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GENDER AND SEXUALITY NOTIONS AS DETERMINANTS OF SCHOOL PREGNANCIES IN TANZANIA: A CASE OF IRINGA RURAL DISTRICT

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Contents

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List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BEST	Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania
BPFA	Beijing Platform For Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDI	In-depth Interview
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
TDHS	Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey
THIMS	Tanzania HIV/AIDS Indicator and Malaria Survey
UNICEF	United Nations Children Education Fund
WEO	Ward Executive Officer
WEMU	Wizara ya Elimu na Mafunzo ya Ufundi
WHO	World Health Organization

Abstract

Pregnancy among adolescent girls is a major problem in Tanzania. It impends the government efforts to reduce gender gap in education and fight poverty, as it has become the major reason for school drop out among schoolgirls.

Pregnancies among schoolgirls in Tanzania have been for decade associated with economic setback (poverty). This study describes and analyse the dominant notions of sexuality and gender, which persist in Iringa rural district in Tanzania, that shape boys, older men and girls sexual interactions, which in turn results to pregnancies. These dominant notions are the gender and sexual beliefs, values and practices, which are culturally oriented and socially constructed that shape adolescents and adults sexual behaviours.

The study found out that the dominant notions on gender, which praises men and masculinity and the cultural perceptions to sexuality, which restrict girl's sexualities, are the reasons for the persisting of pregnancy among young people, especially students. Therefore analyses for teenage pregnancy in Tanzania should try to focus on the dominant discourses on gender and sexuality which shape people's behaviour and influence their practices since they seem to affect not only the lives of young girls, but also of young boys.

Keywords

Adolescent, sexuality, gender, generation, teenage (school) pregnancy

Chapter 1
Introduction

In Tanzania, school pregnancy is a term widely used when referring to teenage pregnancy within school settings. It refers to pregnancies among adolescents who are still in school, specifically in primary or secondary schools in order to distinguish between teenagers who are in school and those out of school. This research is going to analyse the causes of teenage pregnancy in Tanzania with a focus on adolescent girls who are in secondary schools in Iringa rural District, which is in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. This chapter is going to provide a background to teenage pregnancy as a worldwide, regional and national social problem, and also provide a justification for conduct this study.

1.1   Background

Teenage pregnancy is a worldwide social problem, which affects the promising future of adolescent girls. Among the developed countries America is the leading country with higher rate of teenage pregnancy. A study conducted by Darroch et al (2001) on five developed countries of America, Canada, Sweden, France and Great Britain found out that 22% of women in America have had their child before they reached 20 years, which is higher compared to Canada (11%), Sweden (4%), France (6%) and Great Britain (15%). The same study found out that the pregnancy level among adolescent between the age of 15-19 in the mid 1990's was 20 per 1000 in France and 25 per 1000 in Sweden, which was twice that level in Canada (46 per 1000) and Britain (47 per 1000) and four times higher in America (84 per 1000) (Darroch et al. 2001: 246)

In Sub Saharan Africa teenage pregnancy is a well-known problem and about 27% of women aged 15-19 are either pregnant or have children already (Fathi 2003:1). 17% of all births in Sub Saharan Africa accounted to women aged 15-19 while the world average of births to women of ages 15-19 accounted to 11% (ibid p 2). This percentage of pregnancy prevalence of Sub Saharan Africa is the more or less the same with that of Tanzania, as according to Tan-

zania Demographic and Health Survey of 2010, women between the ages of 15-19 who were mothers or were currently pregnant accounted for 23% of national population, in which 17% are already mothers and 6% are pregnant with their first child (TDHS 2010:64). Furthermore World Health statistics of 2010 indicates adolescent fertility rate in Tanzania as 139 per 1000 girls of age 15-19 per year (WHO 2010). This rate is quite significant and cannot be ignored, even with the possibility that the number is decreasing. Despite the differences in prevalence's between different surveys (see TDHS 2004-5, THMIS 2007-8, TDHS 2010), all three surveys show the high prevalence among women in rural areas. Currently Tanzania has 26 regions, and according to the Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey 2007-08, childbearing among adolescent is common in the Southern Zone with 34% compared to the Northern Zone with 16%.

1.2   Statement of the Problem: School Pregnancies and ideas about the problem

In Tanzania the proportion of the population under 15 years is about 47% (TDHS 2010: 11), however this great population of youth is exposed to several health related problems (Kopoka, P.A. 1999: 18). Teenage pregnancy is among the problems that affect adolescents in Tanzania, and it's related problems have serious consequences on social, economic and demographic aspects. According to Kopoka, it is the serious implication for the inequalities suffered by girls and women in education and employment systems and that in Africa and the rest of the world it is the main cause of death among adolescent girls (ibid.). Adolescent mothers are more exposed to delivery complications compared to older women which also results in high mortality and morbidity rates for themselves and the children (THMIS 2007-8).

Since most of these early pregnancies are not planned it also contributes to unsafe abortions whereas it is estimated that abortions by adolescent girls each year accounts to 4.4 million (Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001:1815). A WHO study conducted in 2003 estimated that 14% of all unsafe abortions oc-

cur in developing countries, and involved adolescents less than 20 years of age (UNICEF, 2011: 20). Silberschmidt and Rasch's study on adolescent girls and illegal abortion in Dar es Salaam, cited that 41.3 % of teenagers 17 years or under were admitted with complications from illegal abortions in Dar es Salaam alone, and that in 1990's, 54% of women hospitalized due to abortion related complications in Muhimbili National Hospital were teenagers (Silberschmidt, M. and Rasch, V. 2001:1816).

Furthermore Meekers, reported child bearing among schoolgirls as a social problem and suggests that studies on teenage sexuality should be promoted for better understanding of adolescent sexual behavior and for guiding social policies in Sub Saharan Africa (Meekers, D. 1994:48-49). The survey conducted by the Legal and Human Right Center in 2010, reported pregnancy as a major hindrance for girls' access to education in Tanzania (LHRC, 2011:138). In Tanzania, any evidence in sexuality among students in schools often results into school expulsion, especially for girls (Matasha et al. 1998:579). At the same time national guidelines and local barriers have been found to hinder teachers and health workers from discussing and promoting condom use in sex education classes (Schaalma et al. 2004: 265). The moralists have been denying sex education in schools with the argument that it will boost pre-marital relations among students (Meena, R. 1990: 51). As it was reported during the interview with an NGO official who works on a project to empower men's involvement in HIV/AIDS response in Tanzania, that decisions are made in terms of moral perception and the whole problem of teenage pregnancy is regarded as a moral issue;

> In Tanzania decisions are made according to moral views, that is the good
> and bad morals, and this type of thinking is very much influenced by the reli-
> gion. Community thinks becoming pregnant while in school is a moral issue
> rather than a gender issue. Even decision makers assumes in a moral way
> (NGO official1/DSM/32 years)

Additionally, educational policies have no clear guidelines for pregnant students and adolescent mothers to continue schooling before and after deliv-

ery. The regulations put by the Ministry of Education is to terminate immediately school attendance for those girls who are found pregnant, and expel boys who are found responsible for impregnating those girls. The reason for this restriction is purely based on the moral judgment that, when these girls are allowed to go back they will influence other girls' behaviors since the most dominant aspect for controlling adolescent sexuality is abstinence until marriage. However, statistics shows that few boys are expelled, which brings the connotation that girls choose to become pregnant, and expulsion is the only way to punish them so as to caution other girls (Meena, R. 1990: 51). According to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT) data, which is provided annually, school dropout which is related to pregnancy among secondary school students account for only 8.1%, and truants was recorded as the main reason for dropouts with 72.7% (BEST 2011: 77). This data tells us that pregnancy is not the major problem, but if we are to consider the fact that pregnancy only affects a specific sex, that is, female sex then it becomes a problem. Also it has been realized that many girls who become pregnant drop out from school before the school administration becomes aware of their pregnancy thus recorded as truants, and minimize the actual data on pregnancy cases. This was also reported during an interview with an officer from MOEVT, that the pregnancy data the Ministry has is only that was provided by the schools after they have found the girls pregnant during regular school checkups, but the proper pregnancy data can be found at the Reproductive Health Units. This indicates pregnancy as an obstacle to a significant number of adolescent girls' opportunity to education and better future, which has major development implications for the individual (girls in subject), the households they come from, community at large and the nation.

This discrepancy in the ways girls and boys are treated, and the constant focus of the policy, research and intervention on girls, makes girls 'the main culprit' of the teenage pregnancy, and at the same, hides the responsibilities of boys and men. It also describes the way gender is constructed in Tanzanian communities, whereby female gender is assigned a subordinate position compared to male gender, which is assigned a superior. The social constructions of gender assign gender roles to boys and girls, men and women and determine

their position in relation to each other. This process of socialization determines attitudes and perceptions of individuals, which contribute to the designing of curriculum, which affect the content of the educational process as it shapes the distribution and consumption of knowledge. It also defines who produces the knowledge, how that knowledge should be produced, and who should be-the major recipients, and for what purpose (Meena, R. 1990: 45).

Dominant norms, attitudes and behaviors in the country are centered on male gender, thus making it a patriarchal society (ILO national report, 2010: 19). There are however few communities which are organized in matrilineal. These dominant gendered norms limit girl's access to education whereby the socio-cultural, school and policy constraints hinder girl's education beyond primary level (ibid 2010:18). Despite the ratification of several international instruments to mention a few, CRC, CEDAW, EFA, BPFA and MDG, Tanzania still lag behind to reduce gender parity in the attainment of education. Within the community domains, when adolescent girls become pregnant community looks upon them as deviants who have violated community norms and values. But the same community forget to mark the boys and men who have made these girls pregnant, and also tend not to question beliefs which justify the ways boys and men act to prove their manhood.

In Tanzania young people are restricted in their sexual behavior with fundamental norms that they are not supposed to engage in sexual acts until they complete school, which is normally contrary to reality. The study on sexual discourse in the context of AIDS done in Magu district in Tanzania, found out that adolescents start having sex in early ages and by the time they reach 15 or 16 they are already experienced (Nnko, S and Pool, R. 2004). This means young people start to engage in sexual relationships while in school. However, boys are found to be less restricted on sex involvement compared to girls, and it was also reported during data collection that boys and men are the one who start to provoke girls. Thus different strategies should be developed if we are to prevent teenage pregnancy among schoolgirls, as it seems those fundamental norms are more restrictive to girls and women than boys and men.

1.3 Relevance and Justification

This research is going to make a contribution to the discourses on the causes of teenage pregnancy in Tanzania. In doing so, it will analyze the dominant norms and meanings attached to gender and sexuality in the community and explain that through these discourses certain behaviors are shaped thus influence sexual interactions. The argument in this study is that these sexual interactions of young boys, adult men and young schoolgirls, which are formed and informed by different sexual and gender discourses, when not protected results into pregnancies. Several studies have been conducted on teenage pregnancy in Sub Saharan Africa with a focus to identify dominant practices, which influence this social problem. Poverty has been often reported as the main reason for adolescent pregnancies in these developing countries. A study on determinants of teenage pregnancy in Kenya, found out that poverty is among the determinants of teenage pregnancy and in an effort to curb or cope with it issues of early marriages -an attempt for parents to receive dowry- and increase of child labor, where girls are sent to work as housemaids by their parents, are among the factors which contribute to high rate of school drop out and which again subject girls to unwanted pregnancies (Were, 2007:329).

Issues such as lack of school hostels, deficit of teachers, ritual practices of unyago, poverty, lack of school fees and lack of food, transport and shelter have been reported to be among the determinants of schoolgirl pregnancies in Tanzania (see LHRC 2011, Lugongo 2010, Daily News 2010). Many interventions have focused on building hostels, and provision of food or bursary support for schoolgirls in order to rescue them from the problem. There is however, a gap in exploring and addressing the discourses of sexuality and the practices of sexual relationships that boys and mature men engage in with schoolgirls, which contribute to this social problem. Most of the literature on sexuality in Tanzania is found in the context of health, specifically on studies focusing on HIV/AIDS, but not on school pregnancy. These studies have reported several significant findings in relations to cultural norms and people's perception in regards to HIV prevention, which may provide significant answers to problem of schoolgirl pregnancy in the country.

6

Bujra in her work on sexual mutuality talks about whether the threat of HIV infections have given people new ways of talking about sexual relationships and she concludes that the prospects of death by sex has been playing a role in transforming discourses which provide a challenge to the customary sexual practices and put gender inequalities in question (Bujra, J. 2009). Furthermore Nnko and Pool who conducted a study on sexual discourses in the context of AIDS in the Northern part of Tanzania reported that the nature and extent of primary school pupils sexual relations, exposes them to the risks of HIV/AIDs infections. According to this study, fear of pregnancy was among the sexual discourses identified by pupils together with love, sex, sexual desire, money and rewards (Nnko, S. & Pool, R. 2004). Moreover Van Reeuwijk studied children's perceptions regarding sex and sexuality so as to advocate for children and youth involvement in the designs and implementations of sexual health interventions that target them, as she argues that the meaningful participation of young people in sexual health interventions is important for the effectiveness of interventions and fights against AIDS (Van Reeuwijk, M. 2009). Another study conducted in rural Tanzania aimed to find out the motivations for and beliefs of parents and unmarried young people's about transactional sex in Tanzania was mainly for informing interventions focused on women's empowerment as a strategy for HIV prevention. The study argues for understanding of cultural beliefs associated with transactional sex, as understanding these beliefs will help in preventing the practice (Wamoyi et al. 2010a).

The findings from these few mentioned studies show that apart from ascribing poverty and lack of hostels as the major causes for school pregnancies, exploring the discourses of gender and sexuality may provide a sound cause for early pregnancies among schoolgirls in the country. Therefore this study steps aside the HIV/AIDS discussions and try to expose those sexuality and gender perceptions and beliefs as among determinants of schoolgirl pregnancies in Tanzania. Exploring the notions about sexuality, femininity and masculinity, will give us different insights on how to create interventions among youth concerning decisions to have sex, with who, and when it is proper. It will also suggest the need to revise education and school policies regarding provision of sex education to students. Although abstinence is the norm

for young people's sexuality, but with the high rates of pregnancies among schoolgirls, it is obvious that norm doesn't work. It is also obvious that disciplinary options of sentencing boys and men who are found responsible for pregnancies and expelling girls from schools do not work rather create gender disparities when we witness boys and men responsible to be left free, while girls are left to carry the burden by themselves.

1.4 Research Objectives

The goal of the research is to explore how the dominant notions and discourses on gender and sexuality in the communities shape adolescent boys, young girls and older men's perceptions and influence their sexual interaction. Thus, it will add to the existing discourses on the causes of teenage pregnancy among secondary school students in Tanzania and also provides a recommendation to development interventions, which works with youth in schools and in communities.

1.5 Main Research Question

How do the dominant notions on masculinity, femininity and sexuality, shape perceptions and influence sexual interactions of older men, adolescent boys, and girls in the community?

The Sub- Questions:
1. What are the dominant notions of masculinity and femininity in the local community?
2. What are the dominant notions on female and male sexuality in the local community?
3. How do adult's views on young people's sexuality affect young people's agency.

1.6   Structure of the paper

This paper is comprised of five chapters. This first chapter introduces the main social problem chosen as a focus for this study, it also provides a justification for it, and shows how different authors or researches have addressed the problem. The second chapter addresses the methodology and methods of data collection adopted by this study. It will describe ethical dilemmas considered and provide challenges encountered during data collection. The third chapter will provide a theoretical framework that provides a critical lens for analysing the dominant notions of gender and sexuality, which shape individuals behaviours and their sexual practices. The fourth chapter will present the dominant notions and discourses on gender and sexuality, which shape individuals perceptions and practices. It also highlights generational differences in regards to provision of sex education. Chapter five provides a summary of the research findings and recommendations on how to control teenage (school) pregnancy in Tanzania.

Chapter 2
Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology adopted in this research and outline the methods used to collect data. It provides challenges and ethical dilemmas encountered during data collection process, and a brief description of the research area is also provided.

2.1   Methodological approach

This was a Qualitative research, which relied on primary and secondary data sources. Focus Group Discussions and In-depth interviews were used as methods of data collection. These methods were chosen purposely so as to capture the social reality in its context. In-depth interviews were conducted so as to capture individual perceptions, while focus group discussion were used to capture the dominant ideas, which are collectively shared in the community.

2.2   Research site: Brief Context

This study was conducted in Iringa rural district with a population of 245,033 people[1] (119,082 males and 125,951 females) as shown on the 2002 population and housing census. The projections showed the district to have a total number of 31,942 people (17,755 males and 14,187 females) of between 15-19years by the year 2011 (NBS 2006). The district is located in the southern highland zone of Tanzania, which is highly potential for food crop production with farming being the main economic activity and source of living whereby 90% of the population[2] engage in rural farming. In Tanzania agricultural sector

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1 www.tanzania.go.tz/regions/IRINGA.pdf Accessed on 12 September 2011

2 www.tzonline.org/pdf/focusoniringaregion2005.pdf Accessed on 12 September 2011

is the main employer in which 69% women and 62% of men engage in agriculture (TDHS 2010: 44). The main ethnic communities in the district are Hehe, Kinga and Bena in which Hehe is the predominant tribe (Investment Profile of Iringa District Council[3], 2010:2)

This study focused on the adolescent boys and girls from Mgama ward, chosen as a location for this research. The district has 20 wards (sub-divisions) in which Mgama is one of them. Mgama ward comprises of five villages of Mgama, Ihemi, Ibumila, Ilandutwa and Itwaga, with a population of 14,018 (6690 males and 7328 females)[4]. The main source of living in Mgama is subsistence farming, whereby the main cultivated crops are maize and tomatoes. The reason for choosing this ward was based on the prevalence of adolescent pregnancies in the district, in which Mgama and Kiponzelo wards were leading for high number of pregnancy related school dropouts in year 2010[5].

Hehe people of Iringa are patriarchal and patrilineal clan. Men are the head of households with responsibilities to perform heavy tasks such as house building or bush clearing while women are considered as assistants to their husbands with household responsibilities of cooking, fetching water, and also socializing children. Even though women are considered as assistants with light duties, but they are also responsible in working on the plantations, and most of their time is spent on farming. Children are socialized to perform tasks following their parents. Girls assist their mothers in household tasks, and boys assist their fathers.

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3 Source: Investment Profile of Iringa District Council, 2010 (Unpublished document)

4 Source: Mgama Ward Executive Officer (WEO), 2010

5 Source: Report on the Statistics of Department of Community Development and
  other existing sectors in the District Council of Iringa, June 2010-July 2011 (Unpublished document)

2.3   Methods and sources of Data

In order to understand the insights of the day-to-day actions and interactions of the community, and in trying to grasp interesting data from the respondents, semi structured interviews were conducted with a questioning plan to guide the interviews. The advantages of using semi structured type of interview are explained by O'Leary as not only being able to collect all the data the researcher intends, but also the ability to collect the unexpected data which arises during the interviews (O'Leary, Z. 2010:195). Respondents were purposely selected on the basis of finding the most suitable people to give out proper information for the study. The reason to use purposive sampling was because I believed the groups of people identified had practical experiences in the area of my research topic. The respondents provided the perceptions, judgments and behaviors of their community very well.

2.3.1 Primary Data

2.3.1.1 In-depth Interview
Fifteen In-depth interviews were conducted with different respondents. The interviews were informal and conducted in different places following respondents place of residents and offices, except for one male student in which the interview took place in one of the unused classroom. The criteria for choosing respondents for in-depth interview were mainly based on the social position of respondents, age and their experiences on the subject in discussion. The length of the interviews ranged between 30-45 minutes.

One respected old woman (68 years) in the village, who is also a secondary school board member, was interviewed, together with one elderly respected man (79 years). The interviews with old respected people in the village were conducted for the purpose of obtaining different views and experiences of life in general, the way different things are defined and explained according to their respective culture. Also, two out -of -school adolescent boys (19 years old and 20 years old) who live in Mgama village, and one in-school adolescent boy (19years) were interviewed so as to get their perception and experiences of masculinity and sexuality knowledge. In addition, four secondary schoolgirls

(16-18 years) were also interviewed in order to get their perceptions and experiences of femininity and sexuality knowledge. Furthermore, One man (25 years) who has impregnated a schoolgirl, and two adolescent mothers (17 years and 19 years) who were expelled from school were also interviewed so as to get their actual experience on the situation where these relationships happen. As it was pointed out that a feminist observation would see the young women who are exposed to the risks of pregnancy or HIV, as situated in social relationships and that focusing on their expression of their experiences provide us with different access to how and why they accept risky practices and take sexual risks (Holland et. al 1999:460).

Following comments made during interviews with parents, teachers and board member regarding contribution from civil societies to promote schoolgirls better learning environment in-depth interviews were conducted with NGO representatives and government official from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. One interview was conducted with a female officer who works at an NGO which support girl's education in Tanzania, Mgama being among the wards supported. Another interview was conducted with a male officer from an NGO, which works to empower men's involvement in Sexual and Reproductive Health in Tanzania. Also one female government employee from the Ministry of Education was interviewed. The aim for these interviews was to find out and understand the role of government and non-governmental organizations in providing sexual health information, and in controlling teenage pregnancy among schoolgirls.

2.3.1.2 Focus Group Discussion

Five Focus Group Discussions were conducted in this research. The reason for conducting FGDs was mainly to find out the dominant notions on masculinity and sexuality that persist in the community. Respondents for the FGD's were parents, students and teachers who were chosen based on their social position. FGD with students and teachers were conducted in school (unused classroom and in teachers staff room respectively). FGD with male and female parents

13

were conducted in one of the unused room at the village dispensary and they lasted for one hour and one and half hour.

Male and female parents were purposely selected based on their experiences as parents and as community members. The parents selected, aged between 24-65 years, and they came from three villages of Ibumila, Mgama and Itwaga. Moreover, secondary school male and female teachers (21-33 years) were also interviewed so as to get their perceptions on pregnancies that occur in school settings, its impact and their suggestions on measures to be taken to reduce the problem. Furthermore, female and male students (15-19) FGDs were conducted so as to obtain the dominant perceptions on masculinity and femininity in their community and to get an idea how do they position themselves within those dominate ideas.

2.3.2 Secondary Data

This research also used extensive amount of literature to support its findings (primary data). Various literatures on gender and sexuality from different authors were sought in complementing or challenge the research findings. Also previous researches were consulted by this study, such as Tanzania Human Rights Report of 2010, Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey 2010, Report by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2009 on the opinion from stakeholders on the right to education by preventing pregnancies.

2.4   Challenges and Ethical Dilemmas

Being a young woman, a stranger to the community, who asks questions about sexuality, was somehow difficult and strange. I could sense respondent's uncomfortability from their faces when I asked about how sexuality is regarded in their community. According to Tanzanian culture issues of sexuality, are not spoken publicly and it is not expected for young people to talk openly on those issues in front of adults. Parents restrain and control children's sexuality by avoiding discussions about sex with young people therefore making the topic a

taboo for them (Van Reeuwijk, 2007: 52). By realizing this, ethical considerations had to be sought in order to make respondents comfortable in responding to questions and make sure as a researcher I don't break community norms. First respondents were asked and gave out their informed verbal and written consent. Second respondents were promised anonymity, which made them free to speak their mind.

I also realized that respondents were trying to provide socially acceptable answers during interviews, and I thought the reason for that was mainly in order to protect their community from shame if there is over reporting of too much sexual related behaviour. I had to ask the same question in different ways in order to check if I could get different answers.

Through this research I have learned that data collection is not an easy task and as a researcher you have to be prepared to face challenges and above all be prompt to deal with every challenge with intelligence in order to maintain your respondents trust. Due to norms, which restrict sexuality discussions publicly, I encountered a challenge to continue with FGD with adolescent girls in school. I had to stop the interview and choose few girls from the group whom I managed to conduct in-depth interview with them on another day. I came to find out from those few girls chosen, that the questions about sexuality made them uncomfortable, as they feared each other. One of the girls when interviewed said that the reason why she could not talk was because she was afraid other girls would know that she is knowledgeable and would think she is promiscuous. This research indicates that it is also not considered appropriate for girls to talk about sexuality in front of other girls or older women. As noticed by Bujra, that sexual relations in Tanzania generally express the social power of older men over younger women, but the situation can be complex when even the older women regulate young girls sexuality. During her study on the rural settings of Tanzania, she reported to hear older women reprimanding younger women's to control their sexuality hence acting as the guardians of sexual knowledge (Bujra, J. 2009:12)

The same problem was encountered with female teachers, as it was a struggle for them at first to contribute to the discussion, through my

observations female teachers smiled and looked at each other whenever a question on sexuality came up, but male teachers were the first to answer. The study on sexual reproductive health in Tanzania also found out that although discussions about sex and sexuality was restricted exclusively to age peers for students but male respondents were more open to discuss such matters with friends from both sexes (Matasha et al. 1998:576). My assumption was, since teachers are educated and informed it would be easy to mix the genders on the Focus Group, but to some point that assumption did not hold. This also brought to my attention the issue of age and generation as I noticed the diversity in age among teachers, in which many matured teachers were female teachers while male teachers were mainly in the category of youth.

I was also caught in a difficult position to decide whether to continue with interviews or not when a child of one of the parent I interviewed earlier died after a wall of a neighbouring house fell and killed her instantly. That incident occurred when I was actually heading to that house to interview an adolescent mother (who dropped out from school) who lives there with the husband (a man who impregnated her). All the interviews in that village on that day had to be cancelled, and it was going to be so until the burial. But I managed to find a respondent (young mother) from a nearby village and continue to interview students since the school is on a distance location from the village.

Furthermore getting the respondents especially men who impregnated schoolgirls was another challenge. As anticipated before going to the field, this was a major challenge, as community members were reluctant to mention those men. I came to find out these men were present in the village but no one was willing to disclose them. It happened after I volunteered to offer the rented car to fetch the police to make statement of the deceased baby that is when people became helpful. I came to realize that, what I did was much more to my advantage, as my action changed the whole perception the community had about me, as they became open and direct me to one man who was actually staying very close by. Although it was difficult to get his consent to be

16

interviewed as he thought I was a police investigator, at the end he agreed (verbal consent) but refused to sign a consent form and to be recorded.

Moreover, it happened that the time I went to the field, the month of July, was the time that form four students were doing their mock exams. Although that did not affect my findings to a great extent as I managed to interview other students, but I thought the contribution from those form four students who were mainly 19 years of age would be an added advantage to the study.

To sum up since all interviews were conducted in Swahili language, it was difficult to translate into English and keep the original meaning. There were even cases where some Swahili words used by the respondents were not proper because the respondents were used to their mother tongue (Hehe language). In those cases, quotes in this paper were provided in both Swahili and English.

Chapter 3
Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides the conceptual framework, which guides this research's analysis in exploring the forces that influence boys, men and girls' perceptions and their sexual interactions. A social constructionist model is used to analyse different ways in which notions of gender and sexuality are constructed to shape community members behaviours and practices. Furthermore an intersectional analysis is adopted as a tool in understanding generational differences in normative perceptions in the community.

3.1 Gender

The dominant assumptions and usage of gender among several researchers lies on a heterosexual distinction between men and women, which undermines the understanding of gender as relational constructs of masculinity and femininity which depend on one another (Wickramasinghe, M. 2010:96-97). Furthermore, in another way gender has been used as a synonym for women whereby researchers would focus only on women and leave out men's experiences and their situations unquestioned (ibid. 97). We cannot understand the social arrangements on the sexual division of labour, or inequality which associate masculinity with power without putting our consideration to the ways societies represent gender, or use it to express the rules of social relations, or construct the meaning of experiences (Scott, J.W. 1988:38). Every society uses gender and age in allocating people into carrying out their responsibilities. Similarities and differences are constructed among and between them, and they are assigned different roles and responsibilities. People are classified as "girls or boys", "girls and boys ready to be married" and "fully adult women and men" (Lorber, J. 1995:15). Therefore gender and gender relations, masculinity and femininity do not reflect biological or natural traits; rather they are the products of cultural and social processes, which varies according to time and location (Silberschmidt, M. 2001:658). This study will show how gender has

been constructed in Mgama community, in which masculinity and femininity have been naturalized and fixed according to sex, which in turn informs people's perceptions and influence their interactions.

3.2   Social construction of Sexuality

Being a contested concept most people refer to sexuality as sexual intercourse and sexual behaviours, therefore link it with different ways people express their sexual feelings and pleasures (Madunagu, B. 2005). However, sexuality is more broad than sexual behaviour as it consists of physical capacity for sexual arousal and pleasure as well as personalized and social meaning which are shared and attached to sexual behaviour and formation of sexual and gender identities (Dixon-Mueller, D. 1993:273). Normally the ideas about what constitute the nature of maleness and femaleness are expressed in sexual norms and ideologies thus attitudes and behaviours around sexuality and gender carry profound meanings for women and men in different communities, which affect the quality of life in essential ways (ibid.)

A review of sexual behaviour in Sub Saharan Africa presented a working definition of sexuality, which follows four dimensions of sexual partnership, sexual acts, sexual meanings, and sexual drives and enjoyment, in which reproductive health practitioners would consider when planning. This paper adopts the 'sexual meanings' dimension, which integrates collective, and individual beliefs about the nature of the body, what is considered erotic or offensive and with whom (according to their age and social position) it is correct or incorrect for men and women to practice or talk about sexuality (Dixon-Mueller, D. 1993:275). Gittins clarification on sexuality, follows this framework, which denotes the social construction of sexuality, when she explained on the social and political aspect of sexuality, in which she argues that society and its normative systems set clear guidelines as to what is acceptable and unacceptable in sexual relationships and acts. That is the laws instruct us as to when and with whom we can have sexual relationships and marry or divorce. She continues that such laws change and vary (Gittins, D. 1998:177).

From a constructionist perspective, meanings, motives and practices of sexualities are historical and contextual; hence all sexualities are local (Pigg, S.L. and Adams, V. 2005:5). Therefore, sexual behaviour follows a cultural, social, economic and historical background where community members are faced with attributed norms and values, power structures, and different gender and social roles, which gives them certain rights and social values (Silberschmidt, M. 2001:659). According to Foucault, sexuality is a very dense transfer point for relations of power between men and women, young and old people, teachers and students, parents and their children, ministers and their congregations (Foucault, M. 1990:103). Sexual relationships and practices often includes power disparities based on gender, age, race and class, and that girls and women, often have less control over men's sexual access to their bodies and the circumstances under which sexual encounter takes place (Dixon-Mueller, D. 1993:269).

Therefore, sexuality is this study is viewed in a social constructionist way, as historical and local, which follows cultural and social backgrounds of communities. As Dixon-Mueller states, sexuality has different meanings for different people, which are contextualized (Dixon-Mueller, D. 1993:273), I found out that there is no *swahili* word for sexuality, the term is referred to, *mahusiano ya kimapenzi* in Swahili language which means sexual relations. Therefore, sexuality in this paper and which was referred in Mgama community is based on heterosexual relationships. Viewing sexuality in this perspective provides this study with a way of exploring the power relations among groups of individuals in their respective positions and age, which shape their sexual interactions.

3.3 Adolescent and Youth (Young people)

According to UN definitions of young people, children are defined with age range between 0-18 years, adolescents with 10-19 years, youth 15-24 years and young people 10-24 years (White, B. 2003). WHO (1986:63) defines adolescence as an age range, the second decade of life between 10-19 years (cited in Philemon, M.N. 2007: 14) UNICEF describe adolescent as the age at

which many people become sexually active and start multiple relationships (UNICEF, 2011: 13) and Finn describe it as a biologically determined stage of vulnerability to social wickedness (Finn 2001 cited in Ansell, N. 2005: 18). However this type of definition following age and biological markers provides confusion as this age range overlaps with other categories of children, youth and young people (White, B. 2003). According to Abramson & Pinkerton (1995:177), adolescence refers to a social stage intervening between childhood and adulthood. In West it has come to be regarded, as 'a period of 'stress and storm' observed in young people, mid-way between the dependency of childhood and the mature stability of adulthood' (Ansell, N. 2005:18). This stage begins with links to physical markers, which indicates the biological transition into reproductive ability, and ends with social markers, which indicates marriage or birth of first child as the turning point onto adulthood (Abramson P & Pinkerton S. 1995:177).

Therefore the concepts of childhood and youth vary over time and space, and there are also considerable differences within societies in their expectations of children, between different social classes, gender and ethnicity (Ansell, N. 2005:9). These concepts are not natural and universal and the differences between children and adults cannot be made from physical differences, thus the construction of childhood and youth incorporate normative and descriptive elements, that is the characteristics attributed to young people of different age and sex, the ways they are treated and expected to behave, the value given to them by the society, and what is considered desirable to them (ibid.)

This way of defining adolescents and young people as a social stage, that is, expectations about them, images of them, attitudes towards them, understanding who and what they actually are, bring us to the connotation that the concepts of childhood, adolescents and youth are socially constructed (Rogers 2003:26 cited in White, B. 2003) and that there is no particular clear conceptualization of either childhood or youth, but rather a number of different discourses that are contradictory which seem to have their origins in different historical contexts (Ansell, N. 2005:10). This way of conceptualizing

adolescence is useful in informing the analysis of this study as it looks at how predominant ideas of what it means to be young inform people's perceptions and information about sexuality and shape young people's sexual agency.

3.4 Generations and Intergenerational Relations

The concept of generation is widely used to make a distinction between groups of age in the society and also to locate individual selves and other people within historical time (Pilcher, J. 1994:481). It is a socially constructed arrangement of relationships among social positions in which young people and adults are the holders of the specific social positions defined in relation to each other (Alanen, L. 2001:12). Children are normally born into families and spend their daily lives within the generationally structures (units) in which some members are positioned as parents and others as children (ibid. 129). Manheim define generation as a term, which is in the form of a cohort (Pilcher, J. 1994: 483) and that generations are formed when members of a certain age group live through the same historical and social events during their youthful years, and experience those events as significant to themselves. He continues that through those shared experiences they develop a common identity that can be observed in the social and political attitudes of the age group in question (Alanen, L. 2001:15). However, Glenn (1977) argues that 'generations' should not be used synonymously to 'cohort', since generations is a structural term in kinship terminology which denotes parent-child relationship. According to Glenn, cohort is defined as people within a defined population who experience the same events within a particular period of time (cited in Pilcher, J. 1994:483).

Intergenerational relations refer to the interactions between generational groups (Pain, R. 2005: 36), which are produced by a complex range of factors at individual, family, community and societal level (ibid. 10). These relations are not fixed but involve multiple identities, perceptions and forms of interactions between old and young people (ibid. 11). Therefore this paper follows Glenn's term of generation to denote a parent-child relationship, which is related to variation of experiences acquired according to their age and

their social positions. This approach of defining generation in terms of a structural relationship and not in a cohort that lived through the same historical and social events, is useful in this study as it offers a way of understanding different perceptions, identities and interactions of individuals in regards to their age and social position (parents versus children, old versus young, teachers versus students).

Chapter 4

Discourses surrounding Gender and Sexuality behaviour in Iringa

This chapter presents and interprets the main findings that describe the norms, values, beliefs and the perceptions of gender and sexuality in Mgama community. These beliefs shape boys, girls and men's knowledge and influence their relationships. In the process of interpreting these findings, the social constructionist theory is used as an analytical tool to describe these norms and beliefs, which form the dominant notions that guide and shape the community's perceptions. These notions inform people on their gender roles and their own sexuality, which in terms leads to their practices. The first part explains the gender and sexuality perceptions and expectations that are formed and informed by the community, and the second parts discusses how contradicting discourses, which are conveyed from one generation to another, reproduces these dominant notions and affect the provision of sex education to young people. It will also highlight the aspects of agency and power relations among generations.

4.1 Perceptions and expectations of masculinity and femininity, and of male and female sexuality of young boys, girls and adult men

Connell (1995:68) stated that masculinity is inherently relational and normally exists in contrast to femininity as well as other masculinities. This was observed in the community as masculinity, which is practiced and valued is that which is associated with ability to impregnate and perform duties according to male sex. During data collection, respondents reported in a way that showed their thought on biology or nature as a determinant to the gendered lives of men and women. The interviews with parents, teachers, boys and girls reported men

to be different with women in terms of their sex, which determine their gender. Being a man in the community entails being different from women, and acquire roles which correspond with their sex, that is, to be able to impregnate, to make independent decisions, to be responsible as head of house and breadwinners, to be confident, daring, to become leaders and above all to be respected by boys, girls and women. This depiction of masculinity was clearly exposed by the respondents when they stated their perceptions and expectations of young boys and men in their community;

> To be a man is to be different from women" (IDI with out of school boy 1/Mgama/19yrs).

> To have a male sex and be able to work according to his sex, which is different with the way female sex work (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65yrs).

> To be a man is to be able to impregnate a woman, a man is a leader, he is the head of the family and he is respected for his decision-making power (FGD with teachers/Mgama/21-33).

Femininity in Mgama community is associated with reproductive abilities and ability to perform roles assigned to female sex. To be a proper woman is to be able to bear children, and socialize them in a culturally defined manner. Thus to the community, experiences of one sex are different from those of another sex. According to Milkie (2002: 839), the ideas of what women should do, should behave or be like are so powerful in putting women in control of their behaviours. These notions in the end become the central feature in defining femininity (Smith, 1990 cited in Milkie, M.A 2002: 839). These ideas, which separate male and female experiences, are the ones, which provide a distinctive perception of girls to boys and men and among girls and women themselves;

> Differences on roles are according to sex, for instance, a woman's role is to become pregnant and take care of that baby, but a man's role is to make that pregnant happen (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

Masculinity was also seem to differ with other masculinities, as young boys were differentiated with adult men in terms of their social roles. This was also put by Connell, that masculinity may refer to the ways men differ among themselves as it denotes men as heterogeneous entity, and that it cannot rise outside the system of gender relations (Connell, R.W. 1995:69). Young adolescent boys, contrary to adult men were regarded as less responsible compared to adult men and young girls. According to male parents, these young boy's behaviours seem to be driven by their sexual desires, and their decisions are influenced by peers, thus do not respect the elders;

> A boy is different with a man, he is not able to impregnate, and he is not involved in decision-making meetings, he is an implementer (FGD teachers/Mgama/21-33years).

> Boys being less responsible is not that there are no tasks for them to engage in, it is because they don't realize that they are supposed to do that, that's why they loose track when they get involved with peer. Boys don't care about work or who to become in future, and they don't want to be asked (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

Meanwhile femininity of young girls was more or less the same as that of adult women. Girls are socialized to perform household duties in an early age, compared to boys where there is a clear cut between their roles and adult men's role. Girls from young age are supposed to help their mothers in regards to family duties; hence they are more responsible than boys, as they have to work at home after school hours;

> In terms of responsibilities, girls have different roles compared to boys, here it is different with adults (men and women) where men are responsible than women. A girl is more responsible than a boy because of domestic chores she has to do at home (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

It was observed that the transition for young boys to become men is socially marked. Marriage and acquisition of social roles and responsibilities are major determinants for transition from being boys to being men. Bujra also noticed this when she conducted her research in Lushoto, that there is no fixed

age at which a man progresses from the status of youth to that of an adult man. She continues that, the shift always follows after marriage or the birth of children (Bujra, J. 2000:16). This explains that biology only provides a context to childhood or adolescence but it does not determine this stage (O'Neill 2000:6 cited in White, B. 2003). Thus the institutions of childhood or young people are the constructions of social, political (local, national and international) and culture, that vary between social groups, genders and time (ibid.);

> Responsibilities change a boy into a man. When he is able to have a family of his own his responsibilities changes so he becomes a man (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

> To be called a man it means you have passed an adolescent stage and ready to marry" (IDI with out of school boy 2/Mgama/20yrs).

The transition from being young girls to adult women was marked different from that of boys. The transition from an adolescent girl to an adult woman is biologically and socially marked. Giving birth and getting married marks the transition for girl's thus young girls are expected to control their sexual emotions and abstain from sexual practices until marriage. This has resulted for strict restrictions to be put for young people and especially girls in regards to their sexuality. Young girls in Mgama are supposed to withhold their sexual engagement until the age of marriage, since marriage is associated with procreation. Bujra noticed this aspect of sexuality regulations to be performed more with adult women and states that this policing of young girls sexuality is not promoted in order to fulfil female sexual desires or facilitate their claim of their own right as sexual beings, but rather to the service of men (Bujra, J. 2009:12).

Furthermore, while masculinity, is associated with the ability to make decision and reasoning, femininity is regarded as less. Women in Mgama are regarded as only assistants to their men with main reproductive duties. Women have been equated with the body, passion and irrationality, in which children, both boys and girls have been put into this basket. However boys arise to take

up men's position, which is equated with mind, reason and masculine, while girls seem to continue in the same position (Gittins, D. 1998: 185);

> In Hehe tradition women are like slaves. Men are so much praised and they used to marry many wives not because of love, but for the sake of land ownership. They used to marry women from different villages because women were the one mostly working on the farms (IDI with respected elderly woman /Mgama/68 years).

> I know boys study hard, even when they are engaged in sexual relationships while in school, they are not affected as girls because they don't spend much of their time thinking about girls, which is different with girls. You might find a girl is doing well when enrolled in form one, but once she start having sex her performances goes down, girls spend all their time thinking about boys" (IDI with adolescent mother 2/Ilandutwa/19 years).

From these different expectations of what boys and men, and girls and women are supposed to be, it shows the notions of gender put much emphasis on differences between binary sexes of male and female. The perceptions about masculinity and femininity in the community as reported by respondent's shows the naturalization of behaviours according to sex. It is clear that men and adolescent boys are shaped with gender notions, which equate hegemonic masculinity with sexual liveliness, while girls are shaped with gender notions, which equate femininity with sexual abstinence (see also Van Eerdewijk, A. 2007:99);

> Here boys start to provoke girls, but there are other girls who start to provoke boys. When a girl provokes a boy, a boy cannot refuse because a refusal indicates that you are weak, and your peers will laugh at you when they find out (IDI with out-of -school boy 2/Mgama/20years).

Men are considered as strong, with the capacity to reason and lead the family. These ideas shape people's behaviours and therefore affect their interactions, because girls and women are regarded as weak, with no capacity to reason, but with the capacity to reproduce and care for their families. These

differences are not regarded in terms of how they have assigned their roles but in terms of their biological attributes;

> Women here are contempt and are regarded as the evildoers. They are re-garded like that because they do not think and act wisely even though they are aware of what is coming ahead (IDI with girl student 2/Mgama/17years).

Due to this, men assume all the power over women and girls. Men and boys provoke schoolgirls, and because those girls have feelings as well they cannot abstain thus engage in sexual relationships. Since gender notions equate masculinity with sexual liveliness, and femininity with sexual abstinence, girls are condemned when pregnancies occur out of those relationships;

> To be honest we have investigated and found out that these young people are in agreement no one is forced into these relationships therefore by reporting these men and send them to jail is not fair. After all we have realized that the problem is with girls and not boys (IDI with a respected elderly man/Mgama/79years).

> In fact men and boys have always been people to be feared in our communi-ty, but we should be close to them so that when they come near us and tell us lies we are able to answer back and correct them (FGD with girls /Mgama/15-18years)

> Boys are different, there are those who are very friendly and genuine, but there are others when you sit next to them in class they start giving out sexual comments (FGD with girls/Mgama/15-18years)

Lorber's argument that, in a gender-stratified society what men do is valued because it is done by men, and not women even when the activities are the same (Lorber, J. 1995:33), proves right for the community of Mgama. These gender notions are reproduced and conveyed through several discourses which create certain perceptions to people that specific sex is better than the other, therefore it shapes people's attitudes and the way they conduct their lives in relations to each other. This means even though gender determines people's responsibilities, but it should not be reduced to sex. It is a social

29

practice that that refers to bodies and what bodies can do but it is not reduced to the body (Connell, R.W. 1995:71). As defined by Scott, gender is *'a way of conveying 'cultural constructions' – the entirely social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men'* (Scott J. 1986:1056*)*. This descriptive usage of gender only applies to areas where there are relations between binary sexes, so as to differentiate sexual practices from the social roles assigned to women and men. She continues that this usage of gender rejects the biological explanations that the experiences of one sex are different with the other (ibid.).

In regards to female and male sexualities, sexual relations among men, women, young boys and girls in Tanzania are normally regarded as natural and perceived as inevitable unless prevented by adults (Wight et al. 2006 cited in Van Reeuwijk, 2007: 52). Since sexual relations are regarded as inevitable, the only way to prevent young people's sexuality is through separating girls and boys from coming into contact. I observed this during my previous work within Hehe communities, and during data collection that, in classrooms, boys and girls are seated on separate desks, and even when given collective assignments, girls will detach themselves from boys, in which boys would also do the same by forming a different group of boys only. Parents pointed out that during puberty the only way to prevent girls and boys to engage into unwanted relations, is to separate them, and girls are told not to come into contact with boys. Van Reeuwijk also reported this, on her study of children sexuality in the Northern part of Tanzania, that parents and caretakers limit interactions between boys and girls in an effort to control children's sexuality, and that when a boy and girl are seen talking together in the street they might get punished or beaten by their parents (Van Reeuwijk, 2007:52, Wight et.al 2006);

> When boys reach that maturity age they become very problematic, this is the puberty period, when they are called boys and not fit to be called men. In this period they have less responsibilities, this is the period when parents have to separate boys and girls because mixing them might result to risky behaviours (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

Although community's norms are constructed in a way that young people sexualities are restricted compared to adult, female sexualities are more controlled compared to male sexualities in which older men and boys are free to engage in sexual relations than older women and girls. A study on sexual behaviour among students of Sub Saharan Africa, found a great variation on prevalence of sexual activity among boys and girls. As it was noted in Tanzania 63% of boys reported to participate in sexual activity (experience sexual intercourse) compared to 24% of girls (Kaaya et al. 2002: 153). Similarly, the study on children sexuality in Tanzania found out that ideally community expect young boys and girls to abstain from sex until marriage, but this expectation is more applicable to girls than boys (Van Reeuwjk, 2007: 52). Van Reeuwijk continues that, in the communities the norms about masculinity expect adolescent boys to have sexual experiences, which make them to become free than adolescent girls (ibid. 56). The same contention was observed during the focus group with male parents, who talked about boy's sexual behavior during puberty as normal and understandable, and that it will disappear once these boys grow to become matured men;

> ….. it is not their (boys) fault to try those things, that is a transition period, even we, went through the same stage" (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65yrs).

> A girl is supposed to recognize herself and obey her parents. She should respect herself otherwise boys will take advantage of her. Boys always try different things, so a girl who does not take her parents warning seriously she is likely to fall a prey to the boys. A girl's responsibility is to listen to her parents, respect herself and the law (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

Moreover, this study found out that the coexistence of many discourses influence the reproduction of certain notions through daily interactions. Sexuality notions, which emphasize on abstinence for young people also influence the way sexuality is restricted according to social status. It was found out that young people are more restricted to engage in sexual relations while in school, that means school status determines sexuality of adolescents compared

31

to their age. In a Tanzanian context, the age category of 15-19 years is a school going age where by a young person that falls within the specific age category, if given a chance to enrol in primary school at age seven[6], he or she would be in secondary school. These findings correspond with research findings conducted on the contradictory sexual norms in Tanzania, which found out that young people in rural northern part of Tanzania, are restricted on sexual behaviour according to their school status (being students) and adult responsibilities (fit to marry) instead of their age (Wight et al. 2006). Although this research was conducted with students from primary schools but these findings, reveal the clearest generational differences, which are maintained by almost all adults at all levels (ibid. 990). In Mgama it is more or less the same, as reported by respondents;

> This community forbid children to engage in sexual relations during primary school, and even if you have completed your primary education you are not allowed because education is supposed to come first. But if you have reached 19years and you are not in school you are allowed". (IDI with an adolescent mother 2/Ilandutwa/19 years).

Additionally, an interview with a male student revealed the differences between in-school boys and those who are out of school when he reported that out-of-school boys engage in sexual activities more often compared to those who are in schools due to peer pressure and lack of information;

> Those boys in the village are proud to engage in sexual relationships with girls because they are admired, compared to us boys in schools because we are warned by teachers (IDI with male student/Mgama/19yrs).

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[6] According to Tanzania Education Policy, students in primary schools start to be enrolled with age seven, in which the duration of primary education is seven years. At the age of fifteen children are presumed to start their ordinary level secondary education for four years. They then join advanced secondary education for two years, and University for a maximum of four to six years. However enrolment to advanced secondary education and university depends on the successfully passing of national exams.

Furthermore, lust or desire for sex, was reported to be the main reason for boys and men's engagement in sexual relationship with girls. It was stated by respondents that men have strong feelings than women, and it appears normal for adolescent boys to provoke girls because their bodies are in need, but girls are expected to control their desires;

> Men have strong feelings than women, since women's feelings are so far to reach, and they are the one affected most when they get pregnant, so they are the ones who are responsible in making sure their men are wearing condoms (FGD with teachers/Mgama/21-33).

Nnko and Pool, also found out that sexual desire was the main motivating factor for boys to engage in the sexual relationships, while for girls' money was the main factor (Nnko, S. & Pool, R. 2004:87). This corresponds to what I found in the field;

> It is lust, which makes men to engage with girls while for girls since they are poor they are caught easily, because if you are poor and someone offers help, you wont refuse (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

> Those boys are just playing with girls, and girls fail to control themselves because of desire for money as they come from poor families (IDI with respected elderly woman/Mgama/68years).

Meanwhile, respondents reported that the main reasons for girls to engage in sexual relationships with boys and men are poverty and the desire for money or gifts, thus sexual relationships depict a significant transactional component with girls exchanging sexual services for gifts and money (ibid. 89). Young girl's engagement in sexual relationships was only related to economic hardship;

> Parents do not give their girls enough money, so economic situation is what drive girls into sexual relationships (IDI with impregnator/Mgama/25 years).

> Boys normally befriend you and try to find out the things you like then he provide them, so at the end that's when he asks for sex (IDI with a girl student 2/Mgama/17years).

33

Previous studies on sexuality found out that in rural Tanzania, receiving money or gifts in exchange for sex does not mean the same thing to women and men. While women view gifts as the proof of love and commitment of their partners, men perceive women to be motivated to engage in sex for gifts (Moore et al. 2007:46, Wamoyi et al. 2010a). Luke and Kurz (cited in Moore et al: 2007:46) categorized women's financial interest in sexual relationships into three aspects of, motivation to increase long life chances, economic survival and increase status among peers. They further explained that in economic survival girls are pressured by their parents to provide for household needs. Respondents stated the same allegation when they reported parents to be the main source for their daughter's interest in sexual relations;

> There are female parents who do not ask their daughters when they bring gifts and nice things home, mothers are protecting their daughters from their husbands enquires so they support their girls to engage in sexual relationships (IDI with girl student1/Mgama/16years).

Moreover, respondents revealed the existence of cross-generational relationships during data collection, and reported that although schoolgirls engage in sexual relations with their fellow students but many relationships involve out-of-school men, and most of these relationships happen during tomato harvesting period[7] when businessmen across the region come to buy tomatoes. Since transactional sex is involved with cross-generational relationships[8], young girls are reported to seek out older men for wealth and security purposes, as in case of pregnancy older partners have money to support abortions (Wamoyi et al. 2010a: 6, Nnko, S. & Pool, R. 2004:87, Luke, N. 2003, Leclerc-Madlala, S. 2008);

> Yes those relationships do happen, because you may find a shopkeeper who is a married man, use his position to seduce girls when they go to his shop to buy items with few cash (IDI with a male student/Mgama/19yrs).

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[7] Tomato harvesting period in Mgama is on the months of November – July

However I observed older men to deny cross-generational relationships while teachers, women, girls and boys affirmed their existence. During FGD with male parents, only one parent mentioned those relationships to happen but claimed that they do happen at the respective villages these girls come from and not in Mgama village where the school is located;

> …….I don't know about that, actually I have never heard of it, and according to our tribe (Hehe) it is a taboo for an older person to engage in sexual relationship with young people. What I heard is, these girls are impregnated by their fellow students (IDI with a respected elderly man/Mgama/79 years).

> Not all pregnancies occur in this village (Mgama), these girls acquire pregnancies when they are in their villages, and it is not only their fellow students who are responsible (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65 years).

Yet the FGD with teachers reported older men to involve with girls, despite the effort made by female parents to move female students to separate lodging houses;

> ….also in villages parents have tried to move male and female students and put them in separate houses. These strategies are put by female parents to help their children, however these mothers have not realized that there are some male parents who are not ashamed of seducing these girls. These men don't regard these girls as their children since they come from other villages and they forget that there are other men doing the same to their own daughters (FGD with teachers/Mgama/21-33years).

This should not be taken as an indication that all older men in Mgama are involved with schoolgirls, but it should be understood that these cross-generational relationships exist, thus male parents should stop living in denial

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[8] Intergenerational or cross-generation relationships refers to relationships with a 10-year or more age disparity between partners (Leclerc-Madlala, S. 2008:18)

believing that their daughters are impregnated with their fellow students, although that also happens. An interview with an NGO official and focus group discussion with teachers revealed this when they said that older men seek out for young girls because they are cheap and easy to handle compared to older women, and that because of an age-gap these men are free to command and convince young girls to do what ever they wish, since they cannot do that to their wives.

These dominant notions on sexuality, which connect boys and men's sexual behaviour with desire, and girls with money, are very strong in informing young boys, older men and young girl's sexual behaviour. Caldwell seem to consider this fact when he reported that single girls sexuality is mostly influenced by the traditional attitudes of the culture to sex which had developed within economic, institutional and residential changes as the world moved toward a global economy (Caldwell et al. 1998: 141). Receiving gifts and money in exchange for sex is very common among unmarried girls in Sub Saharan Africa, such there are no significant differences in terms of household economic position, orphan status, level of education or age differences between partners (Moore et al. 2007:44). In Tanzanian context, the meaning of transactional sex revolves around the notions of women's worth and self respect, thus it has extended beyond behaviours related to economic gains (ibid. 46). Older men and young boys would use gifts and money as tools to get close to girls and manipulate them into being in relationship with them. Since girls have acknowledged having sexual feelings, and they believe that being provided with gifts and money shows real love and a sign of respect, they become easily manipulated into sexual relations which when not protected results into pregnancies;

> Boys would normally give those gifts to our close friends who would then bring those gifts or money to us. So when you come to meet with this boy and he says he has already provided you with money and gifts, you cannot re-fuse to befriend him (IDI with girl student 1/Mgama/16 years).

An interview with an adolescent mother also revealed this when she said that girl's sexual urge is high during puberty, so they mostly fall into problems

when they desire to have sex. She reported her story by saying that, her relationship was not a forced one but it was an agreement between her and her boyfriend who was the fellow students in the same school;

> I was given like 2000 or 1500 shillings at home which was not enough for me, so when a man gives you even 200 shillings you find yourself accepting to be-friend him (IDI with adolescent mother 2/Ilandutwa/19years).

When reading this quote you will quickly think that economic hardship drove this girl into relationship, but previous conversation with her revealed that she agreed to befriend the boy because she liked him. Even this amount of money the boy offered her was very minimal compared to what she used to get at home. Van Reeuwjik (2007:64) reported girls to have acknowledged having feelings of desire and curiosity like boys, but they describe themselves with the ability to control those feelings compared to boys. Since norms about young people's sexuality promote abstinence, it may be more helpful for girls to report engaging in sexual relationships for money rather than desire (Moore et al. 2007: 57). Therefore, I argue that poverty should not be considered as the main reason for girls sexual engagement with boys and older men, rather the cultural interpretations of sexuality, which shape individual perceptions and inform their practices.

To sum up, these notions on gender and sexuality are reproduced daily through interactions, and inform individual's perceptions and knowledge. They are also important in informing reproductive health interventions in the communities. The way these different notions on gender and sexuality portray girls and women as victims, influences pregnancy interventions programs to be channelled only to girls. Also the way girls sexual behaviour is connected to economic reasons it informs these interventions to concentrate on provision of economic support to schoolgirls such as school fees, pocket money and so forth. In Tanzania, the problem of teenage pregnancy has been perceived as a women's issue, with lots of claims that girls are the ones supposed to know better and prevent themselves from getting pregnancy. As quoted from the article on Daily News paper;

… in the final analysis, it is the schoolgirls themselves who have the answer to this problem through a change of attitude of mind. They should know that education must come first above all other things (Daily News. 2010: 4).

This claim seem not to recognize that men and boys are the partners of these girls and that they too should know better not to meddle with schoolgirls. Normally boys and men are left out from the discourses of teenage pregnancy, which brings the connotation that only girls are the duty bearers of this problem and continue to reproduce sexual discourses of restriction and separations.

4.2 Agency and Power: Discourses of sexuality across Generations

As we have seen from the previous section the role of dominant notions on gender and sexuality in shaping and influencing individual's sexual interactions, this section shows the contradictions in the provision of sexual information across generations. It will also highlight issues of agency and power relations in the process of conforming or resisting to different discourses. As Foucault said, it is not possible for power to operate without knowledge, and knowledge to operate without power (Foucault 1980d: 52 cited in Mills, S. 2003:69), it is true that through the process of transferring gender and sexuality knowledge from one generation to another we notice power relations and thus the agency of people is produced through the same techniques of power in which that particular individual is actively participating (Foucault, M. 1990).

Young people showed interest to be provided with sexual information so as to minimize pregnancy cases among students in Mgama. However they reported that their demand for sexual education is limited, because cultural and religious norms in their community prohibit young people to be provided with sexual information with the fear that it will boost sexual practices among youth;

There are other parents who are very strict and less communicative with their children so they don't get the chance to explain to their children about 'those things'. Most parents are not educated and they believe talking to their children about sexuality promote promiscuous behaviours ((IDI with male student/Mgama/19yrs).

We could have been provided with that information, not to use it now, but for our future lives (IDI with girl student 2/Mgama/17years).

Parents and elders seem to be concerned with their children and young people's sexual awareness as they do not feel it is important for that information to be provided in schools because they believe their children are still young and not supposed to start or know about sexual relationship while in school. When asked if it is important for young people to be given sex education during adolescence age, the elderly man reported that young people should be given this education only when they about to get married.

Parents are still using the old tradition of waiting until marriage period that's when they talk with their children about sexual relationships, what they don't know is that the child had started having sex long time ago" (FGD with boys /Mgama/15 -18 years).

The discourses of youth shape adults perceptions on what young people should be and hence rules and regulations are set for young people to adhere. Young people are perceived as troublesome, undisciplined and with desires to become independent very early which was contrary to their (parents) generation. According to Manheim generations are formed when members of a certain age group live through the similar historical and social events during their youth and experience those events as important for themselves (Alanen, L. 2001:15);

Our generation was obedient we used to listen to our parents, but these children of today move from their parents houses when they are very young, they become so independent and do whatever they want since there are no parents around to discipline them (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

39

This parental concern depicts power as adults set standards about young people's behaviours, which becomes a normative way to express their authority (O'Donovan 2000:ix cited in White, B. 2003). As it was reported in a study on parent-child communication, sexual health communication in Tanzania is usually initiated by parents and is characterized by warnings and threats, and that the topics for discussion are mostly on abstinence, unplanned pregnancy and HIV/AIDS (Wamoyi et.al 2010:4b). This language of warning and threats has resulted for young people to live with fear from asking on issues related to sexuality. Young girls are much more affected as they are not confident to ask or even report certain incidence for fear of being looked upon as promiscuous which entails punishment from their parents or guardians. An interview with a young adolescent mother revealed this fear when she reported how she ended up getting pregnant;

> This boy was in a senior class, in the same school and he used to help us with our assignments. One day he asked me to bring a book into his house, where he locked the door and refused to open till I agree to have sex with him. I had no choice but to agree because I was afraid that If he wont let me go I would be late and when my parents had found out that I was locked in a boy's room I would get punished (IDI with adolescent mother 1/Mgama/17 years).

Structuralists argue that when culture becomes a vehicle to determine people's perceptions, behaviours and practices, the ability to exercise their agency is limited, since their actions are determined by their positions within those structures and institutions (Walsh, D. 1998:11) however Foucault said that people are not subjected by structures nor have free choice but they become subjects through the techniques of power which they themselves are actively participating, that is power is regulative because people conform to structures and discourses of power on their free will (Foucault, M. 1990). This girl knew that she was able to refuse and go out unharmed, but when the thought of the low possibility of escaping a punishment after her explanation of the incident to her parents for arriving home late, she had to agree to have sex with the boy. It is through socialization that norms are produced and reproduced, and they are constantly reinforced through rewards and sanctions

(Walsh, D. 1998) Therefore it is not that she had no agency, the fact that she had choices and considered to chose one before the other shows her agency. According to Mahmood, agency is in terms of capacities and skills, which are required to perform certain kinds of actions (resistant being one of them) and inevitably bound up by historical and cultural specific disciplines through which a subject is formed (Mahmood, S. 2001:210).

Moreover, this study found out that there is unfairness in provision of sex education among young people. This unequal treatment is influenced by the discourses of gender, which assert that boys and men are not able to become pregnant so there is no need for them to be warned. Despite the denial of parents on provision of sex information to young people, whatever information on sexuality that is given is not equally provided to young boys and girls. The study found out that parents and teachers would speak with girls more often than boys, and that in households it is only mothers who appear to have this responsibility to communicate with their children. A boy will be called in only when is involved in a pregnancy case or caught seducing girls, and fathers come in only if mothers have failed to discipline a child. This socialization towards gender or masculinity norms makes boys to become emotionally misinformed as they become unable to articulate their own feelings or recognize other's feelings (Kindlon and Thompson 1999 cited in Chu, J.Y et al. 2005:94).

However these mothers are condemned for encouraging their daughter's interest in sexual relations, because they accept gifts and favours their daughters bring home, and they are alleged to cooperate with their daughters in keeping secrete from their husbands (fathers) and school administration in case of pregnancies;

> …female parents are the cause, am telling you I f I was a judge I would have locked all female parents in jail because they have all their daughters secrets and they don't warn them. For example when girls get pregnant and asked to name the person responsible their parents tell them to lie and mention those tomato sellers who come from Dar es Salaam (IDI with respected elderly woman/Mgama/ 68yrs).

41

Furthermore, It was also found out that marriage provides a sensible reason to acquire sex information. The government's Law of Marriage Act[9] specifies the age of marriage to 18 years, although a girl can be married with an age of 15 years (Law of Marriage Act 1971). This law determines community's expectations on the legal age to engage in sexual relations, which is strictly linked with marriage (this also marked in religious discourses). An interview with the respected elderly man in the community reported the process for young people to follow according to their customs, that would be for a man to find a partner and inform his parents who would do all proper arrangements for the marriage, this include investigation on the suitor's family to make sure the girl comes from a suitable family. Within this period the couple is not allowed to engage in sexual practices until they get married;

> In this community sex outside marriage is not something to praise for, we don't like it, we all want to see young people live in proper values, complete school and get married (FGD with male parents/Mgama/32-65years).

These discourses create confusion and contradictions on masculinity and femininity of young boys and girls respectively, as we find those adolescents who are in school struggle for their recognition. If marriage and having children is regarded as a symbol of being a proper woman or man in the community, then clearly this informs young people who are still in school. Adolescents want to be taken seriously and regarded as adults. Boys want to be admired so as girls, if being in school defines them as children, and restrict them from all those practices which would provide their identity then girls and boys who are in schools would desire to be in relationships. First they don't get to be seen as young since they have children, second sexual relationships provides a clear road to marriage. In Tanzania, having a child before marriage is not preferred, and marriage is not an easy thing to attain since men are the one to propose therefore most women would get pregnant intentionally so as to keep their men.

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[9] Section 13 (1) of the Law of Marriage Act

Cultural practices of "jando and unyago"[10], which have been used in the past as a means of sexual education to young people, are not practiced in Mgama. It has been reported that those traditional rituals of initiations into adulthood, which used to serve as a system of sexuality education have disappeared in many societies, and in others are only practiced in fragments (Fulgesang, M. 1999:1246). Adult and young people in Mgama seem to believe that this problem of pregnancy among adolescents, and other sexual related problems which face young people nowadays are the result of confusing values because those cultural practices are not followed. Fulgesang stated the same claim on her study when she reported on the importance of those rituals;

> …….. these institutions have not been effectively replaced and today young people are being fed with conflicting values, no clear guidance on standards of behaviour and little information about matters of SRH. Peers, not parents, are the most important source of knowledge, but young people's perceptions are coloured by myths and misconceptions and are often mislead (Fulgesang, M. 1999:1246).

However, in Tanzania these practices are said to be the source of young people's motivation to engage in sexual relations hence reported as one among determinants of teenage pregnancies in the country (see Tanzania Human Rights Report 2010:140). Through the practices of 'Unyago' young girls are taught to practise their appropriate feminine roles, such as to be submissive, respectful and to become good wives and mothers to their husbands and their children respectively. In some cases, circumcision is practiced through Unyago rituals. An interview with a respected man in the community reported these practices of initiations to be practiced where girls and boys would be taught on being faithful in their marriages;

> In the past girls were taught during initiation ceremonies soon after her first period, they were taught with elders on how to behave. Boys were taught

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[10] Swahili words which refer to initiation ceremonies performed to children both girls (unyago) and boys (jando) when they reach puberty

when they reached the age of marriage that they should not cheat (IDI with a respected elderly man/Mgama/79 years).

It is not clear to what extent those practices were conducted according to the Hehe tribe, but instead of generalizing and putting a blame on those cultural practices maybe those related practices which are considered harmful should be reformed and used as a good source for providing boys and girls with reproductive health knowledge and negotiating skills in condom use since abstinence is not possible to all. As reported by Tamale about "Ssenga[11]" practice in Uganda, that while the practice facilitates and reinforces patriarchy, but at the same time it is used to empower women to subvert and parodying it thus making it a unique practise which has expanded and gain currency beyond ethnic and national boundaries within which it was originally positioned (Tamale, S. 2005). Therefore proper and modern way of using those cultural rituals, which are initiated by parents and guardians, may be a better option to provide sexual information to adolescents. It will also reduce blames directed to the government, schools and media, for putting discussions on sexuality out of private sphere. As quoted from a female teacher during FGD,

> People should stop blaming the government for promoting condoms and girls for not using the condoms but rather community it self. It starts with the family. A girl who has been taught by her parents and church not to talk with boys, and not to use condoms how is she going to bargain for condom use with her male partner? She has no self-confidence because she was not pro-vided with negotiation skills (FGD with teachers/ Mgama/21-33years).

Sexuality has been regarded as a site for the construction of dominant gender discourses, which present both the constraints, and opportunities for empowerment (Tamale, S. 2005:29). It is clear that sexual discourses in the community have been produced and conveyed across generations in an imbalanced way, which depict power relations, whereby men are attributed

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[11] Ssenga is a cultural/sexual initiation institution among the Baganda people of Uganda (see Tamale, S. 2005)

with more freedom compared to women, also more freedom is credited to adults compared to young generation. The way mothers are blamed for encouraging their daughter's promiscuous behaviours when they get pregnant, encourage the reproduction or gender discourses which view women as naïve, emotional, weak and irrational. This also explains the coexistence of different discourses, which contradict each other, as we see the discourses on femininity describe the role of mothers in socializing their children but discourses regarding teenage pregnancy view these mothers as bad example to their children. Although it is not a fact that provision of sex education to young people will reduce early pregnancies, but the fact that there are contradictions on the existing discourses which inform people's perceptions and practices, then this confuse young people as they fail to understand what do to or where to belong in order to attain their identity and become free to choose what is best for them.

Chapter 5
Conclusion and Recommendation

The previous chapter (chapter 4) described and analysed the main findings of this study and showed the different ways the notions of gender and sexuality that exist in the community, shape boys, men and girl's perceptions thus influence their sexual interactions. These sexual relations between young boys, older men and young girls if not protected, cause a major impact for young girls as they find themselves exposed to early pregnancies or sexual related diseases. The main goal of the study was to show how these dominant notions and discourses on gender and sexuality in the communities which shape adolescent boys, girls and older men's perceptions, and behaviours serve as the main reason for pregnancies among adolescent schoolgirls.

The study findings have revealed that, dominant notions on gender naturalize boys and men's sexuality. Their sexual behaviours are regarded as inevitable and natural, while suppressing girls and women's sexuality. This has caused variations in provision of information about sexual health, also in decision-making concerning individual's sexual practices, and even influence different discourses of adolescent pregnancies. Boys and men are freer to initiate sexual conversations and relationships to and with girls. Also the discourses on sexuality, which describe reasons for boys, men and girls to engage in sexual relations separately, are very dominant, whereby girl's reasons are connected with economic hardship (desire for money and gifts) while boys and men's reasons are connected with the desire for sex. These discourses have influenced many intervention programs whereby concentration is on provision of food, clothes and school fees instead of promoting awareness on sexual health information to the community and especially to boys and men.

Furthermore, the discourses on gender, which emphasize on differences between the sexes, in terms of biological difference, influence people perceptions whereby individuals acquire wrong interpretations on their interaction. Boys and men see no reason to befriend girls in any other way

apart from a sexual way; this is the same for girls as well. These discourses are also reproduced everyday when parents and teachers insist separation of boys and girls, in schools and at their respective homes. Therefore girls see boys and men as liars, people whom they are not supposed to befriend, because failure to not befriend boys results into pregnancies.

Finally, the discourses on sexuality which emphasize on secrecy and silence on sexuality matters, influence young people practices as they find themselves to engage in sexual relationships with limited knowledge on what they should do in terms of protecting themselves from sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancies.

These sexuality and gender notions are formed by these individuals' perceptions and in the end inform their expectations. This means they are socially constructed and continue to be reproduced through individual's daily interactions. In his work on power/knowledge, Foucault stated that power and knowledge are impartible, explaining that in the processes of producing knowledge one is also making a claim of power. He continues to explain that where there is production of knowledge, then there is imbalance of power relations between groups of people (Mills, S. 2003: 69). It is obvious the imbalance of power between men and women in Tanzanian communities, influence the discourses on teenage pregnancies in the country. Many discourses on teenage pregnancy put much emphasis on the behaviour of girls, and consider them as the only source of the problem. Not much is written about boys and men's behaviour as partners of these girls. However, the problem of pregnancy is not on girls alone, where are the boys and men who are making those girls pregnancy? What is their role in the discourses of teenage pregnancy? Many discourses and researches on teenage pregnancy are solely concentrating on girls and leave out discussions on male experiences and behaviours, which contribute, to the problem. This shows the imbalance of power, since Tanzanians communities are mainly patriarchal, most information produces is about women and less on men.

5.1 Recommendations: Controlling pregnancies among adolescent schoolgirls

During data collection, respondents reported that lack of girls hostel in their community and in many schools is the reason for schoolgirls pregnancies, because students have to walk a long distance to schools, and for those who come from distant villages, have to rent houses nearby the school. It has been reported that there is no security in those houses because other tenants take advantage of the situation and engage in sexual relations with girls. Respondents felt that having a hostel in their village will reduce these pregnancies, as girls will be secured. Controlling pregnancy among schoolgirls involves multiple interventions and thus building hostels for girls form just one part of those measures. There are other issues to consider such as how the community members conduct their lives and what are the dominant notions, which inform their knowledge and practices, and how are they reproducing those discourses everyday through their practices. When people say that availability of hostels for schoolgirls is the only possible solution in reducing teenage pregnancy, the question that comes is what happens when these girls return back to their respective homes for holidays? Tanzania has a restraining order for boys and men who are responsible for impregnating schoolgirls, in which when found guilty they are sentenced to 30 years in prison. However, the use of restraining order for boys and men who are found responsible for impregnating schoolgirls have proven failure in many areas across country, as families privately handle these cases. Also expelling girls from schools once found pregnant have been very much debated as it denies a girl child's right to education hence diverge from the international instruments of CRC, CEDAW, BPFA and MDG in which Tanzania has fully ratified them.

The only hope for adolescent girls, parents, development partners and some communities- since others still believe expelling them is the best practice- is on the establishment of re-entry policy, where girls could be given a second chance for education. Still the question is, will re-entry practice going to limit pregnancies or provide second chance education for adolescent mothers? What about those adolescent boys who have to run away from school and their

families for fear of being sentenced to jail after found guilty for impregnating girls? Does sending these boys and men to jail going to help in reducing these pregnancies?

Through these questions this study recommends for massive awareness campaigns to community members concerning their ways of life. Community members should be alerted about the role of different gender and sexuality discourses in informing their practices. They should know that there is nothing natural about different behaviours of people, rather their practices are the product of socialization, in which great part of their actions are informed by the discourses produced by themselves.

Also this study recommends promotion of sexual and reproductive health information to all community members, especially to parents and guardians. Since children and unmarried young people mainly depend on their parents for decision-making, and parents are said to be very authoritative to their children, when these parents and guardians become informed it will be easy for teachers and other sources to reach out to these young people with sexual and reproductive health information.

In addition, these reproductive health campaigns should focus on men and women, boys and girls. Boys and men's are part and parcel of teenage pregnancy problem. What I found out in the field is that campaigns or seminars on reproductive health whether in schools or in communities, always target girls and women. This practice continues to create a gap between these two genders, as they perceive certain information to be gender specific. An interviewed male officer from an NGO, which works to empower men's participation in reproductive health, reported that men are the decision makers in the families and communities but they are the most uninformed people when it comes to reproductive health issues. So much is expected from them and no one seem to consider how they acquire these knowledge and skills, which inform their decisions.

Lastly, through working with this paper for months I can conclude that the essence to the problem of teenage (school) pregnancy in Tanzania is rooted on the cultural norms to sexuality and on the different discourses on gender,

which influence people's practices. The existence of different discourses, which reproduces those norms continue to make the problem persist. State, its institutions and communities are shaped by these biased sexuality and gendered norms, which are considered natural and fixed, while it is people themselves who construct these norms and reproduce them through their daily interactions.

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51

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Appendices

Annex I: Profile of the Research Participants for In-depth Interviews

Name	Description	Date of Interview
Adolescent mother 1	A 17-year-old girl who dropped out of school after being impregnated with a fellow student. At the time of interview she was living at her parent's house with her 6mnths old baby boy. She lives in Mgama village.	21 July 2011
Adolescent mother 2	A 19-year-old girl who drooped out of school in form 3 due to pregnancy. She lives in Ilandutwa village.	22 July 2011
Impregnator	A 25-year-old man who impregnated a schoolgirl. At the time of interview he was living with the girl and their baby	21 July 2011
Girl student 1	A 16-year-old form 2 student at Mgama Secondary School	21 July 2011
Girl student 2	A 17-year-old form 3 student at Mgama Secondary School	21 July 2011
Girl student 3	A 16-year-old form 3 student at Mgama Secondary School	21 July 2011
Girl student 4	A 18-year-old form 3 student at Mgama Secondary School	21 July 2011
Male student	A 19-year-old form 3 student at Mgama Secondary School	20 July 2011
Out of school boy 1	A 19-year-old boy who dropped out of school in	21 July 2011

	form 3. At the time of the interview he was doing farming business (tomato)	
Out of school boy 2	A 20-year-old boy who completed form 4 and at the time of interview he was at home assisting his family farming activities	21 July 2011
Respected elderly man	A 79-year-old man, a farmer. He is a respected old man in the village	21 July 2011
Respected elderly woman	A 68-year-old respected woman in the village. At the time of interview she was serving as a board member of Mgama Secondary School	21 July 2011
NGO worker 1	A 32-year-old male NGO officer (men empowerment NGO)	9 August 2011
NGO worker 2	A 31-year-old female NGO officer (women empowerment NGO)	17 August 2011
Government official	A 58-year-old female officer from the government.	11 August 2011

Annex II: Profile of Research Participants for the Focus Group Discussion

Group Participants	Description of Participants	Date
Teachers	9 teachers with age range of 21-29 years participated in the FGD. Female teachers were 5 and male were 4.	19 July 2011
Male parents	7 male parents with age range of 32-65 years participated in the FGD.	20 July 2011
Female Parents	5 female parents with age range 24-49 years participated in the FGD.	20 July 2011
Girls (female students)	13 girls with age range of 15-18 participated in the FGD.	19 July 2011
Boys (male students)	10 boys with the age range of 15-18 years participated in the FGD.	20 July 2011

Annex III: Interview Guide for In-depth Interviews (English)

1. What is it to be man or a woman in your community?

2. How do you perceive men, women, boys, and girls in your community?

3. How are sexual relations perceived in your community?

    - What are the standards for sexual relations?

    - In a normal circumstance who start to provoke the other between boys and girls?

    - What are the criteria for accepting a sexual request from a boy, a man or a girl?

4. How do the community or parents prepare young people in matters related to their sexuality?

5. In your community, are there sexual relations among schoolgirls and schoolboys and between schoolgirls and matured men?

6. What is your opinion about the issue of girls getting pregnant in school? What happens to them?

7. What is your opinion about the issue of boys and men's impregnating schoolgirls? What happens to them?

8. Does this community have a role or mechanism in place to control sexual relations between schoolgirls and boys, and schoolgirls and matured men?

9. What do you think should be done to control school pregnancies in your community?

Annex IV: Interview Guide for Focus Group Discussion (English)

1. What is it to be man or a woman in your community?

2. How do you perceive men, women, boys, and girls in your community?

3. How are sexual relations perceived in your community?

   - What are the standards for sexual relations?

   - In a normal circumstance who start to provoke the other between boys and girls?

   - What are the criteria for accepting a sexual request from a boy, a man or a girl?

4. How do the community or parents prepare young people in matters related to their sexuality?

5. In your community, are there sexual relations among schoolgirls and schoolboys and between schoolgirls and matured men?

6. What is your opinion about the issue of boys and men's impregnating schoolgirls? What happens to them?

7. Does this community have a role or mechanism in place to control sexual relations between schoolgirls and boys, and schoolgirls and matured men?

8. What do you think should be done to control school pregnancies in your community?

Annex V: Interview Guide for In-depth Interview and Focus Group Discussion (Swahili)

1. Nini maana ya mwanaume katika jamii yenu?

2. Je, unawachukuliaje/mnawachukuliaje wavulana na wanaume katika jamii yenu?

3. Je katika jamii yenu suala la mahusiano kimapenzi likoje?

    -   Ni misingi gani inayowekwa kwenye jamii kuhusu mahusiano, nani anaanza kutongoza, njia ipi hutumika, na vigezo vipi (umri, elimu, na uchumi)

    -   Ni vitu gani huanzisha au uhamasisha mahusiano ya kimapenzi (umri, uchumi, wazazi, rika)

4. Je jamii au wazazi inawaandaa/wanawaandaa vipi wasichana na wavulana kwenye suala la mahusiano ya kimapenzi?

5. Je kuna mahusiano ya kimapenzi baina ya wanafunzi wakike na wakiume, au na wanaume watu wazima kwenye hii jamii yenu?

6. Je una maoni gani kuhusu suala la wasichana kupata ujauzito wakiwa shuleni? Nini huwatokea wasichana hao? Kwanini?

7. Unaonaje suala la wavulana na wanaume kuwapa ujauzito wanafunzi au wasichana(balehe) kabla ya ndoa? Nini huwatokea wavulana au wanaume hao?

8. Je, jamii yenu ina jukumu au majukumu gani katika kusimamia masuala ya kimapenzi kati ya wanaume, wavulana na wasichana wa shule?

9. Je, unafikiri nini kifanyike ili kuzuia mimba za mashuleni?