%	0.19%	100.00%

Source: Survey data, 2018

Unacceptable conducts among youthful male teachers was also expressed by school girls and other education stakeholders such as parents and school committees. Girls noted that some few teachers were conducting themselves immorally by for instance, using abusive and demoralizing language against girls. Likewise, FGDs with parents revealed their dissatisfaction with some teachers' conducts. Some older parents for instance, were particularly dissatisfied with some youthful teachers because they thought such teachers are behaving differently from the manner in which teachers used to conduct themselves in the past. There was a consensus in the FGDs that, it was hard to draw a line in terms of dressing styles, between some teachers and other youngsters (*masharobaro*) on the streets. These parents were worried if their daughters and sons in schools get any parental upbringing from such teachers.

3.3.2 Lack and/or shortage of dormitories/hostels

The findings also underline that the lack and/or shortage of dormitories/hostels especially for school girls in most of the surveyed schools further complicates girls' retention and transition to higher levels of learning. Efforts by parents to rent rooms in the school neighborhoods for their daughters, are also not without challenges since such girls lack supervision and engage in different misbehaviors including engaging in sexual activities with fellow students or other men.

The question of girls' education has many challenges. Because schools are located far away from the residences where girls' hail from, some parents have decided to rent rooms in the school neighborhoods to facilitate their daughters' going to school. Since in such rented rooms they girls have no one to supervise them and/or oversee their conducts, some cohabit with their fellow male students and others with out of school young men especially bodaboda drivers. Ultimately, the girls' attention shifts from studies to relationship and some end up pregnant and hence out of school. So, if there could be dormitories or hostels, parents would be unworried because their daughters would be under the supervision of the school or hostel management different from the current situation where girls do what they want because there is no one to oversee their conducts (KII/Education official/Tabora).

Men's temptation influences many girls to drop out of school because they engage in sexual practicing behavior at the youngest age (...) Some of the children's residence are far from school this contribute to truancy which lead to school dropout (FGD/School Committee/Dodoma)

Other educational stakeholders were concerned with quality and practicality of the education that children are getting to warrant prioritization of education. Parents and school committees, noted that in communities which are predominantly agricultural and pastoralist, the demand for children's labour to assist in production activities was high. The adequate tapping of children's labour was constrained by schooling which takes several years (from seven years and above). According to parents, despite spending several years in school, those young people who fail their examinations end up being incapable of doing anything because they lack knowledge and skills and feel that they are too educated (*wasomi*) to engage in farming and livestock keeping activities. In Dar es Salaam for example, teachers noted that, more boys than girls, drop out of school on grounds that the education they get is less practical in everyday life. Such young men engage in other income generating activities such as bodaboda driving, hawking and art work especially pop music and bongo flavor. Manogerwa (2015:2)'s findings about child labour in the Coastal Region which is located in between two case regions for this study, (Dar es Salaam and Lindi) that young people are coopted to paid labour due various reasons including loss of parents and dropping out of school.

3.3.3 Sanitary conditions

Sanitary conditions condition at many schools is not adequate because, latrines are not enough and they are not adequately supplied with water. In many cases, especially in rural areas, a water container was placed outside the pit latrine for washing after as one comes from the latrine, (the image below is illustrative). Some few schools including Kisutu Primary School in Dar es Salaam, reported that they have had assistance from CAMFED, an NGO which collaborated with the government to rehabilitate the latrines and adequately supply them with water.



Image 3. 2: Water container near the latrine for washing

There was a consensus among school girls who participated in the FGDs that inadequate supply of water to many schools is the reason for their irregular attendance and even drop out given the challenges they have to go through especially during their menstruation cycle. The situation is made worse by school girls' inadequate access to modern sanitary pads.

Few schools reported to have special rooms meant for girls to redress themselves during their menstrual conditions. Yet such rooms are meaningful to girls who have access to modern sanitary pads. This is because, there was an agreement among girls who participated in FGDs that traditional pieces of cloth are comparatively ineffective because they do not keep users comfortable for so long.

Inline with the above findings, Samer (2018) underlines that poor quality and lack of menstrual hygiene management conditions in latrines at schools can also impact girls' performance. With reference to Tanzania, the author establishes that only 44 percent of secondary schools had adequate numbers of toilets for girls, and 54 percent of secondary schools have no regular water supply throughout the year.

3.3.4 Impact of girls' upbringing to their ability to resist sex temptations

Qualitative data show that there is perceptions among members of some societies that some girls engage in sexual affairs consciously and willfully, and hide such affairs from their parents and/or guardians. In Urambo, Tabora for instance, respondents claimed that some girls were hiding their male sexual partners purposively.

This perception however, is refuted by other respondents who insisted that accusing girls to be dishonest is wrong because most of them have young age and their approach toward resisting sexual temptations is normally triggered by the upbringing environments and experiences. They say, although sometimes some girls lie, hide or protect some information about their involvement in sexual behaviors which might be interpreted as dispositioning themselves to sexual habits. But actually those habits are as result of the upbringing factors.

Immorality and bad peer pressure cause many children to drop out from school and contribute to poor academic performance (FGD/Parents/Dar es Salaam) However it was further revealed through discussions and interviews that despite the overall customary belief in many Tanzanian communities about early marriages, the manner in which a girl is raised, matters a lot in terms of how they behave in their adolescence. It was noted that some parents are relatively less strict about.

Their daughters' misconduct. Moreover, some girls were said to be supplied with everything they need for their education but still reveal little interest in schooling. Such girls drop out of school for reasons such as getting married and some just hang around in streets.

The above findings subscribe to the growing literature on children and adolescent sexual and reproductive health which consider girls as agents in their own right i.e. they are capable of being the originator of their own action related to sexuality and reproduction (see Rweyemamu 2007, van Reeuwijk 2010, Sambaiga 2013). However, rather than blaming the 'victims', it is also important to acknowledge the fact that at their age, school girls are constrained in terms of the ability to make informed decisions. This is further complicated by the above discussed factors within the domestic sphere such as financial constraints on the one hand, and schooling environment including lack of hostels within the school premises and long distance from home to school, on the other. As such, it requires interventions targeting both empowering the girls at risk and, addressing risk factors embedded within the domestic sphere and in the school learning environment.

3.4 Girls' decision to drop out or remain in school

3.4.1 Percentage of school girls ever considered to drop out

Overall, the findings indicate that 10.8 percent of girls in school have considered dropping out of school at some point in their school lives. The good news however is that the large majority of school girls 89.2% who participated in this study said that they have never considered dropping out of school. When compared across the study regions, there are more school girls who have ever considered dropping out of school in Tabora (18.5%) followed by Lindi (11.3%) and Dar es Salaam (9.5%). Dodoma (6.4) and Kilimanjaro (8.3%) had the least percentage of girls who considered to drop out of school (see table 3.12).

Further analysis indicates that more day school girls (staying at home) have considered dropping out of school compared to girls in boarding schools. Basing on types of schools, students who stay at home have considered dropping their studies (7.9%) compare to those who are at boarding school (2.6%) and renting a room (0.3%). Regional wise and basing on school types, Tabora is leading in having more girls who consider to drop out their studies (12.6%) followed by Dar es Salaam (9.5%), Lindi (8.6%), Kilimanjaro with 5.8% of students who stay at home and last Dodoma (3.5%). Also for boarding schools, Tabora has more girls who consider dropping out their studies (4.6%) followed by Dodoma (2.9%), Lindi (2.8%) and Kilimanjaro (2.5%) as indicated by Table 3.12.

In some rural areas, people's settlements are scattered and unevenly spread. This has meant that even education services are scattered and that some pupils/students have to go long distances to and from school as noted earlier. In Tabora region for instance, peri-urban areas of Tabora municipality and in Urambo district, girls revealed that they walk long distances to and from school. One for instance, spends two hours from home to school, and the paths they take are bushy and for that matter they cannot leave home very early in the morning. Still, when they get to school very late they are punished for coming late. Such circumstances have discouraged many girls from attending school regularly, or even encouraged them to drop out of school.

Table 3. 12: Whether school Girls Considered Dropping out of School, (N=1841)

Region	District	At School		At home		Renting		In general	
		yes	No	Yes	no	yes	No	yes	no
Dar es Salaam (N=369)	Ilala	0.0%	0.0%	10.4%	88.0%	0.0%	1.6%	10.4%	89.6%
	Temeke	0.0%	0.0%	38.1%	61.9%	0.0%	0.0%	38.1%	61.9%
	Kigamboni	0.0%	0.0%	5.5%	92.1%	0.0%	2.4%	5.5%	94.5%
Dodoma (N=375)	Kondoa	3.2%	7.4%	0.5%	86.2%	0.0%	2.6%	3.7%	96.3%
	Dodoma urban	2.7%	10.8%	6.5%	77.4%	0.0%	2.7%	9.1%	90.9%
Lindi (N=362)	Lindi municipal	0.0%	2.4%	10.1%	86.9%	0.0%	0.6%	10.1%	89.9%
	Lindi rural	15.0%	85.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	15.0%	85.0%
	Liwale	4.0%	17.8%	8.0%	68.4%	0.0%	1.7%	12.1%	87.9%
Kilimanjaro (N=369)	Moshi	0.6%	8.9%	5.6%	83.8%	0.0%	1.1%	6.1%	93.9%
	Rombo	4.3%	17.9%	6.0%	71.2%	0.0%	0.5%	10.3%	89.7%
Tabora (N=372)	Tabora municipal	3.9%	7.7%	15.5%	71.3%	2.8%	1.7%	22.1%	80.7%
	Urambo	5.4%	24.2%	10.2%	60.2%	0.0%	0.0%	15.6%	84.4%

Source: Survey data, 2018

3.4.2 Why school girls consider dropping out of school

In general, the main reasons that trigger school girls to consider ending their studies are financial constraints (35.2%), corporal punishment (29.6%) and difficulties in studies (10.05%). Other reasons are long distances from home to school (7.54%) and the burden of domestic chores (5.53%) as shown in Table 3.13. The findings depict the salience of circumstances within girls' homes, at school, and structural/systemic factors in shaping their retention in schools as discussed further in the subsequent sections.

Analysis by region also indicates that financial constraints are a leading trigger of girls' considerations of dropping out of school even in the well-off regions of Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro. It is only in Tabora region where financial constraints come second to corporal punishment. It is however in Dodoma and Lindi regions where the study records highest percentages of girls who ever considered dropping out of school because of financial constraints (see table 3.12 below).

Table 3. 13: Circumstances which influence girls to drop out of school

	Dar es Salaam		Kilimanjaro		Tabora		Dodoma		Lindi		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Financial constraints	10	28.6%	10	33.3%	25	36.2%	10	41.7%	15	36.6%	70	35.2%
Corporal punishment	7	20.0%	10	33.3%	27	39.1%	3	12.5%	13	31.7%	59	29.6%
Difficulties in studies	8	22.9%	3	10.0%	5	7.2%	4	16.7%	1	2.4%	20	10.1%
Bullying	1	2.9%	0	0.0%	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%	3	1.5%
Sexual practices	1	2.9%	1	3.3%	1	1.4%	2	8.3%	0	0.0%	5	2.5%
The burden of domestic chores	1	2.9%	2	6.7%	3	4.3%	1	4.2%	4	9.8%	11	5.5%
Long distance of going to school	4	11.4%	1	3.3%	6	8.7%	1	4.2%	3	7.3%	15	7.5%
Pregnancy	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%
Sick	1	2.9%	2	6.7%	1	1.4%	1	4.2%	2	4.9%	6	3.0%
Menstrual cycle	1	2.9%	1	3.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%	3	1.5%
Childhood marriage	1	2.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	4.2%	1	2.4%	3	1.5%
Total	35	100%	30	100%	69	100%	24	100%	41	100%	199	100%

Source: Survey data, 2018

When aggregated to secondary school girls only, and by region, the big reason for secondary school girls to drop their studies in Dar es Salaam is financial constraints (31%), difficulty in studies (27.6%) and corporal punishment (24.1%) while in Kilimanjaro and Lindi, the main reason for girls to consider dropping their studies are financial constraints and corporal punishments. But in Dodoma, girls in secondary school face financial constraints, corporal punishments and difficulties as their major challenges in considering dropping their studies as shown in Table 3.14

Table 3. 14: Reasons for considering dropping studies (Secondary school girls)

Reason	Dar es Salaam	Kilimanjaro	Tabora	Dodoma	Lindi
Financial constraints	31.0%	36.0%	33.9%	39.1%	46.7%
Corporal punishment	24.1%	32.0%	42.4%	13.0%	40.0%
Difficulties in studies	27.6%	8.0%	8.5%	17.4%	0.0%
Bullying	3.4%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Sexual practices	3.4%	4.0%	1.7%	8.7%	0.0%
The burden of domestic chores	0.0%	8.0%	1.7%	4.3%	3.3%
Long distance	6.9%	4.0%	8.5%	4.3%	6.7%
Pregnancy	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%
Sickness	3.4%	4.0%	1.7%	4.3%	3.3%
Menstrual cycle	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Childhood marriage	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey data, 2018

3.4.3 Why school girls decide not to drop out

The girls who had considered ending their studies, changed their minds for different reasons but the major ones being pressure from parents (37.7%), Personal judgment (28.1), encouragement from peers (19.1%) and encouragement from teachers (14.6%). What is striking is the fact that parents, the girl in question and peers are critical change agents in reversing girls' decision to drop out. While in Kilimanjaro it is more of the girls' personal judgment, which makes girls resilient against the risk of dropping out. It takes more of parents' pressure in Lindi, Dar es Salaam and Tabora, and it is both personal judgment and encouragement from peers to prevent drop outs in Dodoma (see table 3.14 below).

Table 3. 15: Reasons for reconsidering not dropping the school

Reason	Dar es Salaam	Kilimanjaro	Tabora	Dodoma	Lindi	Total
Pressure from parents	40.0%	26.7%	40.6%	25.0%	46.3%	37.7%
Encouragement from teachers	2.9%	16.7%	20.3%	8.3%	17.1%	14.6%
Encouragement from peers	31.4%	3.3%	17.4%	33.3%	14.6%	19.1%
Personal decision	25.7%	40.0%	21.7%	33.3%	22.0%	27.6%
Transferred school	2.9%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey data, 2018

3.4.4 Reasons for dropping out: school girls' perspective

Findings indicate that 60 percent of school girls know a girl who dropped out of school. Reflecting the pattern of retention rates in the country, analysis by region shows that more girls in Lindi (76.5%) followed by Dar es Salaam (61.8%) and Tabora (61.3%) were aware of a girl who dropped out of school compared to a relatively lower percentage (42.1%) in Kilimanjaro region (see table 3.16).

A rather remarkable finding is that when it comes to explaining the reasons that school girls attribute to the drop out of their peers, pregnancy (38.4%) and sexual practices (24.3%) become the major reasons followed by financial constraints and difficulties in studies (See table 3.16). These are considered as immediate factors pushing girls outside school but are of course driven by other factors as discussed in the next sections.

Table 3. 16: Reasons for considering dropping studies (Secondary school girls)

Reason	Dar es Salaam (N=369)	Kilimanjaro (N=363)	Tabora ⁷²	Dodoma (N=375)	Lindi (N=362)
Financial constraints	31.0%	36.0%	33.9%	39.1%	46.7%
Corporal punishment	24.1%	32.0%	42.4%	13.0%	40.0%
Difficulties in studies	27.6%	8.0%	8.5%	17.4%	0.0%
Bullying	3.4%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Sexual practices	3.4%	4.0%	1.7%	8.7%	0.0%
The burden of domestic chores	0.0%	8.0%	1.7%	4.3%	3.3%
Long distance	6.9%	4.0%	8.5%	4.3%	6.7%
Pregnancy	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%
Sickness	3.4%	4.0%	1.7%	4.3%	3.3%
Menstrual cycle	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Childhood marriage	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey data, 2018

Between more than more than one third (31%) in Dar es Salaam to nearly 50%, (46.7%) in Lindi consider financial constraints to be the main cause of girls' drop out of school. This finding is in line with URT (2017) which underscores the principal role of financial constraints in forcing girls out of school.

3.4.5 Why school girls decide not to drop out

The girls who had considered to end their studies, changed their minds for different reasons but the major ones being pressure from parents (37.7%), personal judgment (28.1), encouragement from peers (19.1%) and encouragement from teachers (14.6%). What is striking is the fact that parents, the girl in question and peers are critical change agents in reversing girls' decision to drop out. While in Kilimanjaro it is more of the girls' personal judgment, which makes girls resilient against the risk of drop out, it takes more of parents' pressure in Lindi, Dar es Salaam and Tabora, and it is both personal judgment and encouragement from peers to prevent drop outs in Dodoma (see table 3.17 below).

Table 3. 17: Reasons for reconsidering not dropping the school

	Dar es Salaam	Kilimanjaro	Tabora	Dodoma	Lindi	Total
Pressure from parents	40.0%	26.7%	40.6%	25.0%	46.3%	37.7%
Encouragement from teachers	2.9%	16.7%	20.3%	8.3%	17.1%	14.6%
Encouragement from peers	31.4%	3.3%	17.4%	33.3%	14.6%	19.1%
Personal decision	25.7%	40.0%	21.7%	33.3%	22.0%	27.6%
Transferred school	2.9%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey data, 2018

3.4.6 Prevalence of drop out: school girls' perspectives

Findings indicate that 60 percent of school girls know a girl who dropped out of school. Reflecting the pattern of retention rates in the country, analysis by region shows that more girls in Lindi (76.5%) followed by Dar es Salaam (61.8%) and Tabora (61.3%) were aware of a girl who dropped out of school compared to a relatively lower percentage (42.1%) in Kilimanjaro region (see table 3.18).

Table 3. 18: Do you know any girl who dropped out of school? (N=1841)

Region	Know	Don't know
Dar es salaam	61.8%	38.2%
Kilimanjaro	42.1%	57.9%
Tabora	61.3%	38.7%
Dodoma	58.4%	41.6%
Lindi	76.5%	23.5%
Total	60.0%	40.0%

Source: Survey data, 2018

A rather remarkable finding is that when it comes to explaining the reasons that school girls attribute to the drop out of their peers, pregnancy (38.4%) and sexual practices (24.3%) becomes the major reasons followed by financial constraints and difficulties in studies (See table 3.19 below). These are considered as immediate factors pushing girls outside school but are of course driven by other factors as discussed in the next sections.

Table 3. 19: Reasons for drop out of peers

Reason	Dar es salaam (N=369)	Kilimanjaro (N=363)	Tabora (N=372)	Dodoma (N=375)	Lindi (N=362)	Total
Financial constraints	12.1%	10.4%	16.9%	10.2%	11.4%	12.7%
Corporal punishment	4.9%	6.7%	9.9%	2.8%	6.3%	6.5%
Difficulties in studies	16.6%	10.9%	8.6%	6.5%	10.4%	10.5%
Bullying	3.4%	2.1%	4.4%	3.2%	5.2%	3.9%
Sexual practices	25.3%	24.9%	20.1%	17.6%	31.6%	24.3%
The burden of domestic chores	2.6%	4.7%	3.4%	3.7%	4.1%	3.6%
Pregnancy	35.1%	40.4%	36.7%	56.0%	31.1%	38.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Survey data, 2018

The above findings were further confirmed by girls' perceptions on whether incidences of early pregnancies and sexual activities among school girls are the main hindrances of retention and transition among school girls. In all the five case regions, nearly a quarter to more than one third of the girls who participated in this study, think early pregnancies is the main cause for girls' drop out of school while more than one tenth in all the case regions think early sexual activities is the main cause of girls' drop outs. Figure 3.7 below is illustrative.

Figure 3. 7: Percentage of Girls of who think Sexual Practices (n=346) and Early Pregnancies (n= 547) Cause Drop outs

Asha was expelled from school when she got pregnant

Asha is 17 years old and lives with her grandparents at Kondoa, Dodoma region. Last year, 2017, she was 16 years and a form two student in one of the secondary schools at Kondoa. Her grandparents gave her adequate support in her education by providing her all the necessary school requirements. Asha was lured and trapped in a love affair with a married man. She then became pregnant. After becoming pregnant she was expelled from school. Asha regrets for her deeds which led to her being expelled from school. She wishes for another chance. Asha's father who lives in another region (different from Dodoma) has decided that Asha should go back to school. Her grandparents are also very supportive. They wish to see their granddaughter back to school. They have promised that once the child grows up, Asha will go back to school and they (grandparents) will take care of Asha's child.

Source: Survey data, 2018

Both qualitative and quantitative findings further confirm that a section of school girls engage in sexual activities. Survey data (table 3.20) reveals that the majority of the school girls (more than 90%) who participated in this study in all case regions reported not to engage in sexual activities. Of all the interviewed school girls, some girls 120/1841, equivalent to 6.5% had sexual partners. Dodoma is the leading region with 32/175, equivalent to 8.5% school girls who said they have sexual partners followed by Dar es Salaam where 29/369 (7.8%) school girls have sexual partners.

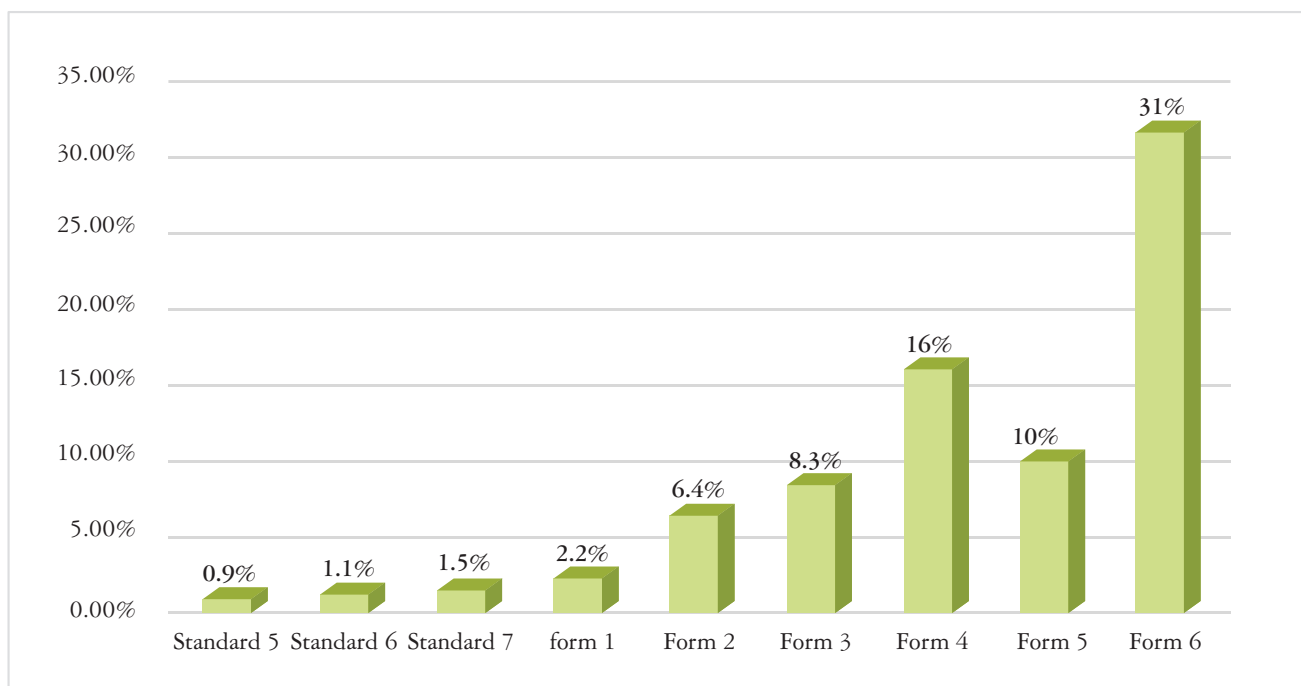
Table 3. 20: Percentage of School Girls who have Sexual partners by region and district

Region	District	Yes		No	
		N	%	N	%
Dar es Salaam	Ilala	20	10.9%	163	89.1%
	Temeke	7	33.3%	14	66.7%
	Kigamboni	2	1.2%	163	98.8%
Dodoma	Dodoma urban	20	10.8%	166	89.2%
	Kondoa	12	6.3%	177	93.7%
Lindi	Lindi municipal	4	2.4%	164	97.6%
	Lindi rural	3	15.0%	17	85.0%
	Liwale	10	5.7%	164	94.3%
Kilimanjaro	Moshi	13	7.3%	166	92.7%
	Rombo	6	3.3%	178	96.7%
Tabora	Tabora municipal	11	5.9%	175	94.1%
	Urambo	12	6.5%	174	93.5%

Source: Survey data, 2018

Analysis of school girls' sexual activities by level of education reveals a general trend by which the number of school girls who engage in sexual activities increases as girls go up the subsequent educational levels. That is, the leading is form six girls among whom more than one third (37/116, equivalent to 32%) have sexual partners. The least involved are standard five pupils among whom only 2/230 pupils said they have sexual partners. This corroborates well with the field observation that most of the standard five girls had not attained puberty. Figure 3.8 below is illustrative.

Figure 3. 8: School Girls who have Sexual Partners by level of education, (N= 120)



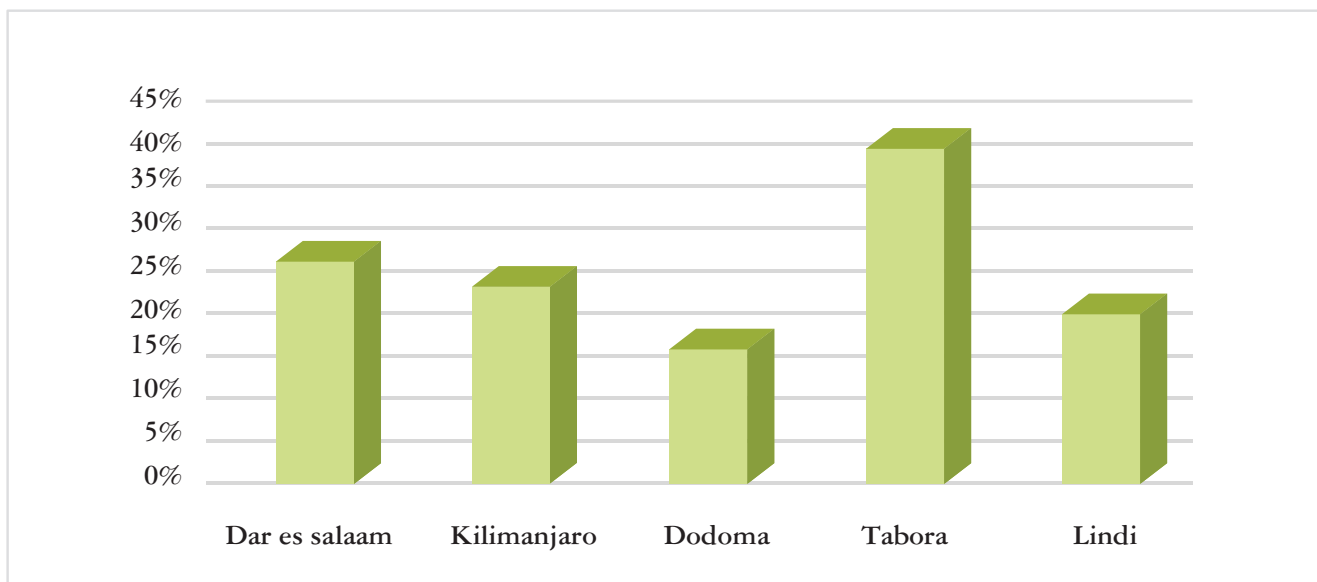
Source: Survey data, 2018

The above findings corroborate with the DHS (2015/16, pg.4) which highlights that the “median age at first sexual intercourse for women age 25-49 is 17.2 years”, and that “teen pregnancies increased from 23% in 2010 to 27% in 2016”. At the age of 17 many girls are between form four and form six because the oldest pupils/students were found to be age 21, (see Table 2.5, pg. 13-14).

3.4.7 Challenges of dealing with menstruation cycle and hygiene

The findings further show that besides other practical constraints, school girls have to handle the biological phenomenon of menstruation cycle amidst problematic hygiene conditions. This is explained by more than one third (39.4%) of the girls who participated in this study in Tabora region, followed by 26% in Dar es Salaam in which more than a quarter of school girls, consider challenges associated with menstruation while in school to be a hindrance to their regular school attendance. In other regions, nearly a quarter of girls who participated in this study consider menstruation a problem to schooling.

Fig 3.9: Percentage of girls who think menstruation hinders their regular attendance, (n=441)



Source: Survey data, 2018

Moreover, the aspect of menstruation is surrounded by secrecy, and for this reason, it is handled either at individual or family level. Eventually, it is the question of whether particular household/parents have the financial capacity and are willing to pay for their daughters’ sanitary pads. Table 3.21 below, show that more than 19% of the school girls who participated in this study, either agree or are neutral about the girls’ fear to attend classes during menstruation.

Table 3. 21: Girls fear to attend classes during menstrual period, (N= 1841)

Region	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree	Total
Dar es salaam	10.8	3.5	12.5	13.5	59.6	100.0
Kilimanjaro	3.6	1.7	3	10	81.8	100.0
Tabora	11	7	6.4	10.5	65	100.0
Dodoma	5	7.7	5	14.4	67.5	100.0
Lindi	11	4.4	2.8	9.1	72.6	100.0
Total	8.4	4.8	6	11.5	69.2	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2018

FGDs with school girls noted a consensus among girls that *no girl would want to be ashamed at school as they go through their monthly menstrual cycles*. Girls further revealed that whenever girls who have no access to modern sanitary pads enter their menstrual cycles, they just ask for the permission to go back home and they don't go back to school until they go through their condition. Girls who seek permission to go back home miss classes and those who participated in this study felt that irregular attendance has had cumulative effects on girls' transition to higher levels of education.

Girls become absent from school because of the menstruation cycle, they feel shy and also they face difficulties to tell their teachers or guardian...Some of the parents do not have time to monitor their children's development that lead to children's poor academic performance. As a result they decide to drop out from school (FGD/School Committee/Dodoma).

The discussion with community members revealed that the use of sanitary pads is a new development, which is not yet well accepted in some communities. Women who participated in FGDs revealed that very few people in their communities used modern sanitary pads. Instead, the majority use traditional mechanisms especially pieces of clothes. As a result, parents who have never used such pads, do not see the need of spending money to buy the same for their daughters as captured in the following passages from interviews and FGDs.

Girls have adopted modern values they don't want to use the traditional pieces of cloth for their hygiene during their menstrual cycles. But, we in our days, used the same pieces of cloth and were able to complete our studies. There was a subject at school in which we were instructed on the personal hygiene especially for the days when a girl is going through her menstrual cycle. We were instructed and grasped the subject such that we were able to study and complete our studies somewhat comfortably. But today, the girls do not want to hear anything about such traditional methods of personal hygiene. They want to be given money so that they can buy modern sanitary pads (FGD/Parents/Tabora Municipal).

Some girls hide their situation of menstrual situation from their parents in order to avoid being married off because menstruation is testimony that a girl is grown up and can be readily married off. (IDI/Social welfare/Tabora).

It was noted with concern by informants and participants in FGDs that some parents cannot afford buying such sanitary pads on monthly basis. Others did not see the logic as to why they should provide money for something that can be done without money. So the modern girls according to some of the parents, have had expenditures, which did not exist during their parents' times. When parents deny their daughters money for such expenditures, some of the girls were reported to enter into love affairs with men so that they can be given money for the said expenditures.

Section 4: Best Practices to Emulate for Higher Girls' Retention and Transition Rates

4.1 Introduction

One of the objectives of this study was to document the best practices for higher retention and transition rates. Such best transition and retention rates practices were mainly recorded in Kilimanjaro region.

4.2 Socio-cultural sexual beliefs/practices and girls' education: Prioritizing investing in girls' education instead of bride price.

Qualitative data indicates that, for the Chagga, a culturally suitable (acceptable) age for a girl to get married is not immediately after the girl's attainment of puberty. Instead, it would take several years after puberty (up to 20 years of age) for a girl to be deemed fully grown up both biologically and socially to take up family and relationship responsibilities. This belief and practice goes far back in the Chagga tradition to the days before the coming of formal education and Christianity. So, the requirement of having girls who have attained puberty in school is harmonious with the Chagga's beliefs and practices pertaining to woman's sexual activities and marriage. While there could be some rare cases of some school girls among the Chagga getting married, such practices are at least contrary to long held cultural beliefs and practices about woman's sexual activity and marriage. One parent summed up these beliefs and practices as follows:

In our culture, a girl is not married off just because she attained puberty. Instead, it is until parents and the close kin are satisfied that their daughter can handle family and relationship matters. So, for a girl to be married off, she has to be both biologically and socially mature. To attain such maturity, it takes some years after puberty and until such age a girl is expected to have completed her studies. (IDI/Parent/Kimanjaro)

Eventually, the Chagga's sociocultural beliefs and practices about women's sexuality largely coincide with and are in fact promoted by the government's guidelines for which puberty is not a determinant of the girl's maturity and readiness for marriage. According to the government guidelines, especially the Education Policy of 2014 and the Sexual Offences Act of 1998, the acceptable age at which a girl can engage in sexual activities or get married is 18 years for those who are not in school. For those who are in school even if they are above 18 years, sexual activities including marriage are prohibited until they leave both primary and secondary school. Today, there is a strong sense among the Chagga that getting a girl to school is an investment in itself because once the girls get the right education, they turn out to be very helpful to their parents.

In contrast to the Chagga, the long held cultural beliefs and practices among other ethnic groups (in Tabora, Lindi and Dodoma) among which this study was conducted, condone early marriage.

Among the Sukuma in Tabora for example, once a girl attains puberty, it automatically becomes acceptable for such a girl to get married. Girls who participated in this study revealed that some girls deny their parents/guardians information about their attainment of puberty for fear of being immediately married off. So, for some parents, their daughters being in school after attainment of puberty, constitutes two unpleasant risks. First, it delays such parents' chances of receiving cows as bride price from prospective suitors. Secondly and consequently, such delays may lead to risk of parents missing an opportunity of dowry (cows) especially if a girl gets pregnant before marriage. In that eventuality, her status drops sharply and no good dowry can be expected from such a girl. It is for this reason that some parents/guardians use various means to take their daughters out of school and marry them off. These findings are corroborated with URT (2017:6), which shows that parents marry off their daughters in order to avoid reputational damage, if their daughter got pregnant.

4.3 The Role of Parents and School Boards/Committees in Promoting Good Learning Environment

Findings also show that in Kilimanjaro region, education stakeholders at all levels: regional, district, ward and village/mtaa authorities and families collaboratively strive to create and promote favorable learning conditions for young people especially girls. The comparatively high number of schools and the dense settlements which makes going to school easier, and hence increases the possibility of having many girls in school. The study reveals that stakeholders' efforts add value to the retention and transition of girls.

In many schools, school boards for secondary schools and school committees for primary schools undertake the responsibility of mobilizing parents to contribute food grains and money to ensure the availability of food at school. School boards and committees were mentioned to have ensured that children get breakfast and some lunch at school. This was mainly through the involvement of the school boards and committees in crafting innovative approaches without compromising government restrictions on contributions from parents/students whether monetary or in kind. Rather than leaving the responsibility of providing food to students on the school management, the taking over of this responsibility by the school boards and committees has ensured the continued provision of food at schools in Kilimanjaro. Availability of food at school enables children to overcome disruptions caused by hunger and hence concentrate on their studies.

Some other schools in Rombo especially boarding schools, students under the subject of self-reliance or E.K (the shorthand for *Elimu ya Kujitegemea*) grow their own food crops especially maize and various vegetables for their meals. Students' participation in production of food increases food availability at school besides shaping them to ultimately become independent/self-reliant members of society.

Contrary to the above observations in many schools of Kilimanjaro, in other regions in which this study took place, the situation of children's access to food during school hours is inadequate.

In Tabora, except for very few schools, when the government banned any contributions by parents for their children's education, parents turned up to collect even the grains they had already contributed. As a result, in most cases, children either go hungry or those who get pocket money from their parents buy some bites during break time. This implies that those whose parents do not give pocket money are drawn into temptations of being given money by men who end up demanding sexual rewards from those school girls. Parents, school board and committee members who participated in this study either did not see the importance of resuming the practice of giving food to school children or did not have an idea of the manner in which it can be resumed without involving the teachers who are in charge of the school milieu.

We also closely follow up to ensure the quality of education offered in all schools. This is intended to ensure quality education is provided in our schools, but, in case of anything affecting girls' education, we are even stricter and make closer follow up. In fact, in Kilimanjaro region, girls and boys are given equal chances (IDI/RAO/Kilimanjaro/21 July, 2008).

4.4 Rewarding Girls' Academic Achievements

Education stakeholders encourage and reward girls who perform well in their studies. Results for the Advanced Secondary School Examination ASSCE were released during fieldwork for this study. At one of the secondary schools in Moshi Municipal for example, the study team found the celebrations convened by the school board in collaboration with the school management to reward the students who had performed well in their examinations. The headmistress told the team that all the seven students who scored division one were girls. Likewise, in Tabora municipal, education officers at regional and district level, were so proud of a girl from Tabora Girls Secondary School who was majoring in science subjects (PCB) and became the national overall winner in the 2018 ASSCE. These officers were so proud of that girl's achievement and vowed to use it as a case to challenge and encourage both parents and upcoming school girls to work so hard.

Section 5: Addressing Challenges to School Girls' Retention and Transition

5.1 Introduction

This section highlights some efforts to address challenges pertaining to school girls' retention and transition the study areas.

5.2 Efforts to address challenges to school girls' retention and transition

There has been much effort by the government to improve school infrastructure in public schools by supplying desks, providing fee-free education from kindergarten to ordinary level secondary school and capitation funds. Through interviews, education experts for instance confirmed that the number of pupils being enrolled for basic education which is fully funded by the government has substantially increased. Education officers also noted that timely disbursement of capitation funds has improved the learning environment for pupils and students in general and for school girls in particular. Heads of schools, ward and district officers interviewed for this study unanimously confirm that they receive money for medical services part of which was used to purchase sanitary pads for girls. Although the funds available were not enough to cater for all girls who need sanitary pads, heads of schools and education officers appreciated the government's support towards improving girls' retention and transition levels.

Given the sparse distribution of education services in some regions such as Tabora, there have been collaborative efforts by both communities and local government authorities to establish learning centres commonly known as "*shule shikizi*" (satellite schools) in the neighborhoods. These learning centres are established collaboratively by community members, the government and some NGOs. While community members are sensitized to contribute by mobilizing community members to contribute their manpower to provide materials and expertise (such as masonry, carpentry etc.), the government injects financial resources to construct buildings and NGOs especially CAMFED and EQUIP² provide a monthly token to teachers. At these learning centres, children from the neighbourhood are assembled and introduced to literacy and numeracy basics especially the three Ks (*kusoma*, *kuandika* and *kubesabu*, literary translated as: reading, writing and counting). The children are instructed by para-teachers. While some of these para-teachers are retired teachers, others are form four leavers who are asked to volunteer in return for a small monthly token. In total the regional education officer for Tabora confirmed that the region has 32 satellite schools and some communities are determined to developing such schools into fully fledged primary schools.

In addition, EQUIP performs many other activities to support school girls in Tabora and Lindi regions. In Tabora, one of EQUIP's activities is supporting school girls from low income families by providing them school requirements such as uniforms, shoes, pens and notebooks. Another activity by EQUIP is provision of pre-secondary studies to girls who complete primary school. Such studies are always between September and January (after completion of primary school and before joining form one). EQUIP deploys *para-teachers* (retired teachers and well-mannered secondary school leavers) to teach the pre-secondary studies. In Lindi region, EQUIP raises awareness of parents/guardians about the importance of girls' education. The purpose of this project is to increase parents'/guardians' participation and support of girls' education.

Community awareness raising is another effort by regional, district and community authorities to support girls' education. In Tabora region for instance, peaceful demonstrations were held by pupils, students and regional leaders in early July, this year to express their dissatisfaction with, discourage and raise community awareness against truancy, child labour, pregnancy among school girls and early marriages. The slogan for the demonstration was "kamata tia ndani". This slogan literary translates, arrest and jail the perpetrators of pregnancies among school girls, early marriage and school drop outs. During fieldwork, late in July, 2018 (two weeks after the demonstrations), education officers confirmed that following the campaign more than 2000 pupils and students out of more than 10,000 truants had resumed their studies in different schools in the region.

2 EQUIP is an abbreviation for Education Quality Improvement Programme. It is funded by UK's DFID and run collaboratively with the Government of Tanzania through the Ministry of the President's Office Regional Administration and Local Government.

Section 6: Conclusions and Recommendations for Enhancing School Girls' Retention and Transition

6.1 Introduction

This study sought to highlight factors which influence school girls' transition and retention rates in five case regions, namely: Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro, Dodoma, Tabora and Lindi. This section highlights the conclusions and recommendations deriving from the findings.

6.2 Conclusions

From the findings it is evident that the factors influencing retention and transition of girls in primary and secondary schools are clustered around three categories, namely: the domestic environment in which young people live, the teaching and learning environment and girls' sexuality. These factors operate simultaneously and complement one another in shaping conditions at home and at school that foster possibilities for retention and transition of a girl in question.

First, the domestic environment in which young girls live and socialise is the central factor influencing girls' retention and transition. This includes several aspects which expose girls to (un)favourable conditions as far as their education prospects are concerned.

The socioeconomic conditions and status of households in which girls live especially the levels of income and/ or poverty conditions and the types of economic activities: Girls hailing from poor households are susceptible to dropping out of school due to lack of school requirements such as uniforms, books and more importantly, sanitary pads during their monthly menstrual cycles. Instead of going to school such girls end up on streets doing paid work or engage in sexual activities to raise money for their life necessities.

The nature of socioeconomic activities for the households in which school girls belong. For instance, traditional farming and livestock keeping demand much family labour including school girls' labour. Eventually, girls are denied a chance to go to school especially during the farming season for the farmers in order to participate in production. Likewise, livestock keepers use children's and including school girls' labour in keeping animals. In other situations, girls go to school late, are subsequently punished or decide to miss some classes.

Dependence on family labour makes some communities for instance, the Nyamwezi of Tabora, the Gogo in Dodoma and coastal people see little value in girls' education. This is because in their cultural configuration, a woman is meant to be confined in the private sphere where they should get married and engage in domestic chores and agricultural fields rather than schooling.

The long held beliefs and practices of marrying off girls immediately after puberty in return for dowry (in form of cows among the Nyamwezi and the Sukuma) are also prioritized over schooling.

The *second* cluster of factors affecting school girls' retention and transition is the teaching and learning environment at the schools. These include but are not limited to the following aspects: inadequacy of required school infrastructure, particularly poor toilet facilities which make girls uncomfortable to attend school during their menstrual period. Shortage /lack of dormitories or hostels for girls which makes their schooling very difficult as they have to walk long distances to and from school or get stuck at bus stops for so long especially in Dar es Salaam.

The sparse distribution of education services (schools especially in regions like Tabora makes the going to school a tedious task. This is further complicated by the lack of efficient means of transport, extensive bushy areas that young girls (and boys) have to traverse to school.

Availability of enough teachers for all subjects is critical especially to the transition of girls from lower to higher levels of education. Schools with a shortage of teachers can retain girls in school but fail to make them perform well in examination to join the next level of their education.

The *third* aspect is school girls' sexual and reproductive practices as they come of age and strive to locate their identities in society. Sexuality and teenage pregnancy contribute significantly to drop out of school girls. Girls' sexual behaviour is often in response to financial constraints and pragmatic attempt to deal with the difficulties of walking/ travelling long distances hence fall prey to ill-intentioned men.

Girls have sexual desires and at times willfully engage in sexual relationships and hide such relationships and identities from both their parents and teachers. In such contexts, it is challenging to monitor and control their sexuality and protect them against disruptive practices especially early unsafe sexual practices leading to pregnancies.

6.3 Recommendations

The findings of this study suggest both short and long term recommendations in terms of how to improve on the situation of retention and transition rates in the study regions and in the country at large. The study calls for a holistic and integrated approach involving multiple stakeholders both government and non-government. Informed by context specificity of issues surrounding girls' retention and transition in schools, HakiElimu may consider embarking on advocacy, sensitizations and mobilisation of stakeholders in addressing the following recommendations.

On Domestic environment where school girls live and socialise

- Parents/guardians and community leaders are key change agents who need to be mobilised and sensitised to supervise and ensure that girls go to school. Experiences of Kilimanjaro region where retention and transition rates are the highest indicate that such successes are mainly due to parents'/ guardians' commitments and close follow ups to ensure that girls get education.
- Feeding programmes should be enhanced in schools to improve attendance and learning. Approaches used to mobilise contributions in line with government policy as adopted in Kilimanjaro should be scaled up in other regions.
- Efforts to enhance households' incomes should be looked at as a means to promote girls' retention and transition rates given the salience of financial constraints. Good incomes will enable parents/guardians to adequately provide their daughters (and sons) the necessary school requirements, the lack of which forces many girls to drop out and fail to advance to the next levels of education.
- Further sensitisation of community members on the importance of girls' education should be done especially in Tabora, Dodoma and Lindi regions. Context specific counter narratives to beliefs and values which discourage investment in girls' education should be disseminated. This calls for concerted efforts from both government and non-governmental organisations, and religious leaders.
- Engage community development officers, ward education officer, teachers, and all village executive officers (VEOs) to sensitize community members on the importance of girls' education.
- Promote intervention based on improvement of local knowledge especially the knowledge related to girls' hygiene. Means of preparing local sanitary pads such as sewing of pieces of cloth as used by girls trained by COMPASION under the EAGT Church at Urambo should be enhanced.
- Efforts should be taken to restore deteriorating communication between mothers/female guardians and their daughters regarding the biological changes which the girls undergo as they grow up. Parents should for instance find the ways to ensure that their daughters have the right knowledge and skills to keep them comfortable in school.

On the teaching and learning environment

- Sanitation conditions at various schools should be improved in order to enhance girls' retention and transition to higher levels of education. More stakeholders should join hands to support the ongoing campaign under the Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group (TWPG) to promote construction of modern toilets in school.
- The ongoing provision of sanitary pads to school girls is laudable but still, the budget should be enhanced to cover more girls. Tax holidays for manufacturers of sanitary pads should be actualised.
- In Tabora region and other areas in which the idea of satellite schools (shule shikizi) has cropped up, efforts should be taken by both, the government, nongovernmental organisation, private sector, and development partners to develop these centres into fully fledged schools managed and run mainly by the government. Moreover, in areas where the idea does not exist, and still the available schools are inadequate, the idea of "shule shikizi" should be up-scaled.
- The quantity and quality teachers should be enhanced along with improvement of teachers' working conditions. In service training for teachers especially youthful teachers should be provided periodically in order to give them an opportunity to reminisce (recollect) on their professional ethics and enhance their skills.
- Education curriculum for both primary and secondary schools needs to be recast to clearly reflect and respond to people's everyday needs and life. Basic knowledge and skills pertaining to specific geographical locations, related natural resources and the corresponding socioeconomic activities should be incorporated in school curriculums. This will help to make the learning process relevant to people's lives hence increase the interest of young people, parents/guardians and communities.

On school girls' disposition and sexual behaviour

- More interventions should focus on putting in place mechanisms to control school girls' sexual activities both at the family level and in schools.
- Provision of comprehensive sexuality education to equip girls with the basics of making informed decisions.
- It is important to provide parents with the rights skills and competence in parenting adolescent girls coming of age in completely new contexts compared to the times when their parents grew up and were raised by their parents.
- Enforce the existing tough laws and punishments against those who impregnate school girls
- More hostels should be constructed to accommodate more girls specifically those living far away from schools in order to improve attendance and to reduce GBV and pregnancy cases

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