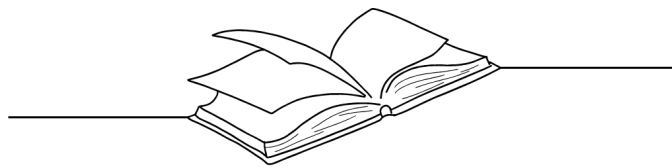# Scrutinizing local views of the role of education in relation to western mainstream views: a case-study from Tanzania

"Education is the foundation of a strong society"

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Abstract

This case study was conducted to give an in-depth analysis of the local stakeholder's views on the role of education in Babati, Tanzania. The goal is to investigate differences and similarities between the views in Babati and mainstream western views, exemplified by the theory of Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen while being attentive to gender and socioeconomic differences. *The purpose of this study* is to examine local stakeholders' views, mainly guardians and educators on the role of education and to relate these to western mainstream views. The study results have been achieved with the help of the fieldwork executed in Babati, Tanzania where interviews and observations were made.

Previous literature emphasizes that education is considered necessary for enabling problem-solving, and fostering individual and societal advancements. Further, education is declared to be a right for all on the justification that it works to strengthen the respect of human rights, fundamental freedom and the development of human personality. Despite the consensus on the importance of education, the role of education remains complex and differs across contexts and socioeconomic groups, including gender and socioeconomic differences.

The quality, access, and attitudes to education in Tanzania have changed during recent years. These changes resonate with, among other things, higher enrollment, increased number of schools, educators with higher qualifications, and food served at school. The results show that education is perceived as central in the widely agreed upon quest to shape children into "good people" and that lead "good lives". Although there are obstacles that hinder people from achieving these outcomes and reaching their fullest potential.

Keywords: Babati, capability, education, freedom, gender & socioeconomic differences

Sammanfattning

Denna fallstudie genomfördes för att ge en djupgående analys av de lokala intressenternas syn på utbildningens roll i Babati, Tanzania. Målet är att undersöka skillnader och likheter mellan åsikterna i Babati och mainstream västerländska åsikter, porträtterade av Martha Nussbaums teori, och att samtidigt vara observant på genus och socioekonomiska skillnader. *Syftet med denna studie* är att utforska lokala intressenters åsikter, främst vårdnadshavare och pedagoger om utbildningens roll och att jämföra dessa med västerländska mainstream-åsikter. Syftet har uppnåtts med hjälp av fältarbete som utförts i Babati, Tanzania där intervjuer och observationer gjordes.

Tidigare litteratur tyder på att utbildning anses nödvändig eftersom den möjliggör problemlösning, och främjar individuella och samhälleliga framsteg. Vidare förklaras utbildning vara en rättighet för alla, då det verkar för att stärka respekten för mänskliga rättigheter, grundläggande frihet och utveckling av mänsklig personlighet. Trots att det finns en enighet i utbildningens allmänna betydelse, är utbildningens roll fortfarande mycket komplex och skiljer sig mellan sammanhang och socioekonomiska grupper, inkluderande kön och socioekonomiska skillnader.

Kvaliteten, tillgången och attityden till utbildning i Tanzania har förändrats under de senaste åren. Dessa förändringar har lett till bland annat högre inskrivningar, ökat antal skolor, pedagoger med högre kvalifikationer, och mat serverad i skolan. Resultaten visar att i Babati så uppfattas utbildning som centralt i den allmänt överenskomna strävan att forma studenter till "goda människor" och som leder till "goda liv". Även om det finns det hinder som hindrar människor från att uppnå dessa resultat och nå sin fulla potential.

Nyckelord: Babati, frihet, genus, kapabiliteter, socioekonomiska skillnader & utbildning

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction which regards education, its importance as well as Tanzania's education system. Along with the thesis problem statement, its purpose and research question as it is also presented in this section.

In today's society, the saying that education is a fundamental human right is not considered to be news. Education is an important process in human development and valued highly worldwide. It is seen as a tool for one to evolve themselves, elevate one's consciousness and help one to reach a higher state of being (Adesemowo & Sotonade, 2022. pp.1-2). Education is believed to be the key tool to people's success as it is a pathway to having a good career, without education a good profession would not be possible and hinder the quality of life (Al-shuaibi 2014). Not having an education is further argued to harm the human development, ability to choose and to have a fulfilled life (Walker & Unterhalter 2007, p.8). It is considered by UNESCO to be the most powerful and sustainable means to bring excluded children and adults out of poverty, participate fully in society, minimize inequalities and to further strengthen human rights (UNESCO 2023).

Given the importance of education one may assume that it is valued by all and for all but it has been shown that it is much more complex. The complicity lies in the fact that not everyone has the same conditions. Even if education is highly valued and education is called for for everyone, it is not guaranteed for everyone to receive one. Thus, there are huge obstacles and differences between and within countries. The challenges vary in different dimensions, but also very much in terms of gender and in terms of economic condition (Adesemowo & Sotonade, 2022. pp.1-2).

This study relates to the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) number 4: Quality education. The goal is defined as "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (United nation n.d). The SDGs are goals accepted by the world's leaders in 2015 with the aim of achieving sustainable development socially, economically and as well as environmentally. The SDGs are planned to be achieved by 2030 by all countries and consist of 17 goals that have been replaced by the 8 goals of the Millennium Goals that existed before. With the idea that education is important and had a decisive factor in people's lives and a society, the positioning of education in the SDGs was a matter of course for the 2030 agenda. Education was considered to be in the center regarding

the realization of several of the other sustainable development goals, such as (3) Health and wellbeing, (8) Decent work and economic growth, (12) Responsible consumption and production, (13) climate change and (5) Gender Equality (Ruggeri 2020, pp.1-2).

By reducing the inequality between the genders, further lifting the rights of women and bettering educational opportunities, one can achieve major improvements on the well being and quality in the woman's life, the lives of their children, families, communities and countries. Girls' education is seen as a major contribution to both individual and societal advancements. This does not imply that the education of boys and men are not important. In fact, it has shown to have a further positive feedback effect on women's conditions since the participation of women in social life is at many times heavily dependable on the role of men (UNESCO 2019, p.7). It is recognized that the education of girls is an essential part of a countrys' success in socioeconomic development, amongst improvements such as health, safety, income and education (Fute & Wan 2020, p.10).

This thesis focuses on education in Tanzania, a country which, according to the Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (TNBS) has overall in the last decades shown significant improvements in the progress of enrollment of children (2018, p.6). Tanzania has decided to focus on the system that establishes the awareness and realization of human basic rights such as education for all. However, human beings have different perceptions of education and the value it contains (Eustella 2005, p.71). Additionally, the country still faces remaining challenges to reach these international goals. The country battles with low attendance rates, high drop out numbers and poor performance, primarily among girls in secondary schools (Iddy 2021, p.325) The reasons found come down to three variables: truancy, death and pregnancy (TNBS 2018, & Iddy 2021).

The purpose of this study is to examine local stakeholders' views in Babati, mainly guardians and educators on the role of education and relate it to the western mainstream views of Nussbaum.

This paper will be engaging with the works of Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen. Nussbaum's (2006) work embodies the western views on why it is important to educate people. For this reason, we will relate the local stakeholders' views to the western mainstream views that are explained in Nussbaum's approach. Nussbaums argues that the three main

capabilities within the field of education are, **critical thinking, the ideal of the world citizen and the development of the narrative imagination** (Nussbaum 2006, p.388-389). Further, the framework of the capability approach by Amartya Sen (2009), will be used in order to discuss the role that education has in a persons' life. The key argument of the approach is that in order to reach one's fullest potential and well-being one has to look at the freedom one possesses. Freedom refers to the capability to choose freely how one lives, pursues and enjoys (p.18). Both Nussbaum and Sen argue that education itself is a capability since it is one of the criteria in order to achieve one's well being (Cliff 1984; in Ferguson & Hennessey 2022).

1.1 Research questions

- What are guardians & educators in Babati, Tanzania's perceptions on the role of education in general?
- How do the local perspectives relate to today's prominent western views illustrated by the approach of the schooler Nussbaum?

2. Background

This chapter briefly presents background information of Tanzania as a country, its education system as well as its advancement in relation to education over the years.

Geographically, Tanzania is a country located in East Africa and its mainland is bounded to the Republic of Congo, Zambia, Burundi, Malawi, Uganda, Zambia, Kenya, Mozambique and Rwanda. In terms of population, it was estimated in 2021 according to the World Bank that the country consisted of 63.5 million people (Mascarenhas, Bryceson, Ingham et.al 2023). The country is described as a multilingual country as it is estimated that around 150 ethnic languages are spoken in the country, but two languages are considered official, which are Swahili (Kiswahili) and English (Dr.Mwajuma Vuzo 2019, p.2-3). Swahili is the national language and practically all Tanzanians know the language. It is estimated that about a third of the country's population has Islam as a religion and the largest part are Sunni Muslims. Another third of Tanzania's population, on the other hand, has Christianity as their belief (Mascarenhas, Bryceson, Ingham et.al 2023).

Figure removed from digital version due to copyright.

Figure 1: Map of Tanzania with Babati in green circle, which indicates that it is the study area
Source: One Planet Nations Online (2023)

The education system and conditions have changed in many ways in Tanzania during the last decades. To start off, school is today free of charge with compulsory school attendance. The Free Secondary Education Policy was implemented in 2014 and in 2012 the decision to abolish school fees for primary education was made. The result of schools in Tanzania being free has increased the enrollment of government and non-government schools (Yusuph Mashala 2019, p.7-10). In 2016 the total number of enrollment was 8,639,202 from Education Sector Analysis (ESA) and it was shown that The Gross Enrolment Ratio increased up to 85.6%. According to the statistics, it is expected that the Gross Enrollment Rate will be 100% with increased enrollment: 11,476,803 million in 2024 (Lyanga and Chen 2020, p.38).

Apart from these changes, numerous new schools have been built, facilities and equipment have been improved and food is now served at school in both primary and secondary level (Losioki Erasto 2020, p.93). Today students in Tanzanian schools eat meals in their schools. It has been said that having school meals has proven to have a good impact on education. Given that it has enhanced concentration in classes, and reduced early dropouts as well as school absenteeism. However, although the law says that students must eat at school, the food is not provided by the schools as there is no public funding. Nevertheless it is brought by the parents as the food fee expenses are put on them (Roothaert, Mpogole, Hunter et.al 2021, p.1). The way of teaching has been simplified, students in later years are able to pick the subjects they want to specify in, in order to for example reach the career of their choice (Mkulu & Mgyabuso 2022, p.91). Tanzania has a school system that is result oriented, with national tests between the levels. Only by passing those exams, the students are allowed to further their studies. However, several obstacles occur that are not in favor of the success of students. For example, all subjects in primary school are taught in swahili except English class. Though, once moving to secondary school, all subjects are taught in English (Mwajuma Vuzo 2019, p.2-3).

Moreover, there are also things that have stayed the same even till this day in the country's school system. Schools in Tanzania use different discipline methods to make students understand what is right and wrong, how to behave and to get them motivated. Corporal punishment is the method that has been mainly used in classroom management in schools with the aim of motivating students to learn and do well (Stein, Steenkamp & Tangi 2019, p.87). Prior research has shown that students in Tanzania experience concerns and encounter different forms of corporal punishment distributed due to a range of reasons. The students listed alternatives of physical punishment such as, beating, 'sticks', push ups, farm work, digging channels or fishponds and making bricks (for construction). The students of the study expressed reasons for receiving the punishments to be, for example, lateness, missing school, failing tests and examinations, not speaking english, being noisy or misbehaving. Furthermore, some students voiced that some punishment is given unnecessary or perceived as too harsh for the action carried out. While others mentioned corporal punishment as being mistreated and bullied by teachers. Some also experienced the threat of punishment, or even harder punishment than previously been given. The physical punishment is mentioned as discouragement for going to school, and making students lose hope and motivation (Joyce-Gibbson et.al 2018, p.1152-1157).

3. Previous literature and theories

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief summary of the information that has been gathered from previous literature. Including theories from the scholars Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen.

3.1. Education in general

Oftentimes, education is perceived to be the opportunity and key to the better, to success and the path to a better future, having said that, there are several ways to perceive education and define what it is. Education is defined as a change in the person's conduct of life. It is explained as an improvement of a human being´s ability to select the best possible alternative in any situation that they find themselves in (Idris et al 2012, pp.443-444). Further, it is believed that education has a role when it comes to developing and expanding capabilities, for example the opportunities one has can be expanded with the help of education (Walker 2005, p.107). Education is said to be a process that has its start at birth and extends to the end of life that improves children's physical capabilities (Arslan 2018, p.1). Education is claimed to be a tool that makes it possible for younger generations to integrate into the logical system that is present, and has its aim to easily make them achieve conformity. It is also believed that it can be perceived as "the practice of freedom". Which means that individuals with a critical and creative thinking engage with reality and also explore how to participate in the transformation of the world in which they find themselves (Shaull 1970, p. 34). Not only has the importance of getting involved but also the will to make changes been spoken about. It has been mentioned that education is a milestone of a country's development with the idea that it strengthens a nation's economy and society. It is also considered to be a key tool for movement in the world, as one can explore the possibility and in most probability also obtain better jobs and ultimately succeed in life. Nevertheless, it has been argued that it is the best investment for individuals as it has been shown that people who are well educated have an increased chance of being able to obtain a job that offers the satisfaction they seek (Idris et al 2012, pp.443-444). Further, it is believed that education provides the ability for one to hinder themselves and their families from poverty and destitution (Robeyns 2006, p.71).

Moreover, it has been stated that the purpose of education is not to pass on education but rather to improve inquiry skills, as well as enhancing an increased skill to respond adaptively and creatively to the challenges and desires that one may encounter. In this case it can also be

about those that one is not familiar with, it is considered that it contributes both on an individual and collective to development of future lives (Grobstein & Lesnick 2011, p.693). Similarly, elucidated as the development of humans to prepare them to embrace the best in relation to an issue at any given time. Described as "adjustment ability to a changing situation and environment". It is seen to bring a fundamental input that is considered necessary which someone's life, development and survival relies on (Idris et al 2012, pp.443-444).

Many students in Europe who choose to study further and acquire higher education believe that the reason is to be able to enter the labor market and with that said, according to them, higher education is considered to be "labor market preparation". In addition to this, education is also considered to contribute to personal growth and enrichment according to students in Europe (Brooks et al. 2020, pp.1379-1381).

There is a high probability that the interpretation of education in the aforementioned goals in the sustainable development goals is related to underlying values of much adult and lifelong education and learning practice. UNESCO provides guidelines on how to unpack education in 2030 with their three underlying principles which are as follows: (1) Education is a fundamental human right and an enabling right (2) Education is a public good (3) Gender equality is inextricably linked to the right to education for all (Webb 2017, p.509). Education is declared to be a right for all by The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), working to strengthen the respect of human rights, fundamental freedom and the development of the human personality (United Nations 1948).

Furthermore, corporal (or physical) punishment is defined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (2006) as "any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light". Proceeding with, "In the view of the Committee, corporal punishment is invariably degrading. In addition, there are other non-physical forms of punishment which are also cruel and degrading and thus incompatible with the CRC. These include, for example, punishment which belittles, humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threat- ens, scares or ridicules the child." (Committee on the rights of the child, paragraph 11). Previous studies on violence against children have shown that exposure to it can have severe impacts on the childs', physical, physiological and sexual and reproductive health, including both short and long term consequences. Including but not limited to, poor school performance, poor self-esteem, more likely to suffer from alcohol and drug abuse, criminal, violent and other risk taking behaviors, depression, anxiety and feelings

of shame and guilt. The children tend to suffer from loss of productivity and decreased quality of life (Pinheiro 2006, p.14-17).

3.2 Education and Capabilities

Martha Nussbaum, an American philosopher and Professor of Legal Ethics, who has had a significant role in the debate of the importance of education for women's empowerment and the crucial need for public education within democratic societies (Nussbaum 2006, p.388). Her work has had a significant impact on the discussion on ethics, feminism, social justice, human rights and the capabilities of individuals (Nussbaum 2000, p.27-30). Her work continues the work of the also prominent scholar Amartya Sen, Professor of Philosophy and Professor of Economics. Who has contributed notably within the fields of justice and freedom and with the Capability Approach (Sen 2009, pp.8-9, 18-19).

Nussbaum's critique to Sen is not that she disagrees, however, she argues that capabilities can be used in an effective way, only if a more identified, specific and prioritized set of capabilities are listed and therefore more protected (Nussbaum 2003, p.33). Therefore a difference between the work of the two capability approaches is that Nussbaum created a list of *the Central Human Capabilities.* This is done to create a comparative assessment and measurements of quality of life and the development of fundamental political principles and add to the establishment of essential constitutional guarantees (ibid, p.40). Within this list one finds, number four, *Senses, Imagination and Thought.* The use of senses, to be able to imagine, think and reason. In what she calls a "truly human" way, to be informed and cultivated. This is enabled by a suitable education, including without limitation to, literacy, basic mathematical and scientific skill. Furthermore, to be able to use imagination and thought in the guidance of their own choice. Additionally, the capability to experience pleasure and avoid non beneficial pain. In the list one also finds, among others, emotions, practical reason and affiliation. Three capabilities that highlight the ability to be attached and care for people and things outside yourself, engage in critical reflection and to recognize and show concerns towards others (ibid, p.41).

Nussbaum (2006) argues that there are three main capabilities specifically within the field of education: (1) critical thinking, (2) the ideal of the world citizen and (3) the development of the narrative imagination. Also mentioned as: three abilities of education as freedom. Critical

thinking refers to a life in which one does not only accept given arguments, habits, beliefs or statements solely because it is handed down by tradition. Further points revolve around identity and solidarity. The second point refers to the person's ability to see oneself as a part of humankind, a part of the bigger picture. Someone who is tied to others of recognition and concerns but not exclusively as a part of a local group or community. Lastly, the narrative imagination refers to one's ability to put themselves in someone else's shoes. To be able to emphasize with someone else's perspective (Nussbaum 2006, pp.388-389).

In line with Nussbaum's theory, Sen claims that education is one of the crucial criterias in order to achieve one's well being. Both Nussbaum and Sen argue that education by its own counts as a capability since it makes it possible for the expansion and development of others (Sen 1999: Nussbaum 2006: in Walker & Unterhalter 2007, p.8). Nussbaum (2006) refers to primary and secondary education when looking at the adaptation of habits that will follow throughout a person's life. She suggests that it is at a young age and in education many of these skills are taught. Skills such as, when, if or if not to ask questions: how to critically source the information one hears: to see someone else's situation differently from themselves and to put themselves in a perspective as a member of a homogeneous group, nation and a world (ibid, p. 387).

3.2.1 The Capability Approach

Amartya Sen argues that justice is played out when people have absolute freedom, and the capabilities to live the life they value (Sen 2009, pp.8-9, 18-19). Capabilities are explained to be the opportunities or freedoms a person has to *actually* achieve or live out whatever a person might value. For a person to freely choose after what one values, the person can not be constrained by musts or sacrifices that affect their security or stability, such as their economic or social situation (Sen 2009, 18-19). Therefore the conversation of the capability approach moves away from the means of living to the actual opportunity someone has. It focuses on human lifes, actual abilities and not the resources someone possesses (ibid, p.253). Functioning on the contrary, are the achieved outcomes. Being taught to read is the capability while reading would be the functioning. Agency in this sense means that every person can shape their own life and that goals can be reached and achieved through reasoning. Related to the critical dimension, which intersects with analysis of more critical scholars. This does not mean that one will be happy with the goal or outcome. Sen argues that it is the participation

in actively being involved and having the opportunity to reflect on the choices one makes to build one's life (Walker & Unterhalter 2007, p.4). The existing connection between education and the goal of health and well being can be better understood when one has an idea of what well being is. Well being is described as a connection between feeling good and functioning well. The freedom to choose our life can have a significant enhancement on one's well being, the possibility to reach one's greatest potential. The well being of someone is itself, determined by the capability and freedoms to make decisions and act with respect to for example, one's education, health, employment, security and participation (Sen 2009, pp.270-273).

3.2.2 Exploring theories - the Western Perspective

Philosophies of education can be divided into several disciplines, for example Eastern and Western. Western philosophy of education is then generally divided into two schools, traditional and modern. Although different places hold their own culture and background, the details will vary between and amongst countries. When comparing countries, one finds distinct differences in the educational systems, their way of shaping individuals concerning skills and attitudes (Hassan et al. 2010, p.2). Continuing, there is contrast discussed in the philosophies of education common to western and sub-Saharan Africa which concerns the communitarian rather than individualistic values within education (Enslin & Horsthemke 2016, p.179). The emphasized individualism within Western educational thinking which values qualities such as rationality, autonomy, desirees, pleasures and self esteem and promotes the individuals' self realization who is seen as separate from others (Metz 2015, pp. 1177-1178). However, this study will not go into details in the comparison between the different philosophies. The exploration into the view of western educational philosophies solely works to explain why this study uses Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen as the illustration of western mainstream perspective.

The western education system presents itself with the contemporary claim to offer a neutral and objective institution that ensures equal opportunities to all individuals. It relies on a prevailing pedagogical model that emphasizes critical thinking and equality (Martin-Sanchez & Flores-Rodriguez, 2018 p.62, Hassan et al. 2010, p.3). The western model is explained to include thinking and communication skills and problem solving (Hassan et al. 2010, p.2). The western view values individuality, self-confidence, and democratic principles in the education for students. Furthermore, it also supports and encourages self-management and to be in

control of their own learning process. While valuing the students' active responsibility and engagement in the classroom. Teachers are there to guide and lead the students in their learning processes, to see and apply their capabilities, to discover and develop their abilities and potential (Smith and Hu 2013, p.102, Hassan 2010, p.3).

Martha Nussbaum (2006) capability approach emphasizes the development of individuals' capabilities or opportunities to function in society. In short, she argues in line with the western views on the range of capabilities that education should aim to cultivate. Such as the capabilities of critical thinking, empathy and the ability to engage in democratic participation (Nussbaum 2006, pp.387-389). Amartya Sen (2009) theory can for example be seen in the western view of education in the value of the individuals' capability and ability to live up to their own potential, freedom and live the life they value. But also the freedom that comes with literacy, numeracy, critical thinking, and creativity (Sen 2009, p.18-20, 253).

The theory of Martha Nussbaum that relates to the capability approach is going to be used as an analytical lens throughout this study. It provides concepts, perspectives and arguments that will be used in order to discuss, analyze and contribute to the conversation of the role of education. We are going to use Nussbaum's views on the importance of education to compare with local views that we gather from our interviews. We will relate capabilities to the role of education by three dimensions, critical thinking, participation and invision in order to plan for a future that one values. These will also be a part of our main analytical categories in order to understand the importance of education. The information gathered in interviews will be compared with the analytical framework in order to compare previous literature and local perceptions today.

4. Methodology
This chapter aims to give an explanation of relevant theories, how they will be assessed in our work, followed by the process and methods chosen in order to execute this study.

4.1 Methods

This study has used qualitative methods. In order to get an overview and create a broader understanding to begin with, the study uses secondary data such as previous research and literature, mainly peer-reviewed scientific articles and statistics (Nachmias, Nachmias and Dewaard 2015, p.263). According to this study, structured and unstructured were not considered relevant methods as one is far too limited and the other far too free (Simon 2006,

p.166). For that reason this study used the qualitative field study method: semi-structured interviews to get the local stakeholders of Babati's opinions as regards the education system and the role of education (Nachmias, Nachmias and Dewaard 2015, p.196). Observations that were non controlled were also carried out in this study for example in school environments. Events such as the physical punishment that we witnessed in one of the schools were observed (Nachmias, Nachmias and Dewaard 2015, p.196, 176-177).

4.1.1 Interviews

Type of interview and preparation - The personal interviews were semi-structured and carried out with educators, guardians, a local organization and one group of students. This way we were able to cover the areas of importances for our study and research questions, which were in our favor due to the limited time we spent in Babati (Nachmias, Nachmias and Dewaard 2015, p.149, Willis 2006, p.145). The interview questions (see appendix 1 and 2) were open-ended with the intention to make room for our interviewees to bring about their own ideas and thoughts on the matter (Nachmias, Nachmias and Dewaard 2015, p.218). We also continued with follow up questions on the answers that we wanted further information on. This is important for the sake of assessing their views while decreasing the bias in our own views. We prepared questions however we did not strictly stick to all of them since it often occurred that we received the answers already from another question. We also did not limit ourselves to these since we wanted to see if the conversations moved elsewhere (Willis 2006, p. 149). However, we made sure to keep the interviews around 30 minutes. In order to enhance validity in our analysis, we triangulated the answers within our interviews. When receiving an answer that we want to take further, we will rephrase into a question to the next participants in order to see if the impression is mutual or continue the discussion with a respondent more willing to discuss certain topics (ibid, p.151). When the interviews were conducted, our field assistant, the two of us and two fellow students were present. This came into being because there were a limited number of field assistants, and since we shared education as a topic we decided to cooperate. We came to the conclusion that the most efficient way was if two took notes, one observed and one presented our interview questions, we divided the tasks amongst the four of us. Thereby limiting any chance of missing information, observations or not being able to pay attention while doing multiple things (ibid, p.150). Since we did not know the language, it would be good to use an interpreter to better understand the people we are interviewing and therefore our assistant was there as an

interpreter. This opened up the possibility for us to interview people that we otherwise would not be able to since neither of us speak swahili, which is the most commonly used language in the area (Apentiik & Parpart 2006, s. 39).

Selection of Participants - The selection of the interview participants must be both a purposive collection as we know that we are looking to speak with educators, guardians, a local organization and one group of students. We aimed to speak to the ones most involved in the life of children attending secondary school. This stems from them holding a significant role and influence in a child's life and by holding some voice in the shaping and participation of the social and political spheres of the society. Previous literature indicates that there are differences in views between rural and urban areas and for that reason we went to places with both better and worse economic conditions (Ndijuye and Basil Tandika 2022, p.13). When it comes to specific areas as the ones on figure 3 we trusted the judgment of the assistant that was local, that selected out areas in Babati that were rural and urban.

We acknowledged the importance of investigating the students' views and we have in fact interviewed a group of students, although the focus is on the guardian and educators views and not students. For example, in a study it shows how the view of students can also differ. Children who go to school and children out-of-school can view the experience of freedom of action and the mutual cultural perception of a "difficult life" in different ways. One study indicates that street youth count on external sources and consider them as hope, while youth who go to school define themselves as the primary source of hope. Furthermore, it has also been shown in a study that Tanzanian youth view education as a protection against the obstacles that are beyond their control (Posti-Ahokas & Palojoki 2014, pp.5-6). However, after reflecting over the ethics and challenges of interviewing students in a context that we were not familiar with we decided to focus on adults.

In order to obtain interviews with *guardians* in rural areas the leader of the village was contacted which was both considered necessary with respect to the local authority but also helpful in terms of the selection of participants. He then walked with us and sat in on the interviews which in this case was the best we could do since we were told the respondents would not participate unless he was present to tell them it was okay to answer our questions. However, we are aware that this might have affected the way the guardians choose to respond as it could have an impact on their life.

To interview *educators* we turned to secondary schools in rural and urban areas in order to get a wide spread of answers and views. In each school we interviewed at least one headmaster, food teacher and academic teacher which we interviewed one at a time. In one secondary school we interviewed a group of six students, three girls and three boys. We did not want them to be in any uncomfortable position and for this reason we asked them the questions as a group in which they could discuss their answers. This interview was only done at this school since we had close contact with the headmaster[1] and we were as certain as we could be that it would not be to any harm to the students. The *local organization* picked for the interview was chosen due to its relevance to our study and the matter of active strategies to help the most vulnerable groups. It is active in civil society, trusted by the government and aspires to help children that have little to no support from home and that often live in an unsafe environment. It helped us gain answers that were often too sensitive to dig further into when speaking to guardians, yet highly important to find out.

Location- The interviews took place at secondary schools, at the homes of the guardians and at the center of the organization with the exception of three that occurred at or close to Södertörns University conference hall. The interviews were planned to preferably be carried out in private, with the interviewee alone if possible. However, when interviewing parents some preferred to have a friend or family member around. Since the interviews were taking place in the middle of their days we could not expect privacy nor full attention at all times.

Area		Number of interviews		Rural		Urban	
Hangoni street		7				x	
Nakwa Village		5		x			
Komoto Street		4				x	
Sigino Village		3		x			
Additional Guardians		3				x	
						Total: 22 interviews	

Figure 2: Interviews with the guardians

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[1] This specific headmaster had a close and longstanding contact and was trusted by both our field assistant as well as our university.

The name of the school	The number of interviews	Public school	Private school	Rural	Urban	
Hangoni	4	x			x	
Komato	2	x			x	
Eloni	2		x		x	
Hayatul Islamic	3		x	x		
Muruka	2	x		x		
Additional Educators	2	x			x	
					Total: 15 Interviews	

Figure 3: Interview with the educators

4.1.2 Analysis of Material

The secondary data collection that we have gathered in the *introduction*, background and *literature review* was used in the preparation to increase our knowledge, create a methodology and the interview questions. We returned to the sources and topics once we had gathered our qualitative data from the field work to create an analysis. The interview questions were tailored to lean towards our predicted analytical categories. For example critical thinking, political participation, economic opportunities, possibility to support others and a free imagination to envision a life of their value.

4.1.3 Research Ethics and Confidentiality

Balance of Risk - we would argue the importance of showing updated insights to the status of education in Babati, Tanzania outway the potential risks of us being there and carrying out the interviews. We think that it is important for others' that are interested in the country to see the changes and current situation. With this said, we have put the best of our abilities into making the process of our research ethically right.

With that said, we have been making active decisions with the intention to minimize our biases and any potential harm that comes with us being present in Babati as well as in our written publication. For instance, by contacting the village leader before being in conversation with any locals, leaving interview questions open for our participants to contribute with their priorities, thoughts and values. But also by the formulation of the questions to minimize any usage of value-laden expressions or leading questions with influence of our biases.

Consensus & Information Requirements - Before showing up to the interviews a short information letter was prepared and then brought to the spot for the interviewee to take part of. Before each interview, information was given on who we are, why we were there and why their participation would be valuable for our study. They were informed that it was completely voluntary and permission to record was asked for the use of the study only. So we could be able to give more attention and focus more on the participant's answers and later be able to go back and listen to the recordings (Willis 2006, s. 149-150). After receiving an agreement we continued on with the interview.

Confidentiality & Research Utilization - confidentiality is guaranteed in order to protect the privacy of our participants. We hold ourselves accountable to make sure that ethical standards are being upheld during the research process. We hereby state that we will only use the information provided to us that is related to our study and needed to follow through with our study results.

We decided that any information that could lead to the exposure of the interviewees identity or put them at any risk would not be shared in our results. Thereby we make sure to keep the interviewees identities anonymous. In addition, our study was not in need of any personal information, such as names, ages, religious belief, specific addresses or contact information, therefore we decided to not gather it at all. This is also the reason why we decided to present our result in a way where one would not be able to trace back to any of the respondents, with the exception of the organization, which we got consent from.

We ensure that the information generated will solely be used within the frame of this study, and can therefore not be used in any commercial or non-research related form. Additionally, all recordings were deleted after the result study was completed.

5. Results

In this chapter the purpose is to present the result from the fieldwork which includes data that was gathered during the interviews and observations.

5.1 The Role of Education: Individual Level

When we discuss the individual level and its relation to the role of education we refer to what the individual receives from getting an education. To start off, educators and guardians

explain that as an individual you acquire knowledge, skills and a formal diploma when receiving an education. The guardians that we interviewed expressed that they do all they can to send their children to school and stated that all of their children want to go to school. One guardian expressed that *"education should be priority number one"*. Both educators and guardians stated that school is seen as a great part of making dreams and future success come true. One guardian explained the great impact education has on students' lives by stating *"life is too hard without education, you will be nothing"*.

One part of the benefit of education is mentioned by educators and students, to be the acquired information and knowledge from various subjects taught in school. Educators continue to point out that one receives the fundamental skills of reading and writing, both in Swahili and English. One educator explains the value of learning English as an important part of a child's future as they stated that it is to *"ensure communication"* while another educator expressed that it is *"to help students leave the country"*. Further, it is explained by guardians and educators that subjects such as computer knowledge and technical skills are important in order for the student to keep up with the development of society and all new job opportunities coming with it.

Moving on, all interviewees mentioned that education contributes to the promotion of life skills. They characterize life skills as being given in the form of being a hard worker, able to take decisions to determine their future careers, problem solving and creativity to deal with challenges in the home. In addition to this, within the curriculum the promotion of life skills are included in the subject of civics. The topic consists of leadership, teamwork, positive relationship, self worth and self confidence. Within these topics, skills and traits such as critical thinking, creativity and innovation, communication, technology, media and information literacy, flexibility and adaptability are listed. In the coursebook one writes the definition of a skill to be "the ability of an individual to apply mental or physical power to perform a task". It also includes the use of knowledge in order to execute a task. Life skills are abilities valued as necessary or desired by a person in order to fully live out everyday life.

Outside knowledge and skills taught in school, guardians and educators also see education as a way to make sure that the students take on good values, morals, personality traits and mindset, with the benefit to open the possibility to create a good life for themselves. One main mindset that was brought up by the guardians was the ability to work hard. One

guardian stated that *"education is important but leads nowhere without hard work"*. While another one voiced that the students, *"they need to love education and work hard, it can change life. Education is needed for one to succeed in life"*. Education is seen, by all respondents, as a crucial instrumental value as being the tool to later get a job. By inheriting a formal diploma of an education, students and educators stated that a person becomes more inclined to employment, with the skills and abilities earned, one will also have the chance to employ oneself. However, guardians voiced that education together with a hard working personality is an important part of success.

Furthermore, educators bring up other benefits and skills the students are taught which are later beneficial when they grow up to become a part of the society. For instance, the skills necessary to become independent, think for themselves and to be critical to the world around them. Moreover, it brings the individual the knowledge and status to later participate in the society, bring their voice and be heard. Educators and guardians emphasize that the students get taught how to participate in the political spheres, teach and to help others experiencing less success in life. Additionally, many of the schools are actively working with corruption prevention both in the system but also by expanding the students' awareness of corruption in society overall. With the goal to create the ability to critically look at their own and the national systems and structures.

5.1.1 Employment

According to the educators, the future of the students' and the connection to their career choices are discussed throughout their years in school. The students are told to consider what subjects to focus on and which ones to continue further in higher education. The educators explain that they are there to help the students to figure out which subjects they find easier, more fun and more valuable for their future. To also make the students well aware that their choices will have an impact on whether they will find employment or not. Discussing the same topic with the guardians, it was most common that they speak to their children about their future. No one stated that they push their own career path, rather encourage their children to choose their own. However, they do imply that there is a lack of opportunities for future employment and therefore it is important to choose wisely. When asking the students if they think about their future, it was a clear yes.

They know what subjects lead to what type of further studies and what type of jobs. When asking them what they wanted with their future, the most common career answers were teachers and doctors. Beyond this, it is common to hear that children have role models when deciding what to aspire for in the future, for example the current president Samia Suluhu Hassan, their own teacher or another influential and successful person in their life as well as certain soccer players.

All the respondents are clear in their answers that education is prominent in the success of reaching employment and crucial for all children, both girls and boys. However, it became clear that the job opportunities were different for males and females, educators mentioned that this especially affects females without an education. They go into further details on the job scarcity in Babati and that even though one has an education, one is not guaranteed a job. The guardians and educators described it as easier for male workers to find employment, and that these industries have a higher economic compensation than the ones available for women. These jobs are often physically demanding and perceived as catering exclusively to men, often associated with stereotypes. This includes but not limited to, construction, brickmaking for construction purposes, digging, and handling of luggage at bus stations. Hence why boys that do not receive an education, fail their studies or do not manage to get a job within their studyfield, still have the opportunity to earn an income. Females, especially uneducated, on the other hand, are more limited in their search for employment. The occupations that do not require any previous training and seen as suitable for women are primarily limited to housegirls[2], working in bars, or in guest houses.[3]

5.1.2 Shaping a Good Person

Among the respondents, the perception that education contributes to shaping a good person was also common. They mean that the school is considered to have an important role in shaping a society and its residents. The qualities associated with being a good person as stated by the respondents includes being a good citizen, punctual, generous, giving, respectful, helpful, hard working, creative, cooperative and encouraging.

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[2] Being a housegirl or houseboy is a job where the person is employed to help other families with, for instance, their household chores and childcare. By observation it became clear that employing a housegirl or boy can be a way to help a child from their current life situation. As a way to extend a hand to someone in need.

[3] A guest house is an accommodation where paying guests rent a room, often including a private bathroom.

A good person is described to be one who can fulfill one's own needs. In this case the needs spoken of include money, food, clothing, transport, education, electricity, a good house and good health. For one educator, a person with a good life lives stress free. For another, the most important thing is to live a life full of peace. Furthermore, one headmaster we interviewed described a good person as one that is aware of the community's issues and he/she is also communicating with the community. One guardian stated that a good person is someone you look up to, someone who has done well, someone who has good behavior and someone who above all stays good to the community. While another said that it is clear that you do not only strive as an individual to achieve your dreams as a good person, but also that you as a society should succeed collectively. All respondents agreed that living a life where you can be completely independent and at the same time being there for others is something that is desirable for everyone. As one educator stated a good person by definition is someone who always considers others and is there for those in need. Therefore, a good person is described as someone who can cooperate with others and someone who can support others in solving the problems they are facing. A good person according to all respondents is described as one that is doing well for himself/herself as well as for others.

The curriculum provides subjects such as civics in order to teach these skills and traits to the students. However, other methods are actively being used to amplify the outcome. The educators and guardians spoken to all agree that disciplining children is an important part of school. It is looked upon as a measure taken in the process of shaping good people and good citizens as one guardian voiced *"if she gets education she will become a better citizen"*. One guardian stated that the school must discipline students so that they do not go out into society and cause harm. One educator mentions that children who go to school are most likely the ones who do not pose any danger to society when they are disciplined in school. One educator argues that there is a major difference between children who attend or have attended school and those who have not are the degree of discipline. One guardian explained by saying *"education is important, if one has education then one has enough awareness of the real life but if you don't go to school you lack skills and discipline"*.

Discipline methods include the use of physical violence and heavy physical work. During one of our interviews we witnessed punishments in the form of flogging. After receiving several strokes the children who were being punished were further compelled to execute physical work, to dig holes for the planting of fruit trees on the school yard. The interviewee we were

with at the time did not acknowledge the happening behind, however the five of us witnessed the discomfort experienced by the students, while carrying, what we took notice of looked life feelings of shame. During our time in Babati further punishments that we were told about by respondents was the maintenance of the schools' vegetable garden and/or cleaning school facilities.

In conclusion, education is argued to help with the gaining of these skills, personality traits and mentality. These are all part of the process of shaping a good person. Education is also seen as the means to provide students with tools to meet future challenges that the individual and society faces. As a food teacher described education *"it provides for the future demands''* & *"it meets the requirements for the future"*. Nevertheless, it is also seen as a way of preparing the children and making it easier for them later in life. Extra effort is put into trying to secure a source of income, by employment or through self employment.

5.2 The Role of Education: Collective Level

As explained above, education is part of the process of shaping good people and citizens that participate in the local community and help others. It is the start, where children get disciplined, taught how to act and what to value. One guardian voiced that *"education gives the student an awareness on how to behave properly to be able to cooperate with the community"*. All the respondents expressed the importance of cooperation, helping others and contributing to the local community, but only once you have reached success yourself.

5.2.1 Moral Responsibility

Guardians and educators both stressed the importance of helping others once you have succeeded, and managed to provide for yourself you must give back to your family, relatives and the community you belong to. One educator specified that education gives students opportunities, shaping them into having the right morals, and *"if the kid passes and gets work, they can then help and support the parent economically"*. But in order to do so, another educator explained that as a good person, you must have worked on yourself individually and developed, which means that you can then help others. Guardians explained that they do not expect for example their neighbors to help since they know that they struggle themselves to be able to survive or feed their family. However, the level of income does not have to be a fortune, one educator stated, that *"having enough to give"* is what matters. Another educator

stated that to be a successful person you will have enough money to do whatever your heart pleases and to help the community around you.

When giving back to the community the educators and guardians argue that it is good to have the qualities of a good leader, be aware of your surroundings and the skills to solve problems. One guardian pointed out that *"The one that has education is aware of the world's challenges and knows how to solve them"* which indicates that education is contributing to the qualities. Additionally, one educator mentioned that having an education gives you the *"qualification to help others transfer in life"*. Followed by the responsibility to become a role model and make others want to get education. Majority of the respondents voiced that one of the greatest ways to help others is to be able to employ them and therefore contribute to the success of someone else. Even though the moral responsibility of giving back is mostly imposed by the guardians and educators, one student expressed, when speaking of the reason they value school so much, that *"I want to help my family and it motivates me"*.

5.3 Good Life

The relationship between education and good life was discovered while asking the guardians and educators about what a good life is. It was clarified by one guardian that *"If one does not have education then one can not have a good life"*.

Common to our interviewees was the view that education is a central enabler or a "good life". When asked about the meaning of a "good life", the respondents' answers were similar, regardless of the respondent being guardians, educators or students. Oftentimes a person who has a good life was described by all respondents as one that is able to get anything he/she wants. That they are also a good person, who are there for themselves and for others was something that mattered to all respondents and thus the community had a great importance for them all.

However, most respondents agree that money has a decisive role in a person's life as it is considered that money can give access to a lot. It has been common among the respondents that they believe that money gives people the opportunity to have and do what they want. However, according to one educator it is not about having a lot of money at all, but rather about having money so it satisfies your needs. The educator continues by also mentioning

that, one with a good life is not only one that can fulfill his needs but also one that can solve his own problems.

Lasly, when talking about being a good person and having a good life, the majority of the answers were heavily reliant on material possessions. Guardians and educators agree that in order to be a good person and to help others it is important that you are successful yourself, this comes down to the fact that you have to be at a level where you are beyond just surviving. They therefore want students to do well in their studies so that they can become good people, succeed, help others, and live a good life.

5.4 Promotion of Education

Our interviewees were well aware of governmental efforts to promote and improve education throughout the recent years. Guardians, educators and the local organization all stated that improvements have been made and enrollment has increased. In school, educators communicate with the guardians on the importance of keeping the kids in school. Trying to ensure that as many as possible go to school, and that as many of the guardians as possible understands the importance of receiving the knowledge and skills taught. This is done mainly through dialogues during school related meetings throughout the semester. Efforts are also made to make sure that the students agree on the importance of their education. One current example that we observed in schools is the act of standing up in the beginning of the class and, all together citing that *"education is the foundation of a strong society"*.

Furthermore, the government actively works with the use of public communication in the promotion of education. For example they use text messages (see figure 4. and 5.) to reach out to the public that are sent out regularly to every Tanzanian number, stating the importance of getting an education[4].

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[4] Figure 4 and figure 5 are text messages that were sent to our local Tanzanian phone number during the time spent in Babati.

Elimu ni muhimu kwa mtoto. Hakikisha mtoto wa miaka 4 anajiunga darasa la awali na mtoto wa miaka 6 anaanza darasa la kwanza. Hakuna ada kwenye shule za umma.

"Education is important for a child. Make sure the 4-year-old joins preschool and the 6-year-old starts the first grade. There are no fees in public schools."

Figure 4. text message about the importance of education

Elimu ya sekondari humuandaa mtoto kukabiliana na changamoto za maisha. Hakikisha mtoto anaripoti shuleni kuanza kidato cha kwanza kwa wakati masomo yameanza.

"Secondary education prepares the child to face the challenges of life. Make sure the child reports to school to start the first form when the lessons have started."

Figure 5. text message about the importance of education

5.5 Quality and Challenges

The improvements and effort to emphasize the importance of education has resulted in a higher attendance and enrollment in school, however, it is widely experienced by all interviewees that the system is still flawed in many ways.

5.5.1 Restrictions Regarding Educators

According to the educators and guardians there have been major enhancements in the quality of education during recent times. Quality among our interviewees was described in terms of the accessibility of schools, state of facilities, number and level of educators, number of students per educators, means and materials available.

During every interview with educators, the level of education was brought up by them. The number of educators with a higher degree of education has increased, more effort is seen to

be put into the profession, and guardians repeatedly mentioned great appreciation for the growing extent of hard working and passionate educators.

Educators argue that although facilities and equipment have been improved, there is still a long way until it is fulfilling its full potential. Many schools lack supplies, books, models, digital means, computers, subject oriented classrooms, libraries, canteens or enough classrooms. Most classes are taught solely with the help of a chalkboard, making it difficult for the students to gain full understanding. Educators struggle to demonstrate how things look and work, to the point that one has used cardboard boxes to build pretend computers in order to teach computer science. At the same time, there is a lack of educators within the science subjects, such as math, chemistry and biology. The reason is linked to them being looked upon as more complicated subjects, but also harder to teach without the proper means, models and material which have led to fewer mastering the knowledge enough to teach others. It is also societally looked upon as a more difficult subject which discourages students to pick them with the fear of failing.

When we came to the schools to interview, it was easily noticeable that there were approximately 45-60 students in each classroom. Educators pointed out that this leaves less time for them to help each student and in cases, has an impact on the result of the students. This can be traced back to the high enrollment rate, from school being mandatory and encouraged. More children attend school compared to earlier generations. Both guardians and teachers describe the increased number of schools and better facilities from when they were younger.

5.5.2 The Responsibility on Guardians

The most prominent challenge issued by guardians are the expenses. Even though there is not a set fee for attending school, school is only free in practice. With that said, there are multiple expenses that guardians are responsible for in order for their children to attend school. These expenses include, the uniforms, material such as books and pencils, as well as the food eaten at school. Every student is obligated to stay at school during lunch hours. The food is paid by x amount of kilos per kid (amount varies between schools) with maize and beans. It is therefore very heavily dependent on the weather and the success of the harvest will have a major impact on the financial situation of the guardians. Some schools have additional costs

for renovations, water supply, security guard or janitor are expected to be paid by the guardians. To make sure that every guardian pays their part, there is often a parent committee responsible for making sure that the contributions come in. Some guardians and the food teachers noticed that this can lead to an issue of bad mouthing or shaming of guardians who do not contribute enough, by guardians who contribute or have been asked to give more in order to help feed all the students.

The guardians' hardship regarding the expenses are widely recognized by the educators, most commonly the "food teachers", who also express the struggle of getting guardians to contribute. The food teachers are educators responsible for the logistics of the students' food, to make sure that the kids eat at school and that the parent committee brings in enough food for the children to eat at lunch. In some schools they also teach classes in nutrition, health and/or other general subjects such as english. Educators argue that part of the problem with guardians not contributing stems from, as stated above, the economic difficulties, but also that the importance of lunch for the children is not widely understood.

The economic hardships we found are a complex problem and rooted in, as explained to us, intergenerational poverty. It was explained by one of the guardians that they themselves grew up in poverty, so did their parents and their children. Continuing, many of the respondents come from a poor family and have not previously had schooling, many had married early and built a family at a very young age.

5.5.3 Challenges Students Face

Aside from crowded classrooms, there are other things that can have a negative impact on students' performances. The educators mention several challenges that they experience when the students do not have access to lunch, such as the ability to concentrate, learn, feel well and do good in school. According to the educators it is not uncommon for kids who do not receive enough meals to fall asleep during class. All respondents voiced their opinion about food in school. Food teachers all agree that food in schools brings a lot of positivity. According to them, food is important because it reduces stress, brings joy to the students, helps them concentrate in the classroom and this results in better performance. In addition to this, increased curiosity and creativity are also an outcome of food in school. Further on, the educators also mention that students could gain health problems if they do not have access to

food at school. The food teachers believe that food motivates in a completely different way and that it gives them a different behavior than what they would have if they didn't have food. They clarify this by mentioning that the group discussions get better, they have an easier time during sports activities at school, and especially if they are satisfied with the food. They then go on to also mention that they have a positive impact on the relationship between educators and students but also the relationship between students. The food teachers defended *"no food, no school"*. The students mentioned problems that impact their results such as concentration due to hunger, and their guardians' lack of understanding of the importance of food at school.

Outside school, children mention that they often help with babysitting, family businesses, chores and other responsibilities, which lead to little to no time for schoolwork which affects the students' performance. The guardians and educators continued to add games and fun activities to the list of further distractions for students in their freetime. Together with these challenges they mentioned the transitioning from Swahili to English when they move from primary to secondary school. That, even though they might have the knowledge in the specific subject they might fail since they lack the ability to explain it in english.

Lastly, the students stated the distance between home and school as one of the major dangers of their everyday life. Dangers included, heavy weathers including drowning in rivers during rain season, getting kidnapped, raped, lost or hurt on the way. Guardians stated that the distance to and from school is a lot shorter compared to just a decade ago. There is now an option to decide what school their kids are placed in and most guardians are satisfied with the options. However, schools do vary in expenses which causes guardians to not be able to choose completely freely, which could have an impact on the distance for the student.

5.6 Vulnerable Groups

In addition there are factors, depending on the individual circumstances and the socioeconomic status, that have an impact on the opportunity for a child to receive education and reach a good life. In this section we continue to present our results and findings. However, due to lack of time these areas were not explored further in our study. However, we find this material valuable in the contextualization of the views of our respondents.

5.6.1 Most Vulnerable

Poorer families can barely afford food for the day let alone afford to pay for school supplies and food fees. It has been mentioned by all respondents that there are cases where some families have several children but can only afford to send one or a few children to school. One guardian that we interviewed, mentioned the economic hardships and that she was not able to send all her children to school. Furthermore, the organization explained that family planning is often unheard of amongst poorer and uneducated households, which leads to children growing up without any education. That a child without schooling must find other occupations during the day and in many cases the children also have to find ways out of the poverty that they and their families live in. The organization goes on to argue that this leads to many kids choosing or unwillingly have to get a job at a young age.

When asking about children that do not go to school we found that the guardians were less willing to give examples. However, students and educators have stated that some of the children not attending school are either helping their families with their farm, shop or other type of small business that the family may have. The majority of the respondents mentioned that kids who do not go to school run a greater risk of carrying out, for example, crimes and other illegal activities.

Female headed households are moreover, the ones who face the most struggles of them all which is specified by the organization. But also pointed out by the educators that they are the ones who are struggling the most with contributing with the school expenses. The educators and guardians have explained that this is a society that is structured in a way where the women are oftentimes farmers and also have to take care of the home and children. While the men are often at another location bringing in an income to the household. In some cases, the man is not able to or chooses to not contribute to the household expenses. They continue to illustrate that if there is not a man present in the household, the woman has no choice but to take on all the roles of both guardians. Hence why, it makes it difficult for the females to take care of their children, the home, earn an income and make sure that there is enough money to put food on the table as well as to pay for all the school expenses.

Another phenomenon that is addressed by the organization, in terms of contributing factors to female headed households, is that Babati has a large population which are Muslims. Within

the community and religion, it is common and normalized for men to engage in up to four marriages. It is said to be uncommon that the man has reached enough success to help to provide for each and every family member.

Furthermore, as stated earlier, uneducated females have limited choices in the labor market. Aside from occupations such as housegirls, working in bars and guest houses, prostitution was pointed out as a last resort. Mothers sometimes have no option but to sell the last thing they have, their bodies to feed their children. Most of these occupations require long and unusual working hours. Which leads them to often having to be away from their children for a long period of time, meaning that the children have to feed and fend for themselves no matter what ages. In some of these jobs, they even have to put their own and their kids' lives at risk. It was exemplified to us by the organization that in some cases the sexbuyer is brought back to the family home, of which the remaining family members such as the children are present. The organization was informed of cases in which the mother and the children had been subjected to physical abuse. The organization went into greater depth on the risks for children and offered more details on the outcomes. When the mother is left by the father, and later starts seeing someone else, they know of cases where the children were not accepted by the new man of the household. The organization continued to provide additional details of families where the new man started abusing the children. In other families, the new man did not care to provide for an education for the child that is not his and therefore the child is left to drop out of school.

Orphans and children with addicts as parents are issued by the organization to run a great risk of suffering from loss of education. It is further explained that some might never start school while others run a higher risk of dropping out. This is said to come down to the lack of support systems. It was more clarified when a guardian being asked about children that don't go to school and why replied *"should go school but do not because they don't get support from their parents. Poor economic status of the parents"*. In both cases the home or lack of it has a negative impact on the safety of the child. The organization elaborates that it hinders them to access opportunities and resources that children with parents have on a regular basis, for example, often including education, support, a home and food. With this said, they want to clarify that addiction is not always a choice. One of our respondents discussed how, in Babati, alcohol is super cheap and a way to cope with the hardships in life. The organization

further mentions that their experience is that alcoholism is more common in rural and poorer neighborhoods. They explained that alcohol in Babati is super cheap and accessible to many.

5.6.2 Life without Education

The educators and guardians shared that the reason why children of school ages are not all enrolled in school does indeed vary, from lack of interest, parents attitude towards education, pregnancy, early marriage and so on. However, they agreed that the most prevalent reason is the expenses that come with it. It is said to be more common amongst poorer families with multiple children close to age or female headed households to have children out of school. Along with these factors it is not rare for children with unstable or non existing homes (street children) to be out of school. According to the local Mahoce, Manyara Holistic Center (NGO), street children are not as commonly spotted today as in the past, however, the ones you stumble upon are mostly coming from the villages to seek job opportunities in the urban areas.

Students, educators and guardians stated that kids that they know are not in school spend their days walking around on the streets, working or helping out with house chores, the farm, kettles, fishing, cooking, family business or taking care of siblings. Common jobs outside the family home is being a housegirl or boy at someone else's house. Additional jobs relate to heavy physical labor such as construction, digging, making bricks for buildings, and handling of luggage at bus stations. Amongst older children it is common to be driving taxi transportations called bajaj[5] or boda boda[6]. Besides jobs, students mentioned that children turn to prostitution and according to one teacher also other activities such as money gambling or illegal games[7]. Even though these activities are listed above, the interviewees noted that it is still important to remember the employment scarcity within Babati.

5.7 Societal Coping Mechanisms

To cope with all the challenges regarding education, each party takes measures in order to overcome them. Despite the major challenges, education is seen as a major part of

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[5] Three-wheeled vehicle, often fitting two to three passengers in the back and one driver in the front.
[6] A motorcycle fitting two to three passengers.
[7] Games that motivate robberies.

determining a child's and the societys' future. Therefore, it is to everyone's advantage to come up with solutions to the challenges that are being faced.

When receiving the details by the educators on their obstacles faced in their role as a teacher, they highlighted how they currently solve the issues. For instance they told us about how they work without the proper resources to teach science and technical subjects. Imagination is used by educators, and they illustrated how they try to replicate the actual practical skills the students need, such as building cardboard computers to subsidize for not having enough real computers in class. They also moved on to tell us about how they draw the full human body on the boards instead of having a model to showcase.

Furthermore, the food teachers described the difficulties with getting guardians to pay, to deal with this they both organize meetings and visits with the guardians struggling. This is also illustrated by guardians and that their way of coping with the expenses is to negotiate a payment plan together with the educators. In which they can contribute in partial payments, allowing them to gather the payment throughout the semester. It was brought to light that turning to others for help was not seen as practical for some. One guardian stated *"would ask for help from the mosque, but it is difficult, everyone has their issues"* when being asked about what they would do if they couldn't pay school expenses. Guardians know that it is expected of them to pay and for that reason they do their best, one guardian explained by saying *"it is expensive but somehow not expensive, life is expensive. What is needed for school has to be paid regardless"*. The guardians further highlight that if they are unable to afford the payment they have an alternative to enroll their child in a more affordable school. However, they also state that it does impact the distance to school for the child. As noted, some guardians are aware that they could enroll their children to better schools but choose instead to settle for slightly poorer schools as the family is financially limited. This has been indicated by guardians when asking if they are satisfied with the schools their children. One guardian replied *"yes, due to the economy, if we had better economy the children would go to better schools"* and another guardian said *"yes, because of my economic status, with a better economy I would move my children to a better school that is closer"*.

Explained by the food teachers is that the incentive to have mandatory meals at school is to assure that all students get access to food, to help with concentration and learning abilities, but also to minimize the amount of travel for the students. To mention is that guardians

pinpointed this incentive as a further constraint on their expenses. Another way to minimize the travel for students is a highly wished for alternative, an on ground school hostel. The hostel solution was brought up by the majority of the respondents, including guardians, educators and students. It is described to have multiple benefits, such as helping with minimizing distractions outside school, further disciplining children and to reduce the risk to develop habits outside of the ones belonging to a good person.

A further solution to enhance the success of the student is encouragement and support from the educators. The educators themselves bring up the ways that they help the students, for example by creating after-school programs. The educators illustrate how this helps the students to succeed in their studies and to prepare for important exams. For some of the educators this is a part of their responsibility as an employee, however others said that this is done by them unpaid during their spare time. To elaborate further on the way schools cope with challenges of the students, the educators showcase that some secondary schools have an English programme at the school start that consists of six weeks continuous English classes for students to catch up on their language skills.

5.7.1 Active Strategies taken by local Organization

The organization Mahoce, Manyara Holistic Center, have spent the past one and a half decade working towards creating a better life for children in Babati, Tanzania. It started with the opening of a day center where street children could come to receive a daily meal, clothes, medical care and access to washing facilities. Today, the organization consists of a full time home for over 30 children, with infrastructure enough to host 50 children at once. Additionally they serve as a support center for over 80 kids in total. At the center, children help out with the cooking and house chores, making sure that the skills needed to be independent are being taught. There are also classroom setups and a tutor on site to help with homework.

During the years one has tried several different methods to ensure a safe childhood and school attendance for as many as they can. When starting the initiative of Mahoce, the organization explained *"We started to identify the street children, find out their backgrounds and what they wanted in their life, they all said an education"*. However, they continued to state that, it had shown to be more difficult to bring kids and youth that once left or never

started school back into it since they have an everyday life with a freedom of choosing how their time is spent. It was often that the children had a hard time getting used to the new routines and saw school as a must rather than an opportunity, they preferred their freedom. So even if the limited resources were spent on helping these kids it was common that they went back to the previous routines. As the organization put it *"it is very hard to take a child off the streets and put him in an organized setting, they are used to being free, to do what they want "*. Instead the organization has realized that in order to have a greater impact on as many lives as possible one turn to help younger kids that have not yet dropped out, the strategy was changed into a prevention plan. With determination *"let's make sure that children don't become street children "*.

The organization receives most of their funding from donors and with rare inputs from the government. Although the government often sends kids in need in their direction, remaining kids are brought in after thorough evaluation of their home situation since they can only afford to help the most affected. These are often kids growing up in homes with a risk to their survival and well being such as abuse, drug or alcohol addiction, guardians in prostitution that bring sex buyers to the home or homes without a present grownup, circumstances that are most often closely linked to severe poverty.

6. Analysis

In Babati, the general view of the role of education can be understood as shaping individuals as "good persons" that can lead "good lives". In reaching these outcomes, education is seen as the means to unlock the skills and mentality needed to succeed mainly economically, that brings the freedom to be able to choose freely and to fulfill the moral responsibility. Accordingly, education is seen as a way to provide students with appropriate knowledge, skills and personality traits to be able to overcome future challenges and access success. It has an instrumental tool of enabling employment or to employ oneself. Employment then brings about the economic means to get yourself and your family out of the toughest hardships in life. However, with economic success and developing into a good person comes moral responsibility to help the people and community around. Thus, complementary education is also perceived as a means to shape individual values and behavior in collective directions, or simply put, to shape students into generous and cooperative adults that care and take responsibility over their near others and communities. Accordingly, one of the most

valuable contributions one can have in another person's life is seen as the offer of employment (or support to it) which may enable their transition into a good life.

The view that education is important does not change in terms of gender. All the respondents are clear that it is equally as important for both girls and boys to receive education. However, labor market opportunities are biased to gendered stereotypes. In comparison, women are more limited in their job opportunities. With that said, being a male in Babati has its benefits when looking for employment since the jobs that are physically demanding are catered only towards men.

6.1 Three abilities of education as freedom

According to our theoretical framework the educational system is the key for building and strengthening individual capacities. It is looked upon as crucial for people to achieve well-being and reach their full potential. This is somewhat in line with our overarching results, namely that the respondents from Babati highly value education and as a key means to reach a good life. However, we find that there are contradictions and tensions between the views which mainly reside in the details. *In this section we will discuss the three abilities of education as freedom, as illustrated by Martha Nussbaum's work, and what we hold to be contradictions or tensions between this prominent Western view and the local views in Babati on the importance of education.*

6.1.1 Critical Thinking

Critical thinking, explained by Nussbaum, refers to the ability to question, evaluate and act outside of given arguments, habits, beliefs or statements handed down by tradition. In Babati's school curriculum, skills and abilities such as critical thinking, creativity and innovation are encouraged as explained earlier, even taught as a part of the subject of civics. In addition, a lot of effort is put into making students aware of and able to recognize corruption in their own system and society. Nussbaum (2006) further states that it is during the young years of primary and secondary school where lifelong habits and skills are taught Examples given include when, if or if not to ask questions and how to critically source the information one hears (p.387).

Even though we see and hear the promotion of critical thinking by educators and being able to make your own decisions both by guardians and educators, we hold that there are controversial instruments built into the system that are counterproductive to letting these abilities flourish. Therefore, we see a mismatch in the arguments of Nussbaum's work and the methods used in schools of Babati. In particular, the disciplinary method of physical punishment may have a negative impact on the building of individual capacities, ability to think critically and their well-being. Though it is encouraged to think and speak freely, to develop innovative and creative thoughts with school being a safe environment, students who voice their opinions or act, may be met with physical punishment. Thus, we argue that physical punishment may discourage students from expressing new ideas or acting in ways that do not conform with the norm. This may create the pattern that it is okay to be whoever you want as long as you follow or abide by the mainstream norms, which may thus undermine being critical (for example, questioning the norm). Accordingly, becoming a good person and the shaping of a good person lies within remaining within the frames of the social norms. We argue that physical punishment can constitute a hinder for the future participation in life and society - a hinder of the functioning of critical thinking and therefore also a hinder for people to reach their highest potential and freedom. We argue that this is also creating a hostile environment for children and discouraging them from going to school overall.

Furthermore, we want to touch on the use of manual labor as punishment, namely the planting of trees, maintenance of school gardens and facilities. When children get punished and unwillingly have to perform labor it may become a benefit to someone else. This happens for example if the planting of trees serves as a punishment but the later growing fruits and creating shadows under the trees (to escape the sun) are for the gain of others. While at the same time the school does not have to pay to get the work done by someone else, it can act as an incentive to more easily and often punish the students. Likewise, if the manual maintenance work of gardens and facilities are carried out by students for free as a punishment it will be beneficial to the school. Whereas the students miss out on class hours and valuable learning time. Student's risk getting more tired, worn out, and dehydrated since the labor is taking place in direct sunlight. It is important to keep in mind that many of the students do not get enough food nourishment from the beginning, which with added heavy activity may be of concern to students' physical health. In addition, it is necessary to consider what associations in terms of learning outcomes may be created in students. For example, if gardening and cleaning for instance is used as a punishment, how students' may perceive the

value of these tasks and turn to a job that includes these responsibilities. Accordingly, using physical labor as a disciplinary method, may create the view of certain professions and tasks as punishment and shameful, possibly discouraging children from engaging or positively valuing them.

6.1.2 The Ideal of the World Citizen versus the Community.

This section addresses the ability to see oneself as a part of the bigger picture, a part of humankind, tied to others by recognition and concerns. This is another key role of education, according to Nussbaum's perspective. However, we find a partial mismatch between this view and the views of our respondents. We could see the decision to invest in English and technological skills as enabling communication, and opportunities for the students to participate in the national and global spaces. This wider participation is especially stressed by the educators as well as affirmed by the students. However, these local views related to being a part of a bigger context is limited to the Tanzanian context and for most, focused on the local life of the region (their relatives and communities).

The similarities thus are reflected in the local relations of solidarity and reciprocity (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2021). Solving problems and overcoming challenges was generally attributed to individual capacity (which education should enhance). However, the solidarity of the successful individuals was also presented as key to improving or resolving others' (or communities') problems. Educators demonstrate solidarity by taking extra responsibility for creating study sessions and programs for students to make sure that they get enough support, extra study help and time to study without distractions to pass their exams. This falls in the line of moral responsibility and the efforts made to make sure that the students succeed in their education. In addition, the negotiations that take place between guardians and the parents committee to create payment plans when parents cannot afford the expenses could also be understood as a type of solidarity mechanism that seeks to solve individual or common problems. These efforts could be understood as unofficial methods with the purpose to enable education for all and to enable the possibilities for children to reach their full potential, capabilities and functionings, and by doing so contributing to the potential thriving of others and therefore also to the community. So in contrast with Nussbaum and that education contributes to the ideal of the world citizen, the citizens being shaped within

Babatis' educational system are mainly local citizens with strong moral responsibilities towards the close individuals around them.

6.1.3 The Development of the Narrative Imagination:

The narrative imagination, as explained in the earlier segment, is the ability to put oneself in someone else's shoes. Nussbaum relates back to empathy, in comparison to the local views of Babati where it is rather explained as a responsibility. Even here, we see a partial mismatch not only between the different emphasis on empathy versus responsibility as the driving forces of behavior, but also in terms of who bears responsibility.

Accordingly, guardians stressed that they do not turn for help to someone in the same or worse situation than themselves. Since it is so common to live in poverty or with very limited economical means, they know that many struggle to support their own families. Therefore, when they know that the other person is struggling, they do not expect them to lend a hand and therefore most people do not ask for it either. Per contra, the guardians do expect help from the ones who have better conditions to some extent. As we noted above, being a good person was explained in terms of being someone with sufficient conditions to also help others. Therefore, a person who is well off is seen as a good person to the extent that he/she, for example, lends a hand, provides services, helps the community or/and employs others, in other words, in some way contributes to improving the conditions for someone else. Though, the organization stressed that the support that comes from the solidarity systems and moral responsibilities has shown to be of importance for those who struggle the most.

Thus, guardians' hope and ambition to send their children to school must be understood in terms of intertwined aspiration to see them succeed, become good people and citizens that help them and others. Whereas Nussbaum sees education as universally leading to this empathetic inclination, the general view among our respondents is that only those that are not suffering (or that have more than what is considered enough) is expected to help others. Thus, "putting oneself" in others' shoes, and specifically acting upon it, is mainly explained in terms of economic success, in which education is a vehicle but far from a guarantee.

6.2 Capabilities and Freedom

In accordance with Amartya Sen, whose ideas underlie our theoretical framework, well-being is explained to be a connection between feeling good and functioning well. Additionally, the freedom to choose our life can have an immense impact on our well-being. Capabilities are explained to be the *actual* opportunities or freedoms one has to live the life one values or its own greatest potential. This happens when one does not have any musts or sacrifices that limits one's choices or values (sen 2009, p.270-273).

In accordance with our result, we found that there are restrictions for most individuals in Babati that hinder them from living out their capabilities and their freedom. In line with Sen's perspective, one can identify structural obstacles that are beyond the agency of particular individuals to change, such as structural poverty and the consequential lack of opportunities and employment. Whereof, even though students may graduate with perfect grades there is still a substantial risk of unemployment. To keep in mind, this also lessens the motivation for guardians that struggle to pay for the expenses, to spend their life earnings on an education that is not a guaranteed exit from their economical struggles. Guardians in Babati heavily rely on the hope that their children will become successful and bring home economical assistance for the remaining family. The stress on the instrumental role of education to provide jobs and incomes, we hold, should be understood in relation to these economical insecurities. Accordingly, if jobs were more available, or livelihoods less insecure, there would likely be more space for students to choose more freely what paths they wish to undertake for example theater, sports, philosophy and critical studies. Instead, educators and guardians advise the students to move towards careers that are more likely to lead to employment, such as teachers and medical doctors - which are two high status jobs with a good reputation and where one can also be of help to others. Accordingly, structural economic insecurity can be seen as underpinning a potential demotivation of parents who struggle economically to pay educational costs knowing that the diploma is no guarantee for employment, and most importantly the local focus on the role of education as instrumental for their children to obtain the limited employment opportunities which also lead to the narrowing of students' career paths. Thus, if there was more room to choose freely, without the sacrifices or worries, people could take more risks to adventure into unpredictable career paths. In contextualizing

our results, economic insecurity must thus be understood as contributing to restricting children's imagination, dreams and exploring their freedoms.

7. Discussion

The general view of the role of education according to our theoretical framework is that it plays a vital role in the building and strengthening of individual capacities. It is seen as essential in order for people to achieve well-being and reach their fullest (Nussbaum 2009 & Sen 2006). As the results show, this is partially in line with the views of the local stakeholders. Nevertheless, we discovered that there are contradictions and tensions between these viewpoints, primarily residing in the details. To conclude these differences, both Nussbaum and the results are shown to promote the ability of critical thinking, however, we hold that there are controversial instruments, such as labor and physical punishment, built into the system that are counterproductive in the development of this ability. Secondly, the ideal of the world citizen according to Nussbaum, refers to the ability to see oneself as a part of the bigger picture, humankind. Thus, the result presents that the local views of the bigger picture is limited to the Tanzanian context, mainly focused on the local life of the region (their relatives and communities). Thirdly, the development of the narrative imagination, Nussbaum refers back to empathy, while the stakeholders' rather explained it as a responsibility. A responsibility that stems mainly from an individual's economic success (Nussbaum 2006, pp.388-389).

In addition, we want to acknowledge the fact that we do not know the reason for the punishments we witnessed. Therefore we can not state that these punishments were distributed due to the reason of acting or thinking outside the norm. However, referring back to the previously mentioned study on corporal punishment against students in Tanzania we do see the pattern of being punished for example due to, being late, misbehaving or contradicting the educators. Although we do want to point out that these reasons might also be due to a child contradicting the authority of an educator, since the study also highlights that students find some cases of punishments as too harsh or unnecessary, in some cases even bullying from a teacher (Joyce-Gibbson et.al 2018, p.1152-1157). At the same time the western view of education values the students' ability to express themselves, that questioning and contradicting can lead to more efficient learning (Smith and Hu 2013, p.102). Outside the already stated short and long term consequences we want to address that the punishment is

distributed during school hours and therefore the students miss out on further learning hours, therefore also the skills needed to pass examinations. Further it contributes to the demotivation and ill feeling towards being in school, creating an inevitable down spiral of the students' school performance (Pinheiro 2006, p.14-17). Thus, with that said, we do not argue for less disciplining of children though we do argue the need for other methods outside any corporal punishment. The key, we argue, is to promote an environment that is open-minded and where different views can be expressed and discussed respectfully amongst all.

Further findings in the results gathered in this study show that even though the promotion of education has led to a higher enrollment, higher number of schools, and educators with higher qualifications there are still challenges remaining. The responsibility to resolve these obstacles are today mainly put into the hands of the guardians and educators, and even local organizations, however, the respondents have expressed the economic limits they are bound to. Therefore these results imply the need for further discussions and studies to examine the need for support from higher stakeholders, such as the government, to be able to reach better quality and ensure educational opportunities for all children in Babati.

8. Conclusion

In the introduction the idea that education is presented to be understood as a fundamental human right was introduced. It was followed by the discussion on the widely viewed and assumed importance of education as a direct impact on the childs' future success.

In Babati the study found that the general view of the role of education can be recognized as the foundation of a strong society, and an instrument to shape individuals as "good persons" that can lead "good life". Education is perceived as the main instrument of gaining the essential knowledge, skills, personality traits and mindset required for reaching employment, economic success and becoming "good people" Thereby, ensuring freedom for individuals to make their own choices, live as they please and fulfill moral responsibilities. These responsibilities benefit the community since it promotes generosity, to give to the ones less successful and to help others around you to transition towards a "good life". The main instrumental value of receiving an education is to later get a job. However, the job scarcity for all and unequal labor market opportunities for females, limits the chance of getting employed, even with an education.

In the analysis of the role of education in Babati in relation to our theoretical framework, we discovered that there are contradictions and tensions between these viewpoints, primarily residing in the details. In conclusion, this study shows that the view on the role of education in Babati is different from the illustrated mainstream western view, thus not less important.

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Appendix 1

Interview question: In this section the questions that were picked out for the interviews are being presented. As one can see some are suited only for guardians, some for educators and some for students.

Questions for the guardians:

- Civil status?
- How many children do you have?
- Which of them goes to school? boys or girls?
- Do they go to primary or secondary school?
- How often do you visit the school?
- Do you take them to school yourself? Do you attend any school meetings? Do you help the child with their homework?
- How much do you spend on school?
- Is it expensive? Is it still worth it?
- How do you get the money?
- Have you ever been able to not pay?
- Do you talk to your children about their future?
- Do your children already know what they want to do in the future? Do you want them to follow your path?
- Do you see education as a way to get there?
- Do you think your children like to go to school?
- Do you know any children that don't go to school?
- What happens to those children? Do they go back to school?
- Does education help with becoming a better citizen?
- What is a good person? Well being/good life?
- What is good living?
- Are you satisfied with the school? In what way?
- How could educational opportunities be improved?
- What is the motivation for sending your children to school?
- Anything else you would like us to know that might help us get a better understanding?

Questions for the educators:

- What do you think about children's access to education?
- What challenges face the students?
- How are those problems solved?
- What are the challenges facing the educators when teaching?
- How are those problems solved?
- Apart from teaching, what other responsibilities do educators have?
- Do you talk about the children's future opportunities with them?

- Does education provide the realities of future opportunities?
- How do you see the importance of education? Outside instrumental.
- Do you see education to help with any other skills?
    - Such as critical thinking, helping them make their own decisions or participate in the community? How?
- Are the students encouraged to give their own opinion?
- Or to become a better version of themself?
- For how long have you been an educator?
- Anything else you would like us to know that might help us get a better understanding?

Further additional questions for academic educators:

- How many children are enrolled?
- How many children go to school on a daily basis? (weekly, monthly etc)
- Can we see the examination result of primary school?

Questions for the students:

- What are the challenges you face as a student when it comes to education?
- How do you solve those challenges?
- What other responsibilities do you have, apart from studying at school?
- Do you have enough time to do your homework?
- Do you like going to school?
- What is your favorite thing with school?
- How do you get to school? (transport/distance)
- Have you thought about future plans? What are they?
- Are those plans of your own or by your parents?
- Do you see education as a way to get there?
- Do you know any children that are out of school?
- What do they do instead?
- Are they having a good life?
- Do they want to come back to school?
- What is a good person?
- What is well being and having a good life?
- Are you satisfied with school? In what way?
- How could it be improved?
- What is your motivation for going to school?
- How many are you in your family?
- How many of you go to school?
- What do your siblings do that are not in school?
- Anything else you would like us to know that might help us with our work and to get a better understanding?

Appendix 2

Updated interview questions: during the interview process we altered some of the questions that we found were either often misunderstood or did not give an answer connected to our research question.

Questions for the guardians:

- Civil Status? Do you live together?
- How many children do you have?
- Which of them goes to school? Boys/Girls?
- Do they go to primary or secondary school?
- Have you gone to school?
- How often do you visit the school? Any school meetings?
- Do you take them to school yourself?
- Do you or anyone else help them with homework?
- How much do you spend on school? What is included?
- Is that expensive? Have you ever not been able to pay?
- How do you get the money? Split it with anyone?
- Do you talk to your kids about their future?
- Does your children already know what they want to do in the future? Do you specifically want them to follow your path?
- How do you think education prepares children for the future? Outcome? Boys/Girls?
- Do you think your children like to go to school?
- Do you know any children that don't go to school? What do they do?
- What happens to those children? Do they go back to school?
- Does education help with becoming a better citizen?
- What is a good person?
- What would you consider to be a good life? Good living?
- How do you define well being?
- Are you satisfied with school? How?
- How could educational opportunities be improved?
- What are the motivations for sending your children to school?
- How do you view the educational transformation over the last ten years?
- Is there anything you think we need to know that you think can help us with our work? Something/anything that comes to mind?

Questions for the educators:

- What do you think about children's access to education?
- What challenges face the student?
- How are those challenges met?
- What are the challenges facing educators when teaching? Does it differ for female educators?

- How are those challenges met?
- Apart from teaching, what other responsibilities do educators have?
- Do you talk about the children's future with them? If so, how?
- In what way does education provide the realities with the future opportunities?
- How do you view the importance of education? Outside instrumental
- Do you see education to help with any other skills? If so, how?
- How about skills such as critical thinking and decision making, is that a part in your teaching? Is it being considered?
- What would you consider to be a good life? Good living?
- How do you define well being?
- How do you view the children's possibilities to reach their fullest potential?
- How long have you been an educator?
- Is there anything you think we need to know that you think can help us with our work? Something/anything that comes to mind?

Further additional questions for academic teachers:

- How many children are enrolled?
- How many children go to school on a daily basis?
- Can we see the examination result?