

Unravelling the gender bind, uncovering the heterogeneity of domination

O'Rourke, N., Middlehurst, M., Murphy S.,¹ Shilla, D., Raphael, C.²

Abstract

Formal education can act as a space for social transformation but it can also act as a site where discrimination is perpetuated. It can either reinforce or challenge harmful social norms. Gender identities and constructions of masculinities and femininities are socially produced, contextual, positional and ever shifting phenomenological categories that directly influence the lived experiences of human beings across all places and spaces. They can define the opportunities and constraints, limits and extent of possible life choices in economic, social, political and domestic spaces for members of a community. As a consequence of the well-recognised discriminatory practices against women and members of marginalised populations, a number of higher education institutions have turned to gender equality activation strategies as a tool to assist in the deconstruction of damaging gender stereotypes. This research project emerged through a collaborative engagement between the Trinity-University College Dublin (UCD) Masters in Development Practice (MDP) and Dar Es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE). Using a blend of quantitative and qualitative social scientific methods, the research examined constructions of gender within the Tanzanian higher education context, uncovering multiple forms of discrimination against and domination of both males and females. It found that strategies that aimed at improving levels of gender equality offered epistemic benefits to the entire community, not only female staff and students. Further, it found that exploring and challenging the strict and rigid gender binary within the social context of Higher Education provides a pathway to tackling different forms of gendered domination that can affect the community more broadly. Thus it finds that female only strategies are not sufficient to achieve gender equality. Rather a whole-of-community engagement is required to unravel deep rooted biases and to tackle diverse forms of domination that affect different members of a community in different ways.

¹ Corresponding author: Susan P. Murphy, Trinity College Dublin, School of Natural Sciences, Geography. Email susan.p.murphy@tcd.ie

² Email orourken@tcd.ie; MIDDLEHM@TCD.IE; susan.p.murphy@tcd.ie; sopdatty@gmail.com; christin.rafael@gmail.com

Introduction

Few will challenge the claim that education is a critical foundation for human development. Whether this is to promote cross-sectoral economic development, improve health outcomes, or to build democratic and accountable political and social institutions, formal education, including literacy and numeracy skills, is taken to be a core pillar of the development process (Sen, 1999; Sachs, 2015). The Education 2030 Framework for Action, which informs the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 Agenda, sets bold ambitions for the global education sector in the coming years. Central to this framework is a commitment to leave no one behind in ensuring access to inclusive, equitable, and quality education for all. The policy vision is to ‘transform lives through education’ (UNESCO, 2015: iii). In addition to the instrumental benefits mentioned above, education is also taken to hold core intrinsic value for the individual, including the development of the capacities of agency and individual autonomy, and overall empowerment of the person (Sen, 1999, 2009; Unterhalter, 2009). However, access to and progression through formal education levels beyond primary school continues to be a challenge for the majority of females in sub-Saharan Africa (UN DESA, 2015: 29). Thus, understanding constructions of gender and the gendered barriers to academic progression within different situated contexts is essential.

Gender here refers to the socially constructed norms, expectations, and values that assign roles and govern relations between men and women, boys and girls (Murphy, 2015). Gender is learned and reproduced within situated socio-cultural contexts and is amenable to change (Zalewski, 2010). It is influenced not only by national laws and policies, but also by spaces and places (Code, 2008). It is also relational (Koggel, 2013), produced and reinforced through intergenerational relationships and shared social practices. Educational institutions represent important spaces where such norms can be interrogated, challenged and disrupted. They can also act as spaces where norms are fixed, reinforced, and transmitted from one generation to the next. When rigidly fixed, gendered norms can and do influence all dimensions of a person’s life from educational attainment, to the division of labour and ways, to familial roles and responsibilities. Essentially they can function to reinforce unequal power structures, or they can seek to build the capacities for individual empowerment.

Empowerment here can be understood as improving an individual’s capacity for accessing ‘the constituents of development’ (Duflo, 2012: 1053) including health, education, and employment. As Kabeer (2005) has argued, empowerment is concerned with ensuring all have ‘alternative options’ and the capabilities to make those choices. However, such decisions and choices are set with pre-existing local power structures and so are influenced by these dynamics (Drydyk, 2013 and Koggel, 2013). Educational institutions are uniquely positioned to increase or decrease the level of empowerment to be expected by and experienced by those operating within this space.

An analysis of research on the subject of participation and progression in education points to range of issues including non-gendered, practical and structural reasons such as resource

and financial issues, infrastructural deficits, and technocratic reasons that combine to explain why so many students either fail to progress. However, less research is available on understanding gendered barriers that explain why girls are more likely to be excluded from higher stages of education than boys in certain places and spaces (Subrahanabian, 2005, Aikman and Unterhalter, 2005, Unterhalter, 2012, and Rugambwa and Thomas, 2011). Even less is available on the reasons for non-progression at tertiary levels. In a rigorous literature review on girls' education and gender equality, Elaine Unterhalter et al (2014) found that further research on gender norms and gendered barriers is required.

This paper responds to this call, focusing specifically on the production and reproduction of gender norms within higher education institutions through an examination of both structural power dynamics and agent-based student experiences. The paper has emerged from an ongoing research project jointly initiated by Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE), a teacher-training college for secondary school teachers in Tanzania, and the Trinity-UCD Masters in Development Practice examining constructions of gender in higher education institutions³. Together, we examined the shape and structure of gender norms, expectations, and experiences for males and female trainee-teachers in a Tanzanian context. This site was selected for a number of reasons including firstly, instead of increasing gender parity during the MDG period, Tanzania witnessed a decrease in the number of females progressing through second level and moving on to third level. Thus there is a need to understand what is going wrong. Secondly, researching the construction of gender norms within a teacher-training college offers an opportunity to learn about the higher education student experience and also to understand the internalized norms of these students that will be brought to new generations of second level learners as these students become teachers in public secondary schools throughout Tanzania.

The findings from this project challenge a range of orthodox views and firmly embedded hegemonic discourses, exposing how strict gender norms and a rigid gender binary give rise to heterogeneous forms of domination for both females and males who do not fit neatly into the prescribed idealized forms of masculinity and femininity within this context; and also exploring evidence to explain how these norms influence the daily practice and the lived experiences of the student body. Further, we explain how these findings have promoted a range of policy initiatives that seek to enhance the agency and well-being of the full college community and ask if such actions are sufficient to support the growth of empowerment and inclusion within the student body. As the primary institution with responsibility for training second and third level teachers in Tanzania, DUCE has a unique leadership role to play in enhancing gender equality and inclusion in education at both secondary and higher levels on a national scale. The following section begins with a discussion of the debates and literature on Education within the development framework, and the Tanzanian national context in particular. It then outlines the research methodology

³ See appendix one for a map of the DUCE-MDP Dublin research project

utilized to explore the construction of gender norms in the context of DUCE, before presenting some of the key findings, and discussing the practical and theoretical implications of these findings.

Gender norms and Education for All: From SGDs and global policy to local implementation and practice.

It is widely accepted that formal education is a critical foundation supporting the pathway to sustainable development. As a central pillar on the international development agenda for many decades, it remains a core goal in the 2030 framework for sustainable development. However, in spite of substantial funding and attention from national and international agencies, delivering this basic good to all has proved to be problematic, in particular for girls in rural areas in the lowest income least developed locations⁴. Further, there is consensus across much of the research that although necessary, providing equal and universal access to basic formal education for girls and boys is not sufficient to reduce or dissolve inequalities in opportunity or increase empowerment and inclusion or explain the reasons for unequal progression rates in different areas⁵.

There are clear instrument reasons for being concerned about poor performance rates of females in education. Persistent gender inequality in education directly correlates with lower development outcomes and weak economic growth. See for example, the World Bank's *World Development Report, 2012*, which finds that educating girls and women can have a positive effect on reducing fertility rates and improving nutrition and health outcomes for children. Gender equality correlates with higher productivity and better development outcomes. However, evidence from the MDG period (2000-2015) finds that in spite of some aggregate successes in improved health outcomes, increased numbers of women in the formal economy, and increased enrolment rates in education at primary level, the lives and status of women has not seen a dramatic transformation during this period. Further, the gains vary greatly across regions with the least change for women in the lowest income and least developed locations. At an aggregate level, women, in particular poor and rural women in developing countries, continue to be more vulnerable to extreme poverty, malnutrition, ill health, lower educational outcomes, and higher incidents of violence. This has implications for poverty reduction targets as evidence-based research points to deep links between gender inequality, women's lack of empowerment, and persistent poverty⁶.

Like many countries, Tanzania has taken strong steps to establish a social, legal, and political public policy framework aimed at enhancing gender equality, social inclusion, and the human rights of its entire citizen body. This is confirmed in its constitution, and evidenced in

⁴ See MDG 2015 report available at

[http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%201\).pdf](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%201).pdf)

⁵ See, for example, Unterhalter, 2012; Unterhalter and Dutt, 2001; Enslin and Tjattas, 2006; Robeyns, 2006; Posti-Ahokas and Lehtomaki, 2014; Rammohan and Roberterson, 2012; Varvus, 2002; Thomas and Rugambwa, 2011; Subrahmanian, 2005; Aikman and Ulterhalter, 2005; Wolf, 2011, Unterhalter et al., 2014.

⁶ Nussbaum, 2002: 46; Duflo, 2012; Murphy, 2015

its formal commitment to a number of international and regional instruments⁷. Since 1990, with the establishment of the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, and in particular the formulation of the Women and Gender Development Policy (2000), and the National Strategy for Gender Development (2005), Tanzania has taken steps to achieve greater gender equality and social inclusion. Thus, it is clear that gender has been a central part of the mainstream political and policy agenda for over two decades.

However, in spite of the high level commitment, and indeed some achievements during the MDG period, it is clear that the lived experiences for women and girls in Tanzania has not seen a radical shift⁸. Harmful traditional practices continue to persist including high levels of gender-based violence⁹, practices of early marriage, traditions of bride price and widow cleansing, and so on. Tanzania remains a deeply patriarchal society¹⁰ where the division of labour and life opportunities are linked with one's gender and class. In the education sector, the number of females transitioning from primary to secondary school, and from secondary education to third level institutions remains very low, with approximately one third of the university students comprising of women. Of these, women are disproportionately over-represented in training and education disciplines that are deemed culturally and socially appropriate for women, such as social sciences, domestic sciences, secretarial roles, and administration.

Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE)¹¹ was established to address acute shortage of graduate teachers and experts in education sector in Tanzania as a result of the expansion of primary education enrolments through Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) and the creation of the new secondary schools in turn through Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP). Its purpose is to provide integrated high quality teaching, research and consultancy services. As the primary institution with responsibility for training second level teachers in Tanzania, DUCE has a unique leadership role to play in enhancing gender equality and inclusion in education at both secondary and higher levels. Within its strategic planning, DUCE commits itself to taking a leading role in gender

⁷ Including the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (1948); The United Nations Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979); Convention on the Rights of the Child, with special focus on the Girl Child (1998); Beijing Platform for Action (1995); Vienna Human Rights Declaration (1994); Cairo Population Declaration (1994); Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (2000); United Nations Resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2006)⁷; and the SDGs and the 2030 agenda.

⁸ See the SIGI country report for Tanzania, 2015 available at <http://www.genderindex.org/country/tanzania> and the Gender Gap Index, 2015 available at <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/economies/#economy=TZA>

⁹ Data is drawn from *2010 Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey: Fact Sheet – Domestic Violence*

¹⁰ Although this term masks a complex and rich multiplicity of family types and structure and lineages including a number of matrilineal communities embedded in a number of rural coastal and up-country communities.

¹¹ DUCE was established as a constituent college of the University of Dar es Salaam through the Government Notice No. 202 published on 22nd July 2005, under section 55 (1) of the University of Dar es Salaam Act No. 12 of 1970

mainstreaming in teacher education and cascading these practices to schools throughout Tanzania.

DUCE, along with other higher education institutions (HEIs) in Tanzania has had a range of affirmative action programmes in place to increase the number of females attending HEIs for over a decade. Such targeted gender inclusion strategies have, to a large extent, been successful in growing enrolment rates from 13% in 2000 to 32% in 2007 (Morely, 2010) and in the case of DUCE, in 2015 approximately one-third of the college student population were female. However, such targeted interventions have their critiques and have been strongly criticised for focusing on parity over equity and equality (Mama, 2003, Onsongo, 2009). Thus, understanding how gender norms are produced and reproduced within this institution is critical for the identification of opportunities to problematise, challenge, and disrupt harmful norms and gender stereotypes within the community more broadly (Morely, 2011, 2007). Thus, this research seeks to unpack the process of production and reproduction of gender norms within the context of DUCE, and to examine how these norms affect performance, progression, and indicators of empowerment among the college student body.

Methodology and methods

As this research intended to examine sticky issues related to gender norms, stereotypes and more hidden forms of discrimination, an inductive approach was selected, utilizing a range of mixed methods to gather data from multiple sources and to allow for triangulation of the findings. Through the utilization of staff and student voices to understand their lived experiences, the research fits into a Gender and Development (GAD) approach which is concerned with unpacking structural inequalities and examining distributions of power and privilege within the HEI, as well as agent-based barriers and opportunities to engage in the production of gender norms and identities within this space. Education, within this approach, can be understood as a positional good, an essential capability for human flourishing. However, education can also drive non-positional benefits of epistemic inclusion and empowerment through the engagement of all members of a community in processes of hermeneutical construction, shaping the very value-set and norms of their communities. Thus, capturing experiences through the voices of this community is essential.

From a sampling perspective, a whole-of-community approach was adopted where all staff and students of the HEI were invited to engage in the discussion and interrogation of conceptualisations of gender within the institution. Surveys were distributed to 1800 students randomly selected across all faculties and years, repeated over a three year period to gather information on perspectives across a range of areas including decision making around subject choices, matters of human and personal safety, sexual harassment, family

and personal, university experiences, and engagement with the gender club¹². Focus groups were held in 2014, 2015, and 2016, involving over 180 students randomly selected from across the college to allow for a less structured discussion around themes that emerged through the surveys. These included types of challenges to academic success; type and quality of institutional supports; knowledge and use of student support services, including analysis of help-seeking behaviour; and gendered aspects of vulnerability to challenges. Staff interviews were also conducted every year, focusing on some of the major themes emerging from the surveys. These interviews also sought to gain greater understanding of the support services and staff-student power dynamics within the institution. In 2016 an all staff survey was also conducted, although the results and findings are not yet available.

Results and discussion

Between 2014 and 2016 over 2000 cases for analysis were gathered through this joint effort. Respondents were all over the age of 18 years, approximately one-third of who were female, and two-thirds male. The urban/rural split among the student body was approximately 46% and 54% respectively thus providing a wide range of backgrounds and perspective from communities across the country. When asked about the challenges to progression across a range of non-gendered areas both male and female respondents consistently highlighted accommodation and finance as their main challenges.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the results across all data collection instruments pointed to a strict and rigid gender binary dominant within this educational space. Such a structure directly influences the scope and opportunities for challenging and disrupting unequal gender norms and traditions that reinforce circumstances of exclusion and disempowerment. In surveys, focus groups, and discussions, normative ideals of masculinity and femininity emerged as dominant themes within this space.

In discussions concerning performance and participation, women's capacity for reproduction and her treatment as an 'essentialised biology associated with pregnancy' (Unterhalter, 2012:82) was continuously referred to as a challenge for female performance and progression. Also, terms such as 'shyness' and 'lack of confidence' were repeatedly offered by a majority of staff and students, as reasons to explain why females are less likely to participate in class or seek help from staff members. The construction of the female as passive, submissive, and quiet are consistent with constructions of gender across Tanzania where in many areas, in accordance with culture and traditional practices, females are not permitted to speak in front of males. This is a communal feature girl and boys learn about from a young age and so it is unsurprising to find that this may seep into a mixed co-educational learning environment.

¹² The gender club is a second targeted intervention established by the HEI in 2012 to try and bring discussion of gender equality and female empowerment into the mainstream college community. It engages with students across the college, raising awareness of gender issues

In contradistinction to the female, terms such as strength, leadership, and superiority were introduced into discussions regarding male performance and participation in class.

'another challenge is socialization in academic participation. Take an example in discussions are mostly... female are subordinate and male, its like, superior than female... they are always quiet. Always men are superior. They will discuss and they will lead'

(Male focus group participant, 2015)

They were also used to explain why men would not / should not seek, or would be less likely to seek, help for specific challenges such as sexual harassment or abuse which are widely viewed as 'female' problems.

'[I]t is an issue of the patriarchal system, a man reporting that he has been harassed, this does not make sense'

(Male focus group participant, 2014)

The staff and students themselves generally linked these perspectives and views back to the hegemonic cultural framework of Tanzanian tradition –

'Historically men are supposed to be higher than women. In Tanzania, according to cultural beliefs, men are very dominant. The women are treated like they are less'

(Female academic staff member, 2014)

and African societies more broadly -

'In the nation, the African nation, the man is superior and he is listened to and for the women it is different, they care for the family but they are not the head so they are not respected in the same way and this causes the harassment.'

(Male academic staff member, 2014)

However, interestingly, such perceptions were contradicted by the survey findings across all years when students were invited to comment on their own, personal experiences. Two unexpected themes emerged over the course of the three years as common areas of concern for all participants. Firstly, the prevalence of sexual harassment as a common experience for male and female students; secondly, ideas of victimhood (and images of females as shy, submissive and weak) that dominate much gender literature and policy, and indeed the discussions and interviews, were directly contradicted by the claimed habits and behaviour of female students who expressed a high level of comfort participating in class and were less likely to seek help and support than their male counterparts. Thus, the normative ideals of masculinity and femininity that were described by the research

participants did not match the behaviour, practices, or the lived experiences of individual persons during their educational journey.

Regarding the first point, 66% of students stated that they had experience one of three forms of sexual harassment (inappropriate touching; joking of a sexual nature; and being forced to perform a sexual act). Of all survey respondents, roughly two-thirds of both male and female students experienced some form of harassment. It should be noted that not all of these experiences took place within the college campus. Within the campus, 8.2% of male and female survey respondents note an experience of inappropriate joking from a staff member, with 9% of female and 5% of males noting experiences of inappropriate touching by staff members. Almost 10% of males and 6% of females said that they have been pressured to perform a sexual act by a staff member (2015). The researchers noted an increase (3-4%) across all areas of reported incidences between 2014 and 2015.

Interestingly, in the survey, the vast majority of students believed this to be a problem predominantly effecting females (almost 70%), and female students were 10% more likely to report a case of this nature than male students. Thus, there seems to be either a contradiction in the findings, or alternatively, it may be the case that although male students experience various forms of sexual harassment, they seem to believe that this is not the norm and not the standard practice – a sign of weakness in some sense, with many (25%) dismissing this as ‘not a serious matter’ and others (27%) expressing a fear of judgement. Within focus group discussions and interviews, all participants placed sexual harassment firmly into the category of a ‘female’ problem.

These results suggest that some male students may experience difficulty when attempting to make sense of their personal experiences. Within the strict and rigid gender binary, any association with experiences deemed ‘female’ seemed to be a direct challenge to normative ideals of masculinity. Although males were overall more likely to access the college and student support services for their studies, they were less likely to report instances of sexual harassment or abuse. However, it is important to note that formal records were not available to investigate this claim further. In focus group discussions, one participant suggested that this does not make sense for males to report incidents of sexual harassment and that they may be judged poorly. In one sense, it can be argued that this represents an epistemic wrong or harm, as the individual agent lacks the hermeneutic tools to make sense of his experience and so is unable to deal with the experience. As such, any wrong that was committed remains unchallenged. The person who has been wronged is unable to explain and process the emotional and psychological impact of the wrong. But the gender binary remains in tact.

Secondly, this takes us to another apparently contradictory finding. Through many of the focus groups and discussions, an idea of femininity linked to victimhood emerged with

terms such as ‘subordinate’, ‘weak’, ‘inferior’, and ‘shy’. Yet, the survey findings did not bear this out in a number of key areas including firstly, female reported a high or very high level of comfort participating in classes – similar to their male counterparts;

I feel comfortable participating in class

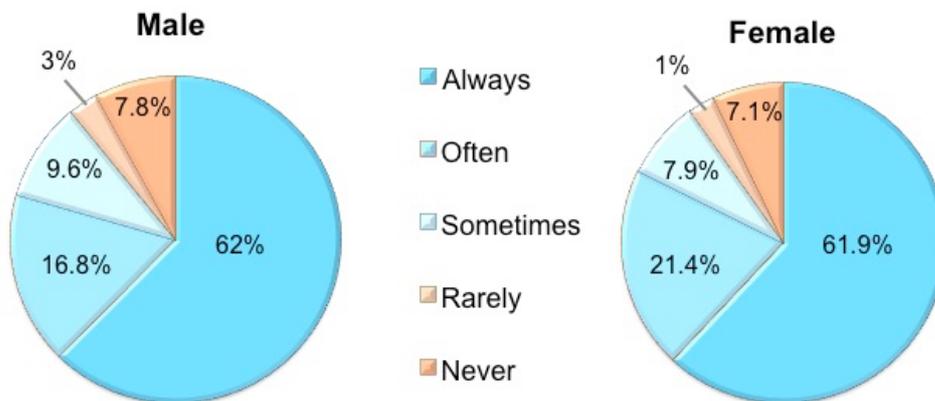


Table 1: Comfortable Participating in Class 2015

This survey result stands in direct contradiction to the focus groups and staff interviews, both of which noted a high level of non-participation from the female student body (mainly from staff and male students). It may indicate that female students have adapted their behaviour and are not fully aware of their lack of participation. Or, it may be that when commenting on practices at a general level, the individuals remove themselves from the discussion, speaking at a distance about their perceptions of others. When asked about their own experiences, they perceive themselves to be much more actively engaged. Without further methods of measurement, it is difficult to interpret these seemingly contradictory results further. However, it does indicate that there is a distance between the perceived norms, idea(l)s of femininity, and actual behaviour and practices.

Secondly, similar to other research in this area, it was found that females are less likely to engage in help seeking behaviour than their male counterparts.

Male/female students feel comfortable coming to DUCE staff when they encounter a problem and need support.

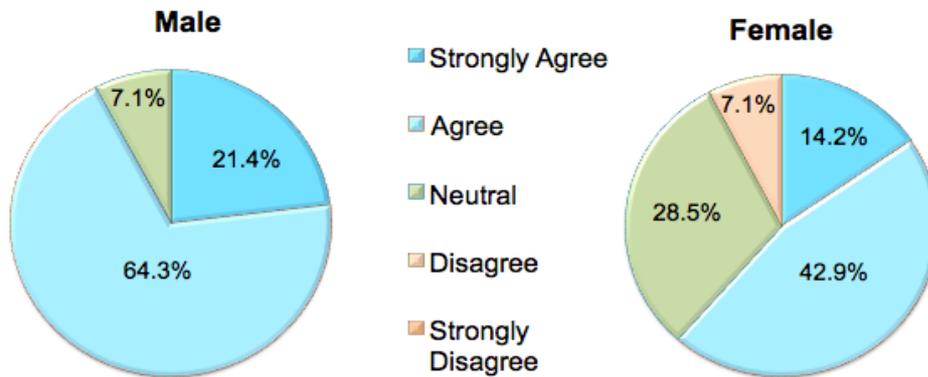


Table 2: Comfortable Coming to Staff for Help

These findings are consistent with research conducted by Onditi et al. in 2014. Again, the reasons to explain this are not yet clear. On the one hand, in interviews with staff, some took this to indicate a general passivity and submissiveness among the female population. On the other hand, in focus group discussions, it seemed that females themselves indicated an unwillingness to seek help as firstly, they did not wish to expose themselves to potential harassment or abuse; secondly, the possibility of disciplinary procedures following was a deterrent to seeking assistance; and thirdly, they preferred to sort matters out for themselves, thus indicating strength, resilience, and independence. Although the findings do not indicate clear reasons for the lack of take of the support services, it is clear that the current structures do not seem to encourage female students to utilise the supports. As such, further measures could be considered, in collaboration with female student leaders, to examine pathways for opening up the services to better suit the needs of the female student population.

Further, although male students are more likely to seek support, a large proportion of the male student population do not engage with the services, and like their female peers, expressed concerns regarding the possibility of disciplinary procedures and an unwillingness to appear weak. Thus, as above, further and wider engagement with the student body could ensure a stronger coherence between the support services available and students' actual needs, as defined by the student body themselves. There is a clear power asymmetry between the staff and student body. If the agency and well-being of the students is the core concern of the support service functions, then within current arrangements, the power asymmetry is tipped in the wrong direction.

Finally, the hegemonic accounts of masculinity and male superiority, and femininity and female passivity are not reflected in the performance and progression rates of students across the college community. DUCE provided examination results for the academic school

years 2013-2014 and 2014-2015. According to these results, 77.3% of male students and 74.4% of female students passed their exams upon first sitting in 2013-2014. An additional 18.4% of males and 21.6% of females passed exams at supplementary sittings, bringing the pass rate up to 95.8% for males and 96.1% for females in the academic year. In 2014-2015, pass rates upon first sitting for males and females were 79% and 77.7% respectively. Supplementary sittings brought overall pass rates to 95.4% for males and 94.3% for females. These final overall rates in the mid-90s are on track with national higher education examination pass rates for diploma and bachelor's degree programs (UNESCO, 2011:192). Due to a lack of institutional data, there was no information on actual pregnancy rates, so although this is identified as a significant concern for female students, the evidence on performance simply does not support this belief.

Implications for theory and practice

From the selected findings represented above it seems that the dominant normative framings of femininity and masculinity are somewhat challenged by the lived experiences of the students in this HEI. Perceptions of masculinity, and what it is to be male; and femininity, and what it is to be female are clearly articulated by the college community and somewhat mirror the patriarchal gender unequal social norms and beliefs evident outside of this institution. Yet, in the practices, performance, progression, and day-to-day living, the norms are continuously challenged, with much greater fluidity of experiences. For example, males experience similar or higher levels of sexual harassment than females, and both males and females are performing and progressing at similar rates.

From a practical perspective, the findings of the research prompted the development of new policy architecture within the HEI that include gender equality and inclusion policies and anti-sexual harassment and anti-bullying policies that apply to, and will benefit, the full college community. The effect of these new policies will be measured over the coming years.

From a theoretical perspective, this research points to the forms of disempowerment and epistemic exclusion that can arise in circumstances with the gender binary is presented as an immutable overarching norm. Such a structure can mask and disguise different forms of discrimination and domination experienced by both males and female. It leaves hidden the various types of epistemic harms that can be experienced by any person whose experiences do not fit the standard gender bind.

Conclusion

This paper shared some insights into the power dynamics and lived experiences of staff and students at a teacher-training college in Dar es Salaam to deepen our understandings of

how gender norms are produced and reproduced in an educational space, and yet how these norms do not necessarily define the lived experience of the learners themselves.

The findings from this project challenge a range of orthodox views and firmly embedded hegemonic discourses, exposing how strict gender norms and a rigid gender binary give rise to heterogeneous forms of domination for both females and males who do not fit neatly into the prescribed idealized forms of masculinity and femininity within this context. The research explored how these norms influence the daily practice and the lived experiences of the student body, and indeed pointed to areas of resistance within the student body. Further, we explain how these findings have promoted a range of policy initiatives that seek to enhance the agency and well-being of the full college community, but we find that these actions are not sufficient to support the growth of empowerment and inclusion within the student body. Much more engagement with the student body, in particular in the area of support services, is required to ensure the services are appropriate and relevant to the students' needs.

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Appendix 1

DUCE- MDP Dublin Project overview:

Gender and Higher Education – Tanzania
<http://gender.duce.ac.tz/index.php/homes> & <http://dicg.duce.ac.tz/>

