The history of education aspirations education essay

[Education](#)

CHAPTER TWOLITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1 Introduction

This chapter presents an initial literature review in order to establish the theoretical foundation of the study and ascertain the gaps in the research. The chapter begins with definition of key concepts and terms thereafter followed by discussion of theoretical perspective and a review of empirical studies.

2. 2 Key Concepts and Terms

This section presents the definition of key terms and concepts which are central to the study. The aim is to set out how these key terms will be used throughout the study.

2. 2. 1 Marginalization

Marginalization refers to a social phenomenon by which individuals, minorities or subgroups are excluded from different life aspects within wider society and their needs/desires neglected (Burton & Kagan, 2003). Marginalization involves pushing some groups to the edge and according them lesser importance in the society. It also referrers to the act of taking or keeping somebody or a group of people away from the centre of attention, influence or power (Kinsella & Breyhony, 2009). In this context pastoral communities (girls) are excluded from education provision by the mainstream Tanzania society. In the field of education, UNESCO's , 2010 Global Monitoring Report (GMR) on Education for All describes educational marginalization as a form of acute and persistent disadvantage rooted in the underlying social inequalities that starts before the child enters the school

system and continues into adult life. In this regard marginalization is entrenched in the social, economic and political processes that restrict life chances for some groups and individuals. Marginalization of the pastoral communities and girls in particular can be viewed from two angles - from within and from outside of the community. Within the community women and girls are discriminated by men and outside the community they are discriminated like other women of the mainstream society. The proposed study therefore, adopts the 2010 GMR's definition due to the fact that discrimination of women and girls within the pastoral community is an outcome of the social structures and power relations between men and women. This kind of discrimination begins within the community even before girls get to school. Similarly, schools too contribute to the continued discrimination of girls.

2. 2. 2 Community

The definition of the term community is still debatable. For instance, Hillery (1995) identifies ninety-four alternative definitions of the term. This means that there is no universally agreed definition. Some scholars use the term community to describe groups of people living in a particular area and practicing common ownership (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). Thus, the term needs to be defined with reference to the specific context of the research. In the context of this study, the term community refers to a pastoral group of people living in a particular geographical location, organized around common values, social structures and identity. The views of the community on a particular issue, such as girls' education,

are not monolithic but rather individual community members have different subjectively constructed views.

2. 2. 3 Education Aspirations

Aspirations refer to an individual's desire to obtain a status, objective or goal such as a particular occupation or level of education (Tefere, 2010). In the context of this study, girls' educational aspirations therefore, refer to their desire to attain certain levels of education. Girls' aspirations can therefore be enhanced or be constrained by multiple influences such as parents, educational policy, local community, schools' structures and individual themselves. Parents are generally found to have a strong influence on their children's life aspirations (Benke, Piecy & Diversi, 2004). Sometimes these desires and their fulfilments may be based or influenced by the circumstances available for people (adaptive preferences) so expressed satisfaction of aspirations may not offer adequate information for the evaluation of wellbeing of the pastoral community in general and girls in particular (Sen, 1985; Nussbaum, 2001). Girls' education aspirations for this study will be viewed as their quest to achieve certain level of education, depending on the circumstances around them. Thus parents and girls' educational aspirations are influenced by their knowledge, environment, economy, social structure, power relations, attitudes, poverty, community and educational policies (Nussbaum, 2001).

2. 2. 4 Capability

Capability is defined as a person's ability to do valuable acts or search for precious state of being (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). It is persons'

opportunities or freedoms to achieve what she/he reflectively considers valuable. Capability is also referred to as a persons' ability to achieve functioning (Robeyns, 2003). Functionings are beings and doings or is to be or do things that contribute to a persons well being (Ibid, 2007). Capability in this study will be used to refer to person's opportunity or freedom to achieve what he/she has reason to value. It will be used to evaluate the opportunities or freedoms that girls from the pastoral community have that enable them achieve valued functionings (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 2002). Since social context and social relations can enlarge or constraint individual capabilities, hence I will consider the influence of factors like gender, physical conditions, social norms of the society, power relations public polices, quality of schooling and environmental characteristics and circumstances that shape girls choices (Robeyns, 2005). This is because girls' education in pastoral communities does not depend on only depending on girls' individual choice but also influenced community and other external factors.

2. 3 Theoretical Framework

As earlier stated in this chapter, this study is founded on postcolonial theory and postcolonial feminist theories. These theories are complemented by an understanding deduced from the capability approach as discussed in the subsequent sub-sections, starting with postcolonial theory, postcolonial feminist theory and lastly the capability approach.

2. 3. 1 Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory is the body of ideas, principles and techniques that address the effects of colonialism on post colonial states (Hickling-Hudson,

Mathews, Woods (2004). The theory advocates that the colonial and imperial relations of 19th century still have effects on the way other non western culture cultures see themselves (Mills, 1998). It therefore explores the philosophical, political, economical and socio-cultural consequences of colonialism on the formerly colonized societies. Essentially, the theory covers a wider range of theoretical concerns which focus not only on the analysis of the economic and political structures but also on the examination of the development of structures that guide thinking and behaviours (Mills, 1998). It is therefore concerned with the impacts of imperial languages; the nature and consequences of colonial education and the links between western knowledge and the colonial power over the colonized (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2001). It is further concerned with the extent to which the colonizers' literature distorts the experience and realities of the colonized and inscribes the inferiority of the colonized while promoting the superiority of the colonizers (Said, 1997; Mapara. 2009). In this regard for this study, the theory will provide an understanding of the nature of education provision in Tanzania in general and to the pastoral communities in particular. It will help in the analysis of the relevance of the curriculum to pastoral communities, the mode of delivery, language of instructions and the general education outcome in relation to the pastoral community lives (Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2000). It will further help me to understand the ways in which formal western education style marginalizes other knowledge and ways of knowing including the indigenous knowledge. As noted from the preceding discussion, postcolonial theory is silent on issues related to gender in the postcolonial societies (Mills & Lewis, 2003). This limits its ability to

guide an understanding of gender related issues regarding the provision of education in pastoral communities. This is contrary to the views posed by Blunt and Gillian, (1994) who argue that, the undeniable fact that colonial oppression affected men and women in different ways should be recognized. Based on this inadequacy the proposed study therefore makes use of some insights from the postcolonial feminist theory which considers gender related issues.

2. 3. 2 Postcolonial Feminist Theory

Postcolonial feminist theory advocates that racism; colonialism and long lasting effects of colonialism in the postcolonial situation are bound up with the unique gendered realities of non-white and non-Western women (Code, 2000; Tong, 2009). This theory has largely been pioneered by Spivak (1988), Mohantry (1988), McClintock (1995), and Suleri (2003). The theory asserts that colonial oppression resulted in the glorification of the pre-colonial cultures in which traditions of power stratification along gender lines denoted the acceptance of gender inequality in the postcolonial societies (Tong, 2009). I consider the theory to be useful in this study as it will shed light in understanding the existing structures in pastoral community that perpetuate gender inequality in the Maasai society which influence girls education and also their relationship with gender inequality within wider international and Tanzanian society (Mizra, 2009). In this case I will analyse the way a patriarchal system perpetuates gender inequality in the daily lives of women in the community and its resulting impact on girls' education in the community. Postcolonial feminism will also guide the analysis of how social inequalities in pastoral community are inscribed within the cultural and

economic context that influences education provision to girls in the community (Racine, 2011; McEwan, 2001). I will analyse the roles, relations, identities and experiences of the pastoral community members that creates and perpetuate inequality in education provision to girls in their context. It will also aid the understanding of historical circumstances that started and currently perpetuate gender inequality in education provision to girls. As it can be noted from the preceding discussion, the theory is limited in terms of guiding an analysis of women and girls wellbeing and the capabilities that girls in pastoral communities need to develop in order to live the life they consider appropriate. That is why the study anticipates using the capability approach as a complement to the theoretical perspective.

2. 3. 3 Capability Approach (CA)

CA is a framework that guides the conceptualization and evaluation of individuals' well-being, inequality, social arrangements, design of policies and proposals for social change in societies (Robeyns, 2003). It is a framework of thought that identifies the information we need in order to make judgements about individuals' wellbeing and social policies. The approach was pioneered by Indian economist and a philosopher Amartya Sen and American philosopher Martha Nussbaum in 1980s. The approach focuses on the concepts of ' capability' (the opportunity of being or doing what one values or has reason to value), ' functioning' (a realised capability, i. e. what a person actual is or does that one values or has reason to value), and ' agency' (a person's ability to pursue and realize goals she/he has reason to value) (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 2002; Robeyns, 2003, 2005). The approach also acknowledges human diversity, such as race, age, ethnicity, gender,

sexuality, and geographical location as factors to be considered when analyzing marginalized communities (Robeyns, 2003; Walker & Unterhalter, 2010). CA further emphasizes that expansion of human capabilities involves freedom to choose the kind of life people have reason to choose or value (Robeyns, 2003). Thus, evaluation of capability should be at the centre when analyzing the conditions that enable an individual to take a decision on what to value (Alkire, 2005; Walker & Unterhalter, 2010). Evaluation should be of real freedoms or opportunities that are available for people to choose in order to achieve what they value and not just on material resources. This implies that there is a need to understand the circumstances in which people live. Since these circumstances differ with contexts there is a need to be sensitive to human diversity and social relations that people have that enable them to develop their capabilities (Robeyns, 2005). CA is useful in this study because it helps to evaluate pastoral community girls' wellbeing as a result of their opportunities to participate in education and the way education opportunities enhances their choice of the kind of life they value. It will also assist me in identifying the freedom and un-freedom of girls within their community context that facilitates or hinders their acquisition of the capabilities they need in order to live the kind of life they have reason to choose. CA will facilitate in assessing the ways in which girls do or fail to function in their society because of being provided with or deprived of education which would develop their capabilities and enhance their agency and freedoms. This will be done in consideration of their opportunities to access formal education and if what they learn enables them acquire the capability they need to choose the life they have reason to choose From the

school children therefore I will be able to find out whether school in Monduli district actually enhances girls freedom and the choice they want to make in life.

2. 4 The Review of the Empirical Studies

This section reviews previous research related to the proposed study. Studies based both in Tanzania and other parts of the world are reviewed. The aim is to ascertain gaps in the research and develop the justifications of conducting the proposed study.

2. 4. 1 Formal Education for Pastoral Communities

Generally, studies on formal education provision to pastoral communities reveal that there has been continuous growth in the demand for formal education as one of the key factors to support pastoral production system, eradicate poverty, enhance economic diversification and reduce conflicts (Kratli, 2006; Siele, Swift & Kratli, 2011). Parents in these communities are aware of these and other global development trends such as globalization, the spread of new technologies and rapid urbanization and have changed their attitude toward formal education, so that they are longing to receive it in order to develop their capabilities to cope with these changes (Siele, et al, 2011). Kaunga (2005), a Maasai activist, particularly argues that formal education has enabled the Maasai to express their concerns at local, national and international levels. However current education provisions are far from reaching these and other parents' expectations (UNESCO, 2002; Ransay, 2009; Aikman, 2009). This jeopardizes opportunities for indigenous communities to adapt to and benefit from change in the near future. Various

scholars argue that formal education is being provided without consideration of the local context of these communities and hence fails to respond to pastoralists' demands (Dyer, 2006). Hence most indigenous communities are hesitant to send their children to school (Kratli, 2001; Mbogoma, 2005). This reluctance is also due to lack of compatibility between the pastoral life and formal education (Dolan, 2003; Carr-hill, 2005; Kaunga, 2005; Oxfam, 2005; Kratli and Dyer, 2006; Kratli 2009; Siele, et al, 2011). It is however argued that sometimes pastoralists do not reject education, but there is tension between children acquiring formal education through the school system and the informal education within the household about their culture, social and economic world (Siele et al., 2011). Parents argue that school culture does not reflect the visions they have for their children (Croker, 2008). That is why they question what formal education offers to their future pastoral lives and as indigenous people (Kaunga, 2005). Dyer (2010) argues for the need to understand that pastoralism is part and parcel of pastoral communities' livelihood and thus should be accommodated when providing formal education. This view is also shared by Leggett (2005) and Bainton (2007) who insist on the need to adapt formal education to pastoralists' context.

2. 4. 2 Strategies for Education Provision

Various studies have pointed to a number of strategies used in providing formal education for pastoral communities in general and to girls in particular. However, most of the strategies are confined to schools and classroom models of teaching (Kratli, 2001; Sifuna, 2005; Siele, et al 2011). They include establishment of boarding schools, mobile schools, radio programmes, Koranic schools and Madrassas, out of school programmes,

tent schools and other non formal strategies. However, many of these programmes have been established with little or no consideration of the physical, social and cultural realities of pastoralists' diverse lifestyles (Sifuna, 2005; Carr-Hill 2006). Education provided in school neglects pastoral community culture (Dyer, 2000; Dyer, 2010); it also dislocates children from their sustainable livelihoods (Bainton, 2007) and raises security concerns for girls (Carr- Hill, 2005; Warrington & Kiragu, 2011). School models also centre on increasing enrolment alone which masks deeper problems of attendance, retention, completion rates and low levels of learning (DFID, 2010). Barrett (2009) and Hailombe (2011) are also critical of a narrow techinicist concern with access and completion that does not consider processes of education and schooling and the quality of education. Boarding schools are also argued to be of poor quality (Leggett, 2005, Shao, 2010) and are dislocating the children from pastoral ways of life, family and the community (Kaunga, 2005; Bainton, 2007; Pansiri, 2008). Mobile schools are difficult to staff and monitor (Siele, et al, 2011). Curriculum relevance and the quality of education are also ignored in the school models especially in relation to pastoral lives (Kratli, 2001; Curtis, 2009). This disappoints parents expectations and education fails to empower learners to extend their capabilities (Oxfam, 2005; Kratli and Dyer, 2006; Tikly and Barrett, 2011). That is why it is my concern that understanding pastoral communities' ways of life and context is important before further replicating the kind of schooling that is not working for these communities.

2. 4. 3 Policy Considerations in Education Provision to Pastoralists

It has overtime been argued that the planning and provision of education for minority indigenous groups have either ignored the needs of these groups and/or have not involved them in the policy formulation and implementation. Policy making is done in a top down manner and planning is centralised with no involvement or considerations of the needs of the pastoralists. Scholars have confirmed lack of pastoralists' involvement (Bishop, 2007; Siele, et al, 2011), giving it as a reason why plans and strategies have failed to offer the expected outcome (Kaunga, 2005; Carr-Hill, 2005; Bainton, 2007; Bishop, 2007; Kateri, 2008; Olengaire, 2009; Hailombe, 2011). Overcoming such marginalization requires practical policies that address structures of inequality, which perpetuating disadvantage (UNESCO 2010). That is why, for policy makers to have good gender equitable planning for education policies and strategies for pastoral communities they need to identify what motivates pastoralists to send their children to school and understand their expectations (Oxfam, 2005). This can be realized by fully involving pastoral communities in the policy planning and practice for education provision (UNESCO, 2010; Leggett, 2005). I share this view.

2. 4. 4 Gender Equality in Education in Pastoral Communities

Although education is recognized to be important in achieving human development, gender inequality still exists (UNIGEI, 2002). The inequality is severe in pastoral communities because it is rooted in individual and social bias against girls, which interacts with other factors (Leggett, 2005; Bishop,

2007). Chege & Sifuna, (2006) claim the patriarchal nature of pastoralist society favours boys over girls in education provision. This is in line with the assertations of postcolonial feminists that patriarchy is expressed alongside other economic, social, cultural and historical factors to perpetuate gender inequality in various aspects including limiting girls' opportunities to acquire formal education (Loomba, 2005). This is further supported by other commentators who point out that within indigenous societies girls are often expected to be the custodians and transmitters of culture (Lewis and Lockheed, 2007, Ransay, 2009), and others affirm that cultural practices, attitudes and social beliefs are responsible in limiting girls' education opportunities (Mbogoma, 2005; Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005; Raymond, 2009; Warrington & Kiragu, 2011). Some parents too consider girls education as a lost investment (Shao, 2010). Warrington & Kiragu, (2011) refers to these as un-freedoms that girls experience limiting their access to educational opportunities hence restricting their abilities to choose what they regard to be the best for their lives. Dyer (2012) however argues that listing these issues does not change anything if robust steps are not taken to change the situation. Experiences have further revealed that, in certain cases schools also perpetuate gender inequalities in education. On the one hand location of school is of concern to safety pastoralist girls especially on their way to and from school (Raymond, 2009). On the other hand when girls face harassment from their fellow male students or from male teachers within the school premises they usually choose to drop from school (Raymond, 2009; Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005; Sanou & Aikman, 2005). Some schools also fail to protect girls' rights and dignity in which girls' suffer

sexual harassments, bullying and sometimes even rape. They do not provide sanitary facilities like toilets and running water, some teachers have low expectations with respect to girls' performance and use gender abusive language and corporal punishment, all of which reinforce gender inequality in schools (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005) There is therefore a need to go beyond the education sector and define gender equality in broader terms and a need of developing locally appropriate strategies to overcome multiple economic, cultural and social barriers that keep girls out of school (Unterhalter & North, 2011; Ransay, 2009). The reviewed empirical studies (Dyer, 2000, Sifuna 2005, Mbogoma, 2005; Bainton, 2007; Bishop, 2007; Kateri, 2008; Hailombe, 2011; Warrington and Kiragu, 2011) reveal that there many factors that inhibit pastoralist girls from obtaining formal education. However, there is a scarcity of studies that draw on understanding of girls' education from gender perspectives. Methodologically, most studies are based on case studies and survey which focus on education access and assessment of the current provisions. Some of the studies take the traditional approach of studying indigenous communities from the providers' (government and policy makers) point of view which lack understanding of the pastoral community contexts. There are few ethnographic studies conducted (Dyer, 2000; Bainton, 2007; Pansiri, 2008), however none of them focuses on girls' education and they were carried out in a different context from the proposed study. Theoretically, reviewed studies such as that of Warrington (2011) have made use of only capability approach in understanding girls' situations. So the proposed study is original in making use of both postcolonial feminist theories and the

capability approach. Furthermore, I found no study that seeks to develop an understanding of girls' education from the perspective of members of a pastoral community in Monduli district. This study intends to fill this gap.

2. 4. 5 Chapter Summary

The chapter has presented the literature review focusing on the theoretical foundations and review of empirical studies. It also identified gaps in literature that this study intends to fill. The next to chapter, presents a detailed discussion of the methodology and methods that will be used in the study